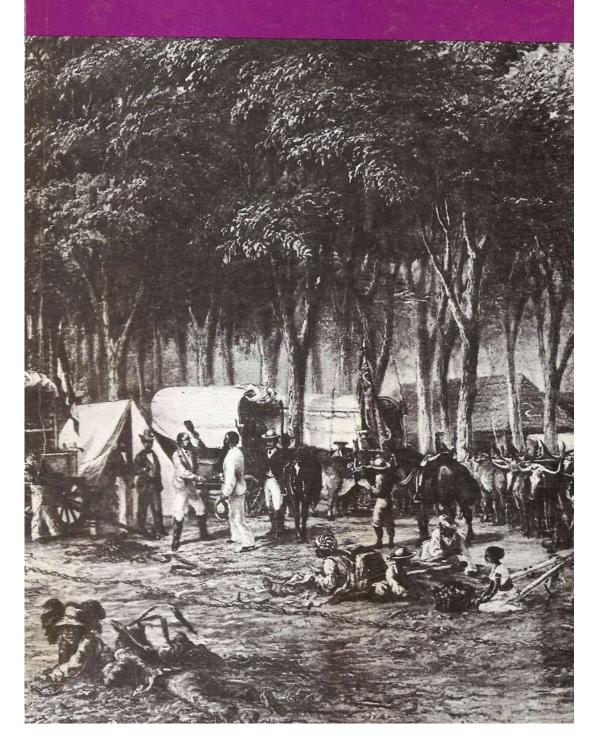
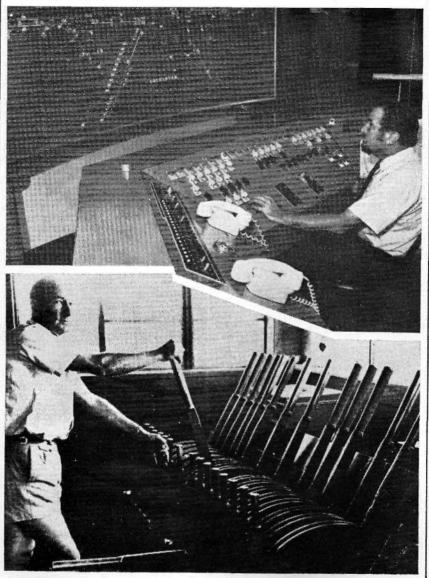
RHODESIANA

PUBLICATION No. 34

MARCH, 1976



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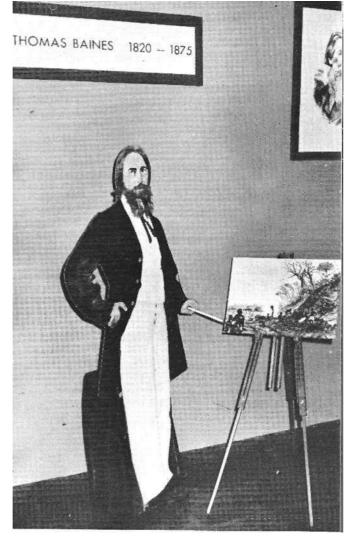
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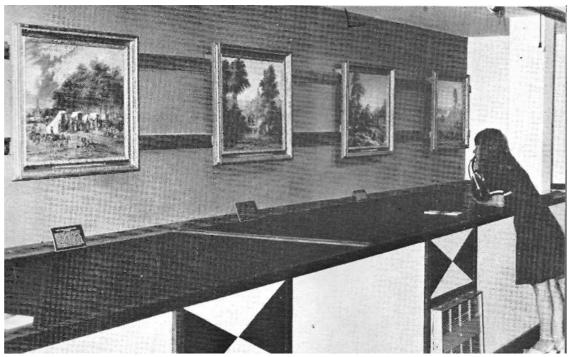
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CENTENARY EXHIBITION





RHODESIANA

Publication No. 34 — March, 1976

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY
Salisbury
Rhodesia

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The cover picture is from a painting by T. Baines, showing his expedition on the market square in Pietermaritzhurg, 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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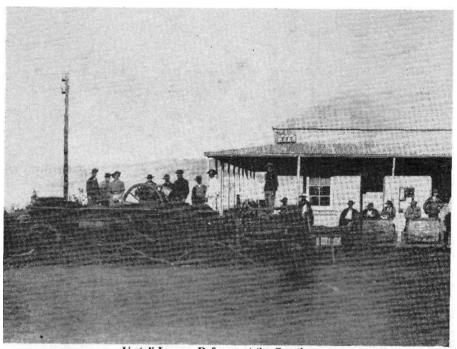
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The Society periodically awards a gold medal to individuals who have made either an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Rhodesiana Society or a major contribution to Rhodesian history. The following have been the recipients:

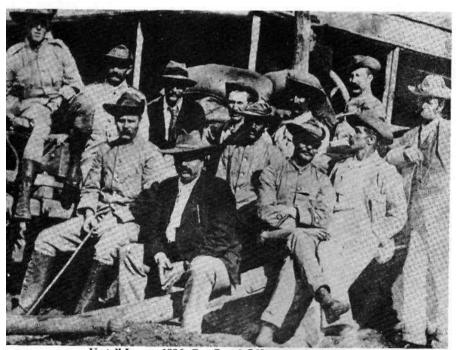
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Umtali Laager. Defences at the Courthouse.
(Photo: National Archives)



Umtali Laager 1896. Gun Squad Officers, Burgher Force.
(Photo: National Archives)

The 1896 Rebellion in Manicaland

by J. C. Barnes

In the numerous articles covering the Matabele and Mashona Rebellions the Eastern Districts are frequently dismissed as of little importance on the grounds that Mutasa did not join the rising. The reasons behind Mutasa's assurances of peace are interesting and will be discussed later, but he was not the only chief in this area. Furthermore a study of the rebellion in Manicaland can throw an interesting light on the risings in other parts of the country.

The symptoms of discontent were evident in Manicaland, as they were in most areas of Rhodesia, before 1896, yet the belief that the defeat of the Matabele in 1893 and the resulting death of Lobengula had assured an attitude of docility from local tribesmen prompted most observers of the time to dismiss the unrest as of little consequence. In March, 1896, for example, a letter was published in the Umtali Advertiser commenting on the indiscriminate actions of the native police in controlling outlying areas. The native police of Inyanga apparently claimed to be "At liberty to take what they liked from (the kraal)" on the grounds that as they were not issued with food rations they were obviously to obtain supplies from the surrounding areas. Wholesale demands were therefore made on each and every village visited and villagers showing a reluctance to comply were severely treated. Once the rebellion had broken out Mutasa expressed himself openly on this question of the native police. He argued that the appropriation of food by the police threatened the power of the chief in that he was unable to check it and that the supervisory actions of the police encroached upon the authority of a chief over his people.

Another correspondent, Mr. Charles Hancock, writing in the New Year edition of the *Umtali Advertiser* of 1895, put his finger on a second trouble spot but again failed to realise the seriousness of the discontent. "The institution of the Hut Tax", he wrote, "has probably brought money into the coffers of the company judging by the successful cattle sales held on this account, but it has done nothing to ease the scarcity of labour". In October of the same year this scarcity of labour is attributed to a local syndicate which was paying natives the extravagant salary of £2 per month!

The ravages of nature added to the ravages of authority. There are scattered references to locusts in the year preceding the outbreak of the rebellion. Together with a long continued drought and excessive heat experienced in the September of 1895, the locusts soon destroyed the young shoots which sprung up after the winter fires. The result was not only a meteoric rise in the price of native grain but also the proposal of various schemes, hare-brained and otherwise, for locust control. "Breed more hens" was one such proposal, and if this did not work import the Paradise Grakle (grocula tristis) from the Philippine Islands — "a voracious devourer of locusts and grasshoppers". The suggestion

that natives be employed to collect locust eggs was initiated in a more practical form — after all, *locusta migratoria* were a recognised delicacy with the natives — and the results were unforeseen, if not amusing. "Mr. Brabant, Chief Native Commissioner, whilst in Umtali, was called upon to settle a dispute between Chimbazo and Tshioon, of Mutasa's tribe. The dispute . . . arose out of a locust gathering expedition in which the one held that he had been forestalled in the matter of time of starting. This single matter afterwards led to an assault upon one of Tshioon's men, which was resented, and the two chiefs coming to open combat brought themselves under the notice of the Native Commissioner's department." Both sides were fined all the guns used in the affray.

A. S. Tullock, in a diary yet to be published, described cattle as "the mainstay of our communication with the outside world". To the native, however, cattle were the basis of his wealth, his status in society and his livelihood, and it is in this light that one must consider the rinderpest or Zambesi cattle fever epidemic, of 1896. Mention of the disease in Bechuanaland (March 27th) was accompanied by a report from the Government veterinary surgeon describing the symptoms and post-mortem appearance of the disease. The disease spread rapidly and by April 3rd (six days after its first mention) it had reached Umtali. On that day Mr. Nesbitt, N.C., destroyed 83 oxen in Leslie's district (the present site of Umtali) in which he found eight to be affected by the disease. Such forcible slaughtering of cattle led to much misunderstanding and ill feeling amongst the natives.

The infamous Jameson Raid commanded extensive coverage in the publications of the time, but one aspect was missing. No one stopped to think how the Matabele might react to the defeat of forces commanded by the Administrator of Rhodesia. Dr. Jameson is on record as having said of the Matabele in 1895 ". . . when you have once licked them they recognise the fact and give you no more trouble". The Mashona, he predicted, "never had, and never will have, the pluck to fight anybody".

The misunderstanding over the rinderpest cattle killings would appear to be the immediate cause of the rebellion. Published concurrently with the report of the Government Veterinary Surgeon was a twelve inch column reporting the death of five Europeans in the Gwelo area, massacred whilst in the process of destroying infected cattle. Mention is also made of the laagers at Gwelo, Victoria, Charter and Bulawayo, but the reporter surmised that ". . . the whole thing is much exaggerated". Nonetheless the report, together with rumours of a general rising, had a disquieting effect upon the people of Manicaland, even though the editorial in the *Umtali Advertiser* on April 3rd warned that the foundation of the rumours lay "only in the imagination of the people themselves". We know now that the initial murders were in fact committed several days before the planned widespread outbreak of the rising, thereby weakening the orignal impetus and the chances of success of the rebellion.

By the end of March, 143 isolated Europeans in Matabeleland had been killed and Umtali, in common with most districts, was, by a special Proclamation, declared an affected area. A laager was built — barricades were erected

around the nucleus of the town (this was of course 'Old Umtali', the move to the present site being completed only in 1897) — and sandbags were piled around the courthouse. On April 3rd a meeting of the Umtali Volunteers was called at the Court House to discuss the action of Mutasa, who was reported to be using beacon fires to call his men together. Defence was in the hands of Captain Moberly who posted 25 volunteer pickets. The services of the Umtali Volunteers were offered in Matabeleland but were refused on the grounds that their withdrawal might instigate trouble with local natives. The residents of Umtali seemed certain from the outset that Mutasa was not going to join the rebellion but those in the districts did not share this faith. On April 10th C. W. Cronby Dillan complained that the first news prospectors and miners received of rebellion was through the newspaper. Conditions, he argued, were of a sufficiently serious nature to warrant a policeman being sent out to warn the country people.

Mutasa himself was indignant when leading local officials visited his kraal seeking an asurance to support their confidence. He had, he assured them, "not the slightest intention" of taking the offensive. Mutasa's desire to avoid conflict with the whites probably stems back to the days of the Pioneer column. In 1890 Mutasa had granted a concession to Colquhoun and Selous who acted on behalf of the Chartered Company. Captain Forbes was sent to the kraal to keep Mutasa to his word and arrived in time to conflict with Colonel D'Andrade, the Portuguese Commander at Macequece and Manuel de Sousa, a prazo (estate) holder. Forbes bided his time whilst de Sousa with 70 African soldiers hoisted the Portuguese flag in Mutasa's Kraal. On November 15th Forbes decided on a bold move. Whilst a meeting of European residents in the district was being held in the kraal Forbes disarmed the Portuguese soldiers and with ten men marched into the kraal and arrested the stunned dAndrade, de Sousa and Baron de Rezende. Mutasa was consequently blamed by the English for entertaining the Portuguese, and by the Portuguese for treachery. It was the memory of this incident which persuaded Mutasa to remain peaceful in 1896.

To the anxious people of Umtali Mutasa took on the qualities of a hero whilst Makoni was considered the arch-devil. A story which circulated in 1896 for example, was that when Gururi, a native chief, refused to rise, Makoni's men fastened two blocks of wood either side of his head and set them alight. Badly burnt over his head and shoulders Gururi was allowed to return to his kraal.

Fifty rifles and 10 000 rounds of ammunition were sent by coach from Umtali to Salisbury but otherwise life continued much as normal. The rinderpest was declining (2 000 cattle had been put in quarantine and 200 shot) the coaches continued to run, the stores were well stocked and the cricket matches between the "saints" and the "sinners" continued on a regular basis.

A rising in Lomagundi in early June prompted a new approach to the authorities by the Umtali residents which this time was more successful.

On Wednesday, June 31st a contingent of volunteers left to join Colonel Plumer in Bulawayo. Captain Turner was in overall command with Captains Moberly and Taylor in charge of their respective sections. They paraded in the main street before leaving and were reviewed by H.H. Judge Vincent. The men did not enlist for any particular length of time: in fact they received a higher pay under the local volunteer regulations than did Colonel Plumer's men and were therefore liable to disbandment at an early date.

Their armament consisted of 80 rifles and carbines with 100 000 rounds of ammunition, plus two maxims acquired at Marandellas. To the maxims the Matabele in 1890 had given the onomatopoeic name *isigwagwagwa*.

As the Matabele retreated into the Matopos so did the outbreaks in Mashonaland increase. Despite the fact that aggression was not anticipated from either Mutasa or Makoni the situation was clearly worsening. Aggressive action was discredited on the grounds that it would destroy the source of native labour and the native produce market, but one suggestion was to bring the leading chiefs to Umtali to be held as hostages for the friendliness of their men. On June 20th a general meeting of residents was called at the Masonic Lodge to draw up a plan of defence. A committee of ten was appointed under the chairmanship of J. H. Jeffreys, and was immediately asked to send an armed force to Makoni, who was apparently being urged by a local *mondoro* (spirit medium) to throw 4 000 men into the rebellion. The committee declined the request and decided instead to retain all horses and men for use in Umtali.

The proclamation of Burgher Law in Umtali — that is all male inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 50 were to assist in maintaining law and order — coincided with a hazardous escape by three men from MarandeUas to Headlands in a mule cart. The laager at Headlands was attacked several times but each wave was repulsed without casualties. The Defence Committee in Umtali called in the Headlands and Inyanga contingents and the former, none the worse for wear were the following week to challenge A and B troops to a game of cricket!

By July the excitement had momentarily died away and the editorial of the *Umtali Advertiser* on July 3rd urged that an attempt be made to open communications with Salisbury, especially as there were now more than 250 well armed men in the district. The ease with which telegraph wire could be cut again resulted in no decision and the matter was left open to be reconsidered on the arrival of Lieut. Col. Alderson.

Meanwhile in Inyanga the "Kaiser Wilhelm"* had been sacked and burnt and Mr. Newman Smith, who escaped only in what he stood up in, was convinced that the whole country had risen. Similarly the Odzi Store, belonging to F. Clayton, was looted but as the building was entirely deserted it was not taken to be an unfriendly act on Mutasa's part.

The murders of Hitchman, Richards and Basson at Nedziew's kraal near Headlands — killed after visiting the kraal in search of food especially monkey nuts — gave rise to the need for a system whereby all country people could be warned in the event of an attack, especially as the authorities were granting leave of absence from the town to all who could give sufficiently good reasons

^{*} In 1872 Carl Mauch discovered some ancient gold workings near chief Samali's kraal. These he named "Kaiser Wilhelm Field". The name survived until World War I. Geologically they are part of the Makaha Gold Belt. See *The Journals of Karl Mauch*, 1869-1872. Pub. by the National Archives 1969—*Editor*.

for such departure. The only solution was a mounted policeman who knew the district — hardly sufficient in the event of a surprise rising — and more families trickled into the laager.

The Defence Committee asked the Government to proclaim martial law in Umtali, issued rifles and ammunition to responsible residents, initiated moves to loan a machine gun from the Portuguese and prompted merchants to place supplies sufficient for 200 men for one month. In the midst of this activity Lieut. Col. Alderson arrived via Beira with a force of imperial soldiery. Whilst 350 of his men were prepared for an attack on Makoni the local Burgher Force was disbanded and replaced by a volunteer corps, each trooper receiving a salary of ten shillings per day. Major E. Hamilton Browne was later elected as commander. "Maori" Browne was a colourful character — he had fought the Maoris for twelve years, hunted bushrangers in Australia, served as a Papal Zouave, fought the Sioux under Colonel Dodge in America as well as the Galeka and the Zulus in Natal and the Matabele in 1893.

Several pleas were made by the Defence Committee to the Resident Magistrate and to Alderson for permission to send a force to reconnect the telegraph line. The entreaties were constantly refused on the grounds that it was necessary to preserve a maximum force in the laager but there was much disquiet in Umtali. The Burghers of the District in fact forwarded a resolution (probably an action which hastened their disbandment) regarding the "apathy of the Chartered Company" with much regret.

The formation of laagers at Melsetter and on the crossing place of the Umvumvumva River by July 17th suggests that the natives in the more southerly districts were following Makoni's example in actively joining the rebellion. In Umtali however, Alderson followed by the volunteers, rode out determined to establish telegraph stations at Devils Pass, Headlands and Marandellas, with a fourth somewhere between Marandellas and Salisbury. Alderson left 50 men of the York and Lancaster Regiments behind, placed in a small fort which they had constructed as far away from the hills as possible and near to water. In the settlement itself the Umtali Artillery was formed under Lieut. Fichat, consisting of 15 men especially enlisted to work the seven-pounder in the court-house laager. Capt. Peace, Kings Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, was in charge of the fort whilst H. S. Montagu was the Laager Commandant.

Alderson's column presented a fine sight as it moved out of the settlement. Besides 92 volunteers he had 230 mounted infantry with two maxims, 39 Royal Engineers, 14 Royal Artillery with two seven-pounders, 48 West Riding Regiment, 17 scouts and 50 wagon conductors, drivers and voorloopers to control the 38 mule and ox wagons. This entourage covered 17 miles in the first day and was closely followed by Matika, a small neighbouring induna who intended taking part in whatever encounter there might prove to be with Makoni. The only incident involved one Lieut. Ross who rode into 200 Mashonas but was saved by the cross fire of Captains Hulley and Taberet and Lieut. Morris.

Alderson made a detour around Devil's Pass (about 12 miles north east of of present day Inyazura) and on the evening of August 2nd arrived at a new

police station named Fort Haynes two and a half miles east of the Lesapi Drift. After a night march of seven miles he reached Makoni's kraal at dawn, achieving complete surprise. The first intimation Makoni had of the Europeans' presence was the bursting of a seven-pounder shell in his kraal. The kraal was in a strong position surrounded by a seven foot wall topped with thorn bushes and containing approximately 300 huts in the numerous inner stockades. After an hour and a half's fighting the kraal was assaulted and carried with the bayonet and after the capture of over 500 cattle, sheep and goats, was burnt. Makoni retired to some nearby caves leaving about 60 dead behind him. Alderson's casualties were seven, three of whom died.

A reconnaissance party found Devil's Pass fortified but deserted. By August 6th the Headlands laager had been re-occupied; on the 8th a large kraal at Macheke was burnt and a meeting established with Captain Nesbitt's force from Salisbury (Captain Nesbitt of Mazoe Patrol fame). The following day the kraals of Gwatzi and Mangwendi were burnt and the natives fled to the hills where they had previously taken all stores of grain. On August 12th the two forces left for Salisbury.

On the same day but in Umtali another dramatis personna appeared on the stage: Major Watts who, with 50 men, had arrived from Bulawayo where negotiations for peace were in progress.

August was the calm before the storm, certainly there was hardship, but on September 1st three ox wagons, six mule carts and two donkey wagons were loaded with provisions and sent to help the shortage in Salisbury. The mail came through for the first time for seven weeks and, with the natives entrenched in an impregnable kraal in the kopjes, it seemed that the rebellion would take a similar course to that in Matabeleland.

Makoni, however, after the withdrawal of Alderson's troops from the Lesapi area, re-occupied his kraal claiming that he had in fact repulsed the Europeans. Parties of his marauders made it impossible for the whites to return to their farms with the result that Captain A. Tulloch, with 37 Artillery and B Troop volunteers plus a seven-pounder, left Umtali in an attempt to either secure the chief or deal him a crushing blow.

When attacked Makoni again retired to the caves with about 100 of his men. Seventy women and 11 men, including his chief adviser and one of his sons, were captured and the walls of the kraal were dynamited.

Tulloch was joined by Major Watts with 155 troops and both men agreed that the capture of Makoni was essential if the rebellion was to be contained. It was decided to use dynamite to dislodge the chief but the placing of the charges proved dangerous as the natives fired unexpectedly from various points. Eventually it was left to Gunner Jenkins to climb down a twenty-foot rope, light the fuses and return hand-over-hand up the granite face "as only a sailor can do".

The first charge buried all stores of grain and killed two natives. Watts received information that Makoni would probably try to break out. He surrounded the caves and five attempts by the natives to escape were thwarted.

Eventually Makoni alone came out and under cover of fire kept up by his men :::ve, tried to escape. He was forced to retreat back into the caves but was heroically pursued by Lieut. Fichat who, wielding his revolver, dragged him out from under the very noses of his men. The capture of Makoni resulted in the surrender of most of his men.

The problem was now what to do with Makoni. Ross, the Native Commissioner at Fort Haynes, thought that to send him to Umtali would entail a strong risk of rescue. Makoni, at a court martial held on the spot, was therefore charged with armed rebellion, found guilty and sentenced to death. A telegraph was sent to the High Commissioner to confirm the sentence but as there was no telegraph post at Fort Haynes the message first had to be sent by runner to Umtali. The chief's fate was sealed that night when his son and two of his indunas escaped — it was decided to carry out the verdict the following day without waiting for confirmation from Salisbury.

Makoni was shot by a firing squad composed of two men from each detachment. According to one witness this fine looking chief, his face normally dignified and sensual but which could look uncommonly fierce on occasions, died like a man, only calling out to one of his men, "Bury me when I am dead or the curse of God be upon you". He was buried overlooking the remains of his kraal.

On September 7th the General Officer Commanding sent his congratulations to those involved, and it therefore came as a surprise when the High Commissioner at Cape Town, Sir Hercules Robinson, suspended Major Watts for the trial and execution of Makoni. Umtalians, further annoyed because 20 prisoners captured in the engagement had been released without trial, sent a petition to Earl Grey, Administrator of Rhodesia, stating that the action of Watts was "not only justifiable but absolutely necessary for the speedy settlement of the rebellion in this district", a sentiment supported by the action of Mutasa who himself came into Umtali to express his loyalty, a journey which he had never made before.

The petition was sympathetically received by the High Commissioner and at the ensuing court of enquiry in Bulawayo on October 10th Major General F. Carrington, Commanding Forces Matabeleland and Mashonaland, decided that Watts had "acted to the best of his judgement in the interests of his force and of the administration of his country".

Resistance was all but at an end. In October a force of about 80 men of the Umtali Volunteers, Umtali Artillery and Mashonaland Relief Force, under Captain Pearse, followed the line of communication to Salisbury, burning kraals in which there had been any resistance and destroying fortifications. Four whites were killed, two of them near Gatzi's kraal ten miles from Marandellas where there was six days of fighting. The most unfortunate was Private Hearnshaw of the Umtali Volunteers who was killed by a bullet from his own rifle fired as he jumped over a wall into a kraal.

On November 3rd Tulloch and Fichat returned to Umtali with the Umtali Volunteers and the Umtali Artillery, both of which were immediately

disbanded. The sandbags and barricades were removed and the laager officially abolished. In Manicaland the rebellion was over although in Mashonaland it was to be another year before the remaining rebel leaders were rounded up. The final act in 1896 before Umtali settled down to its quarrels over the Umtali-Beira railway line and the move to New Umtali was the establishment of a memorial fund, proceeds to be used to erect a memorial wing to the new Umtali Hospital and to place in the church a suitable memorial window and brass plates recording the names of those killed.

HISTORIC RHODESIA

Historic Rhodesia by Oliver Ransford and Peter Steyn is the latest in the well known Bundu Series (Longman Rhodesia. 1975. Price \$2,95). It takes the form of an imagined narrative of a journey by road around Rhodesia, starting at Providential Pass and ending at the Victoria Falls, with a few side trips, visiting all the places of historic interest. Features of all the main towns and of all the better known places are described as well as many not so well known — Diana's Vow Farm, the Cave of Hands, both with rock paintings, the ruins on Harleigh Farm, Jumbo Mine and its ancient workings and the Caves of Mtoko. And stories such as those of the beautiful La Rochelle with its formal French gardens at Umtali and the Swynnerton Memorial in the Chirinda Forest are told.

A good deal of local history is given about specific places and areas as well as a general history of the country right from Bushman days. The authors have not been dogmatic and admit that "some of the dates, conclusions drawn and interpretations advanced are open to argument" — a stimulating admission.

But an astonishing amount of real history has been packed into the very readable descriptions of interesting and beautiful places. There are maps, 14 colour plates and the high standard of production of the series is well maintained.

The History of Gwelo

Part 1

by Pat Davis

(This article is based on a dissertation completed by the author some years ago for the History Department of the Teachers' College, Bulawayo.—Editor?)

Gwelo — Ikwelo — Climb

"From time immemorial Gwelo has been an inhabited locality. The steep sides and flat, well-wooded summit of the Kopje provided Stone Age Man with a place of refuge near abundant water. This combination of natural features probably provides the clue to the meaning of the place name. At any rate, the Gwelo Kopje is one of the highest points in the Midlands, and looks down on the headwaters of the rivers which flow North and South to the Zambesi and the Limpopo. Thus Gwelo is situated on the watershed as well as in the centre of Rhodesia". ¹

Primitive scrapers, hammers, arrowheads and axes have been found on the Kopje. "The use of the Gwelo Kopje as a factory site for the making of implements and weapons continued in late Bantu times. The primitive forges and lumps of amalgam to be found scattered about the vicinity provide ample evidence of this". During the Bantu times, a series of stone forts were built along the summit of the Kopje, (Remnants of some of these can still be seen today), commanding a good view in all directions. These forts *may* have formed part of Mambo's empire which had its centres at Nalatale, Dhlo-Dhlo and Mambo.

Prior to the European occupation of Rhodesia, Gwelo became one of the northern outposts for Lobengula's cattle country. "Perhaps too, the peculiar feature of the Kopje ruins on the northern side where curving walls run down the slope and not across it may have been devised to facilitate the rapid driving of cattle into the thick cover on top of the Kopje during a sudden enemy raid."³

According to Mrs. Jeannie M. Boggie, "Even before the days of King Mzilikazi, the Kopje at the foot of which Gwelo is situated was known as "Kwira", and even as early as 1869, Thomas Baines wrote on the Gwailo river". "Kwira" comes from one of the African languages and means "climb" as does "Kwelo" which is the Sindebele form of the word. One story for the

- 1. Gwelo Times August 11th, 1950.
- 2. J. Lobb, A Brief History of Gwelo, p. 13-14.
- 3. Ibid cit., p. 13-14.
- J. M. Boggie, Experiences of Rhodesia's Pioneer Women, published by Philpott & Collins, 1938, p. 230.

origin of the names is that the African women had to climb up and down the steep, slippery banks of the river to draw water. Having followed this river for many miles, I could not find any signs of a steep bank or even a high one. Most of the natives refer to it as a "piccanin umfulen" (small river). Another story regarding the origin of "Gwelo", is that the African women, living on the Kopje, had to climb down the steep sides to draw water from the river which runs past the eastern side of the Kopje — though this part of the river is more often referred to as "Dollar Spruit". The latter seems, to me, to be the more likely explanation.

To begin with Gwelo was "Merely a point on the 1893 Column's advance on Lobengula's Royal Kraal at Bulawayo when it became obvious that the Matabele King must be crushed if civilization was to make headway north of the Limpopo". The Salisbury and Victoria Columns joined forces at Iron Mine Hill which is roughly 30 miles from Gwelo, and then rode on to Bulawayo, under the overall command of Major Patrick Forbes. After two battles, at the Shangani and Bembesi Rivers, the combined forces arrived in Bulawayo on November 4th, 1893.

At first the town which is now "Gwelo" was to be called Jamestown after Dr. Jameson. Dr. Jameson, however, fell into disrepute after the ill-advised Jameson Raid of 1895-1896. The name was then hastily dropped and "Gwelo" the town has remained.

1894 — 1895

Mr. R. B. Nash arrived in Bulawayo on June 19th, 1894. While there, Dr. Jameson advised him to go on to Gwelo. Nash's account of the proceedings is: "I took out an Auctioneer's Licence, which was the first licence issued for the Gwelo Township, and was supplied by the late Sir Melville Heyman, who was in charge of the office, a small tin building. I then engaged native carriers, and walked through to Gwelo, only to find the town had not materialised, the Surveyor not even arrived. My capital consisted of half a bag of meal, three natives I had brought up with me from Barberton and £5 in cash. The outlook was not rosy". 6

Mrs. J. M. Boggie states⁷ that Major Burnham and the American scout Ingram, drove in the first peg for Gwelo township towards the end of 1894. Yet in *The Downfall of Lobengula* there are "official figures" of 535 stands being sold in Bulawayo and Gwelo by August 1st, 1894, for the total cost of £52 592. This means that Gwelo must have been surveyed before August". Another writer, S. J. du Toit, mentions a visit to Gwelo apparently about September 1894, and describes it as "a village barely two months old" Du Toit said that on his way to Gwelo he found a postpole with a white flag attached to the pole—addressed to anyone who should pass along the road. After reading the letter,

^{5.} The Chronicle, Gwelo 50th Anniversary Supplement July 16th, 1964.

^{6.} Letter written by R. B. Nash, dated July 7th, 1936.

^{7.} J. M. Boggie, op. cit.

^{8.} Boggie, op. cit.

Du Toit continued his journey. Later on, he met the man for whom the letter was intended, and told him where he would find the letter. There were other postpoles along the route and Du Toit thought that they were "sometimes . . . of great service".

A third source of information states: "During the last few months of the year 1894, the township of Gwelo was surveyed and laid out. The first sale of stands took place in December and large prices were paid, so that there were great hopes of the town becoming an important Mining and Farming centre. Owing to the position, from the earliest days of occupation, it had been a halting place for travellers to and from Bulawayo and Salisbury as well as Fort Victoria". 9

Deeds Office records, in both Salisbury and Bulawayo, do not indicate any stands having been sold or transferred during 1894. However, a Government Notice in the Gazette dated November 3rd, 1894 stated that five farms, adjacent to Gwelo Commonage, were to be surveyed and offered for sale, amongst them being Clydesdale and Watershed Block.

The town was laid out on the high ground between the north side of the Kopje and the Gwelo River with the broad avenues running north and south and the streets running east and west.

J. W. Fotheringham and John Austen came to Rhodesia by wagon in 1894. They opened the first general dealer's store on the corner of Third Street and Livingstone Avenue in Gwelo. Peter Falk opened a trading store soon afterwards. When Falk came up to Rhodesia from Pietersburg in 1892, he travelled in a Zeederberg coach. "The journey was beset with hazards. The travellers encountered swollen rivers and deep drifts. Passengers on board went sick. The mules were unmanageable. Then it was discovered that 'young Peter' was carrying a skull in his luggage. The hoodoo was promptly thrown out — and after that all went well". ¹⁰ Falk made his first home in Fort Tuli but went on a holiday to Europe, sometime later, to recuperate from a severe bout of malaria. On his return to Rhodesia in 1894, the young German moved to Gwelo where he became known by everyone.

"In this pioneer Gwelo village composed mostly of tents and wagons, there was born on 25th November 1894, Gwelo's historical first European baby, Thomas Edward Whitebeard. His father was a mason-prospector". ¹¹ There has always been a dispute about the first child born in Gwelo — Dave Hurrell being the other contender for the title. The trouble arose because Dave was baptised before Thomas but records found recently have proved that Thomas was the first.

Meanwhile, although Nash had not been impressed on his arrival in Gwelo, he had been busy collecting the necessary materials for his paper, which was first issued on December 26th, 1894. In a letter which Mr. Nash wrote on July 7th, 1936, he said, "The *Northern Optimist* was started by me in Gwelo really as

^{9. &}quot;The Shield", July 1950. Notes on the Early History of Gwelo.

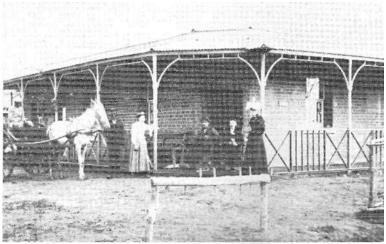
^{10. &}quot;Gwelo Times" August 11th, 1950, p. 5, In the Earliest days of Gwelo's History.

^{11.} Boggie, op. cit.

a pastime to fill in time in these early months of Gwelo's existence". The *Northern Optimist* was a cyclostyled paper and after four months Mr. Nash sold the cyclostyle to Mr. John Harper, because he was too busy to continue. Harper renamed the paper the *Gwelo Times* and installed a small printing press. Mrs. Boggie said that if Nash had continued with the paper "perhaps the title might have been changed to the 'Northern Pessimist', for Gwelo had not grown to be such a fine big fellow as the 'Optimist' had anticipated". An extract from that first paper will show the spirit of it at first.

"Our programme, albeit at present, limited to so small a binding is ambitious, and our policy, one of unerring accuracy and truthfulness. It will be our first and earnest endeavour to write to the highest purpose, both as regards political and social ethics, without fear, favour or prejudice. As the title denotes the keynote of our dictum will be optimistic, for we possess unbounded faith in the future of our adopted country, its ultimate triumph as a centre of civilization, and as a powerful factor in the federation of the whole of the South African States ... In this strain then, we appeal to the generosity of the critical public, asking their kind indulgence for our many short comings in the issue before them and craving their sympathy and support for future productions".

Prior to the issue of the paper, few records of Gwelo had been made, in any form. The few people who did vaguely mention the town always emphasised how small it was, yet no less than four hotels were advertised in this paper — the Horseshoe Hotel with W. Hurrell as the proprietor; the Victoria Hotel, J. W. Mitchell proprietor; Gwelo Hotel, Leo Lehman proprietor and the Rolling Stone Hotel, F. E. Weston, proprietor. There were two butcheries — Furse Brothers having the Gwelo Butchery and Simpson & Co., having the Central Butchery. Although there were not so many people actually living in Gwelo at the time, many of the miners in the area used the town as their base and stayed at one of the hotels. P. J. Covell was the only builder and constructor mentioned.



The Horseshoe Hotel, Gwelo, about 1895.

(Photo: National Archives)

Both Austin and Fotheringham and Peter Falk were advertised as General Merchants. The photograph shows Falk's first store.

A dentist was mentioned with consultations being "one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon" but no fixed hours were stated.

Nash besides being the editor-cum-printer of the newsheet was an auctioneer.

There were native labour problems at this time. These were discussed at a meeting of the local Debating Society. It was stated by someone that having lived under such domination in fear and trembling, the natives had adopted "a lethargic state of semi-contentment, knowing full well that all products above and beyond the absolute necessities of life would be snatched from them by the periodical and merciless marauders unleashed by Lobengula, and they crave no further boon of humanity than to go their own gait, and amble through life pot-bellied and prolific". Now civilization has invaded their life and dazzles them. They should be taught that "in order to live, a certain amount of physical exertion is a necessity justifying our toleration and their presence". It was decided that a recommendation be put forward that "agricultural locations be established by the Company within reasonable distances of Towns and other centres of industrial importance". 12

Numerous mines in the surrounding districts were mentioned with details of their developments.

According to Mr. Gunder, the excavations of the "ancients", found near the "Phoenix" and "Globe" mines, had not yet been filled in. Reefs were exposed to 120 feet with the natives' timberings still well preserved. Old pots and hauling baskets were lying everywhere. Gunder thought that the "Makalakas" had worked there.

Donkeys roamed the streets of Gwelo at night as well as during the morning and afternoon. An "Old Dog" wrote in the paper complaining bitterly about his sleep being disturbed by the braying of these donkeys. There were no laws against animals roaming free so the owners of these animals probably left them to wander.

Mr. and Mrs. Hurrell, arriving in Rhodesia by ox-wagon in 1892, first settled in Fort Victoria. Fever troubled them and they lost a large amount of money through farming. These together caused the couple to leave Fort Victoria and they moved to Gwelo. Mr. Hurrell became the Coach Agent for Zeederberg. Mrs. Hurrell said, "We had to put up stables for the mules, and provide food and accommodation for the passengers, as the coaches arrived at all times, often during the night, especially in the wet weather; so we started the small hotel which eventually became the Horseshoe Hotel, where the Midlands Hotel stands today". The hotel soon became well known, especially because of its "homey" atmosphere which resulted from Mrs. Hurrell's efforts and personality. At first, the hotel consisted of only a few pole and dagga huts. "If the terrific rains of

12. Northern Optimist, December 26th, 1894, p. 3-4.

those days washed away the dagga, the hotel natives had to hurry and plaster on some more". 13

The Gwelo district used to have 40 to 50 inches of rain at this time. There was always a thick layer of mud on the ground after a heavy downpour. "If a lady had put her bakepot containing the bread, to cook on some outside fire, it was nothing uncommon to see the fire washed away and the pot swirling about in the water. Then would follow a frantic grab by the piccanin before the whole thing was going, going, gone!" One lady had her kitchen a few yards from her one-roomed house — a most inconvenient arrangement. When she received a present of 12 bricks, she used them to make a path through the mud, to the kitchen. A neighbour was shocked at this extravagance — fancy using bricks for a pathway!

Meikles' "first home was a wood-and-iron structure", and opened its doors to customers in 1894. "Thomas Meikle, the great Pioneer transport rider, trader and financier, was senior partner in this extension of the Meikle undertaking in the new country. The other partners were Steward Meikle and Harry Robert Cumming" "Kaffir truck" provided the major turnover at first, though they did provide a wide range of the "goods of civilization" to ease the pioneers' lives.

Many people were not happy with the situation in Gwelo — according to the *Northern Optimist* of January 3rd, 1895. Gwelo was described as a "deserted village". The B.S.A. Co. was unpopular. Five months had been spent on the telegraph line to Bulawayo and it was still not nearly completed. Although there was a Mining Commissioner in Gwelo, more claims were registered in Bulawayo instead of Gwelo. Few of the people who had invested money in buildings and stands had paid their second instalments. This was not due to dissatisfaction with the site of the town, but lack of faith in the administration. The Mining Commissioner had only a wattle and daga hut for his office. He should in their opinion have a respectable building. Nothing had been done about drainage or sanitation for the growing town. The Police Camp, being three miles away, was too far from town should assistance be urgently required.

At the Debating Society's meeting, the railway extension was discussed. The line from the Pungwe river to Chimoia, a distnce of 117 miles had been completed. Gwelo was 260 miles from the nearest station. The intervening country was favourable for transportation by ox-wagon. There was no reason why heavy machinery could not be brought to Gwelo at a moderate cost during the dry season. At this time the cost of transportation by rail and ox-wagon was high. The route from Mafeking, 1 300 miles, consisted of 700 miles of rail and 600 miles of trails. It was thought that an extension of the southern line to Tati and Bulawayo should be laid to meet the extension from the east coast of Africa — the line would pass through Umtali, Charter and

^{13.} J. M. Boggie, op. cit.

^{14.} Ibid.

^{15.} Chronicle Supplement, July 16th, 1964.

Gwelo. Mining after all depended on reasonable prices for transportation of machinery.

"Prowlings by the Old Dog" (in the same paper) noted that it had been an excellent Christmas — mainly drinking because there was no other amusement. He commented again on the donkeys saying that they were excellent for work but should not be allowed to use the streets as a playground, especially at night. He also related a rather unfortunate incident. A native came into town and in one of the stores, submitted a new penny for the meal which he purchased. When someone had bought two oxen from him, this character had paid him the new penny saying that it was a sovereign.

After complaining to the Company that there was no doctor, the people were told that a doctor would probably arrive in town within the next week. A district surgeon did arrive — a Dr. Hackett.

Frustration, discontent and the urge to better their general prospects in life led the people to hold a public meeting with Mr. J. Austen being voted into the chair and Mr. W. L. Furse being the secretary. A wide variety of subjects was discussed, the foremost being a petition to be presented to the Company. Mr. Austen "thought the community had too long shown a deplorable apathy in their own interests and trusted that this meeting would result in something being done for the town and district by the Company, to justify its existence as such". 16 The subject of registrations was brought up by Mr. Phipps. He complained that people could carry out all their business in Bulawayo. The Company should state the limits of the Gwelo District in the next Government Gazette and thereafter, all registrations within that area should take place in the Commissioner's Office in Gwelo. Another topic discussed was sanitation. Mr. Hurrell thought that the Company should pay for the initial outlay of it until such time as the townsfolk could carry the work out themselves. A further complaint regarded cattle. Mr. Covell stated that only four head of cattle had been put up for auction during the past few months. This had naturally caused an insufficient meat supply. He proposed that the Native Commissioner should send the cattle into town for sale — instead of disposing of them privately. The inhabitants wanted more recognition for Gwelo and the town proclaimed a magistracy. It was decided to request Captain Heyman to come from Bulawayo to settle the boundaries of the district. He did so, dividing the land into three districts of Bulawayo, Belingwe and Gwelo. Selukwe was made a part of Shangani and together with Marvens and Sebakwe came within the jurisdiction of the Mining Commissioner of Gwelo.

In the next Friday's newspaper, there was great jubilation — the telegraph line had reached Gwelo on Monday (January 20th, 1895). Things were improving. Mrs. Onmiston Chant was coming from Bulawayo to be the caretaker of a coffee shop which was to be opened shortly. A third lady was also to arrive in town soon. Mr. Richard Eva, the manager of Bezuidenhout's mail coaches would be taking up residence in Gwelo, making this his centre of operation.

^{16.} Northern Optimist, January 10th, 1895.

His wife would accompany him. The town needed a hospital now. Another treat was in store for the residents. Mr. Sidney Sheppard, the new proprietor of the Victoria Hotel had brought the first billiard table into Gwelo. This would be available on Monday.

Mr. Nash now advertised as an Estate Agent and A. E. Waylard was the Government Land Surveyor.

Dr. Hackett first advertised his hours for consultation in the *Northern Optimist* of February 7th — the hours being 9-10 a.m. and 2-3 p.m. Native labour was still a problem but there were other things to be thankful for. The drains being dug along the inhabited streets were almost completed. Fortunately the heavy rains had fallen outside the town, so the streets were in a reasonable condition but there were some annoying obstructions. As there were no electric lights, one could not see clearly when out walking at night. There were holes with poles in them and Kaffir huts especially along Livingstone Avenue and Third Street. As the streets were not clearly defined and people preferred to walk straight from one place to another, just skirting any buildings which were in the way, it is likely that these poles marked the site for a building. The person who wrote this article probably confused his directions one night and walked across the stands parallel to the streets mentioned.

The private selling of cattle had now been abolished and a central market established. Forty head of cattle had been sold at Nash's sale on January 30th. The cows, heifers and calves fetching an average price of £2 per head while the yearlings averaged £1 to £1 2s. 6d.

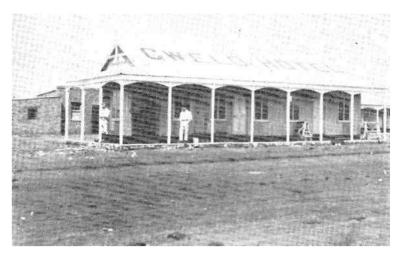
At last, more substantial buildings were being erected. New Government Offices had been erected; Messrs. Phipps and Clarke had an iron building; Messrs. Joseph Brothers of Johannesburg were contemplating erecting a good, brick building for an hotel on Stand 65g. Mr. Covell, after building an additional two rooms to his present building, would allow these to be used as a hospital.

The Gwelo Hotel would soon have its own water supply — with some luck. At the moment they were busy sinking a well on the stand.

"Stoics" was the new name for the Gwelo Recreation Club. This had been decided at a meeting, held in Austen and Fotheringham's store. The rules and regulations for the Club were based on those of the "Wanderers" in Johannesburg.

Gwelo had a Postmaster and Telegraphist at last — Mr. J. H. Nolens had arrived. The telegraphic instrument rested on a whisky case with a sheet of brown paper on top, for protection against the mud falling from the walls. The Postmaster-General, Mr. A. H. F. Duncan, was responsible for this state of affairs. Although he had visited Gwelo some time before, he had been too busy to visit the office because he was also Surveyor-General. Someone else should be appointed as Postmaster-General only! Still, the telegraphic wires were operating and the instrument which had been defective, had been replaced.

The hospital, though not completed, had been opened with Mrs. Hurrell as the Lady Superintendent and other ladies to nurse. Presumably, this hospital was established in two rooms made available by Mr. Covell.



Gwelo Hotel about 1894.

(Photo: National Archives)

Improvements to the outlay of the town were being made. A thousand blue gums were being planted on the eastern side of the town. This would provide a wind-break from the bitterly cold, eastern winter winds.

Miners in the Gwelo district were critical of the way so many people just disregarded the laws. It was suggested that the laws regarding time, pegging, registration and such details should be printed on the back of every prospecting licence. Then there would be no excuse for breaking the laws. This would help the officials as well as newcomers to the country. Still, the miners were doing well and Gwelo was expanding, but there were no banking facilities. Miners especially found it frustrating to have to travel all the way to Bulawayo to bank their gold — according to the *Northern Optimist*. It was no longer safe to leave gold in the usual places. A report in the paper February 14th described how £200 had been stolen from Weston's "Rolling Stone Hotel". Someone who knew where the money was kept, had entered the bar through a small window, taken two cash boxes and rifled the cigar box containing the petty cash.

Within a week someone had been at it again. An attempted robbery was made of the Government money in the Civil Commissioner's care. Surely this would induce him to acquire an iron safe. The present safe was a box placed inside a large wooden box which had a calico door. The Commissioner must have received a shock from the incident for a report in the newspaper the following week stated that he now had an iron safe. This did not improve matters to any large extent because he had nowhere to put the safe. A door had to be put on the Magistrate's Office now.

In the meantime business seemed to be improving with concerns such as the Victoria Hotel advertising "a first class hotel, excellent cuisine, all brands of liquors kept in stock, good stabling, the only billiard saloon in Gwelo". Austen and Fotheringham, the General Merchants advertised: "have on hand and to arrive large stocks of Kaffir and Boer meal, boots, groceries, clothing, soft goods, Kaffir-truck, enamel and hardware, dynamite, fuses and detonators". The Gwelo Butchery claimed "beef, pork and mutton always on hand, sausages and polonies a speciality". These were in the *Northern Optimist* of March 25th, 1895, when adverts cost four shillings per single column, eight shillings per double column and half price for repeats.

A serious fire had totally destroyed the Government Offices the previous Friday (March 22nd). According to the newspaper report, a native waiter at Lehman's Hotel noticed the fire and gave the alarm to Mr. Heinze at about 7 o'clock in the evening. Calling to some other men, Heinze rushed over to the Offices and they tried to save the papers and books, but the fire had too strong a hold. Two cases of cartridges in the buildings went off like "a cannonade resembling a maxim gun". Many important documents were destroyed although the contents of the safe were unharmed. It was thought that an incendiary had caused this outbreak. Both Norris and Ross-Johnson had left the office two hours prior to the fire. £100 reward was offered for any information on the culprit. "Whilst sympathising with Mr. Norris, for the extensive loss he had sustained in his own personal effects, we cannot extend the same to the Government, who have for so long conducted the public business in such an inadequate and unsuitable building, which has been condemned by all who have seen it, and has been a standing testimony to the unjust apathy and neglect towards this township by the Government for the past eight months". From this, it would seem as though no-one was particularly upset by the loss of the building except for the documents.

This unconcern was reflected by the large attendance on the Sunday (March 24th) at a "Shooting Match" which was held with an entrance fee often shillings. The first prize of two cows and calves, went to Mr. O'Brien who was shooting for Mr. Weston. Potgieter, shooting for Mr. Hurrell, won the second prize of a cow and the third prize went to W. J. Harper who was shooting for Mr. Ross-Johnson. The concert which followed the Match in the evening, was held at the Horseshoe Hotel. Musical entertainment was provided by Lehman, Furse, Fitzgerald, Simpson, Hurrell and Covell — Covell playing a guitar. Another factor which could have heightened spirits was the magnificent ride recently completed by Shaw and Fitzgerald. They had ridden the 110 miles from Bulawayo to Gwelo in the record time of 27 hours without remounts. A commendable feat on the part of both horses and riders.

Being the dry season now, water was becoming a problem. Wells were drying up and as the river dried, the cattle had to walk further each day for water — that is, the cattle that were near town. A cattle sale, which was advertised as having slaughter oxen, had not been held because insufficient cattle had arrived. It was no longer possible to trade with the natives for such oxen, as the Chartered Company had taken possession of most of the natives' cattle. The Officer in charge of the Police Camp usually had a sufficient stock of slaughter oxen for the camp's use. This made the town's people feel dissatisfied.

They felt that tenders should be called for supplying rations for the police. As Dr. Jameson was expected to pass through the town on Sunday, they hoped that ie, in his official capacity as Administrator would sign an order, authorising the Police to supply one or two oxen for the civilians' use, otherwise the civilians would shortly have to live on tinned "stuffs".

When the Administrator arrived, he was accompanied by Lord Paulet their special coach arriving in Gwelo on the Saturday morning. A deputation, consisting of Hurrell, Nash, Fotheringham and Fairbridge discussed matters and numerous topics were conceded by the Administrator. The principal being as follows:

1. The Government well to be deepened 20 feet and estimates for dams in the river to be made — work to commence as soon as the coming rainy season was over; 2. a magistrate would be appointed as soon as possible; 3. plans and estimates for a temporary goal to be made with the erection to commence as soon as possible. In connection with this, the police force would be augmented and moved into town as soon as possible; 4. a permanent Post Office and Money Order Office would be opened immediately on receipt of the necessary forms; 5. an adequate supply of cattle for slaughter and other purposes was promised; 6. a pound was granted; 7. they would try to get a nursing staff and it was recommended that the residents should raise a subscription after which the Company would "do the rest".

Everyone seemed satisfied after this meeting and Dr. Jameson continued bis journey.

At this time the Gwelo to Selukwe Mail and Passenger service existed. Leaving Gwelo for Selukwe at 10 a.m. on Fridays, the coach would start the return journey from Selukwe at 10 a.m. on Tuesdays. The fare was £11 5s. Od.

On other fronts the increase in population was commemorated by the birth of the second European child in Gwelo. On April 17th, 1895, Dave Hurrell was born — the Hurrell's first child. This was the date given by Mrs. Hurrell herself, many years later, but the *Northern Optimist* recorded the birth on April 16th. It was not until June, when Bishop Gaul, the Bishop of Mashonaland visited Gwelo, that Dave was christened. This was quite an occasion and everyone gathered in the dining-room of the Horseshoe as Gwelo had no church. As no font was available either, a china bowl, one of the Hurrell's wedding presents, was consecrated and used. Two other babies were baptised at the same time — John Arthur Whitebeard who was born in March, 1892 during the trek by donkey-wagon from the Orange Free State to Mashonaland, and his brother Thomas Edward Whitebeard.

Sometime during 1895, the Rev. W. Griffiths of the Anglican Church began regular services in Gwelo. "The first recorded service was Matins on 18th August".. "Gwelo at this time was a flourishing community of some 250 white persons and the population of Bulawayo was already over 2 000". 17

17. St. Cuthbert's Church, Gwelo. Jubilee Pamphlet 1946.

During this year a total number of 20 stands within the township were granted to various people.

At this time there was a serious disruption of civic life in Gwelo, as so many adult males left to accompany Dr. Jameson on his ill-fated Jameson Raid into the Transvaaal Republic.

RHODESIA, THE ZIMBABWE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The author of the book with the above unusual title is R. S. Walker, a well known Rhodesian business man who is on the Council of the University, is a past president of the Chamber of Mines and is chairman of five public companies in the country.

Taking Zimbabwe to mean "a significant house built of stone" his theme is that Rhodesia can become "a strong point", a centre of stability in southern Africa and an example of multi-racial, civilised living.

He uses the history of the country, of its people and their beliefs to support a suggested system of government based on 11 county councils for urban areas and six provinces for rural areas. Each would choose, respectively, 44 and 28 M.P.s to sit in a territorial parliament. He coins the word "Euranian" to describe European, Asian and Coloured people.

Readers of this journal will find his use of history, and of specific group statistics, of interest in backing a political theory.

In stiff cover, it is published by Sirmione Investments, Box 6, Salisbury, at \$2,70.

Rezende Mine

by R. Cherer Smith

Gold mining has been carried out in the area around Umtali for a considerable period of time. There were many indications of ancient workings, and it was only the inability of these first miners to pump out the water that prevented them from extracting the gold that was subsequently recovered by modern machinery.

The district abounds with other evidence of earlier settlements, and the slave pits and ruins and terraces that are to be found in Inyanga are proof that the area was densely populated by a people whose origin still gives rise to speculation.

Whether they were gold diggers or not is not known, but their successors, the Manyika, certainly mined for the precious metal, and also worked in copper and iron

Owing to internal troubles, the Portuguese paid little attention to their colonies until 1887. Col. d'Andrada, a Portuguese explorer, obtained a mining and commercial concession in Manica and formed two companies which later amalgamated into the Mocambique Company which could be described as being similar to Rhodes' British South Africa Company which had identical objectives.

The Mocambique Company gave out several sub-concessions and in January 1889 the manager of the company, Baron de Rezende, with a Britisher named J. H. Jeffreys and a number of other prospectors succeeded in reaching Macequece (now Villa de Manica). Jeffreys and the Baron pushed on to Makaha, a place south east of Mtoko.

The discovery of gold could not be kept secret, and soon a company of prospectors from Barberton in the Eastern Transvaal arrived and proceeded to the Penhalonga valley where they investigated the alluvial workings left by the ancients. The name of the valley and its mine was in honour of Count Penhalonga, who with Baron Rezende first formed the Mocambique Company. The place was first spelt 'Panhalonga', but was changed to the present form on April 1st, 1904.

In the meanwhile, Baron de Rezende and Jeffreys returned to the area in 1889 and Jeffreys pegged the Rezende and Penhalonga mines before leaving for England in November. More prospectors arrived the following year but found most of the likely spots already pegged.

Concurrently to these events, Rhodes was doing his utmost to forestall any foreign encroachment in Africa and armed with the Rudd concession that had been obtained from Lobengula, his column of occupation crossed into Mashonaland in June, 1890.



An early view of the mines in the Penhalonga valley.

(Photo: National Archives)

The column was accompanied by Archibald Colquhoun who had been appointed the Company's first Administrator. He left the column at Fort Charter with nine others and proceeded to Manicaland to conclude a treaty with Chief Mtasa, the paramount of the Manyika, who had already been subjected to similar pressure from the Portuguese,

He signed a treaty with the Chief on September 14th and his country came under British influence. The Portuguese disputed the validity of the treaty, which resulted in the arrest of Col. d'Andrada and Baron de Rezende and their removal to Salisbury. An engagement took place between forces of the opposing sides while Chief Mtasa remained on the sidelines awaiting the outcome, so that he could throw in his lot with the victors.

After the intervention of the British Government, the Rhodesians were stopped on their march to the coast and the Portuguese recognised the treaty between Mtasa and the B.S.A. Company and the boundary between the two territories was settled in June, 1891.

The rights of the Mocambique concession holders were recognised and their claims converted into Rhodesian claims in about 1891 after a mining commissioner was appointed at Umtali.

Rhodes visited the site himself in October, 1891, and he was met at the border by Jeffreys who showed him some of the samples he had taken from the

Rezende Mine. A plaque still marks the spot where Rhodes entered the country from Beira.

The mining conditions were very difficult at first because of poor transport facilities. Road transport from the coast was almost impossible, due to the tsetse fly and cattle disease, but when the railway from Beira reached Umtali in 1898 this facilitated operations for the mines considerably.

The original Rezende Concession was sold to the United Goldfields of Manica Limited, who began developing the mine to a depth of about 80 feet from adits in the bank of the Mutari river. Labour and food were scarce and by 1895 the Company was short of capital. The Company went into liquidation three years later and a new Company known as Rezende Mines Limited was formed with a share capital of £150 000. Shares to the value of £13 500 were issued to the British South Africa Company in lieu of royalty.

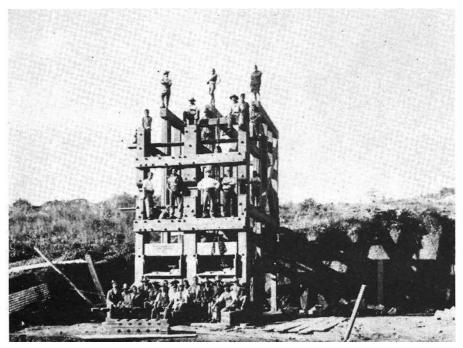
A ten-stamp mill, crusher and cyanide plant and other plant was shipped from England and was commissioned in July, 1899.

From the first ore treated 424 ounces of gold were recovered, which represented an average of 27 dwts per ton.

A disastrous fire destroyed the millhouse and seriously damaged the plant which was not insured, soon after it was installed, as a result of which a loan of £10 000 had to be raised on first mortgage bonds and the share capital was increased to £175 000, but only £156 000 was subscribed. After the fire, the mill was commissioned again in 1900 and ran uninterrupted thereafter for many years. An electric power plant, driven by water from the Umtali river was built at the bottom of the Penhalonga waterfall. By 1904, the Rezende Mining Company was in financial difficulties, partly due to the fall in the grade of ore being recovered and partly because there was a shortage of power to operate the 20-stamp mill and cyanide plant. In May, 1905, the Company was reconstructed and a new Company, Rezende Limited, was formed, the mine being jointly administered with the Penhalonga Mine, which was to supply the Rezende with power from its station on the Odzani river.

The new Company had a share capital of £160 000, of which £133 000 was issued. Of these, £68 000 were issued to the shareholders of the old Company and £30 000 to the Penhalonga Proprietary Mines Limited and the balance of £35 000 was subscribed in cash.

The new Company reorganised the mine by increasing the mill to 30 stamps and adding to the cyanide and crushing plants. The main shaft was re-timbered, but in spite of these improvements the mill was unable to start operations because of a lack of sufficient electrical power. A loan had to be raised, and although it was possible to start the mill again in March, 1906, there was still a grave shortage of power — so much so that there was insufficient compressed air produced to maintain the rock drilling programme. Arrangements were made to obtain compressed air from the Penhalonga Mine, but even with this, hardly enough ore could be found for the mill, and the pumps driven by compressed air could not keep the mine dry.



The Rezende Mine. The first battery, 1899.

(Photo: National Archives)

The first 5-stamp mill for the Penhalonga Mine was landed in 1894 when the railhead of the narrow gauge line was 75 miles from Fontesvilla on the Pungwe river. Transport difficulties delayed its arrival until late the following year. The mill acted as a pilot plant until 1903, when 50 stamps were installed by the Penhalonga Proprietary Mines.

A 5-stamp mill which was first installed at Benoni in 1889 was imported into Rhodesia for Lobengula by the B.S.A. Company. It was brought to Hartley by ox wagon but after the Matabele war it was dismantled and moved to Umtali. The mill was erected near Umtali and the site became known as "Battery Spruit". Later in the same year the plant was moved to Penhalonga by Messrs. Bradley and Tulloch whose ingenuity was demonstrated by supplying power to drive the mill from a home-made undershot water-wheel made from empty whisky cases. Whisky at that time cost 7s. 6d. a bottle.

About 1895, every part of the Penhalonga valley was pegged in alluvial claims, as there was considerable evidence that gold occurred in the Mtari river, but the alluvial gold had not been worked with much success as most of the gold had been removed by the local tribesmen before the advent of the white man, by digging small shafts into the alluvial wash.

Conditions after the turn of the century were very difficult, and it was not until about 1905 that the district had recovered from the effect of the Matabele and Mashona Rebellions and the cattle disease of the previous years. From then

the mining industry improved and the Penhalonga Mine produced up to 23 000 ounces of gold a year, until it closed down.

Working costs were rising and profits fell so much that it was decided to retrench some of the staff and the mill was stopped in October, 1908. In December, the shareholders called an extraordinary general meeting and decided to place the Company into liquidation.

A new Company, Rezende Mines Limited, was formed on December 4th, 1908, with an authorised share capital of £70 000 in one pound shares, of which 49 000 were issued, 27 000 being given to Rezende Limited shareholders, 13 000 to the Tulloch Goldmining Company for two claims, and the remainder to the British South Africa Company in commutation of royalty.

Additional capital was raised by 8 % mortgage debentures and with this money the west shaft was equipped with a 60 h.p. electrical hoist and other plant. Further development then took place, but there was an insufficient stock of ore until October, 1909, before the mill could be brought into operation. The Company's capital was increased to £120 000 in 1910, and 34 000 shares were sold at a premium of £1 2s. 6d. each, which enabled the company to redeem all the debentures.

Further development took place and additional plant, including five stamps, was installed to increase the mine's output, but there was still a shortage of power and labour which inhibited work on the mine.

The Penhalonga Mines Limited went into liquidation in October, 1912, due to movement in the rocks below the fifth level, making the rest of the mine inaccessible. The assets were taken over by Rezende Mines Limited for £30 000 cash and 18 000 Rezende shares. A new Company — Penhalonga Mines Limited — was formed by the Rezende Mines Limited, with a share capital of £110 000, of which £107 590 was issued, giving £13 750 cash and the assets were written down from £371 123 to £63 854.

The Anglo-French Matabeleland Company Limited held 60 850 shares and £29 000 of debentures in the old Company and lost heavily by the reconstruction. The Penhalonga mill continued to run until November, 1914, when everything was stopped. The sands dump was let on tribute to Mr. R. M. Evans in 1924 who worked them for many years.

The Rezende Mine worked continuously from 1909 to 1955. When crushing commenced, the results to the end of 1917 were disappointing owing to increased costs due to the war and other factors.

At the end of 1917, control of the mine passed to Sir Abe Bailey and the Company offices were transferred to Salisbury. During the influenza epidemic of 1918, operations on the Rezende Mine were seriously interrupted. Three Europeans and 50 Africans died, while 650 Africans deserted out of a work force of 1 300. But in spite of these problems the mine made a profit of over £40 000 and declared a dividend of 20 %. This was primarily due to the rich ore from the Eastern section reaching the mill after being developed for two years. The dividend was increased to 40% during the following year, when more shares were sold, making the issued share capital £120 000.

Dividends of 40% per annum were paid until 1923 and the share capital was increased to £150 000 by the issue of £30 000 in the form of bonus shares. The tenth level was completed in 1925 but found to be unprofitable. From this time onwards profits began to fall, due to the fact that the hitherto rich Eastern section was running out of payable ore. By 1926, the profits decreased still further and a programme of heavy depreciation began.

Further prospecting was undertaken in 1928, but with disappointing results and the services of a geologist were sought to advise on the mine. He concluded that the ore shoot had ended and that the reef had run out. All work below the tenth level was stopped.

Between 1918 and 1935 profits totalling more than £1 460 000 were made, and half yearly dividends were paid regularly without intermission, totalling more than 760 per cent.

During the latter part of 1929, in collaboration with other companies, options were obtained over the Reliance and Monarch Gold Reef claims in the Umtali district, but these were relinquished two years later after drilling failed to reveal any ore bodies.

Doubts about the Rezende's future began to be circulated, and in 1928 it was confirmed that the mine had only a few years left. But in 1933 boreholes were sunk to cut the reef in depth, the results of which led the owners to start a five-compartment shaft to the North of this outcrop. Some difficulty was experienced before the shaft had reached a depth of 710 feet, when the shaft began to drain the water in the old mine above this level. While pumping was in



A photograph taken about 1918-20. Back row, left to right: 1)———, 2) Pickett; Andrew Morton, George Smith, Bob Hunter,——,——, O'Neill. Seated, left to right: Sam Sharples, McKewan, Walter Parker, Ross Jameson, Harold Wrays, Leslie Blackburn, Alf Harrison.

process, quantities of methane gas and carbon dioxide came out with the water forming dangerous and explosive mixtures within the pump chamber.

By 1935 the shaft was below the old No. 8 level and an aerial ropeway was constructed to bring the ore to the Rezende Shaft.

The assets of the mine were further deprecated and the capital reduced accordingly, leaving the authorised capital of the Company £37 000 in five shilling shares.

The Company drilled two boreholes 1 100 feet apart on the Penhalonga claims and struck a rich reef at 1 141 and 1 469 feet. The Penhalonga Mine was re-opened and a five compartment shaft let down, which by 1935 had reached a depth of more than 1 000 feet at a cost of £47 000.

In this programme of development the Liverpool Mine was acquired as were the adjacent King's Daughter claims which were sold by the Union and Rhodesian Mining and Finance Company Limited.

The Rezende was a very 'wet' mine and was always in danger of being flooded. It was equipped with many pumps which pumped out about a million gallons of water every day from the mine.

In the meanwhile, payable ore had been followed on the Rezende and a new ore shoot located on the thirteenth and fifteenth levels. To meet the increased capital expenditure for this new development, the Company was reconstructed and the capital increased. The existing five shilling shares were converted into 750 000 one shilling shares and the capital increased to £55 000 by creating 350 000 new one shilling shares of which 300 000 were issued at par.

The new ore bodies continued to prove payable and in 1937 a dividend of 100% was paid. Additional plant was brought into commission on the old West section during 1939.

The wartime conditions made operations for the mining industry difficult and costs began to rise, accompanied by a shortgage of European miners who had gone to the Front. Profits began to decline, and in 1946 the Company made its first loss which amounted to £2 500. At about this time the Coronation Syndicate acquired the assets of the Eastern Transvaaal Consolidated Mines Limited and ownership of the Rezende changed hands once more. The mine was then operated with a battery of 40 stamps and two ball mills.

The position improved the following year, due mainly to the saving in costs because of the closing of the old West section. The ore reserves were calculated at 753 000 tons, having an average value of 1,8 dwt per ton. The Redwing Section was closed down in 1948 and an amount of £23 000 was transferred from general reserve to write off the unamortised expenditure on the section.

The mines created a boom town during their heyday, but with their decline the town, too, began to decay and almost took on the appearance of a ghost town. The Rezende Mine kept going until 1955, when it had to close. During its life it had produced more than £7 million worth of gold.

In more recent times there has been speculation that new deposits have been Located and once developed, will yield profits comparable to the old days.

Angoche and the Sofala Shoal

by R. W. Dickinson

From the Bazaruto archipelago to the Island of Angoche, stretching along approximately 800 kilometres of the east African coast, runs a barrier reef of sand. Today, deep draught shipping can penetrate it only where constant dredging keeps a channel clear. Portuguese navigators who sailed the Indian Ocean from 1498 on, soon learnt to respect its dangers, and since Sofala lay near its southern limit, it became known as the Parcel de Sofala or the Sofala Shoal. Castanheda recalls that of the flotilla of Pedro d'Anaia, arriving in 1505 to establish a trade fort, four caravels only could approach the shore, two riding at anchor beyond the shoal because of their depth of draught.

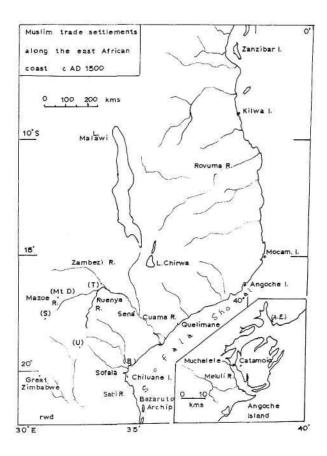
The Sofala Shoal flanks a shore which developed intensive trade in medieval and renaissance times. 'Sofala' is mentioned by Al Mas'udi, in A.D. 926, as an area visited by Omani merchants seeking gold and ivory. Archaeology at the present Sofala, 40 kilometres south of Beira, has given no significant indication that the early medieval trade occurred there. It is possible, of course, that the remains of a tenth century settlement lie beneath the sea, hidden from underwater archaeology by the shifting sand bottom. Another possibility is more likely to yield to archaeological investigation: that the whole area of the Sofala Shoal was that referred to by Al Mas'udi. He himself supplies a hint of this in Meadows of gold and mines of gems when he gives the Arabic meaning of the word Sofalah — a shoal, a term applied by Muslim navigators to any hidden sandbanks constituting a danger to shipping. The area lay, he wrote, at the extremity of the country of the Zanj, or black folk, and the low countries thereabout.1

A certain uniformity was imposed on the area by its geography, a uniformity which may have justified Ibn Said's reference to its inhabitants as the 'Soufalis'.² The whole area was connected economically with the hinterland by the great river which bisected it, the Zambezi, or as the early Portuguese knew it, the Cuama. This was the commercial highway tapping the gold of the Rhodesian plateau through tributaries such as the Ruenya and the Mazoe, ivory and copper from Zambia and the Congo through the Kafue confluence.

African chiefs grew powerful as controllers of the traffic at strategic points such as Sena³ and Quelimane. To establish their own dominance over this rich commerce, the Portuguese sent the convict Antonio Fernandes on his journeys

^{1.} Mas 'udi, Les prairies d'or, trans. C. B. Meynard and P. de Courteille, Paris 1861, Vol. 1,

Mas dud, *Les prairies à or*, traits. C. B. Meyhard and F. de Courtelle, Falls 1801, Vol. 1, ch 10, p. 233.
 E. E. Burke, 'Some aspects of Arab contact with S.E. Africa' in *Historians in tropical Africa*, Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1962, pp. 100-101.
 Ibn Said, thirteenth century Arab geographer, gave *Savouna* as the capital of the Soufalis, a word close to *Sena*, and called the place from which the river flowed *Diabal al Quomr. Quomr* may well be linked with the later name of the lower Zambezi, the Cuama.



of exploration along the Zambezi in the second decade of the sixteenth century. From his information, plans were laid to capture the important centre of Sena, plans which did not materialise until about 1530. Their first attempt to erect a prefabricated wooden fort at Quelimane ended in disaster, the African merchant-chief proving too powerful.⁴

At the coast, the great staples of trade — gold and ivory — were joined by others: rhino horn for aphrodisiacs, ambergris for the scent industries of the orient, pearls, turtle-shells, wax, honey, salt, and coir rope and gums essential in the shipbuilding craft.

In such treacherous waters, navigational skills became localised and this development may have given a unity to the strip of coast transcending inland ethnic divisions. For the Monomotapa, paramount ruler of the northern Karanga goldfields, the Zambezi was 'the great divider'. 5 So distinct a barrier was it that Antonio Fernandes reported a silent barter across it by Africans who could not

- 4. DPM iii, pp. 464-466.
- 5. *RSEA* vii 273.

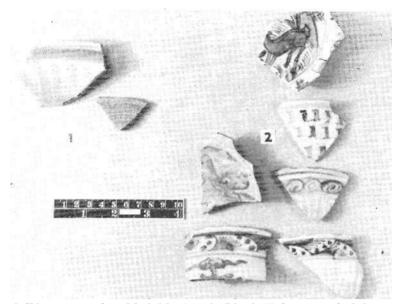


16th century Portuguese map. From the Atlas of Diogo Homen 1568. Features named include: Quiluane (Chiluane Island); Benga (Bangue — the Pungwe Mouth); Cuama (lower Zambezi); Rio dos Bos Sinais (Quelimane); Angoxa (Angoche). The dotted area of the Mocambique Channel, from Chiliane Island to the Angoche Islands indicates the dangerous Sofala Shoal.

communicate with each other in speech.⁶ At the coast, communication was necessary across tribal boundaries and was developed by seaborne trade. Neither the great dhows which sailed from Cambay to the deepwater harbours north of Angoche nor the large caravels of the Portuguese could ply the coastal shallows. When the Portuguese attempted to negotiate the routes, they found the best vessels to acquire were those of the Muslim merchants, the shallow-draught, lateen-rigged zambuks.⁷

Just as inland, small groups of Africans with particular skills could establish themselves in large communities of very different traditions, so at the coast behind the Sofala Shoal, slender tentacles of trade penetrated the coastal fringe

- 6. DPM III 185.
- 7. E.g. in 1516 see *DPM* IV 424.
- 8. One thinks of the Lemba with iron-working skill and the Venda, expert masons.



Imported Chinese pottery from Muchelele, Angoche Island: (1) fragments of celadon porcelain (late 15th-early 16th century); (2) blue and white Ming pieces including the Wan Li Deer design of the early 17th century.

and laid a grip on hinterland commerce. So little archaeology has been attempted along this shore that no more than a tentative framework can be constructed, to be confirmed or modified as research advances. It is reasonable to suppose that the rhythm of development here corresponded with that of the Rhodesian Iron Age and the rise of the Muslim trading centres to the north.

Archaeological investigations of Islamic sites on the Somali, Tanzanian and Kenyan coasts have shown that the period of development typified by the emergence of stone structures began in the thirteenth century, with the possible exception of Zanzibar, where a Kufic inscription of the early twelfth century appears in the Zizinkazi mosque. Stone building in the second quarter of the thirteenth century is represented by the construction of the Jamia tower in Mogadishu, firmly dated by an inscription of 1238 which is an integral part of the structure.

According to Chittick, Kilwa received in the twelfth century an influx of Shirazi immigrants from the Benadir coast around Mogadishu. ¹¹ Garlake has shown that in the next century the great mosque of Kilwa was rebuilt in stone. ¹² About ten years before the close of the thirteenth century, Kilwa came under the rule of a new dynasty, immigrants from S. Arabia, who initiated fresh developments in the settlement. ¹³

- 9. The inscription is probably an import, however: see P. S. Garlake, *Early Islamic architecture of the east African coast*, OUP 1966, 53.
- 10. Garlake, op. cit., 10.
- 11. N. Chittick, 'Kilwa' in Azania, vol. I, OUP, Nairobi, 1966.
- 12. Garlake, op. cit., 56.
- 13. Chittick, op. cit.

The fourteenth century provides the *floruit* of Husuni Kubwa. ¹⁴ The closing years of this century ushered in the century-long sequence of stone buildings at Ras Mkumbuu on Pemba Island. ¹⁵ In the same period, too, Gedi was occupied by Muslim builders. ¹⁶

From the mid-fourteenth century, impressive developments occurred inland on the Rhodesian plateau and its river boundaries, the Zambezi and the Limpopo, clearly connected by imports found in the ruins with the increased prosperity of the coastal Islamic settlements. At Imgombe Ilede, near the Kafue confluence with the Zambezi, lie the remains of an African community which grew increasingly wealthy from c 1340 to 1445. The peak of prosperity is displayed in the lavish use of gold objects in mid-fifteenth century burials of a small group. Imports of glass beads increase throughout the life of the settlement, and these and imported cotton fabric, preserved by copper objects in the burials, show the contacts with the Indian Ocean.

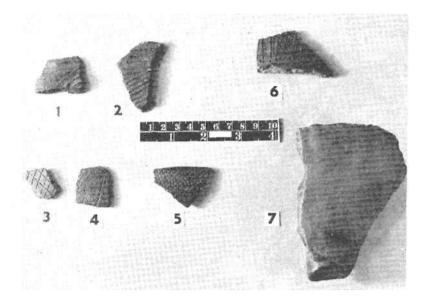
Across the southern river boundary of Rhodesia, at Mapungubwe, on the site of an eleventh century settlement of African subsistence farmers, a later African community displaying the increasing wealth of a growing commercial centre appeared at a period closely approximating to that of Imgombe Ilede. On the hill summit lies a group of richly furnished burials, resplendent with copper bracelets, gold plate, tacks, wire and beads. One burial speaks of ritual in its gold-plated staff and headrest. Contact with the coast is attested by the quantity of glass beads associated with the burials of this affluent community.¹⁹

At widely spaced points within Rhodesia itself there is evidence of chiefs able to command the building of impressive stone-screened complexes: the earliest work carried out at Great Zimbabwe where the architecture originated, the vast proliferation of Zimbabwe-type masonry occurring within the period of greatest contact with the coastal Muslim traders. At Great Zimbabwe where wall-building in stone began around A.D. 1100, the finest masonry of period IV, including the Great Enclosure decorated wall, the conical towers and parallel passages, began in the later fourteenth century.²⁰

Some coastal contacts are in evidence from the early twelfth century, glass beads appearing in quantity with the wall-building of the late fourteenth century. Projecting this development to the Sofalan coast, the inference is a sporadic trade in the twelfth century with no evidence at all, so far as contacts two centuries earlier, and an increasing tempo of contact as one approaches the time of Ibn Battuta (c A.D. 1331).

The wealth of Kilwa, outwardly displayed in the masonry of the fourteenth century, was partly dependent on the gold trade through Sofala. The statement

- 14. Garlake, op. cit., 54.
- 15. Ibid.
- 16. Ibid.
- 17. B. Fagan, Iron Age cultures in Zambia, London, 1969, 2 vols., vol. II, 81.
- 18. Fagan, op. cit, 82.
- 19. Fagan, op. cit., 82.
- K. R. Robinson, R. Summers and A. Whitty, Zimbabwe excavations 1958, Cambridge, 1961, 329, modified as to upper terminal date, while the sequence remains unchallenged, by P. S. Garlake 'The value of imported ceramics . . .' in J AH, vol. IX, 1968, 27.



African pottery from Muchelele showing geographic connections in Africa: (1) and (2) similar to 'weal' ware from 17th century Kilwa; (3), (4) and (5) like Hora ware from the Marave state (c. A.D. 1400-1700); (6) like Mwavarambo ware, Malawi and Kwale pottery of S.E. Kenya; (7) pedestal-based bowl with parallels from 16th century Sofala.



Raised pattern ware from Sofala. Thought to be derived from Cambay, medieval textile centre in N.W. India, trading with Sofala.

in Barros' version of the Kilwa Chronicle that Sofala fell under the sway of Kilwa when a stone fortress was constructed at the northern port blends with the rest of the picture, although the date assigned to the event does not.²¹

Pre-Portuguese stone buildings at points along the Sofala Shoal appear not to have existed, and two reasons may be offered for this. Stone is rare on this coast, and what there is derives from compacted dune and is a poor building material. Muslim traders, therefore, would accept the kind of buildings the Africans made: pole and daga huts thatched with palm leaf, modifying the design when larger-than-usual buildings were required.²² It is quite possible that the Rhodesian goldfields, before the late fifteenth century, were served at the coast not by a great gold port at Sofala, as the Portuguese believed, but by a number of humble trans-shipment points where the Zambuks collected the exports and transferred them to a port north of the Sofala Shoal. Just before Gama arrived a new situation may have developed in the expansion at Sofala and Angoche of the Muslim trading communities. Secondly, it was Kilwa that grew rich on the Rhodesian gold trade, charging exhorbitant dues to the minor settlements of the Sofala Shoal.²³ Just before the arrival of Pedro d'Anaia, the sheikh of Sofala expressed his rage at this exploitation by declaring his independence of the overlordship of Kilwa.²⁴

Tradition asserts that Angoche was the site of a medieval Islamic settlement. Newitt has suggested that this may have been the location of *Maghamqhub*, mentioned in the Kilwa Chronicle, rather than at Kisibi Quisiba in the Querimbe Islands as Freeman Grenville believed. Free Refugees from Kilwa settled there just before Gama sailed into the Indian Ocean in 1498, establishing a new aristocracy. Xosa, son of Hassani, was left by Mussa in Angoche, preferring it to Quelimane. Xosa was created Sultan, choosing as his residence mainland Muchellele, opposite Miakuli, where Buana Mucussi used to live, on Angoche Island. He married an African woman, Mucussi's daughter, called Malivu. His four heirs founded the four noble houses. Island.

Connections between Angoche and Sofala were mentioned in 1508 by Duarte de Lemos, who claims that the Angoche Muslims had a group of merchants at Sofala itself, bribed by Portuguese officials to conduct private trade at the expense of royal trade.²⁷ The fullest account of the ramifications of

- 21. See Joao de Barros, *Da Asia*, reproduced in *RSEA* VI 117-118. The statement that Sulaiman al-Nasan built in stone renders the evidence of the Chronicle suspect at this point, for this sultan ruled from 1170 to 1186, whereas archaeology asserts that the earliest masonry at Kilwe was later. See Garlake, op. cit., 54.
- 22. See Fernao Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do descrobrimento da India*, reproduced in RSEA V, pp. 331-332.
- 23. See Alcacova's letter of 1506 to the King of Portugal, in *DRM* I, p. 397. The spread southward of the influence of Kilwa may well be seen in the proliferation of the name: flanking the south-west side of Angoche Island is the Canal de Quilwa. Near Quilimane the name occurs again. South of Sofala is the Island of Quiloane, which Professor Abraham states means 'Little Kilwa'.
- 24. Ibid, p. 398.
- 25. M. D. D. Newitt, 'The early history of the Sultanate of Angoche', *JAH* XIII, 3, 1972, p. 399.
- 26. E. do Couto Lupi, Angoche, Lisbon, 1907, p. 163.
- 27. In DPM II, p. 296.



The author before a village hut in Catamoio, Angoche Island.

Angoche's commerce was by Captain Saldanha who, around 1511, reported that goods were taken from there to 'Maena'28. Six leagues up river was the residence of an African who grew wealthy on the customs dues of this traffic. The point of contact between inland African traders and the Muslims from the coast was at a 'mountain' called Otonga.²⁹ The Sultan of Angoche was ruler over 12 000 people, wrote Saldanha, and even allowing for his known habit of exaggeration,³⁰ one may justifiably believe Angoche to have been a populous and thriving commercial settlement at this time.³¹

Other indications of even earlier connections between Angoche and Sofala appear in Portuguese accounts. Sheikh Yusuf, for instance, had a favourite called Acote. Castanheda relates how he helped Pedro d'Anaia to choose a fort-site and became so attracted to the Portuguese that he betrayed Yusuf's plans to attack them. In recognition for his services, he was installed as Yusuf's successor.³² Gois adds that Acote was born in Abyssinia.³³ Barros described 'Yacote' as an Abyssinian, captive of the Moors since the age of ten.³⁴ It is interesting to note that the Angoche islanders are known as Akoti and their language, a Makua dialect strongly influenced by Swahili, as Ekoti.35 It is tempting to believe that Acote came from Angoche: we may never know

- 28. This is rendered 'Cuama' in the DPM translation, p. 15, which makes good sense. It may, however, be the earliest reference to *Sena* and its people.
- 29. The Tonga of the Zambezi valley today live in scattered communities from Kariba Gorge to the Ruenya river. This is the earliest known reference to the name.
- 30. It was Saldanha, for instance, who 'estimated' that 10 000 Moors were scattered around the Sofalan hinterland, a statement designed to prove to the king what a difficult task the Sofalan commander had in increasing the gold trade.
- 31. The account is given in DPM III, pp. 10-18.
- 32. Castanheda, op. cit, in RSEA V, p. 338.
 33. De de Gois, Cronica do felissimo rei Dom Emaniel, Lisbon 1566-7, reproduced in RSEA III, p. 51. 'Abyssinia' was not in the sixteenth century, the precise geographic term it is today and was loosely applied to much of the east African coast.
- 34. J. de Barros, Da Asia, Lisbon 1552-3, reproduced in RSEA VI, p. 122.
- 35. Professor D. P. Abraham, personal communication.

for certain. We do know that in common with other Angoche folk, he was accused of accumulating wealth by private trade at the expense of the King.³⁶ As sheikh, he seems the natural leader for the Angoche merchants to choose, to divert the gold from the monomotapa's merchants to the Island of Angoche, safe from interference by the customs officials of Portugal.

A Castilian man-at-arms, Figueroa, confronted by the strange throng at Sofala in 1505, noted many unusual features. One was the habit of African women there of piercing their lips with six or seven holes.³⁷ This startling form of facial decoration is not mentioned again at Sofala by Portuguese writers, but it is recorded before the turn of the fifteenth century at Quelimane.³⁸ Monclaro, the priest who accompanied Barreto's mission of vengeance in 1569, noted the custom at Angoche.³⁹ Another traveller repeated the observation at Angoche in 1648.⁴⁰ The practice is known to have continued among the Makua of Angoche into modern times.41

At Sofala in the days of the Portuguese establishment there, we have a small intrusive element within the small community of Muslim traders. On the probable site of the old Muslim settlement, close to the tomb of the Muslim saint Abdurahman, Mwenye Mukuru, archaeological investigations in 1969 and 1970 discovered a variety of potsherds and Indian Ocean trade beads, from comparison with a closely similar series subsequently excavated at the old deserted site in Muringare Bay, the Sabi estuary, dated to c 1500. Some types were readily identifiable: Chinese celadon and Ming porcelain, African earthenware similar to vessels excavated from inland sites in Rhodesia such as Coronation Park and Graniteside near Salisbury. Two types, however, occurring in small proportions, but present both at Sofala and Muringare, could not be fitted into any known distribution pattern: the widemouthed shallow pot with raised decoration, handmade (not turned on a potter's wheel) and fired at a low temperature, and the very shallow bowls, almost flat enough to be called plates, with a heavy application of red oxide polish. 42

Raised pattern pottery, quite unlike the rare occurrences of other raised pattern ware in S.E. Africa, is thought to stem from N.W. India where it is known on the deserted beaches of Cambay, the great medieval trading area.⁴³ The heavily red polished shallow bowls may also derive from N.W. India.

- 36. Letter of 1507 in *DPMIII*, p. 173.
- 37. J. Augur, Conguista de Las Indicts, Salamanca 1512, reproduced in DPM III, p. 559.
- 38. See A. Velho's Diario de viacem de Vasco da Gama, 1498, reproduced in DPM I, p. 15: The young maidens who are very fashionable in this land have their lips pierced in three places and in each they wear a piece of twisted tin.

 39. 'Relacao da viagem que fizerao os padres da companhia de Jesus no anno de 1569' reproduced in *RSEA* III, p. 171.
- 40. 'Viagem que fez o padre Antonio Gomes', 1648, reproduced in *Studia* 3, Jan., 1959, p. 166. 41. S. de Castro, 'Tatuagem, mutilações, adomos e vestuario no pais de Macuana'. *Bol*
- Museu Nampula, 2, 1961, pp. 101-13. 42. A full account of the archaeological surveys at Sofala and Muringare, conducted under the direction of the author, are to appear this year in the South African Archaeological
- 43. Professor Mehta, Head of the Department of Archaeology, Baroda University (near Cambay), personal communication.

In May 1975, the author was able to examine for surface indications of archaeological sites, the Island of Angoche. At three places near the Quilua (= Kilwa) Channel, a name strongly suggesting connections with the old Kilwa trade, pottery middens were carefully scrutinised. At one the artifacts gave a clear indication of an occupation running from the end of the fifteenth century into the seventeenth. Fragments of seagreen celadon with its heavy glaze intact — porcelain of the early end of this date bracket — lay next to Ming blue and white, including the quite diagnostic 'WAN LI DEER' design of the early seventeenth century. Trade beads with very few exceptions were the coloured drawn and snapped glass cane types familiar from the late fifteenth century sites at Sofala and the Sabi mouth. African sherds included a few with Sofalan connections (not the raised pattern type however) and more linking Angoche with southern Malawi and with Kilwa. The bulk of the African sherds is probably Macua — a local pottery which has not yet been examined in Mocambique.

The name of the site, now quite abandoned, is Muchelele and it lies 2 kms from the still flourishing Muslim village of Catamoio. Shortage of time and the anxiety of the Frelimo soldiers who accompanied us to return did not permit exacavation, but it is hoped that this obviously important old Muslim trading site will one day be probed by the spade.

44. The author was accompanied by Phillippa Christie, Mike McGeorge and John Reid Rowland, who piloted the light aircraft.

45. This makes good historic sense, for the 'Zimba' incursions of the 16th century down the Zambesi spilled into Macua territory around Quelimane and Angoche. The 'Zimba' have recently been identified as the Rundu — a breakaway group from the 16th century Marave state: see Alpers 1968.

ATLAS OF AFRICAN HISTORY

A Student's Atlas of African History by Derek A. Wilson (London University Press) was first published in 1972. A 1974 reprint was reviewed in our June issue of that year. A second edition has now appeared in which some inaccuracies and ambiguities have been corrected, more text added and the maps dealing with modern events brought up to date. Ten pages are devoted to central Africa with 18 maps covering early exploration, mission activity, trade, colonial rule, economic and political developments. An excellent, handy reference book as well as a text book for students.

"Rhodesia Before 1920" An Exhibition

Mr. E, D. Palmer, O.B.E., Vice President of the National Historical Association of Rhodesia gives the following report on a notable and fascinating exhibition:

The National Historical Association in its aim of generating a greater public interest in the history of our country decided, in 1973, that an exhibition portraying the way of life of the people in the early years of European administration would be most effective. The Board of the National Gallery offered to collaborate by making available the Gallery in Salisbury whilst the Association should organise the exhibition and provide the necessary materials.

A management committee was appointed with Sir Athol Evans chairman, Mr. J. C. W. Cook, Keeper of the National Gallery, Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles and Mr. Eric Palmer for the Association, Mr. E. E. Burke of the National Archives and Mr. M. Raath of the National Museum. The Organising Committee for the Association was Mr. Eric Palmer, Mrs. M. Hickman and Mrs. C. Carter Johnson.

It was this latter committee that invited others to participate and the response was such that they were able to present a comprehensive array of 14 major exhibits representing: The Domestic scene consisting of six separate rooms, the Mining industry, the Post Office and Telecommunications, the Medical Profession, the B.S.A. Police, the Military, Education, Banks, Railways, Agriculture, the African scene, a public bar, animal-drawn vehicles and motor cars. There were also smaller sets representing the Anglican Church, the press, publications and the theatre. Numerous photographs and paintings, including some by Thomas Baines, were exhibited. All items on display had been in the country before 1920 except one or two small items which were necessary to complete a tableau. There were over 2 000 items on display most of them being lent by private persons from all parts of the country, together with contributions from the National Museums and the National Archives.

In the Domestic scene it was interesting to note the contrast between the beautiful heavy imported furniture, most of which came up to the country by ox wagon, and is still in immaculate condition, and that made by the early settlers out of local woods, paraffin boxes and packing cases. The kitchen contained some collectors' pieces of brass and copper; a wood-burning stove which had been used in the officers mess in Salisbury during the 1896 rebellion; and a washing machine that was imported by a Mrs. Coleman from America in 1899 for use in her boarding house which was situated in Manica Road. A replica of the Post Office built at Mazoe in 1906 housed a fascinating collection of instruments including telephones of the kind first used in the country and Morse transmitting instruments of the same period giving a tape recording of



The "Before 1920" Bar.

the message sent out by Blakeston from Mazoe calling for assistance during the rebellion. The building also contained a very valuable collection of all the stamps issued by the B.S.A. Company during that period.

The exhibit by the medical profession contained a section of a chemist shop; an operating table with a nurse in attendance dressed in the uniform of the period; and a dentist's chair and a pedal drill complete with instruments. The education section contained an interesting display by St. Georges College which included a concertina which was played before Lobengula and a collection of instruments used by Father Goetz who made the first meteorological and astronomical recordings in Bulawayo in 1897.

In the military exhibit was the Union Jack flown at Mafeking during the seige, which was handed to the relieving Rhodesian forces, and many other exhibits relating to Rhodesian armed forces, particularly items used by the 1st and 2nd Rhodesia regiments during the 1914/18 war.

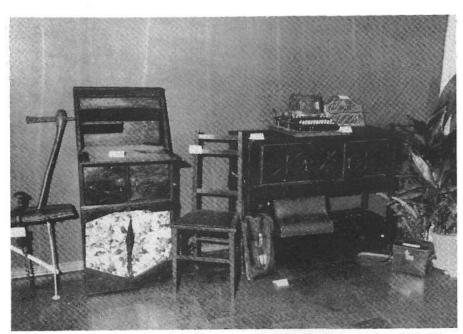
All sections displayed items which were used by those early pre-1920 settlers many of them emphasising in striking fashion the many problems confronting them.

The exhibition obviously had a great appeal to the public as during the six weeks it was open 25 300 persons visited it.

It was opened on September 12th by the President, the Honourable Clifford Dupont, accompanied by Mrs. Dupont, before a gathering of about 400 people. A copy of his speech together with a Foreword written by the Director of the



The "Before 1920" Dining room. The dining table and chairs were presented to the Salisbury Club by Dr. Leander Starr Jameson.



"Before 1920" Home Made Furniture. Bureau — made from paraffin box timber; sideboard — a packing case; chair — local timber.

Gallery, Prof. B. Bradshaw, and an Introduction by the President of the Historical Association, Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles, is contained in a brochure together with articles relating to the background of all sections of the exhibition. The brochure sells at 60 cents and can be obtained at the National Galleries at Salisbury and Bulawayo. It was impossible to produce a catalogue of the Exhibition as not until a few days before it opened was it known exactly what would be on display.

Other historical organisations contributed to the success of the Exhibition. The Rhodesiana Society presented five well attended evening lectures. They were, "The Beginning" by Mr. G. H. Tanser; "The Stewards" by Mr. J. G. Storry; "The Carriers" by Mr. A. F. H. Baxter; and "The Guardians" by Mr. W. D. Gale. The Society also held their annual ceremony for the presentation of their Gold Medals. The presentation was made by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. J. Mussett, and the recipients being Mr. M. Kimberley and Mr. H. Simons.

The Heritage Society also made an occasion to launch their fund raising campaign from the halls of the exhibition.

On the closure of the exhibition in Salisbury it was moved to the Bulawayo National Gallery where it was opened by Mr. Justice Macdonald on November 11th. Owing to this hall being considerably smaller the number of the exhibits was reduced but even so it was well attended by the people of Bulawayo.

Mr. E. D. Palmer concludes:- the National Historical Association and the National Gallery are to be congratulated on organising and presenting such a successful exhibition, an event which will be remembered for many years.

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.* 34, March 1976.

Eighth Annual Dinner and Speeches

The Matabeleland Branch was host to the 1975 dinner which was held on Friday, September 19th at the Holiday Inn, Ascot, Bulawayo.

The dinner was a sparkling affair attended by 113 members and guests. The atmosphere was friendly and gay, old friends were re-united and the food was good.

The Hon. A. E. Abrahamson proposed the toast to the Society. He opened his talk with praise for the Rhodesiana Society in its efforts to collect, collate and preserve our history. The theme of his talk was Jewish activity in Rhodesia since pre-Pioneer days.

Councillor Mrs. Joanna Sharland replied to the toast on behalf of the Society and continued with the same theme.

Following are the main texts of the speeches.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES' CONTRIBUTION TO RHODESIA

The Hon. A. E. Abrahamson:

In the broad sense of course the Jewish Communities' contribution to Rhodesia is well known. In peace and in war, in civic and national affairs, in economic development, mining and agriculture, commerce and industry we have played our fair share. Cecil Rhodes said "If the Jews come my country will **be** all right".

The names of *Palca* and *Aserman* are associated with early mining discoveries, in particular The Lonely Mine, and the name *Pevsner* is remembered as a tobacco Pioneer. He chose Glenville Estate outside Bulawayo as the area of growing tobacco in the days before Mashonaland became the tobacco centre of Rhodesia.

Probably the first Jewish settler in Rhodesia was *Paddy (Moss) Cohen* — His personal account of his arrival informs us that —

"In 1882 I went to Matabeleland, and remained 13 months as a trader. The King Lobengula took a great fancy to me, and before I left asked me to come back. I told him I could not, unless he gave me a trading licence. He agreed, so I gave him a horse for it. I wrote a document which he signed before two men, named Fairbairn and Phillips. Of course the concession I claimed was rather large, in fact it was the sole free trading rights in his territory. In 1884 I bothered him again, and asked for a gold concession, but he said he had no gold in his country. 'White people will soon come and get the gold', I told him, and why should I be left out? To this he gave me a promise that, as soon as he gave anybody prospecting rights, I should be the

first to get one. He would not give this to me in writing, but I was satisfied and took his promise."

Unfortunately for Cohen he was outwitted during his absence to get new goods, by the emissaries of Cecil Rhodes who obtained the famous Rudd Concession from Lobengula.

Cohen, together with Phillips and Fairbairn, signed as a witness the letter from Lobengula to Queen Victoria, dated April 23rd, 1889 complaining that he had been misled into signing away the rights over all the minerals in the country.

To square Cohen and stifle his publicly expressed grievances the Concessionaires paid Cohen £1 000 for damage suffered by his trading business and offered him a mineral sub-concession.

Lobengula re-affirmed his trading rights.

Another well-known trader and hunter was *Ikey Sonnenberg* who lived in the Victoria district in the early 90's at a time when roaming lions paid nightly visits to the inhabitants. A group of farmers decided to exterminate them and at 5 o'clock one Sunday morning they called on Sonnenberg to accompany them. "No thank you" said Sonnenberg "I ain't lost no lions".

Probably the first Jew to enter Rhodesia as a prospector was *Daniel Montague Kisch*. He later moved to Pretoria and became a prominent business man, as well as Auditor-General of the Transvaal from 1877-1881.

Julius Weil was a general merchant and government contractor with his main establishment at Mafeking. He played the largest part of any commercial house in supplying the needs of the Pioneer Column. One of his most important achievements was to establish the first regular postal service between Palapye and the North.

Among the members of the 1890 Pioneer Column were several Jews, notably *Conductor Solomon* of Kimberley, *Trooper C. F. Mosenthal, Trooper L. Kronstein* later of Bulawayo and *Trooper Leo Neumeier* who was later killed in action in the Orange Free State in the Boer War.

The force that occupied Bulawayo after defeating Lobengula in 1893 included *F. Mack, Trooper Abe Levy, Jack Palca* whom I mentioned earlier on and *F. L. Vogel.* Trooper Vogel was one of Alan Wilson's men who were killed at the Shangani.

At the first sale of stands in Bulawayo in 1894 there were no fewer than 20 Jewish buyers.

H. Mortimer Zeffert claimed to being the first Jew in Bulawayo.

The first newspaper to appear in Bulawayo in March, 1894 was the *Matabele Times and Mining Journal* of which a Jew, *William Francis Wallenstein* was the proprietor and editor. Like all the early journals its issues were run off on a duplicating machine. Another journal, the first illustrated journal, the *Bulawayo Sketch*, began publication in 1894. Its printer and publisher was *Joseph Boam*.

The first Mayor of Bulawayo, who served from 1897 to 1898, was *I. Hirschler*, Bulawayo's Hebrew Congregation was formed on August 12th, 1894.

The honour of being Bulawayo's first European baby goes to *Lily Tempof-sky* who later became *Mrs. Elliot* of Johannesburg. She was born on April 4th, 1894 and was promised a farm but never bothered to get it. Her mother was presented with a bit of ground in town. The 'Matabele Times' announced that prospectors from miles around came specially to bestow congratulations upon her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Moses Tempofsky.

On April 22nd, 1894, the *Matabele Times and Mining Record* reported: "Last week we referred to the arrival of two bicyclists; and now we have to record that sure proof of civilisation — the perambulator — which went up Redrup Street on Monday, with one passenger".

Although not in its proper place, coming after Bulawayo's first baby, let me recall Bulawayo's first Jewish wedding.

The Bulawayo Chronicle of December 7th, 1895 reported:

"Wednesday last was a day of events, for scarcely was the polling for the election of the candidate over, (the reference is to the election of Mr. Saber as Marriage Officer) before the first Jewish wedding in Bulawayo took place; the contracting parties being Mr. Aaron Jacobs (father of C. I. Jacobs) and Miss Rose Frank (sister of Jacobs' partner). Miss Frank only arrived here a few days ago, having made the journey here to meet her future husband. At half past two a large number of guests had gathered at the residence of Mr. Frank, the bride's brother, and immediately afterwards the ceremony took place; Mr. Joseph Saber, assisted by Mr. Margolius officiated. The bride looked exceedingly nice in a long dress of white satin, with an enormous train, and her figure suited the wedding dress admirably. As is usual on these occasions, the bride attracted all the attention, and indeed deserved it."

After the first Jewish wedding let me recall the first Jewish, grave.

The inauguration of the first local Jewish graveyard was the result of an unfortunate accident. *David Adler*, a jockey, exercising some horses at the new race-course on December 21st, 1894 was thrown by his horse as it stumbled on ground softening as a result of the rain. At first it seemed he had only broken his collarbone, and the *Bulawayo Sketch* reported: "He is getting on well and hopes to be able to ride in the races on Boxing Day". He did, but the effects were disastrous; he had a relapse and died on January 10th. On January 23rd the *Rhodesia Weekly Review* had this to say: "We have been asked to state that Adler, the jockey, who died last Sunday, and was accorded a splendid funeral by the Jewish Congregation, followed very largely, leaves a widow and three children totally unprovided for. A subscription is to be got up for their benefit, Messrs. *Harold C. Smith* and *J. Broughton* kindly acting in the matter, and we have no doubt all our numerous sportsmen will contribute their mite to such a worthy object."

Four days later, on January 27th the *Bulawayo Chronicle* reported on a meeting which took the first steps to set up a Jewish charitable organisation.

So far I have confined myself in the main to Bulawayo and Matabeleland. It is an historical fact that in the times I speak of this was the main centre of economic activity in Rhodesia. It was also the area in closest communication with the South.

Jews were associated with the early development of other parts of Rhodesia. Joe van Praagh and Julius Alison walked from Beira to Salisbury, van Praagh became the second mayor of Salisbury.

Nat Arnold and the Bernsteins were among the pioneers of Umtali.

A. L. Lazarus was one of the founders and promoters of "Umtali Tramways, Ltd.", the first and only tramcar system in the country, constructed in 1898 and discontinued in 1920. Lazarus was nicknamed "Mafutsa" on account of his girth. He was a fine performer on the cricket field but on one occasion when he was batting the wind carried away his wig and brought his innings to an unhappy end.

The Rev. Douglas Pelly was the first Anglican priest in Umtali. Writing to his mother in London on February 20th, 1893, he reported:

"... you will be delighted to hear that yesterday's evening service was better attended than ever. There were 27 people in church, which is considerably more than half the population. After church, a beautiful lamp was donated to the church by a Jew."

I mention this anecdote to indicate that early spirit of comradeship between religious groups in our country, which I believe continues to this day.

As a former Governor, Admiral Tait, once remarked "we are all of one company" and I would like to think of this in its broadest possible sense, not only of one company in the sense of religion but one company in the sense of all the racial groups and inhabitants of this country.

All have made their contribution in the past and the future depends on the practical implementation of this precept, and all working together for the good of Rhodesia.

It is this thought that I would like to couple with the toast to your Society.

Councillor Mrs. Joanna Sharland replied:

The first Mayor of Bulawayo was *Clr. Isidore Henry Hirschler, J.P.* He was born in Hungary in 1855 and came to Rhodesia in 1893 from Johannesburg where he was a company director and stockbroker. "He took part in the Rebellion" — I quote verbatim from the guide to the Historical Manuscripts of the National Archives. This somewhat ambiguous statement could have been better expressed, I feel, for I am sure he took part in the suppression of the rebellion and was not counted amongst those who were suppressed!

On October 27th, 1897 Bulawayo became a Municipality and Clr. Hirschler was elected the first Mayor from November 25th, 1897 to August 2nd, 1898. having been elected to represent Ward 2.

In the very month of his becoming Mayor, he was attacked at a Dinner for being a "foreigner". His masterly reply was that "he was a far better citizen of Great Britain than his attacker as he had *chosen* to become British whereas the other was only British by an accident of birth".

The second Jewish Mayor was *Clr. Emmanuel Basch, J.P.* from 1907-1911. He was born in Plymouth, Devon, and came to Bulawayo in 1897 to join his brother who had founded the firm of M. Basch and Co. Mr. Abrahamson has told me that, not so long ago, he found a set of fruit knives and forks in an antique shop in Bulawayo which were stamped E. Basch. It is still possible today to discern a coat of arms and the words, Goldsmiths & Silversmiths, on the windows where Mr. Basch had his jeweller's shop, namely the Tavern Coffee Bar, almost on the corner of Main Street and 8th Avenue.

Clr. Basch took a prominent part in the public life of Bulawayo. In addition to his Council duties he was President of the Bulawayo Hebrew Congregation from 1903-1915 and during this time he laid the foundation stone of the synagogue in Abercorn Street/3rd Avenue.

Mrs. Basch, who was Miss Bertha Granger, was well-known, for, among many other pursuits, her love of gardening. The garden of the Basch home stretched from Lawley Road right down to Clark Road. Mr. Monty Ellenbogen tells me he well remembers playing in it as a child.

Clr. Henry Burns Ellenbogen, an uncle of Mr. Monty Ellenbogen, was Mayor from 1927-1928. He was born in Liverpool and came to Bulawayo about 1912, where he was in business as a wholesale merchant.

During the term of his office as Mayor he saw the culmination of a long fight on his part for the building of the Khami Dam, when it was opened in April, 1928. People said it was a waste of the ratepayers' money to build such a big dam, but in less than six years it had to be enlarged and in a dozen years it was necessary to begin planning for an even larger dam — the Lower Ncema, opened in 1943.

Mr. Ellenbogen's wife, a niece of the Transvaal millionaire Mr. Sammy Moggs, now Mrs. Madge King, is alive today.

Ald. Cassie M. Harris is the last of the four Jewish Mayors in the period up to the outbreak of World War Two (1939) and the only one to be elevated to the Aldermanic bench. He was Mayor from 1934-1936. He was born in England and originally joined A. F. Philip and Co. as a book-keeper, later joining his brother, Mark, in the milling business.

Alderman and Mrs. Harris donated the Civic Mace on August 13th, 1958, to the City of Bulawayo. Their youngest son, *Clr. Ralph Harris*, followed the example of his father, becoming a City Councillor exactly 40 years after his father and was elected Mayor in 1972.

During Ald. Harris' Mayorship the London County Council presented two of the lamp standards from the old Waterloo Bridge to the Municipality of Bulawayo. These are erected at the roadway entrance to the Bulawayo Theatre in Selborne Avenue.

So, in the first 42 years of the life of the Municipality of Bulawayo there were four Jewish mayors. During the same period — as far as I am aware — there was only one Jewish mayor of Salisbury. This, to my mind underlines the

commercial interests of Bulawayo as opposed to the then almost wholly administrative interests of Salisbury. This slant has been augmented in later years in Salisbury by commercial interests which is indicated by the increase of the Jewish community there. Whereas in the earlier years of this century there were some 400 Jewish members in Bulawayo and only 17 in Salisbury, nowadays the Salisbury community is far larger than that of Bulawayo.

Since 1965 there have been five Jewish Mayors of Bulawayo: *Ald Abe Menashe*, 1965-67; *Ald Jurick Goldwasser*, 1968-69; *Ald. Harry Coronel*, 1971-72; *Clr. Ralph Harris*, 1972-73; and *Clr. Dr. Eugene Gordon*, 1973-14.

Bulawayo's Jewish community continues to serve the city in the same way as the earlier members of the community did before World War Two.

CHRONOLOGY OF AFRICAN HISTORY

A book with the above title, by G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, is a most comprehensive survey. Laid out in vertical tables, the events of African history, from *c*. 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1970, are listed in calendric form opposite events taking place at the same time elsewhere in the world.

Up to about 1600 A.D. there are four columns — events in 'Egypt and East Africa', in 'North and West Africa' compared with events in 'Western Asia' and 'Europe'. After that date, with a spurt in the increase in knowledge, the columns become 'Egypt and the Sudan', 'North Africa', 'Africa South of the Sahara' and 'Other Countries'. From c. A.D. 1300 a column on 'Central and South Africa' is added and after A.D. 1800 there are six comparative columns.

The entries cover a mass of detail not only of historical and political events but of economic and social developments, of important conferences and of the activities of prominent personalities.

Published by the Oxford University Press at £5 the volume is an excellent reference book not only for students of Africa past and present but it is of value to politicians, journalists and many others interested in Africa.

Society Activities

MATABELELAND BRANCH

Outing on Sunday, July 21th, 1975 to sites of Umgusa Battles 1896 and Bembesi Battle 1893.

Some 60 members spent the day listening to Major Robert Davie of the School of Infantry giving the story of these battles.

The first visit was to the Umgusa River near the present day Northlynne where, from an area of high ground with a wide vista to the North, Major Davie spoke in graphic detail of the actions led by Captain Grey on April 16th, 1896 and Captain Bisset on April 22nd, 1896.

Major Davie opened his talk with a brief history of the occupation of Mashonaland by the 1890 Column, the Matabele War of 1893 and the rising in 1896 emphasising the serious state of unpreparedness in Matabeleland at the time of the uprising.

Speaking from the area of Capt. Bisset's H.Q. during the action on April 22nd, 1896 Major Davie was able to point out the course taken by each of the various units which formed the striking forces and the role of the rather inadequate weapons with which the small forces were equipped. He described vividly the gallantry of Trooper Baxter who was awarded the V.C. posthumously, Lieut. Crewe whose bravery prompted Cecil Rhodes to commission a painting by Frank Dadd, R.I. of the incident and the amazing run by F. C. Selous, then 46 years of age, to escape from the Matabele assegais after his horse had broken away and cleared off.

From this point the party moved to the Woodville area where, from a vantage point under the great Kariba power lines, Major Davie was again able to show the movements of the forces under Captain MacFarlane in the engagements on April 19th and 25th, 1896. The second battle routed the rebels and relieved the pressure on Bulawayq which was not again subjected to threatened attack by the Matabele.

The next move was to 'Whites Run Farm' some 35 km from Town along the Salisbury road. On the site of the laager commanding a fine view of the surrounding country Major Davie told of the advance of the Salisbury and Victoria Columns against Lobengula, their engagement on the Shangani River and finally their change of route from the forest area to open country which brought them to the battle site. Had the original route been adhered to it would have taken the columns into a carefully laid ambush.

The fight on November 1st, 1893 was described as an 'encounter battle' but the Matabele poured in everything they had and showed quite incredible bravery in the face of withering fire from the maxims and rifles. Major Davie again gave vivid detail of the battle itself stressing the armament and its role, the movement of the battle, the escape and fortuitous recapture of the horses and the amazing run by Trooper White who, as a picket, was surprised by the Matabele and unable to catch his horse made a diagonal run up the slope to the laager hotly pursued by the enemy. He reached the laager in a state of collapse and it was the accurate firing of Cpl. Whittaker with his Gardiner gun that prevented the Matabele overtaking him. White's half-section, Trooper Thomson, failed to get away and was killed. His grave, with a Pioneer Cross, is near the laager site.

The cream of the Matabele Impis took part in this battle and their defeat caused Lobengula to abandon his capital and flee to the North.

Major Davie's ability to reconstruct the scene and explain each phase with precision and clarity, often making references to military history of past ages to illustrate a point, gave members a picture which will long be remembered.

The Society is indeed very grateful to Major Davie for his talks which could only have resulted from many and long hours of research.

Outing on Sunday, August 17th to the Khami Ruins and The Baobab Tree.

This was a repeat of the outing which was washed out by rain on February 16th, 1975.

The turnout of about 50 members and guests was disappointing but the weather may have accounted for this as the morning broke both windy and bitterly cold.

When introducing Mr. Cran Cooke, the speaker at the Ruins, the Chairman, Mr. H. J. Vickery, said that members of the Matabeleland Branch of the Society were very sorry to hear Mr. Cooke had now retired from the post of Curator of National Monuments and was moving temporarily to Umtali. Mr. Cooke had been a good friend of the Society for many years and his contribution to it had been very considerable. Mr. Vickery then presented Mr. Cooke with a copper beer tankard, suitably engraved, as a token of the appreciation of the Matabeleland Branch of the Society.

Mr. Cooke thanked Mr. Vickery and members of the Branch in suitable and humourous manner and then went on to trace the history of the various peoples who, through the ages, had resided in the Khami Ruins area. He spoke in detail of their cultures and the numerous articles found in the ruins over the years. Many of these are on display in the site museum which members visited.

The party then moved to Mr. J. B. Railton's Khamera Nature Park adjoining the Ruins area and after lunch Mr. Railton led the party on a short walk to the enormous baobab tree. The walk was through beautiful kopje country in which there is much evidence of occupation by the peoples of long ago and cave paintings which were inspected.

The baobab tree itself is quite out of place at 4 000 feet above sea level. It has a circumference of some 30 feet and its two trunks, joined at the bottom,

rise to a great height. An interesting fact is that every year a square of bark about 6 in. by 6 in. is removed from the tree, but by whom and for what purpose is not known. Legend also has it that a queen lies buried near the tree but there is no definite knowledge about this.

The Society is most grateful to both Mr. Cran Cooke and Mr. J. B. Railton for their interest and help with the outing.

Outing on Sunday September 28th to site of Allan Wilson's last stand.

With the kind assistance and authority from Mr. A. M. Verbeek, District Commissioner, Lupane, a very successful outing was held on Sunday, September 28th, 1975 to the site of Allan Wilson's last stand near the Shangani River.

Some 70 members travelled in luxury buses and two cars to the site reaching it at about mid-day after a slow haul over the much used and rough portion of 30 miles from Lupane.

The day was very hot but fortunately the large trees in the Monument enclosure were in leaf and members sat in comfort in their camp chairs whilst Major R. J. Davie of the School of Infantry spoke in two sessions covering an hour and a half of the events leading up to the stand, the last stand itself and the gruelling march back to Inyati of the Shangani Patrol.

Major Davie dealt with the Patrol from the military aspect drawing attention to the lack of planning and administration which preceded and endured throughout the Patrol. Ammunition was insufficient, rations were short, clothing and footwear were inadequate but above all valuable time was lost in mounting the Patrol between the time of the capture of Bulawayo and the departure of the Patrol.

He spoke movingly of the dedication and heroism of those who fell and the wonderful courage of the column which was harassed for days on end by the Matabele on its return to Inyati.

Major Davie said that in his opinion correct use of the scouts had not been made and that the return of two maxims and the seven pounder to Bulawayo from Shiloh was a grave error.

RHODESIAN PREHISTORY

The main feature of No. 13 Vol. 6, of this journal of the Prehistory Society of Rhodesia, is a "Report on the Archaeological Survey of the New Darwendale Dam Basin" by M. R. Izzett. M. A. Bordini writes on "The 'Umtali Altar' Site" and J. G. Storry on "Pungwe Pit Structure". There are other articles on "Test Excavation on Sheffield Farm, Wedza" by C. E. Thorneycroft and "Furnace and Bellows Types in Iron Age Archaeology" by J. Mackenzie.

The Society's Gold Medal: 1975 Presentation

An impressive ceremony was held in the National Gallery of Rhodesia on Friday, October 10th 1975 when the Hon. B. H. Mussett, I.D., M.P., Minister of Internal Affairs, presented the Society's Gold Medals for 1975.

The presentation of the medals to Mr. M. J. Kimberley and Mr. H. A. B. Simons was witnessed by some 300 guests who were welcomed on behalf of the Society by Mr. R. W. S. Turner, National Chairman and Chairman of the Medal Committee. The ceremony was followed by cocktails.

THE PRESENTATION

In his speech the Minister of Internal Affairs said:

"The Rhodesiana Society was founded in 1953. It is thus the oldest historical society in Rhodesia, and with a membership of over 1 200 it is also the largest.

"The Society's main appeal to the public has been based on two statements: the first, 'The Society aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Rhodesian history'; and, secondly, a quotation by William Shakespeare: 'There is a history in all men's lives'.

"The main activities of the Rhodesiana Society have been based on these two important thoughts. In propagating a wider appreciation and knowledge of our country the Society has done magnificent work through the length and breadth of the land, and, indeed, far beyond our borders. The Society's attractive journal *Rhodesiana*, that is presently published twice a year, enjoys a wide circulation. The journal has done a great deal in spreading the story of Rhodesia. Then the three active branches of the Society, in Matabeleland, Manicaland and Mashonaland, have with their field trips, their visits to places of historic interest, their lectures and talks, their dinners and other functions kept the torch of Rhodesian history burning brightly.

"But, perhaps I am right as saying, for the majority of the members of the Society the core of the reason of their interest is expressed in Shakespeare's thought that there is history in all our lives. Everyone has made some contribution whether small or large. The fact that a note is being made of these contributions and that they all combine to become our national tradition and heritage is of fundamental importance to our well-being.

"For without a sense of history, a sense of tradition and a sense of belonging there can be no such person as a real Rhodesian.

"In these vital areas your Society is doing splendid work. And it gives me very great pleasure in now bestowing the Society's Highest Honour on two of your members who have made an outstanding contribution to the aims and objects of the Rhodesiana Society."

CITATIONS

MICHAEL JOHN KIMBERLEY was born in Rhodesia and will thus have the distinction of being the first person born in this country to be awarded the Society's Gold Medal. He displayed a keen interest in Rhodesian history from an early age becoming a member of the Society while he was a student at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, where he obtained his B.A., LL.B. His name apears on the list of the Society's first 50 members published in *Rhodesiana* No. 1. He became a life member of the Society in 1973.

His main contribution to the Society began in 1962 when he became Honorary Secretary, a position held for ten years, during the first seven of which he was also the Society's Honorary Treasurer. His period in office as Secretary and Treasurer saw great changes in the Society and his devotion to duty, his keen interest in all the Society's activities, and his sound administration were a major factor in laying the Society's foundations on the firm footing that they are on today. While he was Secretary the Society's membership rose from under 200 to over 1 000.

He has contributed notes on matters of interest in several issues of *Rhodesicma* and has written biographies of two Rhodesian botanists, H. B. Christian and C. F. M. Swynnerton, that were published in the internationally acclaimed journal *Excelsa*.



The Gold Medal Presentations. From left to right: Mr. H. A. B. Simons, The Hon. B. H. Mussett, I.D., M.P., Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. R. W. S. Turner, National Chairman Rhodesiana Society, Sir Athol Evans, K.B.E., Chairman National Gallery of Rhodesia, Mr. M. J. Kimberley.

After retiring from the position of Honorary Secretary in 1972, he has continued to serve as a member of the National Executive Committee and he is presently the Society's National Deputy Chairman; he is also Chairman of the Mashonaland Branch.

Michael John Kimberley is awarded the Rhodesiana Society's Gold Medal for making an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

HAROLD ARTHUR BERTRAND SIMONS was born in England. He served as a pilot in the Royal Air Force throughout the Second World War which he ended in No. 44 (Rhodesia) Squadron of Bomber Command.

He spent 25 years in the Ministry of Education in Rhodesia, of which 19 years were as a headmaster. During this period he did much to stimulate an interest among school children in the history of their country. His contribution in building up the museum and sense of tradition at Baines School is worthy of special commendation.

His knowledge of the Matopos is profound as his talks to the Society bear witness.

His greatest contributions have all been associated with what can be broadly referred to as the educational field and this has often given him the opportunity of propagating an abiding interest in Rhodesian history. In this regard his service, directly or indirectly to the Society, is worthy of special mention as he has served as or is presently serving the following organisations as: Chairman of the Matabeleland University Association, Chairman of the National Arts Council, Chairman of the Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society, President of the Rhodesia Teachers' Association, Member of the Rhodesian Education Advisory Board, Member of the Historical Monuments Commission, Chairman of the National Historical Association, Matabeleland, and Vice-Chairman of the Rhodesiana Society, Matabeleland Branch.

Harold Arthur Bertrand Simons is awarded the Rhodesiana Society's Gold Medal for making an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

Members of the Society are invited to submit names of persons who they feel are worthy of being considered for a gold medal award. (See page x.)

Some Recent Additions to the Library of the National Archives

Compiled by C. Coggin

Britain and the ending of the slave trade, by Suzanne Miers. London: Longman, 1975. 428 pages. ISBN 0 582 64079 2.

The Brussels Conference of 1889-90 was, for Britain, the climax of a long struggle to associate all the major powers in a comprehensive agreement to end the African slave trade. In the first part of this work Doctor Miers describes the treaties, aimed at controlling the slave trade, entered into by Britain with various countries, and the results of the treaty network thus formed. In the second section she deals in depth with the Brussels conference which, as she points out, was held at a critical time in the scramble for Africa when it could be thought that the countries involved would feel that other questions arising from the scramble were more pressing.

The French colonel: Villebois-Mareuil and the Boers, 1899-1900. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1975. 270 pages. ISBN 0-19-570045-7. \$8,88.

Those interested in the Boer War will be familiar with the name Villebois-Mareuil, which crops up regularly in many published accounts of the War. In this book Roy Macnab tells the fascinating story of the French colonel whose advice to the Boers was believed by the British for a time to be responsible for their early reverses. Described as a dashing and romantic soldier, Villebois-Mareuil died on the Free State veld in action against the British. He played, *inter alia*, a prominent part in the siege of Kimberley, at which Rhodes was present.

In the steps of Stanley, by John Blashford-Snell. London: Hutchinson, 1975. 187 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 00 125080 3. \$8,30.

In 1974-75 the Zaire River Expedition traversed and explored a line running from the source to the mouth of the Zaire River, spanning nearly three thousand miles, much of which is largely unknown territory. This is a gripping account of the expedition based on the official log kept by its leader, Major Blashford-Snell. The interest is heightened by the interpolation in the text of extracts from the diaries kept by Henry Martin Stanley in the course of his own hazardous exploration of the Zaire (then known as the Congo River) a century ago. Although the 1974-75 expedition had the modern advantages offered by scientific, medical and technological discoveries denied to Stanley, nevertheless, as the story shows, dangers and problems are still there to challenge even the best-equipped of modern explorers.

Mhudi, by Sol. T. Plaatje. Johannesburg: Quagga Press, 1975. 170 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 909078 01 7. \$8,65.

Sol. Plaatje, who died in 1932, was a remarkable figure in South African politics and journalism. His diary of the siege of Mafeking, published recently, is a graphic account of that episode of the Boer War. *Mhudi* reflects the same powers of narrative and observation. It tells the story of the tribal ferment and upheaval that swept across much of Southern Africa in the 1830's. Central to the story is Mzilikazi's extermination campaign against the Barolong. As a novel, the book makes an unusual addition to the literature about the Matabele.

Prelude to detente: an in-depth report on South Africa, by Patrick Wall. London: Stacey International, 1975. 108 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 9503304 5 0. \$2,95.

An interesting paperback published at a time when the issues in question have come into even sharper focus. In his introduction, the author says, "Sporadic accounts, highlighting some of the more dramatic developments have appeared . . . but few people have so far been able to piece together the detente puzzle. In this book a short account is given of my visit to Rhodesia . . in January and February 1975 . . . I then try to analyse the new policy of detente in Southern Africa, and to assess its chance of succeeding and the far-reaching consequences."

A book with a similar theme, but from the viewpoint of one of the countries actually involved in the detente exercise, is *Towards dialogue and detente*, edited by F. R. Metrowich (Sandton: Valiant publishers, 1975. 139 pages. \$4,56). Various contributors have written chapters on different aspects of detente; included is the text of Prime Minister B. J. Vorster's speech of November 5th, 1974 which presaged South Africa's own positive part in the new initiative.

The United Nations and Rhodesia: a study in international law, by Ralph Zacklin. New York: Praeger, 1974. 200 pages. ISBN 0 275 09260 7. \$15,62.

In this book the author attempts to explore the Rhodesian situation in the context of international law. There are three parts: in the first, Rhodesia is looked at against its historical background and with regard to the evolution of international law. In the second, legal, political and institutional issues are examined, as are international sanctions. Part three is a study of the ways and means by which sanctions continue to be enforced.

South Africa: government and politics; edited by Denis Worrall. Pretoria: van Schaik, 1975. 372 pages. ISBN 0 627 00335 4. \$5,75.

First published in 1971, this work has become a standard text in its field, acting as an introductory textbook and a general guide to the institutions of government and political processes in South Africa. This new edition takes the form of eight chapters each written by experts in their chosen field, ranging from Parliament and the Executive through politics and parties to South African foreign policy. The chapter on interest groups in the South African political process is by Peter Harris, formerly professor of political science at the University College of Rhodesia.

Notes

RHODESIA'S PIONEER WOMEN

Jessie M. Lloyd's compilation — *Rhodesia's Pioneer Women* (1859-1896), was published in 1960. A new edition, revised and enlarged by Constance Parry, was published in 1975 and it contains nearly 1 100 names, 360 more than in the first edition. Even so it is doubtful if the list will ever be complete since so much has been forgotten and so many records lost. Rather more detail is given in this edition. The name and the qualifying date of entry, before December 31st, 1896, are followed by brief, factual biographical details, name of husband, the mention of any well known or distinguished descendants and the titles of books in which they have been mentioned or books they have written.

In her introduction, Constance Parry says — "The women who came to Rhodesia before December 31st, 1896, were a remarkable and varied company. Some lived and toiled in conditions of unbelievable hardship; some entertained lavishly in elegant new homes. Many enjoyed themselves at every opportunity, singing, dancing, making music and organising bazaars. Whatever the conditions, they somehow reared large families — up to 15 children — often without hope or thought of medical assistance. Sometimes they performed feats of astonishing, valour and physical endurance, and some of them died, worn out with hardship, in one case leaving as her sole property, her wedding ring. They have earned their place in history."

Sir Robert Tredgold, who writes the Foreword, comments — "he would be a dullard indeed who turned these pages unmoved."

There is a memoir of Jessie M. Lloyd, born at Hope Fountain Mission in 1889 and died in Salisbury in 1972, and who herself experienced many of the difficulties of life in Rhodesia in the early days.

Rhodesia's Pioneer Women (1859-1896) is published by The Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society, P.O. Box 100, Bulawayo at S4,75 to non-members.

THE PIONEER VOL. 3

The latest issue of the Journal of the Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society, June, 1975, contains 18 memoirs of the early days in Rhodesia. The first two volumes concentrated on Mashonaland and Matabeleland; this one relates mainly to the Midlands and Victoria Provinces.

Some of the stories were written by Pioneers themselves and others are taken from tape recordings and writings of sons and daughters of Pioneers. One contributor is over 100 years old and others range between 70 and 91.

The main article is "The Eventful Life of William Hurrell". Other titles give a clue to some event or romantic incident — "Born in a Bullock Wagon" (Thomas Tilbury. 1894); "A Cup of Tea saved Salisbury" (an experience of

Benjamin Bland, Transport Rider, 1896); "The Town that fought Two Rebellions" (Enkeldoorn); "He Beat a Lion with a Sjambok" (John Austen). There are articles on "Victoria under Arms", "Gwelo a Typical Pioneer Town" and "The Story of the Bain Family".

This is a delightful collection of tales with some historical value. It has been compiled and edited from sometimes very rough material by Patricia Hyde, Angela Hurrell, Constance Parry and Dick Fuller. (Price \$3,70 from the Society at Box 100, Bulawayo).

MR. N. JOHNSON, A.L.A.

Mr. N. Johnson, A.L.A., Librarian of the National Free Library of Rhodesia, this year celebrates 20 years of service with the Library. In the December 1975 issue of *Shelfmark*, the Bulletin of the Library, is an appreciation of Mr. Johnson's achievements. It says — "the most incredible expansion of the N.F.L.R's service and facilities (over this period) is due in no small measure to Mr. Johnson's professional expertise, determination" and faith in the vital role of the Library in the development of the country.

To support this, some very striking figures are given. In 1958 the bookstock consisted of 8 400 volumes. Today it comprises 50 440 books, 6 237 pamphlets and 533 current periodicals.

It is the nerve centre of the Rhodesian inter-library loan system; its telex, union catalogue, microfiche catalogue, extensive bibliographical tools (e.g. the British Museum printed catalogue, British National Bibliography cumulations, periodical indexes) facilitating access to libraries throughout Rhodesia, South Africa, Europe and the United States.

BISHOP KNIGHT BRUCE

Christchurch, Borrowdale, Salisbury, has published a small book, *Knight Bruce, First Bishop and Founder of the Anglican Church in Rhodesia* by R. R. Langham Carter. This short biography was produced in 1975 to mark the centenary of the crossing of the Limpopo by the Rev. William Greenstock to examine what chances there were for mission work in this little known area.

Thirteen years later, in 1888, Bishop Knight Bruce, then Bishop of Bloemfontein, made an incredible journey with ox wagon, horses and donkeys right across the country. He left Kimberley with eight Africans in April. His route took him to Bulawayo, where he met Lobengula, to Mount Hampden, Sinoia then to the Portuguese settlement of Zumbo across the Zambezi at its confluence with the Luangwa. The return journey took him via Sipolilo and Wedza to Mount Hampden. He arrived back in Bloemfontein in December having ridden 500 miles and walked 2 500. This was a remarkable feat of exploration and endurance and was written up in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

The book tells of his early struggles to found the new mission; of the hardships of living in a raw country; of his many acts of courage; of his service

with the Column of 1893; of his long and arduous treks over the country; and, particularly, of the friendly and trusting relations he developed with the Africans. He became the first Bishop of Mashonaland in 1889.

He suffered bouts of malaria and blackwater and eventually had to return to England because of ill-health in 1894. He died there in 1896 at the early age of 44, worn out "in the service of his African fellow men". He accomplished a great deal in a few short years and, says the author, he played a not insignificant part in the occupation of Rhodesia by the British.

Price, \$1,25 from Christchurch, Borrowdale.

NOTE ON NEW CONTRIBUTOR

Mrs. Pat Davis was born in Gwelo in 1947. She attended the Cecil John Rhodes School and then Chaplin. Afterwards she took a three year Junior Education Course at the Teachers' College, Bulawayo. She taught at Hartley School for two years and at the Blakiston Junior School in Salisbury for five years.

THE MEIKLE STORY

The Meikle Story by Beverley Whyte is the saga of the three brothers, Tom, Stewart and Jack, who founded the Meikle business "empire" in Rhodesia. It is a fascinating account.

After giving a family history and some account of their life in South Africa the author starts the Rhodesian narrative in 1892 when the brothers brought up wagon loads of groceries to a hard pressed, primitive country and set up their first store — whisky cases for walls and bucksails for roof — in Fort Victoria. The next year they opened up in Salisbury and in Bulawayo and Gwelo in 1894. The foundation had been laid for the vast organisation that, eventually, included farms, mines and hotels as well as activities in commerce, property and investment.

The brothers played their part in the 1896 Rebellion and the book contains some graphic descriptions of the events of the period involving one or other of them. After the Rebellion, the Meikles, particularly Tom, gradually become more deeply involved in the economic and political life of the country and the continuing story becomes almost a reflection of the, often turbulent, history of the country. The author relates family history and company enterprise to the development of Rhodesia, battling through slumps, wars and depressions, in a wealth of readable reminiscence and anecdote.

The eldest brother, Tom, who died in 1938, was the driving force behind the creation of the "empire". Work to him was recreation but in addition to his business acumen he had long term vision and was, withal, a human and generous man. He appears in these pages not only as one of the most outstanding and influential men of the early history of the country but as an attractive and memorable Rhodesian character.

The book concludes with an outline of the large and complex Thomas Meikle Trust and Investment Company and of its intended future developments. It is profusely illustrated with photographs, many of them of historic interest.

Published by the Graham Publishing Company of Salisbury it appears in a limited edition at \$4,75. There is also a de luxe edition. Proceeds of all sales will be distributed to charity. This volume is more than a company or family history, it is a most valuable piece of Rhodesiana.

"DOCUMENTS ON THE PORTUGUESE IN MOZAMBIQUE AND CENTRAL AFRICA"

(National Archives of Rhodesia and Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos)
The Director of National Archives announces that Vol. 8 of this series was published in Lisbon in December, 1975. It includes, in Portuguese with English translation, the texts of 35 documents from 1561 to 1588. Only a few copies had arrived in Salisbury by January, but it is hoped that there will be sufficient to fill individual orders by the time this issue of *Rhodesiana* is published.

Correspondence

SOUTHERN APPROACH TO THE FAR INTERIOR

Sir,

With reference to the article with the above title by E. E. Burke in the last issue (Sept., 1975, page 20), the following may be of interest:

The British under Sir George Elphinstone and General Craig after landing were unable to advance and sent to St. Helena Island for assistance.

Governor R. Brooke responded by sending, on board the "Armiston", 10 pieces of field ordnance, two howitzers, a company of Artillery and three of Infantry, as well as ammunition and 15 000 pounds in cash.

When the St. Helena detachment landed the Dutch ran away. Colonel Gordon, the Commander of the Dutch, out of shame, committed suicide.

The above is extracted from St. Helena by Phillip Gosse.

Yours etc.,

ARTHUR H. MAWSON Teutonic Hall, St. Helena Island, South Atlantic.

African Farmers in Rhodesia

A Review Article

by Roger Howman

(African Farmers in Rhodesia: Old and New Peasant Communities in Karangaland by A. K. H. Weinrich (Sister Mary Aquina, O.P.). Published by the Oxford University Press for the Internationa] African Institute, 1975. 328 pages. Price £6.80.)

A book which ends with a warning of a peasant "revolt" draws instant attention. It also deserves special examination.

Unfortunately and unforgivably the author sets out with a dual aim. She states, "the aim of this book is to examine government policy" — a task outside her anthropological credentials — and at the same time, "the aim is to provide a deeper understanding of peasant agriculture", a legitimate task.

The situation in most tribal areas is so serious for all Rhodesia, and has proved as resistant to plans over 50 years, that a study of productivity in two tribal areas, two purchase areas and two irrigation schemes, over a period of seven years (1962-69) arouses great interest and expectations.

These hopes were dashed. The author envelopes her fieldwork material in a history so casual as to be misleading, in a political stance so obtrusive as to be totally one-sided in her appraisals. There can only be regret that the credibility of science suffers when, to borrow her own words, "ideological considerations override economic concerns". The book can only be of value to developers if read with great circumspection, an awareness of the contentious nature of her simple judgments, a difficult tolerance of her political assessments and a preparedness to check carefully many of her reference sources.

The book opens with a sensation of protective secrecy — the places and communities must not be identified to Government. An absurdity, as these can easily be identified and others have made such studies without implying fear of a threat.

In the introduction, where world interest in centralised planning is surveyed, Rhodesia is placed among those countries who should be aware of the need to raise the poorer sections. Then she adds her own opinion, "yet there is less planning than in totally underdeveloped countries because it is to the advantage of the rich sector". A startling assessment!

Since Rhodesia's place among the earliest of African countries to plan economic development in tribal areas is a matter of historical record, this distorted assessment seems to be malicious, particularly when she chooses to substitute the word "directions" for "planning" and comes up with a contrary,

but equally damning, opinion that because of these "directions" the Rhodesian economy has become "a directed economy to a much larger extent than any economy in the western world". Unbalanced!

This huge contradiction evidently suits whatever political purpose she had in mind because throughout her book she is able to poke criticism of a particular facet of operations as authoritarian interference, even to quote the press or comments of single officials, without at any time setting out the context of a plan in the background. Since for her there is no planning, only orders from civil servants, she makes herself free to play with the emotive word "freedom" and concludes that "unfortunately Rhodesia is not a free society". So she escapes from any examination of policies (as embodied in plans) except her own choice — the segregation pattern which serves her "hypothesis that government's ideology of racial segregation is given greater importance than plans to raise living standards".

From this ideological perspective of the author let us turn to a brief examination of the history she presents.

She claims that alienation of land at the time of the 1890 Occupation (even although it was mostly paper rights) caused bitter frustration of such proportions that war broke out. In support of this thesis of frustration she quotes the Quinton Report (1960). That Report did not refer to "large tracts of land being granted" and its remarks about tribal ideas of land ownership she conveniently leaves out although one might expect such a basic concept to be examined in the context of "frustration". She quotes Floyd's book but since his remark about leaving tribes as far as possible undisturbed would not suit her thesis she leaves it out and her version of Palmer's history ignores his tribute to Native Commissioners' efforts over land, also the support missionaries gave to separation of land rights.

Her history goes astray when she creates the impression that the 1893 war was due to frustration in Mashonaland rather than a war against the Matabele; and even more astray when she overlooks the fact that in "Karanagaland" (her own field of study) the people did not join in the 1896 rebellion, indeed they joined the European forces in both 1893 and 1896.

The Quinton Report did not say that the Ndebele area was declared "European area". Such a notion came many years later.

That there were cases, in certain districts, of expropriation of land that aroused feeling of discontent cannot be denied. But to ignore the almost customary expropriation of land by one tribe from another in earlier times and to magnify such feelings out of all proportions is spurious history, more appropriate to the political field than the scientific. What is worse is that such an approach takes attention away from the basic, inescapable problem that whether land separation existed or not, the unparalleled population growth and primitive practices of cultivation which are incapable of maintaining soil fertility lead to degradation and failing food supplies almost throughout Africa.

Rhodesia does not present, as the author claims, "a very peculiar situation" — except to one more preoccupied with politics than agricultural development — and world-wide failure to develop the "underdeveloped" peasantry underlies a universal "peasant revolt".

Authoritative statements of development policy and planning as such do not appear in the book. One of the earliest plans, that of Centralization (not just a "scheme" of Alvord's), the author accepts as generally welcomed by peasants but she is unable to resist a most erroneous comment that it deprived land of manure because of the distance between cattle kraals and fields and "few peasants made the effort to cart manure". Even if it was possible to measure comparative distances for such a finding the use of manure only came in many years later.

It seems a curious way to describe the lack of success in improving African agriculture as, "peasants seem to fight a losing battle", and to rely for this conclusion on the political view of the President of the Trade Union Congress that "the Government is not keen on developing agriculture in the tribal areas"!

It would be tedious to examine too many of the author's sources for her claim that, "government will not allow any development in African areas which might be harmful to Europeans" but a glaring example of seemingly wilful distortion, all on page 301, should be pointed out.

She writes, (1) that the Chairman of TILCOR gave an assurance to Europeans that Africans would not be assisted in growing crops which might compete with European farmers; (2) that in 1970 the Minister of Internal Affairs "even forbade the Association of Rhodesian Industries to consider ways and means of promoting development in tribal areas"; and (3) that European settlers used up irrigation water intended for African plotholders, quoting at length from the press.

As regards (1), TILCOR was refuting accusations that a semi-national business concern was infringing the field of private enterprise and the Chairman's words, "we would try to find crops that would not upset the marketing and economy of existing agriculture", applied to all private enterprise growers, black and white alike. This is simply part of the pan-African debate over public and private "strategies of development".

As to (2), it was ACCOR (Associated Chambers of Commerce), not ARnI, that initiated, with the full and expressed support of two Cabinet Ministers, the scheme of research undertaken by the Tribal Areas Research Foundation which culminated four years later in Dr. Hughes' study, "Development in Rhodesian Tribal Areas", 1974. This independent research project was never at any time forbidden, nor opposed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Regarding (3), one can only conclude that the author's sense of political journalism overcame her responsibilities of scientific observation and she preferred to end with a rhetorical question-mark rather than the court case over water rights which was subsequently settled by the Water Court.

It would be tragic if those who have laboured so long and against such obstacles to bring about development of the peasants were to reject this book, throwing the baby out with the bath water. The water is contaminated but there is so much in the book that should be studied. The profiles of individuals, the tangle of attitudes, the sources of credit, the values of irrigation schemes, the statistical tables of production and institutional influences (Chiefs and Co-ops) promoting or impeding progress are of great value, being monitored at grass roots level.

FIGHTING FORCES OF RHODESIA, NUMBER TWO

The first issue of this magazine-type publication, also written by Colin Black, concentrated on the history of the various units that make up the armed forces of the country.

Number Two deals — as far as security allows — with some aspects of Rhodesia's current campaign against the terrorists. The publication is a lively melange of articles on dozens of different subjects — The Special Branch, Forensic Medicine, Air Force Apprentices, Police Women, The Marmon-Harrington Armed Car, Honours and Awards, Badges of Rank, and current notes on promotions, new barracks, "Marandellas Freedom for Gunners" with many other lighter features and stories. It is lavishly illustrated with pictures of current events and present day personalities as well as some interesting "pictures from the past". Altogether, an excellent, timeous and reassuring booklet.

It is published by H. C. P. Andersen, Box 1566, Salisbury at 75 cents.

Reviews

Scouting on two continents, by F. R. Burnham. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo. Silver Series, Vol. 4, 1975. 416 pages. Illus., maps. \$11,20).

Of all the American adventurers of the 'nineties who tried their luck in what is today Rhodesia, Frederick Russell Burnham is probably best known. His reminiscences were first published in the United States in 1927 and would certainly have served to spread further the folklore already surrounding the famous scout. The book must have sold well, for not long afterwards a biography aimed at juvenile audiences appeared under the title *He-who-sees-in-the dark*. The work under review is a facsimile edition of the first named volume, and contains a thought-provoking new foreword by Peter Emmerson, until recently Research Officer at the National Archives of Rhodesia.

Anyone interested in Rhodesian and South African history (and, for that matter, Wild West sagas) would be well advised to read this book, because, apart from anything else, it captures the atmosphere of frontier life and pioneer endeavour in no uncertain manner. The first fifth of the work recounts Burnham's experiences in the American west and in Mexico; about half is devoted to Mashonaland and Matabeleland; and the remainder to his prospecting operations in the Klondike and to his scouting exploits under Lord Roberts in the Boer War.

For Rhodesians, understandably, the more exciting strands of the story are woven around Burnham's experiences in the Matabele War and Matabele Rebellion. While still a comparatively young man Burnham's vision had been fired by Rhodes's achievements and when he heard of the occupation of Mashonaland he wasted no time in bringing his family to Africa. His account of their arrival in Durban and the subsequent journey to Fort Victoria in an American buckboard makes absorbing reading. Almost immediately on arriving at Fort Victoria, Burnham found himself in the thick of the Matabele War. Leaving his wife and small son behind, he joined the column marching to Bulawayo and was soon engaged in the scouting operations that were to make him a legendary figure. He participated in the Bembezi and Shangani battles, and later joined Forbes's column in pursuit of Lobengula.

Burnham's account of the Allan Wilson patrol is one that has been cited more than any other single source on the subject. This is not surprising, since he was the only survivor to commit it to narrative. And the narrative certainly makes compelling, exciting reading. However, in many places elsewhere in his writing it is clear that Burnham is inclined to embroider his exploits, a tendency which has been noted by such observers as Marshall Hole and Robert Cary. In his foreword, Emmerson shows up inconsistencies between Burnham's account of the Shangani Patrol and the report of the official enquiry into the Allan Wilson tragedy. While not going along with the theory that Burnham,

Ingram and Gooding actually deserted the patrol, Emmerson questions Burnham's version of what happened and postulates the theory that Wilson gave his men the choice of staying with him or making a break for it: Burnham, Ingram, and Gooding opted for the latter course of action. Emmerson maintains that the trio would never have admitted to this "in the climate of opinion which was already becoming clear by the time they returned to the main body of the patrol", hence Burnham's version in the book.

Emmerson goes on to cite the case of the M'limo incident, and here he is on much surer ground. It is generally acknowledged that the spirit medium in the Mangwe area shot by Burnham and Native Commissioner Armstrong was not, as they alleged, the M'limo at all but a lesser priest with no commitment to the rebellion. Citing hitherto unused documentary archival sources, Emmerson adduces further evidence to support this finding. Based on a report compiled by the Chief Native Commissioner, H. J. Taylor, this evidence effectively flattens the heroic spirit of Burnham's story and reinforces the question the reader himself must ask as soon as he gets to the end of the M'limo chapter, viz. why does Burnham end his account of the episode so abruptly, and why does he give no details at all about his continued military activities (if any) between that time and his sudden departure a few months later to the Klondike?

Viewing it in this way, one could be forgiven for regarding Burnham as a Yankee version of Flashman. To conjecture further, however, could there perhaps be another explanation? The book was "elicited and arranged" by one Mary Nixon Everett, whose own introduction makes it plain that she was an ardent admirer of Burnham. She would certainly have wanted her own notions about Burnham to shine brightly through all the pages and this, coupled with the usual rush associated with getting a book through the press, together with limitations on the length of what was already a voluminous work, might well have led her to amend, abridge and edit Burnham's words in such a way as to produce the apparent inconsistencies that are to be found. This would explain, inter alia why on page 181 a very specific dialogue is attributed to various members of the patrol (e.g. "Kirton, with a bitter smile, said, 'There is no best move'."), whereas, as Emmerson points out, the official enquiry records that such remarks were "scarcely audible". The stroke of an enthusiastic editor's pen is surely evident here, as it probably is in many other passages. Did Burnham have the opportunity of checking the book before it went to the press? Might not the publisher have encouraged his "ghost writer" to produce what was bound to be a best seller?

Burnham went on to build up an oil empire in the States and he became deeply involved in the Boy Scout movement there. A little more detail about his later career would have been interesting additional material in this reprint; an exhaustive study of Burnham the man would certainly have to take cognizance of his career as a whole, and might shed some light on the questions that hover over his Rhodesian adventures.

C. COGGIN

Next year will be better, by Hylda Richards. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1975. Rhodesiana Reprint Library — Silver series, vol. 5. [20], 230, [34] pages, illus. Price \$8,25).

This is a book about life in Rhodesia, but the Rhodesia it depicts has gone and the country has grown up to such an extent that a newcomer today would find it hard to identify himself with the country to which the author came in 1928. Yet on many farms today much *is* the same and the situations Hylda Richards recounts occur in much the same way. This is part of the magic of *Next Year will be Better* — that you, the reader, live through the whole thing with the author.

Hylda Richards manages to make what could well be a tale of woe into a tremendously light-hearted and amusing book. Each chapter stands on its own, making it an ideal bedside book, but it is a book one wants to own — to pick up again and again to reread, if not the whole, certain favourite chapters.

The desperate struggle of Rhodesian farmers in the early '30's has perhaps been lost sight of by many and the new Rhodesian will know nothing of it. As disaster follows disaster the reader becomes aware of the wonderful stamina and fortitude of the early farmers, and realises that behind her light-hearted approach to these disasters Hylda Richards is telling a really serious tale.

Next Year will be Better is full of laughs, full of living people and full of humanity. A book that one is sorry to get to the end of. A very happy choice on the part of Books of Rhodesia.

This is a facsimile of the original edition of 1952 with new illustrations, and a valuable Foreword by Dr. M. C. Steele of the History Department of the University of Rhodesia. There is also a selection of the author's verse originally published between 1931 and 1949 under her pseudonym of 'T'.

ISOBEL BURKE

Many treks made Rhodesia, by S. P. Olivier. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1975. Rhodesiana Reprint Library — Silver series, vol. 6. [18], 170 pages, illus. Price \$8,30).

Dr. P. R. Warhurst, who writes an introductory foreword to this reprint edition, describes the book — first issued in 1943 — as a pioneer account of a less well-known group of Rhodesian pioneers. He also comments on its appearance at a time when the study of Rhodesian history had not yet received serious attention. The 1943 edition was in Afrikaans, *Die Pioniertrekke na Gazaland* (Cape Town: Unie Volkspers), and this appeared in English, with some amendments, under the present title in 1957 (Cape Town: Timmins). The author had a personal connection with Rhodesia as his first teaching post was at Prince Edward School in Salisbury; latterly he was Dean of the faculty of Education at the University of Cape Town and is at present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durban-Westville, which serves the Indian community.

There were no less than nine treks into the Melsetter-Chipinga area between 1892 and 1895, recalling in manner the Great Trek of 60 years earlier

from the Cape. The Moodie Trek was the earliest and has been the best known because it pioneered the route; but there were two more in 1893, three in 1894 and three in 1895. They came from the Orange Free State (4), the South African Republic (3) and Natal (2). Olivier has, as an appendix, a useful list of the trekkers that shows a total of 106 men, 57 wives and no less than 208 children added to the population of Mashonaland.

The book is written with colour and does proper service to the hardships, the personalities and their conflicts, and to the spirit of the ventures. He traces, too, the subsequent development.

E. E. BURKE

The 1820 Settlers: an illustrated commentary edited by Guy Butler. (Human and Rousseau, Cape Town, 1975. Profusely illustrated. Coloured frontispiece. 366 pages).

This is a book about the origins of English-speaking South Africa, of those who came to settle, rather than those who did their tour of duty and returned to their homes in England.

Four thousand people responded to Government propaganda and were transported to the Cape by the Navy. More than half were under 18 and very few over 40; all had great hopes of the new life awaiting them. Although they were diverse as to class and creed, they shared a tragic common denominator — their ignorance of farming.

Their destination was a remote area of disputed territory and their real function was "to defend and stabilize a long river frontier which had been fixed to the satisfaction of neither Whites nor Blacks."

The book draws attention to certain peculiarities that were unique to the settlement, which were to have momentous results for Southern Africa. Two types of chapter are used to place the period in perspective. One is the larger social and historical scene, while the other describes the struggles of the settlers themselves, using their own words where possible. We thus have a vivid picture of their travels to the area of settlement, descriptions of transport difficulties and their impressions of a new country, bleak, strange and, at times, frightening; ground plans of their homes, and records of their tenacity and endurance against almost overwhelming odds.

The 1820 Settlers was written by a team of acknowledged authorities on the history of English-speaking South Africa, headed by Professor Guy Butler. He and John Bunyon wrote the text, and Eily Gledhill, Rex and Barbara Reynolds and Ken Robinson were responsible for the captions, pictures and design. This very able and talented team has produced a volume that is exceptionally well-written, and, because of the many carefully-chosen illustrations, a joy to page through. The reader becomes personally involved with the settlers and their undaunted battle for survival.

The descendants of these men and women were adventurous and ready for challenge. When Rhodesia was opened up, many succumbed to the inbred lure of the unknown. They left the familiar security of home and helped to establish a new country under conditions that must, at times, have seemed unpropitious. A recently published book recounts the history of two Rhodesian families that are descended from the famous four thousand — the Fynns and the Southeys.

The importance of this volume lies in its appeal, not only to the student, but to the interested layman; both will gain a greater insight into this turbulent period of history.

ROSEMARY KIMBERLEY

African Art: the years since 1920 by Marshall Ward Mount (David & Charles, Newton Abbot. 236 pages. Illustrations. Price \$6,95).

The author distinguishes four distinct categories of art that have emerged in Africa in recent decades. First comes the copying of traditional African styles (true traditional African art, which generally had a spiritual inspiration and was "responsive to social and religious needs", having largely died out); there is mission inspired art; then souvenir work aimed mainly at the tourist (and the author quotes the apt descriptive term "airport art" coined by our Frank McEwen); and finally the new painting and sculpture which only began a few decades ago.

The copying of traditional art forms is a valid function of museums and the author instances the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum's Craft Village at the Victoria Falls as a local example of this category.

Mission inspired art has a long history dating back to the Portuguese occupation of areas of the west coast of Africa at the end of the 15th century. But the first outstanding Protestant example of this type is the Cyrene Mission school, near Bulawayo, founded in 1936 by Canon Edward Paterson. The possibilities of such art, strongly motivated by Christian beliefs, have not yet been fully realised. (Although Mount visited Rhodesia during his researches he does not mention the superb Catholic church at Serima Mission described in our last issue. This is a strange omission because Serima was started in 1948 and Mount's visits to Africa stretched across the years from 1961 to 1972.)

Rhodesia features prominently in the story of the development of the "new art". The art workshop school of the Rhodes National Gallery started by Frank McEwen in the early 1960s is one of the most advanced of its kind. There was no "vital art tradition" in Rhodesia and the adjoining countries so the progress of the new school was uncomplicated. The story of this venture, with critical comments on its best known artists, as well as on other independent African Rhodesian artists, is related with representative illustrations of the work produced.

Both Canon Paterson and Frank McEwen insisted that there should be no formal instruction whatsoever in techniques. Materials were provided and there was encouragement and occasional criticism. The artist was left to put his own thoughts and inspirations into form. McEwen felt that the African artists should remain free of the "corrupting" influence of western art schools and be able to

express only their innate African qualities. But this "non-teaching" approach does not alter the fact that the African artist can still see western old masters hung on the walls of the Gallery, representative western modern art in books, journals and even in advertisements. Modern African life is "an amalgam of ancestral traditions and encroaching Western values" and this is reflected in the new African art.

This is a fascinating book. Its short biographies and critical appraisements of the better known African artists give it a topical air. There is no high-faluting artistic jargon and its straightforward, understandable descriptive style make it a book to be enjoyed by any general interested reader.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Battle For The Bundu: the First World War: East Africa by Charles Miller (MacMillan Publishing Co., New York. 1974. 353 pps., end-paper maps, illustrations, bibliography and index. Price USS9,95).

This book written by an American and published in America is an excellent book. It is the story of the campaign in East Africa during the First World War.

The author states it was not his intention to produce a scholarly work or one of military expertise. What he has achieved is a lively and easily readable account of "the most bizarre campaign ever fought in the history of tropical warfare."

It is the story in which an obscure Prussian officer, Colonel von Lettow-Vorbeck, in command of a handful of African troops held back, for four years, a British army of a quarter of a million men who were needed desperately on the battlefields of Europe. The Germans waged an almost faultless war.

In matters of discipline, organisation, strategy and even on many occasions courage, the Germans far outmatched the British. It is true that the British forces had in the early part of the struggle "rotten troops and rotten leaders", but even when South African and Rhodesian troops were engaged the guerilla tactics of the weaker numerical German forces led to the defeat of the stronger. Time and time again the British forces found themselves out-manoeuvred.

In the barely explored wilderness of German East Africa with its jungle and thorn-bush, the *bundu*, conditions were severe for all the combatants, but particularly for the non-African troops. There were periods of drought, when the need for water became the chief factor influencing the campaign, followed by heavy tropical rainfall converting the area of fighting into flooded valleys and quagmires. The acclimatised German askaris learned to live off the country while their enemies were dependent on imported supplies and suffered from diseases endemic to the country as well as those brought on by food shortages and exposure.

There are stories of heroism and cowardice, of grim realities and even occasional humour, as the campaign moved from the Kenya borders into Tanganyika, then into Mozambique, back into Tanganyika and finally into Northern Rhodesia.

At Abercorn, in November 1918, after the last shots of the Great War were fired, the army that had not lost laid down its arms to an army that had not won.

Regretfully in the book there is no specific mention of the B.S.A. Police contingent under Colonel Murray and very little reference to the Northern Rhodesians, but the 2nd Rhodesia Regiment, "possessing both an instinct and insatiable appetite for the battle royal", and General Northey's command receive commendation, which is more than can be said for many of the other regiments and their officers.

G. H. TANSER

The Dark Kingdoms: the Impact of White Civilization on Three Great African Monarchies by Alan Scholefield (William Heinemann S.A. 1975. 194 pages. Illustrations. Maps. Price R8,65).

Alan Scholefield has abandoned fiction-writing to present a book which deals with the European impact on three African kingdoms — the Congo (an area now incorporated in Angola), Dahomey and Lesotho.

The book is largely a redistillation of old and new chronicles, most of which are well known; indeed the author seems unable to tell his story without lengthy recourse to these sources — even his account of Sir Harry Smith's famous meeting with his future wife after the assault on Badajoz is lifted straight from Sir Arthur Bryant's *Age of Elegance*.

It is Mr. Scholefield's account of the rise to power of Moshweshwe which will be of most interest to Rhodesian readers, and he is right in emphasising the influence on the Basuto king of the French missionary Jean-Eugene Casalis. For Casalis won the complete confidence of Moshweshwe, and played a significant political role during the complex disputes between the Basuto, Orange Free State and Cape Colony in the middle decades of last century.

Widely differing opinions exist on the stature of Moshweshwe as a Bantu statesman; Scholefield leaves us in no doubt where he stands. His book lauds Moshweshwe as the most eminent of contemporary Bantu, and as a neargenius who welded elements of Zulu-speaking tribes, the baKwena and ba-Tswana into a' nation, whose existence a century-and-a-half later remains his greatest monument.

O. N. RANSFORD

Africa Survey: Essays on Contemporary African Affairs by Red Metrowich: (Foreign Affairs Association, Pretoria. 1975. 184 pages. Illustrated. Price R6).

Events move so rapidly in Africa these days that it is not always easy to keep them in perspective or realise their significance. By enabling a reader to do both this book performs a very useful service.

Red Metrowich is a commentator on Springbok Radio and the book consists of talks he has given on a wide range of African subjects over the past couple of years. They are grouped into four main sections — Social and Economic Trends; Africa in the International Arena; Political Africa, and Southern African Developments. They were designed to provide background information to the day-to-day news "for the average reader who does not always have the time, nor perhaps the inclination, to wade through in-depth articles or books but who would nevertheless like to study the broad details of events which right now are moulding his future and the destiny of his children and grandchildren", as Cas de Villiers, Director of the F.A.A., says in his Introduction.

Of particular interest to the Rhodesian reader is, of course, the section dealing with developments in Southern Africa, in which Rhodesian affairs are discussed at length in chapters headed "Black Rhodesia's Wasted Years", "Black Leaders' Responsibility in Rhodesia" and "Rhodesia's Future Dilemma". Mr. Metrowich contends that had the African Nationalists worked within the framework of the 1961 Constitution instead of embarking on a campaign of violence they could have achieved black rule by now; and he also considers that failure to reach agreement in Rhodesia will not mean the end of detente in Southern Africa since the two key states in this exercise are South Africa and Zambia.

The Rhodesian who wishes to be well informed on African affairs will find this little book invaluable.

W. D. GALE

The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa. Edited by W. D. Hammond-Tooke (Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1974. 525 pages. Illustrations. Figures, Maps. Price £7,95).

This book is mainly concerned with South Africa, South-West Africa and the three territories of Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho. But because territorial boundaries have been drawn, in many cases, through ethnic groups there is a logical follow through into Mozambique, Rhodesia and Angola. So there are references as far afield as Zambia — to material culture in that country, to kinship and marriage among the Lozi, to Bemba rural economy and, in the sections on urbanisation, to the Copperbelt.

The thirteen authors of sections follow the modern fashion and generally eschew the word "tribe", which is vague and ambiguous, preferring the word "peoples" or the term "ethnic group". This makes it clear that their considerations are not confined within territorial boundaries which often give rise to a different "tribal" name to the same people either side of the line.

The volume is encyclopaedic in both size and format. Subjects and cultural patterns are dealt with, not independent, complete surveys of each group. There are three main divisions. The first, The People and their Environment covers biology, ecology, the classification of cultural groups and material culture. The second, The Traditional Societies deals with economy, kinship and marriage, types of Bantu States, law, spiritual beliefs and witchcraft. The third, Incorporation in the Wider Society includes subjects such as political and economic

incorporation into the modern world, the influence of Christianity and the impact of the city and industrialisation.

Coverage is thus most comprehensive, only linguistics and music, for several reasons, mainly lack of space, being left out.

The book is based on a survey *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* by I. Schapera, published in 1937. The change in title is indicative of the wider scope of this new volume. When this edition was proposed Professor Schapera suggested that it be written by a younger generation of South African scholars. This has been done and the result is a scholarly and up-to-date handbook that is invaluable for all students of anthropology.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Smuts the patriot, by Piet Meiring. (Tafelberg Publishers, Cape Town. 1975. Illustrated. 218 pages. R6,50).

This work was first published in 1974 in Afrikaans, and was entitled *Jan Smuts die Afrikaner*. Its purpose was, as the title implies, to assess the statesman's worth as a true Afrikaner. The English translation has the same purpose, in spite of the substitution of the word patriot for Afrikaner in the title. To the average South African (and, no doubt, Rhodesian too) there is little doubt that Smuts was a patriot — a zealous defender of his country's rights — and this conviction is probably reflected adequately in numerous writings on the statesman. It is not so certain, however — not to the Afrikaans-speaking South African at any rate — that Smuts was a *ware* Afrikaner.

Piet Meiring was South Africa's director of information for ten years, and met many who had known *Slim Jannie*. His father had been a contemporary of Smuts', and Meiring as a child knew Smuts and other prominent personalities of the time. It is with this background that he wrote this study, also drawing on a wide array of published sources to support his thesis.

The work traces Smuts' life from childhood (he first attended school at the age of 12) to the end of his political career and death. We see him as an intense, rather withdrawn student at Stellenbosch and Cambridge, follow him through his vicissitudes in the Anglo-Boer war and in his political career, and observe his development as a world statesman. It should be noted that the background to these events is not given in depth but almost as a series of connecting sketches, and in this respect the work is disappointing. It is when Meiring comes to portray Smuts the man — his aloofness, warmth, intellectual arrogance, pride, love of nature and children, singleness of purpose and so on — that the book has particular value.

The theme of the story does not flow strongly throughout. When it does, one is not convinced by the author's (apparent) belief that Smuts was a true Afrikaner. Nor does he attempt to define a true Afrikaner, although possibly it was thought this was not necessary for the audience for whom the book was intended. At any rate, as presented by the author, one feels that Smuts' actions in the rebellions and the two world wars; his stand on Afrikaner nationalism

and his lack of involvement in the Afrikaans language movement; and, finally, his passionate commitment to the British Empire, must have alienated him from his fellow Afrikaners. With hindsight one can cite as prophetic his statement at the Vereeniging peace talks to the effect that Afrikaner defeat and humiliation would lead to a better future, but even points such as this are not developed in support of the part played by Smuts in elevating the place of the Afrikaner.

Whatever else one might think of Smuts as a result of reading this work, one is not convinced that Smuts was the "patriot" the author had in mind. Nevertheless, Meiring's book contains much that is of interest and is well worth reading.

C. COGGIN

Urbanisation as a Social Process: an essay on movement and change in contemporary Africa by Kenneth Little (Routledge & Kegan Paul. Library of Man. 1974. Limp cover. 153 pages. Map. Price £1,80).

The author takes the whole of Africa south of the Sahara as his field and to begin with he examines the urban policies of the former British, French and Belgian colonies as well as of Rhodesia and South Africa.

He distinguishes between African towns that are sociologically "traditional" and those that are "modern". Traditional towns are characterised by the permanence of the residents and their cultural homogeneity. As early as the 16th century there were large traditional cities in West Africa, inhabited largely by farmers, craftsmen and traders. On the other hand, the majority of the inhabitants of the modern towns of central and southern Africa are transitory, the people maintaining their ties with the tribal areas, and they are culturally heterogeneric. The towns are based on industry or mining and the age groups disparate, more young men than old and more men than women. Only Blantyre, where a large peri-urban area has developed with its local tribe horticulturists commuting to town, somewhat resembles a traditional town.

Total commitment to urban life is growing in these modern towns but only very slowly. The urban areas of Rhodesia are most advanced but even here the affluent Africans living a European style life are still men of two worlds, attached to their extended family, and no fully fledged class system has yet evolved. And because townsmen retain these urban links the influence of town ideas is widespread, the town becomes "the pace-maker" for the whole, wider society.

The author goes on to discuss the effects of life in a modern town on social life and race relations within the town and he describes the rise of mutual aid societies and occupational unions and their effect on ethnic ties. New religious cults arise in the towns and witchcraft is put to a new use as an aid in getting jobs. Work in the tribal setting is regulated but it becomes competitive in the "opportunist society" and there may be witchcraft accusations on a wider scale than in the rural areas.

An excellent and comprehensive survey covering every aspect of life in modern African towns.

W. V. BRELSFORD

East African Societies by Aylward Shorter (Routledge & Kegan Paul. Library of Man. 1974. Limp cover. 155 pages. Maps. Price £1,50).

The author distinguishes between traditional ethnography, which usually describes tribal entities in isolation, and the modern approach which finds greater interest in the general mechanics of social change and in the interaction between ethnic groups.

Conforming to the modern trend this book becomes a general history and human geography of African groups in East Africa with chapters, not on specific tribes, but, for example, on pastoral societies, on chieftain societies, on rural developments, urbanisation, family life, religious trends, witchcraft and so on, as found today over East Africa as a whole. He also discusses the structural and organisational changes that have followed the increase and greater ease of communication between the different units.

Like other writers on urbanisation he points out that although the African does make modifications to suit the new town life many ethnic loyalties, especially those connected with symbols, beliefs and values, are retained but adapted. As regards rural modifications he emphasises a difficulty that is widespread in the whole of South Africa — that where an entire culture or social system is based on cattle as "a symbol of social relationships and as an object of sentiment" it is extremely difficult to introduce economic change because such change threatens the whole fabric of the society.

The book ends with three case studies. On Kampala; a town on the developing agricultural commnity of the Kamba of Kenya; and on a resettlement scheme that failed in southern Tanzania. On the last study he points the lesson — "If resettlement is to succeed, it cannot be a question of grafting a new branch on to an old stock. Rather has it to be an outgrowth off the old stock itself."

W. V. BRELSFORD

Europe and South Africa, Parts 1 and 2, by A. N. Boyce, (Juta, Cape Town. 1974. Part 1, 226 pps., 23 maps, illustrations and index. Part 2, 327 pages, 30 maps, illustrations, cartoons and index).

The author, the Rector of the Johannesburg College of Education, has a long experience of writing history books for teachers and pupils.

In his preface to the *History for South African Schools*, of which Part 1 of *Europe and South Africa* is an adaptation brought up-to-date, the author indicated that he did not claim to reveal any new facts, nor to pretend that it was a work of scholarship. He did put forward the view that the art of marshalling facts in a systematic and logical manner is a skill pupils need to acquire at school, and that they should be called upon to make some efforts at self-activity.

At the end of each chapter there are exercises and a list of references to enable them to undertake their tasks.

The first Part deals with the general history of Europe from 1848-1918 before giving the history of South Africa until the Union in 1910.

In the second volume Boyce states he has attempted to make use of the latest findings of historians and to present some of the more recent interpretations of contemporary history.

There is no doubt that he has been eminently successful in his efforts to show pupils how to select data both relevant to the topic and historically significant, and how to evaluate this material in explaining events or movements in history.

The chapters on general world history are excellent. Pupils who use this book, and have a sympathetic teacher, would have a deep knowledge of the events which have occurred since 1918, and of the problems which have still to be solved. The exercises and references would stimulate their interest.

As text-books for teachers and senior scholars both parts of *Europe and South Africa* can be highly recommended, while the general reader would obtain from the second volume a clearer knowledge of our contemporary history.

G. H. TANSER

A Chief is a Chief by the People by Stimela Jason Jingoes (Oxford University Press, England. 1975. 252 pages. Illustrations. Maps. Recorded by J. and C. Perry. Price £6,50).

I recall reading in 1952 an anthropologist's official report on ritual murders in Basutoland which rammed home the psychological importance of Chiefs and the calamatous consequences of well-intentioned tampering with their role. The murders were not ritual murders so much as protective medicine rites dug up from the shadows of the past as an insurance against the threats of the present.

In this book, at last, we have an articulate African's account of chieftain-ship (and those murders) set in a vivid description of the author's life as he moves up to becoming a Court President and such a supporter of chieftainship that the book ends with, "You've always helped us Chiefs, eh, Jingoes. Why?" and the old man's reply, "I don't know Morena. I really don't know. I have'nt got much out of it. . ."

Jingoes, a Christian literate, born in 1895, describes his adventures as a herdboy in "the age when people still had love for cattle", his experiences in Johannesburg and his 1917 war service in France. On his return from the War he became an active organiser in the labour movement (I.C.U.) and a fighter in the courts for the rights of the Bantu workers, imprisoned and banned in the Western Transvaal. Disillusioned by the internal feuds of the movement he returned home

Towards the end of the 1930s this "agitator" — as he might have been labelled — began to tie his life into the chieftainship; to note that the Chief's role "had changed from that of father to administrator"; to worry about the emergence of "a faceless nation ... a formless crowd . . ."; and to bring his experience to bear on the problems of the Chiefs with such effect that one Chief exclaimed, "Today . . . Jingoes makes weapons with words like his grandfather made spears . . . hold him fast."

While being candid about the influence of bribery, and what he calls "gazetting" in reference to the unchecked "power that comes from Government", he reflects a fine loyalty to and sadness about chieftainship — "succession is a terrible thing" — and insists that "a chief is the child of the people . . . not a force above us . . . not a tin god".

The book will appeal to those with an interest in African life. Its insights should be studied by everyone concerned with chieftainship, because the author was known, in his old age, as the "Door to the Chief".

ROGER HOWMAN

Man in Africa. Edited by Mary Douglas and Phyllis Kaberry. (Tavistock Publications, Hampshire, England. 372 pages. Illustrations. Maps. £1,25).

This volume comprises 20 essays written by former pupils of Professor Daryll Forde in honour of his 21st anniversary as head of the Department of Anthropology at University College, London.

There is no uniform theme. After a general introduction on Classification of Units in Africa the essays are classified broadly under the headings of Political Economy, Problems in Kinship, Expression of Values (art, religion, witchcraft) and Enigmas of the Past. There is a bias towards studies of West Africa where Daryll Forde worked longest.

Mary Douglas asks — "Is Matriliny Doomed in Africa?" She points out that there are no matrilineal modern industrial societies and that matriliny is typical of poor societies with primitive economics in which matriliny has an important function in ensuring a wide distribution of commodities during gluts and shortages. But instancing the Tonga and Ndembu of Zambia she shows that matriliny is also well adapted to modern developing market economies in which "the demand for men is higher than the demand for things". She also points out that "the extended family" has been the core of many of the great industrial, banking and business families of modern Europe.

J. A. Barnes in a study of "The Politics of Law", with many illustrations from the Ngoni of Zambia, describes how the system of government was operated by men who were simultaneously politicians and executives of government as well as being both judge and police; that their authority covered both law and order; and that the courts, especially during times of rapid social change, made the laws as they were operating them.

Other writers discuss a wide variety of subjects — dreams as instruments of change, the poison ordeal (which disappeared before it could be fully studied) as a *rite de passage*, what diseases our prehistoric ancestors suffered from, and other unusual facets of anthropology.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Coming down the Zambezi by Bernard Venables (Constable. 1974. 237 pages. Illustrations. End paper maps. Price £3,95).

The author, who is one of the best known authorities on fishing in Britain, followed the course of the Zambezi from its source in the far corner of northwest Zambia down to Feira on the borders of Rhodesia and Mozambique. Accompanied by an African girl interpreter and an African guide he did not stick to the river all the way. The party did travel some long stretches by canoe and by outboard motor boat, but they walked some distances on foot along the bank, they were given lifts in official and missionary landrovers, especially down the vast Barotse plain, and they visited selected points by small plane.

It is a light book with vignettes of African village life, some brief descriptions of African customs and rituals, meetings with missionaries and African government officials such as District Governors (formerly colonial government Provincial Commissioners) and District Secretaries (formerly District Commissioners). Some of the government officials were helpful, others seemed to spend most of their time on fishing trips. Descriptions of the lonely bush and the lovely quietness of the river are contrasted sharply with the uproarious parties that seem to occur every night in the sweaty bars of once quiet, sober outstation Bomas.

The book ends with a series of long, interesting conversations with the late Johny Uys, one of the best known game officials of recent years.

It is a pleasant, easy to read book, and, considering the author's bent, it does not contain too much about fishing.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man by Fergus Macpherson. Introduction by President Julius Nyerere. (Oxford University Press. Limp cover. 478 pages. Map. Illustrations).

The title of this obviously authorised official biography of the President of Zambia is misleading. One would be entitled to assume that it would bring the story of Kaunda up to something approaching our own times.

This is not so. It is the biography of Kaunda up to the time Zambia attained independence in October, 1964. So much has happened since then and is still happening that a portrait of Kaunda which stops short about 11 years ago begs more questions than it answers.

What the book does is to give a comprehensive, painstaking account of the early life of the Zambian leader. Indeed so meticulous is the author in filling in

every available detail that he has reduced something that could have been a lively and compelling story to a stodgy account that the faithful will have difficulty in pursuing and the less faithful will find virtually unreadable.

This is a pity. Whether one admires Kaunda or not he is a vital figure in the history of Africa in this day and age and he may yet have an even more important part to play. It is important to understand what motivates the man and to appreciate what forces combined to mould him into what he is today.

Mr. Macpherson has set all this down very faithfully but in such undiscriminating detail that sifting the significant factors is far from easy.

Another aspect of his treatment of the subject is his complete failure to admit that there was much to be said for British rule in Africa. Everyone knows that the record of all colonisers was far from perfect, but it is straining credulity to ask the world to believe that it was quite as black as painted here and that it brought no real benefits to the protected or subject peoples.

The author, a former Church of Scotland minister and educationist, is an old friend of Kaunda who became the first Dean of Students at the University of Zambia and is a specialist in Zambian history attached to the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation.

This is a disappointing book but it has the merit that it assembles a vast amount of factual material on the early life of Kenneth Kaunda for the benefit of later historians.

W. E. ARNOLD

Zambezia

Vol. 3 No. 1, December, 1973 (published 1975) of this "Journal of Social Studies in Southern and Central Africa" is devoted largely to the texts of some of the series of lectures given at the University of Rhodesia Vacation School in 1972 under the title of "Comparative Race Policies in Southern Africa".

There is a general introduction on race in southern Africa followed by studies on race relations and racial policies in South Africa and Rhodesia; on race relations in Mozambique; and on 'non-racialism' in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Final papers are "The Multiracial Myth" and "Race and International Politics". No attempt has been made to up-date the content of the lectures.

There are general essay reviews and book reviews. Zambezia is an annual published by the University of Rhodesia at R\$2, per issue.

African Social Research

The main article in No. 5, June 1975, of this Zambian journal is "Migration and Language Change: the Interaction of Town and Country" by Mubanga E. Kashoki. The main change discussed is the borrowing of European (mainly

English) words and forms of expression, with changes in spelling, into the Bemba language. Industrialisation, especially mining, has led to the greatest number of "loan words" but the process is not always the borrowing in the town followed by the transfer to the rural areas. There are such factors as education, religion and administration, common to both urban and rural areas, which have produced "loan words". And there were many pre-industrialisation borrowings from Swahili and Portuguese. The only other article is by James Fry on "Rural-Urban Terms of Trade, 1960-73".

There are two long review articles — "Multinational Corporations and Economic Independence in Africa" by Ann Seidman and "Research in Zambian Law" by C. M. N. White plus other reviews and notes. This half-yearly journal is published by the Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia.

New Mambo Press Titles

There are several new books published by Mambo Press, Gwelo.

A Basic English-Shona Dictionary by Desmond Dale, SJ. is published in association with the Rhodesian Literature Bureau. It is pleasantly illustrated with line drawings taken from a number of other works on Rhodesia. Limp cover. Price \$1,60.

Mingled Trails by Stuart Palmer, also published in association with the Bureau, is a very readable book on the natural history of Rhodesia. It is not a text book. The author relates his personal experiences with the birds and beasts and insects of the veld and he brings in memories of people and places. It is enlivened with sketches by Lief Ncube. Limp cover. Price 85c.

The Imaginative Writings of Paul Chidyausika by George, P. Kahari is a study of the well known Shona essayist, novelist and playwright. There is a short history of the Shona novel, outlining the interplay of tradition and innovation, and Chidyausika is shown as continuing the "great Shona storytelling tradition". His innovations are the introduction of romantic love and Christian moral values.

No. 4 in the Socio-Economic Series is *The Poverty Datum Line as a Wage Fixing Standard: An Application to Rhodesia* by Roger C. Riddell and Peter S. Harris. Limp cover. Price \$1,40.



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