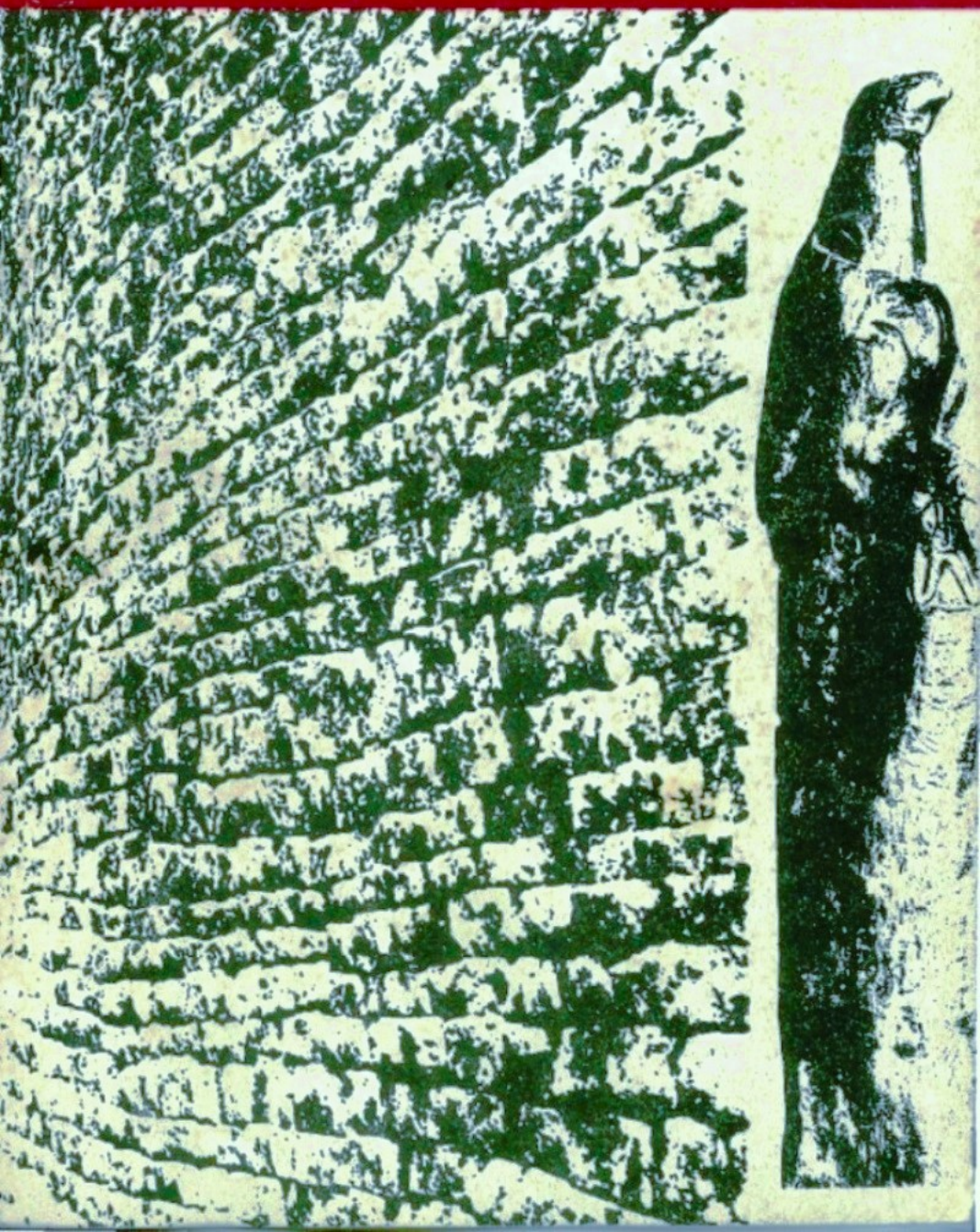


HERITAGE

VOLUME NUMBER 2

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The History Society of Zimbabwe

The Society exists to promote 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 Zimbabwe and neighbouring territories.

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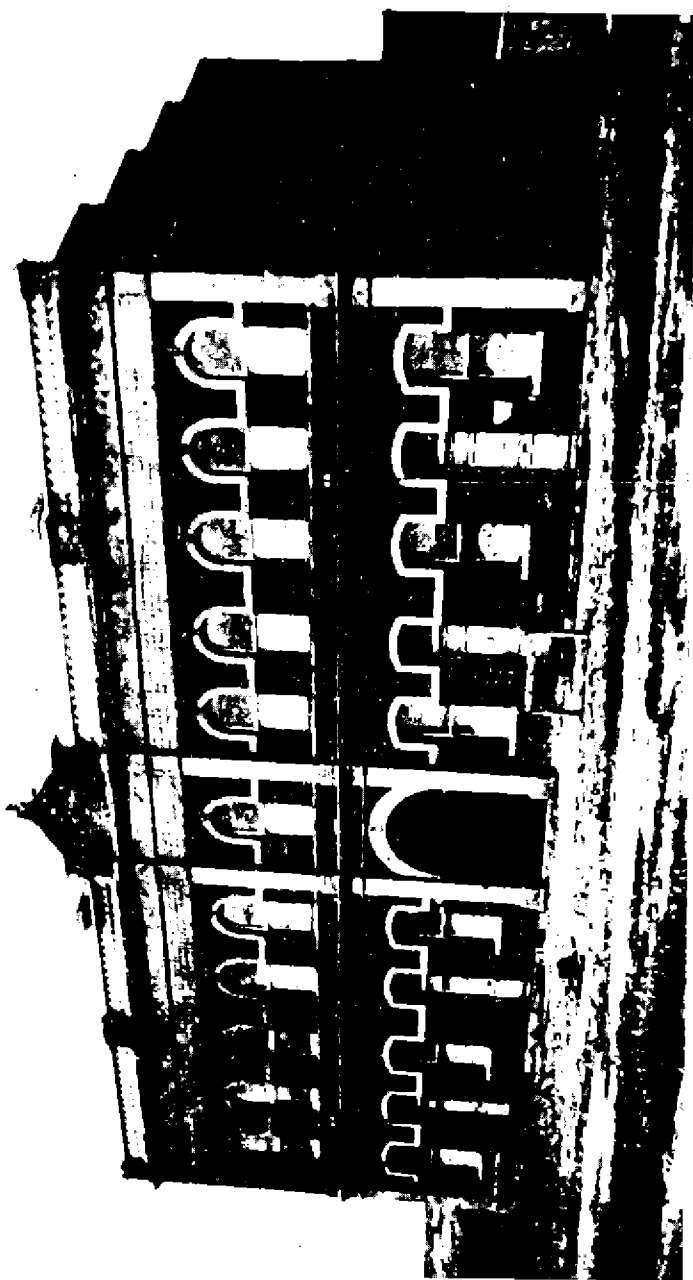
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COVER DESIGN — *Front*: Zimbabwe Bird, from a cast in the National Archives of the soapstone original which was removed from Great Zimbabwe by the archaeologist Theodore Bent in 1891; masonry from a passage wall in the Great Enclosure, Zimbabwe (photograph c. 1904). *Back*: Masonry with chevron decoration, from the outer wall of the Great Enclosure (photograph c. 1894); Conical Tower (photograph c. 1930) National Archives.



The earliest known photograph of F.S.A.D. Building, which must date from about 1896/1897, because the eastern section of the ground floor is still occupied by the F.S.A.D. Company Photo — National Archives

F.S.A.D. Building: Its lineage and history

by A. M. Spencer-Cook

The F.S.A.D. Building in Samora Machel Avenue, Salisbury, better known as Jameson House, is the subject of the following two articles by Mr. A. M. Spencer-Cook. The building, which was completed in 1896, is now owned by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, which applied in July 1980 to demolish the building. Mr. Spencer-Cook on behalf of the History Society of Zimbabwe, opposed the application and ultimately the Salisbury City Council decided to serve a preservation order on the building. The Reserve Bank appealed against this decision but the appeal was rejected by the Administrative Court on 4 March 1982.

In the first article, the author describes the history and architectural significance of the building. In the second he gives details of the controversy over the preservation of the building and re-examines his own earlier claim that the trial of Mbuya Nehanda took place there.

In this brief article, in order to make a case for its preservation, the writer will endeavour to show that the building under consideration has both architectural and historical significance.

In the report *Britain's Historic Buildings — a Policy for their Future Use*, the working party set up, with Lord Montague as chairman, said, as recently as March 1981: "The conservation of historic buildings is not a luxury; rather it is a policy of good stewardship of one of our most important assets; a form of husbanding an essential resource".

Sir Bannister Fletcher in his *History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, quotes Morgan: "Architecture is the printing-press of all ages and gives a history of the state of society in which it was erected". He could have added that its study shows definable trends on a sometimes faltering but generally cohesive path.

In Zimbabwe, in the preamble to the Town and Country Planning Act [22 of 1976], a duty is placed on the planning authority to provide for the protection of urban and rural amenities and the preservation of buildings and trees and, generally, to regulate the appearance of townscapes and landscapes.

With these thoughts in mind, what is the position of the F.S.A.D. Building?

THE LINEAGE

In the early 1890s a reaction set in among Victorian architects and they turned away from the Gothic and picturesque and returned to the more sombre classical styles, drawing inspiration from continental designs, particularly from the Italian Renaissance and the earlier Roman and Hellenic prototypes.

In outline, the development of architecture relevant to this building began in about 650 B.C. The Greek temple emerged, in which the front elevation, with a series of

columns, supported an entablature, above which was a cornice surrounding a pediment.

The style was continued in Roman buildings, such as the north elevation of the Pantheon in Rome and was revived, after the medieval Gothic period, by the Italian Renaissance architects and it is largely from the Renaissance source that the later Victorian architects drew their inspiration.

In Italian domestic architecture of the 16th century, the pediments were often limited to window tops and the cornice was enlarged and often finished above with a balustrade.

Columns were flattened, often to mere pilasters (see picture of the eastern corner of the Capitol in Rome). The columns re-emerged inside the building, supporting arches around a cortile (see St. Maria della Pace). The front entrance doorway became an important feature of the façade and served, usually, as a carriageway. Window openings received prominence, with elaboration over the arches. The early Victorian classicists, like David Rhind, drew largely on Greek prototypes, whereas Edward Walters gained inspiration from Italian sources for his Manchester and Salford Bank.

Office chambers developed during the early 1800s and were given impetus by the Banking Acts promulgated in the 1820s.

Until that time offices and shops had usually formed part of the domestic residence of the owner but, with the advance of the industrial revolution in England, such premises became unsuitable. Gradually more commodious buildings were erected. The Manchester and Salford Bank building provided much of the inspiration for later smaller buildings.

With this very brief background, we can now examine the F.S.A.D. Building, which stands in Salisbury, on the northern side of Samora Machel Avenue, just to the east of the intersection with First Street. The earliest known photograph was taken soon after the building's completion in 1896. The name of the architect is unknown and the original plans have been lost, but no doubt this information will become available as research continues.

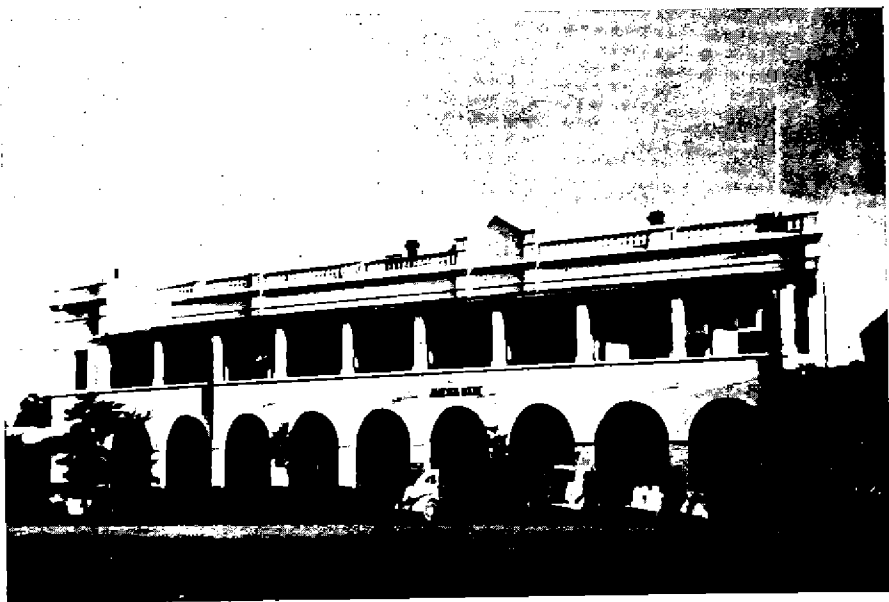
The southern façade of the building presents a feeling of classical solidity. There is a central arched gateway, which was decorative and never intended to be a carriageway as was, for example, the entrance to Lonrho Building in Baker Avenue. The gateway is flanked by two pilasters rising the full height of the building to draw attention to the pediment, which pierces the balustrade and which is capped by a stylistic acroterion. The balustrade is of cast iron. Below this is a tiled frieze and a cornice divides the ground and first floors. At the outer edge of the building the pilasters complement the central panel as well as balancing and framing the façade. The whole building was set on granite blocks.

The upper windows especially, with stucco keystones and surrounds, provide some relief to the rather severe effect.

Office chambers such as these were, after all, designed to complement the attributes of the owners and to show them as being solid, conservative, reliable members of society. The later developments of the building are remarkably compatible with the original design. The picture of the building in the early 1920s shows the addition of D'Arcy Cathcart's colonnade.

In the late 1940s we have the addition of the three western bays and the tower. The addition has faithfully reproduced the concept of the original building, but it can be seen that the lower portion of the colonnade has been filled in and the upper arcade has been divided by partition walls to create separate verandahs for the hotel which then occupied the building.

The idea of adding colonnades to buildings is by no means new. The building pictured on the right of the Capitol shows the old prison in Rome with a Renaissance façade added,



The building in the late 1940s showing the western tower designed by D'Arcy Cathcart and showing that the lower stages of the colonnade had been filled in. What can be seen very clearly is that the original façade remains almost totally untouched. The present façade will need little more than a coat of paint to restore it to its original condition.

Photo — National Archives

F.S.A.D. Building in the early 1920s after the addition of D'Arcy Cathcart's colonnade. During the building's occupation by the High Court, judges and jurymen had complained about the unbearable heat. No doubt the colonnade provided an admirable solution for keeping the building cool and its removal might well cause problems with the inside temperature.

Photo — National Archives



to the design of Michelangelo. Two of the great Italian architects, Alberti and Palladio, both accepted commissions to add porticos to earlier medieval churches, the former at St. Francesco, Rimini, and the Basilica, Vicenza.

HISTORY

At the beginning of 1890, the Salisbury Kopje was occupied by Chief Gutsa and his people. Gutsa was a friend of Chief Seke and was a skilled ironworker who originated from the Charter District. His younger brother, Wata, and his people, lived in the area presently known as Mount Pleasant. The arrival of the B.S.A. Company column in September 1890, resulted in Chief Gutsa and Chief Wata moving northwards and, eventually, settling in the Mazoe area, where they became influenced by the spirit medium, Nehanda, an event which may well have a bearing on the history of the F.S.A.D. Building at a later time, because Wata was arraigned there with Nehanda before Mr. Justice Watermeyer. It seems unlikely that the trial of Mbuya Nehanda took place in the building, but it is by no means certain yet that Chief Wata, who had escaped from custody, may perhaps have been tried in the building at a later stage, and research is continuing.

In 1891, the surveyor, T. A. Ross, nephew of the first Administrator, Archibald Colquhoun, surveyed the town and determined the boundaries of the original stands. The British South Africa Company established a Stands Register, based on the survey by Ross, and began to sell or grant land to new residents.

Ross had designed the new city in a grid pattern around a central garden stretching from what is now known as Samora Machel Avenue in the south to Rhodes Avenue in the north, bounded on the east and west by Second Street and Moffat Street. However, by



The eastern corner of the Capitol at Rome, to the design of Michelangelo Buonarroti, between 1450 and 1644. The two-storey Capitoline Museum has pilasters with Corinthian capitals and, above the entablature is a pierced balustrade.

The façade of the building on the right, to Michelangelo's design, masks the earlier medieval prison of Rome.



The cloisters of St. Maria della Pace, Rome, 1504. The ecclesiastical equivalent of a domestic cortile.

agreement with A. H. F. Duncan, the Surveyor-General, who had formerly been the Surveyor-General of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, land was excised from the garden.

One of the first pieces of land to be taken from the garden was Stand 1375 and this stand was given, as a free grant, by J. Vintcent, on behalf of the B. S. A. Company, to the French South African Development Company Limited. The title was registered on 12 November 1895, but Vintcent, who was the first Judge of the High Court, imposed a condition that the grant was only to be effective provided offices to the value of £3 000 were erected on the property within 12 months of 11 July 1895. The original title deed was endorsed, in 1900, by the Administrator, W. M. Milton, that the conditions of the grant had been met and the property passed unconditionally to the French South African Development Company Limited.

The building was placed in a pre-eminent position, surrounded as it was by the garden that was to be developed so successfully by the Park Curator, Joshua Billing.

The French South African Development Company Limited had been incorporated in South Africa under the provisions of the Joint Stock Companies Limited Liability Act of 1861 of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. It had a share capital of £200 000 in one pound shares and, until the end of the century, it was quoted on the Rhodesian Stock Exchange. On 7 April 1897, for example, the share price stood at £1. 5s. 0d.

In order to meet the B.S.A. Company's requirements, the building had been finished in June 1896 and it became the office chambers of lawyers, architects and other professional men and vied with other chambers that were being put up elsewhere in the city — such places as White's and Annaly's Chambers, built for Lord Luke Annaly in Baker Avenue, as well as various chambers in the Kopje area.

In August 1896, the Hon. J. F. P. Watermeyer had been appointed a Judge of the

High Court of Matabeleland (which then administered justice in both Matabeleland and Mashonaland). The status of the High Court changed in 1898 to become the High Court of Southern Rhodesia, and on 29 December 1898, Watermeyer was appointed a Judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia. It appears that the High Court moved into the building at some stage between the beginning of April 1898 and the end of that year.

It occupied the area to the west of the main entrance on the ground floor. The High Court library was nearest to the entrance and, to the west of that, was the office of the Master of the High Court, Mr. J. H. Kennedy; behind this were Judge Watermeyer's office and the rather small room apparently used as the High Court itself. The presence of the High Court in the building creates an association between all the early judicial officers and the building. The photograph accompanying this article shows some of these early law officers and, of course, the trials that took place in the building also associate it with historically important people.

To the east of the main door, the original occupant was the F.S.A.D. Company and, later, Rhodesian Goldfields had their offices there and they, in 1900, bought Stand 1376, to the east of the F.S.A.D. Building from the F.S.A.D. Company.

By 1905 the eastern section of the ground floor was occupied by the Agricultural Department and the B.S.A. Company. Its successor, the government of Sir Charles Coghlan, continued to occupy the building, eventually becoming the sole tenant, after the High Court moved in 1917.

During this period, the property had changed hands twice, firstly, in February 1910, to the F.S.A. Syndicate Limited and, again, in May 1910, to the London and Johannesburg Trust Company. In the early 1920s the rather severe south façade was lightened by the addition of an open colonnade, put up to the design of the architect D'Arcy Cathcart and, very shortly thereafter, again to Cathcart's design, the colonnade was extended westwards and the tower put up in the south-west corner. Above the colonnade was a verandah, but the main façade of the original building was left effectively untouched and can be seen today in virtually pristine condition.

The building became known as Jameson House and was used for many years, with single-storey extensions at the back, as a residential hotel, the open courtyard being developed with palms and trees and being used as a tea garden for hotel residents.

In 1952 the open colonnade was enclosed to extend the shops from the façade to the edge of what was then Jameson Avenue and, in 1955, the hotel dining-room and adjacent building were adapted to house 14 bookmakers of the Tattersalls Club and another part of the building was used as the Georgian Grill.

The property later passed to Whitney Straight, who added most of the existing bathrooms in 1963. It remained in his possession until his death, when it passed to the present owners — the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.

From these brief comments, it can be seen that the building has been associated with many of the country's important personages.

As in all matters historical, finality is seldom reached, and further research is continuing into the history of the building. Many questions remain unanswered, and it is hoped that any reader who has substantiated information on the early occupation of the building will be kind enough to convey this to the writer.

F.S.A.D. Building: and the trial of Mbuya Nehanda

by A. M. Spencer-Cook

On Wednesday, 30 September 1981, Dr. Eddison Zvobgo, as Minister of Local Government and Housing, invited me to accompany him to look at the F.S.A.D. Building in Samora Machel Avenue in Salisbury and explain to him the controversy that had arisen.

On arrival at the building we were met by Dr. K. J. Moyanaa, Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, as representative of the present owners of the building. During the tour, Dr. Moyanaa stated that the Bank had evidence that the trial of Mbuya Nehanda did not take place in the building.

The thought that the trial of Mbuya Nehanda had taken place in the building was first put to the Planning and Works Committee of the City Council of Salisbury by me when I addressed them concerning the building on 4 June 1981.¹

The historian must draw his conclusions from the evidence available to him, whether that evidence results from his own observations, the excavation of an historical site, from reading original documents, from comments by others and such similar evidence as may become available to him.

In view of Dr. Moyanaa's comment, it is therefore necessary to re-examine the position of the F.S.A.D. Building vis-a-vis Mbuya Nehanda.

THE CONTROVERSY

In order to understand the relative importance of the building and Nehanda, it is necessary to explain how the controversy has arisen between the Reserve Bank, as owners of the building on the one hand and the City Council of Salisbury, the Director of the Queen Victoria Museum and the History Society of Zimbabwe on the other.

In July 1980, the Reserve Bank applied to the Director of the Queen Victoria Museum, in terms of the Museums and Monuments Act, to demolish the F.S.A.D. Building. They were required to do this because the building in question was completed before 30 December 1909.²

On 2 September 1980, at their request, Mr. J. Minshull, as Director of the Queen Victoria Museum, and I, as Honorary Director of Heritage of the Nation, addressed the General Purposes Committee of the City of Salisbury on the need to preserve buildings of architectural and historic importance. During my address, I mentioned, among other things, the F.S.A.D. Building.³

After considering the application, the Director of the Queen Victoria Museum consented to the demolition on the basis of the information submitted by the Reserve Bank's architects and by the Assistant General Manager of the Reserve Bank.⁴

I had been absent from Zimbabwe during most of the time that this correspondence had been in train. On my return, as a member of the Museum Director's Advisory Committee on Historic Buildings, I was advised of the decision. I suggested that the decision was wrong and, after discussion, a letter was written to the architects revoking the decision to demolish.⁵

On 23 October 1980, the Director of the Queen Victoria Museum wrote to the Town Clerk of Salisbury, in terms of the Town and Country Planning Act [22/76], asking that a Preservation Order be served on the owners of the F.S.A.D. Building.⁶

The General Manager of the Reserve Bank invited the Director of the Queen Victoria Museum and myself to discuss the matter of the demolition with him and a meeting was held on 5 November 1980. On that day, the building was inspected by the General Manager and the Assistant General Manager of the Reserve Bank, together with the Director of the Queen Victoria Museum and myself, and I was asked to submit a history of the building for consideration by the Reserve Bank. This I duly did.⁷

In the notes, amongst other things, I outlined the procedures to be adopted if it was wished to preserve a building and the right person served with a Preservation Order had to appeal to the Administrative Court against the Order.

The Town Clerk of the City of Salisbury acknowledged the Museum Director's letter on 19 November 1980.⁸

On 10 February 1981, the General Manager of the Reserve Bank wrote thanking the Museum Director for his help, but stating that the Reserve Bank still wished to demolish the F.S.A.D. Building.⁹

On 4 June 1981, at the request of the General Purposes Committee of the City Council, I addressed them on the preservation of the F.S.A.D. Building and raised the question of the trial of Mbuya Nehanda which, from the evidence then available to me, appeared to have taken place in the F.S.A.D. Building.¹⁰ I heard nothing further until I was telephoned by a journalist on the staff of the *Financial Gazette*, who advised me that the building was to be preserved in terms of a decision of the Salisbury City Council to serve a Preservation Order on the building.¹¹

THE HIGH COURT

In order to examine the evidence, the position of the High Court in the post-settler period in the territories of Lobengula, King of Matabeleland, Mashonaland and the adjoining territories¹² must be considered. In 1889 the Charter¹³ which arose from the Rudd Concession, in Section 22, required the British South Africa Company, as the authority in the area "to provide such Courts and their requisities as may from time to time be necessary for the administration of justice". In 1894 this was elaborated by the Matabeleland Order in Council¹⁴ which, in section 26, established a Court of Record styled the High Court of Matabeleland.

In terms of the High Commissioner's Proclamation 4 of 1894 "the High Court shall hold its sitting at Fort Salisbury for the hearing and determination of both Civil and Criminal cases, and shall also . . . hold sittings at Bulawayo, Umtali, Fort Victoria, Hartley Hill and Tuli".¹⁵ This was amended, in 1898, by the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council¹⁶ which, in Section 49, constituted a Court of Record styled the High Court of Southern Rhodesia.

For all practical purposes we can say that the superior Court in the territory from late 1894 to late 1898 was the High Court of Matabeleland and, from late 1898 onwards, was the High Court of Southern Rhodesia.

In my research in connection with the building for the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, I made the erroneous supposition that the High Court of Matabeleland operated in what today is the Province of Matabeleland, but it is now clear to me that King Lobengula regarded the whole of what is now Zimbabwe as his Kingdom. In 1888 he describes

himself as "The Chief, Lobengula, Ruler of the tribe known as the Amandabele, together with the Mushuna and the Makakalaka, tributaries of the same".¹⁷

Section 4 of Matabeleland Order in Council, 1894, embraces the whole of the present-day Zimbabwe and includes the present administrative province of Mashonaland. Thus the High Court of Matabeleland operated throughout the country, but mainly in Bulawayo and Salisbury. I had been unable to reconcile this and had failed to understand how the High Court of Matabeleland could have moved into the building in Salisbury in 1896, which was the oral tradition associated with the building. The understanding of the position of the High Court of Matabeleland provides the reason and the possibility and could exclude the conclusion that the Court did not move in until after the promulgation of the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1898.¹⁸

THE LAW OFFICERS

The next consideration is that, if the Court could have been in the building, could the correct judges have been associated with the building and the trial? The position of the two judges and the Registrar of the High Court of Matabeleland is as follows:

On 10 September 1894, Joseph Vincent was appointed Judge of the High Court of Matabeleland. On 7 November 1894, J. H. Kennedy was appointed Registrar of that Court and, on 30 July 1896, Acting Judge of the High Court of Matabeleland. On 3 August 1896, J. F. P. Watermeyer was appointed a Judge in the High Court of Matabeleland. All this changes as a result of the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1898 and, on 29 December 1898, Watermeyer was appointed a Judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia and, on 30 December 1898, Vincent was appointed Senior Judge and Kennedy Registrar.

EARLIER OPINIONS ON THE BUILDING

M. J. Kimberley, in his article on Watermeyer, states: "In Salisbury until 1917 the Court sat in the double-storey building owned by the French South Africa Development Company. This building, known as Jameson House, had been built in 1895 and was originally designed as a Stock Exchange, but never used as such. The Court also went on circuit and held sessions in various towns throughout Rhodesia".²⁰

In his article for the Salisbury and District Publicity Association in 1967, G. H. Tanser notes:

"During 1895 there was a tremendous boom on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Good and bad shares changed hands at very high prices. A number of Salisbury businessmen formed a finance company to erect a double-storey building as a stock exchange, with offices on the second floor. The work was started towards the end of 1895, but the boom began to turn into a slump in November and the national disaster of the Jameson Raid, the rinderpest and the Rebellions ruined the company so that in 1896 the building stood unfinished.

"It was bought and completed by the French South Africa Development Company and this company placed the legend 'F.S.A.D. Co. 1896' on the front of it.

"After the Rebellions the High Court was set up in Salisbury and the building was rented to the British South Africa Company for the High Court."²¹

The inference was therefore drawn that the High Court sat in the F.S.A.D. Building from the time it was completed some time in 1896.



Judicial officers 1901. This photograph is taken from the backyard of the building and shows the northern side of the main entrance. One of the original back sash windows can be clearly seen and a reflection in the window shows the wind pump which operated on the property.

From left to right the seated figures show:

J. G. Kotze, K. C., the Attorney-General who, in the following year, was appointed Administrator of Southern Rhodesia during the absence of Mr. Milton.

The Hon. J. P. F. Watermeyer who, in August 1896, had been appointed a judge of the High Court of Matabeleland and, on 29 December 1898, a puisne judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia.

J. H. Kennedy who had been Master of the High Court since 1892 and Registrar of the High Court since November 1894. During 1896 he had acted as a judge of the High Court and, in 1897, had acted as Magistrate, Salisbury, as well as being appointed a member of the Licensing Court. He was also Chairman of the Salisbury Board of Executors.

Photo — National Archives

THE TRIAL

The trial of Mbuya Nehanda took place before Mr. Justice Watermeyer in the High Court of Matabeleland in Salisbury. Summons was served on Nehanda to appear before the High Court on 20 February 1898 and the record shows that Watermeyer passed sentence on 2 March 1898.²² If the inferences about the Court and the building are correct, then the trial took place in the F.S.A.D. Building and I am indebted to Dr. Moyanaa for requiring me to re-examine the position.

HISTORICAL PROBLEMS

An historian should be concerned to arrive at the best available information at any given point in time, accepting always that conclusions may have to be changed in the light of later evidence which may become available. Historical things are not immutable and historians must always be unbiased enough to alter their ideas if new discoveries render theories and notions untenable.

As an aside, a case of such a nature occurred over the early interpretation to be placed on the Great Zimbabwe complex near Fort Victoria. Hall and Neal,²³ in 1902, maintained it was of extremely ancient origin. In 1906, at the invitation of the British Association and the Rhodes Trustees, Dr. Randall Maciver visited the complex and concluded that the Ruins were of medieval origin, built by the indigenous people,²⁴ in reply to which, Hall wrote his book *Prehistoric Rhodesia*, proving to his satisfaction that Maciver was quite wrong,²⁵ and the issue remained one of conflict for many years.²⁶

So it can be seen that the research of history is by no means an exact science.

WHEN WAS THE BUILDING COMPLETED?

Returning to the problem under review, we now have to determine, if possible, firstly, when the building was in fact erected. The building itself, on the pediment, says 'F. S.A.D. CO. 1896', although, from Kimberley and Tanser's remarks, it was apparently started in 1895. The title deed²⁷ says that the land was granted to the French South Africa Development Company Limited and the title was registered on 12 November 1895. The stand had not previously been owned by anybody and Tanser's explanation of the group of businessmen therefore seems improbable. A condition was imposed that the grant was subject to offices to the value of £3 000 being erected within 12 months of 11 July 1895. The conditions were met at some stage, because the original Title Deed is endorsed, in 1900, by the Administrator, W. M. Milton, that the conditions of the grant had been met and the property passed unconditionally to the French South Africa Development Company Limited. The inference to be drawn is that the building was finished by 11 July 1896, although, if this were so, why was the Title Deed not endorsed more timeously?

The Civil Commissioner,²⁸ in 1898, says: "The Stock Exchange Buildings in Jameson Avenue are approaching completion" but, in an editorial comment, *The Rhodesia Herald*, in 1898,²⁹ noted that the Stock and Share Exchange Company Limited had no building of its own and, in fact, the Stock and Share Exchange Company Limited operated from Agency Building.³⁰

The Civil Commissioner does not mention the French South Africa Development Company, but it seems probable that the building he has in mind is the one in question.

On 1 June 1898, S. D. Le Roux, an architect, moved into the F.S.A.D. Building, so there is positive evidence of its occupation by that date.³¹ In *The Nugget*,³² an advertisement of 2 April 1898 advertises two large well-built shops to let opposite the French South Africa Development Company, so it was clearly an established building by the beginning of April 1898.

THE LAW OFFICERS AGAIN

Dealing with the High Court officials, it is possible that they could have used the building, because they were in Salisbury. Judge Vintcent arrived in Salisbury from Umtali with Inspector Nesbitt and others during the week ended 17 June 1896.³³ The High Court was held in Salisbury on 25 August 1896.³⁴ Vintcent went on leave in early November and Watermeyer had not, by that stage, arrived in Salisbury.³⁵ Watermeyer and Kennedy arrived from Bulawayo on 3 December 1896,³⁶ so the High Court and its officials were operating in Salisbury during the second half of 1896, but from where?

ALTERNATE SITE

The only alternate site that could be recognised is the building shown as "The High Court"³⁷ on Stand 145, Salisbury. This was situated opposite the Market Square at 86

Victoria Street, at the corner of Victoria Street and Bank Street on the northern side of the Market Square. The original Court House has been destroyed and the site is presently occupied by offices of the District Administration.

All the newspaper reports and the early Summonses to the High Court merely speak of "The High Court" and it was obviously so notorious that it was not necessary to give an address.

THE TRIAL AGAIN

The trial of Nehanda occurred in two stages, a Preliminary Examination being held by the Acting Magistrate, Mr. C. Bailey, on 12 January 1898³⁸ and there seems little doubt that this must have occurred at "The Court House".

According to the record of the Preliminary Examination, Nehanda and Wata had been arrested on 18 December 1898, although this, presumably, should read 18 December 1897. Certainly, the other records support the suggestion that the Preliminary Examination was held on 12 January 1898.

As a result of the Preliminary Examination, the Public Prosecutor, H. H. Castens, decided to indict the case to the High Court and the parties, namely the witnesses and the accuseds, were severally summonsed or subpoenaed to appear in the High Court of Matabeleland on 20 February 1898. However, this also presents a small problem for historians because, if the contemporary *Rhodesia Herald* is to be believed, the High Court sat on a Monday, 21 February 1898. Therefore, 20 February must have been a Sunday.³⁹

However, Justice Watermeyer certainly heard the case, which must presumably have been remanded for sentence, because the record shows that Mbuya Nehanda was sentenced to death on 5 March 1898.⁴⁰ But, between the time that the four accused, Nehanda, Gutsa, Zindongu and Wata, were indicted and the time that the trial was heard, Zindongu and Gutsa had escaped from the gaol. This raises speculation as to if and when they appeared before the High Court.

The importance of Nehanda in the *First Chimurenga*, 1896 to 1897 is too well known to be dealt with here.

FURTHER EVIDENCE

The next piece of evidence comes from the Assistant Commissioner of Public Works.⁴¹ In 1898 he says: "To provide better accommodation for the High Court and Judges' offices, as well as for the Master of the High Court and Registrar, it is proposed to hire a portion of the F.S.A.D. Building in Jameson Avenue and to utilise the offices and rooms which are set at liberty for the expansion in the Survey, Mines and Public Works Department."

Again, there is no indication as to where the High Court actually was, but it does not seem to be "The Court House" at 86 Victoria Street, because nowhere else is it stated that the Court House ceased to be used as such at about that time.

In 1899, the Commissioner of Public Works⁴² states: "In Salisbury the new building erected by the French South Africa Company has been rented by the Government for use as a High Court, together with offices for the Judge, the Master and the Registrar of the Court."

CONCLUSION

From the evidence available, it seems that the F.S.A.D. Building was completed some time after the beginning of October 1896. The trial of Mbuya Nehanda reached a

conclusion on 5 March 1898 and the High Court moved into F.S.A.D. Building at some date after 1 April 1898.

It is therefore possible to say, with reasonable certainty, that Judge Watermeyer and his Court did not move into F.S.A.D. Building until at least 27 days after the trial of Mbuya Nehanda.

SPECULATION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Clearly, much further work is needed to be done to establish the exact position of the building in relation to the *First Chimurenga* and work is continuing on the records of the High Court to try to establish quite who Gutsa (who was a subject to the Preliminary Examination as co-accused of Nehanda) was. It now seems unlikely that he could have been the Chief Gutsa who was in the Kopje area at the time of the arrival of the settlers because, in the Preliminary Examination,⁴³ his age is given as 22, which would have made him only about 16 at the time of the settlers' arrival, but he is shown as having been born in Wata's Kraal. Wata, on the other hand, was shown as 50 years old at the time of the Preliminary Examination and he could well be the Wata who was the younger son of Chief Gutsa, who occupied the Mount Hampden area, according to oral tradition, ⁴⁴ at the time of the settlers' arrival.

Zindongu, the other man who escaped, is shown as only being 16 years old at the time of the Preliminary Examination. The speculation is: Were Gutsa and Zindongu re-arrested; were they re-arraigned and, if they were tried, where were they tried? In my view, this reappraisal of the dating of the F.S.A.D. Building and the trial of Nehanda, makes the building more, rather than less, interesting and it would be indeed sad if the building, with all its historical associations, were allowed to be demolished. In fact, Dr. Eddison Zvobgo, having toured the building said: "Even if Mbuya Nehanda was tried in another building before Judge Watermeyer moved into this building purely from an architectural point of view, this is one of the oldest buildings in town, if not the oldest and, for that reason alone, the building is worth preserving. Any Government which destroys its oldest buildings is reckless." he added. "We can't wipe out our colonial past in respect of this building."⁴⁵

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indeed indebted to Dr. Moyanaa of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe for sparking off this reappraisal; to Mr. E. E. Burke and Mr. R. W. S. Turner, both former directors of the National Archives, for perhaps pointing me in the right direction; to the always courteous staff at the National Archives of Zimbabwe, and to John Minshull, director of the Queen Victoria Museum, for his invaluable scientific counsel in my research endeavours.

NOTES

1. A taped cassette of the address is available among my records.
2. Queen Victoria Museum — F.S.A.D. Building file.
3. General Purposes Committee 2 September 1980 — Some Notes by A. M. Spencer-Cook (manuscript) and see report in *The Herald*, 19 September 1980.
4. *Ibid.* 3 — items 4, 7 and 9.
5. *Ibid.* 3 — item 11.
6. *Ibid.* 3 — item 12.

7. "F.S.A.D. Building — A Case for its Preservation" by A. M. Spencer-Cook, 17 November 1980 (unpublished).
8. *Ibid.* 3 — item 13.
9. *Ibid.* 3— item 15.
10. General Purposes Committee, 4 June 1981 — Some Notes by A. M. Spencer-Cook (manuscript).
11. *Financial Gazette* 26 June 1981.
12. Lobengula's Concession to Messrs. Rudd, Maquire and Thompson, 30 October 1888.
13. The Charter, 29 October 1889 published by the High Commissioner's (of South Africa) Notice dated 18 December 1889.
14. Matabeleland Order in Council 1894, 18 July 1894, published 5 October 1894 (High Commissioner's Notice No. 38/1894).
15. High Commissioner's Proclamation No. 4 of 1894, published 10 September 1894 — see Section 5.
16. The Southern Rhodesia Order in Council 1898, 20 October 1898, published 25 November 1898 (by Government Notice 235/1898).
17. Agreement signed by Lobengula with the Imperial Government, 11 February 1888, approved by the High Commissioner 25 April 1888, published 25 April 1888.
18. *Ibid.* 17.
19. For dates of appointment see gazetted appointments, Page 767 in *The Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia* (from The Charter to 31 December 1898), edited by Morgan O. Evans, printed by Argus Printing and Publishing Company, Salisbury, Rhodesia, S.A. 1899).
20. "John Philip Fairbairn Watermeyer: Rhodesia's Second Judge" by Michael J. Kimberley in *Rhodesiana* publication No. 40, 1979.
21. "Jameson House, Jameson Avenue" by G. H. Tanser, 26 April 1967 — some notes for the Salisbury and District Publicity Association.
22. High Court of Matabeleland Criminal Sessions, February. 1898, Case No. 252, Regina v. Zindongu, Wata, Nehanda and Gutsa.
23. *Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* by R. N. Hall and W. G. Neal, Methuen, London, 1902.
24. *Medieval Rhodesia* by Dr. Randall Maciver, Macmillan & Co., London, 1906.
25. *Prehistoric Rhodesia* by R. N. Hall, T. Fisher Unwin, London 1909.
26. *Zimbabwe — A Rhodesian Mystery* by R. Summers, Nelson, Johannesburg, 1964.
27. Title Deed 2226, registered on 12 November 1895 in the Deeds Office, Salisbury.
28. Extracts from the Report of the Civil Commissioner (Mr. H. Marshall Hole) for the year ended 30 September 1896 in the British South Africa Company Reports on the Administration, 1896-1897.
29. *The Rhodesia Herald*, printed and published by the Argus Printing & Publishing Coy. Ltd. at their works, Manica Road, Salisbury, on Wednesday, 9 February 1898.
30. *Ibid.* 30, 19 January 1898, announcing the Third Ordinary Meeting of the Stock Exchange Company Ltd. is to be held on Tuesday, 18 February 1898 at Agency Building, Salisbury.
31. *Ibid.* 30, 25 May 1898, S. D. Le Roux advertised from Avenue Hotel Building. By Wednesday, 1 June 1898, he was advertising "S. D. Le Roux, Architect, French S. A. D. Coy's Building".
32. *The Nugget and Rhodesian Critic*, 2 April 1898.
33. *Ibid.* 30, 17 June 1896.
34. *Ibid.* 30, 26 August 1896.
35. *Ibid.* 30, 25 November 1896.
36. *Ibid.* 30, 6 December 1896.
37. See Note 29 — Plan of Salisbury, British South Africa Company Reports, 1896-1897.
38. *Ibid.* 23.
39. And see *The Universal Self-Instructor* edited by E. A. Burg, published by Thomas Kelly, New York, 1883 at page 541.
40. *Ibid.* Court Record, 23.
41. Report of the Assistant Commissioner of Public Works (Mr. G. H. Eyre) for the year ended 31 March 1898, British South Africa Company Reports on the Administration of Rhodesia, 1897-1898, printed for the information of Shareholders, 1899.
42. Report of the Commissioner of Public Works (Mr. T. Griffin) for the year 1 April 1898 to 31 March 1899.
43. *Ibid.* 23.
44. *A Scantling of Time* by G. H. Tanser, printed by Art Printers Limited, 1965, Chapter One.
45. *The Herald*, 1 October 1981.

On Wings of Fabric

Excerpts from the log-book of a Rhodesian
air pilot: July 1935 — April 1937

by J. McAdam

The author qualified for his commercial flying licence in June 1935. Almost simultaneously Mr. E. H. Spencer of Victoria Falls purchased a second-hand D. H. Puss Moth aircraft, and required the services of a young pilot to fly it for him until he himself qualified as a pilot. The author took the job, and remained with Spencer's organization for almost two years. The events outlined in this article occurred during that period.

BACKGROUND

Mr. E. H. (Ted) Spencer was born in South Africa in 1903 and in 1921 or 1922 came to Rhodesia where he farmed for a while near Bindura. He joined the British South Africa Police in April 1923 and was stationed at Victoria Falls, where he soon saw the potentialities of a motor garage/service station and car hire business. Most of the hundreds of visitors who came to the Falls each year arrived by train and stayed at the luxurious hotel (which was, in fact, designed to cater for this arrangement; thus, while the front of the hotel faces the Falls, the main entrance and reception department are at the rear, adjacent to the railway station).

Many of these visitors wished to hire cars to make the 7-mile journey to Livingstone, then capital of Northern Rhodesia. The few hardy travellers who came to the Falls by road, in those days little more than a track, would almost certainly have wanted their vehicles attended to (quite large repairs would often have been necessary), and would have had to take their custom to Livingstone.

Thus in December 1927 Ted left the Police and established himself in business¹ on a plot of ground, hired from the Rhodesia Railways, only a few hundred yards from the Victoria Falls Hotel. His enterprise was rewarded; his business thrived, and he found a lucrative sideline in ferrying passengers from the hotel to the landing ground, about a mile away, when visiting air pilots undertook "flips" (sight-seeing joy-rides) over the Falls, and longer flights over the surrounding countryside to view wild life, of which there was an abundance. Most of these aircraft were operated by the Rhodesian Aviation Co. (which, in October 1933, became Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways), but some came from farther afield.

During the next few years Ted Spencer became dissatisfied with this set-up; he began to feel that there was little merit in carting scores of people, many with well-padded wallets, between the hotel and the landing ground for other pilots to fly. So he resolved to purchase a light aircraft and to obtain his pilot's licence. The latter would have to be done by degrees; he could not afford to leave his service station for the several months (at least) which it would take him to qualify for a class B (commercial) flying licence. However, early in 1934 he managed to get away for two or three weeks, went to Johannesburg, and obtained his A

(private) licence, which entitled him to fly an aircraft and to carry passengers on a non-remunerative basis, but did not permit him to fly 'for hire or reward'.

This completed phase 1 of his plans. Phase 2 would entail the purchase of a second-hand aircraft and employing a young, newly-qualified (and therefore low-paid) commercial pilot to fly it for a few months on joy-flights and air taxi work, while he could use it himself in his spare time to build up the necessary 200 hours of flying time required for his own B licence.

Towards the end of June 1935 there developed a situation which Spencer had been awaiting: (a) a De Havilland Puss Moth aircraft which South African Airways had inherited from its predecessor, Union Airways, Ltd., was offered for sale for £400, and (b) the author qualified — at Baragwanath Aerodrome, Johannesburg — for his commercial flying licence and was keen to obtain a post of the type which Spencer had to offer.

The necessary wheels were set in motion, telegrams flashed to and fro between Victoria Falls and Johannesburg and, various loose ends having been tied up, the author and Puss Moth ZS-ACB left the Rand Airport, Germiston, early on the morning of 17 July 1935. After calling at Bulawayo to refuel, Ted Spencer's first aircraft landed at Victoria Falls soon after one o'clock that afternoon. (The Southern Rhodesia Director of Civil Aviation's annual report for 1935 recorded succinctly: "Spencer, Victoria Falls, commenced operating a Puss Moth in July".)

The Puss Moth was a cabin-type 3-seat high-wing monoplane (capable of carrying pilot and two passengers) fitted normally with a 120 h.p. Gipsy III engine which consumed little more than five gallons of normal motor spirit per hour. Cruising at 100 m.p.h., the mileage per gallon was therefore about 20 — thus the machine was quite economical in operation. Duralumin tubes formed the framework of the fuselage, which was fabric-covered, as were the wings. One of the aircraft's few disadvantages was its tendency to be tail-heavy, which entailed a rather long run on the ground when taking off, particularly when heavily laden, and in hot weather.²

Ted Spencer envisaged qualifying for his commercial licence within three or four months, after which the author's services would no longer be required in the Spencer organization. In the event, however, he did not make any determined effort to obtain his B licence; he was happy to attend to the service station work and to "drumming up" air passenger traffic by making personal contact with visitors at the hotel, with a little private flying thrown in from time to time, while the author handled all the commercial flying and some of the taxi work between hotel and landing ground. The association was mutually convenient and agreeable, and lasted for nearly two years.

GENERAL NOTE ON PILOTS' LOG-BOOKS

It is mandatory that each airman maintains a pilot's log-book, in which all flights made by him are recorded, including such details as type and registration mark of aircraft, duration and nature of flight and — in the "remarks" column — any unusual or untoward incident which might have occurred. A pilot may also, if he so chooses, record further data, such as names and status of important passengers, incidents of an interesting, as opposed to serious, nature, etc.; he might, in other words, keep a sort of "flying diary". This was done by the author, and the excerpts quoted have been selected as being, perhaps, of some general interest.



Spencer's Puss Moth ZS-ACB and McGill's Waco ZS-AFK on Mongu landing ground/golf course; 11 August 1935. The thatched-roof structure behind the Puss Moth was the combined "airport terminal/golf clubhouse".

Photo — J. McAdam

The majority, by far, of the entries during the period under review read simply: "flips over the Falls" or "game trip to the Caprivi Strip", and most of these have been omitted from the following chronicle: where chronological gaps occur, it is for that reason, and does not necessarily imply that no flying took place during that period.

Explanatory notes have been included where it was felt desirable to clarify or to augment the log-book entry. Also, many of the charter flights to and from such places as Mongu and Mulobesi carried passengers whose journeys started from or terminated at the old Livingstone aerodrome, a distance from the Victoria Falls ground of about four miles as the crow — and the Puss Moth — flew. In such cases Spencer's aircraft would hop over the Zambezi to collect or to disembark the charterers and, to avoid complication, most flights are shown in the following record simply as starting from, or terminating at, Victoria Falls. The latter has, too, in most cases been abbreviated to "VF".

EXCERPTS FROM LOG-BOOK

1935

"17/7. Rand Airport-Bulawayo-VF. Delivery flight of Spencer's first aircraft, Puss Moth ZS-ACB. Navigation from Bulawayo to the Falls simple as railway in sight most of the way".

The line runs dead straight for 72 miles from Gwaai River to near Dett: one of the longest straight stretches in the world.

When later re-registered in Southern Rhodesia, the Puss Moth was allocated the letters VP-YBC.

"18/7. VF local. Took Ted Spencer and his friend Jack Soper for a flight over the Falls".

Mr. John Walters-Soper, a great friend of Ted, was an "old-timer" who for very many years ran a curio store at the Falls. One of his attractions was a live crocodile for which he had built a special enclosure. Jack Soper was born in October 1876 and went to live at the Falls in 1905; in his younger days he was an expert crocodile hunter, and came to be known as "the Crocodile King". He died on 26 November 1953 and is buried in the cemetery at Victoria Falls.

"22/7. VF local. Flew through the Falls spray".

On 31 January 1926 Mr. (now Sir) Alan Cobham flew through the spray while on a flight from Livingstone to Bulawayo, and later remarked that his engine almost cut out when he did so. It seems likely that this was quite coincidental, as the spray is of similar composition to an ordinary rain cloud, and hundreds of aircraft have since flown through it without ill effect.

"10/8. VF-Senanga. Took Mrs. Hubbard to Senanga *en route* Mongu. Had sundowners with the District Commissioner, Mr. M. Mitchell Hegg, and old Olsen. Stayed the night with Hegg".

Mrs. Margaret Hubbard was producer with a small private American expedition which planned to secure films of African wild life. The other members of the party, Mr. Menken, cameraman, and Mrs. Abbot Ingalls, a niece of American banker Mr. J. Pierpoint Morgan, flew to Mongu the following day. The party returned to Livingstone by Zambezi barge, taking pictures *en route*.

"Mwanlianjo" Olsen was a half-caste trader who lived at Senanga. He had only one eye, but despite this handicap, was a first-class, and very brave, big-game hunter.

"11/8. Senanga-Mongu-VF-Mongu. Dropped Mrs. Hubbard at Mongu, then returned to the Falls to collect Mrs. Ingalls and Menken. Stayed the night with Mr. Whitehead at Mongu".

Mr. H. S. Whitehead was in charge of the Mongu branch of R. F. Sutherland & Co., general merchants. Upon retirement, some years later, he returned to England where he lived, it is believed, in Devon.

In 1935 Mongu landing ground consisted of two of the fairways of the local golf course on the "flats" below the village, and local golfers became resigned to interruptions of their game when visiting aircraft landed or took off. Pilots, for their part, would usually circuit a few times before landing to allow players ample time to clear the field. If, however, fuel shortage or weather conditions necessitated a prompt landing, a pilot might put his head out of the cockpit and hopefully shout "fore" before touching down.

At that time no regular air service operated to Barotseland, and the Lusaka-Mongu road was not by any means all-weather, particularly in the Kafue Hook area. The journey from Mongu to Livingstone by Zambezi barge took about two weeks and that in the opposite (upstream) direction, nearly three. It was not unnatural, therefore, that travel by chartered light aircraft, which took about three hours and cost no more — probably less — than river conveyance, soon became popular.

When Spencer's machine was to be chartered it was not unusual to receive telegrams or letters from residents of Mongu requesting that small purchases be made on their behalf in Livingstone. On more than one occasion it was learned in this way that the aircraft was to be chartered (before the charterer himself contacted Spencer). A letter would be received from a third party which read something like: "Mr. and Mrs. W . . . will be chartering your plane early next month. Would you please purchase a bottle of . . . (cod

liver oil/Angostura bitters/Haig/cau-de-Cologne, etc.) on my account at . . . (African Lakes/R. F. Sutherland), and bring it up with you". It was indeed a pleasure to attend to these small commissions in return for the hospitality always extended by the kindly folk at Mongu.

"18/8. VF local. First visit to the Falls of Rhodesian & Nyasaland Airways' new D. H. 89 Dragon Rapide aircraft flown by Chief Pilot Capt. M. H. (Mike) Pearce. Flew in formation with him in order to take photographs. By prior arrangement, he flew at reduced speed in order that the Puss Moth might not be left behind".

RANA later acquired four more Rapides, which became the mainstay of its fleet of aircraft. The Rapide was a safe and well-liked machine, which did much to popularise air travel in Central Africa during the decade 1935 to 1945.

After the war Mike Pearce retired to his estate at Inyanga, where he died in January, 1964.

"3/9. VF-Mongu-VF. Flew a nurse to Mongu to relieve one of the Mongu hospital staff nurses who was going on leave. After tea, kindly brought to the airfield by Mrs. Brooker, and a chat with Messrs. Chick Wallace, Whitehead and MacArthur, returned to Livingstone with the staff nurse".

Mrs. Brooker was wife of the magistrate's clerk, Mr. MacArthur was the Government Veterinary Officer, and Mr. Wallace was in charge of the N. R. Police Post at Mongu.

"6/9. VF local. Aerial search for tourist missing in vicinity of boathouse. Search unsuccessful".



Crocodiles and birds in the swamps at the eastern end of the Caprivi Strip, South West Africa, viewed from a low (very low) flying aircraft in 1935.

Photo — J. McAdam

The body of Mrs. Mary McKee, a 70-year-old American visitor, was found two days later under a tree with dense foliage (which probably explained the failure of the air search). She had evidently wandered off into the scrub, lost her way, and died of exposure, not more than half a mile from the boathouse on the south bank of the Zambezi.

"7/10. VF-Bulawayo-VF. Ambulance flight. Flew a young man named Nel, in serious condition with a septic arm, to Bulawayo for medical treatment, accompanied by his father. As aircraft cabin too small to accommodate a stretcher, a mattress was provided for the patient to lie on".

"6/11. Game trip to Caprivi Strip, Kazuma, etc. Flew Col. J. L. Sleeman and his staff officer, Mr. A. Anderson, over the game country".

Col. (later Sir James) Sleeman, C.M.G., C.B.E., M.V.O., M.A., J.P. was Chief Commissioner (Overseas) of St. John Ambulance Brigade, and was on a visit to overseas Commanderies of the Order. This flight evidently impressed him, for he made mention of it in his book *From Rifle to Camera*, published some time later.

These game-viewing flights, of about two hours' duration, were a popular attraction. Leaving the Victoria Falls, the route generally followed the Zambezi to Kazungula, where the boundaries of four territories meet at a single point, and a 360 degree turn would carry the aircraft in rapid succession over South-West Africa (Caprivi Strip) and the countries then known as Bechuanaland, S. Rhodesia and N. Rhodesia. Then, flying in a westerly direction, roughly parallel to the Chobe River, the aircraft flew across the eastern extremity of the Caprivi Strip, where a variety of wild animals, particularly lechwe, could usually be seen. Then, turning south and crossing the Chobe River near Kasane, the route continued to Kazuma Pan, and thence back to the Falls. (Sometimes, by way of variety, the reverse direction would be flown.)

So plentiful was the wild life in that region that Ted Spencer would offer prospective customers a guarantee: "No game — no pay!"; never, to the author's knowledge, was a refund claimed.

"19/11. VF-Sesheke-Mongu. Flew Mr. Whitehead up to Mongu; landed at Sesheke, and breakfasted with the District Commissioner, Mr. A. Talbot Phibbs".

"Mongu-Lealui-Mongu. Took Mr. MacArthur over to Lealui to collect a radio. Lunched with Mr. Charlton, and was introduced to Paramount Chief Yeta III".

The Sesheke referred to was the old village, which has since been renamed Mwande.

Lealui, about seven miles west of Mongu, was the dry-weather residence of Chief Yeta, Litunga (King) of Barotseland. Yeta showed great interest in the aircraft, but declined an offer to be taken for a flight. No recognized airfield existed at Lealui, but a flat, open space near Yeta's "palace" was perfectly suitable for use by small aircraft.

Mr. A. H. Charlton ran a trading store at Lealui. He was also a capable builder, and from time to time secured Government contracts for the construction of houses and offices.

"17/12. VF-Mongu-VF. Flew up empty to convey Mr. and Mrs. Rudge to Livingstone".

Mr. B. P. Rudge was in charge of a mission station at Balovale.

"21/12. VF-Mongu-VF. Flew one of Nicolai's men up to Mongu, and another back to Livingstone".

Nicolai was owner of a lucrative trading store at Mongu. After landing, the author was met by an African servant wheeling a pedal-cycle and bearing a clothes-peg (which, after all, is nothing more than a sophisticated cleft stick) in which was a note reading:

"Please cycle up to the store to collect the money for the charter of the aeroplane". The latter amounted to something like £30, which was handed over in a canvas bag, and all in silver. (Traders in Barotseland dealt mainly in coinage — few notes were used). It was then suggested that the author should cycle back to the airfield and wait the arrival of the passenger, who would follow on foot (presumably Nicolai owned only one bicycle), and would arrive about twenty minutes later.

However, as it was desirable to get airborne without delay owing to an approaching thunderstorm, it was arranged that the passenger would perch on the rather flimsy luggage carrier of the cycle, and the author would control the machine as best he could while steering with one hand and clutching the bagful of coins in the other.

It is hoped that the passenger derived more enjoyment from the flight to Livingstone than presumably he did from that rather perilous cycle ride; the author certainly did.

"23/12. VF local. While taxiing out prior to take-off, got stuck in the sand, and had to ask one passenger to jump out and push on the wing strut in order to get moving again".

The airstrip was situated on sandy soil, and after rain the surface made "heavy going". This was not by any means the first time that a passenger in a Puss Moth aircraft had to be asked to "get out and push".

On 28 December 1935 the Puss Moth, in a minor mishap, sustained some slight damage which, however, would take a week or two to repair, since the necessary spare parts would have to be ordered from Johannesburg. Ted Spencer decided, therefore, that the time had come to add to his fleet a second-hand Fox Moth aircraft which was being offered for sale by the Johannesburg Light Plane Club.

1936

"7/1. Joh'burg-Pietersburg Delivery flight of Fox
8/1. P'burg-Bulawayo-VF. Moth ZS-ADH".

This aircraft was later reregistered VP-YBD. The D. H. Fox Moth was a biplane powered by a 130-h.p. Gipsy Major engine slightly more powerful than that of the standard Puss Moth. It had a small cabin which seated three or, at a pinch, four passengers, and the pilot occupied an open cockpit aft of the cabin. The wings, like those of the Puss Moth, were fabric-covered, but the fuselage frame was of wooden construction covered with plywood. Five persons carried through the air at 90 to 95 m.p.h. by one 130 h.p. engine reflected an aircraft design of considerable efficiency.

"8/1. VF local. While on the first local flight in the new machine, a burst pipe allowed oil to pour on to the engine exhaust pipe resulting in clouds of dense smoke. Dropped on to the airfield like a plummet, to find the aircraft covered in oil. The passengers did not appear to be perturbed".

No comment on sentiments of pilot.

"8/2. VF local. Spent most of the day up and down like a yo-yo flying *Franconia* tourists over the Falls".

Tourists travelling on this luxury round-the-world cruiser and other such vessels would periodically arrive at the Falls and as their stopover was limited it was sometimes difficult to cope with the demand for flights in the 2- and 3-seater aircraft available.

The routine generally followed by these tourists was to disembark immediately the

ship docked at Cape Town, dash up to Victoria Falls (a special train was usually arranged, and some flew up by chartered aeroplane), then rush back to rejoin the vessel when it reached Durban.

“29/2. VF-Mulobesi-VF. Flew Dr. E. M. B. West to Mulobesi on routine inspection”.

Dr. West was Railway Medical Officer at Livingstone. Later he was appointed Chief Medical Officer to Rhodesia Railways, at Bulawayo.

Mulobesi, about 90 statute air miles north-north-west of Livingstone, was the main outstation depot of Zambesi Sawmills.

“10/3. Game Trip. Took Miss Chamberlain, sister of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, on a game flight over the usual route”.

“27/3. Game Trip. Set off on a game flight in vicinity of Kazuma Pan, but abandoned the exercise when a large piece of fabric ripped away from the upper wing”.

This could be a serious matter: once the wing covering was breached, air pressure could rapidly force more and more fabric away from the framework until the point could be reached where the wing would be unable to perform its function of supporting the aircraft in the air.

“9/4. VF Local, night flight. Flew the Puss Moth over the Falls by moonlight. Ted Spencer flew the Fox Moth with C. J. Smith (ground engineer) as passenger. The latter had connected one of the *Spirit of Fun* landing lights to a battery, and the plan was to focus the light on to the Puss Moth so that those on the ground would have a good view of the aircraft in flight; but I was blinded by the light, and we lost each other”.

The *Spirit of Fun* was a Lockheed Orion aircraft which was operating on behalf of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Film Corporation. It crashed while taking off from the Victoria Falls airstrip on 17 November 1932; the pilot, Captain James Dickson, lost his life, but the two passengers, Messrs. Lowed and Rosthal, escaped serious injury. It was the fastest and most modern aircraft yet seen in Rhodesia.

“14/4. VF local. Flew Lady Baden-Powell over the Falls”.

Lady Baden-Powell was on a visit to Rhodesia from her home at Nyeri, in Kenya. A few months after this, her younger daughter, Betty, married Mr. G. C. Clay, then a District Commissioner in the Northern Rhodesian Administration.

“7/5. VF-Mongu-Kalabo. Flew two missionaries to Kalabo. Had tea with the District Commissioner, Mr. J. Warrington”.

“Kalabo-Mongu-Senanga. Too late to return to the Falls, so night-stopped at Senanga. Just missed Mr. Mitchell-Heggs, the D.C., who had gone off on tour. Dined with Arthur Harrington”.

Mr A. H. (Matapeta) Harrington had lived at Senanga for less than twelve months; prior to this he had been established at a point about ten air miles to the south-west, near the confluence of the Southern Luetse and Zambezi Rivers, where he had lived for many years. He was an expert builder of boats — especially the type of barge used on the Zambezi between Livingstone and Balovale — and for some years had a monopoly of this business in Barotseland. He also made furniture from mukwa wood, and supplied many of the items used in Government houses. He was, too, a trader, dealing in general merchandise, skins, dried fish and African tobacco. He was younger brother of the better-known “Chiana” Harrington, whose milieu was the Central and Northern Provinces of Northern Rhodesia.



Staff and aircraft, Spencer's Air Service, in 1936. Standing in front of the Fox Moth are (l. to r.): C. J. Smith (aircraft Engineer), E. H. Spencer (Proprietor) and J. McAdam (Pilot). Part of the Puss Moth wing is visible on right.

Photo — J. Mc Adam

Arthur Harrington was an extremely proficient consumer of Scotch whisky, and it is said that he and Olsen would take it in turns to order cases of this commodity from Livingstone and that, upon delivery, the pair of them would set to and "clean it up" at one extended sitting.

"8/5. Senanga local. Took Daniel, Hegg's African clerk, for a short flight before returning empty to the Falls".

"1/6. VF-Mongu-VF. Flew Messrs. Clarke and Charlton to Mongu. Tea with "Chick" Wallace and Moss, then returned empty to the Falls".

Mr. G. P. Moss was pilot/instructor to the Flying Club of Northern Rhodesia, formed in May 1935 at Lusaka, with branches at Broken Hill, Livingstone, Luanshya, Matala Mine, Mufulira, Ndola and Nkama. Moss would visit these centres in rotation, imparting flying instruction to would-be pilots in the Club's Hornet Moth and Gipsy Moth aircraft.

"16/6. VF-Mongu. Flew up with no passengers, but cabin full of freight; eight four-gallon cans of petrol for future use, and a stack of provisions for the folk at Mongu".

Owing to the cost of transportation, petrol cost nearly 7s. per gallon at Mongu (about treble the Victoria Falls price), thus whenever the opportunity arose, supplies would be flown to Mongu or Senanga.

"17/6. Mongu-VF. Flew Mrs. Poole down from Mongu".

Mrs. Poole was wife of Mr. E. H. Lane Poole, Provincial Commissioner, Barotse Province.

"18/6. VF-Mongu-VF. To Mongu again to convey Mr. and Mrs. Warrington of Kalabo down to Livingstone".

"25/6. VF-Bulawayo-VF. Flew Capt. the Hon. W. S. Senior, C.M.G., M.C., M.P., Minister of Mines and Public Works, to Bulawayo".

Captain Senior held a private pilot's licence and owned a Hornet Moth aircraft which he used mainly to fly himself between Salisbury and his estate in the Hartley district. He died when his aircraft crashed near Makwiro on 21 December 1938. (Medical evidence indicated that he died or was taken seriously ill whilst at the controls.)

"2/7. VF-Mulobesi-VF. Flew Messrs. T. Jager and Hayes of Zambesi Sawmills to Mulobesi on routine inspection. On return flight flew low over Livingstone aerodrome to drop Mr. Jager's car keys to Harry Rhynas, then without landing, continued to Kazuma to show them some wild life".

"12/7. VF local. Flew out in the Fox Moth (Ted in the Puss Moth) to escort the Rhodes and Founders special train as it arrived, in order to advertise the fact that aircraft were available for joy-rides".

The Falls has always been a popular "long week-end" resort for Rhodesians and for many years special trains have been operated for their benefit on such occasions. When flying low over the locomotive, the shrill whistle sounded by the excited engine driver was clearly audible above the noise of the aircraft's motor.

"9/8. VF-Mongu-VF. Flew two people with a 3-month-old baby to Mongu. Had to go down low over Senanga to drop a note for Olsen. Cycled up to Nicolai's store to collect the fare (again a bag of silver). Then tea with "Chick" Wallace. Brought Elliot, one of Nicolai's men, back from Mongu".

"14/8. VF-Mulobesi-VF. Flew Mr. Sylvester and Dr. Robertson to Mulobesi. After landing we waited on the airstrip for some time, but as no transport arrived, I took off alone and flew very low over the camp. Mr. Richards then drove out to collect us".

Mr. H. A. Sylvester was Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province.

"18/8. VF-Mongu. To Mongu to collect two missionaries. No passengers going up, so was able to transport another load of petrol in cans".

"Mongu-Kalabo-Mongu. Took Mr. Stone and his African assistant to Kalabo to take stock".

The flight from Mongu to Kalabo took about twenty minutes in the Fox Moth. Surface transport, by canoe along channels through the Zambezi plains and up the tortuous Luanginga River, entailed a journey of up to three days.

Mr. C. R. Stone, an employee of R. F. Sutherland & Co., had taken over from Mr. Whitehead while the latter was away on long leave.

The landing strip at Kalabo was prepared in June/July 1932 by Mr. G. R. Oliver, who was District Commissioner there at the time.³

"19/8. Mongu-Sesheke-VF. Flew the two missionaries to Sesheke, then went on empty to Falls".

"22/8. VF-Mulobesi-VF. Took Dr. West and a member of the N. R. Police to Mulobesi to conduct a post mortem on an African employee of the Zambesi Sawmills who had been killed by a falling log".

"24/8. VF-Mongu. No passengers. Transported more petrol to Mongu".

"25/8. Mongu-VF. Brought Mrs. and Miss Bough down from Mongu".

"7/9. VF-Sesheke-VF. Flew Mr. Harry Susman and his daughter to Sesheke; Mr. Susman remained there, and Miss Susman returned with me. During the flight a perspex panel came adrift from the window in the cabin door".

Mr. Susman, of Livingstone, was a prominent dealer in cattle and general merchandise, and also operated a timber business and sawmill near Westwood, on the south bank of the Zambezi. His younger daughter, later Mrs. J. Ritchken, of Salisbury, recalls that she was anything but impressed when the window panel blew out.

"9/9. VF-Sesheke-VF. Went up light to collect Mr. Susman. After breakfast with the Phibbs's flew Mr. Susman across the Caprivi Strip to Kasane, and thence over his timber camp near Westwood; before landing, flew over his house in Livingstone to signal his wife to bring his car to the aerodrome":

Further details concerning Mr. Susman's timber enterprise, and the light railway established to serve it, will be found in *Rhodesiana* No. 13.

"15/9. VF-Sesheke-Mongu-Sesheke-VF. Flew the Rev. Mr. Roulet to Sesheke, and thence two lady missionaries to Mongu. Flew low over Sefula to drop a note from the missionaries at Sesheke. Returned empty to Sesheke, where Mr. Roulet re-embarked. Returned to Livingstone via the Caprivi Strip to view the wild life".

Sefula, about nine air miles south of Mongu, was the location of a mission station operated by the Paris Missionary Society. The Rev. Roulet was in charge of the Livingstone branch of this organization.



Ted Spencer sitting happily at the controls of his D. H. Fox Moth, above the Victoria Falls, in February 1936.

Photo — J. McAdam

“22/9. Game trip to Kazuma. Two passengers, one of whom wriggled into the aircraft through the cabin window, not realising that there was a door which could be opened”.

“28/9. VF-Sesheke-VF. Took Ted Spencer’s African cook, July, up to Sesheke “to find his wife”. Brought the D. C., Mr. Talbot-Phibbs, and his wife back to Livingstone. After landing, we discovered that the telephone at the aerodrome was out of order, and were unable to call for transport. Took off light, flew over the police station, and yelled for a taxi, which produced the desired result”.

It was possible in those small aircraft to fly low, throttle back the engine momentarily to idling speed, and to shout a single or two-syllable word, which could be intelligible from the ground.

“29/9. VF-Lusaka-Nkana. Flew the Fox Moth to Nkana to ‘show the flag’ at the ceremony to mark the opening of the new aerodrome there”.

“30/9. Nkana-Lusaka-VF. Returned to the Falls, and when passing over Mazabuka was mistaken for one of the competitors in the U. K. to Johannesburg Schlesinger Air Race”.

“1/10. VF-Mongu-Senanga. Flew Miss Stroebel, sister of Mrs. Nicolai, to Mongu then took the return passenger, Miss Cherry, to Senanga as it was too late to complete the journey to the Falls”.

“Senanga local. Took D. C. Mr. Mitchell-Heggs for a short flight to test the recently constructed north-south runway”.

“2/10. Senanga-VF. Left early as Ted required the Fox Moth for a private flight to Johannesburg”.

The Fox Moth was now Spencer’s only airworthy aircraft, since the Puss Moth had been “pensioned off” in August 1936 due to the difficulty in obtaining spare parts.

“6/10. VF local in Puss Moth VP-RAE. Ted still has the Fox in Jo’burg”.

After several enquiries for flights from visitors who expressed disappointment at the non-availability of an aircraft, the author negotiated the hire of this Puss Moth from Mr. N. D. McGill, of Livingstone.⁴

“9/10. VF local. After one hour’s local flying today, my log-book records a total of 1 000 flying hours; today being my 21st birthday”.

“11/10. VF-Bulawayo-Pietersburg-Bulawayo-VF. Flew two lady members of the Sir Seymour Hicks Show, now touring the country, to Pietersburg. Returned empty to the Falls. Total flying time today: 11 hours 35 minutes. (Elapsed time: 12 hours 50 minutes). No air races or record-breaking for this chicken!”

“15/10. VF-Malindi-VF. Flew Mr. N. D. McGill and his Ground Engineer, Mr. ‘Fairey’ Davidson, to Malindi in the Wankie Game Reserve to attend to his Puss Moth in which he had made a forced landing near the Game Warden’s house. The only ground suitable for a landing was a dirt road, about 15 feet in width, but quite smooth, and we landed safely. Diagnosed and repaired the defect, and partook of some lemonade and sandwiches kindly provided by Game Warden Davison and his wife”.

In 1928 Mr. Ted Davison was appointed to take charge of the area between Gwaai Native Reserve and the Bechuanaland border with the object of game preservation.

Initially the region was established as a game reserve, and later it was opened as a National Park, in which tourists were welcome.

After more than thirty years as Officer-in-Charge of Wankie Game Reserve, Mr. Davison was transferred to head office, Salisbury, in 1961 becoming Assistant Director (Field) of National Parks and Wild Life Management, the post which he held when he retired in April 1966. His book *Wankie — The Story of a Great Game Reserve* was published in December 1967.

“23/10. Livingstone-VF. Having dropped some passengers at Livingstone after a game trip, was half-way between the two landing grounds when, over the Zambezi, the engine slowed down and clouds of smoke poured out. Seriously considered attempting a landing on Long Island, but carried on and just made it into the Falls airfield.”

Upon inspection it was discovered that two of the four pistons in the engine had seized up in their cylinders due to defective lubrication caused, in turn, by a loose oil pipe connection between oil tank and pump.

The technically-minded might be interested in the fact that the Gipsy III and Gipsy Major engines fitted respectively in the Puss Moth and Fox Moth aircraft were “inverted” i.e. the pistons were below the crankshaft, not above, as in the conventional internal combustion engine. The sump being uppermost, obviously could not hold oil; thus an external oil tank was provided, with one pump to feed lubricant into the engine and a second, known as a “scavenger” pump, to collect excess oil from the engine and return it to the tank. The purpose of inverting these engines was to keep the cylinders below the pilot’s line of sight, thus affording greatly improved visibility.

“3/11. VF-Bul-Pietersburg-Z.A.S.-Joh’burg. Took Captain Harris, A.D.C. to the Governor-General of South Africa to Pretoria. Landed at the military aerodrome, Zwartkop Air Station near Roberts Heights; then flew light to Johannesburg”.

Collected some aircraft spares from De Havilland’s at Baragwanath, and returned to the Falls the following day, flying via Pietersburg and Bulawayo, as before.

“27/11. Game trips (3). Took nine members of the touring British bowling teams over the usual game trail”.

“2/12. VF-Mongu-Balovale-(Chavuma)-Balovale-Mongu-VF. Flew Mr. and Mrs. Logan to Balovale via Mongu. Swooped low over Chitokoloki Mission (20 statute air miles south of Balovale) to drop a letter. Landed at Balovale to drop the Logans’ luggage, then flew further up the Zambezi to Chavuma, about 12 miles from the Angola border, to drop a note to Mr. Bryce. Noticed a hill there with what appeared to be a large bell-tower on top of it. The river seems to be no more than about 50 or 60 feet in width, and the terrain to the north looks mountainous and rugged. Dropped a couple of notes, then returned to Balovale, where the Logans disembarked. Continued on to Mongu to discover that the agent had only 13 gallons of petrol; this, with eight gallons of our own — flown up previously — was sufficient to get me home to the Falls provided there was little or no headwind; there was also a four-gallon can at Sesheke, in case of need. After leaving Mongu, flew high to conserve fuel, and decided that it would not be necessary to refuel at Sesheke. Arrived at the Falls at dusk with two gallons of fuel remaining in the tank (representing about 30 or 40 miles, depending on wind conditions)”.

Bryce, of Chavuma, was another “old-timer” — a trader, who had lived there for very many years, and died there in 1952.

“7/12. VF-MONGU-Senanga-Mongu. Flew up to Mongu with no passengers but, as usual, a full load of petrol and supplies, etc. for folk at Mongu. Brought Stone and his clerk down to Senanga for stocktaking. Had tea and chatted with the new D. C., Mr. Leversedge, then returned to Mongu”.

Mr. L. F. Leversedge later became Northern Rhodesia’s Development Secretary.

“8/12. Mongu-Senanga-VF. After spending the night with ‘Chick’ and Mrs. Wallace, flew Mr. Mitchell-Heggs (ex-D. C. Senanga) to Livingstone. Dropped in at Senanga for him to bid farewell to his friends there”.

“8/12. VF local. Flips over the Falls with members of the touring British Professional Golfers’ team, A. H. Padgham, Abe. Mitchell, W. J. Cox and Allan Dailey”.

“10/12. Game trip. The passengers were visitors from Oudtshoorn, and were most interested in the wild ostriches which they saw”.

Oudtshoorn, in the Cape Province is the centre of an important ostrich farming area.

“15/12. VF local. Flew members of the Siamese Royal Family over the Falls”.

Prince Paribatra, brother of the King of Siam, accompanied by his aunt, his sister and his eight children, visited the Victoria Falls during the course of a tour of southern Africa.

“23/12. VF-Kalabo-Mongu. Flew Mr. Wheeler to Kalabo, then empty to Mongu”.

Mr. C. E. Wheeler was in charge of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission at Kalabo.

“24/12. Mongu-Senanga-VF. Due to shortage of fuel at Mongu, landed at Senanga and borrowed four gallons from Arthur Harrington. Left for home after tea with Mr. Leversedge”.

NOTES

1. Ted Spencer’s enterprise was originally named “Spencer’s Garage and Service Station”. After the acquisition of his first aeroplane this title was changed to “Spencer’s Garage and Air Service”.
2. The Puss Moth as a type encountered some ill-fortune in its early days; nine of them in various parts of the world were lost due to a defect in the design of the main wing-struts, which caused collapse of the wing when flying in conditions of severe atmospheric turbulence. Two of these disasters occurred in South Africa, the aircraft concerned bearing the registration marks ZS-ACC and ZS-ACD. It is interesting to note that, since the original registration letters of Spencer’s and McGill’s Puss Moths were, respectively, ZS-ACB and ZS-ACE, they were, of course, sister ships of the two ill-fated South African machines. The defect was rectified by a relatively minor modification to the wing-struts, after which the Puss Moth enjoyed quite a brilliant history. Many long-distance records were created in this type by such well-known aviators as Amy Johnson, Jim Mollison, etc.
3. Mr. Olivier writes: “I prepared the Kalabo strip during the months of June and part of July 1932 after Miles Bowker (then Chief Pilot of the Rhodesian Aviation Co.) and I had flown over from Mongu and selected the site. First aircraft landed there on 23 July 1932. Aircraft: Puss Moth VP-YAH; pilot: Miles Bowker; passenger: Mrs. Emily Dempster of Kalabo returning from Bulawayo after the death of her husband, to look after her store. (She remained there for many years and now lives in Locarno, Switzerland).”
4. Mr. Noel McGill operated an air taxi service based at Livingstone. In addition to his Puss Moth he used an American Waco aircraft.

The 1896 Rinderpest Disease and its consequences

by A. S. Chigwedere

The subject of the rinderpest disease that invaded this country in 1896 has hardly been explored. Possibly greater importance will be attached to it as more and more material becomes available to us on *Chimurenga 1*. I, however, need to emphasise here that it is a subject of greatest importance and has helped to shape the history of this country.

However, I need to warn the reader that the rinderpest disease should not be studied in isolation. It should be studied together with the other physical plagues that invaded this country around 1896 and the most important of them were swarms of locusts and droughts. Although I shall here write largely on the rinderpest disease, the reader should realise that this disease came to assume greatest significance in the light of the other plagues vexing the country.

I believe that no study of *Chimurenga 1* can be complete or be very meaningful without due importance being attached to these physical plagues. To underestimate the significance of these plagues in causing *Chimurenga* is very much to underestimate the forces at work behind the African mind of 1896. What we need to realise is that the African of 1896 had hardly been influenced by Western culture. He was the traditional African who lived in a world of spirits of various types. These spirits had a powerful hold on his mind and events were interpreted in the context of these spirits. Any abnormality was interpreted as reflecting abnormality in the working relationships between man and this world of spirits. The answer to the abnormality lay in smoothing these relationships between man and the world of spirits. Precisely what the answer was to be, depended on the advice of these spirits. In this lies the germ of *Chimurenga 1* of 1896-7.

What this amounts to is that the rinderpest disease, together with the other physical plagues of 1896, did much to bring about *Chimurenga*. Indeed, they were a very important cause of *Chimurenga*. I am by no means suggesting that they were the only cause or even the most important cause of *Chimurenga*. There were of course many causes of this war including, seizure of land by the B.S.A.C. and Company settlers, forced labour, hut tax, brutality of the police boys, departure of Jameson and Company troops to the Transvaal and general oppression by Company agents. But all these became particularly significant to the traditional African after the invasion of the country by the above physical plagues including the rinderpest disease. It is indeed very significant that the areas that were not invaded by this disease did not rise in 1896 and these include the Chipinga-Melsetter area and the Umtali region.

THE ABNORMALITY OF 1896

I have hinted at the interpretation of abnormality by the traditional African. There is no doubt that the year 1896 was absolutely abnormal. It was not hut tax, forced labour, police brutality or general oppression at the hands of Company agents that made it abnormal: it was indeed the physical plagues and a few quotations from men actually in the field then, should help to prove this.

The successor to Jameson as Administrator of this country was Earl Grey. In his report on the causes of *Chimurenga*, he wrote, "... no doubt this general confidence (in the country) would have been justified had it not been for the extraordinary influence of the Mlimo (Murenga) and the phenomenal combination of physical plagues, all attributed by him to the advent and continued presence of the white man. A drought, abnormal alike in its duration and intensity, had set in with the coming of Jameson and had continued ever since.

"The locusts, which if they had been annual visitors, had never made their presence severely felt, now appeared in swarms that literally darkened the sky, devastating both the veld and the gardens of the country and eating up the crops on which the natives depended for their food . . . And as if these plagues were not sufficient, the rinderpest, an absolutely new and unknown disease seized the cattle . . . and mowed them down in herds."

Willie Edwards who was in the Marandellas area when *Chimurenga* started, has this to say about 1896: "The year 1896 was a disastrous year for Rhodesia. The year before, we had a visitation of locusts which did great damage to the crops and large swarms still remained in the colony. In March (1896), rinderpest broke out and within a few weeks, it had spread to every corner of the country. Cattle died by the thousand. Ox-transport, which had been the cause of the rapid spread of the disease, was completely at a standstill. Mule transport was rushed up but the mortality from horse sickness was very high. The price of foodstuffs went up with a rush."¹

To this, Burnham, an American who took part in fighting against the Africans, adds: "Deadliest of all, down from the north swept the rinderpest. Great herds of buffalo were exterminated by it; millions of antelope of all varieties from the lordly eland to the tiny dick-dick, died of it; and vast numbers of domestic cattle were wiped out. Many native wars blazed in its wake . . ."²

After *Chimurenga*, a commission of inquiry was appointed to look into the causes of the war. In his report, the leader of the commission, Sir Richard Martin, quoted the Marandellas District Commissioner as saying: "From information received from natives, I certainly think the cattle regulations made the natives very dissatisfied. They look upon the rinderpest as a disease sent by their God, and the white man would not allow them to use the meat but made them bury all cattle that had died of the disease."

He then proceeds to quote the Rusape District Commissioner as also saying: "In conclusion, I put the Rebellion down to so-called witchdoctors who impressed upon natives that it was the white men who brought rinderpest and locusts and other plagues upon them and incited them to rise."

Lastly, let me quote from the Rev. John White who was in very good touch with the Africans and operated from Waddilove Institute. In *The Methodist Times* of January 1897, he wrote: "As is their custom, these Mashonas, when they need advice, resort to these mediums of their gods. The witchdoctors then inquire from the *Murenga*, the Great Spirit; 'If you want to get rid of all your troubles,' they replied, 'kill all the white men.'" He then goes on in the same letter to say: "According to their notions, the best way to rid themselves of an evil is to destroy its cause. Hence they listened to the advice of their prophets."

From these few reports, there can be no doubt that the year 1896 was absolutely abnormal. The reports were made by eye witnesses who were actually in the situation themselves. To the European in the country, the disasters were one of those misfortunes a

country might experience from time to time. To the African, they reflected something that had gone grossly amiss in the whole system. The seriousness and intensity of the disasters indicated the gravity of the matter. Such an abnormal situation could, in their view, only be rectified by means of a drastic measure.

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

The rinderpest invasion had serious economic consequences on both the Africans and Europeans in the country. Its economic impact on the European was, however, far greater than on the African.

To the African, cattle had greater religious and social significance than economic. To the European, they had economic and social significance and were not of any religious value. Let us first examine the African side.

In 1896, a cash economy meant little to the African. He was only being introduced to it by the whites who had arrived in 1890. He was not keen to work on farms and mines and this is why forced labour was introduced by the B.S.A.C. to force him to work. For this reason, cattle did not really play a direct part in the economic life of the African.

Today, if the African out in the rural areas loses all his cattle, he feels the pinch very severely. This is so because to a large extent, his transport system depends on cattle. He has no tractor and depends on cattle to draw his plough; he has no lorry and depends on cattle to draw his scotch cart; he may be unemployed and he depends on selling his cattle for his cash for school fees, clothing and other necessities. Even his cash crops depend on cattle in ploughing, manure and transportation to depots or even to the grinding mill. All this was not a factor in the life of the African of 1896. Therefore in all these respects, the rinderpest that decimated cattle in 1896 did not affect the African adversely.

Yet in one respect, this disease did affect the African economically and seriously. Cattle were food to the African and at the same time, they were a source of food. They were a food in the sense that in times of need, the African slaughtered his cattle to feed his family. Even more important, in times of droughts and famine, he saved his family from starvation through cattle. He surrendered a beast or two to somebody who had grain to spare in exchange for this grain. Alternatively, he killed his beast and exchanged the meat for grain. Those who had grain to spare and who wanted meat brought little quantities of their grain and exchanged them for pieces of meat. In this way, the man concerned ended up with quantities of rapoko, maize, rice, mhunga, mapfunde etc. and in that way saved his family from starvation.

It was indeed this economic aspect of African life that was totally destroyed in 1896. The droughts and locusts that we came across above, destroyed the crops causing serious food shortage. The rinderpest disease devastated the cattle, impoverishing the African and making him unable to obtain food in any way. This threatened the African with death and as we are going to see, he tried to save himself by a drastic measure which precipitated *Chimurenga*.

There can be no doubt that the above physical plagues including rinderpest played a vital role causing *Chimurenga* and therefore in shaping the history of this country.

The rinderpest disease affected the European much more directly (economically) than the African. There were no lorries, no tractors and no trains in this country in 1896. All transport of goods from S. Africa to this country depended on wagons drawn by oxen; all internal transport of goods depended on the same wagons. All agricultural activity

depended on these cattle. Furthermore, cattle were wealth in themselves. The reports we saw above made it very clear that these cattle were decimated by the rinderpest disease. Many that had mingled with infested herds were shot dead to stem the spread of the disease. This immediately impoverished the farmer to whom these cattle were wealth in themselves. Furthermore, transportation of essential goods from S. Africa, which had been very slow anyway, was brought to a standstill. Likewise, internal transport also came to a halt. Agricultural activity also nearly came to a halt. What all this means is that the rinderpest disease brought the economic growth of the country to stagnation. As stated by W. Edwards above, there was a serious scarcity of essential items in the country and prices rose meteorically thereby retarding economic growth further and making the Europeans in general uncomfortable and miserable.

However, it may be argued that one of the immediate good effects of this rinderpest disaster was the quickening of the coming of the railways into the country. The Company discovered that ox-transport was highly vulnerable since there was no guarantee that the country would not have another early visitation of the plague. So, railway construction from S. Africa towards Salisbury and from Beira towards Salisbury was quickened. Some might want to argue that this was more a result of the war than the rinderpest. But as we are going to see shortly, the war itself was not independent of this plague.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

The war of 1896-7 is my special subject. I believe that oppression or no oppression the plagues of 1896 would have brought about *Chimurenga*. Oppression alone would have brought about war but it is very unlikely that war would have come in March 1896 and it is equally unlikely that it would have been as general as it was.

I believe that the timing of the war was determined by two factors i.e. Jameson's departure to the Transvaal and the physical plagues including rinderpest. Above, we came across Burnham stating that many wars blazed in the wake of the rinderpest disease from the north. Needless to say that *Chimurenga* was one of these wars. *Chimurenga* was a political war; it was an economic and social war; it was a cultural and religious war. Phrased differently, it was a total war.

If the rinderpest disease caused *Chimurenga*, how indeed did the African associate it with the white man? How did the African come to trace the physical plagues to the European? For an answer to this, we have to go back to the Rev. John White whom we came across above. He stated that: "According to their (African) notions, the best way to rid themselves of an evil is to destroy its cause". To rephrase it: "the best way to rid themselves of an evil is to destroy its source". According to this notion, the source of all the disasters plaguing the country was the white man. To get rid of these disasters therefore, the European, the source of the problems, had to be driven out or exterminated. This takes us to the wilderness of African religious philosophy.

I want to keep on reminding the reader that the African of 1896 was a traditional African highly influenced by his religious beliefs. His religion was not a theory of life but a way of life. His life was inseparable from that of his ancestors who further back, were closely linked with God. These ancestors were in constant communication with their living descendants and at the same time they acted as intermediaries between God and man. God is, in the view of this traditional African, the omnipotent, indirect guardian of humanity. The ancestor is the direct guardian. Both are interested in the wellbeing of humanity and

both are heavily involved in the affairs of this world, one indirectly and the other, directly. They never let down humanity but only for as long as humanity does not misbehave itself. It is important to remember this.

Let us now come to the crux of the matter. The above spiritual forces are in constant communication with the living order. But in most cases, they use a non-verbal language. This is the crux of the matter. When all is well with the living order, they bring benefits to that living order such as good rains, plenty of food and general prosperity. They stave off all possible disasters because they are ever watchful. But when the living order misbehaves and ignores the "existence" and significance of the above spiritual forces, these forces, again largely through a non-verbal language, express their displeasure.

For instance, they can withdraw their protecting "hand" and allow the living order to be afflicted by misfortunes. If the living do not quickly respond to this and mend their ways, the spiritual forces actually visit misfortunes on them positively. The seriousness and intensity of the misfortune indicate the seriousness of the offences committed by the living order.

In the light of this reasoning therefore, any abnormality was looked upon as reflecting the displeasure of the spiritual forces. The year 1896 was absolutely abnormal and disastrous as we have seen. This therefore reflected absolute displeasure on the part of the spiritual forces with the behaviour of the living order. The disasters covered nearly the whole country. This implied that the misbehaviour was general and covered the whole country. The intensity of the disasters reflected the seriousness of this misbehaviour on the part of the living order.

The African leaders consulted with *Murenga*³ (mentioned by John White above) the Greatest Spirit in the land to discover precisely who had erred, how he had erred and what action was to be taken against him. The answer had to come from *Murenga* because the problems were national and not regional or family and *Murenga* was the greatest of the national spirits. Problems that affected a district indicated that the misbehaviour was confined to that district; regional problems suggested that misbehaviour was restricted to the region affected; national problems reflected national misbehaviour and such problems could only be dealt with by national spirits. It was for this reason that *Murenga* was consulted and he had the final say in it. In short, what the Africans wanted was the source of their problems and how this was to be rectified.

Murenga laid the blame for all the ills of the country on the whites who had come into the country in 1890. It was they who accounted for the droughts which coincided with their advent; it was they who accounted for the swarms of locusts and the rinderpest that invaded the country.

The question is, how could all these disasters be attributed to the whites? How were they to blame for them? The B.S.A.C. and settlers seized the land and started to use it without any reference to the owners of that land the most important of whom were the spiritual forces; the Company seized cattle, goats and sheep for hut tax and some of them were dedicated to ancestors; the Company agents abused African women; the Company introduced forced labour and in that way disrupted the normal lives of the African community; the Europeans and their agents in general introduced a new religion and condemned the African ancestors including *Murenga* himself as evil spirits and demons that should be abandoned. In short, the Company, settlers and all Company agents conflicted with every element of African institutions that were traditionally so highly valued. The conflict was total.

Murenga assisted by his junior spiritual forces responded to this behaviour of the Company and its agents by “drying up the heavens” and so no rains fell; by visiting upon the country swarms of locusts that devastated crops thereby causing starvation and the threat of death; by visiting upon the country a totally new cattle disease, rinderpest, to complete the impoverishment of the country and increase its misery. The African, in view of his religious beliefs, could never be convinced that these disasters were just natural misfortunes. He believed in the protecting hand of his spiritual forces. He too believed that these forces were ever-watchful and nothing of this sort could ever happen for as long as the spiritual forces were happy and contented.

The answer to the problems did not lie in irrigation schemes, poisoning the locusts or treating the rinderpest disease. It lay in destroying the very source of these problems. This source was indicated as the European presence and European practices. Therefore, *Murenga* suggested that the Europeans as a body and together with all their agents, should either be driven out of the country or be exterminated. This was the only sure way of exterminating all their influences which, in African eyes, had caused so much misery in the country. This was drastic but this was so because the disasters were far too abnormal and far too serious and only a drastic remedy could rectify the position.

So, from *Murenga* in the Matopos, the word was taken to *Mukwati* who stationed himself at the former Rozvi centre, Ntaba Zika Mambo. Then it was taken to *Kagubi* then in the Chishawasha area and to *Nehanda* in the Mazoe area. All these were national spirits and next in seniority to *Murenga*. These in turn took the word to lesser mhondoros and the word spread like fire to all the corners of the country. Preparations for war to culminate in the total extermination of the Europeans, European agents and all their influences, started.

The attack on Europeans in Matabeleland was to start at full moon in March. The Shona were to come in at full moon in June and did so. The war called *Chimurenga* after its source, *Murenga*, had started and was to go on to October 1897 with all the consequences on the country that we know well. It was a conflict between all that the Africans stood for and all that the Europeans stood for. For this reason, it was a total war.

In precipitating this war, locusts, droughts and rinderpest played a vital role. They did not threaten to starve the African but threatened to exterminate him. Either therefore, the African should have passively allowed himself to perish or should have attempted to be positive and exterminate the source of the problems which was deemed to be European presence and European practices. Anybody else would have chosen the latter course and the African chose the latter course thereby precipitating *Chimurenga* with all its consequences on the history of this country. I repeat that, in the light of African religious philosophy, these physical plagues alone would have caused war and in 1896. As Burnham put it, *Chimurenga* was one of the wars “that blazed in the wake of the rinderpest from the north”. This was so because the blame for the disaster was always laid at the door of somebody. In 1896, it was laid at the door of the Europeans.

NOTES

1. Weale's Reminiscences, NAR WE 3/2/5
2. F. R. Burnham, *Scouting on Two Continents*, Ivan Deach, 1934, p. 240.
3. This is the great Shona spirit that operated from the Matopo Hills. The war is called *ChiMurenga* after him because it was his war.

Cecil Rhodes and his College

by G. N. Clark (Provost of Oriel 1947-1957)

ORIEL was not the first Oxford College to which Rhodes applied for admission as a commoner after his first sojourn in Africa. He applied first to University College, but he was not accepted there; he then came to see the Provost of Oriel. So much is certain, but the explanations with which these facts have been embroidered in books and in oral tradition seem questionable. No reason is suggested for his going to Univ. Two alternative reasons have been given for his rejection there, the first that his Latin was not up to the required standard, the second that he proposed to read for a pass and not for honours. The second suggestion is unconvincing, since Univ. had a number of passmen in residence and was not an honours College at that time. If the Master of University was discreet enough not to mention his reason, it will never be known.

According to the books the Master said he was willing to give Rhodes an introduction to the Provost of Oriel "where they are less particular in this respect". This may be the reason why Rhodes came to Oriel, but if so, it was a strange coincidence, for in Africa Rhodes had already struck up a close friendship with Henry Caesar Hawkins, the son of a resident magistrate in Natal, and a relation of Dr. Edward Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel. These two had discussed Rhodes's plan of going to Oxford. Whether Rhodes knew any Oriel men is uncertain; but he is very likely to have met S.G.A. (afterwards Sir Sidney) Shippard, who had been in South Africa since 1868 and was afterwards one of his intimate friends. For whatever reason, Rhodes came to see the venerable Dr. Hawkins, who had been Provost since 1828. Hawkins, according to one author, read the letter, "stared down at his table in hostile silence" and said at last "All the colleges send me their failures". This is not the sort of thing the heads of Oxford Colleges say to entrance candidates. We return from embroidery to fact. On 13 October 1873 Rhodes was admitted to Oriel and assigned to the Dean, the Rev. W. M. Collett, as a pupil. He signed his name in the admissions book, and although he was twenty and had lived a man's life for three years, the clumsy signature is boyish and unformed.

Rhodes resided for Michaelmas term 1873 at 18 High Street, reading for Responsions, which could in those days be taken after coming up and was not, as it is now, an entrance examination. He passed it in December. There is still (1953), *mirabile dictu*, one member of the College living who was then in his second year, the Rev. J. S. M. Walker. Mr. Walker writes, "He came down to the river *once* and I had the (unperceived) honour of coaching him". Beyond that there is little information about Rhodes's first term, and there is a conflict of evidence about his reasons for not returning after the vacation but spending nearly two and a half years in Africa. Sir Lewis Michell seems to have been right in saying in the authorised biography that the reason was probably lack of funds. It is certainly untrue that he was unable to live in England in the winter because of some affection of the lungs. When he came back in 1876 he resided in all the three terms of the year, returning to South Africa in the summer for business reasons, but not missing a term until the end of the academic year in June 1878. By that time he needed only one term to make up the nine which qualified him to take his degree, and one of the many remarkable

things about his Oxford career is that after another interval of two academic years he came back again when he was already a rich man and a prominent member of the Cape Parliament to keep Michaelmas Term 1881. As more than seven years had elapsed since his matriculation he was able to take his B.A. and M.A. together, which he did on 17 December 1881. He compounded for his dues, that is to say he paid a lump sum to keep his name on the books of the College and the University for life.

When Rhodes came up for his main period of residence in 1876 there had been changes in Oriel. His tutor, Mr. Collett, had retired to a College living. Dr. Hawkins, though still Provost, had left Oxford for good, to spend the last years of his old age in the house belonging to the Provosts as canons of Rochester. In the Provost's Lodgings in Oriel the new Dean, the Rev. Arthur Gray Butler, was installed: a Vice-Provost had been appointed, but he was unmarried and did not need a house. Butler became Rhodes's chief friend among the Fellows. He had been equally successful as a scholar and an athlete in his boyhood and youth, and afterwards had been Headmaster of Haileybury; he was an elder brother of Montague Butler, head successively of Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. We have his own authority for the story that when he expostulated with him for not attending lectures, Rhodes replied, "Oh! I promise you I shall manage it. Leave me alone and I shall pass through". Butler in after-life, as his family well remember, was proud of having induced the Fellows to keep Rhodes's name on the books, or perhaps of having persuaded him to keep it on: it is not quite certain which. Nor can we be sure what Rhodes was referring to in the remark about the dons on his letter of 1 June 1876 to his partner Rudd. Nothing could show more clearly than his letter the contrast between his life as an ordinary undergraduate and the South African business thoughts which were running through his mind. The letter is dated from Oriel College though it is not on stamped College note paper. The original is now in the possession of Trinity College, Oxford, to whom it was given by a member of the Rudd family.

ORIEL COLLEGE

June, 1/76

My dear Rudd,

I must tell you that I have ordered an engine one of the Roley and Co patents with gear under boiler . . .

With reference to myself I am just through two terms more on the 20th of this month and have entered an Inner Temple. I can get through in two years from now and have determined to do it. On calmly reviewing last year I find we lost £3,000 owing to my having no profession. I lacked pluck on three occasions through fearing that one might lose and I had nothing to fall back on in the shape of profession. I refer to caving in at Dutoitspan, abandoning claims there, and letting Graham in at De Beers and E. J. (?) Grey also, none of which things would have occurred if I had not funked collapse. You will find me a most perfect speculator if I have two years and obtain a profession. I am slightly too cautious now.

My dons and I have had some tremendous skirmishes. I was nearly caught going to Epsom but still I do not think I shall be sent down. The change at first was rather odd. I would in conclusion say do not plunge for much more at the fields. We have a sufficient block at De Beers to make a fortune if diamonds last and have enough property in Kimberley, if we make more money I would sooner say lend it or go in for a nest egg here at home and by all means try and spare me for two years you will find I shall be twice as good a speculator with a profession at my back. I will be reading here all the summer . . .

Yrs

C. J. RHODES

Another of Rhodes's letters has found its way back to Oxford — a shrewd discussion of the attitude of the British investor to diamonds, dated 26 November 1881, from Vincent's Club, of which Rhodes was a member. The original now belongs to the Club.

It has been stated that Rhodes found his friends mainly outside Oriel. He certainly had many friends in other colleges. He was elected to the Bullingdon Club in 1877, but the Club has no further record of him. In the same year he was initiated into Freemasonry in the Apollo University Lodge; the Lodge now possesses his Masonic Apron, which was placed upon the bier at his funeral. He was Master of the Drag and he played polo. But he made friendships which he kept up for life with at least two Oriel men, Middleton Kemp and Barnes Lawrence, who wrote after Rhodes's death, . . . "there was an evident desire on his part to conform to College rules and regulations. His manner was quiet and unassuming and if he felt that he had it in him to accomplish great things he never allowed others to see it". Mr. Walker, however, remembers, "after I had left Oxford I heard he practically was running Oriel as he was now in England all the year".

The late Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, who was an exact contemporary of Rhodes as a freshman at Oriel, contributed a story to the first volume of the *Oriel Record* which I give as he wrote it. "Some of us remember, too, that when he returned from his first visit to South Africa, and he had 'struck diamonds', he used to carry some of the precious stones in a little box in his waistcoat pocket. On one occasion when he condescended to attend a lecture, which proved interesting to him, he pulled out his box and showed the gems to his friends, and then it was upset, and the diamonds were scattered on the floor, and the lecturer looked up and asking what was the cause of the disturbance received the reply, 'It is only Rhodes and his diamonds'." This must have been a College lecture of the old type for passmen, not an intercollegiate lecture.

Butler's accounts of Rhodes's undergraduate days is perhaps the most authoritative. It was published during Rhodes's life. "His career at Oxford was uneventful. He belonged to a set of men like himself, not caring for distinction in the schools and not working for them, but of refined tastes, dining and living for the most part together, and doubtless discussing passing events in life and politics with interest and ability. Such a set is not very common at Oxford, living, as it does, a good deal apart from both games and work, but it does exist and, somehow, includes men of much intellectual power which bears fruit later."

There does not seem to be any full list of the occasions on which Rhodes visited Oxford after taking his degree. Great changes came about, both in the University and in the College, within a few years of his going down. The old Provost, Dr. Hawkins, died in 1882 and was succeeded by David Binning Monro, who was eminent as a Homeric scholar but personally shy and retiring. The College and the whole University began to suffer from the effects of the agricultural depression. Rents fell into arrears and had to be reduced, and the position of Oriel became steadily worse until the end of the century. No major remedy could be invented except to reduce the number of Fellowships and even to reduce the emoluments of some of the Fellows. The College did what it could to keep up its hospitality but Rhodes seems to have become aware that there were difficulties.

I cannot give a date for a curious little reminiscence of a visit during which Rhodes stayed, at any rate for a time, in rooms in College. It may have been before he took his degree, for William Hodge, who told me the story when he was very old, was already one of the senior College servants at that time. Rhodes arrived with no suit except the one he was wearing, and that ancient; but he immediately went to Hookham's the tailors and ordered another like it. Hodge, his scout, hoped for the reversion of the cast-off, but, was disappointed. He had to pack it up and dispatch it to the cabin-steward of the Union-Castle liner to whom Rhodes had promised it on the voyage. Hodge hastened to add that Rhodes was "a good payer"; but he caused his scout anxiety in another way. He used no cheque

book, but financed himself by selling uncut diamonds, which he carried, after the manner of diamond-traders, in screws of paper distributed among his various pockets. Hodge was afraid that if one of these went astray, he might be blamed, and he begged Rhodes to give up the alarming practice. He begged in vain. This may be an illustration of Rhodes's well-attested dislike of having anything to do with banks.

It was probably in 1895 that Rhodes stayed with Dr. Shadwell, afterwards Provost and then a Fellow, at Frewen Hall, beside the Union building. Sir Robert Holland was an Oriel undergraduate at that time, and he was invited to luncheon to meet not only Rhodes but Bryce, a former Fellow, who was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Lord Rosebery's Cabinet. He remembers this conversation:

Bryce: How many ministers have you in your Cabinet?
Rhodes: Three, two others besides myself.
Bryce: A nice manageable number.
Rhodes: H'm! Two too many I think.

Another conversation of Easter Term 1895 has been recorded. In his book *Long Innings* Sir Pelham Warner tells us that Rhodes and Dr. Jameson spent a week-end with Monro in the Provost's Lodgings. He goes on: "I was one of the half-dozen or so undergraduates bidden to meet him at breakfast, when I was fortunate enough to sit next to him. I have a good memory for some things — cricket scores and initials, and conversations which interest me — and, though it is fifty-six years ago, the following is an almost word for word record of part of that conversation:

C.J.R.; What are you going to do when you go down?
P.F.W.; I am going to the Bar, and am 'eating dinners' at the Inner Temple.
C.J.R.; Do you ever meet any coloured people there?
P.F.W.; Yes, a few.
C.J.R.; Do you ever sit near them?
P.F.W.; Yes, we are often placed in messes of four.
C.J.R.; Do you talk to them?
P.F.W.; Yes.
C.J.R.; Do you like them?
P.F.W.; Yes, I do.
C.J.R.; Well, I don't. I suppose it is the instinct of self-preservation. In South Africa we have perhaps a million or two whites, and many millions more of black people."

That was in 1895, and 1896 was the year of the Jameson Raid. Rhodes fell from office and for the next few years there was a bitter division between those who still admired him and those who condemned him. In Oxford and Oriel itself both these parties were represented and the division persisted even after his heroic conduct during the Matabele rising. In 1899 when England was watching intently for the crisis of the Uitlanders' demands in South African republics there was a trial of strength here. Seven years earlier the University had offered Rhodes the honorary degree of D.C.L. He had been unable to come to Oxford to receive the degree and he had been told that he might come whenever he found it convenient. At the suggestion of one of his friends he decided to come in 1899 to receive the degree at the Encaenia. It was to be an unusually splendid Encaenia. Among the other recipients of degrees there was to be Lord Kitchener, who had won the battle of Omdurman in the previous year. The Duke of York, afterwards King George V, was to be present with his Duchess.

But it seemed as if the memory of the Raid would cast its shadow over the proceedings. Rhodes's opponents thought that he was taking an unfair advantage of an

offer made before his great and admitted error. According to the constitution of the University there was only one way in which the degree could be prevented at this stage, and that was by the use of the veto which the Proctors have the right to interpose in all University business. It became known that the Proctors, W. M. Lindsay of Jesus and H. E. D. Blakiston of Trinity, intended to exercise their veto. Their only opportunity of doing so would have been during the actual ceremony in the Sheldonian. *The Times* published a protest against the conferring of the degree signed by influential Oxford residents. It also published two replies to the protest written in Oriel, one by the Provost and the other, more outspoken, by one of the Fellows, F. H. Hall. In the end the danger was circumvented, as will be seen from the letter which Butler wrote to his sister, Miss G. M. Butler, on 1 July. The Encaenia was a specially happy occasion for the Butler family because Butler's son, afterwards Professor H. E. Butler, had won the Newdigate in that year and had to read his poem in the Theatre. The Oriel Gaudy, to which Butler also refers, happened on the evening of the same day, 21 June. We know from the table-plan that Rhodes sat between Butler and the Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury. One of the speakers was Mr. Collett, Rhodes's original tutor. Butler wrote:

There was such bitter opposition to him (Cecil Rhodes) . . . All, of course, with a vein of truth, but so exaggerated, and so indifferent to his great services.

And then came the news of the Proctors' veto being used to bar his Degree—an old rusty weapon, quite obsolete. It would have been monstrous. But it was only got over by the Duke and Duchess of York refusing to go to the theatre, and Kitchener declining a degree, if that was done. And when it was in suspense, and Rhodes himself was in doubt about coming, his friends pressed him to persist—and his telegram "Rhodes will face the music" set that right. And the music was the loudest most ringing reception of cheers and shouting that was ever known. Kitchener was not in it with him. But it had been an anxious time.

And then in College, at our Gaudy, we had the same nonsense. And it was only got over by the guests calling for Rhodes to speak, after the Lord Chancellor had led up to it in his previous speech. He spoke admirably, pointing out the difference between an old and settled country, and that of a country in formation. He spoke also of what he had done, or striven to do, not denying his mistakes, but pleading very great difficulties and provocations. It was a striking and historical scene. His humility was quite as marked as his consciousness of great achievement.

What made the scene historical for the College itself was not Rhodes's speech, but his conversation during dinner with Butler. Butler reported this conversation in a letter, dated 18 October 1903, to W. J. Lewis, who was a non-resident Fellow of Oriel and Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge.

My dear Lewis,

"The story" is as follows:

At our Gaudy in /99 I was seated next to C.R. and we got talking about Oxford. I told him of the general impoverishment here, dwelling in some detail on our own great losses, owing to agricultural depression. I told him that we were no longer able to keep up our proper number of Fellows, and that our Fellowships were much diminished in value. He was much interested, and asked me many questions. At last, he said pointedly: "How much would be needed to put the College right, to restore it to its full dignity and efficiency?" I said it would want a large sum.

He then said: "Would £100,000 be sufficient? I am going," he continued, "to make my will in London during the next few days." I was much surprised, having had no thought of asking for any help from him, but answered that a hundred thousand pounds was a very large sum and would do a great deal; but I had always thought that he meant to endow a new Oriel at Cape Town.

He said, "I had meant to do so, but have come to the conclusion that it is better to improve the old seats of learning, rather than to endow new ones."

"Well," I replied, "I have told you our wants, and we should, of course, be most grateful for your assistance." He then repeated, with emphasis, "I am going to make my Will: write and tell me exactly what you want. I cannot tell whether I may lose my money, but (with an emphatic nod) I don't think I shall. Anyhow, you must keep this a perfect secret." I thought of what I had said, and asked finally if he would not let me consult the Provost confidentially, to which he agreed.

The next morning I went to the Provost, and told him what had happened, giving him the details of what I had told Rhodes, including the diminished income of the Provost, a Professor Fellow, and all the other Fellows. The Provost

then drew up a full account of our wants, giving the exact figures of wants I had already stated, and this, with some further hints from Shadwell (whom I took the liberty to consult confidentially), substantially to the same effect, I enclosed to Rhodes, together with a long letter of my own.

These statements, I have no doubt, are in the hands of Mr. Hawkesly, who, *I understand from the President of Magdalen*, told him that it was on this communication that Rhodes acted.

... Rhodes dwelt, at least twice in our conversation, on his wish to restore "the full dignity and efficiency of the College".

Yours v. sincerely,
A. G. BUTLER.

14 Norham Gardens
Oxford

This summer gaudy of 1899 was Rhodes's last appearance in Oriel, and with autumn there came the outbreak of war in South Africa. Rhodes was amongst the besieged in Kimberley and it was Butler who wrote to him on 21 February 1900 a few days after the town was relieved:

We had a big supper at Oriel at the end of last term to celebrate our winning of the Association Football Cup. In proposing the health of the team, I alluded to the pleasure it would give Oriel men all over the world, *not forgetting one at Kimberley*. They then stood up and cheered and cheered and cheered again.

In the same year, in his little volume, *The Choice of Achilles*, Butler published his sonnet on Cecil Rhodes.

Deep-voiced, broad-fronted, with the Caesar's brow,
A dreamer with a diamond in his hand
Musing on Empire!

Rhodes survived to pay two more visits to England, but his health was broken, and he died, forty-nine years old, on 26 March 1902.

The Hawkesly mentioned in Butler's letter to Lewis was the solicitor who drew up Rhodes's will, and the will was signed ten days after the gaudy. It seems a fair inference that the part relating to Oriel follows the statement and Butler's covering letter. Before quoting the will, I should like to make one comment on this statement of needs which was made on behalf of the College. We are accustomed now to statements of this kind drawn up officially on behalf of colleges and universities. For a whole generation past they had all aimed at remedying the difficulties of rising prices, which had not begun in Rhodes's time, as well as falling revenues, in which matter our experience has not been so disastrous as that of the "nineties". But they have also provided for expansion. We have all assumed that, if the money were forthcoming, we should like to do more than we have done. Almost all of us have wanted to expand our numbers, and the range of the subjects taught, or to improve our standards and facilities for study and research. Some have tried to race against other colleges and universities in this expansion. In the statement to Rhodes I see no trace of this spirit. There is no suggestion that the College should attempt in any respect to do more than it had done in the past. The proposal is to return to what had been possible before; and consequently the part of the will relating to the College, which reflects the anxieties of the dons and their comparatively unenterprising attitude to the future, stands in sharp contrast with the part relating to the altogether new and revolutionary idea of Rhodes scholarships, which was Rhodes's own. During that phase of Conservative rule there was

something of the same contrast between the government's seeming indifference to the need for reform at home and its adventurous imperialism overseas. The clause in the will runs as follows:

I give the sum of £100,000 free of all duty whatsoever to my old college Oriel College in the University of Oxford and I direct that the receipt of the Bursar or other proper officer of the College shall be a complete discharge for that legacy and inasmuch as I gather that the erection of an extension to High Street of the College Buildings would cost about £22,500 and that the loss to the College revenue caused by pulling down of houses to make room for the said new College buildings would be about £250 per annum I direct that the sum of £40,000 part of the said sum of £100,000 shall be applied in the first place in the erection of the said new College buildings and that the remainder of such sum of £40,000 shall be held as a fund by the income whereof the aforesaid loss to the College revenue shall so far as possible be made good. And inasmuch as I gather that there is a deficiency in the College revenue of some £1,500 per annum whereby the Fellowships are impoverished and the status of the College is lowered I direct that the sum of £40,000 further part of the said sum of £100,000 shall be held as a fund by the income whereof the income of such of the resident Fellows of the College as work for the honour and dignity of the College shall be increased. And I further direct that the sum of £10,000 further part of the said sum of £100,000 shall be held as a fund by the income whereof the dignity and comfort of the High Table may be maintained by which means the dignity and comfort of the resident Fellows may be increased. And I further direct that the sum of £10,000 the remainder of the said sum of £100,000 shall be held as a repair fund the income whereof shall be expended in maintaining and repairing the College buildings. And finally as the College authorities live secluded from the world and so are like children as to commercial matters I would advise them to consult my Trustees as to the investment of these various funds for they would receive great help and assistance from the advice of my Trustees in such matters and I direct that any investment made pursuant to such advice shall whatsoever it may be, be an authorized investment for the money applied in making it.

Thus, of the six millions at which Rhodes's estate was valued £100,000 came to Oriel. The bequest fulfilled its noble purpose. It restored the College to the dignity and efficiency which the agricultural depression had impaired. The number of Fellows began to climb up again; their stipends were improved; the finance of the Common Room was made easy; the burden of repairs was eased. In one respect the College had to modify its character in order to enjoy these benefits: with more rooms it needed to accommodate more undergraduates, so that the numbers rose by about twelve or fifteen.

The bequest did not make Oriel a rich college. It did not even bring as much financial benefit as was expected. The reasons for this are explained in the following extract from a letter written to me on 14 July 1948 by Mr. L. L. Price, who was Senior Treasurer from 1889 to 1918.

As a matter of fact in the will the loss to the College from the disappearance of the rents of the shops and lodging houses on the site of the new Rhodes Buildings was considerably underestimated. At the time I put that underestimate down to Rhodes' known lofty disregard of petty detail and I am surprised that any accuracy of information should have come from Shadwell, but in view of Butler's letter to Lewis the error may have lain with Rhodes' informants and not himself.

As I am writing I think that both Monro and Shadwell, justly proud of their competence to handle monetary matters, did not like Rhodes' comparison of the Fellows of Oriel to "children in finance" ("bambini" or "fanciulli" as I read it at the time, being in Italy, in Italian newspapers) but Shadwell said to me that CJR, plagued in London with requests for financial "tips", rejoiced in immunity at Oriel in that matter. According to his advice about investment we consulted his Trustees and disregarded their solitary recommendation to buy De Beers which for some following years paid no dividend.

The College naturally wanted to have a portrait of its benefactor. In May 1902 it bought the portrait now in the hall from the artist, Tennyson Cole, for 200 guineas and an additional 20 guineas for the frame and other expenses. There seems to have been doubts about the merits of this picture from the first. A few days before the College decided to buy it James Bryce wrote the Provost on House of Commons writing paper:

May 13/02

My dear Vice Chancellor,

Both my wife and I have been to Tennyson Cole's studio to see his portrait of C.J.R.

We like it: it conveys an effective impression of his face and air, is correct in the main features, and altogether gives the man as nearly as any picture, except the very best, does give a man. It strikes me as quite as good a likeness as Herkomer's and less displeasing. The size is suitable to hall or Common room.

My wife agrees with this opinion of the picture, but of course it would be well that one of you should if possible see it. The artist evidently would like that it should go to Oriel rather than to Alfred Beit who it seems has unkind thoughts of it.

Always yours
JAMES BRYCE

But Rhodes's brother Frank wrote to Butler on 15 August in a different vein.

I borrowed the Herkomer from the Kimberley Club to have one copy made and to have it engraved, one of the Club's conditions was that they were to have it back *as soon as possible* — I have not seen it (so Mr. Cole can't have me up for libel) but I am told you have got hold of real bad picture of Cecil; Cecil was so fond of Oriel and all to do with his Oxford days that I really think you ought to have a good picture of him — I like the Herkomer and Mr. Herkomer is doing a copy for me, but of course I would do anything for Oriel in the matter and I should say they would hardly refuse you.

Herkomer is charging me £400, he says the Engraving picture and copy will take six months. This I have communicated to Kimberley Club.

In October, however, there is this entry in the College minute-book: "A proposal to purchase a replica by Mr. Herkomer of his portrait of Mr. Rhodes was not seconded. The proposal to make a grant towards a replica to be paid for by subscription and offered to the University was supported by four votes to three — but afterwards withdrawn." Four years later Frank Rhodes gave the College the engraving after Herkomer, which it still has. The College had an opportunity of buying the portrait by the Duchess of Rutland for £75, but it will not be blamed for refraining. In 1926 it received a portrait painted and bequeathed by Miss Mary Helen Carlisle. This portrait is a miniature on ivory painted from sittings given by Rhodes in 1896 at the Burlington Hotel in London, and represents him seated in his usual position. He gave the artist a commission for a life-sized portrait in oils "because he wished the first portrait for which he sat to be painted by a Britisher born in South Africa". Miss Carlisle was born at Grahamstown. Her miniature is of interest for the student of Rhodes's appearance and character, though it is less convincing than some of the other representations of Rhodes such as the etching and drawings by Mortimer Menpes. The statue on the High Street front of the Rhodes Building was made by Mr. Pegram. The bronze bas-relief portrait on the wall of No. 6 King Edward Street, where Rhodes spent his final term of residence, was set up by an admirer, Mr. Alfred Moseley. In addition to these we have in the College various photographs and other representations of Rhodes, some of them interesting for their rarity if for little else. His memory has never been neglected here. His name is the latest in the list, stretching over six centuries, which is read in the Chapel when we commemorate our benefactors; and his greatness strengthens the College.

(Reprinted from the Oriel Record with permission obtained by Mr. J. F. Bowles.)

VHUTA (Alexander Duncombe Campbell)

by Dawson Kundishora Munjeri

*The evil that men do lives after them
The good is oft interred with their bones*

— *Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, Act 3 sc. ii*

Mhosva haiwore is a Shona saying literally meaning “crime will not rot”, in other words the truth will out and justice always prevails.

After 82 years of resting in apparent peace, Campbell still turns in his grave as each time his name is mentioned, albeit with little affection, by his former subjects or their descendants. But why Campbell? Why not some famous figure? Did he not in fact live in this country for only eight years before succumbing to pneumonia at a tender age of twenty-seven? Yet that is one reason why he should be resuscitated. Born in 1872 in the Cape Colony and then attesting in the Pioneer Corps in 1890 he was not to live longer than 22 August 1899 but in so short a time few people have left a more lasting imprint on the face of our history than Alexander Campbell.

Vhuta was not a deliberate choice of the writer, he was a “people’s” choice. The constant reference made to Vhuta by Shona oral history interviewees compelled the writer to have a closer look at this character who is described as “the greatest of all the Europeans who came into this country”,¹ by one informant. Another informant even declared: “If you ask anyone he should know Vhuta!”² The reason why he should be known so well lies in the cited Shakespeare’s words: of this, anon.

It also became evident that a study of Campbell was in fact a microcosmic study of the 1896-7 *Chimurenga*. Indeed many a people in this area of influence took to arms as a reaction to his rule and to that of his African messengers or policemen. A history of *Chimurenga* has still to be written centring on the unsung heroes and villains. In this respect this article is intended to close part of the chasm and encourage further research along those lines.

Having been thrust unknowingly into the Vhuta field, it was logical to consult contemporary official sources and accounts. What was unearthed was a revelation of considerable dimensions. In many cases, oral accounts were verified by some official correspondence, thus vindicating oral traditions as a veritable source of African history. What has been portrayed here is a worm’s-eye view of a man and events surrounding him. It is a view which contrasts with the bird’s-eye view as reflected in: “Campbell had few if any enemies [my emphasis] and a very large circle of warm friends”.³ As late as 1966, P. S. Garlake described Campbell as “one of the most knowledgeable and capable men of a very assorted group”.⁴ This article is a reassessment of such generalisations. Is there not a case for rewriting history?

The standard definition of the verb *vhuta* as given in the *Standard Shona Dictionary* is: “Blow (not with the mouth) usually with bellows or it may be associated with hissing of the



A. D. Campbell.

Photo — National Archives

fire". To those who gave Campbell his nickname, "Vhuta" was a burning and scorching fire,⁵ for none could stand in his way without being scorched, or even losing his life. Such was the image he created even before he joined the Native Department. Initially he was a trader in the area east of Salisbury and then he was in the Company's service at Nursery Farm — Highlands Estates.⁶ His reputation as a trader was not too good, at least compared with that of other white traders like William Edwards and Edmonds (Chimutashu). The Nyandoro people still recall how, having reached an agreement with him over a certain measure, Campbell abrogated it. Some women went to sell groundnuts and maize to him but found he had replaced the basket to which they had agreed, with a smaller one. On hearing this, Kunzvi, the chief, sent his brother, Mapfunga, to ascertain the facts. The reception from Campbell was hostile and there was an exchange of fists.⁷ Indeed during this time he made more enemies than friends and it was ill-advised of the Administration to appoint Campbell as the first Native Commissioner of the Salisbury district, an area where his reputation was very low.

At the time, the district was an arc around the east of Salisbury stretching almost to Marandellas from Makumbi in the north, through Goromonzi, across the Umtali road to the Seke Reserve and the Hunyani River in the south.⁸ The fact that this area was to form "the hard core of the whole insurrection of Mashonaland",⁹ had much to do with Campbell. That Campbell's own headquarters, the kraal of Mashonganyika, was the centre of the rising¹⁰ reinforces this fact.

More than anything else, Campbell incurred the wrath of his subjects because of his constant recourse to the sjambok. "*Chindunduma* (risings) were caused by the sjambok. My father, died in pains after heavy caning."¹¹ "Our parents were tied to trees and caned and this is how the whole war began."¹² Supported by a formidable group of his "detectives" notably Pitiri, Mbirimi, Mukwasha and Jeka we Ziso (One-eyed Jack)¹³ Vhuta instituted a reign of terror. Not surprisingly, Campbell and his messengers had a very hard time, particularly from the resistant Nyandoro people. On occasions, William Edwards, by now the Native Commissioner at Mrewa, gave refuge to these messengers.¹⁴ Edwards could not have provided refuge for ever. Pitiri and Mbirimi were to be the first victims of the insurrection with the latter falling at the hands of his own relations at Mashonganyika. Vhuta and Jeka narrowly escaped and henceforth were dedicated to even more ruthless methods.

To Campbell, the sjambok was both an end and a means to an end. That end was itself unpalatable to the victims and was to contribute to the rising in the area under his control. One of his duties as a Native Commissioner was to introduce and oversee taxation. To his subjects he was nothing else but a tax collector.¹⁵ In order to enforce this tax collection he thus resorted to the sjambok.¹⁶ Official correspondence corroborates this evidence. In 1895, Campbell reported: "The fact that all my returns have been paid in hard cash shows that the natives have done their best to meet the tax".¹⁷ The concept of colonial taxation had not yet been fully understood, let alone accepted by this time. Only unconventional means could have been used to effect a 100 per cent payment of tax in kind let alone in hard cash. In the same report, he in fact provides the answer. Recalcitrant chiefs like Kunzvi who evaded tax were "during the next season to be dealt with as easily as the other tribes".¹⁸ Four months later, what he meant by dealing with recalcitrants was clarified. Unable to get the balance of hut tax from Kunzvi's people he sent his "detectives" with orders to bring in all the cattle that could be found. Guns were used and blood was shed.¹⁹ Even then such resistance could not deter him from suggesting that

the yearly hut tax should be raised from 10s. to £1. This would, according to him, be raised easily by forcing people to go and work.²⁰

While some Native Commissioners could be excused for implementing official policy with regards to *chibharo* (conscripted labour) Campbell can be accused of being both a proponent and an over-zealous implementer of such a policy. The experiences of those conscripted by him are summed up by one of the victims, Rakafa:

*This chibharo— oh my son!
We were swooped on as we were asleep
Taken to the Native Commissioner, Vhuta
Then taken by force to Gwelo.
Vhuta had ordered us to go and work.*

Rakafa was unfortunate enough to be conscripted again and despatched to a farm belonging to Muswatasi, "the straightener", and from there to a mine where he was lucky enough to survive while his colleagues were not so fortunate.

Using such storm tactics as swooping on sleeping villagers, it is hardly surprising that in the first few months of 1896 Campbell had despatched to Salisbury over a thousand conscripts, in addition to satisfying local farm and mine demands. In fact he was able to create more "supply than demand".²¹

Supply there certainly was but it was a reluctant one and on occasions bloodshed occurred in the acquisition process. In April 1895 Campbell's detectives under instructions "to get 150 boys" from Rusike met with stiff resistance from the Rusike people who even fired on the conscriptors. Indeed it was this reluctant supply which in June 1896 decided that enough was enough and so went into full battle — *Chindunduma/Chimurenga*. Appropriately Campbell was the one to witness some of the first shots directed at him. An ambush had been laid for him but when all was ready, "instead of waiting for the order to fire, my brother prematurely opened up thus betraying their positions".²² Two of the ambushers, Kapi and Mushonga died in the fight. Campbell and his companion, Stevens, escaped, but not before Campbell had the unpleasant experience of witnessing his brother, George, struck down with axes.²³

The chickens had now come back to roost and Campbell had played no small part in bringing this about.

To the Administration, however, Campbell was the man who knew the African best. A colleague of his in the Native Department described him as "the man who knew more about the language, manners and customs of the natives of Mashonaland than any other European in the country".²⁴ When "friendlies" were brought into the Salisbury laager, it was Campbell who was thought most capable of handling them. Consequently, just a week or so after witnessing the murder of his brother he was promoted to be Commandant of the natives in the laager.²⁵ A better opportunity to avenge his brother's murder could not have presented itself. In the event it was an opportunity which Campbell could not fail to utilise fully.

Conditions in the *jarata* (laager) were generally, as was to be expected, hard for all races but Campbell made them even tougher for Africans. One internee, Samuel Tutani recalls: "There was a certain European called Vhuta. I think he was the one in charge of the laager. If he saw a dirty section he would beat all those in that portion — Even Chiremba himself was beaten. Chiremba was an elderly man who had brought his people there".²⁶

[Chiremba, who was the headman of the present Epworth area, had, together with his people, moved into the laager at the suggestion of Rev. John White.] To most people in the laager, Vhuta was in fact conspiring with others to have all the blacks in there killed, on the ground that "all Africans were the same". It is widely believed that but for John White they would all been wiped out.²⁷ Whether these fears were groundless or not, the fact is that Campbell had done nothing to endear himself even to the "friendlies". This fact disproves any suggestions that Campbell behaved the way he did because of the nature of the people he was dealing with. Such a suggestion is implicit in: "Nyandoro's people were a tough lot, all the scoundrels of the country were of his following and they gave Campbell and his native messengers a very hard time".²⁸ The general spread of the risings in his area and the different communities that have spoken on Vhuta all giving adverse comments, again would disarm Edwards's central thrust of defence.

Fired by an avenging spirit, Campbell pursued the war with a zeal exceeded only by that of his surviving "detectives" led by the notorious Jeke we Ziso. No quarter was asked for and none was granted as "Jack the one-eyed and other messengers killed suspected murderers," with Campbell rewarding them in cash for doing so.²⁹ When Jack seduced wives of "rebels" all was all right³⁰ although Campbell's calling as a Native Commissioner [reputed to be well versed in African customs] should have forced him to prevent such excesses.

Campbell's other avowed mission was to ensure that insurrectionists, particularly those connected, even remotely, with the death of his brother, were hanged. "After *chindunduma* it was because of Vhuta that people were hanged. He was avenging his brother who had been killed in Goromonzi".³¹ He himself reveals the spirit in which he undertook this mission. "I am getting on well with evidence against murderers. I think I have got enough evidence to hang Mashonganyika etc."³² In some cases, he even went against the sober judgment of the military as when the latter was convinced that Chief Chikwaka was innocent and wanted peace.³³

Campbell was of the opinion that he should be charged with treason, rebellion and with instigating murder, all on the evidence that in his cave had been found one Lee Metford and two Martini-Henry rifles. He would himself proceed to seek evidence that Chikwaka led a group that committed murder.³⁴ Indeed he had by now changed his role from that of a Native Commissioner to that of a prosecutor. Because of his evidence Mashonganyika, Mzambi, Gukwe, Rusere, Gondo and Gutu were hanged — all guilty of the murder of his brother George.³⁵ Few Africans could be forgiven for thinking that, he too, was the executioner for by a strange coincidence, a Stuart D. Campbell was the executioner.³⁶

The story would not be complete without mention of Campbell's role in the few post-war days. As early as 1897, Campbell was convinced that for strategic reasons people residing east of Salisbury should be relocated. His recommendations were accepted and as a result new boundaries were drawn. The present boundaries of Chinamhora, Chikwaka, Kunzvi, and Seke communal lands are *in toto* the work of Campbell. These boundaries were never acceptable to the people concerned, particularly the Seke people who lost a great deal of their land. While this legacy lives on, Vhuta will remain a burning or scorching issue.

NOTES

Unless otherwise stated, the Historical Manuscripts (Hist. Mss), Public Archives and Oral History (AOH) files are in the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

1. AOH/17 Interview with Rakafa. Chinyika. 17 August 1977.
2. AOH/35 Interview with Mudadi Madamombe. Seko. 25 July 1978.

3. *The Rhodesia Herald* 23 August 1899, p. 3.
4. Garlake, P. S. The Mashona rebellion east of Salisbury, *Rhodesiana*, 14 July 1966. p. 1.
5. Interview with Headman Sawada, Chinyika. 25 January 1978.
6. Hist. Mss. ED 6/1/1, p. 39.
7. AOH/40 Interview with Mukono Kunzvi, Gariwa, Chigwedere, Mutandwa. Nyandoro. 5 May 1978.
8. Garlake, The Mashona rebellion. p. 1.
9. Ibid.
10. *The Rhodesian Times and Financial News*. 23 June 1896.
11. AOH/40 Statement by Chigwedere.
12. AOH/40 Statement by Mukono Kunzvi.
13. Informants too numerous to be mentioned, point out these four as the perpetrators of this reign of terror.
14. Hist. Mss. ED 6/1/2.
15. AOH/17 Rakafa.
16. AOH/31 interview with Kapiro Chisvo. Mhondoro. 15 December 1977.
17. NI/1/9 Quarterly Report. Salisbury District. 22 July 1895.
18. Ibid.
19. NI/1/9 Campbell to Chief Native Commissioner (CNC). 30 October 1895.
20. NI/1/9 Quarterly Report. Salisbury District. 29 January 1896.
21. Ibid.
22. AOH/40 Statement by Mukono Kunzvi.
23. AOH/34 Interview with Chief Marufu Chikwaka. 6 February 1978.
24. Hist. Mss. ED 6/1/1.
25. *The Rhodesian Times and Financial News*, 23 June 1896.
26. AOH/15 Interview with James Tutani. Marirangwe. 2 August 1977.
27. AOH/14 Interview with Aaron Jacha. Marirangwe. 14 July 1977.
- AOH/70 Interview with Reverend Eswald Ramushu, Smemeza and Marwodzi, Epworth. 15 September 1981.
- AOH/71 Interview with John Chiremba, Epworth. 13 October 1981
28. Hist. Mss. ED 6/1/2.
29. NI/1/9 Campbell to CNC 5 March 1898.
30. NI/1/9 Campbell to CNC 5 November 1897.
31. AOH/34 Marufu Chikwaka.
32. NI/1/9 Campbell to CNC 9 November 1897.
33. LO 5/4/1 Major C. W. Jenner to Staff office, Mashonaland Field Force. 18 November 1896.
34. NI/1/9 Campbell to CNC 9 November 1897.
35. Ibid.
36. Garlake, Mashona rebellion. p. 9.

STORAGE NEEDED

The society is still anxious to find one room in a private house in Salisbury to store back numbers of *Rhodesiana* and of *NADA*. The journals would be insured and access would only be required infrequently, possibly a couple of times a year.

Any member living in or near central Salisbury who can help is asked to contact the national honorary secretary:

Cattle in Zimbabwe

by R. Cherer Smith

Cattle have always played a dominant role in the society of Zimbabwe. In the Matabele and Shona tradition cattle represent wealth and they are used for sacrificial purposes and also a means of paying the bride price.

The cattle industry has been based on the indigenous "Shona", "Nkone" and "Tuli" breeds, that were found in the country as well as the Afrikander, another indigenous breed from the South. The origin of cattle in Africa is a subject that has been studied by many research workers, particularly during the past seventy years or so. It is generally agreed that the original domestic cattle came from the wild auroch or urus (*Bos primigenius Hobui*) which was found in North Africa as well as in Europe. At a later date a migration of Zebu cattle, of the *Bos indicus* type, from the East, entered Egypt and gradually spread along the Nile into the Sudan. Crosses between these Zebu cattle and the existing longhorned humpless species gave rise to the Sanga type. With the Arab invasions in about AD 700 further Zebu humped cattle were brought in.

The Zebu are hardy animals with considerable resistance to disease and for this reason they spread widely and quickly in East Africa in considerable numbers. The southward migrations of the Bantu were preceded by the Hottentots who were driven out by the invaders from the north. The Hottentots brought their cattle with them and spread to the southern tip of the continent which they reached in about 500 B.C. It is believed that the cattle they brought with them are the ancestors of the Afrikander breed. The Ndebele people have always shown a very keen interest in their cattle and by the use of colour patterns and horn shapes have built up a comprehensive list of cattle names. This provided the herders, who were unable to count, with a practical means of checking their herds to see whether any were lost, although the names for colour patterns vary from district to district.

The Mashona breed of cattle suffered from poor selection, due to the retention of many inferior bulls for religious purposes. It was only during the 1950s that a scheme of improving the quality of the herds was instituted by the government, making good quality bulls available to tribesmen from its Cattle Breeding Station at Mrewa. A Mashona Cattle Breeders' Society was formed and through a bull performance testing scheme the quality of animals improved beyond all recognition, meeting the requirements of the meat markets of the world.

The industry has not developed without its problems. In 1896 the rinderpest cattle disease swept through Africa and decimated the herds which had to be built up from the survivors. East Coast fever, a tick-borne disease, introduced by cattle imported from Australia, also took its toll, necessitating the introduction of a regular dipping programme. The tsetse fly prevented the raising of cattle in large areas of the country and it was only when the fly was eliminated that cattle could be raised.

Foot-and-mouth disease broke out in 1931 on a massive scale on the Nuanetsi Ranch. This disease results in more disruption to international trade in meat and animal products than any other, periodically bringing severe restrictions upon the industry. It is caused by the smallest virus and is the most infectious known animal disease. An indication of its potency can be gauged from the fact that one millilitre of fluid from a blister

on the tongue of an infected animal could theoretically infect up to one million cattle.

Almost all the subsequent outbreaks of the disease occurred in the south-east lowveld or close to the Wankie Game Reserve areas, where there is close contact between cattle and buffalo who are carriers of the disease. An efficient Veterinary Service has been established to deal with the control and prevention of the disease. Part of the scheme is the control of the movement of the cattle.

In order to replenish the herds, some of the earlier settlers travelled to Tanzania (Tanganyika) and Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) and bought cattle, which they drove hundreds of miles to Zimbabwe. They crossed the Zambezi at Feira, and here the cattle had to swim, being lashed to dugout canoes. Some were lost to crocodiles, others were taken by lion, whilst a number were stolen or just wandered away from the herd into the bush.

Some of the early farmers imported pedigree stock which have formed the foundation of some very high quality herds. Duncan Black, a Scot who knew cattle, was one of the first to establish a pedigree herd of Aberdeen Angus at his farm, Selby.

One of the most successful breeds to have been imported into the country is the Hereford, whilst the Sussex and Shorthorns have also played their part. More recently other breeds such as the Brahman (1956), Beefmaster (1970), and Santa Gertrudis (1957), have been imported and are showing promise, the latter two being breeds from America.

In order to foster the industry, breeder societies have been formed for the various breeds.

A number of large ranches have been established in Matabeleland which provide a high proportion of this country's beef supply.

The industry has been fortunate to benefit from an efficient marketing organisation, which was set up by the State. Abattoirs have been built at a number of sites and the Marketing Authority (Cold Storage Commission) not only provides the marketing, but materially assists producers through a grazier scheme whereby the Commission's cattle are fattened by farmers who are paid for the weight gained.

Other schemes for improving the quality of the herds have been introduced from time to time, such as the Livestock Improvement Scheme, while a National Carcass Competition offering a prize of \$1 000 was inaugurated a few years ago. With the availability of imported semen the quality of the cattle breeds has been improved still further.

The prosperity of the industry derived largely from the export trade, most of which was conducted through South Africa, although some exports were made to adjacent territories, but this prosperity came to an abrupt end in 1921 due to the post-war economic conditions. Prices on export markets fell and the cattle industry entered a period of severe depression. Exports in that year dropped to one third of the figure achieved during the previous year. Many ranchers left the industry, recruitment fell away, new land was left undeveloped and some established ranches were unoccupied. Indigenous cattle were at this time unsaleable.

The position within the industry became so acute that in May 1923, the government appointed a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the situation, and among its recommendations were proposals for the establishment of a Meat Works and arrangements for the conveyance of frozen meat to cold storage at the cost of shipment. Government entered into negotiations with the Imperial Cold Storage and Supply Company, which in

return for a ten-year monopoly of beef exports, erected the facilities and commenced operations.

The agreement gave the government the right to expropriate the facilities after the ten-year period and this it duly did, creating the Cold Storage Commission to take over the management of the existing plant.

Export of beef on the hoof to South African ports was also used to augment the meat handling facilities, but this was often interrupted due to drought and lack of grazing along the stock routes.

The industry has had its ups and downs in more recent times. The late war resulted in the depletion of the national herd through theft and disease. Exports at high prices subsidised the local beef market, but with the loss of exports the marketing authority entered a period of deficit trading. Producers were operating at a loss and substantial increase in producer prices had to be granted to maintain the industry which is now recovering slowly from the problems it has had to face during the past few years.

BRONZE MEDAL

The Rhodesiana Society's Bronze Medal was struck in 1970 for sale to members and their families only. The total number struck was only 500 and a few are still left for sale. Each one is unique as it has a different serial number. As well as being a personal souvenir of belonging to the Society the medal forms a good investment. (The word investment is used advisedly as a number of the medals have made their appearance on sales of Africana in Johannesburg.)

The medals are slightly larger and thicker than a 25-cent piece and are in an attractive green velvet-covered presentation case. The price, including the case, is \$5.00.

NADA

A Bibliographical Note

By E. E. Burke

The first issue of this annual appeared in 1923; the last, dated 1980, was issued in 1981. There were 56 issues in all making it, at the time of its demise, one of the country's oldest journals.

NADA was the Native Affairs Department Annual — there was no connection with *Nada the Lily*, Rider Haggard's historical novel on the Zulus. The name, well known in its own right and devoid of any acronymous significance, continued after the functions of the Department passed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1964, to the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1979 and to the Division of District Administration in 1980.

The concept of such a journal was the brainchild of Sir Herbert Taylor, Chief Native Commissioner from 1913 to 1928, who saw the need for a medium on which to base the study of African affairs through the collection of information. In his preface to the first issue Taylor wrote: "Since the Great War there are signs among all Bantu tribes of a feeling of race consciousness which will develop into a solidification of the native races . . . He cannot be kept back and it is our responsibility to guide him . . . A time has arrived when we should create a policy of deliberate development making the most of the economic possibilities of the situation".

Earlier, in 1922, Taylor stated in a circular to his officials: "To foster the desire for a broader knowledge on which to base the study of natives and native administration and to lead to a more general appreciation of the problems which confront the country . . . a suggestion has been made that a Native Affairs Department Annual should be published . . . Such an annual would fill a want as a medium of study for junior officials, a stimulant to legislators, missionaries and officials to the appreciation and consideration of native policy, and would be a valuable adjunct to the work of native development . . ."

Articles were called for from officials of the Department but it was made clear (1923) that anyone with useful and relevant experience, in or out of the government service, would be welcome to offer contributions. Indeed the pattern was in the first issue which included an article by the Rev. A. S. Cripps — no ready supporter of government policies — on "Native Rhodesia now or never. Africa's cross roads — the trusteeship road or the exploitation road, which to follow?" Taylor provided a cautionary note in his preface that "government, although paying for the publication, accepts no responsibility for opinions offered in any of the articles and no official significance attaches to the advocacy of any particular policy", a precaution that was maintained.

The general scope was always wide, although avoiding party political matters. The list is long as is the authority of the many contributors — customs, genealogy, reminiscences, history, medicine, legal matters, language, economics, social organization, or religion.

The breadth of scope and authority of the contributors is well shown by the contents of the last issue:

"African cattle in pre-colonial Zimbabwe" by Professor R. S. Roberts

“Black workers from Zimbabwe in South Africa” by J. van H. Coetzer, formerly on the staff of the Zimbabwe Diplomatic Mission in Pretoria

“How Chief Rambira Mudzimuireme met his death” (an account of the encounters between the Dzviti — the Nguni, Gaza and Ndebele – and the Mudzimuirema people in Chirimuka), based on oral traditions collected by D. Munjeri of the National Archives

“The VaMhari” by J. White, a District Commissioner and a regular contributor

“Customary law cases in two Shona chieftainships” by Miss R. Loewenson and Professor M. Gelfand

Except for two years during the depression of the 1930s the journal was largely maintained by a subsidy from government which enabled the cost to the subscriber to be kept exceptionally low. The first issues were priced at 2s. 6d. rising to \$1 in later years.

Unfortunately records are no longer available to show the number of copies printed but it must have been comparatively small for as early as 1929 the first three issues had long been out of print. A full set of the originals is therefore a rarity but tribute must be paid to the enterprise of Books of Rhodesia (now Books of Zimbabwe (Pvt.) Ltd.) for making available reprints of the issues from 1923 to 1932.

There were some difficult times when production faltered through lack of suitable material but generally the object was achieved of having an issue available at the end of each year. There was a change of policy in the numbering in the 1930s which can cause confusion to collectors. The editor explained that “because the publication of an annual appearing late in the year may be detrimental to sales” the dating was to be changed to the year following the year of publication.

Thus, No. 13, the 1935 issue appeared in November 1935;

No. 14, which appeared in November 1936, was dated 1936/37;

No. 15, in November 1937, was dated 1938.

The full sequence of issues is as follows

No. [1] 1923 100 pages

No. [2] 1924 116 pages

With a cover, designed by H. H. D. Simmonds, showing a spirited knight attacking a dragon. The knight is labelled “Knowledge” and the dragon “Barbarism”. The cover remained standard until a new format was introduced in 1964. It must be commented that the relevance of the design to the expressed purpose of the publication is not readily apparent.

No. 3 1925 91 pages

Including the first half-tone blocks

No. 4 1926 132 pages

No. 5 1927 101 pages

Including a folding coloured map of the “Approximate distribution of tribes and languages in Southern Rhodesia”, from F. W. T. Posselt’s *Survey of the native tribes of Southern Rhodesia* (1927)

No. 6 1928 118 pages

With an index to Nos. 1-6

No. 7 1929 139 pages

No. 8 1930 91 pages

No. 9 1931 112 pages

No. 10 1932 111 pages

The first use of folding genealogical tables

No. 11 1933 130 pages

No. 12 1934 122 pages

With index to Nos. 7-12. two specially bound volumes of Nos. 1-11 were presented to Prince George at an Indaba during his visit in March 1934.

No. 13 1935 110 pages

No. 14 1936/7 94 pages

No. 15 1938 112 pages

No. 16 1939 120 pages

No. 17 1940 105 pages

No. 18 1941 80 pages

With index to Nos. 13-18

No. 19 1942 96 pages

No. 20 1943 57 pages

For economic reasons the use of a smaller type was introduced but the amount of text matter remained much the same.

No. 21 1944 48 pages

No. 22 1945 68 pages

No. 23 1946 74 pages

No. 24 1947 108 pages

With index to Nos. 19-24

No. 25 1948 104 pages

No. 26 1949 96 pages

No. 27 1950 96 pages

No. 28 1951 118 pages

No. 29 1952 120 pages

No. 30 1953 108 pages

With index to Nos. 25-30

No. 31 1954 116 pages

No. 32 1955 125 pages

No. 33 1956 106 pages

No. 34 1957 136 pages

The issues from 1957 to 1962 were, for reasons of economy, printed on a poor quality paper, resembling newsprint.

No. 35 1958 125 pages

With index to Nos. 31-35

No. 36 1959 138 pages

No. 37 1960 118 pages

No. 38 1961 110 pages

No. 39 1962 96 pages

No. 40 1963 132 pages

With index to Nos. 36-40

Vol. 9 No. 1 1964 74 pages

Now the *Annual of the Ministry of Internal Affairs*. With this issue a new format was introduced with colourful pictorial covers, the cover varying with each issue. A numeration by volumes was also instituted commencing as Volume 9, the previous 40 issues being calculated at 8 volumes, each of 5 issues. This does not agree with the method of indexing, if each is taken as marking the end of a volume. Some indexes were to 6 issues and some to 5 and if bound accordingly it will be found that there is no Volume 8.

No. 2	1965	110 pages
No. 3	1966	94 pages
No. 4	1967	89 pages
No. 5	1968	95 pages

With index to Volume 9

Vol. 10	No. 1	1969	105 pages
	No. 2	1970	134 pages
	No. 3	1971	115 pages
	No. 4	1972	124 pages
	No. 5	1973	74 pages

With index to Volume 10

Vol. 11	No. 1	1974	115 pages
	No. 2	1975	142 pages
	No. 3	1976	113 pages

A new format, with larger type

No. 4	1977	85 pages
No. 5	1978	93 pages

With index, 1923-78, compiled by M. E. Hayes

Vol. 12	No. 1	1979	78 pages
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The Annual of the Ministry of Home Affairs

No. 2	1980	76 pages
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The Annual of the Division of District Administration

Editors

1923	N. H. Wilson
1924-28	G. A. Taylor
1929-43	N. H. D. Spicer
1944-45	C. Bullock
1946-47	J. G. Roberts
1948-52	N. H. D. Spicer
1953	D. P. Abraham
1954-71	J. H. Farquhar
1972-73	J. L. Fubbs
1974-80	E. E. Burke

Posterity will assess the value that *NADA* has had. It remains a widely used source well acclaimed for its purpose, with a distinguished body of contributors and supplementary to many studies of African life, custom and thought, useful to all races.

There seems to be a continuing need for such a medium as no existing publication

quite replaces it. Possibly some of its purpose may continue in *Heritage*. The retiring committee of management of *NADA* has handed over the stock of back issues to The History Society of Zimbabwe, from which they can be obtained.

WANTED

To complete set —

NADA:

No. 17 — 1940

No. 19 — 1942

No. 20 — 1943

No. 21 — 1944

No. 25 — 1948

No. 31 — 1954

No. 33 — 1956



Johnston, 153 Parkway, Parktown. Telephone 66094

Correspondence

DEDICATED BOTANIST

Sir,

After Paddy Vickery's interesting notes on the Railway Mission, do you think you could persuade her to write something about the Rev. F. R. Rogers who must have been the successor to the Rev. Nelson Fogarty?

He was an ardent botanical collector who collected along the line of rail from the Eastern Province in the Cape to deep in the Congo and the bulk of his collection is or was housed in the National Museum, Bulawayo, where I endeavoured to catalogue it.

As I remember it, there were seaweeds from the South African coast, plants from the Eastern Province and specimens from just about every station or siding along the line of rail. He was obviously a dedicated botanist with his own printed labels and well-prepared specimens. The collection dated from the late 1880s to I think 1905 when I think that he went to Tristan da Cunha.

G. L. GUY

Bedfordview, Johannesburg

JOHN HOPLEY

Sir,

I was interested to read Michael Kimberley's timely reportage on that very colourful character — John Hopley who lived in Rhodesia for 40 years.

Although John Hopley made no striking impact on the country's history in as much as he took no part in politics, was not a captain of industry, and was not even particularly successful in the agricultural field in which he was engaged, yet there were few people (or at least those many interested in sporting activities) who had not heard of him and the progress he had achieved in that arena in his vigorous youth.

I was privileged to know John Hopley — not intimately, but reasonably well having met him through his activities in the farming (cattle) scene. He invited me to spend a day with him at his farm Fair Adventure, mainly to advise him on his cattle enterprise. During the day I spent there he told me a number of really interesting anecdotes but I think the most fascinating of them was the following:

A party of schoolboys representing England's public schools visited there in about 1928 and he (John Hopley) was invited to a dinner held in their honour at Government House. At this dinner he was asked to address the guests and he apologised for his lack of public speaking ability, "However", he told his listeners, "perhaps you might be interested in the following story:

"Now if it were not for me, there would probably never have been a Rhodesia. Though this may be a boastful claim to make, these facts will confirm it. Shortly after I was born my father decided to move from Grahamstown to Kimberley and having prospered he sent for his family to join him there . . . my mother set off by coach with me as a babe in arms. The coach duly arrived at the Fish River which was found to be in flood and the

coach driver decided to test the drift which was flooded. He returned and announced that he thought the drift was passable and decided to drive through. However my mother said that having a small baby with her she preferred to cross the river by the footbridge.

"A young gentleman sitting opposite her in the coach offered to help and accompany her and the baby across the bridge. The remaining passengers remained in the coach. The driver had underestimated the strength of the flood, the coach overturned and the driver and all passengers were drowned. The young man who assisted Mrs. Hopley with her baby son, John, was none other than Cecil John Rhodes and he of course would have perished along with the other passengers had he not felt he needed to assist Mrs. Hopley. You will agree therefore that my claim that, had it not been for me there might never have been a Rhodesia, is perfectly logical and true".

I trust both Mr. Kimberley and your readers will be interested in this true story.

R. ISAACSON
Salisbury

BLONDIN STORY

Sir,

Can any of your readers confirm the following story which so far I have been unable to verify but which sticks in my memory?

When George Pauling was building the railway line from Vryburg in the Cape Province, to Broken Hill, he had a camp at the Victoria Falls bridge. His Irish labourers were accommodated on the north bank of the bridge when blondins were used to carry men and materials across the river. One Saturday afternoon, they went to the south side and tried to drink the place dry, which they nearly succeeded in doing. They were taken over the gorge in the last blondin that night, except one man who was too drunk to walk, or even to move; he was left behind, dead drunk and asleep. Next day, Sunday, at about midday when the men who had been on the binge woke up, they were more than surprised to find that their previously-drunk friend and colleague was in his own bed on the north side. The story suggested that he had got himself over the river, hand-over-hand on the blondin's supporting cables, probably too drunk and out of his mind to appreciate what he was doing.

What makes the story stick in my mind was an illustrative photograph of a railway engine head-on with labourers running alongside carrying rails to give some idea of the rate and method of construction when the railway track was approaching Broken Hill at a quarter of a mile an hour. Apparently, the engine did not stop during a working day.

My imagination is not nearly vivid enough to have invented the story. The description of the laying of rails is given on pages 125 and 126 of H. F. Varian's book *Some African Milestones* published by Books of Rhodesia Publishing Co. (Pvt.) Limited in 1973. The engine was similar to that shown on plate 33 (Between pages 208 and 219) of George Pauling's book *The Chronicles of a Contractor* also published by Books of Rhodesia in 1969. There were other photographs illustrating the story including one showing the blondin cables stretched across the gorge.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to confirm the story, and where you have read it. My original thoughts were that it had been published in one of the copper mining companies' monthly publications, but I can find no one to confirm it.

J. M. LAWLESS
Percelia, Johannesburg

SIR OSWALD MOSLEY

Sir,

I am afraid that this letter is far removed from the objects of the History Society but it does flow from the last paragraph of Mr. Graham Guy's letter, in No. 1 of *Heritage*, in which he quotes Lady Mosley as writing that Sir Oswald Mosley was "very different from the rabble rouser described by the press".

This is a somewhat surprising observation and set me thinking about his background and what he achieved.

Lady Mosley, Sir Oswald's second wife, his first wife having died in 1933, was the Hon. Diana Mitford the third daughter of the eccentric Lord Redesdale who was a supporter of the Anglo-German Fellowship and whose daughter Unity Mitford was an admirer and friend of Adolf Hitler, whom she visited in Germany.

Mosley, the sixth baronet, inherited a fortune which was in no small way enhanced by his first marriage, in 1920 at the age of 24, to Lady Cynthia Curzon a granddaughter of Levi Leiter, the Chicago millionaire.

Originally a professional soldier, 16th Lancers by way of Winchester and Sandhurst, Mosley commenced his political career as a Conservative M.P. but went independent and in 1929, aged 33, he joined Ramsay Mac Donald's Labour Ministry as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. His policies, as regards public works, were rejected and he resigned and formed the New Party with five Members in the House. Mosley's ideas took on a definite Fascist hue with the result that his Left supporters deserted him. After a year of life the Party became defunct and by September 1932 he emerged as leader of the British Union of Fascists.

Mosley was an arrogant, supercilious character who dressed in tight black clothing with black belt and top boots and a Union Jack brassard upon which was superimposed a swastika. In spite of, or possibly because of, his upbringing, he flouted convention by defacing the national flag.

When speaking in public, like Hitler, he all but hypnotised his audiences in spite of the nonsense he talked. His Union was organised on the model of Hitler's S.A. and his bodyguard of thugs was always in attendance at his meetings and speedily dealt with hecklers. This culminated with the B. U. F. mass meeting at Olympia, London, on 7 June 1934, when due to the tough rough-house tactics adopted by his uniformed henchmen, with which he obviously acquiesced, the Union was seriously discredited.

The British have always, if nothing else, admired fair play and they rightly considered that Mosley's thugs had gone too far for they were fully aware, through reports in the Labour *Daily Herald*, of his friendship with the S. A. Nuremberg boss, Julius Streicher, whose methods Mosley emulated. Mosley's letter to Streicher of 11 May 1935, clearly spelt out the message.

In May 1940 he was arrested and detained under Regulation 18 B.

It is interesting to note what William Bullitt, the United States Ambassador to France, felt about Mosley and his influence. On 18 May he sent a message to President Roosevelt that "in order to escape from the ultimate consequence of absolute defeat the British may install a government of Oswald Mosley . . . which would cooperate fully with Hitler".

It is hardly surprising that, under the circumstances, Mosley was detained at the time when the Germans had broken through Flanders to the English Channel and the Allied troops were being evacuated from Dunkirk in late May and early June. Even so, William

Shirer, the well known American newspaper correspondent remarks that "Hitler did not take Mosley seriously".

Many people will remember the methods Mosley condoned at his meetings and at Olympia in particular.

In fact those who were there will no doubt recollect a weedy white-faced clerk of a man who stood up and forcefully, but politely, disagreed with Mosley. He was grabbed by two jack-booted "stewards", dragged out of his seat, beaten up and kicked around whilst on the floor behind the banked seats.

Mosley, like Hitler, was, I would suggest, the "rabble rouser" supreme and his reported actions were certainly not the product of the imagination of the Press.

GEORGE ABRAHAMS
Salisbury

WANTED

To complete set —

NADA

No. 30 — 1953



**R. H. Hobson, Zambia Appointments Limited, Zimco House,
16-18 Tabernacle Street, London EC2A 4BN, England**

Notes

COLLECTORS' ITEMS

An unusual collector's item has been produced by Books of Zimbabwe of Bulawayo in the shape of a facsimile reprint of *The Directory of Bulawayo and Handbook to Matabeleland 1895-1896* by Alexander Davis. It was originally issued under the auspices and patronage of the BSA Company and was printed in Cape Town.

In addition to a publishers' introduction, giving among other information a brief biography of Mr. Davis, one of Bulawayo's earliest editors, this edition of the *Directory* also contains a number of photographs of Bulawayo in the nineties.

Considering that Bulawayo was only a couple of years old when this book was compiled it contains a remarkable amount of information. Produced in the spacious days when printing costs were low the book is noteworthy for the detail included and the way no effort seems to have been necessary to compress it into the minimum space. Complete lists of standowners with a street directory giving owners and occupiers are included, with details of all organisations in the town and a list of the BSA Company's staff in Salisbury. A history of the occupation of Mashonaland and a history of Bulawayo are useful chapters.

Documents of special interest in the book include a copy of the agreement signed by Lobengula with the British Government in 1888, a copy of the Rudd Concession and a copy of the charter granted to the BSA Company by the British Government.

Inevitably the book carries a good quota of advertisements — and not only by Bulawayo firms — which gives some idea of the range of business and mining activity already developing in the country.

The Directory may not be a book to read from cover to cover but it has an old-world appeal which repays time spent on paging through it and it still has its value as a reference book for students of life in Bulawayo and the rest of the country in the nineties.

On the subject of guide-books, Mr J. S. ("Binks") Holland, of Umtali, has come across a copy of the *Guide to Rhodesia for the use of Tourists & Settlers* issued by the Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways in 1914 which was well designed and produced for its purpose.

Coverage of the subject is comprehensive except for one aspect, the almost complete absence of any attempt to describe the way of life of the indigenous people. They are referred to in the historical chapter but thereafter are more or less taken for granted.

Browsing through, the interested reader will come across some unconsciously amusing passages. For example, the historical sketch contains the remarkable statement that "the British South Africa Company, having decided on the advice of Lobengula to open up Mashonaland first, organised a pioneer expedition under Major Frank Johnson . . ."

The references to Zimbabwe in the chapter on prehistory and again in the section dealing with the Ruins gives greatest credence to the theory that Zimbabwe was the site of a mining industry operated by Indians. There is today and has for long been little support for this view.

Sometimes the book is prophetic. On the tobacco industry, which was very small in 1914, it says that the prospects were bright.

In the short section on Northern Rhodesia later developments made some of the statements almost ludicrously out of date. Lusaakas (*sic*) is described as a small settlement which was "the business base for the sub-district of Chilanga". The area of the great Copperbelt of modern times is dismissed in a few lines: "From Broken Hill the country is covered with bush with open vleis at intervals, the timber, generally speaking, improving to the north."

Much of the book is taken up by a detailed description of all the places on the railway system with detailed descriptions of all the major centres.

But it is only fair to bear in mind that it had to deal with a small and not very highly developed community; the census figures for 1911 put the total population of Southern Rhodesia at 771 077 (23 066 whites, 744 559 blacks and 2 912 Asiatic and Coloured people).

It remains true that the settler or tourist of those days would have found this book a useful source of basic information, a good 2s. worth.

J. E. MARZORATI

The society lost a valued member whose 54-year career in this country was a varied and notable one in Mr. J. E. Marzorati who died in April 1980.

His widow, Mrs. Margaret Marzorati, of the Vumba, contributes the following note on his many-sided life:

John Edward Marzorati was born in Milan, Italy on 24 June 1905. He was educated at St. Peter's, Marlborough, England. He left Italy for England at the age of six years in 1911. After leaving school he joined the famous firm of motor-body builders, Messrs. Hooper and Sons of London.

He came to Rhodesia in 1926 as a pupil tobacco farmer to H. J. Scorrer. During the tobacco slump of 1929 he went to Bulawayo and started the Bulawayo Motor Body Works Limited and was at that time the youngest member of the Motor Traders' Association. Mr. Marzorati was an expert in building a new body on to an old car. On a little racing Austin he built an aluminium body and in this "Silver Bullet" he raced from Bulawayo to Salisbury in seven hours thirty minutes which was then a record. He also held the record for car racing from Bulawayo to Johannesburg. He designed and built the first caravan and ambulance body for Bulawayo. I believe the ambulance is still in existence today. He designed and built the trailer for carrying the girders which were erected on the Birchenough Bridge.

Mr. Marzorati then took up flying and this proved to be a great love. He was original member of the Bulawayo Light Plane Club and became examiner of A Licence pilots. He pioneered Iguzi sawmills and travelled to and from Bulawayo to the site in his Beechcraft monoplane. He joined the Southern Rhodesia Air Force in 1940 as a Flight Lieutenant and was posted to the R.A.F. as Assistant Director of Works and Supplies and was later promoted to Administrative Staff Officer, Bulawayo, in the Empire Training Scheme, undertaking construction of air schools and aerodromes in the Bulawayo and Gwelo areas and in Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Marzorati retired from the Air Force at the end of the war with the rank of Wing Commander and was awarded the M.B.E., (Military). He was well known around the country for his exhibitions and aerobatics. He was also Copper No. 1 of the Police Air Wing which he started in Bulawayo. He was No. 14 Pilot in Rhodesia.

After the war he started Premier Metal Company of Rhodesia of which he was chairman and director. He also organised several other companies.

In 1961 Mr. Marzorati married Margaret Houston Johnston and moved to Umtali and the Vumba after having retired for the third time, to start growing coffee of which Rhodesia Coffee Estates (Pvt.) Ltd., was born. He was chairman of the Rhodesia Coffee Growers' Association and chairman of the Rhodesia Coffee Growers' Co-operative Company for seven years. The Coffee Growers' Association monthly Newsletter said: "During his term of office he was responsible for laying the foundations on which the present-day industry is built. The many farmers who are now reaping the rewards of his foresight and initiative, owe Maz a great deal and he will be sorely missed by his many friends throughout the country."

He was chairman of the Umtali I. C. A. (South) for 8 years, having to retire due to ill health. He was also chairman of the Young Farmers' Association and a member of the Farmers' Association, vice-chairman of the Macadamia Association and travelled to Honolulu in 1974 to gain information for this Society on the growing of Macadamia nuts. He was also an unofficial Assessor on the Water Court.

Always a great lover of the arts, he was a founder-member of the National Arts Foundation of Zimbabwe. His great love was flying and after that came art copper-work of which he was an accomplished craftsman.

Mr. Marzorati also loved the Rotary movement joining the Umtali Club in 1960 becoming vice-president of the club in 1970 and president for the year 1971/2.

Mr. Marzorati, better known to everyone as "Maz" never wasted a minute of his life and his large woodworking workshop attached to his home in the Vumba has turned out many works of art and was always the envy of young enthusiasts. He celebrated 50 years in Rhodesia in 1976 at his home in the Vumba with old Rhodesians coming from far and near. He died at Tzaneen on Easter Monday, 7 April 1980 on his way to a Rotary conference at Nelspruit.

SIMON'S TOWN

Mrs. Joanna Sharland, former Mayor of Bulawayo, who wrote in *Heritage* No. 1, about the various "homes" of the Bulawayo municipality, now lives in Simon's Town in retirement with her husband, Dr. C. Sharland.

Apart from indulging in their hobby of sailing, they have joined the Simon's Town Historical Society, a very active and successful organisation.

Mrs. Sharland sent *Heritage* a copy of the latest Bulletin issued by the society — a very interesting and impressive publication — and a note on the society's aims and activities. She writes:

Simon's Town Historical Society was founded in 1960 and celebrated its twenty-first anniversary on 22 February 1981 with a party at which some 120 members and guests gathered in the Soldiers and Sailors Rest Room in Simon's Town. The Mayoress of Simon's Town provided a beautiful cake which she made and iced herself. Membership stood at 520 on this anniversary.

The aims of the Society are similar to those of the National History Society of Zimbabwe, only on a local level rather than a national. In addition its particular objective is to preserve buildings of historical interest and merit in Simon's Town; also the preservation of the buildings and unique character of the main street — St. George's Street

and its continuation, Queen's Road. This the Society has named "The Historic Mile". Many of the buildings and places of historical interest have had descriptive plaques placed on them by the Society. Members of the Society are also "Friends of the Museum" in which the documents, maps, photographs, books, newspapers and other objects related to the history of Simon's Town and district are preserved and displayed to the public. At present the Museum is housed in a small building next to the municipal offices but there is a possibility of the Residency, now vacant, being utilised for this purpose. The Residency was built in 1772 to accommodate the Governor on his visits to Simon's Town. It was later used as a Customs House, Port Offices, Prison and, until recently, as the Magistrate's Court.

Another service to the general public, which is much appreciated, is the provision of lecture tours to groups, schools and other organisations. Members of the committee, and the secretary in particular, are kept busy the whole year round.

A number of leaflets has been produced by the society describing the buildings and places of historical interest, also a very fine book *Historical Simon's Town* by B. B. Brock, B. G. Brock and H. C. Willis. A bulletin, containing articles covering the history of the town, its people and its past is published twice a year and the newsletter of the society appears also biannually. Spring and autumn tours are arranged by the society for its members when about fifty people, on a "first come first served" basis, visit places of special interest as far away as Montague and Swellendam in the Western Cape. There is always a rush to obtain a place on these tours as they are extremely well organised and conducted, besides being great fun and full of interest.

NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Michael Spencer-Cooke was Honorary Director of Heritage of the Nation and when that organisation merged with the History Society of Zimbabwe joined the national executive of the society and is now its national deputy chairman. His enthusiasm for the preservation of historical buildings is well known since the successful restoration of Cecil House in Central Avenue, Salisbury, on behalf of the Mining Industry Pension Fund of which he is executive officer. As the articles on the F. S. A. D. Building in this issue demonstrate he is a careful researcher and talented writer.

Sir George Clark, who died on 6 February 1980, was Provost of Oriel from 1947 to 1957. The article on Rhodes at Oriel was first published in the Oriel Record in 1953 and was republished in 1980 in response to many requests. Sir George went to Oxford first in 1908 from Manchester Grammar School and except for four years as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge passed the whole of his working life at Oxford where he did a great deal to ensure that the study of economic history achieved due recognition. He was knighted in 1953.

Mr. A. S. Chigwedere is headmaster of Goromonzi High School. He has made the events of *Chimurenga 1* a special study. He is the author of the book *Monomatapa to Rhodes*.

Mr. Dawson Kundishora Munjeri, who has done book reviews in the past for the society's journal, is a member of the staff of the National Archives of Zimbabwe. His principal concern is the development of the oral historical collection in pursuance of which he travels in the rural areas interviewing people and recording their memories. These are later transcribed and translated and form part of the permanent archival collection.

"To be ignorant of what occurred before you were born is to remain always a child. For what is the worth of human life unless it is woven into the life of our ancestors by the records of history?" — Cicero, 46 BC, quoted at the Society's annual dinner by Mrs. Angeline Kamba.

BOTANICAL PRINTS

Copies are also still available of the portfolio of historic botanical prints in full colour produced as a souvenir to mark the silver jubilee of the Rhodesiana Society in 1978. Price \$25.00.

Annual Meeting of the Society

The annual general meeting of the History Society of Zimbabwe was held in the Leander Room, Jameson Hotel, Salisbury, on 18 March 1981, at 5 p.m. The national chairman, Mr. M. J. Kimberley, presided. Also present were the national deputy chairman, Mr. R. C. Smith, the national hon. secretary, Miss P. Burton and 43 members. There were eight apologies.

After the adoption of the chairman's report (see below) and the financial statement, the meeting considered amendments to the constitution.

Name of Society: Amendment to Constitution:

The first recommendation of the National Executive Committee as set out in Item 5 on the Agenda was proposed by Mr. C. N. Topping and seconded by Mr. E. A. C. Mills. After brief discussion, the motion was carried nem. con. and it was —

RESOLVED

That, following the merger of this Society with the former National Historical Association and Heritage of the Nation, it is no longer appropriate to add the word "formerly The Rhodesiana Society" after the Society's name, and that this practice cease forthwith.

The second recommendation of the National Executive Committee as set out in Item 5 on the Agenda was proposed by Mr. R. W. S. Turner and seconded by Mr. R. C. Smith.

After some discussion, Mr. R. H. Wood moved as an amendment; seconded by Mr. R. D. Franks —

That all the words after the words "amended by the" be deleted and the following words substituted —

"deletion of the words 'The National History Society' and the substitution of the words 'The Zimbabwe History Society'"

The amendment was put to the vote and declared LOST. Mrs. E. A. Norton then moved as an amendment, seconded by Mr. E. E. Burke —

That all the words after the words "amended by the" be deleted and the following words substituted —

"deletion of the words 'The National History Society' and the substitution of the words 'The History Society of Zimbabwe'"

The amendment was put to the vote and carried.

The motion as amended was then put to the vote and unanimously carried. It was accordingly —

RESOLVED

That Clause 1 of the Society's Constitution be amended by the deletion of the words "The National History Society" and the substitution of the words "The History Society of Zimbabwe".

Election of Executive Committee:

The following Members were elected after being proposed and seconded individually:

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN	Mr. R. C. Smith
NATIONAL DEPUTY CHAIRMAN	Mr. M. Spencer-Cook
NATIONAL HONORARY SECRETARY	Miss P. Burton

NATIONAL HONORARY TREASURER Mr. J. A. Ogilvie

Members — Mesdames D. M. Fleming and E. A. Norton and Messrs. W. E. Arnold, E. E. Burke, M. J. Kimberley, E. A. C. Mills, E. D. Palmer, T. F. M. Tanser, C. N. Topping and R. W. S. Turner.

Note reference change of name of journal:

It was proposed by Mr. Alex Cessford that a permanent note be included in all issues of the journal *Heritage*, recording the fact that the Society's previous journal had been *Rhodesiana*.

It was agreed to leave it to the Editor of the journal to prepare a suitable note and place it appropriately.

Index to Rhodesiana Journals:

The Chairman informed the Meeting that Miss M. Lamb was preparing a comprehensive index of the forty issues of *Rhodesiana*. This had involved her in considerable work and would continue to do so until the index was completed. Her efforts were to be applauded.

Preservation of Jameson House:

Mr. M. Spencer-Cook informed the Meeting that the present owners of the old F.S.A.D. Building, known as Jameson House, were proposing to pull it down. He said the building was structurally sound and its internal layout was suitable for many uses appropriate to the times; he sought the Society's support for effects to have the building preserved.

He accordingly proposed, seconded by Mr. E. E. Burke, and it was unanimously —

RESOLVED

That this Society strongly condemns any attempt by the owners of the F.S.A.D. Building to demolish it or remove it from its present site, and that representations be made to the owners and the appropriate authority for its preservation.

Vote of thanks:

Mr. R. C. Smith proposed a vote of thanks to the chair and at the same time thanked Mr. M. J. Kimberley for his hard work as chairman in the previous year, and for his great contribution towards furthering the aims of the Society.

There being no further business the Meeting closed at 6.40 p.m.

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

The national chairman's report on the activities of the Society during 1980 is as follows:

National Executive Committee:

At the 26th Annual General Meeting held in March 1980 the following were elected —
M. J. Kimberley (National Chairman); R. C. Smith (National Deputy Chairman);
P. I. Burton (National Honorary Secretary); J. A. Ogilvie (National Honorary Treasurer); W. V. Brelsford (Editor); W. E. Arnold; E. E. Burke; M. Fleming; R. D. Franks; R. W. S. Turner; H. J. Vickery (Matabeleland Branch); J. M. J. Leach (Mashonaland Branch); R. A. R. Bent (Manicaland Branch).

During the year the following were co-opted to the National Executive —

E. D. Palmer	}	from the National Historical Association
A. E. C. Mills		
C. N. Topping	}	from Heritage of the Nation
M. Spencer-Cook		

Regrettably, our colleague and friend, Mr. Vernon Brelsford died in July 1980 from injuries sustained in a motor accident. He had edited Volumes 18 to 40, inclusive, of our journal *Rhodesiana*, and was engaged in preparing the first issue of our new journal *Heritage* at the time of his death. He served on the national executive continuously since 1966 and had been a member of the Society for many years. I also refer to the recent death of Mr. Bill Gale who was also a member of our Society. He made a great contribution to historical writing in this country.

These two gentlemen will be greatly missed and I ask you to stand in silence in their memory.

National Historical Association and Heritage of the Nation:

The National Executive Committee requested me to have discussions with the executive of the National Historical Association and Heritage of the Nation with a view to closer association or amalgamation with our Society, and, gave me full authority to conclude any arrangements which would achieve this objective.

I am extremely pleased to say that the discussions which I held were as fruitful as they were pleasant and resulted in the two organisations concerned being dissolved and merged into one society and all existing members automatically becoming members of the National History Society. This involved approximately 105 members of the Historical Association and 32 members of Heritage. Since 40 of those involved were already members of the Society the net gain was 97 members.

The valuable work of these two organisations will continue through two standing committees of the National History Society dealing with the preservation of buildings and oral history respectively. It is hoped that these two committees will renew and accelerate their excellent work during 1981.

Membership:

The paid-up membership of the Society as at 31 December 1980 was as follows —

Individual and Institutional	636
Joint (husband and wife — 205 couples)	410
Life	11
	1 057

As at the moment about 50 per cent of this number have still to pay their 1981 subscriptions so I ask you to do what is necessary if you have not already done so.

Publications:

Owing to the death of Mr. Brelsford our intention to produce *Heritage I* during 1980 was not realised. Fortunately, Mr. Burke has stepped into the breach and *Heritage I* will appear in 1981. Additionally, Mr. Bill Arnold has agreed to compile and edit *Heritage II* in 1982.

I must emphasise that virtually no articles have been submitted for *Heritage II* and

III. Since regular publication depends on a good reservoir and steady supply of suitable articles, I appeal to all members to put shoulder to the wheel and begin or continue their writing pursuits.

As the journal *NADA* which began in 1923 has ceased publication, I am pleased to report that the management of that journal has donated its back number stocks and other assets to the Society which now becomes the only source of supply of *NADA* back numbers.

Branches:

As always the Matabeleland Branch has been active and I commend their efforts. Manicaland has been extremely quiet but now that the war is over I hope they will become active again. The Mashonaland Branch made a slow start, with the first function of the year on 26 October. With the majority of our members based in Salisbury I hope that 1981 will see more frequent functions beginning earlier in the year.

Finance:

Because no issue of the journal appeared in 1980, the Society made a profit of \$5 013 compared with a profit of \$3 006 in 1979 when one issue of the journal appeared. As a matter of interest in our jubilee year, 1978, when two issues of the journal appeared, our trading loss was \$1 212. Income in 1980 amounted to \$6 103 and expenditure \$1 090. Our accumulated funds as at 31 December 1980 amounted to \$11 721. As regards stocks we still have 76 botanical portfolios for sale at Z\$15,00; 67 bronze medals at Z\$3,50 and about 5 300 back numbers of *Rhodesiana* Nos. 21 to 40 available at Z\$3 each.

National Annual Dinner:

The Society's fourteenth annual dinner was organised by the Mashonaland Branch and was held in Salisbury in November 1980. The function was attended by over 100 members and their guests from various parts of Zimbabwe. The fifteenth annual dinner is due to be held in Manicaland during 1981.

Change of name:

A recommendation from the National Executive Committee to add the words "of Zimbabwe" to the current name of the Society will be submitted for the consideration of this annual general meeting of members this evening.

Storage:

The Society is looking for one room in a private house in Salisbury to store surplus copies of the *Rhodesiana* journal and of *NADA*. The journals would be insured and access would only be required about twice a year to replenish the working stock of journals. Can any member resident in or near central Salisbury assist in this regard please? If so, please contact the National Honorary Secretary.

Premises:

The Society would like to have its own premises one day, where its assets could be stored, meetings held and a library established, and from which its products could be sold. The ideal place would be a house in the Avenues of Salisbury or near the city centre. If any member has any suggestions in this regard or contemplates a bequest or donation, please be good enough to contact the National Honorary Secretary.

Society Activities

ANNUAL DINNER

The Society's annual dinner, organised by the Mashonaland branch, was held at the Royal Salisbury Golf Club on 13 November and was attended by about 80 members and guests.

With a superb meal, first class arrangements and good company it was a most enjoyable occasion which will be remembered as one of the most successful the society has held.

A notable contribution to the success of the evening was the speech of the guest of honour, Mrs. Angeline Kamba, Director of the National Archives of Zimbabwe. She was accompanied by her husband, Professor Walter Kamba, principal of the University of Zimbabwe.

Mrs. Kamba started her speech by poking gentle fun at the superstitions attached to the date Friday the 13th after which she spoke on the relationship between the archives and the historian.

"The business of archives is history," she said. "You only have to wander around the gardens of the National Archives to see those huge granite rocks inscribed with suitable quotations, acclaiming the virtues of history. Now amidst the rocks can be found Rhodes and Physical Energy who in their own way tell their story.

"The relationship between the archivist and the historian is essentially a partnership, a collaboration between two scholars. I should like to think that none of you holds the old-fashioned view that the archivist is merely the hewer of wood and drawer of water, while the historian is the real intellectual.

"The historian's dependence on original source material is of vital importance. He expects to find this source material intact; no marking, no damage or any changes that might have marred its purity as evidence. The archivist has in turn to work up to these expectations, fulfil his duties properly with regard to this source material, bring documents together, provide for their physical preservation, arrange and describe them for prospective users and provide a reference service for them. Few things give the archivist more satisfaction than to see his work become the foundation upon which someone has built, with skill, a solid historical study.

"The relationship of our own National Archives and your society is even closer as I know that your objectives and your interests are very similar to ours. I understand that at the time of its inception in 1953, the principal objective as given in the constitution was 'to further the interests of collectors of Africana and to assist in the preservation of books and documents relating to Rhodesia and Nyasaland.' In time this developed into 'to promote Rhodesian historical studies and to encourage research and to unite all who wish to further a wider appreciation and knowledge of Rhodesian history' — now Zimbabwean history of course.

"We form a partnership, we complement each other. National Archives aims at building comprehensive historical resources from which historians will be able to tell the full story of this country. If the resources are inadequate then history in its turn will be inadequate. National Archives cannot hope to fill the gaps in the resources without help from the public. The Historical Manuscript Collection had its foundation and has continued to grow mainly because of the goodwill of the public and upon this we shall continue to depend. I must

hasten to say that when I refer to the public I think particularly of a society like yours, the kind of public that is already converted. You know and you understand what we are trying to do. I also know the assistance and co-operation National Archives has received from you in the past and I am sure this happy working relationship will continue. You can be our eyes and ears and help us identify further hidden historical treasures. With a new emphasis on our oral history programme you can locate possible subjects for us, especially among the farming community.

“There is no doubt that there is a need to educate Zimbabweans to appreciate more fully the history of their own country, to show curiosity and to go on researching it. Although we try to do this in our own way, I feel you are better placed to draw more people into your society, particularly more blacks. The average man must be made more history-conscious, the learned historian must be persuaded to share his knowledge and give guidance to finding out more about the history of the country.”

THE MASHONALAND BRANCH 1980-1981

Under the chairmanship of Mike Leach, the branch borrowed from the National Archives, the film *Rhodes of Africa* and arranged to screen it with the co-operation of the Rainbow Cinema Group of Companies at the Vistarama Cinema in the Avondale shopping centre, on a Sunday morning, 13 April 1980. There was a very large turn-out of members and their friends for the screening of the film which was made in the 1920s. One was particularly struck by the tremendous improvements that have taken place in the technique of film-making since then, and also how very differently the director of the film perceived the subject matter as compared with one's perception today.

On 26 October 1980, members and their friends assembled at Cecil House which houses the Mining Pension Fund and which has been preserved and restored, at the corner of Second Street and Central Avenue, Salisbury. The party then proceeded on a tour of the central area of Salisbury under the guidance of Mr. Spencer-Cook who described various buildings of historical or architectural interest which the party came across during the tour. The last building to be visited was Chaplin Building in Third Street, which now houses the Administrative Court but which was originally built for the Standard Bank. His Honour Judge Blackie kindly opened the building so that the party could look over it and in particular view the fine plaster ceiling in what was once the banking hall. At the end of the tour, tea was served at Cecil House.

The 1980 national annual dinner was organised by the Mashonaland Branch at the Leander Room at the Jameson Hotel on Saturday 15 November. The dinner was attended by almost 100 members and their friends. The guest of honour and guest speaker was Prof. Geoffrey Bond, the vice-principal of the University of Zimbabwe, who has been a member of the board of the Monuments Commission for over thirty years.

During November 1980, members of the committee under the guidance of Miss Thorp, the curator of ancient ruins at the Queen Victoria Museum, visited three sites beyond Sipolilo in the Zambezi Valley in the vicinity of the Musangezi River, with a view to organising an excursion for members to the area at a later date.

At the end of 1980, Mike Leach resigned as chairman of the branch, prior to emigrating, and Bert Rosettenstein took over as chairman.

On 4 March 1981, the branch screened two films, lent by the National Archives, at the Llewellyn Lecture Theatre at the University. The first was of the Royal visit to Rhodesia in 1947 made by the Rhodesian Information Department and the second, *Livingstone's River*, was a television documentary on Livingstone's expeditions on the Zambezi River, narrated by David Attenborough. The turn-out of members to this function was rather less than had been expected. The lack of sound track somewhat detracted from one's enjoyment of the film of the Royal visit.

With the permission of the Commissioner of Police, Superintendent Richard Pigott conducted a large gathering of members and their guests round the Salisbury Police Camp on Sunday 31 May 1981. A few days prior to the tour of the camp, Superintendent Pigott and the chairman, Bert Rosettenstein, met Mr. George Ashwin, whose father was the under-farrier at the camp at the turn of the century, and who lived at the camp at that time. Later in 1927, he became the Police Printer. The information given by Mr. Ashwin about the camp was most useful in planning the tour of the camp. Superintendent Pigott who had custody of the minutes of the committee of the Officers' Mess himself also undertook a great deal of research. The tour was undertaken just in time because some of the buildings visited during the tour were demolished during the following month. The tour ended at the Officers' Mess. The party was invited to look over the mess, and to inspect the various mementos and trophies acquired by the mess over the years.

The branch committee organised a one-day coach tour to the Theydon/Ruzawi area on Sunday 18 October 1981. Two coaches left the Fourth Street car park at 8 a.m. that morning and first stopped at the car park at the foot of the Lekkerwater Ruins near Theydon. From there the party scrambled along a footpath for 800 metres to the ruins which are situated on a hilltop, giving a good view of the surrounding country. Dr. Ron Dickinson who has himself undertaken excavation work at the ruins, gave an address on the ruins. Most of the audience were surprised to learn that the building was undertaken on the hilltop with a view to giving the occupants prestige rather than defence.

The party then moved on to the Bernard Mizeki Shrine which is close to the ruins. We were given a most interesting address by Dr. Penny Grant, the curator of the shrine, on the life and work of Bernard Mizeki and on the historical and ecological significance of the shrine and the site on which it is situated.

After a picnic lunch in the vicinity of the shrine, the coaches moved on to Ruzawi School, which is on the site of an old inn and coachhouse. The accommodation used by the coachmen is still in use to accommodate school staff. The inn was on the coach route to Umtali, and was part of an administrative centre until the railway to Umtali was constructed and the centre was relocated at Marandellas. Mrs. House who teaches at the school and who has undertaken a great deal of research on the area, gave a most interesting address on the history of the school, the site on which it is situated, and on the surrounding area. She then conducted the party round the school and its grounds in which there is a cemetery containing the remains of Imperial troops who died in the area during the Mashona Rebellion.

The branch's final activity in 1981 was to arrange the Society's annual dinner on Friday 13 November at the Royal Salisbury Golf Club. About seventy members and their guests attended the dinner which was addressed by the newly appointed Director of the National Archives, Mrs. Angeline Kamba.

Reviews

Capitalism and Colonialism in Mozambique by Leroy Vail and Landdeg White
(Heinemann)

The authors have both been lecturers at the Universities of Malawi and Zambia. They have provided a well-researched work which provides an informative example of the operation of Portuguese capitalism in its colony.

They describe the economic and social history of the Quelimane district of Mozambique from the mid-nineteenth century, until 1975 when the country was granted its independence.

The exploitation of the country's potential by one of the largest companies and owners of the world's largest coconut plantations is described and how they removed the harvest before independence, and left nothing but ageing palms, collecting the proceeds, amounting to something like \$3,4 million in a foreign country is given as an example of how the region was ravaged by mercantile capitalism.

The first chapter is devoted to the slave trade in Zambezia and the impact it had on the economy of the Zambezi Valley. The slave traders had gained control of a large share of the means of production.

Once the slave trade had been suppressed the Portuguese Government attempted to control the region through direct administration, but later decided that the most effective occupation would best be secured by a plantation economy financed by European capital.

The Makuta and Massingiri risings which had their origin respectively in the imposition of a head tax, and the local repressive labour policies, are given as examples of the resistance of the peasantry to the imposition of an alien government that remained unsympathetic to the aspirations of the indigenous population.

The subsequent evolution of Portuguese policy and the deterioration of the local tribesman's position through forced labour, is described leading up to the emergence of the Frelimo resistance movement.

The authors have provided a list of references at the conclusion of each chapter which will assist in further research on this subject.

The book makes a significant addition to the limited number of books in English on the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa. It adds another dimension to the current re-evaluation of southern African history.

R. CHERER SMITH

Ragtime Soldiers, The Rhodesian experience in the First World War, by Peter McLaughlin (Books of Zimbabwe)

When the First World War broke out in 1914 the population of Southern Rhodesia (as it then was) was estimated at 26 390 Europeans, 980 Asiatics, 2 030 Coloureds and 814 000 Africans. Neither mining nor agriculture were on a scale comparable to that of today or even of the 1930s and secondary industry hardly existed.

This is the background to the military contribution of the colony to the First World War. Apart from the tiny manpower potential there was a minimal military establishment.

The British South Africa Police was always regarded as the first line of defence of which the only other component in 1914 was the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers, which by its very nature could hardly be a highly trained, seasoned unit.

It is no wonder that *Ragtime Soldiers* draws in its opening pages a picture of unpreparedness to deal with the demands of the patriotic for the colony to play its part in the war, a situation compounded by the fact that the administration of the British South Africa Company was supposed to be there to make a profit for its shareholders, which it was in fact unable to do for another ten years. It took time for the then government to organise some sort of military effort and to arrange the financing, with the result that the early situation after the war broke out was a confused one with the emphasis on the fire-eaters demanding action which was felt to be too slow in coming.

But once the initial problems had been resolved the 1st Rhodesia Regiment was able to play its part in the South West African campaign and a little later the 2nd Rhodesia Regiment, Murray's Column and the Rhodesia Native Regiment suffered and fought through years of the campaign in East Africa. The Rhodesian platoons in the King's Royal Rifle Corps gave a good account of themselves overseas, mainly in the trenches of Flanders and France from 1915 onwards.

It seems clear that Mr. McLaughlin has been severely hampered by lack of material on the Rhodesian contribution. He has obviously found some letters and other accounts by individuals, but little or nothing giving either an overall view or a detailed account of the experiences of individuals or units.

By comparison with the reports of Rhodesians in the Second World War the evidence is fragmentary. Mr. McLaughlin does his best to re-create the scenes of warfare in the main theatres in which Rhodesians fought but he can offer little to show what they actually did beyond the fact that they were there and shared the experiences of countless others.

The figures show the extent of the Rhodesian contribution. Of the 5 716 Europeans from Rhodesia who served during the war over 700 were killed or died of wounds, disease and other causes. This was over 12 per cent of the total in dead alone. In the specifically Rhodesian units, 127 were killed, 24 died of wounds, 101 died of diseases and other causes and 294 were wounded. "This appalling casualty rate more than decimated the white manhood of the small colony." Thirty-one Africans were killed in action while 142 died and 116 were wounded.

"The ghastly military experience of Rhodesians during the 1914-18 war affected defence policy in the Second World War; then Rhodesians were deliberately scattered and no large national units were formed, thereby spreading the casualties and preventing another bloodletting on the same scale," says Mr. McLaughlin.

But in practice this maxim was not fully observed in the Second World War. In that war Rhodesia put into the field a large number of individuals serving in a great many different units in all three services but still maintained a number of national units up to battalion strength like the Rhodesian African Rifles and the Armoured Car Regiment (for a couple of years) plus a high proportion of the aircrews of three RAF squadrons and most of the ground crews of one of them, an anti-tank battery and so on.

The other side of the coin in the First World War was the proud tally of two Victoria Crosses, 62 Distinguished Service Orders, 168 Military Crosses, four Légions d'Honneur and six Russian Crosses of St. George among the hundreds of awards won by Rhodesians.

Perhaps the best documented and often most readable parts of the book are those dealing with the home front because material was more readily available. The greatest lack in the book is information about individuals both during the war on service and on their return to the country. No doubt lack of material is the main cause. Even Col. J. B. Brady, who is often quoted as commanding a KRRC platoon, is not identified as a later distinguished headmaster and still later as an influential MP and public man. Others who made their marks both as soldiers or airmen and later in civil life are not mentioned at all.

Nevertheless, it was time that this story was written and published and credit must go to Mr. McLaughlin for taking on the task.

W. E. ARNOLD

Wild Places of Zimbabwe by Dick Pitman (Published by Books of Zimbabwe — 1980)

Tiny segments of sweltering arid badlands clustered near the Zambezi, the miniscule blob round the Matopos, a small bleak section paralleling part of the Mozambique border — these are our major game parks and safari areas. In these agriculturally unproductive areas, the last wild places, our shrinking population of game is concentrated.

Dick Pitman had spent barely two years in Zimbabwe when, in 1979, at the height of the bush war, he explored seven areas set aside for the preservation of wild life. His account is a moving, well-written and sometimes hilarious journal. He is the rare author with empathy, and presents a balanced and sometimes sombre analysis of the future of our National Parks, and tells of the dedicated and sometimes desperate men who run these Parks under continual pressure.

This is, as Mr. Pitman emphasises, a book “written by a layman, for laymen, written in a spirit of discovery rather than instruction”. There is something of value for every reader, especially those who do not know the areas described — Gona re Zhou, Matopos, Wankie, Zambezi National Park, Chizarira, Mana Pools and Matusadona. In this minute fraction of our country is the nucleus of riches engendered by tourism and controlled hunting.

The author states “. . . this is Zimbabwe, with a huge rural population existing at an abysmally low standard. Their interests and those of the wilderness must not only coincide which, so often, they do. They must *be seen* to coincide, not clash. Otherwise, we shall lose the wild places and the pleasure they might give to future generations will become an empty philosophical point in comparison with immediate expediency”. This book is of value to all of us; read it while there is still time to experience the wild places.

R. KIMBERLEY

The rise of settler power in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), 1898-1923 by J. A. Chamunorwa Mutambirwa (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press)

This book grew out of material presented as a Ph.D. dissertation at Columbia University, and is primarily concerned with the rise of settler power in Rhodesia between 1898 and 1923. It is an attempt to present to the reader the history of the political, social and economic relations between the whites and the blacks in Rhodesia within the chosen period.

Research material was amassed in London, and BSA Company records and minutes, and the dispatches of the resident Commissioners in Salisbury and those of the High Commissioners were also consulted. As can be seen from the very lengthy bibliography, this book is the result of extensive investigation, necessarily interpreted in the light of the author's personal beliefs.

The volume traces the written history of Zimbabwe, giving the reasons for British occupation, an account of the settlers and BSA Co. policy from 1890-1897, the influence of South Africa, political, social and economic development till 1906, the labour problem, the Reserves, the rise of European agriculture until 1914, the quest for settler power (1907-1918), policies relating to the African, and the consolidation of settler power.

Throughout the book the author evinces a strong, and very natural, bitterness towards those who occupied and developed the country, at, he points out, the expense of the Africans. He states, ". . . the settlers came to Rhodesia not for humanitarian but for economic reasons . . . because cheap African labor was necessary, the settlers intended consciously or unconsciously from the very beginning to . . . interfere with the African way of life. Any gains by the Africans were only incidental and were, in fact, minimal. In addition to the loss of their freedom, the Africans lost their land, the mainstay of their economic activity."

It is the last point that is stressed most vehemently — the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act in 1930 was "the backbone of racial discrimination in Rhodesia", preventing "the Africans from exercising a basic fundamental right enjoyed by most free people in the world . . . a right that had been guaranteed by the 1922 Constitution."

This is the first account by a Zimbabwean historian that gives an African perspective of the first two decades of twentieth century Rhodesian history, and is an absorbing interpretation of those times.

R. KIMBERLEY

The African Past Speaks. Essays on Oral Tradition and History, edited by J. C. Miller.
(Wm. Dawson and Sons Ltd.)

This book presents the responses of some historians to the counter-charges made by anthropologists. The historians worked generally on traditions from Bantu-speaking peoples of central and east Africa, and criticism of documentary sources. Most still believe that the story-telling tradition allows glimpses into the area of the past not revealed by other sorts of data. The essays collected represent a response by historians, who conclude that if they now believe less of what they hear in oral sources, they can justify their acceptance of the part of each story that they accept as historical fact.

It is important to note that narratives have apparently survived unchanged, as witnesses to a vanished time. They convey useful information from the past, even though they can be primarily classed as myths by anthropologists. Oral tradition therefore remains useful as a guideline to history.

In this volume, the papers show how one may extract knowledge about the past from oral narratives. They examine how oral historians construct their stories, what evidence they have, and by what methods they combine these into possible reconstructions of the past. Most essays tackle tradition of origin, the most difficult to interpret. It is possible, too, using these techniques, to detect deliberate falsifications.

There are three elements from which oral historians form their tales: the cliché is common to all such narratives (the superhuman task to be performed; the drunken king;) episodes, which are almost parables, giving an intimate personal quality and vividness, and, thirdly, personal reminiscences, the sources from which all oral traditions are created.

This is a scholarly series of critical essays on east and central African folk-lore, written mainly by experts from a multiplicity of American universities. The narratives are interesting in themselves, and the interpretations are engaging and absorbing, particularly to the average reader with little knowledge of oral history and its implications.

The African Past Speaks is particularly welcome in present-day Zimbabwe, where we can look forward to a similar volume on oral history, compiled from the vast mass of taped material reposing in the National Archives.

R. KIMBERLEY

Indo-Africa by Cyril A. Hromnik (Juta)

Sub-titling his work, *Towards a new understanding of the history of sub-Saharan Africa*, Dr. Hromnik, who hails from Czechoslovakia and is now a fellow at Cape Town University, has confounded even further the early history of east and central Africa including, of course, the whole of what is now known as Zimbabwe which he calls Mashonaland on historico-linguistic grounds.

Hromnik relies heavily on linguistic evidence which, of course, leaves the average historian out in the cold. He maintains that the development of this area of Africa was due to Indian, and, to a lesser extent, Indonesian influence. The word *Shona* itself Hromnik derives from the Indian *sona*. Indians, he says, are responsible for the building of what is now known as the Zimbabwe Ruins. No doubt this will upset many Africanists who have closed their minds to any further development in this field.

In his introduction Hromnik refers to an "African illusion". This illusion, he says, "does not have its roots in Indian, Greek, Roman or any other mythology. It was created by scores of generally well-intentioned sympathisers with African independence who, in their attempts to restore the dignity of Black Africa, took somewhat lightly their responsibility towards history".

He adds that they have even used misinterpreted archeological and historical evidence "to portray the distant pre-colonial past of Africa in rosy colours", and refers to "... guilt-ridden Western Europeans and Americans trying thus to compensate for the suffering inflicted upon the innocent negroid people of Africa by their imperialist forebears".

Pointing out that Africa was clearly as much part of the ancient world as Greece, Egypt, Rome or China and that ancient geographers referred to the eastern part of Africa as India, Hromnik explains that this was no error, nor was it ignorance but reflected contemporary usage. The author maintains that the obvious unity between Africa and India has been ignored by historians despite much evidence which "... leaves no doubt that sub-Saharan Africa belongs to Indian Ocean culture and that the mining industry of the Indo-Indonesian gold seekers was the stimulus which introduced metallurgy into the sub-Sahara and that the concurrent introduction of South Asian food plants made the demographic explosion in the first millenium A.D. possible".

As stated earlier the book relies on linguistics. Hromnik states that "... many words

in the Bantu languages contain a great deal of history". This is an obvious statement, but is a truth often ignored by many scholars. To this statement the author adds, interestingly, that unlike oral tradition, which in general reaches back for a period of 200 years, only frequently unreliable and unverifiable, the use of individual words can be double-checked and could cover a time period of two thousand to three thousand years.

Dr. Hromnik's intent is to demythologise African history and his book is an attempt to redress the balance and encourages in a new, or rather fresh "historically realistic direction".

"I will not challenge those who believe that the continent now named Africa," he says, "may have been the cradle of the human species, but I possess enough evidence to support the conclusions that the culture of its people that transcends the hunting-gathering stage did not spring from the same cradle."

For the general reader and, indeed, for the non-specialist, the book is difficult. I would advise the general reader to avoid the foreword by E. O. J. Westphal which is only meaningful to an expert in African linguistics south of the Sahara.

The book contains a useful glossary.

G. T. J.

A Hunter's Life in South Africa by R. Gordon Cumming (2 Vols.) (Books of Zimbabwe)

Across the parched unexplored plains of Botswana shuffled a dusty train of four wagons, horses, servants and oxen, led by an energetic bearded figure whose kilt, on close inspection, showed that he was kin to the Argylls. In the wagons: provisions, the remains of 10 000 bullets, moulds, three hundredweight of lead, fifty pounds of pewter, trophies, and gunpowder galore. Marking their trail from the Cape: the bones of innumerable animals.

Here are the ingredients for the book that set Victorian England alight with admiration and provided the foundation for a display at the Crystal Palace and a comfortable income for the rest of the author's short life.

A product of Eton, the 4th Madras Light Cavalry, and a member of the Cape Mounted Rifles for some months, Roualeyn Gordon Cumming spent 57 months in the "far interior". His two volumes are based on the journal that he kept while travelling. He says in his introduction, "The hand, wearied all day with grasping the rifle, is not best suited for grasping the pen". He was adept at deprecatory under-statement! He writes simply, but with such a vivid wealth of detail that his encounters and adventures make an impact even today.

He naturally stresses his hunting experiences. His journal is a chronicle of wounding and killing almost every type of animal that came within range of his Purdey double-barrelled rifle. Only a tiny percentage of the carcasses were needed for trophies or for the pot. Conservationists will seethe with impotent anger at the example the author must have afforded the growing horde of hunters who later helped exterminate several species.

Apart from this, the books are an engrossing account of the years between 1843 and 1848, and even contain a reference to David Livingstone, who was then living at Bakatla. They went on a short trip together — the Doctor to establish peaceful relations between two tribes, and the author to seek more trophies.

The publishers are to be congratulated for their first publication in the new African Hunting Reprint Series.

R. KIMBERLEY

Why South Africa will survive by L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan (Tafelberg)

This is an exhaustive economic, political and sociological examination of the South African situation by two American academics who, though critical of much that makes up the current South African scene and insistent on the need for change, are in general in favour of the survival of white influence.

Dr. Gann, a senior fellow of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, California, and a former member of the staff of the National Archives in this country, has written much about Rhodesian history, and Dr. Duignan is the head of the Hoover Institution's African programme and has published works on Africa.

They have done a large-scale and careful research into South African life in all aspects; as a reference book alone the book has considerable value as a summing-up of the immensely complicated pattern of events and human factors which will determine the outcome.

It is possible to take issue with the title of the book. The authors would like to see South Africa survive and they believe that they discern factors which would help it to survive, provided changes take place, but their answer to the question is by no means as categoric as the title implies.

The survey gives cogent reasons for believing South Africa to be economically and militarily capable of withstanding internal and external threats, administratively able to contain subversion and strategically valuable enough to the West to claim support.

But in the end history is more often shaped by human factors than by economics or politics and without meaningful changes frustration and repression may make nonsense of the best reasoned predictions of scholars, however friendly.

The main writing of the book was obviously completed before the last South African election. The upsurge of support for the far-Right elements in South African politics and the consequent damping of Mr. P. W. Botha's enthusiasm for reform of the apartheid system serve to modify some of the more confident hopes of the book.

In their conclusions the authors call on the United States to support the verligtes within the National Party rather than the opposition, whether liberal or revolutionary, but if the verligtes are unable — as seems to be the case at present — to influence the Government to move positively this might be asking too much even of a sympathetic Republican Administration.

Much that is said and written about South Africa in other countries follows the well-worn liberal line and it is useful to have something less firmly tied to the tenets of one school of thought. For that reason alone this book is a valuable contribution to a better understanding of what is happening or likely to happen to the south of us. But it should be borne in mind that even this more objective summing-up insists on the necessity for substantial changes in policy.

W. E. ARNOLD

The Goldbergs of Leigh Ranch by William Edward Arnold. (Books of Zimbabwe)

The story of a family that settled in what is now Zimbabwe in 1912 is the fifth volume to appear in the Men of Our Time series. The author, a former journalist and, incidentally,

the editor of *Heritage*, had the advantage of knowing the family since 1935 so much of what he relates is based on first-hand knowledge.

Arriving in Africa from Dublin at the turn of the century, Simon and Esther Goldberg came from families that had seen frightful persecution in Poland and Latvia. They brought three outstanding qualities to bear on the virgin veld: the ability of unremitting hard work, vision and an unusually high degree of family unity. The five sons and two daughters were endowed with the same characteristics.

The charm of the story, in many respects, is due to the unity of the family with Esther, the Matriarch, doing most of the holding together. Indeed, the importance of the family unit is a dominant theme.

The Goldbergs made contributions to the development of the country in many sectors: in politics, in the legal profession, but most of all in agriculture, with their activities centred on producing cattle, tobacco and, more recently, sugar-cane.

The hardships and triumphs of the family are simply, almost starkly, related giving the romance of Leigh Ranch a convincing and absorbing documentary quality. The reader is also given an insight into the UDI issue and the tragedy of its aftermath.

R. W. S. TURNER

Kenya, a political history: the Colonial period by G. Bennet (Nairobi, O.U.P.)

This is a paperback reprint of a book first published in hardback by the Oxford University Press in England in 1963, the year of Kenya's independence, which has now become in Kenya a recognised authority as it is No. 1 of The Students' Library.

It is well written, authoritative and properly documented; the amount of some 70 years of Kenya's emergence is readily readable and cogent and avoids being a mere catalogue of events.

The period begins with the construction of the railway from Mombasa into the interior in the 1890s, part of the Scramble for Africa and a means to satisfy a supposed need to control the headwaters of the Nile. Nairobi began as a railway construction camp in 1900; a shanty town set among swamps.

It was Sir Harry Johnston who projected the idea of permanent white settlement in the Kenya Highlands and the British Treasury who saw merit in this as a means of shifting the burden of paying for the railway. Thus was born the Colonial period under, at first, Sir Charles Eliot, Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate. Local politics followed soon, with a theme of land, labour and opposition to Indian immigration.

African nationalism developed rapidly after, and because of, experiences in World War II. The nationalists were especially opposed to a policy of reserving about 12 000 square miles of the Highlands for white settlement, and the Kikuyu, who claimed the area, particularly resented it.

The Mau Mau operations which followed from 1952 to 1956, were resolved largely through the use of UK troops and by the adoption of a liberal land reform policy. The nationalists continued to quest for self-government through the late 1950s, and in 1958, and again in 1961, the United Kingdom revised the constitution to give Africans more

representation. A majority of seats in the 63-member legislature was held by Africans for the first time after elections in 1961; a new constitution for an independent Kenya went into effect in June 1963. Such is the outline.

A very readable and useful work.

E. E. BURKE

BACK NUMBERS OF RHODESIANA

Only the following back numbers of *Rhodesiana* are in stock. Copies can be bought from the History Society of Zimbabwe, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury, Zimbabwe, at a cost of Z\$3,00 per copy, which includes surface postage to any part of the world. Remittances from outside Zimbabwe must be for the equivalent of Zimbabwean currency.

Rhodesiana No. 17, December 1967.

Rhodesiana No. 20, July 1969 to *Rhodesiana* No. 24, July 1971.

Rhodesiana No. 26, 1972 onwards, two issues a year, up to the current number,

Rhodesiana No. 40, 1979.

Facsimile Reprints of Nos. 1-8 (1956-1963) of the Journal can be obtained from Books of Zimbabwe (Pvt.) Ltd., P.O. Box 1994, Bulawayo. Members of the Society are entitled to a reduced price of \$15,30 per bound volume of the set of eight Journals or \$10,60 for a set of eight loose, unbound Journals.

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The National Breweries

As Eric Linklater observed in one of his early novels:

*And Malt does more than Milton can
To justify God's ways to Man.*

He was probably thinking of usquebaugh (whisky); to a true Scot, the water of life.

Nowadays, however, with supermarkets from Hong Kong to Helsinki offering bottles of genuine old Scotch distilled in Japan, one cannot wonder that so many remain loyal to their local, trusted brew — beer, beer, glorious beer.

In this country, the brewing of beer is an age-old art, and the ancient tradition of the village beer-drink is so closely woven into the warp and weft of the people's life and culture that it amounts almost to ritual. The symbolic beer pot is more than a mere kitchen utensil.

With the advent of the Pioneers, it was inevitable that, along with trading, agriculture and mining, commercial brewing would become an integral part of the development and growth of the country.

In 1890, the Pioneer Column raised the flag at Fort Salisbury, and by 1897 the hopeful arrivals surging into the new territory were encouraged by the announcement that Messrs. Thomas Meikle, Louis Susman and Adolph Rosenthal had established the Salisbury Lager Beer Brewery, sited, whether by accident or design, conveniently close to the settlement's jail.

By 1898 there was a steady flow of excellent lager to refresh the intrepid travellers stepping from the first steam trains to arrive via the newly completed Beira to Umtali railway, which, incidentally, reached Salisbury the following year. Though not recorded in the official history, it can be assumed that many a barrel of strong brew rolled on to



Salisbury's 1898 brewery showing the first chip casks awaiting installation

Photo — National Archives



A cause for national celebration in 1950

Photo — Delta Corporation

Salisbury Station which was, strange to say, very little further from the brewery than the jail.

From modest beginnings the business flourished until by 1910 it was sufficiently buoyant for the South African Breweries to offer a take-over bid, and the following year the Marquis of Winchester made a significant contribution to the Christmas and New Year festivities of the citizens of Salisbury by formally opening the new Castle Brewery under its head brewer, Mr. P. V. Samuels.

There were only two more Christmases in which to be festive. Southern Rhodesia, as the country then was, may have been remote from the main theatres of war, but between 1914 and 1918 her sons and daughters were there.

At home, Colonel Castle Brewes kept the flag flying, as many an advertising cartoon in the issues of the *Rhodesia Herald* covering those years will testify. Even after the War, Castle could still be enjoyed for as little as ten shillings per dozen bottles; a nostalgic recollection that will give strong men cause to weep into their 1982 brew.

The company grew with the country. As the post-war population increased, so did the demand for good, wholesome beer. Local farmers were encouraged to plant barley for malting; the finest hops, gathered from the far Kentish fields, were shipped to Salisbury, and "P.V.", the subtle alchemist, transmuted water, malt, hops and yeast into that delectable, divine draught — BEER.

By 1931, despite the depression, extensive additions were needed, and the greatly enlarged Castle Brewery with its distinctive chimneys became a landmark on the Salisbury skyline.

The years 1939 to 1945 were sacrificed to another World War, but in this potted history only one minor affliction will be reported. Throughout the country beer was rationed;

one pint per person, per night, perhaps, and if there was a black market operating, most of the beer-drinking population remained in the dark.

After the war, the company's expansion programme went into top gear. A notable event occurred in 1950; under the managing directorship of Mr. J. V. Samuels, son of the legendary "P.V.", the company officially celebrated the one millionth barrel of Castle that had been brewed.

In the same year, a rival brewery opened up in Bulawayo. However, after a series of negotiations, (too involved here to relate), by 1952, Castle Breweries became Rhodesian Breweries Limited, and that noble beast the sable was adopted as the company logo, which it still is.

The year 1959 marked another milestone. The old building, still known as Castle Brewery, which, with alterations and additions had occupied the same stand for over sixty years, was finally closed down and a new, modern brewery was built at Southerton.

The old brewery represented living history, and it was almost with a sense of bereavement that the doors were shut for the last time. However, even hard-headed businessmen, especially brewing men, have a soft vein of sentiment, and the original inn sign, "Fiddlers Arms", was reverently taken down and re-hung outside its new home, the employees' "pub" at Southerton.

In 1978, Rhodesian Breweries, by this time part of the Delta Group, was rechristened National Breweries Limited. Names change, times change, but, to paraphrase Miss Gertrude Stein, a beer, is a beer, is a beer. And there, for the moment, Natbrew history pauses.

Whose round? Right! A Lion and a Pilsner over there, a Carling Black Label here, and the barman's order never varies; a clear, cold Castle.

When you've got a beer, you've got one friend at least. Cheers!

M. R. O.



National Breweries 1982

Photo — Delta Corporation

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A rexine-bound portfolio containing six antique botanical prints and accompanying text published in 1978 to commemorate the Society's Silver Jubilee.

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