

RHODESIANA

R. A. S.

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C. DILLY AND G. ROBINSON'S MAP OF AFRICA, JANUARY 1ST. 1785.

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RHODESIANA

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS - - - - -	(vi)
ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE UNVEILING OF THE MEMORIAL AT THE MANGWE PASS, BY THE HON. SIR ROBERT TREDGOLD, K.C.M.G., Q.C.	(xi)
NORTHERN RHODESIANA, BY W. V. BRELSFORD -	7.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. C. DILLY AND G. ROBINSON'S MAP OF AFRICA, JANUARY 1ST, 1785	(ii)
2. SANSON'S MAP OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1669 -	(x)
3. THE MANGWE PASS MEMORIAL - -	(xii)
4. TITLE PAGE OF PIGAFETTA -	8.
5. FIRST PAGE OF PIGAFETTA - - - -	11.

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FOREWORD

BY THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER OF THE
FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASA-
LAND, THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT MALVERN,
C.H., K.C.M.G., M.P.

I was pleased to hear that the Rhodesia Africana Society proposes to publish a series of documents relating to Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

I am sure it will be of value to all of us who are interested in collecting information contained in local historical documents.

The Society, by the publication of this series, will be performing a particularly useful function in stimulating the public to take an interest in documents of historical importance or documents that may become of historical importance. So much of this useful material might otherwise become unrecorded.

1854 - 1954

THREE EPISODES IN RHODESIAN HISTORY

I.

Robert Moffat, founder of Kuruman in the Cape, has left a vivid account of Moselekatse following his fourth visit to that King. The extract is dated 26th November 1859. Moffat's success in winning the royal favour had led to the founding of Inyati Mission shortly before this date.

II.

William Sykes, companion of Robert Moffat and of his son, John Smith Moffat, was an 1859 settler at Inyati. He returned to Kuruman in 1868 and wrote this eye witness account of Moselekatse's demise. Its keynote is his concern for the future of the Christian settlement; his fear that the new king, Lobengula, might revoke the grant of his father. The date was Christmas Day 1868—a few months before he returned through Mangwe Pass to his Mission. Until his death in 1893 Lobengula continued to honour his father's pledge to Robert Moffat.

III.

John Smith Moffat died in 1918. His grandson, Sir Robert Tredgold, by a happy coincidence, was Acting Governor of Southern Rhodesia on 18th July 1954, the occasion of the unveiling of the Memorial at Mangwe Pass, through which the Moffats first came in 1854.

The speech he then made is printed in full. He gives us—and who could more fittingly?—the spirit of those early adventurers into a land of unmeasured expanses and savage customs. Their names are not recorded on the stone, but yet they are handed down in the annals of her early history as unforgotten founders of Rhodesia—missionaries, traders and hunters.

The accounts of Moffat and Sykes may serve to preface Sir Robert's epitaph upon these pre-pioneers: "Beyond a doubt all were inspired by something deeper than the mere desire for gain".

References.

- Episode I Matabele Journal of Robert Moffat. Vol. 2, p. 125 "last night . . . to p. 127 . . . mere charms".
- Episode II Matabele Mission of John and Emily Moffat, p. 247 "The day that Moselekatse¹ . . . to p. 249 .. . All of us!"
- Episode III Address on the occasion of the unveiling of the memorial at the Mangwe Pass on the 18th July, 1954.

¹ An alternative spelling is "Umzalikazi", which is the Zulu-Sindebele version; "Moselekatse" is the Bechuana-Bamangwato version; both are used in this publication.



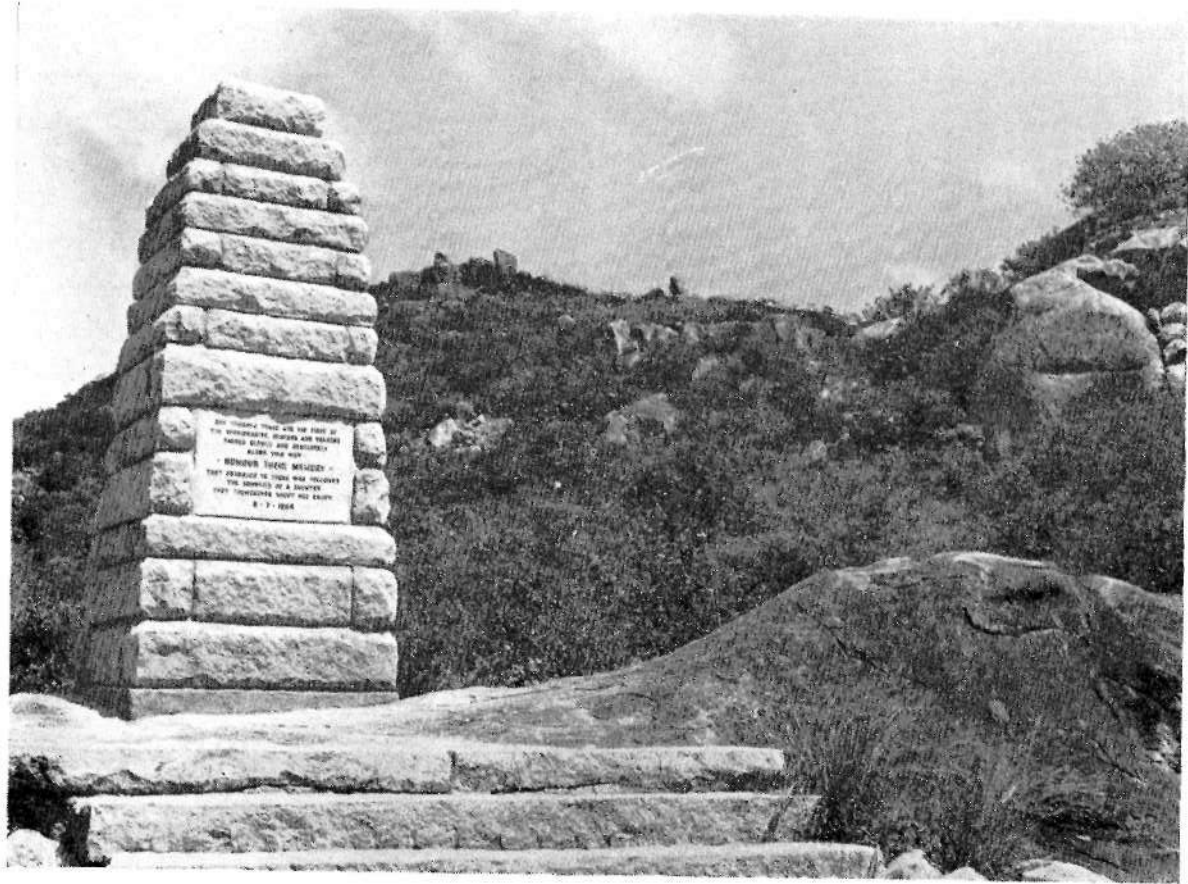
SANSON'S MAP OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1669.
In possession of Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, N.R.

ON THE UNVEILING OF THE
MEMORIAL AT THE MANGWE PASS

JULY 18th, 1954

By

The Hon. Sir ROBERT TREDGOLD, K.C.M.G., Q.C.



THE MANGWE PASS MEMORIAL
From a photograph by Ronald D. K. Hadden.

ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE UNVEILING OF THE MEMORIAL AT THE MANGWE PASS ON THE 18th JULY, 1954.

"First of all I should like to say a word of appreciation of the Bulalima-Mangwe Road Council and all those who have associated themselves with the erection of this very beautiful and fitting memorial. They have shown imagination and a sense of history, and we, the descendants of those honoured, and the public of the Colony as a whole, are deeply in their debt. It is always invidious upon such an occasion to mention names, but I cannot refrain from making special reference to the part that has been played by Mr. Tapson and Mr. Rosenfels. They have been the moving spirits in the whole undertaking and Mr. Rosenfels has virtually erected the memorial with his own hands. It seems to me that the whole undertaking, from its conception to the wording of the inscription on the monument, bears the mark of inspiration.

There is another point I should like to make at the outset. In the course of what I have to say I shall mention certain names. I have chosen these because they represent a type or because they were associated with some incident of particular interest. There will be many present who feel that other names are equally worthy of mention. This I most fully concede. It is obviously impossible to mention all. One of the things I like most about the memorial is that there has been no attempt to set out names. As in the case of the Grave of the Unknown Warrior, it commemorates the known and the unknown, the famous and those who missed the accident of fame. Each can name in his own heart the name that seems to him most worthy.

There are some who hold that in this country was the very cradle of the human race. Be this as it may, these old hills have looked down upon many strange and momentous events during the aeons they have kept their watch and ward over our land. This we do know, that ever since the great wave of Bantu migration ceased to flow southwards and began to ebb to the north, the passes of the hills have stood as the portals of the interior. The fear of the thirst-lands to the east and to the west has diverted men and compelled them to travel this way. Makalanga and Mrozwe, Amaswazi and Amandebele have surged about their foothills. Perhaps now and then amongst them may have been seen the solitary, valiant figure of a Portuguese Father only to be swept away in the great movement about him.

Then, just over a hundred years ago, for the first time the shuffle of naked feet and the thud of hooves gave place to the rumble of wagons. The white man had arrived and a new era had begun. The wagons passed round the rock to my right for the passage on the left was not then open. No doubt they scored on the rock itself the first of the marks which have, in the course of time, become permanent. There were two white men with the wagons, Robert Moffat, the veteran missionary, and Sam Edwards, the son of his old

colleague, cheerful and plucky the prototype of the trader of whom I shall subsequently speak. They had left Kuruman seven weeks before which was good travelling for those days.

And here I must pause to say a word about Kuruman. Kuruman is now a sleepy backwater of the Cape Province, but for the better part of the last century, it stood to the hinterland in the same relation that a single seaport stands to a sea-bound land. Most of the great African travellers passed that way. There they felt the last touch of civilisation and gracious living, and there they received fresh provisions and wise and experienced guidance. There they returned very often sick in body and battered in mind to be nursed back to health and sanity. This country owes a debt to Kuruman which it has been tardy in acknowledging.

But to return to the travellers. They had had an arduous journey. They had suffered great hardship from thirst and had been harried by wild animals. The greater part of the journey had lain through trackless wilderness. For ten days before reaching the Pass, they had seen no human being nor any sign of habitation. One feature of their journals illustrates vividly the difficulties with which they were faced, the constant preoccupation with the loss of the oxen. The carelessness of a herdboy, ordinarily a matter of minor inconvenience, was to them a matter of life and death. More than once there had been an anxious search for the oxen, which had it failed, might have meant that the whole expedition perished miserably. There was one sad little casualty and near this spot is the grave of Rhodesia's pioneer kitten. The measure that they felt this slight loss was the measure of their loneliness.

So that they passed on to renew that strange friendship between the uncompromising missionary and the fierce old king, Umzilikazi, which had such far-reaching consequences in opening up this country.

Three years later Robert Moffat came again. This time he was alone except for his faithful Bechuana servants. He was over sixty and feeling the effects of the strenuous life he had led. His heart was troubling him and he was ill in other ways, but he felt it was necessary to come to prepare the way for the mission he hoped to establish, and so he came.

In 1859 he came for the third and last time. With him he brought the men who were to establish the first white settlement in Matabeleland. They were his son, John Smith Moffat, Thomas Morgan Thomas and William Sykes. Each was to play a major part in the history of the succeeding years. There were two women with them, Mrs. J. S. Moffat and Mrs. Thomas. Our modern misses are apt to scoff at their Victorian grandmothers. When they do so, I wonder if they think of these and such as they, for they were by no means unique. A few months before, they had seen nothing more expansive than the South Downs or more dangerous than the new fangled steam engine. But here they were in the heart of Africa making light of hardship and danger. The one with a queer mixture of courage and nostalgia called her wagon "The Pavilion"

after the edifice which adorned, or some might say, disfigured, her native Brighton. The other seems to have been of a singularly sweet and gentle nature, oddly unfitted for the stern task she had been set. But she had not long to endure. Within three years she had died. Before she was twenty-three she had passed on and taken her baby with her—the first martyrs to civilisation in Matabeleland. And now they were to witness one of the strangest scenes that even the hills had seen in their long vigil. Lung sickness had broken out amongst the cattle and they were sent back lest they infect the Matabele herds. Partly for practical reasons and partly in compliment to the missionary, Umzilikazi sent an impi to drag the wagons from here to near where Bulawayo now stands. They were pulled by a yelling crowd of savages. It is easy to imagine the feelings of the women surrounded all day by these fierce warriors and by night watching the fires glisten on their almost naked bodies as they ate the oxen provided for their food. Thus began the mission at Inyati.

The first of the hunters had already preceded them and Henry Hartley was following the elephant trail in the district that now bears his name. It was he who was to spread the whisper of gold that had such fateful consequences. He came here frequently and for long periods, but he never settled in the country.

The first hunter to settle was John Lee, the founder of this district. He was a colourful personality. He was the son of a Captain in the Royal Navy who had married an Afrikaner woman, a niece of President Kruger. Although he was not much over thirty when he came to this country, he was already a veteran of four of the old Border wars of the Cape Colony. He soon established himself in the confidence of Umzilikazi. He was appointed his agent, the first Customs and Immigration official of this land. He was given a tract of land just below the Pass, as much as could be covered by a horse ridden for an hour and a half in each direction. Unfortunately, the old king had not specified the speed at which the horse was to travel and the survey which was carried out by Carel Lee resolved itself into a tussle between him and the attendant indunas. Nevertheless, Carel managed to acquire something over 200 square miles. There John Lee built a permanent house which became the centre for hunters in the rainy season. Many well-known travellers stayed in the vicinity including the artist explorer, Baines. Here he painted a number of pictures including, oddly enough, the one which some of you may know, showing the departure of his expedition from Pietermaritzburg. Lee's land was finally confiscated after the Occupation because he refused to co-operate against the people whom he regarded as his friends and benefactors, an incident which reflects more honour upon him than upon the Administration.

Robert Moffat and Sam Edwards had been single-minded men engrossed in their own purposes, but they had opened the door to a trickle of humanity which was to become a flood and change the whole face of Central Africa.

Other representatives of the London Missionary Society came—Thomson and Elliott, Helm and Carnegie. There came too the Catholic Father, including

that appealing figure, Father Kroot, who was so soon to die, and Father Prestage, who left so deep a mark upon this district.

Besides the missionaries there were the hunters such as Viljoen, Jacobs and Greeff, Finaughty and Woods; the greatest of them all Frederick Courteney Selous, the typical Englishman reserved, steadfast, self-sufficient, and his staunch and loyal friend, van Rooyen, typifying all that was best in the Afrikaner. I often think that if van Rooyen had had the pen of a ready writer he would have attained to a fame equal to that of Selous, for he was not only a mighty hunter, but a fine naturalist and an outstanding character.

Then there were the traders such as Westbeach and that grand old man, "Matabele" Wilson who is still alive and as clear-headed as the day he came here.

There were some who came for the sheer love of adventure. The most remarkable of these was the artist-naturalist Frank Oates. He was one of those bright spirits that seem only to be sojourners here, bound for a bourne beyond our knowing. One wonders if there beat in his veins the same blood as that of the "very gallant gentleman" who went out into the snow to give his comrades a chance of life. He was to die on the return journey and he lies buried away to the west, near the headwaters of the Shashi. There is a moving story of his faithful pointer who had accompanied him on all his travels. When the wagons reached the Tati, Rail was missing and was eventually traced back to where he was keeping his lonely watch by his master's grave.

We may pass over the undignified scramble of the concession hunters during the ensuing years. It is sufficient to say that many of them were actuated by patriotic rather than by selfish motives. But, during this period, a subtle change had taken place in the character of those that used the Pass. Amongst them were young people who referred to the northward journey as "going home". A generation had arisen that claimed their place in this country by birthright.

The great events of 1890 moved away to the east and left the Pass undisturbed. But in 1893, the Matabele War brought the tramp of armed men to the Pass and that strange thunder of horse drawn guns, which those who heard it will never forget. Gould-Adams' Column played a part of great strategic importance although it saw little fighting. It contained a number of impis which might otherwise have opposed the march of the Salisbury and Victoria Column. There was, however, one desperate little battle below the hills, in which Selous was wounded and had a very narrow escape. The Column approached the Pass with great misgiving, but away at Bulawayo, events had moved rapidly and the impis had withdrawn to join their king in his flight to the north. With this Column came another Moffat who, in the passage of time, was to become the Prime Minister of this Colony.

Three years later the Pass was again the scene of warlike operations. The Rebellion had broken out and the Pass was a link in the only direct line

of communication with the outside world. Forts were built to protect it. The old names recur; van Rooyen in command, Hans Lee and Greeff with him. Van Rooyen was highly respected by the natives and it was mainly due to his influence and that of Father Prestage, that those in the locality did not join in the Rebellion. Nevertheless, the Pass would have been difficult to hold had it not been for the strange command of the Mlimo that it should be left open as a way of withdrawal for the fleeing white people. Instead it became a way of reinforcement. The Matabele Relief Force advanced through the Pass under the command of that great-hearted soldier who afterwards became Field-marshal Lord Plumer. His Chief of Staff lifted up his eyes to the hills and received an inspiration that, years later, was to burgeon forth into the worldwide Boy Scout Movement.

But, away to the west, the railway was creeping northwards. Independent of surface water, it outflanked the hills. The old order had changed yielding place to new. The machine age had arrived in Matabeleland. The pass was left to quietude and to its memories.

And now we are gathered to give honour where honour is due. I think it may be claimed with all modesty that Rhodesia has reason to be proud of her pre-Pioneers.

We, who live in the age of amenities, may well pause to wonder what it was that drove them forth into the wilderness to accept privation, suffering and the shadow of death as their daily lot. What was the faith that was in them? Was it articulate or inarticulate, understood or only dimly comprehended?

In a way, the missionaries are the most easy to understand. They were supported and sustained by an unfaltering faith in Him upon Whose work they laboured. They were content to seek no other reward save that of knowing that they did His will.

But the traders and hunters were no ordinary fortune seekers. The reward to be won, or even to be imagined, was in no way proportionate to the risk and hardship they had to face. Even the prospectors for gold, who played for higher stakes and consequently had a more reckless streak in their make-up, were purged in the same fires of trial and endurance. Beyond a doubt, all were inspired by something deeper than the mere desire for gain. Let us call it the spirit of adventure and leave it at that. At least it was something that lifted them above the ruck and placed them a little nearer to the angels. No doubt there were inglorious exceptions, but in the main, they were men of exceptional character. Their courage was manifest. They were straightforward and upright in their dealing. Their standard of conduct was high. There is evidence of this in their relations with the missionaries, for they were welcomed into the mission homes and were regarded as friends and allies.

Some of us remember the survivors with their patriarchal beards, grave faces and quiet eyes. There are some indeed present today who travelled this

road with them. We know that, though they may not have found fortune or fame, they had found something greater. We can bear witness that these were men, take them for all in all, we shall not look upon their like again.

Yes, we have travelled a long way since those days. We have seen advancement beyond their imagining. We have seen beyond the sound barrier and inside the atom. We have seen through space to what may well be the limits of our own universe, but I wonder if we have seen deeper into the heart of things than those old adventurers.

Excellent courage our fathers bore—
Excellent heart had our fathers of old
None too learned, but nobly bold
Into the fight went our fathers of old.

If it be certain, as Galen says—
And sage Hippocrates holds as much—
"That those afflicted by doubts and dismays
Arc mightily helped by a dead man's touch",
Then, be good to us, stars above!
Then, be good to us, herbs below!
We are afflicted by what we can prove,
We are distracted by what we know—
So—ah, so!
Down from your heaven or up from your mould,
Send us the hearts of our fathers of old!

NORTHERN RHODESIANA

By

W. V. BRELSFORD



TITLE PAGE OF PIGAFETTA

In possession of Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, N.R.

NORTHERN RHODESIANA

It probably seems a little specious to use such a term as Northern Rhodesiana because, after all, the country is only just sixty years old: Rhodes having gained his Charter over the area North of the Zambezi in 1891—and books published sixty years ago are by no means rare merely on account of age.

But even in that short space of time there have been so many books written about the territory that a collector finds it practically impossible to make a full collection. I have been at it now for twenty years and I can still list books about Northern Rhodesia that I don't suppose I shall ever get. The rare books are not always expensive. It's finding them that is the difficulty. And some of the modern books, published in the last twenty years are as difficult to obtain as are the rarities of sixty years ago.

As Editor of the Northern Rhodesian Journal I have been engaged upon the compilation of a bibliography or, more accurately, a book list of works on the territory. Together with my co-compiler Mr. Gerras Clay, I found about fifty books published up to the end of 1900, that dealt in some way with Northern Rhodesia. In addition there are quite a few more that only mentioned the territory incidentally. Those fifty odd books represent the really old books about Northern Rhodesia. Our next list which brought us up to the end of 1924, roughly the time when the two Rhodesias were separated, contained about 100 books, double the number of the first list.

So that even though the territory is little more than sixty years old there is quite a collection of old Rhodesiana—never mind the newer books—for the collector to become enthusiastic about. I doubt whether anyone, even the Central African Archives, can boast of possessing the full listed collection of the 150 books published up to 1924.

I should like to discuss Northern Rhodesiana under several specific headings. These are the oldest books, books printed by Northern Rhodesian presses, books in foreign languages and the rarest books.

It is difficult to know where to begin with the oldest books. The name Rhodesia only dates from 1892 when it was used in the first issue of "The Rhodesia Herald", but there were, of course, books written about the area long before that. It was part of the great, mysterious centre of the continent, an area that had been written about, speculatively and imaginatively, for over 2,000 years. Most of the speculation concerned the source of the Nile, the river that bore some of the earliest of civilisations on its lower reaches, which obviously rose in the far interior but whose source had never been found. Herodotus, about 484 - 425 B.C. wrote on the rumours and reports of his time and Livingstone, over 2,000 years later was still writing about it. Livingstone placed the source of the Nile between the 10th and 12th degrees of latitude, an area embracing the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia. Although he was wrong about the Nile he did correctly place the source of the Congo in the

Northern Province and only slipped up by making the Lualaba the source of the Nile whereas it is really part of the same Congo headwaters.

Whereas speculation on the source of the Nile attracted writers of the Mediterranean Empires, writings on the discovery of the Zambezi are of more interest to us. I would not dare to assert when the knowledge of this great river was first revealed to the world but Lane-Poole in a paper on "Old Maps of Africa" in the 1938 edition of the Handbook to the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum compiled by W. V. Brelsford (now out of print), says that an Arabian geographer *II Idrisi* (circa 1130 A.D.) made the Zambezi rise from the same lake as the Congo and the Nile. The Muslim cities on the mouth of the Zambezi were described in great detail in 1332 by the Moroccan traveller *Ibn Batuta*. So that a full bibliography of Northern Rhodesiana, if all writings about the centre of the continent are included, would have to go back to the days before Christ, into many a musty volume of the dark and middle ages and into most of the languages in Europe.

Perhaps we need to go no further back than the 16th century to find the first of what one might call historical stories about the middle of Africa: stories that reached the Portuguese settlements on both sides of the Continent. Many of these tales, especially those concerning great lakes, were well attested but meagre in detail. We find them in the writings of the Portuguese missionaries and travellers whose names need not concern us here.

One of the most interesting books of the period was written by the Italian historian *Pigafetta* in 1591 and was based on the information of a Portuguese traveller *Odoardo Lopez*. (Incidentally, copies of the book are in the libraries of Archives and the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum.) *Pigafetta* also makes the Nile, the Zambezi and the Congo rise in one lake. He describes *Monomotapa*, speculates whether *Sofola* is the source of King Solomon's mines and says there are "Many buildings of great work and singular architecture" in Central Africa. His natural history is usually better than his geography but he does get a bit imaginative when he describes how elephants nip flies to death in the folds of their skin.

By the 18th century the Kingdoms of Abyssinia, *Monomotapa* and the Congo were well known, by name at any rate, and some of the attractive but fanciful maps of the time merely make all these three Kingdoms meet in the middle of the continent. This simple device avoided a blank area in the middle of the map—a void that would undoubtedly have detracted from the artistic value of the design.

The earliest of what one might call the historical books about Northern Rhodesia are inevitably in Portuguese—they are now obscure, unobtainable and have never been translated in their entirety. Even precis are only available of one or two of them nowadays although the rather speculative geographers of the 19th century such as *Cooley* and *MacQueen* seem to have had access to a number of the despatches of the Portuguese travellers.

RELATIONE
DEL REGNO DI
CONGO, REGIONE
DELL'AFRICA,

TRATTA PER FILIPPO PIGAFETTA
dalli ragionamenti del Signor Odoardo
Lopez Portoghese .

NAVIGATIONE DA LISBONA
al Regno di Congo. Cap. I.



ANNO MDLXXVIII. che s'imbarcò Don Sebastiano Re di Portogallo all'acquisto del Regno di Marocco, Odoardo Lopez natio di Beneuento, terra 24. miglia lôtana da Lisbona, presso la ripa Australe del fiume Tago, nauigò parimente il mese d'Aprile uerso il porto di Loanda, situato nel reame di Congo, sopra vna naue chiamata S. Antonio pertinente ad vn suo zio, carica di mercantie diuerse per quel Regno; & fu seguita da vn Patacchio (che è legnetto picciolo) a cui diède continuo buona conserua, porgendoli aiuto, & guidandolo col lumi la notte, affine che non ismarrisse il camino ch'ella teneua. Arriuò all'Isola di Madera del Re di Portogallo lontano da Lisbona d'intorno à 600. miglia, oue dimorò 15. giorni per fornirsi di rinfrescamenti, & di vino, che in grandissima copia nasce in quell'Isola, & forse de migliori del mondo (conducendosene fuori in diuerse contrade, & massimamente in Inghilterra) & d'altre confetture, & conditi di zuccaro, che iui molti, & per eccellenza si lauorano. Sciolsero da quell'Isola poi, lasciando le Canarie tutte pertinenti alla Castiglia, & presero porto ad vn'Isola di quelle di capo Verde, senza però hauere di lui vista, nomata S. Antonio, & d'indi ad vn'altra detta S. Giacopo, che comanda a tutte quell'altre, & vi sta il Vescouo, & il Capellano che le reggono, oue si prouiddero di vittuaglie. Qui non pare al proposito di narrare il numero dell'Isole Canarie che sono molte, ne anco far mentione di quelle di Capo Verde, ne produrre nel mezzo l'istoria de' siti loro, aspirando al Regno di Congo, & fermandosi quella naue per
A passaggio

FIRST PAGE OF PIGAFETTA

In possession of Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, N.R.

Doctor Lacerda who made his famous journey to Chief Kazembe on the Luapula in 1798, and who died there, had sent his diaries back to Lisbon. It is said they were published as a small book in Lisbon in 1830 and if this statement is correct that publication is the earliest book in modern times about Northern Rhodesia.

The oldest book in English that appears in our list is "Inner Africa Laid Open" by W. D. Cooley and it was published in 1852 by Longman Brown, Green and Longmans of London. It deals with central Africa, that is the area south of the equator and north of what is now the Union.

As far as Northern Rhodesia is concerned it gives the information collected on the journeys of Lacerda to Kazembe and of the Pombeiros, as well as of Oswell and Livingstone's journey into Barotseland in 1851. The first, of Livingstone's own books "Missionary Travels and Researches" was not published until 1857 but his discoveries had been made public before that and, of course, Cooley was able to use them in his book. Lacerda's discoveries and those of the Pombeiros were not published in English either at this time.

"Inner Africa Laid Open" is a very generalized book and was written, as Cooley puts it, "for the purpose of elucidating and justifying the map drawn on a large scale and exhibiting in the fullest manner the authentic details of that portion of Africa which lies between the equator and the Southern Tropics".

This map is that of John Arrowsmith made in 1851, reproduced in the book, and which carried on the imaginative tradition of earlier days by filling in the centre of Africa with features reported by natives or garnered from old Arab or Portuguese yarns but hitherto never verified. A Nyasa or sea is shown, seven years before Livingstone discovered it: the river of Barotseland, called the "Tobatsi" is shown as a separate river from the Zambezi: the Victoria Falls—given their native name of "Mosi-wa-thunwa" are mentioned and given approximately their correct position on the Barotse river—again two years before they were actually discovered.

It is easy to poke a little gentle fun at those imaginative maps and travellers tales, but we should not forget it was these same tales of inland seas, of great falls, of mountains with snow on them, that spurred on the great explorers, that lured men—a different type of men—just as gold and ivory had a generation or so before, into the centre of the continent. And we should not forget that the tales were often proved to be true.

This book by Cooley can, I think, be correctly called the first book of the modern historical era with references to what is now Northern Rhodesia. Prior to Cooley there are maps and writings concerning Central Africa generally, that are more imagination than truth. But then perhaps it is only in very modern days that accuracy has assumed such an uncomfortable importance. Imagination, literary ability, a lively mind and a fluent pen, were probably far more desirable characteristics for the scholar prior to the 20th century than they have been since then.

Returning again to the real travellers. The third oldest book is another Portuguese one, Gamitto's "O Muata Cazembe" which is the story of Gamitto's and Monterio's expedition in 1830-32 to the same Northern Rhodesian chief who was first visited by Lacerda. It was published in Lisbon in 1854.

Although no full translation has been made of this book there is a precis—which I shall mention just now—and bits of it have been translated. The Northern Rhodesian Journal published a translation of Gamitto's vivid description of the Luangwa Valley in which he says that the valley has two peculiarities. The lions there went about in bands but fled from men like timid sheep and crocodiles were harmless to human beings. Both these characteristics are no longer typical of the Luangwa Valley. So that of the three definable oldest books on Northern Rhodesia, two are in Portuguese and one in English.

Gamitto's book marks the end of the Portuguese writings on Northern Rhodesia because the next book is the first of the Livingstone trilogy. "Missionary Travels and Research in South Africa" was published in 1857 and its frontispiece was the drawing of the Victoria Falls.

In the twenty years following Gamitto's book in 1854, Livingstone and his travels and discoveries dominated writing on Africa. The first of Livingstone's articles had appeared in the Geographical Journal in 1852 two years before Gamitto's book. As regards books, his Cambridge lectures were published in 1858; his "Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries" in 1865: and his "Last Journals" in 1874.

I have only been able to trace three other books with a Northern Rhodesia connection published during this twenty-year period. One is very important. It is called "The Lands of Cazembe" published in 1873 and it is a translation of Lacerda's diaries of his journey to Cazembe; a resume of Monteiro's and Gamitto's journey to the same Chief and a translation of the story of the Pombeiros or Portuguese traders, Batista and Jose in their journey across Africa from Angola to Tete on the Zambezi in 1806; the whole volume being annotated by Richard Burton.

This book, gathering together these reports of early Portuguese travels in Northern Rhodesia, is one of the most valuable of our historical documents and one is agreeably surprised to find that, in spite of its comparative age, 1873, it is still fairly easy to obtain in the book shops.

The second book, a slim volume published by Routledge in 1857 is called "A Narrative of Doctor Livingston's Discoveries in South-Central Africa". The publishers "acknowledge their obligations to the spirited conductors of the "British Banner" in whose columns, in detached portions this remarkable history first appeared". Livingstone is spelt without the final "e". The booklet was published at sixpence and I paid two pounds ten for it.

The third book, T. M. Thomas' "Eleven Years in Central South Africa",

published in 1873, has only a few pages about the Gwembe Valley. It is a missionary book mainly about Southern Rhodesia.

There is an interesting point about this twenty year period. Although only three books, apart from those by Livingstone touching upon Northern Rhodesia appear to have been published in it, there are three others that describe visits to the Falls. There are books by Baldwin (1862), Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868). But they have little or nothing to say about the northern bank of the river and belong to Southern Rhodesia rather than Northern Rhodesia.

I think the year 1874, the date of publication of Livingstone's "Last Journals" closes the era of the oldest books about Northern Rhodesia. During the next twenty years well over thirty books were published dealing in part with Northern Rhodesia.

It must be admitted that most of the books prior to the 1900's, dealt, like Livingstone's, with very big areas of Central Africa. Countries, as we know them today, were not defined and it was lakes, rivers, tribal areas, or all embracing names such as South Africa, Central Africa and so on that gave titles to books. The first books that had Northern Rhodesia as their main or sole theme or background were those written by members of the Paris Missionary Society in Barotseland. The earliest was Jousse's book, "La Mission au Zambezi" published in 1890. Coillard's book, "On the Threshold of Central Africa" came seven years later in 1897; his "Sur le Haut Zambezi" in 1898 and Bertrand's books on the same Mission, "The Kingdom of the Barotse, Upper Zambezia", appeared in 1898 in French and in the following year in English. An earlier one by Depelelin and Cronenbergh published in 1883 had dealt quite a lot with the Tonga and Barotse.

The name Barotseland appears frequently in the titles of books published after 1900. But the first book with the name Northern Rhodesia in the title, apart from official reports did not appear till 1903 with the B.S.A. Co's publication, "Official Handbook of North-Eastern Rhodesia" although the name had been in use in articles as distinct from books, from 1902 onwards. In book titles there was a gap after 1906 until 1910. In that year appeared Denis Lyell's "Hunting Trips in Northern Rhodesia" and the Reverend Butt's "My Travels in North Western Rhodesia".

Before leaving this section on old books on Northern Rhodesia I should mention the earliest grammars and books on native languages.

The earliest of these books is in French and it was published in Paris in three parts over the years 1896-1901. Written by one of the Paris Missionaries of Barotseland it was E. Jacottet's "Etudes sur les Langues du Haut—Zambeze" the next two are A. C. Madan's "Senga Handbook" in 1905 and "Wisa Handbook" in 1906. The Reverend Father Schoeffer published his "Grammar of the Bemba Language" also in 1906.

All these four books are now almost unobtainable.

We now come to the local Presses of Northern Rhodesia. To deal with Mission Presses first there have been at different times as many as fifteen such presses although now, with the increasing demand for publications and the ease with which books, even vernaculars can be printed commercially, many of the Mission presses have ceased to function.

The vast majority of publications of the Mission Presses were devotional books, hymn books, simple readers—usually in the vernacular—and mostly for those Africans who had just begun to read. One or two presses, such as Chilubula, a Catholic Press and Chitambo, a Scottish Church one, branched out into vernacular journals.

The oldest of such presses was that of the Paris Mission in Barotseland. When Coillard was returning to Africa in 1899 after a furlough he was given a press but on his way from the Cape all his stocks of paper were destroyed in a fire on the road at Mambova. It was not until 1903 that fresh stocks of paper could be obtained and printing begun. The first publication was a four page Journal of quarto size called "Mafuba" (Aurora—the dawn).

The next in the field was Kanchindu, a Methodist Press in the Zambezi Valley below the Falls. This began in 1906 to produce books in the Valley Tonga Language. The Mission is now abandoned.

It is difficult to assess the value of the productions of the Mission Presses to the student of Northern Rhodesiana. There are probably no more than seven of them still in existence. But records show that there were about a hundred publications actually printed in the territory by these presses, and again it is practically impossible to collect a full set. For instance, Chikuni, a Jesuit press which began in 1930 and stopped in 1940 when the Brother in charge of the press joined the army, printed fourteen books in Chitonga. All but one is out of print. They were produced by Father Torrend who was a famous linguist. He was constantly revising his texts so each edition was kept to a minimum because the next one would be even closer to the real Tongo idiom.

The collection of these obscure vernacular books does not, I admit, appeal to me. They are probably of more interest to a printer who would find something to dilate upon concerning the quality of the paper, the type used, the method of setting and the machine employed. The publications find a place more properly in archives or museums than in private collections. After all a collection of anything is made to be used or enjoyed so that only the comparatively few English titles or grammars are likely to attract the student or collector. There are the "Lamba-English Phrase Books" printed by the South African Baptist Missionary Society: the "Life of Goncalo da Silveira" by the U.M.C.A. press: the Tonga grammars of the Jesuit press: and the odd volume of journals, such as, "News from Barotsiland" of the Parish Mission first published, somehow in 1898. This last Mission suddenly stepped right out of the usual

routine and produced an edition of the well-known "Fifty reasons why I have not Joined the Church of Rome".

The Government Printer in Northern Rhodesia prints books as well as the ordinary Government reports and some of these are now very difficult to obtain. For example, Lane Poole's "The Native Tribes of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia" published in 1938 and Captain Pitman's "Faunal Survey of Northern Rhodesia", a most comprehensive volume on game and natural history published in 1934 are both out of print. So are the early handbook of 1922 which contained so much history, Moffat Thomson's book on tribes and tribal area, and Dutton's work on trees and shrubs.

The Government press has had quite a romantic history. It was first established in 1908 at Fort Jameson. When the two territories, North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia were amalgamated in 1911 the flatbed was sent off by carriers on the long 500 mile journey to Kalomo the new capital. By the time the carriers reached Kalomo the capital had moved to Livingstone. Then in 1932 the press was moved to Lusaka. The old flatbed, now almost a national monument, was in use until recent years.

Very little of general interest was published prior to 1926, which was the date of the installation of Monotype. Prior to this date, everything was hand set. On one occasion a publication could not be printed because the type had all been used on another book and it had to wait until that type was broken up.

The first Northern Rhodesia handbook appeared in 1922; a speech by the Governor was printed in June 1924 and the first Hansard came out in August 1924. In 1925, a booklet "Land for Settlers" was printed for the Lands Department (it appears that even as long ago as 1925 it was thought that Northern Rhodesia was a land fit for settlers). In 1926 the booklet "The Teaching of Reading" was produced. In 1928 the spate of Government reports began and has never ceased.

Since Northern Rhodesia is a British protectorate it is not surprising that there are comparatively few foreign books about the territory—but this assertion only applies to modern days.

In our first list of books—the fifty of them published prior to 1901—there are no fewer than ten foreign books plus six others translated, two from German; two from Portuguese; and two from French. This is a very high proportion; much higher than in the period from 1901 to 1924 when out of about a hundred books there were ten foreign books and only two translations.

The significance in these figures lies in the fact that whereas before 1900 the scramble for Africa was still on, after that date it was quite clear that Northern Rhodesia was a British territory, and there was not much point in Portuguese or German travellers trying to stake a claim over any part of it. Portuguese books disappear entirely from the list of books published after 1900,

Whereas there are three German books or translations in the earlier period there are four in the second but only two of them are in the same category of "Travel Books". The other two are Von Lettows' War Memoirs and a book by Hagenbeck, the great animal trainer, and his only relevant references to our area concern the monsters supposed to live in Northern Rhodesia. He never came here and his references to the country are incidental to discussions on animal collecting.

Whereas in the first period seven out of the sixteen foreign books had been by travellers in the old tradition, in the second period five out of the twelve were by French Missionaries; another was a study in French of the laws and administration of Rhodesia and two others (one in Swedish one in French) were serious ethnological studies. The pattern was changing by 1924. Specialist studies were beginning to appear and general travel books were no longer about an unknown area.

So that of the 150 books published about Northern Rhodesia up to 1924 twenty-eight were either in a foreign language or were translations of foreign books. I should mention a few of them.

The early Portuguese books I have already referred to. They are the most valuable from the general historical standpoint as are those of Bertrand and Coillard on the history of Barotseland.

Of the more modern books one in Swedish, Eric Von Rosen's "Tras-folket" is the most impressive. Published in Stockholm in 1916 it is the book about the Swedish ethnological expedition to Northern Rhodesia and the Katanga in 1911-12. The book is mainly concerned with one of the most fascinating and primitive areas in Northern Rhodesia—the Banguelu Swamps—a vast area about 4,000 square miles in extent that is almost as primitive today as it was in Von Rosen's day. It is a great pity that Von Rosen's book has never been translated. It is a very large book, Royal Quarto in size, with nearly 500 pages and nearly 500 photographs and drawings. It is the largest and most lavishly illustrated book ever published about Northern Rhodesia and probably about the Federation as a whole. It can be obtained occasionally at about £8 a copy.

Another foreign book of significance, this time in German, is Paul Graetz' "Im Auto Quer Durch Africa" published in 1910. Graetz crossed Africa from East to West by car in 1909 and a year later he tried to cross it by water from east to west. He came up lake Nyasa and then, making a portorage along the Stevenson Road, he crossed to the Kalungu, Chosi rivers and so to the Chambeshi river which would lead him into the Congo and so to the Atlantic. But in Northern Rhodesia he and his French photographer came to misfortune whilst hunting buffalo. The Frenchman was killed and Robert Foran, in his book, "Kill or be Killed" describes how Graetz, with the dying Frenchman beside him, sat in front of the looking glass and himself stitched up his own ghastly wounds. He had to return to Europe but came back again in 1914 to continue the journey but his boat, the Sarotti, which had been presented

to him by an Italian firm, was finally lost in the Mumbututa Falls on the Luapula. He claimed to have completed the journey in another boat. When war broke out in 1914 everyone in Northern Rhodesia said that obviously Graetz had been a German spy. He was actually a great traveller whose feats have not yet been fully recognised.

I seem to be going backwards in this review of foreign books but I must mention Emil Holub's two volumes, "Von der Capstadt im Land der Mashukulumbe" published in 1890.

Holub, a doctor born in Prague was in practice in Kimberley and he made several journeys into the interior at intervals in his medical work. In 1886, together with his wife and some companions, he came into Northern Rhodesia and reached the land of the Ila or Mashukulumbwe on the Kafue. The Ila attacked his camp, pillaged it, murdered one of the party and caused the rest to flee more dead than alive across the river and swamps. This marked the end of Holub's travels.

He was a scientific traveller and has much to say about the tribes, the game and natural history. He made good maps and cheerfully flung around European names on them. The hills north of the Kafue close to Lusaka he called the "Francis Joseph Mountains" and the area of mid-Zambezi he called "Albert Land". Needless to say none of these names have survived.

I must now come to the final section of this talk and that concerns rare books on Northern Rhodesian interest. I have already indicated that many of the productions of the mission presses and most of the early grammars are almost unobtainable. I should just like to mention a few individual books that I have found difficult to obtain.

Most of the foreign books are in this class merely because they are foreign. One in particular is the French book "Les Lacs de l'Afrique Equatoriale" by Giraud. This famous explorer had visited the Paramount Chief of the Bemba and discovered the Mumbatuta falls on the Luapula, now called Les Chutes Giraud after him, in 1883 when he was travelling across the northern province of Northern Rhodesia. He was attacked by Northern Rhodesian natives close to the falls and had to abandon the steel boat in which he was travelling. The book is a large one and was published in 1890.

Many of the books written by missionaries about their work and published by European presses (not local mission presses) are also very difficult to obtain. Jalla's two books on the Barotse are rare as is another book in English about the same mission, "An Artizan Missionary on the Zambezi" by MacConnachie. Another is "Blazing Trails in Bantuland" by Dugald Campbell (undated) and "A Thousand Miles in the Heart of Africa" by J. du Plessis published in 1905. The former contain much material on the Luapula Bangweulu area and the latter has some interesting accounts of the Eastern Province and the Luangwa valley. There are a few rare missionary works such as Springer's "Heart of

Central Africa" published in America that even the headquarters of the mission concerned cannot procure.

Rare private printings range from an arty publication of the Chiswick Press in 1910 on "Some Account of George Grey and his work in Africa" to cheaper pamphlets such as those by the Livingstone Mail in which L. F. Moore describes the crossing by the railway, in 1909, of the Rhodesian Congo border and by the Astonian Press in 1940 giving a history of railway construction by R. D. Dean.

Some of the early Government, or rather B.S.A. Company reports are also rare although they are absolutely invaluable for the historian because they contain so much historical, geographical and ethnological detail, necessary since the reports were about unknown areas. Such publications as Commissioner Johnston's Report on the First Three Years Administration of the Eastern Portion of British Central Africa" is a fascinating document. The "Precis of Information concerning North-Eastern Rhodesia", published by the General Staff of the War Office in 1904 is also of great value, even if it does say that North Eastern Rhodesia is not healthy for Europeans. All such reports can only now be seen in archives although photostat copies should be in every working collection of Northern Rhodesiana.

Of rare Journals I was very surprised to find that there was a Northern Rhodesia Journal published in Fort Jameson from February to July 1909. Six numbers were published and it was first edited by W. J. Bell and afterwards by A. C. Hayter. The first four numbers of our present Northern Rhodesia Journal covering the years 1950 and 1951 are now out of print and collector's pieces. The African Observer, published in Bulawayo during the years 1934-1937 had a Northern Rhodesian editor in the person of the late F. H. Melland and it contained numerous Northern Rhodesian articles. Copies can occasionally be found.

Coming to modern books, Kenneth Bradley's first two books "Africa Notwithstanding" and "Hawks Alighting" are completely out of print although they were only published in the 1930's. They are fiction—but fiction with an authentic Northern Rhodesian background. There are also some American books which no doubt one could obtain if one had access to American book-seller's lists. Such are Margaret Carson Hubbard's two books about Northern Rhodesia published in the 1930's, "African Gamble" and "No One to Blame".

I could go on longer giving instances of rare books about Northern Rhodesia because, as I said at the beginning, in spite of its short history the territory has managed to attract a considerable amount of writing and a comparatively large number of works are out-of-print or difficult to obtain. Such a position should, and does, attract the rivalries and enthusiasms of collectors and students of Northern Rhodesiana.

It is a new field and a narrow field perhaps and the task involves discoveries of new items as well as the search for the well-known. There is no end in sight yet of a complete bibliography.

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