

Historiographies of Colonial Rule:  
Italian Fascists in Libya and the British in Zimbabwe

Jessica Kanter

Professor Mhoze Chikowero

UCSB History Honors Thesis Spring 2018

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Professor Mhoze Chikowero for being my mentor during this project. I would also like to thank him for his guidance and helpful critiques. I was inspired to do this project because of his encouragement. I would also like to thank Professor Harold Marcuse for also encouraging me to apply for the research seminar and for his guidance.



## Table of Contents

<b>INTRODUCTION:</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>BACKGROUND: HISTORY OF EUROPEAN CONTACT WITH AFRICA</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>HISTORIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>GOVERNANCE</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>PSEUDO-ARCHAEOLOGY</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>THE SMOKESCREEN OF THE "CIVILIZING MISSION"</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>COLLABORATION</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>41</b>



## Introduction:

While military invasion secured Benito Mussolini's Fascist Italy and the British empires in Africa, these acts had to be constantly justified through the use of pseudo-archaeology and colonial historiography. The particular narratives that these European powers churned out can be designated "historiographies of governance." In this paper, I am going to demonstrate the workings of these historiographies through a comparative analysis of fascist Italian colonialism in Libya and the British in Zimbabwe. Both regimes used archaeology to "prove" a prior European presence in Africa and thus to justify their contemporary colonial claims.<sup>1</sup> Archaeological remnants became a text for creating narratives to legitimize the "reclamation" of supposed European ancestral lands in Africa. British and Italian archaeologists deliberately misread or attributed African artifacts to Europeans, thus fabricating ancient European footprints in Africa. With this evidence of ancient civilization alienated from Africans, the colonists could therefore claim that they were back to civilize the Africans, whom they designated as primitive.<sup>2</sup> These violent regimes of subjugation and exploitation were immoral, hence they required constant justification, what Esther Lezra has called the "colonial art of demonizing others."<sup>3</sup>

## Background: History of European Contact with Africa

The British occupied the Zimbabwe plateau in 1890, renaming the territory Southern Rhodesia, while the Italians failed in their first attempt to occupy Ethiopia in 1895. The Italians lost the First Ethiopian War in 1896, and this was a humiliating defeat for them. They were able to establish a shaky hold on Libya after winning the Italo-Turkish War 1911-12, which was further weakened when Italy entered into the First World War in 1915. This history of Italian loss would

---

<sup>1</sup> David Chanaiwa. *The Zimbabwe Controversy: A Case of Colonial Historiography*. Eastern African Studies VIII, Syracuse University (Syracuse, New York) 1937. 4-7, Michael L. Galaty and Charles Watkinson (eds.). *Archaeology Under Dictatorship*. Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers (New York, Boston Dordrecht, London, Moscow) 2004. 26-28

<sup>2</sup> "Italy as Empire Builder." *The Newcastle Sun* (NSW: 1918-1954). 4 May 1937; "Ruins in a Wild Land." *The Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois). 9 Nov 1890.

<sup>3</sup> Mhoze Chikowero. *African Music Power and Being in Colonial Zimbabwe*. Indiana University Press (Bloomington and Indianapolis) 2015. 19; Esther Lezra. *The Colonial Art of Demonizing Others: A Global Perspective*. Routledge (New York, New York) 2014.



impel Mussolini to aggressively “reconquer” Libya for the Italian empire in the later 1920s. The fascist Italian government went on a violent *Reconquista* mission in Libya. The military managed to make territorial gains in Libya and by 1928 Tripolitania had surrendered. Cyrenaica was another matter. Resistance fighters had been able to hold their ground, so the Italians enacted what historian Ronald Bruce St. John refers to as an act of “genocidal terrorism” on innocent men, women, and children.<sup>4</sup> The Italians described this violence as a “cleansing” of their territory, driving civilians into concentration camps. Libyan resistance held out until 1931 when the leader Al-Mukhtar was captured and executed, thus securing continued Italian military presence in Libya.<sup>5</sup>

However, there were even earlier European attempts to occupy various parts of Africa, going back to the ancient Roman period. The Romans had destroyed Punic Carthage in the Third Punic War 149-146 B.C. Journalist and author of *Rome in Africa*, Susan Raven, explains that the “Romanization” of Africa did not start until 36 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Her statement of “Romanization,” would make it seem as though Romans were not present in the Libyan region until 36 B.C., but this is not the case. Roman migration to the area had been occurring even before the defeat of the Carthaginians in the Third Punic War.<sup>7</sup> Roman presence and exploitation of Libya heightened in the mid-first century and second-century A.D. In 429 A.D., the Vandals invaded Africa and took Carthage. Driving the Vandals out, the Byzantine empire “reclaimed” Africa in 533 A.D. “for the Christian faith.” In 708 A.D., the Arab nation overthrew the Byzantine empire in Libya.<sup>8</sup> By 1300, the Ottoman Empire had established its reign in Libya. After a brief overthrow by the Karamanli dynasty in 1711-1835, the Ottomans reestablished themselves in the region. It was not until the war with Italy 1911-12 that the Ottoman empire was defeated.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Britain’s interest in Southern Africa was sparked in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by 16-17<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese chronicles.

---

<sup>4</sup> Ronald Bruce St. John. *Libya from Colony to Revolution*. One World (Oxford England) 2012. 72-73

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 72-73

<sup>6</sup> Susan Raven. *Rome in Africa*. Routledge (London and New York) 1993. XIX-XXV

<sup>7</sup> David Chanaiwa. *The Zimbabwe Controversy: A Case of Colonial Historiography*. Eastern African Studies VIII, Syracuse University (Syracuse, New York) 1937. 51-63

<sup>8</sup> Raven, XIX-XXV

<sup>9</sup> Ronald Bruce St. John. *Libya from Colony to Revolution* 72-73



The Portuguese tried but failed to occupy the Munhumutapa empire (contemporary Zimbabwe) in the 16-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The British, were enticed by Portuguese writing which was saturated with fantastical stories of vast amounts of gold, silver, copper and ivory. The Portuguese claimed that the Munhumutapa empire was Ophir, the mineral rich lands that the Queen of Sheba was said to retrieve her gold that she traded with King Solomon. This claim, made by the Portuguese was reused by British explorers in order to create a Christian European link to Southern Rhodesia<sup>10</sup> The British infiltrated Southern Africa in 1860, following Dutch (Boer) settlement in 1650. They wanted to gain unobstructed access to the mineral resources in South Africa, so they waged war and defeated the Boers in 1899-1902.<sup>11</sup> In September 1890, Cecil Rhodes, a prominent British businessman, extended this quest for Southern African minerals across the Limpopo River, into Zimbabwe, renaming the territory Southern Rhodesia, after himself. He claimed it as his property, using his British South Africa Company to govern the territory.<sup>12</sup> What is peculiar about the British and Italian occupations in the 19-20<sup>th</sup> centuries was the particular investment in historiographies of rule.

### Historiography

European archaeological practices in Africa has been rife with Eurocentrism. Historian Nick Shepherd made this point clearly when he wrote that "[N]ationalist archaeologies tend to glorify a national past and encourage a spirit of unity and cooperation. Colonialist archaeologies tend to denigrate native societies by representing them as static and lacking in the initiative to develop without external stimuli.<sup>13</sup> I would argue that these behaviors are one and the same. Colonialist archaeologies glorify a perceived national past as do national archaeologies and they both denigrate societies that they perceive as frozen in time. Both the Italian and British colonialist regimes created Eurocentric histories to argue that they had an ancient ancestral ownership to

---

<sup>10</sup> "Rhodesia is Ophir." *The Galveston Daily News* (Houston, Texas). 13 Sept 1896.

<sup>11</sup> "South African War." [britannica.com/event/south-africa-war](http://britannica.com/event/south-africa-war). Last updated 2017. Accessed 3 Mar 2018.

<sup>12</sup> Julie Frederikse. *None but Ourselves Masses VS. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. Zimbabwe Publishing House 1938. 41

<sup>13</sup> Nick Shepherd. "The Politics of Archaeology in Africa." Center for African Studies, University of Cape Town 2002. 191



Africa. In order to create their supposed European link to Africa, the Italians claimed that they were the descendants of the ancient Romans and simultaneously created the narrative that it was their destiny to expand into North Africa and retake their ancestors' lost lands back from the Ottoman empire. The Italians claimed to be recreating the Roman Empire, because Libya was their *quarta sponda*, fourth shore.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the British government and fortune seekers, such as Cecil Rhodes, justified their intrusion into Zimbabwe because they were "reclaiming" the agricultural and mineral rich land for the "modern civilized race."<sup>15</sup> British archaeologists and explorers who came to excavate the Great Zimbabwe ruins argued that they were proof of an ancient European presence. British arguments would fluctuate between Christianistic narratives and ancient cultures such as Phoenicians or Semites having built the ruins. Regardless of their claims of who the creators were, the objective of British explorers and archaeologists was to create a European link to the Zimbabwe Ruins.

Both the British and the fascist Italian empires misappropriated archaeological remnants in Africa to suit their claims of "recovery."<sup>16</sup> These two empires also hoped that appropriating land would be a solution to create more space for their overpopulated European countries and depleting resources.<sup>17</sup> They justified their presence in Africa by claiming that an "ancient civilized European race" once owned the lands and by right should be retaken by "modern civilized Europeans."<sup>18</sup> Bypassing African history in Libya, Italian archeologists and explorers

---

<sup>14</sup> Brian L. McLaren. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya*. University of Washington Press (Seattle and London) 2002. 19-20

<sup>15</sup> "The Zimbabwe Ruins." *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin). 11 Dec 1892

<sup>16</sup> "The Great Zimbabwe." *The Central African Times* (Blantyre). 10 Dec 1904.; "Strange Things Undersand in Tripoli." *Northern Star* (Lismore, NSW: 1876-1954). 26 Mar 1912

*The Central African Times* from Blantyre in 1904, is not a Zimbabwe paper, but it has several different articles, each showing a particular aspect of colonial rule, "Native Labor" describes the increase in "native" mining labor. "The Livingston Mission," provides data: that there are 8 "native churches" and 2,400 Christian members, many of whom are working for the church, and gave € 240 in money, and "The Great Zimbabwe" describes that Mr. R. N. Hall and Mr. Theodore Bent are credited with connecting Great Zimbabwe to the rest of the old world.

<sup>17</sup> "Rhodesia Land for Settlers." *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa). 9 Apr. 1908; Bontio Mussolini. *My Rise and Fall*. Richard Lamb (intro). First Da Capo Press 1998. 56-63

<sup>18</sup> "The Balkan War." *Buluwayo Chronicle* (Buluwayo, Zimbabwe). 14 Nov 1912.; "The Ancient Bushman." *Izwi Labantu* (Ngolwesi-Bini). 13 Aug 1901



focused on Roman monuments and relics.<sup>19</sup> Italian archaeology made fantastical narratives in order to insight public interest in their expeditions to locate famous monuments and artifacts. These expeditions helped the fascist regime fuel their cult of Romanità.<sup>20</sup> These fantasy type narratives that were applied to archaeology in the Italian colonies and were reminiscent of 19-20<sup>th</sup> century British explorers, such as Richard Nicklin Hall who was hired by Rhodes to help fuel the narrative that there was once an ancient European culture in Rhodesia.<sup>21</sup> Hall explored the ruins with W. G. Neal and the two co-authored a book, *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia (Monomotapae Imperium)*, published in 1902. Hall followed that book with another, *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. In his second book, Hall made reference to the excavation done by archaeologist James Theodore Bent, even dedicating the book to him.<sup>22</sup> Bent's excavation in 1891 followed by his book, *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, originally published in 1892, was entirely Eurocentric and contributed as a backdrop for biased and cockamamie theories of who had built the architecture of Great Zimbabwe. The fascist Italian archaeologists working for Mussolini were just as fanciful with their research when it came to the Roman ruins.

Contrary to the fascist Italian claims of "rediscovering the Roman world," the imagery that they depicted reinvented ancient Rome.<sup>23</sup> This reinvention of history was no different from the recreations of British explorers and archaeologists with regards to Great Zimbabwe, who claimed to have "brought South Africa into connection with the rest of the old world."<sup>24</sup> Their objective was to reinvent what Great Zimbabwe was creating a narrative of an ancient European presence having built the ruins.<sup>25</sup> Archaeological monuments and relics were important to both Britain and Italy to the extent that these two regimes could manipulate their significance for

<sup>19</sup> "The African Colonial Museum." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941, [Box 1]. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>20</sup> Cristian Olariu. "Archaeology, Architecture and the Use of Romanità in Fascist Italy." *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* XVII 2012. 351-353

<sup>21</sup> David Chanaiwa. *The Zimbabwe Controversy: A Case of Colonial Historiography*. Eastern African Studies VIII, Syracuse University (Syracuse, New York) 1937. 1-10

<sup>22</sup> R.N. Hall. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. Prof. A. H. Keane, L. L. D., F. R. G. S. (intro). Methuen & CO. (London) 1907. 18

<sup>23</sup> Andrea Giardina. "The Fascist Myth of Romanity." *Estudos Avançados* 2008. 57-58

<sup>24</sup> "The Great Zimbabwe." *The Central African Times* (Blantyre). 10 Dec 1904.

<sup>25</sup> "The Zimbabwe Ruins." *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin). 11 Dec 1892



Europe.<sup>26</sup> Both regimes sought to justify their conquests of African lands through the reinvention of historical reality.

## Governance

Africans did not passively accept European regimes and their governance. Resistance to European rule was met with violent reprisal. The Fascist Italians used concentration camps in order to deter resistance and maintain control. This system was implemented in Libya and the other colonies when the Italians were met with opposition to their presence.<sup>27</sup> The British government also implemented imprisonment as a way to maintain their dominance in Rhodesia and the other colonies that they had taken. Jail was a way to punish local civilians who would not follow their rule. Both the British and the Italians used collaborators as part of their process of control.

Colonialism sought to destroy African systems of government and religion, realizing that these mechanisms were integrated and that destroying one would ultimately lead to the destruction of the other.<sup>28</sup> The British missionaries claimed to be bringing "salvation" to Africa, but the real motive was to destroy what was already in place and make it easier for the British to dominate the local populations.<sup>29</sup> Although Italian missionaries did arrive in Libya, Fascist Italian objectives were not geared toward conversion. Mussolini even portrayed himself as the "Protector of Islam."<sup>30</sup> Like the British fascist Italians wanted to dominate the local populations that they encountered, but the primary objective of fascism was to use their own settler labor for the image of a strong successful colony. Once the infrastructure of buildings, roads, and monuments had been completed they wanted their own settlers to work and thrive in the region.<sup>31</sup> Furthering their control, the British and the fascist Italians established borders and restricted movement

---

<sup>26</sup> "Alexander's Tomb, Search in Africa." *The Telegraph* (Brisbane, Qld: 1872-1947). 19 Dec 1932; "Rhodesia is Ophir." *The Galveston Daily News* (Houston, Texas). 13 Sept 1896.

<sup>27</sup> Ronald Bruce St. John. *Libya from Colony to Revolution*. 72-73

<sup>28</sup> "Missions." *Nyasaland Times* (Blantyre, Malawi). 9 Dec 1899.

<sup>29</sup> "Missions." *Nyasaland Times* (Blantyre, Malawi). 9 Dec 1899

<sup>30</sup> "Il Duce in Libya." *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1848-1957). 18 Mar 1937.

<sup>31</sup> "Life in Libya." *The Macleay Chronicle* (Kempsey, NSW: 1899-1952). 5 Apr 1939



within the new boundaries. Italians and the British also used Africa and Africans for tourism. The tourist industry in both these colonies exploited and eroticized Africa and Africans for entertainment.

### Pseudo-Archaeology

The idea of European rights to Africa and their belief that Africans were racially inferior stemmed from Christianist Eurocentric myths; the biblical story of Ham, who was cursed by his father Noah to be a figure of servitude. Ham was linked in the bible with the concept of slavery and black skin. However, in Genesis 9:18-27, Noah curses one of Ham's sons, Canaan. The Hebrew bible and earlier Christian writing does not even mention skin color. Yet the biblical stories changed to depict Ham as the one being cursed and black skin with a servile fate. Nigel Eltringham explains this reweaving of biblical literature that created the justification for enslaving anyone with black skin:

To make such a link would not only be contrary to Genesis 9:18-27, but to the fact that of Ham's four sons, Kush, Mizraim (Egypt), Put, and Canaan (Genesis 10:6), the first three sons are considered in the Hebrew Bible as the ancestors of various African peoples, whereas Canaan is the ancestor of non-black Canaanites. The only way to reconcile the erroneous assumption of Ham's 'blackness' with servitude was to push the curse of slavery back onto Ham, the biblical ancestor of the Kushites.<sup>32</sup>

The colonized Africans were referred to as Ham's descendants.<sup>33</sup> By referring to Africans as Ham's descendants, European colonizers justified forcing African men, women, and children to serve them, because their Christian bible told them that this was okay. Italian fascism was integrated with Orthodox Christianity. Benito Mussolini identified himself in his autobiography as a Catholic. He was happy that under fascism, the Catholic faith appeared to be thriving.<sup>34</sup> Fascist Italians created a link between themselves and ancient Christian Romans. These Christian beliefs were also very prevalent in Britain and having archaeological remnants of a Christian past in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) would have solidified British narratives of justifiable conquest and a European link to Southern Africa.

---

<sup>32</sup> Nigel, Eltringham. "Invaders Who Have Stolen the Country.: The Hamitic Hypothesis, Race, and the Rwanda Genocide." *Social Identities* 2006. 426-427

<sup>33</sup> "Our Kafirs." *The Natal Witness and Agriculture and Commercial Advertiser*. 24 Mar 1868.

<sup>34</sup> Benito Mussolini. *My Rise and Fall*. 306



When Europeans first came upon the ruins of Great Zimbabwe, they refused to consider that these belonged to Africans; to do so would have undermined the accepted colonialist justifications of treating Africans as lesser beings. Similarly, Italians ignored Libyan achievements and centered their narrative of civilization in Africa around "their ancient ancestors" the Romans. In this regard British narratives linking the Great Zimbabwe Ruins with an ancient European Christian past was no different than the Italians linking themselves with the ancient Christian Romans and their monuments that were decaying in North Africa, as justifications for "re-conquest."<sup>35</sup> Italian propaganda was centered around this narrative and journalists, especially foreign journalists, helped spread these propagandistic techniques.<sup>36</sup> American journalist and fellow fascist Ruth Ricci Eltse (1894-1977), portrayed the Italian empire as a positive force in Africa. She had also been a volunteer nurse during the Second Ethiopian War (1935-1936). She traveled abroad to the Italian colonies being developed in Africa in the later 1930s.<sup>37</sup> Some of her personal letters, particularly those marked "Letters from Africa III," indicated that she either believed in or was just propagandistically involved in helping to create some form of Christianistic mythos regarding Italian presence in Africa. Eltse called Abyssinia, "a veritable land of promise."<sup>38</sup> She continued by quoting a man named M. Gantizon, who had been a correspondent for the Paris Temps who had spent time with the Italian military in Abyssinia.<sup>39</sup> M. Gantizon stated,

The Italian advance in Abyssinia is like a conquest of the Promised Land...a natural push forward of landless people toward uncultivated land...They look upon their vast plains before them as veritable lands of Canaan, as a new Eldorados.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> "The Great Zimbabwe." *The Central African Times* (Blantyre). 10 Dec 1904.; "In Old Tripoli Phoenician Colonies, the Roads of Rome." *Cairns Post* (Qld.: 1909-1954). 28 Nov 1925.

<sup>36</sup> John Bond, *Mussolini the Wild Man of Europe*. 63-65

<sup>37</sup> Charles Lindsay. "To the Shores of Tripolitania." *Hoover Digest*. Stanford University (Stanford, CA) 2011.

<sup>38</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>39</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>40</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.



This quote might as well have been a British reference to Zimbabwe, where the former utilized the same Christianistic mythos, often explained through the Hamitic myth.<sup>41</sup> The British looked at Zimbabwe through the Eurocentric lenses of the Christian bible, regarding it as Ophir, King Solomon's mines.<sup>42</sup> Some explorers even compared the wealth of Zimbabwe with other mythical places, such as Eldorado.<sup>43</sup> They brought relics from Zimbabwe back to Britain for study, filling British museums.<sup>44</sup> The Italians also filled their museums with artifacts that they took from the African colonies to perpetuate their ancient Rome in Africa narrative. Ancient Roman mosaics that were unearthed by Italian archaeologists in Libya showed the shift from black and white mosaics found in Italy during the ancient Roman period to colorful mosaics from marble resources in Africa. The Italians proudly displayed these relics. In 1937, Giglioli would have the responsibility of organizing the "Augustan Exhibition of Romanism." The work took five years and even Britain lent a hand getting the exhibit ready.<sup>45</sup> This showcase of Roman material had double significance. The New South Wales news source the *Tweed Daily*, described the exhibition:

Further, they cover the religious, the arts and the material culture of the many and varied peoples who come [*Sic*] under the sway of Rome, as well as trace in a special section rise and growth of Christianity from the birth of Christ down to the Edict of Constantine. In this aspect, the exhibition has a double significance for the archaeologist and the historian.<sup>46</sup>

Italian excavations in Libya and British excavations in Zimbabwe perpetuated their own myths to legitimize their presence in African lands.<sup>47</sup> Early on into the colonization of Libya, in 1925, fascist Italian archaeologists were excited to announce the wealth of Roman monuments and

---

<sup>41</sup> Nigel Eltringham. "'Invaders Who Have Stolen the Country.': The Hamitic Hypothesis, Race, and the Rwanda Genocide." *Social Identities* 2006. 427

<sup>42</sup> "King Solomon's Mines." *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana). 17 Nov 1890.

<sup>43</sup> "Cape to Cairo a Woman's Trek." *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa). 7 April 1909.

<sup>44</sup> "The Ancient Ruins." *The Buluwayo Chronicle* (Buluwayo, Zimbabwe). 25 Nov 1899

<sup>45</sup> "The Emperor Augustus." *The Daily Tweed* (Murwillumbah, NSW: 1914-1949). 30 Dec 1937

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> "Lost Civilization. Romance of Archaeology." *Queensland Times* (Ipswich, Qld: 1909-1954). 16 June 1923.



artifacts that they had been finding underneath the sands of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.<sup>48</sup> *The Brisbane Courier*, reported on the Italian finds:

[A] Department of Archaeology which has shown much diligence and enthusiasm in garnering from the sands of these provinces of the once mighty Roman Empire the abundant relics of its [Italy's] African dominion. These have already filled no less than four museums...<sup>49</sup>

The fascist Italian government used archaeology for the propaganda of Romanità. Part of this was drawing comparisons between ancient Roman emperors, like Augustus, with the new empire being set up by Mussolini.<sup>50</sup> Neither the Italian nor the British justification for colonizing Africa was based in fact. In reality, the Italians did not have any Roman or Christianistic claims to Africa, nor could they truly call themselves Roman descendants any more than anyone else in the ancient past whose territory had fallen under Roman rule. Rome had been a melting pot of ethnicities, the more the empire conquered the more people they assimilated into their culture and society.<sup>51</sup>

Considering the amount of enthusiasm and propagandistic writing and imagery that was applied to both the archaeological historiographies of Britain and Great Zimbabwe and fascist Italy and Libya, it is striking that these European colonists did a tremendous amount of damage to the same archaeological remnants. Fascist Italian archaeologists, whose Roman archaeological discoveries were so important in fostering a revival of the Roman empire, were also very destructive. Italian generals and soldiers were more interested in winning battles during their fighting for Libya than preserving the remains of a Roman statue or mosaic. Modern archaeologists sometimes cannot make heads or tails out of the mess caused by Italian soldiers and the hurried and lousy work done by fascist Italian archaeologists who often had to rush their excavations for the regimes propaganda needs.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, a lot of the archaeological history of

---

<sup>48</sup> 'ERASMUS.' "Birthplace of the Emperor Severus" *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld.: 1864-1933). 28 Feb 1925.

<sup>49</sup> 'ERASMUS.' "Birthplace of the Emperor Severus" *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld.: 1864-1933). 28 Feb 1925.

<sup>50</sup> Michael L. Galaty and Charles Watkinson (Editors). *Archaeology Under Dictatorship*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers (New York, Boston, Dordrecht, London, Moscow) 2004. 20

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 34-36

<sup>52</sup> Michael L. Galaty and Charles Watkinson (Editors). *Archaeology Under Dictatorship*. 58-59



Great Zimbabwe has been lost due to thievery and shoddy archaeological work done by the British colonial agenda driven excavators in the 19-20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>53</sup> Explorers excavating the ruins were detrimental to a scholarly archaeological assessment of the material around Great Zimbabwe.<sup>54</sup> Historian and archaeologist D. J. Ian Begg has dubbed these rapid excavations "topographical evacuations."<sup>55</sup>

The Italians and the British scapegoated the local communities for the destruction that they themselves caused. Italians blamed the Arabs for the destruction of the Roman monuments that once stood in Libya.<sup>56</sup> Damage to Roman remnants, such as Leptus Magna, believed to be the birthplace of the Roman emperor Septimus Severus (145-211 AD), was blamed on "Moslem fanaticism."<sup>57</sup> Fascist Italian archaeologists voiced their annoyance about how pieces of Roman monuments had been chipped away by the Ottomans to be sold as souvenirs to travelers.<sup>58</sup> British theories sustained that Semites settled in Rhodesia between 2000-1000 B.C. and were the reason for mining and the creation of the stone buildings.<sup>59</sup> When Hall followed up on his excursions to the ruins he tried to link the people he encountered with ancient Semitic theories and he argued that the Makalanga, were somewhat Semitic in appearance. He drew parallels between Semitic customs and Makalanga customs.<sup>60</sup> A few of Hall's comparisons between Makalanga customs and Semitic customs included, "(1) Monotheism and no worship of idols; (2) worship of, and sacrifices to, ancestors—a practice condemned by the Prophets; (3) rite of circumcision..."<sup>61</sup> The purpose of making these claims was to manipulate reality in order to push

<sup>53</sup> Pikirayi Innocent. *The Zimbabwe Culture Origins and Decline of Southern Zambezi States*. 2001 Alta Mira Press (Walnut Creek, CA). 14-17

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 16-17

<sup>55</sup> Michael L. Galaty and Charles Watkinson (eds.). *Archaeology Under Dictatorship*. 21

<sup>56</sup> 'ERASMUS.' "Birthplace of the Emperor Severus." *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld.: 1864-1933). 28 Feb 1925.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> "W. A. Girls Praise Work of Italy in Abyssinia." *The Daily News* (Perth, WA: 1882-1950). 26 Feb 1937

<sup>59</sup> David Chanaiwa, *The Zimbabwe Controversy: A Case of Colonial Historiography*. Eastern African Studies VIII, Syracuse University (Syracuse, New York) 1937. 4

<sup>60</sup> R. N. Hall. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. Prof. A. H. Keane L. L. D., F. R. G. S. (intro). Methuen & CO. (London) 1907. 101

<sup>61</sup> R. N. Hall. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. 100



the narrative that an ancient European presence had been in Rhodesia. But the British needed to create an explanation as to why they had not encountered white Semites in Rhodesia and they used the Bantu as their scapegoats. British historiography argued that the Bantu had either destroyed or absorbed the ancient Semites who once dwelled in the Great Zimbabwe cities.<sup>62</sup> Historian David Chanaiwa explained this European historiography: "By 900 A.D., we are told, the Bantu arrived on the scene, and brought about the tragic extinction of the Semitic race and the inevitable 'Kafirization' of the Zimbabwe Civilization. The Semites were either exterminated or absorbed by the Bantu."<sup>63</sup> The New Orleans news source the *Daily Picayune*, in 1892, wrote an article about archaeologist James Theodore Bent, who asserted that the ruins were ancient and also placed blame on the Rhodesian people for the ruins being in disarray.<sup>64</sup> It argued: "After the departure of its [Great Zimbabwe] original owners it was occupied, it appears for centuries by the Kaffir emperors, for centuries, whose occupation of it as a royal kraal caused the destruction of almost all traces of the past."<sup>65</sup> Taking away the history of Great Zimbabwe and reworking it to link with European histories was part of the imperial agenda to dismantle local histories in order to control the colonized.<sup>66</sup>

The fascist Italian government used archaeology for the propaganda of Romanità. The cult of Romanità, which pushed ancient Roman romanticism and linked Italy with ancient Romans meshed into Italian fascist propaganda, depicting the fascist regime as the next Roman Empire and painting Mussolini, in the same spectrum as Caesar or Augustus.<sup>67</sup> This cult of Romanità gave Italians their justifications for taking land in Africa. These two narratives perpetrated by the British and the Italians were very much alike at their heart. A large part of the

---

<sup>62</sup> David Chanaiwa. *The Zimbabwe Controversy: A Case of Colonial Historiography*. Eastern African Studies VIII, Syracuse University (Syracuse, New York) 1937. 4

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 4

<sup>64</sup> "A Prehistoric African City." *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana). 30 Jan 1892

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Julie Frederikse. *None but Ourselves Masses VS. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. 9

<sup>67</sup> Cristian Olariu. "Archaeology, Architecture and the Use of Romanità." *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* XVIII 2012. 351-357; Staff Writer. "Il Duce Contemplates Napoleon's Hat and Caesar's Empire, The Light of a State in Leo." *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA: 1931-1954). 2 Oct 1937

Though this was written by a staff writer, this news article provides credence to John Bonds, *Mussolini the Wild Man of Europe*, who made accusations that Benito Mussolini often spent millions of lire to have foreign newspapers depict him as the next Caesar or Augustus and that he was the creator of the next Roman Empire.



motivation behind both the British narrative and the Italian narrative was economically motivated, but this also had to do with the prestige associated with an empire having control over vast amounts of territory and resources.<sup>68</sup> The British were enticed by Portuguese writing which was saturated with fantastical stories of vast amounts of gold, silver, copper and ivory. Bypassing African history in Libya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia, Italian archeologists and explorers focused on Roman monuments and relics in the colonies.<sup>69</sup>

A large part of the British and fascist Italian archaeology was to create public excitement around "discoveries" that were being made in the colonized African regions. Italian archaeology made fantastical narratives in order to insight public interest in their expeditions to locate famous monuments and artifacts. The expedition to find Alexander's tomb is an example of this process of romanticizing an ancient European past and using it to promote the Italian regimes presence in Africa.<sup>70</sup> In 1932, *The Telegraph* reported on an Italian expedition to find Alexander's tomb:

An Italian expedition has left to search for the tomb of Alexander the Great...If the tomb is found it is hoped that there will also be discovered in it the Papyrus containing a collection of mystical and occult writings believed to have been deposited by Septimus Severus some 500 years after the entombment of Alexander...Considerable reliance is placed on the early Christian document which records the discovery of ancient Macedonian relics of regal aspect unearthed during the building of a church near Siwa....it is hoped that the veneration accorded to his memory [*Alexander the Great*] during the height of the Roman Empire may have helped to save from later depredations the mummy and the bed of solid gold upon which it is said to rest.<sup>71</sup>

This quest for Alexander's tomb and the descriptions of what Italian archaeologists hoped to find in it created a fantastical image of wonder and extravagance. The Italians also were basing their hopes on Christian chronicles that reference these fantasies of ancient occult writings and riches,

---

<sup>68</sup> Joslyn Barnhart. "Status Competition and Territorial Aggression: Evidence from the Scramble for Africa." *Security Studies* 2016. 385-387.

Part of Barnhart's argument, that nations become more territorially aggressive when their status is questioned holds up well against Benito Mussolini's confession in his bibliography when he stated, "'I want to make Italy great, respected, and feared...'" Benito Mussolini. *My Rise and Fall*. 309

<sup>69</sup> "The African Colonial Museum." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>70</sup> "Alexander's Tomb, Search in Africa." *The Telegraph* (Brisbane, Qld.:1872-1947). 19 Dec 1932

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*



something similar to British explorers' theories and claims about Great Zimbabwe being Ophir and Solomon's Mines based on Portuguese chronicles and ancient Christian sources.<sup>72</sup> Men like Rhodes, wanted the fantasies of a European connection to Zimbabwe to become an accepted truth. This was why he hired men like Hall to "explore" the ruins and make a report, knowing that the project was incredibly biased and was not done in pursuit of scholarly research, but to give more credence to his claim on Rhodesia. Hall took the assigned role of mythical storyteller diligently. He did a great deal to portray Rhodesia and Great Zimbabwe as an exotic and wild place, filled with fantastical sights. Chapter two of Hall's book is entitled, "Mystic Zimbabwe," in it he described that the monuments must have been built four thousand years ago. His claim being that this was when the world was in its beginning phase, falling in line with the Christian belief that the world is only thousands of years old not billions of years old.<sup>73</sup>

Hall's writing was reminiscent of H. Rider Haggard's fictional story, *King Solomon's Mines*, first published in 1885. The correlation between Haggard's fantasy about a city of gold in Africa and Hall's descriptions of an ancient wealthy empire in Zimbabwe, connected with Semites, stimulated the mythology that Zimbabwe was a product of Europe.<sup>74</sup> Hall posited:

[W]as Rhodesia the Havilah of Genesis; did it provide Solomonic gold; of the close kinship of these successful ancient gold-seekers from Yemen or Tyre and Sidon to the Hebrews of Palestine; and of their intimate connection in origin, language, and neighborhood which Holy Writ abundantly declares existed from the ninth chapter of Genesis until Paul preached in Phoenicia?<sup>75</sup>

Haggard's fictional writing was made reality by the "discovery" of Great Zimbabwe and 19-20<sup>th</sup> century sources perpetuated myths, stereotypes, and Christian religious zeal towards Africa.<sup>76</sup> In 1890, *The Daily Picayune* described in their article that "King Solomon's Mines" was no myth but reality:

---

<sup>72</sup> "Ruins in a Wild Land." *The Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois). 9 Nov 1890.

<sup>73</sup> R. N. Hall. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. 12

<sup>74</sup> H. Rider Haggard. *King Solomon's Mines*. 1907 Cassell and Company (London, Paris, New York & Melbourne); R. N. Hall. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. Prof. A. H. Keane L. L. D., F. R. G. S. (intro). Methuen & CO. (London) 1907. 15

<sup>75</sup> R. N. Hall. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. 15

<sup>76</sup> "Rhodesia is Ophir." *The Galveston Daily News* (Houston, Texas). 13 Sep 1896.



Not Myth but Huge Reality...[A]ll those who have read Rider Haggard's graphic descriptions of King Solomon's mines will be interested to know that the mines in question...are a sober reality, and that within a few weeks they have been traced and discovered by the Mashonaland expedition of the English South east African Company.<sup>77</sup>

The *Daily Picayune* continued the false narrative that the ruins were ancient and that they were evidence of European Christian doctrine. It also mentions the "barbarous inhabitants." This continued the negative narrative that Haggard portrayed in his fictional novel regarding his descriptions of Africa and Africans. The article also references the Europeans' true interest in the region, the gold rich earth:

The existence of gold had long been suspected in the territory which had just been brought within the sphere of British influence to the south of Zambezi, but the hostility of the barbarous inhabitants of the country prevented any attempt to identify Mashonaland with the land of Ophir, mentioned in the Old Testament as the country whence King Solomon obtained the vast quantity of gold and precious metal used in the decoration of his temple at Jerusalem.<sup>78</sup>

Archaeological monuments and relics were important to both Britain and Italy, to the extent that these two regimes could manipulate their significance for Europe. In the case of the fascist Italians, Mussolini appears to have been interested in throwing money towards the field of archaeology when it suited his and Italy's image the most. D. J. Ian Begg describes this blatant manipulation of archaeological excavation on the whims of Mussolini. Begg describes the story of an archaeologist Gilbert Bagnani to make his point. Bagnani had asked for funds in order to excavate in the Levant region, Mussolini responded on 4 September 1933 stating, "Do not ask for new funds."<sup>79</sup> However, when it came to the recreation of the Mostra Augustea, there was money for that, as Begg describes:<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> "King Solomon's Mines." *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana). 17 Nov 1890

<sup>78</sup> "King Solomon's Mines." *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana). 17 Nov 1890

<sup>79</sup> Michael L. Galaty and Charles Watkinson (Editors). *Archaeology Under Dictatorship*. 26

<sup>80</sup> Ian D. J. Beg. *Fascism in the Desert: A Microcosmic View of Archaeological Politics*; Michael L. Galaty and Charles Watkinson (editors). *Archaeology Under Dictatorship*. Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers (New York, Boston, Dordrecht, London, Moscow) 2004. 27-28



In November 1934 Bagnani 'went off to the Dendra by car with Michel and spent the day there measuring reliefs and choosing the scenes that are worth reproducing for the Mostra Augustea. 'I think it will be better if they don't try and get too much but simply one or two really surprising pieces like the Cleopatra and Caesarion...'<sup>81</sup>

Begg gives more background on the bizarreness of using the images of Cleopatra and her son Caesarion for propagandistic purposes,

[W]hen the temple was built, Cleopatra was the Pharaoh of Egypt and enemy of Rome, and her son was eventually killed by Augustus as a dangerous rival but, two millennia later, their significance for Rome had changed dramatically: the relief sculpture was now symbolic of the extent of Rome's ancient empire...Bagnani's selection of this particular relief highlights the political awkwardness of fascist excavations in Egypt: they could never have produced serious visible evidence of Romanità from a civilization that had preceded the Roman Empire by three thousand years. Even if they had discovered standing Roman monuments like those in their Libyan colonies, these would not have been clearly superior to those of the Egyptians.<sup>82</sup>

The Italian ancient Roman reinvention, went so far as to use Egypt as part of this propagandistic association of Italian greatness, even if Roman history had to be manipulated to the point that reality was no longer in the narrative. Italian fascist methods for perpetuating false imagery and their methodical misdirection of historical reality is no different from the British historical misdirection of Great Zimbabwe and their manipulation of reality. The history of Great Zimbabwe was manipulated for so many years, to the point that the real history of Great Zimbabwe was covered up for many more years by the Zimbabwe government late into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Paul Sinclair, a curator of archaeology stationed in Zimbabwe, explained that he was not allowed to discuss that Zimbabweans had built the ruins, this was in the 1970's.<sup>83</sup> Sinclair stated:

[T]he government was pressuring them [archaeologists] to withhold the correct information...I wasn't allowed to mention radio carbon dates...For the Queen of Sheba myth to have any basis, it would require far older dates, preferably B.C.

---

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* 27-28

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* 27

<sup>83</sup> Julie Frederikse. *None but Ourselves Masses vs Media in the Making of Zimbabwe.* 11



So the guidebooks were physically censored by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.<sup>84</sup>

This lasting manipulation of histories that the British and the Italian governments inflicted in the colonies went beyond stealing and recreating Africa's past. The Italians and the British saw local people's as frozen in time, arguing that African societies were incapable of going beyond their "infantile state" without "European parentage." With this narrative, both these regimes claimed a "civilizing mission," but this was just a smokescreen for their real intent.<sup>85</sup>

### The Smokescreen of the "Civilizing Mission"

Although the lands of Libya and Zimbabwe were not empty or devoid of human presence, the colonists treated Africa as if it was free for the taking. The populations that resided in these regions were treated by their colonialist overlords as intruders, "others" who did not belong. The British and Italians created the narrative of reclaiming lost and unused land.<sup>86</sup> This created an image of "empty space," completely disregarding the presence of the inhabitants, their societies, cultures, infrastructures, and agricultural practices. The British and the Italians claimed that the local populations were not using the land and they had not cultivated it properly; this created other justifiable reasons to "reclaim" their land.<sup>87</sup> The British and the Italians took valuable lands away from the local populations.<sup>88</sup> Along with the narrative of intrusion was the idea of "civilizing" the local populations, conforming them into the colonialist imaginations of "modernization."<sup>89</sup> The British and the Italians created the narrative that as a "civilized"

---

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> "In Old Tripoli, Phoenician Colonies, the Roads of Rome." *Cairns Post* (Qld 1909-1954). 28 Nov 1925.; "Into Africa." *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco, California). 22 Oct 1890.

<sup>86</sup> Giulia Albenese and Roberta Pergher (editors). *In the Society of Fascists Acclamation, Acquiescence, and Agency in Mussolini's Italy*. 2012 Palgrave and Macmillan (U.S.A.). 180; Julie Frederikse. *None but Ourselves Masses VS. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. Zimbabwe Publishing House 1938. 9, 41

<sup>87</sup> "Libya and its Genial Despot." *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA: 1931-1954). 1 Mar 1938

<sup>88</sup> "Rhodesia Land for Settlers" *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa). 27 Sept 1910; "Life in Libya." *The Macleay Chronicle* (Kempsey, NSW: 1899-1952). 5 Apr 1939

<sup>89</sup> "Rhodesia Land for Settlers" *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa). 27 Sept 1910; "Life in Libya." *The Macleay Chronicle* (Kempsey, NSW: 1899-1952). 5 Apr 1939



European society, it was their prerogative be the “parental-like figure” in the African colonies. This “parentage” and “infantile” hierarchy led to the local people being forced into cheap labor. They became convenient objects of use, seeing value in keeping the local populations subservient and separate from the colonists. The concept of “preserving” came about as a way to keep the local people from being fully assimilated and equal with the colonizers.<sup>90</sup> Aspects of African culture that were considered undesirable were suppressed by the colonists. This often forced the colonized to internalize and reproduce stereotypes inflicted on them.<sup>91</sup> These two empires claimed to be bringing infrastructure and agriculture to Africa and being a good European parent. However, they both used the local civilians as a cheap labor source, their philanthropic endeavors were nothing more than a smokescreen for abusing the people.<sup>92</sup>

The Italian government had declared that they were going to bring civilization to Libya, an argument that still hold sway among Mussolini’s descendants. In 2006, the grandson of Benito Mussolini, Alessander Mussolini, argued that “If it hadn’t been for my grandfather, they [Libyans] would still be riding camels with turbans on their heads.”<sup>93</sup> This shows that even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century neo-colonialism still allows for the narrative that colonialism was in some aspect or another a positive force for Africans. Italian propagandists like Ruth Ricci Eltse tried to spin Italian colonialism in a positive way, claiming that the people were happy serving under the Italians and that they were benefiting from the process. Eltse wrote articles and personal letters regarding her excursion to the Italian colonies. Her series of letters entitled “Letters from Africa III” showed how enthusiastic she was when she saw the construction of roads and other forms of public works, which she saw as an impressive Italian accomplishment.<sup>94</sup> Eltse’s descriptions showed a woman who had been in awe of fascist Italy:

---

<sup>90</sup> Brian L. McLaren. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya*. University of Washington Press (Seattle and London) 2002. 18-23

<sup>91</sup> Alfredo González-Ruibal. “Fascist Colonialism: Archaeology of Italian Outposts in Western Ethiopia (1936-1941).” Springer Science+Business Media, LLC. 2010. 566-567

<sup>92</sup> “Native Pass Law.” *Izwi Labantu* (Ngolwesi-Bini). 13 Aug 1901.; “Graziani Hated by North African Natives, Shame on Italian Army.” *The Daily Examiner* (Grafton, NSW: 1915-1954). 23 Jan 1941.

<sup>93</sup> Ronald Bruce St. John. *Libya from Colony to Revolution*. 56

<sup>94</sup> “Letters from Africa III.” Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.



I must be forgiven always if I dwell overlong on this miracle. The Italian troops advanced last October over less than a mule path...Many times in the course of the days travel, we came upon unfinished stretches in the process of construction...specially constructed as only these Italians know how, and constantly inspected and worked upon with every possible mechanical equipment now available...all this to Africa from Italy!<sup>95</sup>

This last statement, "[A]ll this to Africa from Italy!"<sup>96</sup> made it appear as though Italy was doing Africa a favor, but their presence in Africa had nothing to do with the betterment of Africa; it was about the betterment of Italy. The colonization of Africa had been about the prestige that Italy obtained by being an empire builder.<sup>97</sup> Titled "Italy as Empire Builder," the 1937 *Newcastle Sun* reported that the Libyans were beginning to appreciate the Italian regime and that they were building roads and architecture under Italian supervision and about 9,000 Arabs were working on building the roads.<sup>98</sup> Eltse witnessed Africa being transformed into an extension of Italy under fascist totalitarian rule, and she claimed in her letters that the Libyans were happy and devoted servants to the Italians. She painted positive depiction of Italians civilizing Africans:

These freed slaves whose lot was starvation and absolute serfdom, now work on the roads in the employ of the Italian Government at wages which represent wealth to them. At intervals, one finds swarms of native children, smiling and saluting always, working happily under jovial Italian troops...They worship the Italian soldier and state constantly, "The Italian soldier is my father, my brother and my savior!"<sup>99</sup>

The Italian fascist regime, claimed that they had liberated the Libyans from an oppressive Ottoman empire, but the Libyans were not better off under the Italians. The reference to saluting, had to do with the locals being seen as assimilating into the Italian Roman mythos surrounding their occupation of Africa. In the Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers, at the Hoover Archive at the Stanford University, are images depicted in an article showing "modern" conveniences for working the

---

<sup>95</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>96</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>97</sup> "Italy as Empire Builder." *The Newcastle Sun* (NSW: 1918-1954). 4 May 1937.

<sup>98</sup> "Italy as Empire Builder." *The Newcastle Sun* (NSW: 1918-1954). 4 May 1937.

<sup>99</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.



land brought by the Italians juxtaposed with Libyan workers tending the fields with a plow and a bull.<sup>100</sup> In reality Italian presence in Libya was brutal and destructive.<sup>101</sup>

Through the use of Libyan laborers, Italy ambitiously and rapidly created the image of a thriving and successful colony in Libya.<sup>102</sup> An article titled "Fascism in Libya" appearing in the Washington *Daily News* in 1937 quoted a man that it identified as an Italian commandant. He was speaking to a Frenchman:

You French are excellent colonizers, but your view is too limited. You bring civic projects to realization slowly...We on the other hand, feel that these symbols of civilization must be made to rise from the soil the moment our occupation begins as a mark of our domination...we have brought the three symbols of Roman Fascism: water, roads, buildings.<sup>103</sup>

The Italians and the British used the locals for forced labor, but they also regarded them as obstacles to their European progress. Despite this, both regimes portrayed themselves as doting "parental figures" over Africa.

When it came to infrastructure, the British were not motivated in instilling the narrative of the Zimbabwe Ruins into their architecture. The fascist Italian regime went further with their agenda than the British, by recreating ancient Roman greatness and making monuments to glorifying their ancestral past with the current empire, the *Arae Philenorum* was one example of creating a monument for propaganda.<sup>104</sup> The *Arae Philenorum* marked the border between Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The architect for this fascist and ancient Roman fused monument was Florestano Di Fausto. The monument was created to payed homage to the fourth century legend of the Fileni (Philaeni) brothers. As the legend states the Fileni brothers represented Carthage during a contest over a border dispute between Carthage and Cyrene. Both sides had sent there two best athletes to compete, when the athletes met that was to determine the border line between Carthage and Cyrene. The Fileni brothers were accused of cheating and in order to show their honesty had agreed to be buried alive in the spot that would mark the border between

---

<sup>100</sup> "7<sup>th</sup> Folio." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>101</sup> Ronald Bruce St. John. *Libya from Colony to Revolution*. 70-72

<sup>102</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>103</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>104</sup> Brian L. McLaren. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya*. 36-38



Carthage and Cyrene.<sup>105</sup> The fascist Italian building of the *Arae Philenorum* made several statements: first, the construction of the monument and the road leading through it represented Italian presence and dominance; now tourists and the military could move through the region with ease; this created a superficial image of bringing civilization, modernity, and protection to the border between Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Second, this fascist monument marked a newly established border, while paying homage to an ancient European border that was only meters away from the new one. Third, this monument, which was revealed in an extravagant propagandistic display, portrayed Mussolini as the bringer of civilization to Libya in ways that, in a play of Roman romanticism, elevated his stature to those of Augustus and Caesar.<sup>106</sup> Mussolini depicted himself as the "Protector of Islam" even though everything he did pointed towards efforts to dominate.<sup>107</sup>

During the unveiling of the *Arae Philenorum* in 1937, Mussolini was surrounded by Arab chiefs and cavalry to show their support for the new regime. This triumphant display was arranged by Italo Balbo, who had been appointed governor of Libya by Mussolini. This propagandistic display, was reported by G. Ward Price, a correspondent for the *Daily Mail* who had accompanied Mussolini on his trip to the Libyan colonies. The visit and display were done not only to remark a border but to create the image of Mussolini being supported by the Arab leaders as the "Protector of Islam." This elaborate procession was detailed by Price who described that the Italian troops were in military formation with Arab soldiers wearing long red, white, and blue silk cloaks and mounted on camels behind the Italians. A procession of "torch bearing native cavalry" followed behind the Arab soldiers. Mussolini and his ministers rode on horses surrounded by Arab chiefs riding white horses, and cavalry men playing silver trumpets or "native flutes." Price called the display superb: "Il Duce's entry by torchlight was the most superb spectacle he has ever seen...a man of order, justice, and power, whom all were delighted to obey."<sup>108</sup> This was a very layered event, showing that the locals were following Mussolini's

---

<sup>105</sup> McLaren, 36; St. John, 11

<sup>106</sup> "Il Duce in Libya." *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1848-1957). 18 Mar 1937.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> "Il Duce in Libya." *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1848-1957). 18 Mar 1937



leadership and acknowledging him as their "protector." This display was of course fallacious, as Sheik Maraghi, University of Al Azhar rector, pointed out:

"[A]nybody who claims to be a champion of Islam must be a Moslem, believe in the truth of Islam, and uphold its teachings. Anyone who does not fulfill these conditions cannot be recognized by Moslems as their protector, even if he be a Moslem."<sup>109</sup>

The British similarly pontificated as protectors of Rhodesia. King Lobengula's territory was situated in the region of Matabeleland. The gold mines of the region were highly coveted by British miners. The British wanted the region and were willing to kill in order to get at the mineral rich lands. An article in 1890, "King Lobengula," *The Boston Daily Advertiser*, gave a narrative that it was Lobengula and his people who were being unreasonable. That they were "savage" and "warlike," and the whole region was under enslavement. Soon they would take away land from the whites. The incoming whites were portrayed as having no choice, but to kill to get at the gold rich lands and keep the ones that they had.<sup>110</sup> The *Daily Inter Ocean* elaborated the colonial plan, once Lobengula was disposed of:

...whites will have carte blanche to prospect the whole country. There will be no concessions to pay for and a large revenue will be collected from the hut tax...England has acted in a timely and praise worthy manner...she has in Mashonaland one of her richest and most valuable possessions.<sup>111</sup>

These two sources show the extent that Britain was willing to go to in order to get at the resources they wanted and to use the people to further their economic gain.<sup>112</sup> Lobengula was portrayed as a dangerous tyrant who enslaved his people. The British made it seem that they were also in danger of losing *their* land if they did not do something, but in reality, the justifications for taking land and resources from Mashonaland were for Britain to violently oppress the people and steal valuable resources.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> "King Lobengula." *Boston Daily Advertiser* (Boston, Massachusetts). 22 Aug 1890

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> "King Lobengula." *Boston Daily Advertiser* (Boston, Massachusetts). 22 Aug 1890

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*



Under Italian occupation, the colonized were made to acknowledge the Roman historiography imposed on them and their territory. For example, the Ethiopians had to show their successful assimilation with the Italians and acceptance of Italian governance by participating in a propaganda performance where they had to do the fascist Roman salute, lifting their right hands in the air.<sup>114</sup> Amongst the many photographs in the Hoover archive of the Ruth Ricci Eltse papers, a photograph of a similar performance or possibly the very same Ethiopian performance, is shown.<sup>115</sup> This imagery was meant to portray to the world that the Italian army were the new Roman Legions. Italian and British presence and historiography over the colonized was endemic, it infiltrated their lands and their lives. The textbooks that the British made the Rhodesian children learn stated that history began with colonization:

Distortions of history were not confined to Rhodesian school texts. They shaped the way Rhodesians saw the world. If Cecil Rhodes and the settlers indeed made Rhodesia, what did they make it from? From nothing, said the Rhodesia history books. From a savage country and people, we created civilization.<sup>116</sup>

For Italy, Libya's history began with *their* ancestors. Re-education was part of the colonialist process of destroying African identities, it is worth mentioning that Britain was not entirely thrilled about the Italian "education programs" in Africa since they were primarily geared toward anti-British propaganda.<sup>117</sup> Confining African civilians into separate spaces away from the Europeans, which created spaces of superiority and inferiority was also a large part of the process of destroying African's.

The British had separate reservations or "kraals," for the Rhodesians, clearing the way for white settlements.<sup>118</sup> By keeping people confined, it made colonialist domination that much easier when it came to exploiting people for labor. Part of the song, entitled "You Have Lost," composed by Comrade Chinx, describes this colonialist labor process,

---

<sup>114</sup> Charles Burdett. "Italian Fascism, Messianic Eschatology and the Representation of Libya." *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 2010. 18

<sup>115</sup> "Miscellaneous Photos." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 9. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>116</sup> Julie Frederikse. *None but Ourselves Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. 9

<sup>117</sup> "Italy in North Africa." *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1848-1957). 25 May 1937.

<sup>118</sup> R. N. Hall. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. 16-18



[O]ur fathers were press-ganged into Forced labor groups. 'Come, come, improve your country,' shouted the exploiters. Roads were constructed, Bridges were made, Railway lines were laid, All these leading outside the country. Our wealth was smuggled through these communication systems.<sup>119</sup>

The Italians, like the British, kept the local populations in the colonies under their control.<sup>120</sup> Writing in 1905, the *Ilanga Lase Natal* blamed Africans for their condition under the British in Southern Africa:

So long as the coloured people are in the condition in which they are, the heel of the white man will be upon their necks. When they prove their intellectual and spiritual equality with the white race...the whites in the South who honor character and manhood will accord to them the recognition that they deserve.<sup>121</sup>

The European concession was that if the African people "civilized" themselves, meaning that if they would assimilate into European culture, then they would be treated as equals. Even these promises were not sincere; they were nothing more than empty words to gain the compliance and the collaboration of African people who believed them. There was no intention to get African people out from under the heel of Europeans. Fascist Italians did not see the Libyans as "civilized" either and early on they wanted the Ottoman presence removed from the lands that they argued belonged to them.<sup>122</sup> The Italian government argued that with the removal of Ottoman presence, their African colonies, the land of their ancestors, would regenerate, as the *Brisbane Courier* explained:

It was the Arab invasion that wiped out the once prosperous civilization [Rome] of this African coast, who made it a desert, and called it peace. It is only with the expulsion of the Turk that these regions are slowly beginning to revive.<sup>123</sup>

The fascist Italian government created a great display of propaganda around settling Italian immigrants into the colonies. The government had promised arable land to the Italian

---

<sup>119</sup> Julie Frederikse, Julie. *None but Ourselves Masses VS. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. 13

<sup>120</sup> Brian L. McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya*. 33

<sup>121</sup> "Notes and Comments." *Ilanga Lase Natal* (Durban, South Africa). 21 Apr 1905.

<sup>122</sup> "Cyrene in Libya a Great African City." *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld.: 1864-1933). 4 Jul 1925.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*



immigrants, the work that had been done by the Libyan workers was meant to set everything up for the new Italian arrivals.<sup>124</sup> Under the Italian fascist rule, the government gloated that thanks to them Libya was no longer "a box of sand."<sup>125</sup>

The *Ventimila*, or 20,000 as the first batch of Italian settlers were called, headed for the new Libyan colony which was a highly publicized event in 1938. Although the Italian settlers were dubbed the *Ventimila*, they only numbered 16,000.<sup>126</sup> The *Ventimila* were marched onto boats in a grand display to head for Libya. Because of rain, having the male settlers parading down the street to the boats had to be called off and the people were brought to the boats through vehicle transportation. Supposedly the number of vehicles volunteered was so great that there were extra cars without passengers in them.<sup>127</sup> Later in 1939, H. N. Brailsford reported on his visit to see the Libyan colonies. His impressions read like pro-Italian propaganda. Comparing Italian colonialism with French colonialism, he referred to the French colonies as uncreative and that their failings were due to, "private enterprise and laissez faire."<sup>128</sup> But Libya was different, he argued, because "One could never lose site of the fascist state... It plans, it drives, it organizes this audacious effort to create from a desert a thriving colony."<sup>129</sup> Both Mussolini and Rhodes saw Africa as a solution to overpopulation and unemployment issues in their homelands. Land in Rhodesia was advertised for sale for settlers, with Rhodes presenting Africa as a solution to the housing and unemployment troubles in Britain.<sup>130</sup> Journalist De Vere Stent, witnessed Rhodes's conversation with the Matabele leaders in 1896, when the uprisings were beginning to abate. Rhodes was demanding that the people leave, that the land belonged to him, but that he was

---

<sup>124</sup> Pamela Ballinger. "Colonial Twilight: Italian Settlers and the Long Decolonization of Libya." *Journal of Contemporary History*. Sage Publishing (London). 118

<sup>125</sup> George Martelli. "Libya and its Genial Despot." *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA: 1931-1954). 1 Mar 1938.

<sup>126</sup> Pamela, Ballinger, "Colonial Twilight," 118

<sup>127</sup> "Peasant Families Sent to Libya." *The Evening News* (Rockhampton, Qld: 1924-1941). 21 Oct 1938.

<sup>128</sup> H. N. Brailsford. "Life in Libya." *The Macleay Chronicle* (Kempsey, NSW: 1899-1952). 5 Apr 1939.

<sup>129</sup> H. N. Brailsford. "Life in Libya." *The Macleay Chronicle* (Kempsey, NSW: 1899-1952). 5 Apr 1939.

<sup>130</sup> "Rhodesia Land for Settlers." *The Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg). 27 Sept 1910; "Miss Charlotte Mansfield's Tramp Across Africa." *The Mafeking Mail and Protectorate Guardian*. 23 Feb 1909; Staff Writer. "Il Duce Contemplates Napoleon's Hat and Caesar's Empire, the Light of a Star in Leo." *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA: 1931-1954). 2 Oct 1937.



willing to set aside some land for the people to live in.<sup>131</sup> Vere observed: "Rhodes replied at once: 'We will give you settlements. We will set apart locations for you....' The young chief shouted angrily: 'You will give us land in our own country! That's good of you!'"<sup>132</sup> Rhodes's motive for "giving" the people land in their own country was to provide his company the ability to confine and control the local populations, essentially penning them into manageable spaces, the reserves.<sup>133</sup>

These were dehumanizing and hierarchical systems in which white settlers were at the top. Rhodesians were not allowed to move across borders without passes from their British rulers. But even this did not guarantee that the people were not harassed and prevented from moving from one place to another.<sup>134</sup> The Libyans were also met with similar hostility when moving across the landscape in their country. Restrictions on movement affected pre-existing economic activities, such as pastoralism.<sup>135</sup> British and Italian imagery of success in the colonies was important to them and they maintained a tight grip within the colonies. When asked by journalist George Martelli about what colonists invariably framed as the "native problem" in 1938, the Libyan governor, Italo Balbo declared that there "was no native problem." Martelli went on to elaborate what this meant: "In a sense Marshal Balbo was right. There is no native problem in Tripoli. Italy had disposed of it by eliminating opposition and prohibiting any free expression."<sup>136</sup>

Under Italian occupation, Libyans were treated as a hindrance to territorial expansion, but they became a source of labor, entertainment for tourism, and sexual exploitation. These same attitudes were applied by the British towards Rhodesians. Not only did British settlers use the

---

<sup>131</sup> Julie Frederikse. *None but Ourselves Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. 1983 Zimbabwe Publishing House (Harare, Zimbabwe). 41

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.* 41

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> P. C. Mazikana and I. J. Johnstone. *Zimbabwe Epic*. R. G. S. Douglas (edit). National Archives of Zimbabwe (Harare, Zimbabwe) 1984. 143

<sup>135</sup> Pamela Ballinger. "Colonial Twilight: Italian Settlers and the Long Decolonization of Libya." *Journal of Contemporary History* 2016. 821

<sup>136</sup> George Martelli. "Libya and its Genial Despot." *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA: 1931-1954). 1 Mar 1938.



people for labor but they also exploited them for entertainment too.<sup>137</sup> The Italian fascists claimed to be "modernizing" and "preserving" the Libyans all at the same time.<sup>138</sup> Fascist Italy wanted Libya to look like a successful and prospering colony under their leadership.<sup>139</sup> Encouraging tourism in the colonies was part of the Europeans' idea of success. The governor of Libya, Italo Balbo, was at the forefront structuring the tourist industry in Libya. In 1935, the Libyan Tourism and Hotel Association (ETAL) was created. Its job was to coordinate the privately-owned tourist companies in Libya, blending economics with the government. By structuring tourism in this way, the ETAL fused political propaganda and commercialism.<sup>140</sup> The British also structured their tourism with politically motivated propaganda. Tourism to visit the Zimbabwe Ruins was propagated on the narrative of visiting the remnants of Ophir and Solomon's mines. Tickets for traveling through Rhodesia were being advertised in major regional newspapers such as the South African *Rand Daily Mail*. The Rhodesian railway system was created to help move the colony's economy, including tourism.<sup>141</sup> Some examples of excursions being publicized, included the *Rhodesia Herald*, which reported in 1914 that a high-ranking supporter of Rhodes and the British South African Company, Mr. Wilson Fox, had recently traveled across Rhodesia using the railway system.<sup>142</sup> Previous to Fox's visit and use of the convenient railway system, was a British woman Mary Hall, who visited Africa in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1907, the *Rand Daily Mail* promoted Mary Hall's story, "Cape to Cairo: A Woman's Trek," at that time she was writing a book describing her journey through South Africa, which was later published in 1908.<sup>143</sup> In the article Mary Hall described how she was afraid of the African boys who were accompanying her and the other European travelers.<sup>144</sup> Her comment that the men accompanying the European travelers were "boys," and that she had been afraid only shows the deep prejudice that Europeans felt towards the locals and the everyday

<sup>137</sup> R. N. Hall. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. 57

<sup>138</sup> Brian L. McLaren. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya*. 18-21, 130-143.

<sup>139</sup> "Italy Importing Wheat from Libya." *News* (Adelaide, SA: 1923-1954). 16 Sep 1937.

<sup>140</sup> Brian L. McLaren. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya*. 60-61

<sup>141</sup> "Central South African Railways." *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg). 9 Apr 1908.

<sup>142</sup> "The Railways." *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe). 30 Jul 1914

<sup>143</sup> "Cape to Cairo a Woman's Trek." *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa). 21 Dec 1907

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*



infantilizing language being attributed to adult Africans in order to demean them. This infantilizing language process can also be seen in Eltse's writing, which was tinged with her mindset of white racial superiority. She described seeing a negotiation taking place between a local vendor and a woman, writing: "[I]nfants playing the game of 'keeping store.'" <sup>145</sup> Eltse helped continue a narrative of Africans as juveniles. She clearly did not consider the people to be equals with the Italian colonists. Her language when describing the people was extremely demeaning. This language was so prevalent that it was a constant presence in news reports regardless of the subject, for example the *East African Standard* reported a domestic dispute in Mombasa in an article titled "Mission Boy Uses His Knife," depicting Africans as violent juveniles who required European's overseeing them for their own good. <sup>146</sup>

Images of an exotic world were portrayed in the Italian colonies to entice settlers and travelers. Some of this imagery can be seen in Brian L. McLaren's book, which depicts a black and white photograph printed on a postcard, showing an Arab woman dancing in an Arab Café, wearing a see-through bralette top and a sheer long skirt. This was a provocative display in which the Arabian dancer was depicted as an exotic sexualized attraction for tourists. Another scantily dressed woman sat on the floor near the men who were seated in the background watching the topless woman dance to music. <sup>147</sup> McLaren stated:

[T]he Arab Café offered the metropolitan traveler an experience of native culture in an authentic environment. Operated by the Theater and Performance Service of the ETAL, this facility presented 'characteristic' Arab musical and dance performances in a setting...that 'fully reproduces the suggestive local environment.' <sup>148</sup>

Dancers like the one seen on the postcard were all part of an exoticism and sexualizing process that was part of tourism in Libya. <sup>149</sup> During her excursion through the Italian colonies, Eltse

---

<sup>145</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>146</sup> "Mission Boy Uses His Knife." *The African Standard, Mombasa Times and Uganda Argus* (Mombasa, Kenya) 19 Sept 1903.

<sup>147</sup> Brian L. McLaren. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya*. 140-142

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* 140

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* 143



wrote about "native dancing," which she described as "colorful."<sup>150</sup> Her letters also described "very pretty native girls"<sup>151</sup> who hung outside their houses and had signs posted on their doors stating, "[C]asa Famiglia."<sup>152</sup> She later realized that they were prostitutes.<sup>153</sup> Prostitution in the colonies was an issue that the Italian government was trying to stop, not because of humanitarian reasons, but because interracial relationships could result in children and due to racial bigotry, the government did not like the idea of "pure blooded Italians" mixing with "lesser races."<sup>154</sup> In the new political economies controlled by colonists, African women had to figure out a way to survive and sometimes this meant sex work. The British also considered Africans to be racially inferior. In fact, it was their racial policies in Kenya and South Africa during the 19-20<sup>th</sup> century, that the fascist Italian government emulated.<sup>155</sup> The British saw the people they dubbed the "Bushmen" and the "Hottentots" as incapable of adhering to "modern civilization."<sup>156</sup> The British government did not want racial mixing. As the *Central African Times* reported in 1904, they made an amendment to their "Morality Act" to declare that any white person regardless of gender would be punished for having, "[I]llicit intercourse with natives."<sup>157</sup>

Photographing locals was another popular European tourist pass time. Hall even mentioned in his book that sight-seekers visiting Zimbabwe could photograph "native life," as if the people were exotic animals.<sup>158</sup> The entitlement of Westerners towards African's can be seen in Eltse's response to being rebuffed by a local woman who did not want to be photographed. One young woman Eltse described as being very beautiful, annoyed her because she refused to be photographed, until Eltse offered the woman money and she was more compliant, to which

<sup>150</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>151</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>152</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>153</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>154</sup> Sandra Ponzanesi. "The Color of Love: Madamismo and Interracial Relationships in the Italian Colonies." *Research in African Literatures* (Utrecht University, The Netherlands) 2012. 156-161

<sup>155</sup> Alfredo González-Ruibal. "Fascist Colonialism: Archaeology of Italian Outposts in Western Ethiopia (1936-1941). Springer Science+Business Media, LLC. 2010. 571

<sup>156</sup> "The Ancient Bushmen." *Izwi Labantu* (Ngolwesi-Bini). 13 Aug 1901.

<sup>157</sup> "The Morality Act." *The Central African Times* (Blantyre). 10 Dec 1904.

<sup>158</sup> R. N. Hall. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. 57



Eltse sarcastically stated, "[U]ntil I produced two lire piece which apparently overcame her scruples and modesty!"<sup>159</sup> On the one hand Eltse was mad that the woman refused to be photographed and then she was upset that the woman complied after being offered money to model for her. Furthering the point of Europeans treating and seeing African's as photographic objects, this is also made very clear from Bent's derogatory statement about the locals of Rhodesia. In 1893, Bent detailed his excursion to the Zimbabwe ruins and the people he encountered: "The natives are shy of us and fled to the rocky eyries, from whence to contemplate us, seated in rows in all sorts of uncomfortable angles, for all-the world like monkeys."<sup>160</sup> Reflecting the colonial perspective, Bent's writing also animalized Africans. The Italians also shared this practice towards Libyans. They would set up photographs with the locals next to animals to create an image of "wildness." They were also photographed in front of a background portraying the "untamed outdoors." When the locals were photographed wearing European attire, they were sometimes not wearing shoes. The Italians did this on purpose. By having Africans photographed in European attire, but without allowing them to wear shoes the act was meant to humiliate and dehumanize them.<sup>161</sup>

Despite how similar the behavior and motives were behind the Italian colonists and the British colonists the two regimes would sometimes berate each other's behavior. These hypocritical criticisms led to further animosity between the two regimes.<sup>162</sup> Mussolini was a very sensitive totalitarian ruler and would become very incensed to verbal assaults made by European journalists.<sup>163</sup> The Italo-American, Dr. James V. Ricci, Ruth Ricci Eltse's husband, had like his wife become a writer for the fascist newspaper the *Impero*. Previous to that, he had served as an officer for the British 48<sup>th</sup> Division on the Montello and Asiago Plateau during the First World

---

<sup>159</sup> "Untitled." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>160</sup> R. N. Hall. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. 57

<sup>161</sup> Alfredo González-Ruibal. "Fascist Colonialism: Archaeology of Italian Outposts in Western Ethiopia (1936-1941)." 566-567

<sup>162</sup> "Italy in Libya." *The Australasian* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1864-1946). 2 Oct 1937; "A Reply to Westbrook Pregler's 'Fair Enough.'"; Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>163</sup> John Bond. *Mussolini the Wild Man of Europe*. The Independent Publishing CO. (Washington) 1929. 90-92



War.<sup>164</sup> In 1936, Dr. James V. Ricci wrote a scathing response to a British writer, Mr. Westbrook Pegler and his "Fair Enough" column for *The World Telegram*, stating,

As if anyone had ever out-Englished the English in the atrocious treatment of the peoples of India, of Ireland and Egypt who dared to clamor for a little freedom for their country. What supreme example of British democracy!<sup>165</sup>

Ricci was responding to Mr. Pegler making fun of the fascist propaganda, such as the staged display of Italian women handing over their gold rings to pay for the Italian military's weapons.<sup>166</sup> Part of Pegler's comments also made reference to Italy defeating Ethiopia in their second attempt at conquest.<sup>167</sup> Ricci quoted Pegler's comment, which stated:

The Italians lost a whole army at Adowa forty years ago in a fight with a barefoot tribe but captured the town last year [1935] in their great defensive war 3,000 miles from home. This time the barefoot warriors were out of town so the conquest was merely an occupation rather than a fight.<sup>168</sup>

This comment would have been seen by the fascist Italians as a major insult. The First Ethiopian War was a sore point for Italy, which was why Mussolini was particularly brutal during the Second Ethiopian War, even stooping to using mustard gas, which had been banned from use in the Versailles Treaty implemented in 1919.<sup>169</sup> In response to Pegler's comments, Ricci pointed out that these statements were merely British hypocrisy: Ricci, apparently could not deter British journalists from continuing their fascist Italian verbal basking. On 2 October, 1937 an illustration

---

<sup>164</sup> "Italy in Libya." *The Australasian* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1864-1946). 2 Oct 1937; "A Reply to Westbrook Pegler's 'Fair Enough.'" Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>165</sup> "A Reply to Westbrook Pegler's 'Fair Enough.'" Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>166</sup> "A Reply to Westbrook Pegler's 'Fair Enough.'" Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>167</sup> "A Reply to Westbrook Pegler's 'Fair Enough.'" Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>168</sup> "A Reply to Westbrook Pegler's 'Fair Enough.'" Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>169</sup> David Forgacs. "Italians Massacres in Occupied Ethiopia." 2016 *Modern Italy*. Department of Italian Studies (New York, New York). 305-307



was published by *The Australasian*, entitled "Italy in Libya." The cartoon was a scene of Libya being surrounded by a barbed wire fence with military barracks, trucks, tanks, and soldiers within the land border, and military ships in the harbor. Two Englishmen are shown standing on a hill looking out on the scene of the Italian military activity down below, one of the men makes the statement, "That's only a mirage, I suppose."<sup>170</sup> This sarcastic comment pokes fun at Italy who had been trying to portray themselves as "modernizers" and philanthropists in Libya, but they were an extremely oppressive militant presence.<sup>171</sup> Although the illustration was an accurate depiction of the real rule Libya suffered under the fascist Italians, it loses its power because neither the British or the Italians were above extreme militant violence. It was highly hypocritical of any European country affiliated with British rule to make fun of the fascist Italian militant presence in the Libyan colonies when they themselves were associated with such behavior.

The British could be just as violent and oppressive as the fascist Italian regime. The British wanted to destroy African systems of government and religion, knowing that once these institutions were removed it would be easier to dominate the people and take their land. In 1899, *The Nyasaland Times*, gave a report on "Missions" and how their presence for the "natives" was as essential as the British Administration. The *Times* described how Britain needed to destroy the African government and religion, and once this was accomplished, they must either set up a puppet chieftdom or these must eventually be removed to be replaced with tax collectors and askari.<sup>172</sup> It stated:

[T]he native government is founded upon and rooted in the native religion and the destruction of the one involves the destruction of the other... We even go the length of putting down by force distinctly religious customs which are objectionable... We must either modify the old tribal way and rule through chiefs and headmen or we must gradually remove them and substitute collectors and askari, otherwise the native would have no restraint and chaos would result.<sup>173</sup>

---

<sup>170</sup> "Italy in Libya." *The Australasian* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1864-1946). 2 Oct 1937

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> "Missions." *Nyasaland Times* (Blantyre, Malawi). 9 Dec 1899

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*



These statements, made in 1899, show the extent that the British were aware of what they were doing. It was a methodical plan, to destroy African institutions and justifying it by describing the people as chaotic. The missionary narrative was that they were the religious saviors of the African people; however, their main objective was to destroy their institutions and control them.

## Collaboration

Collaboration was a tool that both the British and the Italians used to further their rule in Africa. Collaborators, or askaris, worked for the colonialists as their servants, following the orders of their overlords. This act of compliance was twisted to legitimize oppression in the colonies. Collaboration legitimized colonial rule while discrediting resistance.<sup>174</sup> The willingness of collaborators to follow along with the colonialist regime was done for survival. Collaborators were those who worked for the colonialists and those who went along with the mechanisms imposed on them. The fascist Italian government in their determined effort to "reconquer" Libya violently oppressed any resistance to their governance. General Rodolfo Graziani was so incredibly ruthless in his tactics that he became known as "The Butcher of Tripoli."<sup>175</sup> The British also used extreme violence to "reclaim their lands" and dominate the Zimbabwe civilian populations. This intense violence was meant to destroy the local populations will to resist the new regimes; but despite the danger, resistance still lingered.<sup>176</sup>

Italian soldiers and their askaris worked together to maintain fascist Italian dominance in Africa. When a resistance group tried to assassinate Graziani on 19 February 1937 while he was conducting a ceremony during an alms-giving event in Ethiopia out of revenge for Italian brutality and rule, the Italian soldiers and askaris massacred thousands of innocent Ethiopian civilians in retaliation. Graziani was only injured, but he wanted revenge for the act of defiance and attempt on his life. The attempt led to the mass slaughter of people in the crowd, who were shot down by guns and automatic weapons being fired on them by Italian soldiers and their askaris. The shooting lasted three hours and was followed by a three-day massacre of innocent men, women, and children in the residential areas of Addis Ababa. Foreigners in the area had

---

<sup>174</sup> Jacob Dlamini. *Askari*. Oxford University Press (New York, New York) 2015. 36

<sup>175</sup> Pamala Ballinger. "Colonial Twilight: Italian Settlers and the Long Decolonization of Libya." *Journal of Contemporary History* 2016. 819

<sup>176</sup> Julie Frederikse. *None but Ourselves Masses VS. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. 41,74-75



their cameras taken, telephone and telegraph lines were cut. The bodies of the murdered were set on fire or hurriedly buried, all in an attempt to cover up the carnage.<sup>177</sup> As a badge of honor, Graziani donated his blood-stained uniform from the attack to the African Colonial Museum back in Rome. The museum had been built in 1935 to store memorabilia from Italian conquests in Africa and display Roman and African artifacts. Graziani's uniform was displayed in the room he had donated to the museum.<sup>178</sup> Eltse propagandistically wrote about Graziani's "blood-stained and ragged uniform worn on that bleak February day in 1937 when His Excellency with other Italian officers was struck down while presenting gifts to the population in celebration of the birth of the Royal Prince."<sup>179</sup> Her description of the events made it sound as though the Italians were attacked being kind and generous to the Ethiopian people. She never mentions the massacres on innocent Ethiopians that followed the attack, making it appear as though the Italians were wronged.<sup>180</sup> This type of writing coincides with Eltse's earlier description about how happy and loyal the Libyan people were under the Italians. In reality, the people were acting happy out of fear of violent reprisal.<sup>181</sup> The effectiveness of collaboration as a weapon of dominance is clear when European sources mention askaris and the violent things that they did under the direction of their European rulers. These were collaborators who were willing to betray their own people in a bid to survive in the new colonial system.<sup>182</sup>

The authority of the askaris was so prevalent that even the people being oppressed by them would use their assistance. A report in the *East African Standard* in 1903 stated that Sunoor bin Seaf, a water carrier saw that his pulley was gone and requested the help of an askari who was close by. The askari found the thief and arrested him. The accused thief was a Swahili man named Ali bin Seleman. Curiously, Seleman confessed to eleven other thefts aside from stealing

---

<sup>177</sup> David Forgacs. "Italians Massacres in Occupied Ethiopia." *Modern Italy*. Department of Italians Studies (New York, New York) 2016. 305-306

<sup>178</sup> "The African Colonial Museum, 1937." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>179</sup> "The African Colonial Museum, 1937." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>180</sup> "The African Colonial Museum, 1937." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>181</sup> "Letters from Africa III." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>182</sup> Jacob Dlamini. *Askari*. 36-37



the pulley.<sup>183</sup> This incident did not take place in Zimbabwe, but it does show that collaboration was being used all over Africa. Askaris worked for the colonists, and catching people considered to be criminals by the Europeans was part of their job. The *East African Standard* reported another story the same year, describing how an askari looking for one escaped prisoner found instead another escapee who had been on the run for a year:

While the Mombasa Jail askaris were searching for a recently escaped prisoner yesterday evening at ten o'clock they discovered another escaped convict, Mbruki bin Mhali who had been at large for more than one year. He was arrested and handed over to the police.<sup>184</sup>

Askaris were used for other types of tasks aside from tracking "criminals" down. Counting the number of African homes and going from door to door collecting the colonial taxes was another part of their job. The *Nyasaland Times* provided a detailed account of this process in 1910 in Malawi. The collector along with his entourage of askaris were inspecting "tax papers" for that year and the collector sent his askari to all the villages that they encountered along their route. The villagers had to bring out their papers and the askari had to count all the homes. The collector worked for a company identified as the A. L. C. and an agent working for the A. L. C. had informed the collector that anyone who did not pay their taxes had to be sent to the company to work.<sup>185</sup> This was a common theme with colonialism; the governments that replaced African forms of rule and put in their place a system of perpetual taking. If the people could not pay their taxes, then they were forced to perform manual labor for not paying. Imprisonment was the alternative to these options. Collaborators helped keep this system going. the generation of labor was the main objective behind these processes.

The constant need for Africans to keep moving around hoping to make enough money to survive kept Africans under a state of constant laboring for the colonialists. The *Rhodesia Herald* reported on this displacement and abusive powers of the askaris: "The Askari are at their old

---

<sup>183</sup> "Caught on the Spot." *East African Standard, Mombasa Times and Uganda Argus* (Mombasa, Kenya). 12 Sept 1903.

<sup>184</sup> "A Confirmed Jail Breaker Captured." *East African Standard, Mombasa Times and Uganda Argus* (Mombasa, Kenya). 19 Sept 1903

<sup>185</sup> "Letters Labor Recruiting." *Nyasaland Times* (Blantyre, Malawi). 10 Mar 1900.



games, and touting white men are enticing the natives away to Southern Rhodesia. The natives apply for passes...make their way overland...and hence to the 'Golden South'."<sup>186</sup> British companies made promises of better pay in order to entice locals to work for their company, laborers bore the consequences for leaving one job for another if they were caught. For example, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* described how a solution to the prevention of labor desertion had been found with the use of finger printing: "Arrangements are being made whereby the Native Affairs Department takes a finger impression of Cape Colony natives working on the mines, owing to frequent desertion of such natives."<sup>187</sup> This was a contentious issue amongst British companies and it was a problem that they created. The *Rhodesia Herald* reported further on this so-called native problem: "Our contemporary is sure the British South African Company will deal fairly with British Central Africa, but it advocates more stringent regulations as to natives leaving the country."<sup>188</sup> The fascist Italians used askaris and other collaborators in the same ways, as a means of control and to ensure compliance to their rule. According to Eltse, the askaris were very happy working for the Italians:

[N]ative troops with Italian Officers at their head, in full uniform and arms, singing as they marched, some weird chant in which they pay homage to their officers and tell of their courage and loyalty to Italy...the Italian officers praise them highly for their fidelity and obedience.<sup>189</sup>

There were also photographs of the askaris smiling and hanging out in Italian vehicles that had been brought to Africa.<sup>190</sup> Eltse as a propaganda journalist is a difficult source. Her interpretation and descriptions of what was happening are untrustworthy due to her evident prejudice and biased agenda. That does not mean that when she describes the askaris as appearing to be loyal subjects of the Italians that this was not an accurate description. Clearly, as collaborators, askaris had in one way or another become loyal to the colonists.

<sup>186</sup> "The Black Labor Question." *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe). 11 Jul 1899

<sup>187</sup> "The Black Labor Question." *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe). 11 Jul 1899

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>189</sup> "Untitled." Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1941. Box 1. Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*



## Conclusion

British and fascist Italian imperialism were not very different. They both used historiographic narratives to justify expanding their empires into African territories. Both of these European regimes used archaeology to create physical evidence for their narratives of an ancient European presence in Africa to construct legitimacy to their claims on African lands. Because of the propagandistic need to make their narratives real, this was not scholarly science that was being implemented, it was pseudo-archaeology. The archaeologists and explorers who excavated Libya and Zimbabwe were following a colonizing agenda, and scholarly enlightenment was not as important as creating justifications for European rule over Africa. This agenda would create mythological histories attached to monuments and relics found in Africa. The African people under these violent European overlords not only had their lands taken away, but their histories as well. The systems that replaced African government, societal, and cultural institutions were meant to keep the people subservient to the Europeans.

The colonialist narrative of the "civilizing mission" was justification for harsh European rule and it had no bases in fact. Britain and Italy used the people for cheap labor and entertainment under the guise of having liberated them from the previous governorship, only to be an oppressive force themselves. The local populations of Libya and the people of Zimbabwe were not treated as citizens of the European governments that overtook the regions. The locals were seen as an exploitable resource, just as the resources of the lands were seen as usable materials which the British and Italians hoped to use for their own economic benefit.

By using collaborators, Britain and fascist Italy were able to dominate and use the local populace to their own advantage. By having enough of the local residents on the side of the British and fascist Italian overlords, it was that much easier to create a system of compliance through intimidation and fear. Askari's were convenient tools for the colonizers as they set about establishing their governance over the colonies.



## Bibliography

### **Archive:**

Ruth Ricci Eltse Papers 1935-1942. Collection number 77068. Hoover Institute Archives (Stanford University, CA).

### **Books:**

Albenese, Giulia and Roberta Pergher (eds). *In the Society of Fascists Acclimation, Acquiescence, and Agency in Mussolini's Italy*. Palgrave and Macmillan (U.S.A) 2012.

Bent, James Theodore and Robert McNair Wilson Swan. *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*. Longmans, Green, and CO. (London, New York, Bombay) 1896.

Bond, John. *Mussolini, The Wild Man of Europe*. Independent Publishing CO. (Washington) 1929.

Chanaiwa, David. *The Zimbabwe Controversy: A Case of Colonial Historiography*. Eastern African Studies Syracuse University (Syracuse, New York, U. S. A.) 1973.

Dlamini, Jacob. *Askari, a Story of Collaboration and Betrayal in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle*. Oxford University Press (New York, New York) 2015.

Frederikse, Julie. *None but Ourselves, Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. Zimbabwe Publishing House (Harare, Zimbabwe) 1983.

Galaty, Michael L. and Charles Watkinson (eds). *Archaeology Under Dictatorship*. Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers (New York, Boston, Dordrecht, London, Moscow) 2004.

Garau, Salvatore. *Fascism and Ideology Italy, Britain, and Norway*. Routledge Studies in Modern European History (New York, New York) 2015.



Haggard, H. Rider. *King Solomon's Mines*. Cassell and Company (London, Paris, New York & Melbourne) 1907.

Hall, R. N. *Great Zimbabwe Mashonaland, Rhodesia*. Professor A. H. Keane, L. L. D., F. R. G. S. (intro). Methuen & CO. (London) 1907.

Mazikana, P. J. and I. J. Johnstone. *Zimbabwe Epic*. R. G. S. Douglas (eds). Harare National Archives (Harare, Zimbabwe) 1984.

McLaren, Brian L. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya, an Ambivalent Modernism*. University of Washington Press (Seattle, WA) 2006.

Mussolini, Benito. *My Rise and Fall*. Richard Lamb (intro). Da Capo Press (New York) 1998.

Pikirayi, Innocent. *The Zimbabwe Culture Origins and Decline of Southern Zambezi States*. Alta Mira Press (Walnut Creek, CA) 2001.

Randal-MacIver, David. *Medieval Rhodesia*. Negro University Press (New York) 1969.

Raven, Susan. *Rome in Africa*. Routledge (London and New York) 1993.

St. John, Ronald Bruce. *Libya from Colony to Revolution*. One World (Oxford England) 2012.

### **Scholarly Articles:**

Ballinger, Pamela. "Colonial Twilight: Italian Settlers and the Long Decolonization of Libya." *Journal of Contemporary History*. Sage Publishing (London) 2016.

Joslyn Barnhart. "Status Competition and Territorial Aggression: Evidence from the Scramble for Africa." *Security Studies* 2016.



Burdett, Charles. "Italian Fascism, Messianic Eschatology and the Representation of Libya." *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 2010.

Corner, Paul. "Italian Fascism: Organization, Enthusiasm, Opinion." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 2010.

Elitringham, Nigel. "'Invaders Who Have Stolen the Country.': The Hamitic Hypothesis, Race, and the Rwanda Genocide." *Social Identities* 2006.

Forgacs, David. "Italian Massacres in Occupied Ethiopia." Department of Italian Studies. New York University (New York, New York) 2016.

Giardina, Andrea. "The Fascist Myth of Romanity." *Estudos Avançados* 2002.

Gooch, John. "Re-conquest and Suppression: Fascist Italy's Pacification of Libya and Ethiopia, 1922-39." *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 2005.

Gonzalez-Rubel, Alfredo. "Fascist Colonialism: Archaeology of Italian Outposts in Western Ethiopia (1936-41)." *J Histor Archaeol* 2010.

Lindsay, Charles. "To the Shores of Tripolitania." *Hoover Digest*. Stanford University (Stanford, CA) 2011.

Olariu, Cristian. "Archaeology, Architecture and the Use of Romanità in Fascist Italy." *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* XVIII, 2012.

Ponzanesi, Sandra. "The Color of Love: Madamismo and Interracial Relationships in the Italian Colonies." *Research in African Literatures*. Utrecht University (Netherlands) 2012.

Shepherd, Nick. "The Politics of Archaeology in Africa." Center for African Studies, University of Cape Town 2002.



Troilo, Simona. "A Gust of Cleansing Wind': Italian Archaeology on Rhodes and in Libya in the Early Years of Occupation (1911-1914). *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*. Routledge Taylor and Francis Group 2012.

### **News Articles:**

"Italy's Shame in Africa." *Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune* (Salt Lake City, Utah). 24 Nov, 1896.

"Strange Things Undersand in Tripoli." *Northern Star* (Lismore, NSW: 1876-1954). 26 Mar 1912.

"The Balkan War." *Buluwayo Chronicle* (Buluwayo, Zimbabwe). 14 Nov 1912.

"In Old Tripoli, Phoenician Colonies, the Roads of Rome." *Cairns Post* (Qld: 1909-1954). 28 Nov 1925.

ERASMUS. "Birthplace of the Emperor Severus Over 1000 Years Under Sand." *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld: 1864-1933). 28 Feb 1925.

"Lost Civilization, Romance of Archaeology." *Queensland Times* (Ipswich, Qld: 1909-1954). 16 June 1923.

"Cyrene in Libya a Great African City." *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld. : 1864-1933). 4 Jul 1925.

Magoffin, Ralph. "Buried Cities in North Africa." *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA: 1889-1931). 19 Oct 1929.

"Alexander's Tomb Search in Africa." *The Telegraph* (Brisbane, Qld. : 1872-1947). 19 Dec 1932.



"Italy as Empire Builder." *The Newcastle Sun* (NSW: 1918-1954). 4 May 1937.

"Il Duce in Libya." *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic. : 1848-1957). 18 Mar 1937.

"Duce Enters Tripoli." *The Sydney Morning Herald* (NSW: 1842-1954). 18 Mar 1937.

"Il Duce Contemplates Napoleon's Hat and Caesar's Empire." *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA: 1931-1954). 2 Oct 1937.

"W. A. Girls Praise Work of Italy in Abyssinia." *The Daily News* (Perth, WA : 1882-1950). 26 Feb 1937.

"The Emperor Augustus." *Tweed Daily* (Murwillumbah, NSW: 1914-1949). 30 Dec 1937.

"Italy in Libya." *The Australasian* (Melbourne, Vic. : 1864-1946). 2 Oct 1937.

Illustration: Englishman: "That's only a mirage I suppose."

"Italy in North Africa." *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic. : 1848-1957). 25 May 1937.

"Italy Importing Wheat from Libya." *News* (Adelaide, SA: 1923-1954). 16 Sep 1937.

Martelli, George. "Armed in Libya, Balbo's Genial Despotism." *The Age* (Melbourne, Vic. : 1854-1954). 23 Feb 1938.

"Life in Libya." *The Macleay Chronicle*. (Kempsey, NSW : 1899-1952). 5 Apr 1939.

"Graziani Hated by North African Natives, Shame on Italian Army." *The Daily Examiner* (Grafton, NSW: 1915-1954). 23 Jan 1941.

"Libya: Italy's Destiny." *The Daily News* (Perth, WA: 1882-1950). 27 Dec 1941.



"Our Kaffirs." *The Natal Witness and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser* (Pietermaritzburg, South Africa). 24 Mar 1868.

"The Lilienstein Diamond Mining Company." *The Journal*. 20 Oct 1880.

"Into Africa." *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco, California). 22 Oct 1890.

"Ruins in a Wild Land." *The Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois). 9 Nov 1890.

"Hunting for Gold." *Morning Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon). 28 Jul 1890.

"King Lobengula." *Boston Daily Advertiser* (Boston, Massachusetts). 22 Aug 1890.

"King Solomon's Mines." *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana). 17 Nov 1890.

"Speculation over Ruins." *The Atchison Champion* (Atchison, Kansas). 26 Nov 1890.

"African Antiquities." *The Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois). 12 Mar 1892.

"The Zimbabwe Ruins." *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin). 11 Dec 1892.

"Mashonaland." *The Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois). 3 Dec 1893..

"Rhodesia is Ophir." *The Galveston Daily News* (Houston, Texas). 13 Sept 1896.

"Mr. Holland on the Mines." *Bulawayo Chronicle*. 11 Nov 1897.

"Haggard's Latest." *Morning Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon). 6 Mar 1898.

"Natives and Liquor." *Buluwayo Chronicle* (Buluwayo, Zimbabwe). 10 Apr 1901.



"An Official Warning the Native Labor Agents." *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe). 13 Apr 1901.

"Native Pass Law." *Izwi Labantu* ((Ngolwesi-Bini). 13 Aug 1901.

"The Ancient Bushman." *Izwi Labantu* ((Ngolwesi-Bini). 13 Aug 1901.

"Caught on the Spot." *East African Standard, Mombasa Times and Uganda Argus* (Mombasa, Kenya). 12 Sept 1903

"A Confirmed Jail Breaker Captured." *East African Standard, Mombasa Times and Uganda Argus* (Mombasa, Kenya). 19 Sept 1903.

"Notes and Comments." *Ilanga Lase Natal* (Durban, South Africa). 21 Apr 1905.

"The Possibilities of Cotton Growing in B. E. A." *East African Standard, Mombasa Times and Uganda Argus* (Mombasa, Kenya). 22 Apr 1905.

"Native Labor Prevention of Desertion." *Buluwayo Chronicle* (Buluwayo, Zimbabwe). 22 Apr 1905.

"Cape to Cairo a Woman's Trek." *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa). 7 Apr 1909.

"The Zimbabwe Ruins." *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin). 11 Dec 1892.

"Rhodesia is Ophir." *The Galveston Daily News* (Houston, Texas). 13 Sept 1896.

"Matabeleland." *The Christian Express, South African Outlook* (Lovedale, South Africa). 1 Jul 1902.

"Labor Problem." *Buluwayo Chronicle* (Buluwayo, Zimbabwe). 10 Apr 1901.



"A Sensible Sentence." *East Africa Standard, Mombasa Times, and Uganda Argus* (Mombasa, Kenya). 19 Sep 1903.

"Mission Boy Uses His Knife." *East Africa Standard, Mombasa Times, and Uganda Argus* (Mombasa, Kenya). 19 Sep 1903.

Boardman. L. (letter to editor). "Letters Labor Recruiting." *Nyasaland Times* (Blantyre, Malawi). 10 Mar 1900.

"The Black Labor Question." *The Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe). 11 Jul 1899.

Johnston, H. "White and Black in Central Africa." *The Buluwayo Chronicle* (Buluwayo, Zimbabwe) 14 Jan 1898.

"Police Protection (?) Officers and Residents to Meet." *East African Standard, Mombasa Times, and Uganda Argus* (Mombasa, Kenya). 10 Mar 1903.

"Missions." *Nyasaland Times* (Blantyre, Malawi). 9 Dec 1899.

"Natives and Liquor." *Buluwayo Chronicle* (Buluwayo, Zimbabwe). 10 Apr 1901.

"Native Labor Satisfactory Recruiting." *The Central African Times* (Blantyre). 10 Dec 1904.

"The Morality Act." *The Central African Times* (Blantyre). 10 Dec 1904.

"The Livingston Mission." *The Central African Times* (Blantyre). 10 Dec 1904.

"The Great Zimbabwe." *The Central African Times* (Blantyre). 10 Dec 1904.

"Central South African Railways." *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa). 9 Apr 1908.



"Cape to Cairo a Woman's Trek." *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa). 21 Dec 1907.

"Zimbabwe Ruins Controversy." *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa). 7 Apr 1909

"Rhodesia Land for Settlers." *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa). 27 Sept 1910

"The Railways." *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe). 30 Jul 1914.

"The Zimbabwe Ruins a Plea for Their Antiquity." *The Beira News*. 14 Oct 1921.

#### **Websites:**

"South African War," [www.britannica.com/event/south-africa-war](http://www.britannica.com/event/south-africa-war). Last updated 2017. Accessed 3 Mar 2018.