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A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION  
OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN AFRICA



BRITAIN ACROSS THE SEAS

AFRICA

A

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE IN AFRICA

BY

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc.

Printed and Published by  
H. K. Lewis, Ltd., 10, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

LONDON  
NATIONAL SOCIETY'S DEPOSITORY  
19 GREAT PETER STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W. •

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### *Erratum*

The leader of the expedition to Benin described on p. 322 was Mr. J. R. Phillips, not Mr. E. O. Phillips. Seven other British members of the expedition besides Mr. Phillips were killed, and a Mr. Locke (as well as Captain Boisragon) escaped.



# PREFACE

AND

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IN view of the great developments of the British Empire in Africa since the commencement of the Twentieth Century, it was thought desirable by the National Society that a concise history of this racial enterprise should be published, which would not be too abstruse for young students (whose previous knowledge of Africa might be assumed to be elementary), nor yet too lacking in technical information to be of service to those who had left studenthood behind, but desired to learn rapidly 'how all these things came to pass' in this Continent of black, white, and yellow peoples. The book was to be written as far as possible without national or party bias.

How far I have accomplished these aims I must leave it to the fair-minded reader to decide. I have been left quite unfettered by the National Society, and the opinions herein expressed are my own, though I trust that they are coincident with the actual truth, so far as that truth can be realized whilst the nearer events of African history are not yet properly focussed by time.

It has seemed to me in my own revision of the

proofs, that here and there I may have given the impression that I reprobated the imperial enterprise of other European Powers in Africa: that while approving of the attempts of the British to keep open for their future advancement the road from Cape Colony to the Zambezi, I thought it reprehensible on the part of the Dutch States of South Africa to attempt to baulk such a scheme or to contemplate an alliance with the German Empire: that I cordially approved of a British Nigeria or Sudan, but not of a French Empire in these regions. Such were not my intentions: but as this book is mainly intended for students, for the use of the young men and women who will assist in framing the policy of the British Empire when the present generation of workers and politicians has passed into inactivity, I should like to make it quite clear that I have followed Thomas Carlyle's advice to 'clear myself of cant.' (But he and Huxley and Charles Kingsley so purged their minds of the national tendency to be hypocritical that they approved of, or did not condemn, the atrocities committed in Jamaica during the early 'sixties.) It is my personal opinion that on the whole the British have been more righteous in their dealings with the native races of Africa than have some other of their European rivals; but they do not hold the monopoly of virtue and disinterestedness. Who that has studied at first hand the present condition of Algeria, Tunis, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahome, French Nigeria, and Sudan, can refuse a meed of praise—of the heartiest—to the results of France's sacrifices and achievements in the cause of true civilization? Who, on the other hand, could fail to condemn the French

treatment of Western Congoland, based on the Leopoldian régime in the defunct Congo Independent State? And in this last, though the diatribes and criticisms of Mr. E. D. Morel are confirmed and justified by what has taken place, can any fair-minded witness deny that the Belgians have wrought much good elsewhere in the Congo basin, outside the area affected by the direct management of King Leopold II, or of several of his concessionnaire companies? The British record in Uganda in the early days, or in Zanzibar for a brief period, or in the far-back formation of the West African Colonies was not devoid of blame. Chicanery, combined with pitiful indecision, marred our South African Policy at intervals between 1806 and 1900, but these faults were accompanied by the noblest achievements in true Christianity, Science, Valour in warfare with men and beasts and with the Devil of unregenerate nature, and victories over these enemies which must make us proud of our national records. An impartial outsider cannot always defend the details or the whole of the 'native' policy of the Natal government, but is bound to bear in mind the main fact that the negro population of Natal and Zululand in 1843 was only about 220,000, and has since risen to not far short of 1,000,000; also to give the comparative handful of whites in that garden colony full credit for their amazing success in the development of their country's inherent resources, to the great profit and welfare of blacks, as well as yellows and whites.

Nor can one fail to agree that the Germans deserve well of the world's opinion for the way in which they have conducted scientific research, have maintained free trade, and have (ultimately) benefited the indigenous peoples of

Togoland, Cameroons, East Africa, and South-West Africa. Both in making and in writing history it is my humble opinion that we gain rather than lose by attempting to be just, and that whilst the parable of the Ten Talents is always to be borne in mind, we should equally take to heart the metaphor which bids us have scrupulous care for the flawless condition of our own vision before we concern ourselves too closely with our neighbour's eyesight.

The Society which publishes this book desired that it might be illustrated copiously by photographs of the scenes, the peoples and personalities referred to. I have been able to supply some of these illustrations from my own drawings and photographs, but for the remainder (as well as for verbal information) I am very much indebted to a number of friends and fellow-travellers in Africa, as well as to institutions like the Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Anthropological Institute. Among those to whom my thanks are specially due are the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, Capt. T. C. Hincks (Royal Berkshire Regiment), Mr. Leo Weinthal, F.R.G.S. (Editor of the *African World*), Capt. C. H. Foulkes, R.E., Mr. J. F. Cunningham (Secretary to the Uganda Administration), Col. H. G. C. Swayne, R.E. (formerly of Somaliland), the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey, F.R.G.S., Mr. Francis Harrison, F.R.G.S. (of the Natal Government Agency-General in London), Mr. C. L. Temple of the North Nigerian Administration, Capt. W. Stanley, a travelling commissioner in the Gambia Protectorate, the proprietors of *South Africa*, Major J. J. Lang, C.M.G., R.E., and Mrs. Arthur Foulkes (whose late husband was an official of the Gold Coast Colony).

H. H. JOHNSTON.

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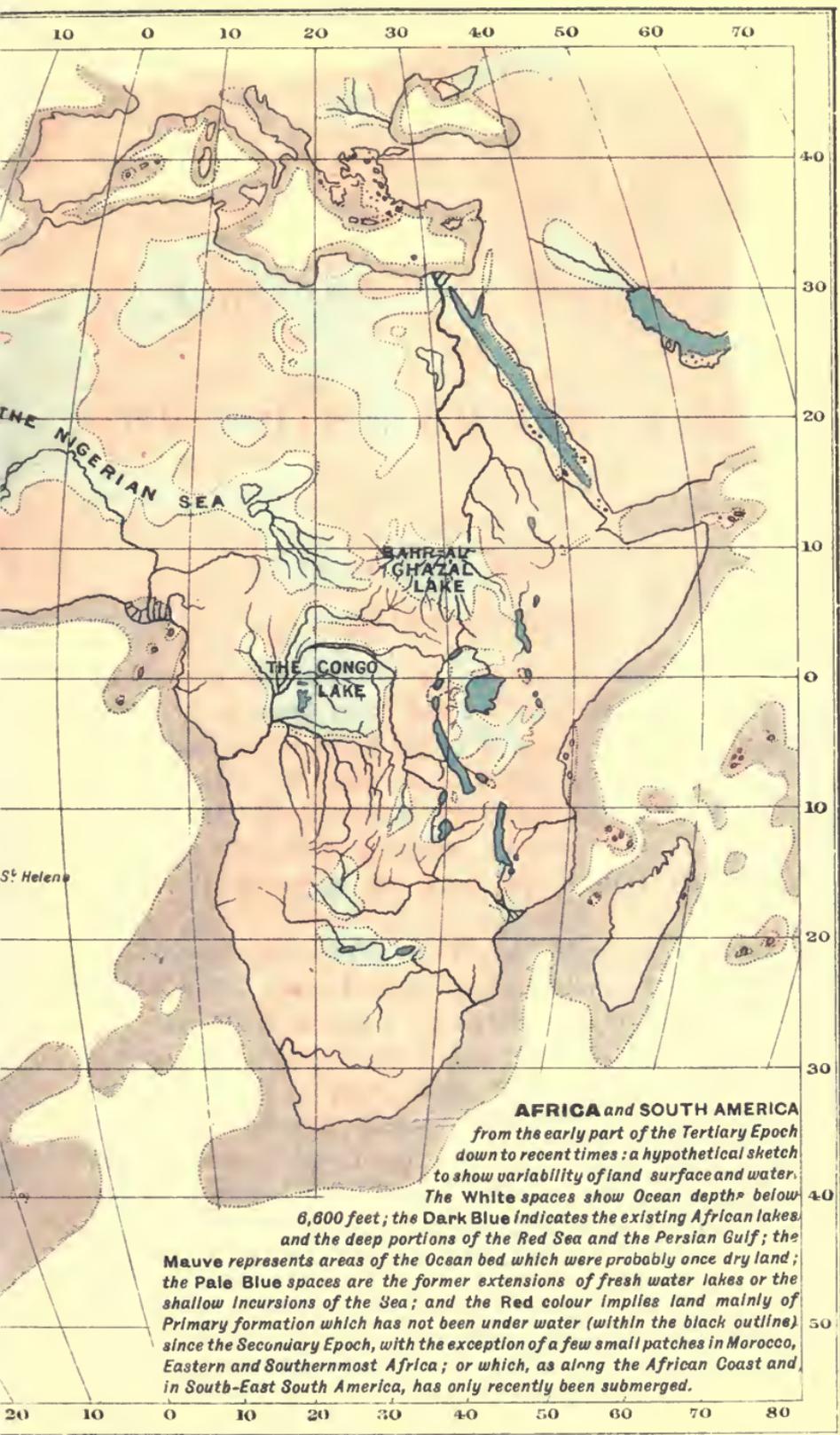
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A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION  
OF  
THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN AFRICA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

AFRICA is the second largest of the earth's five great divisions of land and has an area of about 11,280,000 or, including the great island of Madagascar, of 11,508,000 square miles. It comprises a larger amount of land-surface between the tropics than any other continent, and is consequently the hottest region of the globe. Only about one-fourth part of its area lies within the temperate zones.

The extreme north of Africa—Mauretania,<sup>1</sup> Cyrene or Barka, and Lower Egypt—really belongs more to Europe and the Mediterranean Basin than to true Africa. The human races and history, the animals and plants of the districts north of the Sahara Desert are closely allied to those of Southern Europe and Nearer Asia. Between Mediterranean Africa and the vast tropical regions farther south stretches the largest continuous area of sandy or stony desert in the world, called the Sahara in the west, and the Libyan and Nubian Deserts in the centre and east. This arid region is continued across Arabia to South-

<sup>1</sup> A convenient general term for the great Atlantean projection of North Africa, which includes Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Western Tripoli.

eastern Persia and Western India. In Africa there is but

one easy natural route across it—the valley of the Nile, which connects the Mediterranean coast with the well-watered equatorial belt.

South of the 18th degree of N. latitude, the desert gives way to a region of scrubby vegetation, and this about the 10th parallel—more or less—mellows into a beautiful park-like country. In the equatorial regions of Africa (except in the extreme east) there is dense, magnificent forest, nourished by an average rainfall of 80 inches per annum. This forest again merges into the typical park-lands farther south, covered with tree euphorbias, tall grass and herbage, and occasional clumps of palms and large trees. In South-east Africa these park-lands (with bamboos and forests on the mountains) change to a scrubby country on the chilly plateaus, and finally pass into the abundant vegetation of



Photo by Leo Weinfeld

THE GREAT LIBYAN DESERT ON THE WESTERN FRONTIERS OF EGYPT.

temperate South Africa. In South-western Africa, however, there is a small area of sandy, stony desert (usually called 'Kala-hari') which corresponds very markedly to the Sahara in the north, even in flora.

Of course, these districts of waterless desert, sparse vegetation, grassy plains and tall trees, splendid forests, are not arranged in parallel zones with uniform regularity. The direction of their limits trends rather from north-



*Photo by the late W. C. Palgrave*

A TYPICAL SCENE IN ARID SOUTH AFRICA, NEAR THE ORANGE RIVER :  
THE DRY BED OF A ONCE POWERFUL RIVER IN NAMAKWALAND

west to south-east. Thus, on the Atlantic coast of North Africa the Sahara Desert practically ceases at about  $20^{\circ}$  N. lat., yet comes as far south as  $15^{\circ}$  in Central and Eastern Africa. The scrub country covers much of Somaliland, east of Lake Rudolph, and descends on the eastern coast of Africa as far south as the Equator. The dense forests of the equatorial belt extend northwards up the West African coast to  $13^{\circ}$  N. lat., but on the Victoria Nyanza, scarcely reach as far north as the Equator, and barely attain to the coasts of the Indian Ocean, except on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The arid country of the South-west

African desert creeps in an ever narrowing band up the Angola coast as far north as the 14th degree of S. lat., but on the opposite coast of Africa, along the Indian Ocean, there is no arid region at all.

The dense forest area of Africa begins as a narrow coast belt south of the Gambia River, and follows the coast line of West Africa (Guinea) at a varying distance east-



*Photo by Col. H. G. C. Swayne*

THE ' THORN ' COUNTRY

(CHARACTERISTIC OF SOUTHERN BORDERS OF SAHARA DESERT ; SOMALLAND AND EAST AFRICA ; SOUTH AFRICA)

wards till it reaches the south bank of the Benue River, near its confluence with the Niger. Thence it extends south-eastwards to the 3rd degree of N. lat., and following this line (more or less) is arrested by the edge of the Nile watershed near Lake Albert. The Great Forest crosses the Semliki River and clothes the slopes of Ruwenzori. It occupies much of Buganda and Unyoro and the eastern coast-lands of the Victoria Nyanza. It reaches to the west coast of Tanganyika, the vicinity of Lake Mweru, the confluence of the Lualaba and the Luapula, and the line of the 7th degree of S. lat. in Western Congoland. There

are also isolated patches of 'West African' forest round Mount Kenya in East Africa, and in the islands of Pemba



*Photo by J. F. Cunningham*

THE PARKLANDS OF AFRICA

and Zanzibar, perhaps also in other parts of East Africa, such as the north-west shores of Lake Nyasa. Elsewhere in Africa there are thick woods with lofty trees, on the

Atlas and Aures mountains of Mauretania (the trees of which are quite different from those of tropical Africa, and are akin to the forest trees of Europe and Syria); on the slopes of most of the high mountains in Eastern, Western, and South-central Africa; at the sources and along the lower course of the Zambezi River; and, lastly, in the southern part of Cape Colony. Here (in Cape Colony) the forest differs from the tropical African flora, and is more akin in its relationships to that of Australia and sub-tropical South America. The Comoro Islands and the Seychelles and the western and northern parts of Madagascar are densely forested, and the trees are divided in relationship between those of tropical Africa, South America, and the Malay region.

The Sahara, the Libyan, and the Nubian deserts are by no means hopeless for human traffic, habitation, or the cultivation of food crops. In the west, north, and north-east there are vast tracks of shifting sand (made from rock crumbling under the alternations of heat and cold and rubbed into sand and dust by the wind) which, to some extent, represent the dry beds of ancient shallow seas; but there are also high tablelands and lofty mountains which attract and dissolve rain-clouds. There are many depressions (oases) where water is very near the surface or actually lies in shallow pools. The desert is traversed in some parts by broad, dry river valleys (called in Arabic, 'wed' or 'wadi'); and in these, water can often be obtained by digging. The climate, though very cold at night and fiercely hot by day, is not unhealthy. The same may be said about the Kalahari desert<sup>1</sup> in South-west Africa.

The African climate is, in fact, only naturally unhealthy to Europeans in the hot and moist regions of the dense West African forests; elsewhere, though sometimes very

<sup>1</sup> The name 'Kalahari' is said to be a corruption of *Kari Kari*, a Sechuana word meaning a pool of salt or brackish water; because this arid region of South-west Africa (which is most devoid of vegetation nearest the Atlantic coast) often contains pools of brackish water during the rainy season.

hot, it is not the *climate* which disagrees with the stranger, but the fact that he is liable to be poisoned by disease



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

CENTRAL AFRICAN SCENERY: A MOUNTAIN STREAM

germs introduced into his body (by blood-sucking insects or ticks acting as the agency) from the blood of the indigenous people. Yet the great average heat of Africa has no

doubt affected human energy in times past and caused it to be the most backward of the continents. But as in South America (with its long spine of the Andes and the highlands of Brazil, Guiana, and Venezuela), so also in Africa, there are mountainous districts and elevated tablelands, 3000 feet and more above sea level, with a temperate and delicious climate, even in the regions under the equator and between the tropics. Here, so far as climate is concerned, Europeans may live in perfect health and fully maintain their vigour. Such are the Nubian Alps, between Egypt and the Red Sea (where the mountains rise to altitudes of five to seven thousand feet); the mountains of Tibesti and Darfur (altitudes of eight and four thousand feet); the snow-crowned heights of Abyssinia (highest point, Mt. Simien, about 15,200 feet) and its considerable area of elevated tablelands, with many points above 10,000 feet in altitude; the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro, nearly 20,000 feet (19,430), highest of African mountains, and of Kenya (17,180 feet) in equatorial East Africa; the plateaus of Elgon, Nandi, Aberdare, and Kikuyu (6000 to 13,000 feet); Ruwenzori (16,815 feet), and the Bukonjo-Burega-Burundi highlands (5000 to 9000 feet) between the north-east of Lake Tanganyika and the west coast of Lake Albert (the snow-flecked active volcanoes of Mfumbiro, of between 13,000 and 14,000 feet, are in the same region); the mountains and tablelands round about Lake Nyasa (10,000 to 3000 feet); of Southern Rhodesia (5000 to 10,000 feet); Damaraland (5000 to 8000 feet); of the Benguela province of Angola (5000 to 9000 feet); the northern Cameroons (7000 to 4000 feet); of the upper Benue (Adamawa) (5000 to 8000 feet); the Cameroons volcanoes (13,360 to 6000 feet); the mountains of inner Liberia and French Guinea (4000 to 7000 feet); of Fernando Pô (10,000 feet); Saô Thomé (7000 feet); and of the Cape Verde Islands (3000 to 7000 feet).

There are also mighty mountains in North Africa—the Atlas and Aures, the more striking altitudes of which range from 14,600 to 6000 feet in the east, the higher

peaks of the Atlas in Morocco being snow-crowned with small glaciers. In the not far distant Canary Islands the volcanic snow-crowned cone of Tenerife rises to 12,000 feet above sea level, and in Grand Canary there are altitudes of over 6000 feet. And in South Africa there are the Cape Colony ranges (5000 to 8000 feet): the Kwathlamba-Drakensberg Mts. (8000 to 11,000 feet), and the Eastern



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

THE FOREST OF EQUATORIAL AFRICA

Transvaal Mts. (8000 feet), together with the 'high veld' (an average 5000 feet above sea level): all of which introduce into the sub-tropical regions of the torrid continent the invigorating influence of ice and snow.

Africa is still remarkable for its great lakes, though the largest of these, Victoria Nyanza—27,000 square miles in area—is not so large as Lake Superior in North America. There is a remarkable string of narrow lakes through the east centre of the continent—Nyasa, Tanganyika, Albert Edward, Albert Nyanza—which fill up, no doubt, the deepest holes in a great crack or rent in the rocks of

Africa's backbone. There is also Lake Chad—a mere couple of ponds to-day compared with its former extent—a sheet of water which was probably once part of the Niger Basin. And there are Lakes Mweru and Bangweulu at the Congo's sources, and Lake Leopold in the lowest part of the great inner Congo Basin. But these are small, indeed, compared with the vast, shallow, inland seas of the past, salt and fresh. There was once probably a continuous sea stretching from the basin of Lake Chad, across the valley of the upper Niger to the Atlantic. The north-central basin of the mighty Congo was formerly a large interior, fresh-water sea which eventually forced for itself an outlet through the Crystal Mountains into the South Atlantic. There was a similar but smaller sheet of water in the Bahr-al-ghazal<sup>1</sup> region of the western Nile basin; and the Victoria Nyanza joined its waters to those of Lakes Albert Edward and Albert Nyanza, on either side of the Ruwenzori range. There were also large lakes in South Africa and on the East African steppes; and, finally, the Mediterranean Sea once penetrated far into the northern Sahara, and into the Libyan Desert.

Very anciently—say at the beginning of the Tertiary epoch, three or four million years ago—Africa must have been connected with South America by temporary land bridges across the Atlantic (the principal one uniting S.W. Africa with Patagonia, and the other—or a chain of islands—connecting N.W. Africa with Brazil). And for a longer period and down to a later time (the early Miocene) the African continent was linked with Madagascar. It is necessary to presume this approximation or union of the continents in order to explain the strange affinities between the beasts, birds, reptiles, and other animals of Madagascar and those of South America, and between the birds, fish, insects, spiders, and plants of West Africa and Tropical America. The reason why the fauna of Madagascar resembles that of South America more closely than is the

<sup>1</sup> Bahr-al-ghazal means in Arabic 'River of Antelopes.' It is the junction of a number of great western affluents of the Nile.

case with the existing animal forms in the intervening continent of Africa, is probably that Africa was severed



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

MOUNTAIN SCENERY IN SOUTH-CENTRAL AFRICA

THE PEAKS AND 'CEDARS' ON MT. MLANJE

from Madagascar in the early Miocene period before the main continent became the home of the many modern

types of beast and bird which entered it from the Mediterranean basin of Arabia. Madagascar being then cut off from Africa by a strait of water, retained the old-fashioned Eocene mammalian types of lemurs and archæolemurs,<sup>1</sup> civets, tenrecs,<sup>2</sup> boa snakes, &c., which once spread right across Africa to the South American continent. These creatures—most of them—died out in Africa itself (or changed into more perfected forms) under the rivalry of the new types coming in from the north.

At the time when Africa and South America were joined by some vanished isthmus in the southern sea, or by chains of islands, large and small, South America was also connected with the now frozen continent of Antarctica, and that again with Australia and to some extent with New Zealand. This theory—based on the shallowness of the intervening seas—is put forward to explain the relationships between the flora, insects, spiders, &c., of southernmost temperate South Africa (Cape Colony) and those of Australia.

Africa, in fact, is like a wonderful museum to illustrate the past conditions of life which have existed in our own country, and in Southern and Western Europe. In Madagascar we have still living lemurs or 'half apes,' which in very similar forms are found fossil in France and Britain dating from early Tertiary (Eocene) times; in West Africa we find beasts and birds characteristic of France and Southern Germany in the Miocene; in the rest of Tropical Africa is now the marvellous vanished fauna of Europe and Western Asia in the Pliocene and Pleistocene. In Mauretania linger lions, leopards, hyenas, gazelles, porcupines, genets, and ichneumons, once found in Greece and the Balkan Peninsula, in Italy and Spain at the beginning of the Historical period.

<sup>1</sup> The archæolemurs have recently been discovered fossil in Madagascar. They were forms to some extent intermediate between lemurs, American monkeys or old-world monkeys.

<sup>2</sup> Tenrecs are insectivorous mammals, like hedgehogs in outward appearance but with a much more generalized type of dentition. Their nearest living allies (seemingly) are found in Cuba and Haiti.

And with mankind in Africa it is the same thing. In Morocco and Tunisia we have the life and customs of the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages; in Egypt (away from European civilization) the continuation of Biblical times; in many parts of the Sudan, East, West, and South Africa we find a Neolithic type of culture, of dwellings, arms, ornaments characteristic of Europe five to ten thousand



*Photo by the expedition of H.R.H. the Duke of the Abruzzi*

THE HIGHEST PEAKS OF RUWENZORI RANGE

years ago; and, lastly, in the life of the Bushmen and of the Congo pygmies we find almost exactly reproduced the existence of our Palæolithic cave-dwelling ancestors in France and Britain at that remote period when only rude implements of wood, stone, and bone had been invented.

During the Pliocene and Pleistocene periods of that wonderful Tertiary epoch in the earth's history—the Age of Mammals—Mediterranean Africa had developed or had received from Europe and Asia the magnificent fauna which makes the tropical regions of this continent the world's great wonderland in Natural History at the present day. Various causes—the cold breath of the Ice Ages, the attacks of Neolithic Man, the increased drought, and lack of water

and vegetation—drove this medley of beasts out of Mauretania, Egypt, and Libya into the recesses of Tropical Africa, where they now remain: giraffes and okapis; buffaloes, elands, and bushbucks; antelopes innumerable; wart-hogs, forest-pigs, and bush-pigs; hippopotami; rhinoceroses, zebras, and asses; elephants and hyraxes; the manis and ant-bear edentates; lions, leopards, cheetahs, and lynxes; hyenas, jackals, and hunting-dogs; monkeys, baboons, and great apes.

Man followed hard on the retreating beasts. He came perhaps first to Mauretania—at a most remote period—and came in a form so primitive as scarcely to belong definitely to any of the specialized human races of the present day. The first human settlers in North Africa may have been of that brutal type known as Neanderthaloid,<sup>1</sup> of which examples have been discovered fossil in France and Germany—a type of which the black Australian is the nearest living representative at the present day. Then there came the dark-haired white man of the Mediterranean (Iberian, Berber, Libyan). Whether any negroid race ever originally inhabited Mauretania (before modern times) is as yet unknown. Remains have been found in Southern France and in Italy of a very remote human period which strongly suggest Negro affinities; otherwise all the evidence available associates the ancient distribution of the Negro in the Western world entirely with Tropical Africa and Egypt.

The Negro sub-species of humanity may have originated in Western Asia or India, and thence have spread eastwards to the Malay Peninsula, the Andaman Islands, the Malay Archipelago and Philippines, Eastern Australia, New Guinea, Tasmania, Fiji, and the New Hebrides; while westwards the range extended across Arabia into Tropical Africa and Egypt.

The Comoro Islands and Western Madagascar were also, to some degree, colonised by Negroes, who in the

<sup>1</sup> Named after the Neanderthal in Rhenish Germany, where the first remains of this type were discovered. See Note A at end of chapter.

last-named island mingled with the Polynesian invaders from Sumatra, and adopted their Malay-like language.



*From a drawing published by the Congo Museum at Tervuren*  
THE OKAPI (*OKAPIA JOHNSTONI*)

The African Negroes of modern times are divided into two very distinct groups:<sup>1</sup> the True Negro and the Bushman. With the last named is associated the Hottentot, who

<sup>1</sup> See Note B at end of chapter.

seems to be the result of an old hybrid between the tall, dark-skinned Negro and the short, pale-skinned Bushman.



*Photo by the late W. C. Palgrave*

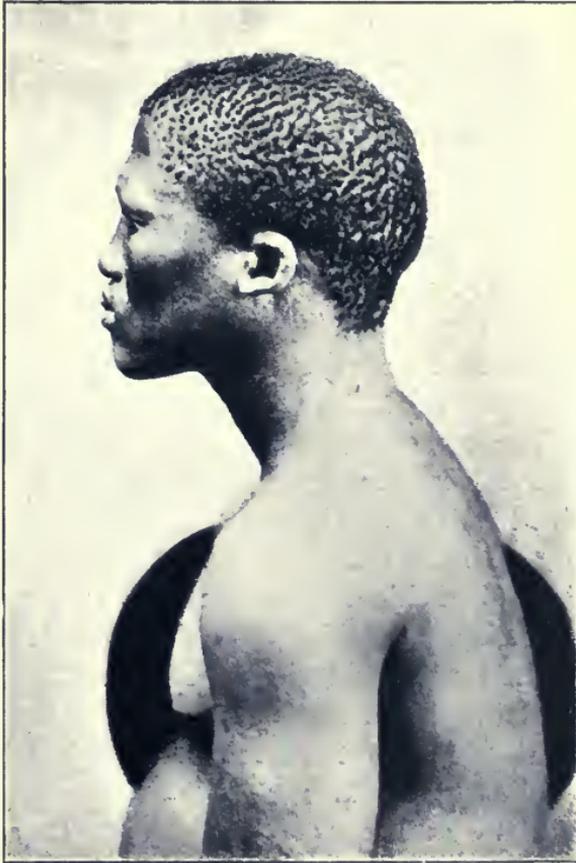
A BERG-DAMARA, OR HAUKWOIN WOMAN

THE BLACK BERG-DAMARA TRIBE IN THE MOUNTAINS OF DAMARALAND IS SOMEWHAT LIKE THE FOREST NEGROES OF THE NORTH. IT REPRESENTS A PRIMITIVE FORM OF NEGRO ALLIED TO THE CONGO PYGMY TYPE

The Congo Pygmies of the Equatorial Forest Belt are True Negroes, but of a very primitive type which has probably degenerated into dwarfishness by living in the dense forests.

Tropical Africa, when first invaded by the Negro from

the north-east, was still (it may be assumed) a good deal cut off from the Mediterranean regions by deserts and shallow seas. West of Somaliland and south of the 10th degree of north latitude the way into inner Africa was



*From a photograph lent by the Royal Anthropological Institute*

A BUSHMAN OF CAPE COLONY

barred by tremendous forests, of which that of Stanley's 'Darkest Africa' is a vestige and an example. Consequently the two main streams of early Negro migration seem to have been due west across the continent from Ethiopia and the Nile to Senegambia; and southwards through the less-heavily-forested East Africa to the southern extremity beyond the Zambezi.

The first route seems to have been followed by the True

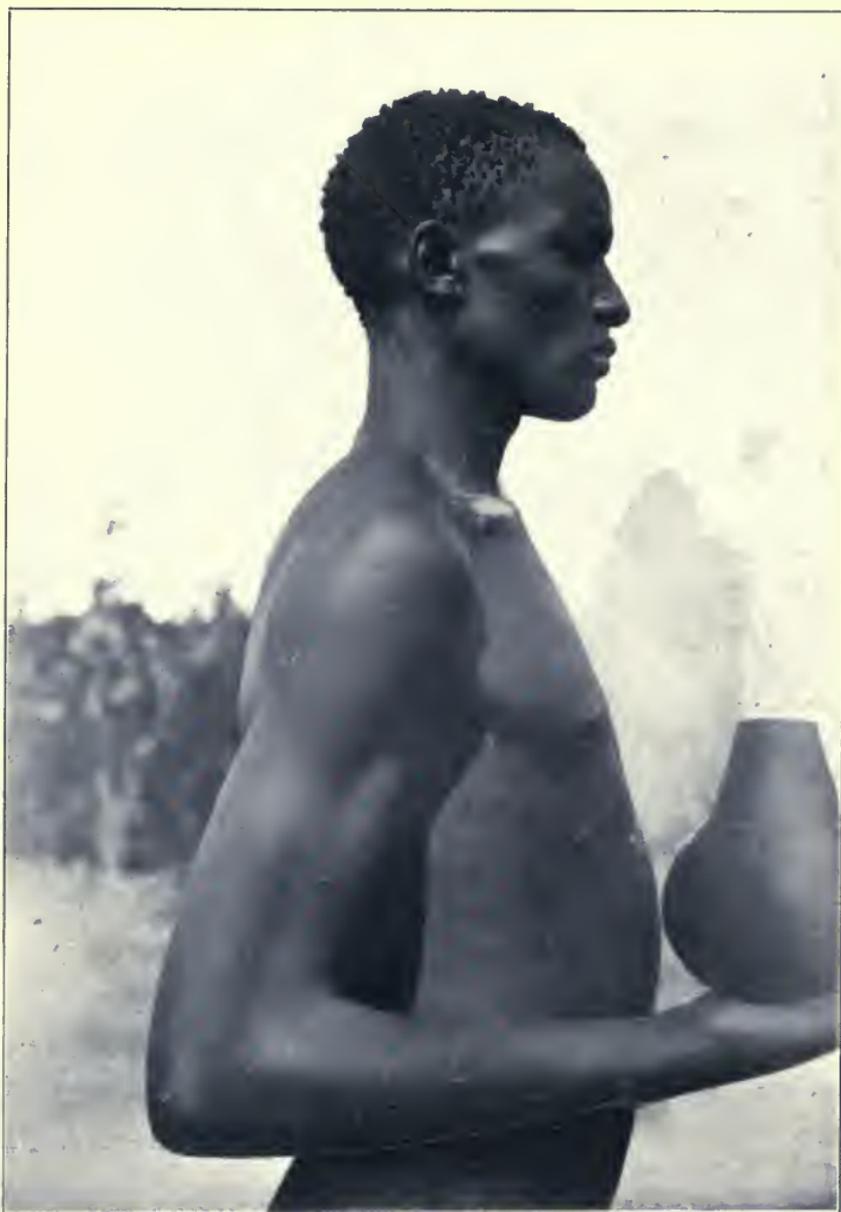
Negro (who afterwards occupied the Atlantic coasts and permeated the Congo basin); and the second by the Bushman type, who was followed up by the Nilotic and Bantu Negroes. These—perhaps the Nilotic tribes—produced with the Bushman in South-eastern Africa a hybrid race, to be afterwards known as the ‘Hottentots’;<sup>1</sup> but apparently for some unknown reason the greater part of South Africa remained very sparsely populated down to two or three thousand years ago, before it was invaded by Bantu tribes who were the ancestors of the modern Bechuana (Basuto), Bakaranga, Mashangane, Vatua, Baronga, and Zulu-Kaffir.

About ten thousand years ago (at a guess) a Caucasian race allied to the modern Libyans and Syrians took possession of the lower Nile valley, supplanting and absorbing the indigenes, a dwarfish folk like the Congo pygmies or the Bushmen. These ancestors of the great Egyptian people, together with allied tribes coming from North Africa and Arabia, pressed down on Negro Africa, mingling freely by intermarriage with the black and brown folk, to whom they imparted their Neolithic civilization. The pressure of the intrusive Caucasians gradually drove the pure-blooded Negro peoples into the more equatorial regions of Africa, and even impelled them away from the eastern prolongation of Africa (Somali- and Gala-land) towards the Congo Basin, Lake Chad, Nigeria, and Guinea.

But, for some reason not very clear to us as yet, the south-eastern extremity of the continent beyond the Zambezi remained, down to fifteen hundred or two thousand years ago, less thickly populated by true Negroes than the great belt between the tropics. Below the latitude of the Zambezi mouth the indigenous tribes seem to have belonged mainly to the Bushman or Hottentot type. But about two thousand years ago the great Bantu migrations began. We do not yet know the position of the original home of the

<sup>1</sup> This name—perhaps a cant Dutch term for ‘stammerer’—was first applied to them by the Dutch pioneer settlers at the Cape in the seventeenth century.

people who had developed the mother tongue of this re-



*Photo by J. F. Cunningham*

A MUHIMA OF THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE

markable group of languages, but there are many indications that it lay somewhere in the south-western basin of the

Nile, possibly in the southern part of the Bahr-al-Ghazal



*Photo by the late W. C. Palgrave*

A HOTTENTOT MAN

JAN JONKHEER

Province. Once started off on their great career of conquest,<sup>1</sup> the Bantu peoples—consisting possibly of an

<sup>1</sup> See Note D. The conquest was no doubt facilitated by the possession of copper and iron weapons, with which they attacked the aborigines still in the Stone Age.

aristocracy like the modern Hima or Fula type of Equatorial and Western Africa and of great servile hordes of



*Photo by Capt. W. Stanley*

THE FULA TYPE  
WEST AFRICA

forest and Nilotic Negroes—rushed across the northern basin of the Congo to the Atlantic coast, to the Cameroons and Fernando Pô, and, perhaps simultaneously, conquered

and occupied the region of the Great Lakes—Victoria and Albert Nyanzas, Tanganyika, Nyasa, Bangweulu, and Mweru. They penetrated to the coast of the Indian Ocean somewhere opposite Zanzibar, and after occupying that island, spread northwards up the east coast till they were checked by the Galas or Somalis on the Tana River. South of Zanzibar all the coast regions became theirs down to Natal and the eastern part of Cape Colony, though there remained a few non-Bantu tribes which still exist in German East Africa between Tanganyika and the coast. Bantu Negroes seem to have crossed over about twelve hundred years ago to the Comoro Islands and Madagascar, and were possibly transferred there later as slaves. By about the seventeenth century A.D. they had occupied nearly all the Congo Basin, Angola, and Damaraland. When Europeans first visited and explored Southern (trans-Zambezi) Africa, the big, dark-skinned Negroes, in the form of Bechuana, Bakaranga (Makalaka, Mashona), Zulu, and allied tribes, dominated this region, except in the south-west. The Hottentots and Bushmen still remained the only people inhabiting the greater part of Cape Colony and the coast regions of what is now German South-west Africa. Bushmen and a mysterious outcast race now known as ‘Vaalpens’<sup>1</sup> must also have been amongst the inhabitants of Natal and the Transvaal.

Though we have not as yet absolute, definite proof in all particulars, there is a great mass of recently collected evidence which goes to show that onwards from about a thousand years before Christ the intelligent Arabs of Southern and South-west Arabia had begun to interest themselves greatly in East Africa, more especially seeking for gold. Although Arabia was then, as now (away from the coast mountains), a stony, sandy, unpromising country, it had produced a great development of civilized man—the Semitic group of peoples, of which the Arab, Hebrew, Phœnician, Ethiopian (Abyssinian), and Assyrian were members. The great Semitic family of languages, which

<sup>1</sup> See p. 41.

possibly received its special development somewhere between Asia Minor and Arabia, is distantly but distinctly related in origin to the Libyan, Egyptian, and Hamitic groups. The Semites, we believe, some two thousand years before Christ (if not earlier) began to exercise a potent influence on the people and country of Egypt. Somewhere about a thousand years B.C. they had conquered the highlands of Abyssinia, and had obtained a foothold in Northern Somaliland, and this was the period, no doubt, at which they commenced their journeys of exploration from the great trading cities of Yaman, Aden, and the Hadhramaut along the east coast of Africa. They



AN ARAB SHEIKH  
(LOWER EGYPT)

must have made an emporium of Zanzibar, and possibly they occupied the little island of Moçambique. They certainly obtained a foothold on the northern delta of the Zambezi, and at Sofala on the South-east African coast. Their explorations into the interior of equatorial East Africa seem to have been early arrested, either by the hostility of the Negroes or because of the density of the forests then existing. Perhaps, also, they were not tempted in that direction because there were no

indications of gold. But some strange instinct led them to explore the regions in the basin of the Zambezi, and between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers. Here they found gold in the alluvium of rivers and embedded in the rock, and here they must have built those strange stone cities and fortifications, first revealed to our knowledge by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, but only seriously studied from about twenty years ago.

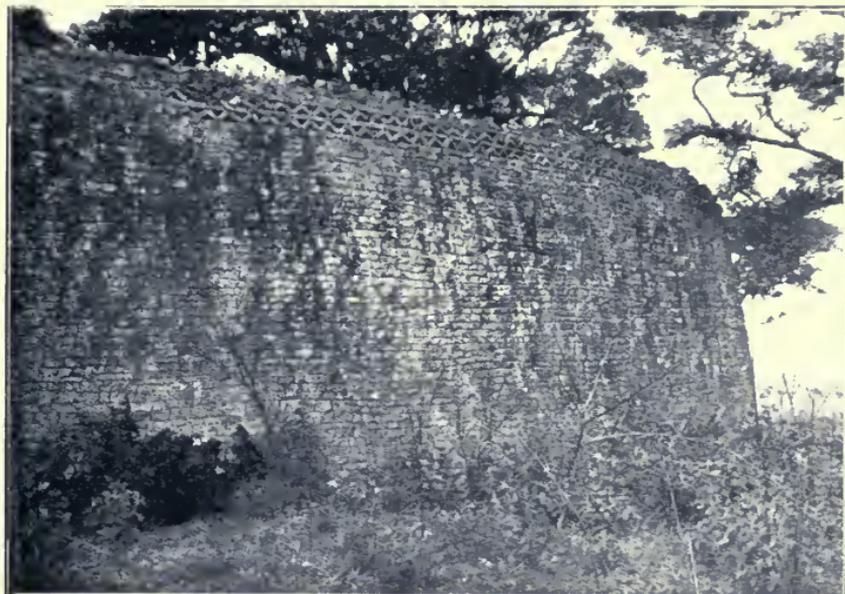
In these directions of East Africa probably lay the 'land of Ophir,'<sup>1</sup> which is mentioned in the Bible in connection with the enterprise of Solomon. Solomon, the great Hebrew king, probably ruled down to the Gulf of Akabah and the Red Sea, and tradition has it that he intermarried with the Queen of Sheba (Saba), who was, no doubt, a princess of one of those Arab commercial centres of activity on the coast of South-western Arabia. From the Arab depôts here, and eastwards of Aden, Solomon's ships possibly procured not only the gold from South-east Africa and the baboons or monkeys (the 'apes' of the Bible), but the incense and ivory of Somaliland and the peacocks of India: for the Arabs of that period had not only opened up to the knowledge of the white man the utterly savage regions of East Africa, but the already highly civilized states of Western India.

It is a curious fact that coins of the Maccabees, dating from more than a hundred years B.C., have recently been found in Natal and Zululand, an evidence possibly that Jewish indirect trade with East Africa was kept up almost down to the time of Christ.

Something—we may infer—occurred to slacken pre-Islamic Arabian intercourse with East Africa between A.D. 100 and 600 approximately. It was most likely the great Bantu invasion of Eastern and Southern Africa. The Arabs of those ancient days had, no doubt, found it easy enough to cope with the East African nomad and pastoral

<sup>1</sup> Though the actual name 'Ophir' was probably applied by the Hebrew writers to a coast city in Southern Arabia, which was a great centre of the East African trade.

tribes and the feeble Hottentots and Bushmen; but they met with a very different problem when they battled with the hordes of Bantu Negroes, akin in type to the modern Zulu.<sup>1</sup> So they seem to have abandoned their great stone cities of modern Rhodesia and Zambezia, and to have retreated to a few footholds on the coast. Even these last



*Photo by R. Hall*

THE ANCIENT RUINS OF RHODESIA

SOUTH-EAST WALL OF ELLIPTICAL TEMPLE AT ZIMBABWE SHOWING 'CHEVRON' OR HERRING-BONE PATTERN ALONG THE TOP. MR. R. HALL AND EARLIER EXPLORERS HAVE ASSOCIATED THE OLDER AND MORE ELABORATE STONE BUILDINGS FOUND ALL OVER SOUTHERN RHODESIA WITH PREHISTORIC ARAB SETTLERS

may have been surrendered for a time when the up-rising of the Muhammadan religion turned all the thoughts and ambitions of Arabia to the conquest of the Greek and Roman world. But from about 900 A.D. onwards the Arabs—whose marvellous impulse, fusing with that of the very similar Libyan tribes of North Africa and the Sahara Desert, had already carried them from Morocco southwards along the Atlantic coast to the mouth of the Senegal—

<sup>1</sup> In fact, the Arabs and Arabized Moors only recovered their superiority over the African indigenes when they took to the use of horses in the Northern Sudan (say 900 A.D.) and firearms in Eastern Africa (from the eighteenth century).

reappeared in force on the East African coast. They occupied various posts on the littoral of Southern Somaliland; Lamu (where there was also a Persian colony), Malindi, Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Kilwa became their principal depôts in the equatorial regions. South of the Ruvuma River they occupied Ibo, Moçambique, Angoshe, Quelimane, and Sofala. They may have penetrated inland once more to the deserted cities of pre-Islamic days, but it seems more probable that the working of the gold was left to the Bantu-speaking barbarians, who, on the ruins of the ancient Arab dominions, had built up a negro empire, subsequently to be known as that of Monomotapa.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient Egyptians, as we style them in contradistinction to the present peoples of Egypt (who since the eighth century speak mainly the Arabic language and profess the Muhammadan religion), possibly began to settle in the lower Nile valley about ten thousand years ago. According to their own traditions they came from a land of 'Punt,' the traditional description of which suggests very strongly Somaliland, though it is to a certain extent also applicable to South-western Arabia. In some respects they were more allied in language to the Libyan peoples of the west, but this arises partly from the subsequent repeated invasions of Egypt by Libyan tribes; and the Semitic affinities of the ancient Egyptian language suggest that the speech may have been a very early offshoot of the parent stock, which eventually split up into the more modern types of distinct Semitic, Libyan, and Hamitic languages. It is of course possible that as far back as ten thousand years ago—more or less—the land and water conditions of modern Egypt may have been very different. There was probably no habitable region in the delta of the Nile, then no doubt covered by the Mediterranean; and

<sup>1</sup> This may be a Portuguese corruption of words in one of the Nyanja dialects of the Lower Zambezi—*Mwene mutapa* = Lord (or master) of the Mine: but it can also be derived from the Chiswina (Mashona) words *Munu mutapa* = the man (who is) a destroyer, ravager, conqueror. This, perhaps, is the most probable derivation.

the Mediterranean may have still filled up a good deal of the Libyan Desert, reducing Cyrenaica and the north-westernmost portion of Egypt to large islands. It is



EGYPTIAN FELLAHIN

possible also at the same time that the Red Sea communicated with the Mediterranean across the Isthmus of Suez, while on the other hand there was still a narrow isthmus of dry land in what are now the Straits of Bab-al-Mandeb. So it is conceivable that the vague legends of ancient Egypt are correct, and that the ancestors of

the ancient Egyptians—Caucasian people allied in stock to the dark-haired, white-skinned peoples of Arabia and the Mediterranean—really did enter North-east Africa from Southern Arabia, and worked their way, at any rate in their main branch, north-westwards into the valley and down the valley of the Nile, which then entered the Mediterranean Sea somewhere about the site of Cairo. As the sea retreated (there had been many past fluctuations of sea and land in the Libyan Desert and the Eastern Mediterranean) the Egyptians occupied the growing delta and got into close touch with their Libyan kinsmen of common ‘Mediterranean’ race on the west. Once established in Egypt this people developed the Neolithic<sup>1</sup> civilization they had brought with them from their original home to a wonderful extent, equal perhaps to the independent and parallel evolutions of the human mind which were occurring in Crete and Mesopotamia.

Other branches of the Egyptian or allied Hamitic tribes colonized the highlands of Abyssinia, Somaliland, and Galaland, and penetrated far into equatorial Africa and the Nile valley, creating by intermixture the stock of the Nilotic Negro, and later on supplying those remarkable aristocracies of equatorial Africa which are typified by the Hima caste of Western Uganda. Egyptian civilization penetrated far and wide through Negro Africa. It may indeed have been almost instrumental in saving the Negro and the Bushman from relapsing into such a beast-like condition of life that, if much longer pursued, it might have cut off this great division of the human race from complete community with us in all the attributes of humanity. From ancient Egypt the Negro and the negroid derived all the domestic animals and cultivated plants which he knew and made use of (except perhaps the dog), down to the coming

<sup>1</sup> ‘Neolithic’ means of the new or improved stone age. ‘Palæolithic’ is the term applied to the old stone age, through which most races of man have passed, an early phase of human life in which the stones used as implements were very crudely shaped. By means of chipping, grinding, and boring, the more intelligent races of Europe and Asia manufactured greatly improved weapons, tools, and ornaments out of flint and other stones, and thus quickly obtained a superiority over the more backward tribes.

of the modern Arabs and Portuguese. From Egypt there



*Photo by Col. H. G. C. Swayne*

HAMITES

SOMALIS OF CAUCASIAN AND NEGROID TYPES : INTERIOR OF BRITISH SOMALILAND

gradually spread through Negro Africa religious beliefs. the use first of stone and then of metal weapons, musical

instruments, the art of weaving, and possibly of canoe making or boat building.

The Libyans of North Africa were a Mediterranean people, related not only to the ancestors of the Canaanites, Semites, and Egyptians, and of most of the dark-haired, white-skinned peoples of Nearer Asia, Southern, Central, and Western Europe; but even to the pre-Keltic inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland. The Libyans still subsist, but little mixed with Arab blood, as the tribes of Southern and North-western Tunis, of Algeria, Morocco, and the Atlantic coast as far southwards as the Senegal River. Perhaps their most noteworthy modern section is found in the so-called 'Touaregs' of the Sahara Desert. They also extend in detached colonies as far east as the Siwa oasis of Northern Egypt.

These Libyan peoples by degrees found their way across the Sahara Desert to the valley of the Upper Niger and the basin of Lake Chad. One of the earliest results (no doubt) of their mingling with the savage Negroes and dwarfs whom they found in those regions was the remarkable Fula race, which is dotted all over Nigeria, from the west to the extreme east. Another evidence of their intervention is the Hausa language, spoken by about fifteen millions of people in Central Nigeria. But it is doubtful otherwise whether the Libyan element of North Africa had anything like the same effect on the Negro as was wrought by Egyptian culture. A good deal of Libyan or Moorish influence has been exercised on the Negroes of West Africa only since the conversion of the North African peoples to Muhammadanism, and through its association with Arab impulses of conquest across the great desert into the Sudan.

The Libyans—or Berbers, as they were called by the early Greeks—of North Africa were themselves much affected by early Mediterranean civilization, and mostly by the settlement on the North African coast of Phœnician colonists, between about (?) 1200 B.C. and the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C. The Phœnicians were a Semitic tribe, closely allied to the Hebrew stock, which originated in the vicinity

of the Persian Gulf, and spread across Arabia to the Syrian coast, halting traditionally for some time on the Dead Sea



*Photo by Capt. C. H. Foulkes, R.E.*

A LIBYAN TYPE

ASBENAWA TUAREG OF THE SAHARA DESERT: WEARING FACE VEIL

and the Gulf of Akabah. Their head quarters were at Tyre and Sidon. The Greeks called them Phœnikoi; the Romans, Pœni or Punici. The Greek word means the 'red' people. Their own name seems to have been Khna or

Kina'an (Canaan). They had close commercial and political relations with the early civilized Arabs of South-western and Southern Arabia, and with the rulers of Egypt. It would seem now, from recently discovered Egyptian records, that the circumnavigation of Africa by Phœnician captains was no mere myth, but that it probably occurred at the instance of the Egyptian king, Pharaoh-Necho, somewhere about 611–605 B.C. Long prior to this, however, the Phœnicians had traversed the Mediterranean with their ships, passed out through the Straits of Gibraltar, and coasted Portugal and Spain. In the sixth century B.C. they visited the Scilly Islands, Cornwall, the Isle of Wight, and the Channel Islands for purposes of trade. It is conceivable that they may still have found the dominant race in Southern Britain to be—at any rate in Cornwall—of that Iberian stock which was practically identical with the Berbers of North Africa and the Aborigines of Spain and Sardinia, and that their acquaintance with the Mediterranean peoples enabled them thus to enter more easily into trade relations with these dark-haired Britons, soon to be conquered and modified by the yellow- or red-haired Aryan Kelts.

The Phœnicians had founded the town of Lixus on the Atlantic coast of Morocco about 1200 B.C., and Utica, in the north of Tunis, in B.C. 1101. The great Carthage (Karthada) first came into existence somewhere about B.C. 820. According to the stories collected and perpetuated by Greek and Roman geographers, the Carthaginians had established trading posts or small colonies all along the coast of Morocco to the verge of the Sahara Desert by the sixth century B.C., but many of these were destroyed in that period by an invasion of Libyan nomads and negroïds. After these colonies had been re-established, a trading depôt was created on the little island of Kerne (the modern Herne), off the coast of the desert inlet known as Rio de Oro. Kerne became for some years their principal emporium, and from here—if we may believe the remarkable story of Hanno's voyages about the year 520 B.C.—

they started out to explore West Africa, penetrating as far south as the western frontier of modern Liberia. From this region they brought back man-like apes, to which they gave the name of 'gorilla.' (These were probably the large chimpanzees still existing in that region—the border-land between Sierra Leone and Liberia.)

The influence of that wonderful civilized race in Crete (the Mykenæan) which preceded the earlier Greeks, the Greek civilization itself, and the trading enterprise of the Carthaginians, no doubt caused, through the kindred Libyan peoples, some faint impulse of Mediterranean civilization to reach the utterly savage regions of Negro Africa, in addition to the work already accomplished by the Egyptians and the early Arabs.

The Romans next took up the tale, when they had made themselves masters of Carthage, Tripoli, the Cyrenaica, and Egypt. Roman generals, aided by Libyan allies, seem to have almost crossed the Sahara Desert from Tripoli to the vicinity of Lake Chad. The Romans also explored the Nile up-stream as far south as the great marshes of the Bahr-al-Ghazal. The Greek and Byzantine Empires of Egypt and Constantinople had carried European civilization into Abyssinia, and possibly in friendly conjunction with the Arabs along the east coast of Africa; and Greek travelers had heard of the lake sources of the Nile, and the snowy mountains of Kilimanjaro and Ruwenzori—the 'Mountains of the Moon.'

Then came the crash of Islam, that terrible Arab uprising against Greek Christianity which devastated so much of the polished Roman world, and together with the descent of the Germans from the north, arrested and almost ruined the intellectual progress of the Mediterranean countries. But the Arabs and their subject races of Syrians, Egyptians, Libyans, Persians, and Turks had absorbed a great deal of Greek and Latin culture. One feature about them of cardinal importance was, that before the bigoted fanaticism and ignorance resulting from Muhammad's teaching had warped the Arab mind, they already possessed a literature, a highly

developed language, and a writing of their own. The dogged valour of Europe, and the dead weight of hundreds of millions of Hindus and Buddhists, threw them back on Africa as a field for easy conquests, where they might obtain thousands of slaves, and enormous supplies of raw materials for their commerce and manufactures. The Islamized Arabs overran and conquered (more or less) the northern half of Africa from Somaliland westwards across the valley of the White Nile, the basin of Lake Chad, the Upper Niger, to the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Senegal. Practically all Africa north of this line (say  $12^{\circ}$  N. lat.) became subject to their influence and control between the eighth and fourteenth centuries. When through their own advance in civilization in Spain, Sicily and Syria they were once more brought into touch with the civilized world of Christendom, they imparted to inquiring Christians the secrets of inner Africa; they gave them news of the wonderful Niger River and the gold-bearing regions near its sources, of the Senegal with its crocodiles and hippopotami, Lake Chad, and the well-watered regions lying to the south of the Sahara Desert. They told of the Congo Pygmies (which then, no doubt, were found as far north as the Bahr-al-Ghazal), and the Nile lakes and marshes, of the snow Mountains of the Moon, of people with immense pendulous lobes to their ears (still existing in East Africa), of dog-faced monkeys, giraffes, zebras, and oryxes,<sup>1</sup> even of the giant birds of Madagascar (now extinct). For the Muhammadan Arabs had also discovered and partially colonized the northern coasts of Madagascar and the Comoro Islands.

This revelation of the wonders of Africa, of its gold, its possibilities in the way of docile slaves, its spices, gums, and ivory, excited the imaginations of the Normans of Dieppe, of the enterprising Provençal people of Majorca, of the Genoese, the Venetians, and lastly of the Portuguese; so

<sup>1</sup> One or other of the straight-horned types of *Oryx* antelope from Arabia or North-eastern Africa was the principal origin of the unicorn myth. Seen in profile, the long, straight horns of these antelopes (which have a very horse-like build, a mane, and a tasselled tail) appear very like a single horn growing from the forehead.

much so that from the thirteenth century onwards the mariners of Western and Mediterranean Europe were attempting to sail south-west of Portugal to reach this marvellous land of the 'Black Moors.' Thus by 1400 A.D. Italian and Majorcan adventurers had discovered the Azores.



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

THE CAPE ORYX OR GEMSBOK

NEARLY ALLIED TO THE BEISA ORYX WHICH SUGGESTED THE UNICORN

Madeira, and the Canary Islands (these last known to Greek geographers from the Phœnician voyages), the Dieppois had possibly anticipated the Portuguese in reaching the Senegal River, and even the Gold Coast of West Africa: while in the fifteenth century the Portuguese, under the impulsion of a half-English prince—Henry the Navigator—had distanced all competitors, had definitely mapped the coast of Africa from Morocco to the Cameroons. Cameroons

to the Congo, Congo to the Cape of Good Hope, and then lastly, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had circumnavigated Africa to Cape Guardafui and the coast lands of Abyssinia.

The Portuguese were specially attracted to Africa by the idea of discovering the gold mines of Guinea, and of obtaining a supply of 'Black Moors' (as Negroes were then called), who would be more docile servants than the Moorish people of their own complexion.

The change which the Portuguese wrought in the history of Africa was most momentous. For the first hundred years of their discoveries—from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century—the Negroes of Africa were fascinated by them. They rapidly learned a hundred arts and industries from these energetic, highly-civilized, long-bearded people of the Peninsula, living then in the forefront of Christian civilization. The Portuguese checked many an African famine by the introduction from Europe, Asia, or Brazil of food products and domestic animals—manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, onions, rice, sugarcane, pine-apples, tomatoes, capsicums, oranges, limes, and tobacco; cattle, pigs, fowls, and Muscovy ducks—which might feed the hungry Negro, whet his appetite, or soothe his nerves. Readers of this book must bear in mind that until the Caucasian, in one shape or another, touched the Negro, the latter—so far as we can adduce—was leading a life of utter savagery, little superior to that of a beast, and must have been relatively ill supplied with food. The Negro possibly possessed one domestic animal—the dog. Even that came to him from Asia or Europe, and was not indigenous. The dog may have assisted him in hunting; yet it is quite probable that the most primitive Africans did not possess even dogs, but had to do their hunting unaided. They lived on such creatures as they could catch in snares or pitfalls, or kill with sharpened reeds (dipped, it may be, in vegetable poisons), by the hurling of clubs, boomerangs, or stones, and possibly by setting fire to the bush. They had absolutely no cultivated plants of their own. They

relied simply on the wild tubers, gourds, roots, fruits, and fungi, on tender leaves, the grain of a few wild grasses, and a good deal also on caterpillars, beetle-grubs, and 'white ants' (termites). They caught fish with their hands, or in weirs and dams which they made across the streams.

To them the white man, in the shape of Egyptian, Gala, Arab, Carthaginian, Greek, Roman, and Portuguese, Hollander, Frenchman, and Englishman, brought all the domestic animals and cultivated plants, without which the African would now find it impossible to exist, even in the still savage regions of his continent. The whole of these food products (with the exception, perhaps, of the Colocasia yam) were indigenous to Europe, Asia, or America.

Yet the Negro possessed in his own land the guinea-fowl—quite as easily domesticated as that South Asiatic pheasant, the domestic fowl—various types of geese and ducks, buffaloes and splendid antelopes like the eland, smaller types of antelope that may well have taken the place of the sheep or goat, hunting-dogs (*Lycaon*), and wild swine; various grains that might have been developed into something like rice or millet, innumerable fruit trees, tuberous plants, melons, berries, and nuts. But he seems—left to himself—to have been incapable of rising above an almost brutish condition. Like the kindred Australoid and the other black, brown, and yellow backward races of Tropical Asia, he escaped the discipline of the glacial periods which opened the Quaternary epoch, the Age of Man. It was no doubt the struggle for life against the advancing or retreating cold which in some part of Asia or Europe, or even America, sharpened the wits of the Caucasian and the Mongolian in their early stages. The Negro and the black Australian escaped this struggle with the ice, with the result, however, that for the last ten thousand years (let us say) they have been worried, persecuted, disciplined, taught, and saved by the invading races from the northern hemisphere.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

## A. THE CLASSIFICATION OF MANKIND

IT may be useful to the student to summarize the ideas in vogue as to the classification of mankind, and the names given to the principal types.

Roughly speaking, the existing human species—*Homo sapiens*—is divided into four main sub-species:—(1) The Australoid (including the dark-skinned and aboriginal natives of Australia, Tasmania, New Guinea, Fiji, Malaya, Ceylon, &c.); (2) the Caucasian (which is generally divided into two sub-groups, the black-haired, brown-eyed or Mediterranean, and the fair-haired, grey-eyed or 'North European,' also 'Aryan'); (3) the Yellow or Mongolian (including all the races of Asia which do not belong to the Caucasian, the Australoid or the Negro groups; the Eskimo; and the aborigines of the Americas); and (4) the Negro. This last is again divided into the following sub-groups:—True Negro, Bushmen-Hottentots, and Asiatic Negroes and Negritos (certain tribes of the Philippines, Andaman Islands, India, Malay Peninsula, Malay Archipelago, New Guinea, Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, &c.). There is sometimes a fifth group cited, the Polynesians—the aborigines of New Zealand, Hawaii, Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa, &c. But this would seem to be a hybrid race, arising from a mixture of Caucasian, Mongolian, Australoid, and Negrito, with the Caucasian predominating.

Of all these groups, that which comes the nearest to the primitive type of the human species is the Australoid, which bears an obvious resemblance in its skull formation to the earliest human types discovered fossil in France, Central Europe, Belgium, Great Britain, and Ireland.

## B. THE DIVISIONS OF THE NEGRO RACE

The Negro sub-species of Humanity is divided into two groups, the Eastern or Asiatic and the Western or African. The African group is again sub-divided into two very distinct branches: (1) the Bushman; and (2) the typical or True Negro. With the Bushman is grouped the Hottentot.

The True Negroes seem to offer at the present day three main varieties: (1) the Pygmy of the Congo Forests and Cameroons (from 4 ft. to 4 ft. 8 in. in height, with prominent eyes, very flat feet, large-nostrilled nose, long upper lip, reddish-brown skin, and a tendency to hairiness on the body); (2) the Forest Negro of West Africa (with some 'pygmy' characteristics but an ordinary stature and very dark skin, a powerful torso, long arms, short legs, and large everted lips); and (3) the Nilotic Negro (with more refined



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

THE KAVIRONDO OF EASTERN EQUATORIAL AFRICA: A COMELY  
TYPE OF 'BANTU' NEGRO

facial features, black skin, very tall, and with disproportionately long legs). These main types have of course much intermingled, not only amongst themselves but with the Bushman and the advance guard of the white races coming from the north. So that there are many indeterminate types of Negro or Negroid, like the Fula, Mandingo, Hausa, Masai, Zulu, Yao, the natives of the northern Congo, whom it is difficult to class definitely as belonging to one or other of the three well-marked forms of Negro. Curiously enough, the 'average' or mixed negro type, south of 3° N. Lat., is much associated with the speaking of Bantu languages, and is therefore often called the 'Bantu' Negro. But this better-looking, modified negro type is also found a good deal in West Africa, where he is not associated with Bantu languages.

### C. THE BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOTS

There is as much difference between the pure Bushman and the True Negro as there is between the last named and the Asiatic members of the sub-species. The Bushman is not only short of stature (that is also the case with the Pygmy Negroes) but has a broader, shorter, differently shaped skull, a pale yellow skin (through which in some individuals the glow of a blush may be perceived), very small hands and feet, and other physical peculiarities such as 'steatopygy,' which are recounted in works on comparative anatomy. Some of these, especially 'Bushman' features, are said to occur in negroid natives of Egypt, and it is thought by some that the first inhabitants of Egypt were of the Bushman race. The Bushmen of pure breed range from 4 ft. 2 in. to 4 ft. 10 in. in height. But in the more northern parts of South-west Africa, on the verge of the Kubango and Zambezi basins, where the Bushmen ('Masarwa') have mingled their blood with Bantu Negroes, they are much taller. Their language is most peculiar. It has no words for numerals above four, makes its plurals mainly by reduplication of the first syllable of the singular noun, but is most particularly noteworthy for its extensive use of 'clicks' instead of, or joined with, consonants. These clicks are loud sounds made with the tongue against the teeth, cheeks, palate, and back of the throat. They certainly sound much like the mouth-noises made by an angry baboon, and may be the relics of an extremely primitive type of language.

The Bushmen had no domestic animals and practised no agriculture when first discovered by white men. They led the same hunting existence as our own rude forefathers of the Palæolithic Age, and used much the same weapons of bone, wood, and stone. They knew how to poison their arrows, however, and dug pitfalls for entrapping wild beasts. They also had a wonderful gift for drawing (by cutting or scratching rocks), and painting in several colours

on rock surfaces. The pictures they thus made of lions, elands, elephants, ostriches, hippopotami, rhinoceroses, and men are remarkably true to life. They slept and made their homes—like primeval man—in caves, or, when away on hunting expeditions, under rude shelters of sticks and reeds.

The earliest type of Bushman in South Africa seems to have been the 'Strandloopers' ('Shore-runners') of the Dutch, the remains of whom are found in caves along the Natal coast. There is also alleged to be another dwarfish race still existing in central South Africa at



Photo by J. E. Matalbrook

BUSHMAN PAINTINGS ON THE ROCK SURFACES OF A CAVERN  
IN THE DRAKENSBERG MOUNTAINS, NATAL

the present day—the 'Vaalpens' of the Boers, but called 'Katea,' 'Ikoei,' 'Kosobala,' by the Bechuanas and Zulus. They were first described by the French traveller, M. Delegorgue, in 1847.<sup>1</sup> They are said to have a much darker skin than the Bushmen, and to live in an even lower state of culture, to be cannibals (which the Bushmen are not), and to have more abundant head-hair. The men also have thick beards (the beard is usually absent in the Bushmen). According to Delegorgue they scarcely reached to 4 ft. in height, and they generally lived in holes and hollows carved out of huge anthills. Truly about the lowest recorded type of *Homo sapiens*!

The Hottentots differ from the Bushmen in being taller, and intermediate in bodily structure between the Bushmen and the True

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe*, 2nd vol. pp. 548-9.

Negroes. They are the result of an ancient intermingling between the Bushmen and some tribe of Nilotic Negroes; but the hybrid must have occurred a very long time ago, for the Hottentot type is now well established. The language they speak has a distant relationship with the Sandawi of German East Africa, and also with the Bushman dialects in word-roots, phonology, the use of clicks and other features; but it has a much more developed grammar and distinguishes three classes of nouns—masculine, feminine, and neuter. The Hottentots had reached a pastoral stage long before the arrival of Europeans in South Africa, and kept large herds of cattle of the long-horned, straight-backed breed characteristic of east Equatorial and North-east Africa (whereas the Zulu of South-east Africa possessed only the smaller humped, shorthorned Indian cattle).

When South Africa was first explored and settled by white people in the early part of the eighteenth century the Hottentots inhabited only the coast region of south-western Cape Colony, the banks of the Orange River along the lower half of its course, and the desolate coast country between the Orange River and Walfish Bay. They accompanied the Boers inland when the latter took possession of the Bushman's domain. Between the Hottentots and the white people arose half-breed tribes that have played a famous part in South African history—the Grikwa and Korana.

#### D. THE BANTU

No student of African history should fail to obtain at any rate an elementary insight into the subject of the Bantu languages, as the people speaking these harmonious and closely related tongues will certainly play a great part in the future development of British Africa. South of the 3rd degree of north latitude (more or less)—the line dips down on the eastern side of Africa to the Equator—almost all the Negro peoples, with the exception of a few unimportant tribes in East Africa, in the Congo basin, and in South-west Africa, speak but one type of language, the BANTU. All the forms of speech which come under this head are as closely related as—almost more closely than—are the Aryan languages of modern Europe and South-western Asia. Seeing how rapidly human speech varies amongst people without a fixed literature and a high civilization, it is remarkable how close this relationship should be amongst all the types of Bantu speech between the Cameroons on the north-west and Natal on the south-east, between Cape Colony, the Albert Nyanza, and the mouth of the Tana River in East Africa. This would seem (to the present writer, who gives other reasons for his opinion in works which he has written on this subject) to show that the original date of the dispersion of the Bantu languages over the whole of the southern

third of Africa must be relatively recent, perhaps not much more than two thousand years ago.

The Bantu languages are especially remarkable for the large use



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

A STREAM IN THE DENSE FOREST OF WEST AFRICA  
THE SURFACE OF THE WATER IS COVERED WITH FLOATING CRINUM LILIES

which is made of prefixes in their syntax. These changeable particles are prefixed to the unchanging root of the word. In this feature the Bantu offers a great resemblance to other groups of African speech in the extreme west of Tropical Africa; and of course the idea of

prefixes is by no means foreign to the Semitic and Hamitic language-families of North Africa and Western Asia, or even to the Aryan tongues themselves. But it is carried to an extreme degree by the Bantu. I will illustrate this by a few examples: *-ntu* possibly meant originally an object, a 'head' (and in this sense a human being). *Mu-ntu* would mean one (head), a human being (man or woman). *Ba-ntu* stands for the plural = 'people,' many human beings. *Ki-ntu* is 'a thing'; *bi-ntu* = 'things.' *Bu-ntu* = 'humanity' (in general), or in some groups it is *lu-ntu*; *kaze-ntu* (in the mother language) meant a woman, a female person; *ka-ntu*, pl. *tu-ntu*, meant a child, or a little object; *gu-ntu*, pl. *ga-ntu*, meant a giant, or a huge object, and so forth. A good thing might be *ki-ntu kiema*; good things in the plural *bi-ntu biema*. These classificatory particles would further be prefixed to every adjectival form, and also figure as the corresponding pronoun of the word, either subjective or objective. This correspondence in prefix or particle between noun, pronoun, and adjective has been styled the 'concord.' This system is not so foreign to other forms of African speech as might be thought, if we admit the possibility of prefixes being turned into suffixes. Before the student decides that this is too abrupt a revolution to have occurred, let him reflect whether something of the same rapid change of plan is not going on in his own English tongue. In Anglo-Saxon (as in modern German) and in Early English, people made much more use of prefixed prepositions, adverbs, and particles than of suffixes. They said 'up-bringing' instead of 'bringing-up,' 'out-turn' instead of 'turn-out,' and so forth. Several great African language-families have much the same principle of 'concord' as the Bantu, only it is applied to *suffixes* instead of *prefixes*, and this was also the case to a certain extent with our earlier Aryan forms of speech; though in the case of our own language-family, instead of dividing our conceptions of objects into seventeen or eighteen groups, as is the case with the Bantu, we were content to think of them as either male, female, or neuter. We therefore went in for two classes or three, instead of such a large number as may be found in the Fula language family (for example) or in the Bantu. In Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, and all the earlier Aryan languages (together with many of their modern descendants) the genders are still carefully distinguished by the terminations of the nouns and of corresponding adjectives, and by the pronouns, a system answering in suffixes (almost exactly) to what the Bantu attains by means of prefixes.

## CHAPTER II

### PEPPER, SLAVES, AND GOLD

THE British people, or more strictly the English—for Ireland, and Scotland most of all, took but little part in Imperial ventures till the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—had been early linked with the fortunes of Portugal. Portugal—the western third of the Iberian Peninsula—was, of course, at one time part of the Roman Empire, and its northern portion (including Galicia) had been much settled by Goths, while two-thirds of the south, from Algarve to the River Douro, had been conquered by the Moors. After the break-up of the Roman Empire, and under the succeeding Gothic kingdoms, all this western region of Hispania had developed a different dialect of the Latin from that which prevailed in Central Spain (the eastern parts of Spain to this day maintain a third Romance language—the Catalan, nearly allied to the Provençal of France). This westernmost Romance dialect—Portuguese—is spoken even at the present day from the north-western part of Spain in Galicia to the frontiers of Andalusia. In the twelfth century a Burgundian noble in the service of the King of Leon and Castile had expelled the Moors from North-western Spain, and had followed up this exploit by the reconquest of the Douro Valley and the port at its mouth. This bore the name in Latin of *Portus Calis*,<sup>1</sup> from which grew up the name of 'Portugal,' applied first of all to a county, and later on to a kingdom. By the middle of the

<sup>1</sup> 'Porto Cale' was situated at the mouth of the Douro. Oporto ('Porto' in Portuguese—o is merely the definite article), its successor, is situated on the north bank of the river several miles from the sea. 'Porto' (poto, puto) has spread far and wide over Africa as the name for a white man.

thirteenth century the Portuguese had driven the Moors entirely out of the territories west of the River Guadiana, and in so doing had received a great deal of assistance from



VASCO DA GAMA

THE PORTUGUESE NAVIGATOR WHO FIRST SAILED ROUND  
THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO EAST AFRICA AND INDIA

the English and Germans, who latterly, instead of proceeding into the Mediterranean on a crusade against the Saracens, devoted their attention to the capture of Lisbon or some other city from the Moors of Spain or North Morocco. The first commercial treaty between Portugal and England was concluded in 1294; and a supplementary treaty (with London) in 1353. Between 1385 and 1438 political relations between England and Portugal were very close.

Consequently, when the Portuguese had obtained a good hold over the West Coast of Africa, the English were not long in wishing to follow suit, as they were already made aware, by their trade with Portugal, of the spices, gold, slaves, and ivory which could be obtained from those regions.

But the Portuguese were very jealous of their discoveries, wishing to keep in their own hands the monopoly of African and Indian trade. They therefore treated the early British adventurers in those regions as pirates.

As early as 1482 the King of Portugal sent an embassy to Edward IV asking him to restrain his subjects from going to Guinea. The English, however, with their



A 'CARAVEL' OF THE GENOESE STYLE

THE TYPE OF SAILING VESSEL OF THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES IN WHICH THE EARLY PORTUGUESE AND ENGLISH VOYAGES WERE MADE TO THE COAST OF WEST AFRICA

customary doggedness would not be kept out of the business. First of all, adventurers would ship as seamen or soldiers in the service of the Portuguese (who were accustomed to employ a good many men not of Portuguese nationality). About 1550, however, in the reign of Edward VI, a Portuguese sea-captain of Oporto—Antonio Anes Pinteado—came to Southampton and offered to show English mariners the

way to the Guinea coast and the principal resorts from which the Portuguese obtained pepper and gold. Pinteado had held high rank in the Portuguese naval service, and had won several victories over the French off the African coast, driving them away from the regions monopolized by the Portuguese. But he fell out of favour at Court, and, furious at his treatment, resolved to bring the English on the scene to avenge his wrongs.

Terms were soon made with him, and he went out in command of two ships, the *Primrose* and the *Lion*, with a lieutenant or mate who was an Englishman—Captain Windham. Pinteado piloted the English ships to what is now the coast of Liberia. They made their first halt at the Cestos River, where it was proposed they should fill up part of their cargo space with large quantities of ‘grains of Paradise’<sup>1</sup>—the red seeds of the *Aframomum* plant. But Captain Windham wanted gold as well as pepper, perhaps gold most of all, so he insisted on the pepper cargoes being left until the return voyage. The ships, however, could not touch at the true Gold Coast, on account of the hostility of the Portuguese, so they continued their course without interruption till they entered the Benin River, on the verge of the Niger delta. The English officers and men were

<sup>1</sup> See Note on the Pepper Trade, p. 59.

These so-called ‘grains of Paradise’ gave their name afterwards to a long strip of West African coast between the Sherbro River on the north-west and Cape Palmas on the south-east. The name ‘Grain Coast’ persisted down to the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was changed for that of Liberia. The coast of West Africa, until the nineteenth century, was divided by British, French, and other European traders into the following sections:—between Senegal and Sherbro it was the ‘Guinea Coast’—the word *guiné*, in Portuguese, being probably an alternative version of the name of the great Muhammadan town of Jenne, in the interior of Senegambia; Jenne on account of its gold mines and its civilization being the great objective in the Middle Ages of trade with West Africa. From the Sherbro to Cape Palmas was the ‘Grain Coast’; thence to the Assinie River the ‘Ivory Coast’ (on account of the abundance of elephants). From Assinie to the Volta the ‘Gold Coast,’ because of the export of gold; then from the Volta to the Niger, the ‘Slave Coast,’ as this region, owing to the raids and wars of Dahomey and Benin, exported the greatest number of slaves; and the remainder of the littoral of Equatorial West Africa from the Niger to Cameroons was usually called the ‘Calabar Coast.’ ‘Calabar,’ which is now the official capital of British Southern Nigeria, is possibly derived from the Portuguese words *Cala barra* = the bar is silent. At the entrance to the Old Calabar River, unlike all the other river mouths in the vicinity, there is no perceptible bar, and consequently no noise from the breakers.

taken up to see the King of Benin by Pinteado, a monarch who was found to be thoroughly conversant with the Portu-



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

CAPE COAST CASTLE : GOLD COAST COLONY

THE 'CABO CORSO' OF THE PORTUGUESE

guese language. He promised the mariners a great cargo of pepper, but Pinteado and the traders seem to have haggled too long over the price, and during the delay the men on the ships began to die rapidly from malarial fever

and sunstroke. Captain Windham completely lost his head in a panic at the death-rate. He treated the effects Pinteado had left on board with great violence, and ordered the ships to sea, but died before they started. In their panic the English crews, after Pinteado had rejoined them, abandoned the traders on shore and scuttled one of the two ships, sailing home in the other, reduced as they were in numbers from 140 to fewer than 40. Their cargo, nevertheless, consisted of 400 lbs. of gold, 36 casks of 'grains of Paradise,' and 250 tusks of ivory. On the return journey



*Photo by T. W. Rowland*

ELMINA CASTLE : GOLD COAST COLONY

THE FIRST KNOWN SETTLEMENT OF EUROPEANS ON THE WEST AFRICAN COAST

the unfortunate Portuguese commander died of a broken heart, having been subjected to gross ill-treatment by the English seamen.

But he had effectually shown the way to West Africa, and in the following year (1554) three English ships left the port of London for the Guinea Coast. The captain of this expedition was Mr. John Lok, and he was accompanied by Sir George Barn and Sir John York, besides 'other gentlemen.' They traded most advantageously on the Liberian and Gold Coasts for pepper, ivory, gold, and even slaves, returning to England with five Negroes. In the next year (1555) two ships under the command of 'Master' William Towerson started from Newport in the Isle of Wight, and also traded with the Grain and Gold Coasts.

One of the two ships on the return journey was lost in a tornado off the Guinea Coast, but 'Master' William Towerson made so profitable a voyage that he started off



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

ELMINA CASTLE, LOOKING TOWARDS ST. JAGO

again for West Africa in 1556. On this voyage he had considerable trouble with the Portuguese, but was assisted by ships from France, with which he struck up an alliance. Twenty years afterwards he made another voyage to the

coast of Liberia. The country we now call Liberia was, in fact, the main objective of English trading ships during the second half of the sixteenth century, mainly on account of the pepper and ivory which it supplied, but also for such slaves as could be obtained from its western portion. The English, however, soon discovered that the Kru races of Eastern Liberia and the Ivory Coast could not be made slaves of. If they were unable to escape from captivity, they would starve themselves to death, or commit suicide in some other way. On the other hand, if fairly treated, they proved then—and have continued to prove down to the present day—some of the hardest-working and most faithful allies of the white man in the opening up of the West African coast regions.

But the hostility of the Portuguese (who after 1580 were dominated by Spain), together with the growing jealousy and rivalry of the Dutch, diverted English attention from the Gold and Grain Coasts, and concentrated it more on the shipping of slaves from Guinea (namely, the coast from the mouth of the Senegal to the Sierra Leone River) to the American plantations of Spain. In 1562 Captain John Hawkins had obtained a concession for the supply of Negroes from Guinea to the West Indies. His first voyage was made in that year, and he obtained slaves at various places between the Gambia and the confines of Liberia. His was the first of all recorded English visits to the peninsula and river of Sierra Leone.<sup>1</sup> On one or other of his three voyages he pushed on to Elmina, on the Gold Coast, whence he obtained two hundred slaves. But owing, as before said, to the hostility of the Portuguese, most of the early British slave-trading operations were

<sup>1</sup> Either on account of the frequent rumbling roar of the thunderstorms amongst the bold mountains of this striking promontory, or because the outline of one of the ridges is like a couching lion, the Portuguese named this district 'Serra leoa,' or the Leonine mountain range. The Spanish version was 'Sierra Leona.' The native name for the district was 'Bulom bel' or the 'Bulom' shore. Milton in *Paradise Lost* mentions the 'black . . . thundrous clouds of Serraliona'—a most apt comparison. Milton's poetry contains many allusions to features in African geography, rare in English literature of that period.

confined to the Guinea Coast, and generally concentrated about the mouth of the Gambia. In 1588, when Portugal was involved in the English war against Spain, Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to Devonshire merchants to trade with the 'Gambra' Coast, and in 1592 gave another charter for the coast region between the Gambia River and Sierra Leone.

At first English operations were confined to dispatching trading ships to these regions, which bore away cargoes of slaves, but in 1618 a Company (the Company of Adventurers of London Trading to Africa) was formed to work the trade of the interior, and give a more permanent character to the British settlements at the mouth of the Gambia or 'Gambra,' as it



*Photo by Capt. W. Stanley*

A FULA: GAMBIA HINTERLAND

was then called. In 1618 this Company dispatched an expedition in a ship called the *Catherine*, with George Thompson, a Barbary merchant, in command. Thompson, however, was murdered at Tenda. In 1620-21 his men were rescued, and his explorations were continued by gallant Captain Richard Jobson, who ascended the Gambia as far as it was navigable from the sea, came into contact with the Fula and Mandingo peoples, and on his return wrote a vivid account of his experiences in a book called 'The Golden Trade.' Under

the Commonwealth, this first of the West African Chartered Companies built a fort at Sierra Leone.

After the Restoration, the Government of Charles II gave a distinct impetus to British trade with West Africa, and in 1664 an English fort was built on the island of Saint Mary, off the south bank of the Gambia estuary.



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

CHRISTIANSBORG CASTLE, NEAR ACCRA

BUILT BY THE SWEDES IN 1645 FOR THE PROTECTION OF THEIR SLAVE TRADE ON THE GOLD COAST, BUT CAPTURED AND HELD BY THE DANES IN 1657 AND BY THEM SOLD TO THE BRITISH IN 1850

Between 1665 and 1672 the same Company—which was afterwards, in 1672, to receive a fresh charter, and be named the Royal African Company—took advantage of the war between England and Holland to seize and retain several Dutch forts on the Gold Coast.

The first British attempts at settlement on the Gold Coast had taken place under the 'Company of Adventurers of London Trading to Africa' in 1618 at Kormantine, and again in 1626 and 1662 (settlements at Cape Corso, Anamabu, and Accra).

One result of this enterprise of the Royal African Company during the reigns of Charles II and James II was the bringing of sufficient gold from West Africa to enable the Government of the day (1673) to mint 50,000 gold coins (the first to be made from gold produced within the area of the British Empire). These were named from



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hinks*

**CHILDREN BATHING IN THE SURF: GOLD COAST COLONY**

THE ABSENCE OF ANY SHELTERED PORTS ON THE WEST AFRICAN COAST BETWEEN SIERRA LEONE AND OLD CALABAR WAS LONG A SERIOUS DETERRENT TO WEST AFRICAN TRADE AND THE CAUSE OF MANY DEATHS AMONG EUROPEAN SAILORS OR FETTERED SLAVES. IN SPITE OF THE SHARKS, HOWEVER, MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN ARE CONSTANTLY BATHING IN THE SURF

their origin 'guinea.' Though ostensibly equal to twenty shillings, they were really worth eightpence more, and gradually became equivalent to £1 1s.

It is probable that the gold-bearing regions in the middle of the West African Coast, which are now a British Colony of some 80,000 square miles, had been in touch with the civilization of the Mediterranean long before the arrival of the Norman-French or the Portuguese. Beads, which seem to be of Roman or Roman-Egyptian origin, have been

found in old graves, or are still treasured as magical heir-looms by aristocratic families in the interior of the Gold Coast. Quite possibly the obvious presence of the glittering metal in the stream valleys and rocks of this region had forced itself on the attention of the indigenous Negroes several thousand years ago, and after first of all decorating their own persons with gold, they had begun to barter it with the races of the interior beyond the Great Forest, races leading a pastoral life, and in touch not only with the Niger River, but possibly with such Libyan or Ethiopian peoples as had ventured round or across the Sahara Desert, and who in their turn were not strangers to the commerce of the Mediterranean and of Egypt. The Moslem Arabs seem to have reached the Upper Niger regions both from the Senegal Coast and from Darfur in the eleventh century (if not earlier), and they, through the Hausa and Mandingo Muhammadanized Negroes, were brought in contact with the hinterland of the modern Gold Coast, and with the similar gold-bearing regions in the interior of Senegambia. Their vainglorious tales of this wealth (some of which may have found its way through Barbary into Moorish Spain) drew down on them the competition of the Western Europeans, which was eventually to prove fatal to any independent Moslem State in West Africa.

Queen Elizabeth, when no longer afraid to defy Spain, had encouraged her adventurers to trade with Morocco and the Barbary States. She gave a charter in 1585 to a body of London adventurers for this purpose. The Western Moors were early acquainted with Great Britain and Ireland, firstly through raids made on their own coasts by the Northmen, who probably made use of Southern Ireland and the Channel Islands as a base of operations; afterwards by sending out their own bold rovers to lay waste the coasts of the Christians in the North Atlantic, and to carry off slaves from Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall for sale in the Moorish markets; and, later still, by the assistance which the Plantagenet rulers of England gave to the growing kingdom of Portugal, in its attempts to drive the Moors out of that

kingdom back into their own lands on the African shore. In the early fifteenth century Henry IV of England received a Moorish embassy from either Granada or Morocco, with a view to the opening up of friendly relations with England as a counterpoise to the growing power of Spain. In the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign commercial intercourse with Morocco became very active, but it seems to have faded away again (owing to Spanish hostility) until the



*Photo by Messrs. Fradelle*

IN TANGIER, MOROCCO

days of Cromwell, and when Admiral Blake, partly by force, partly by diplomacy, once again opened up a friendly connection with the land of the Moors.

The British during the 17th century became very eager to trade with the Mediterranean and Levant, on account of their growing interest in India, and partly because Muhammadan nations were evincing a preference for British merchants, in the belief that their religion was less alien to Muhammadan ideas than that of the Greek and Roman Churches. It is obvious that, after Blake's exploits in the Straits of Gibraltar in 1657, the English Government had its eye on the port of Tangier as a possible foothold from which

England might dominate the Straits of Gibraltar and the entrance into the Mediterranean. Tangier in those days belonged to Portugal, which had recently freed itself from Spanish thralldom. Tangier, in fact, and other Portuguese (now Spanish) possessions on the coast of Morocco, had been partially captured by British valour, through the assistance of British ships and soldiers. Therefore, when negotiations were opened for the betrothal of Charles II to



TANGIER FROM THE HARBOUR

the Princess Catherine of Bragança, it was stipulated that Tangier, together with Bombay, should be the Princess's dowry. In 1662 the English flag was hoisted over this position. The place was held for twenty-two years, but during that time it was in an almost constant state of siege. After the death of King Sebastian of Portugal in 1578, a new dynasty arose in Morocco, that of the Sharifs of Yanbu, on the West Coast of Arabia. These Sharifs ['Sharif' means 'noble' and is applied to the descendants of Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad], in their wanderings had founded a family in the oasis of Tafilat, in South Morocco, and a descendant of this family, Hassan-bin Kassim, after the

defeat of the Portuguese king, had established a dynasty of Sharifian Emperors which still rules—more or less—over this last independent Moorish State. At the close of the sixteenth century the Emperor of Morocco had extended his dominions across the Sahara Desert to the Upper Niger and Timbuktu. From these countries he obtained a splendid fighting force of Negroes. The Sharifian dynasty had succeeded in ejecting the Portuguese and Spanish from every foothold on the Morocco coasts, and were not going to tolerate any more the presence of the English at Tangier. The English, of course, had sea power, but were apparently only able to arm their battlements with the worst relics of Cromwell's standing army, or with the off-scourings of London and Dublin. They grew weary of the struggle, and by arrangement with the Moorish leader gave up Tangier to the Empire of Morocco in 1684.<sup>1</sup>

Curiously enough, however, this twenty-two years' attempt to maintain a British hold over Morocco led to the foundation of the standing army of Great Britain and Ireland. The two British regiments of cavalry and infantry, enlisted for service at Tangier under the notoriously wicked Colonel Kirke, were known as 'Kirke's Lambs,' but officially as the 1st Royal Dragoons, and Queen Catherine's Regiment (now the Royal West Surrey). After the evacuation of Tangier they were brought to England and became the nucleus of our regular army.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER II

### THE PEPPER TRADE

STUDENTS of African history should strive to realize the principal inducements which led the British and other European nations to meddle with Africa. Some of these—such as the lust for gold, and the need for slave labour to work the plantations of America and, later on, the undeveloped wealth of Africa itself—are treated separately elsewhere; but a few words may here be said about the attraction

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<sup>1</sup> The English Government, or at any rate the English sea-captains—almost at the time of withdrawing from Tangier—seem to have had their eye on Gibraltar as an alternative. This, as we know, was obtained by a sudden raid of English ships and German troops in 1709.

which 'pepper' offered to the first English adventurers in West Africa.

Pepper from Indian shrubs of the genus *Piper* (*P. nigrum*, *P. officinarum*, and *P. longum*) had been introduced into the dietary of the Greeks after Alexander's invasion of India. The pepper derived chiefly from this source, and other spices familiar to us now in Eastern curries, came into almost universal use throughout the Roman Empire, and the Goths derived a liking for these spices from the Romans. India and Malaysia supplied these condiments almost exclusively from before the Christian era down to the fifteenth century. For several hundred years previous to the fifteenth century the purveying of pepper to civilized Europe and the Mediterranean basin had been the monopoly of the Venetians, who, in spite of the Crusades and the uprise of the Turks, managed to keep on such terms with the Muhammadan peoples of the Levant, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, as to make it possible to obtain through them a certain supply of pepper and spices from India. But the Venetians kept up the price to a very high rate; so much so, that, spices having become absolutely essential to the cuisine of the English people during the Middle Ages, a 'pepper-corn rent' was no joke, as it would seem to us nowadays. It meant that the lessee had to provide his landlord with a pound of pepper, which cost between £5 and £10 in money, equal to between £20 and £40 at the present day. The Moors of North-western Africa began to obtain in the tenth and eleventh centuries the seeds of an *Aframomum* plant (in appearance something like the Indian Cannas), which were slightly hot to the taste, and very aromatic. These 'grains of Paradise' were sometimes known as 'Cardamoms' in European trade, but later they were known as Malagueta, possibly because in the days of Moorish Spain Malaga was the chief emporium for the sale of West African products.

From the eleventh century onwards, European cookery could not have enough of these 'grains of Paradise.' Much later in history Queen Elizabeth, for example, was passionately fond of their taste. As the Moors brought only a limited supply for sale in Spain, the Norman-French strove to find out from what part of the world they were obtained, and possibly for this reason first made their way to the West African coast in the fourteenth century, a hundred years before the Portuguese. Besides which, there existed in West Africa real pepper shrubs of the genus *Piper*, akin to the Indian species. So that the ability of West Africa to keep the world supplied with pungent spices was the first and chief inducement to the English to find their way there.

## CHAPTER III

### CAPE COLONY

THE rapid development of British commerce with India under the Honourable East India Company, and the occasional conflicts with the jealous Dutch, made it increasingly necessary to England that there should be some calling station on the long ocean route between Southern England and India round the Cape of Good Hope, at which British ships should be able to repair and refresh. British mariners had visited the Cape of Good Hope as early as 1591. and in 1620 two commanders of the East India Company's ships (Captains Shillinge and Fitzherbert) had formally annexed Table Mountain and Table Bay in the name of King James I. and had hoisted the flag of St. George (the Red Cross); but no attempt at settlement was made, and the Dutch possessed themselves definitely of the Cape promontory and founded Capetown in 1652-71 (on behalf of the Dutch East India Company). It is extraordinary how little either the Portuguese or the English cared about the possession of South Africa, though it ought to have been evident that some point at the southern extremity of that continent would be an absolutely necessary place of call for the storm-tried ships on their way to and from India round the Cape. There were only the feeble Hottentots to resist a European occupation, yet Portugal overlooked the cardinal point of Southern Africa till it was too late; and England only awoke to the importance of the Cape of Good Hope in her scheme of empire when it had been for about a hundred and thirty years in the possession of the Dutch East India Company.

But in 1588 Captain Cavendish, returning from a great voyage round the world, rediscovered the little, lonely—then densely wooded—*island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic Ocean.* This island had been found and named by the Portuguese as early as 1502, but, recognizing the importance of its strategical position, they had endeavoured to keep it secret from other navigators. The Dutch seized it in 1645 and abandoned it five years later. It was then occupied on behalf of the British East India Company in 1651, and ten years afterwards Charles II recognized its acquisition by a charter. After two attempts on the part of the Dutch to regain possession of it, St. Helena became definitely a British possession (administered by the East India Company) in 1673, and may almost be regarded as the germ of our huge South African dominion.

Little St. Helena is rather larger than the island of Jersey. It is quite possible that, in common with Ascension,<sup>1</sup> seven hundred miles to the north-west, and Tristan d'Acunha and Gough islets, to the far south,<sup>2</sup> it is a fragment of a sunken sub-continent, which may have connected, or partially connected, Western Africa with South America as late as the Eocene period. Geologically it is one of the oldest fragments of dry land on the face of the globe and has not been submerged for countless ages. When first discovered by the Portuguese and rediscovered by the British, it was densely clothed with forest, and the trees and shrubs

<sup>1</sup> Also discovered and named by the Portuguese in 1501. Ascension was not occupied permanently by any Power till it was seized and garrisoned by the British in 1815, to prevent its being made a base of operations for persons who might have striven to effect the rescue and flight of the Emperor Napoleon from St. Helena. Ascension is about the size of the island of Guernsey. The surface rocks are of purely volcanic origin.

<sup>2</sup> Tristan d'Acunha is the longest (about forty square miles) of a little group of three small volcanic islands in the middle of the South Atlantic, discovered and named by the Portuguese in 1506. Tristan d'Acunha has belonged to Great Britain since 1815, and now has a population of about eighty people of English descent mainly, but with a slight African intermixture. Its central volcanic cone rises to a height of nearly 8000 feet. Tristan d'Acunha, though so remote from any continent, possesses three indigenous land birds (a finch, a thrush, and a water-hen), several species of spiders and beetles, a butterfly, and some land mollusca. It is, besides, the nesting-place of millions of penguins and numerous petrels, albatrosses, and gulls. But rats introduced from ships many years ago have destroyed much of this indigenous fauna.

had affinities with both the South African and the South American floras. It possessed a single indigenous land bird (a species of plover), and a number of beetles, bugs, and land mollusca, of which a very large percentage were quite peculiar to the island, the remainder having relationship mainly with those of Africa. All these creatures were of a class that might have reached the island on driftwood. But the fact that the early navigators found the Manati on the coast of St.



JAMESTOWN : ST. HELENA

Helena is additional evidence to show that the little island once formed part of a huge tract of land connected either with Tropical Africa or Tropical America: for the Manati belongs to an order of mammals (*Sirenia*) living in the shallow water of rivers, estuaries, and coast-lines, and feeding entirely on vegetable substances. It would be practically impossible for the Manati to reach St. Helena in existing circumstances by travelling over a thousand miles or more of sea water, without suitable food, and exposed to the attacks of innumerable sharks. The Manati or 'sea-cow' did not become extinct on the St. Helena coasts until 1810. Unfortunately no specimen was preserved

to determine whether the species was American, West African, or peculiar to St. Helena.

St. Helena at the present day is nothing but the worn-down remains of an immense ancient volcano, though its volcanic débris and crusted rocks probably hide a former vestige of South Atlantis. The goats introduced by the British and Dutch, together with the wasteful clearing and forest fires of the settlers, soon nearly exterminated the native flora (especially destroying the valuable indigenous ebony<sup>1</sup>), and a good deal of the outer aspect of the island is now bare rock. But the interior is 'like an emerald set in granite' or grey lava. The island contains more than 200 springs of fresh water.

St. Helena between 1815 and 1821 was the prison of the Emperor Napoleon, and became very prosperous as the calling-place for ships journeying to and from India round the Cape. But the opening of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea route to India, followed long afterwards by the withdrawal of the British garrison and the resolve not to make a fortified coaling-station out of Jamestown, have brought St. Helena into a very poverty-stricken condition.

During the eighteenth century the rivalry of the Dutch in West Africa was succeeded or supplemented by the still more dangerous ambition of the French to found empires and to maintain monopolies of commerce.<sup>2</sup> France was attempting to drive away British traders and settlers from the Senegal River, from Madagascar, Mauritius, and Bourbon (afterwards Réunion), and most of all, from Eastern India. Already in the eighteenth century France had formed conceptions of rule over Egypt and Abyssinia, a replacement of the Portuguese on the Lower Congo, the transfer of Cape Colony from the Dutch Company, and the creation of a new France in Madagascar. A temporary alliance with Holland

<sup>1</sup> *Melhania melanoxylon*. The loss of this really valuable and beautiful timber tree was entirely due to the stupid ignorance of the earlier military governors of St. Helena, who preferred to let the settlers' goats wander unchecked.

<sup>2</sup> As regards monopolies of commerce, it must be remembered that down to 1823, and finally to 1829, Great Britain was as bad as France, Spain, and Holland.

was made use of during the time of the great American War (1778-83) to use Table Bay and other ports in Dutch South Africa as a base from which to attack British



*Photo lent by Leo Weinthal*

THE LIGHTHOUSE ON THE EXTREMITY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

shipping passing round the Cape to India. A revenge for these actions was attempted by the British Government when they dispatched Commodore Johnstone in 1781 to make a descent on Capetown and take possession of it. But the French naval forces under Admiral Suffren severely

defeated the British off the Cape Verde Islands, and assisted the Dutch to make the project an impossibility.

Even before this three-cornered struggle for the possession of Cape Colony in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, between Britain, Holland, and France, both the British and French, much earlier in that century, had taken a great interest in South Africa, partly no doubt owing to Capetown having become an enforced place of call for the great sailing-ships that passed to and fro between Western Europe and India. A further strong French hold over South Africa was the settlement there of Huguenot families who had left France after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, and had settled in the United Provinces of Holland, or in some cases had, at a later date, migrated direct from France to South Africa. To this day many Boer families bear old French names,<sup>1</sup> which, however, are so mispronounced in the Dutch fashion as to be unrecognizable as French to the ear alone. The Huguenot settlers in South Africa have been a very potent strain of quite the best quality, as indeed they have proved themselves to be elsewhere, in England, America, and Germany.

In 1780-85 the French naturalist Levaillant had revealed some of the leading features in the remarkable fauna of West Africa, and the Swedish botanists, Sparrman and Thunberg (1772-76), had studied the flora. During the eighteenth century, indeed, our European horticulture was greatly enriched by the importation of plants from South Africa. The cultivation of the scarlet geranium (really a pelargonium) dates back to this period, also the great white arum (*Richardia*). Many heaths, 'everlasting' flowers (*Helichrysum*), the blue plumbago, the blue *Agapanthus* lily, the *Kniphofia* or 'red-hot poker,' and an infinitude of other beautiful flowers or foliage plants have been introduced from the Cape peninsula to our gardens and greenhouses. At this period also Europe first began to

<sup>1</sup> Villiers, Dutoit, Cilliers, Joubert, Triéhard, Delarey, and many others.

hear about the strange South African beasts and birds. Giraffes were sent to Europe by the Dutch Governor Tulbagh.



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow, and Galloway*

THE SPRINGBOK (A GENUS OF GAZELLES)

IS PERHAPS THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC ANIMAL OF BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA AS IT IS FOUND NOWHERE ELSE. IT IS THE ONLY GAZELLE WHICH IS FOUND TO THE SOUTH OF 0° S. LATITUDE

In 1777 Captain Robert Jacob Gordon, a Scotsman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, discovered the Orange River at its junction with the Vaal. Two or three

years later Captain Gordon, accompanied by an Englishman—Lieutenant William Patterson—travelled overland from the Namakwa country to the mouth of the Orange River, which they ascended for thirty or forty miles, afterwards giving it its present name as a compliment to the Prince of Orange, the Stadhouder or perpetual President of the Dutch Republic.

France as early as 1682 had occupied the island of Bourbon (now called Réunion) and through her East Indian Company had taken Mauritius (the Isle of France) in 1721. She had established claims over Madagascar (*Gallia orientalis*) from 1644. The Austrian-German Empire under Maria Theresa had some idea of acquiring a foothold in Madagascar through an eccentric Pole named Benyovski, and had made a more serious attempt in 1776 (through an Englishman named Bolts) to found a colony at Delagoa Bay; all these attempts being undertaken in the name of the short-lived Imperial German East India Company which had its head quarters at Ostend, in the then Austrian province of the Netherlands.

Undoubtedly, if South Africa had not been seized by the British, it would have become French. It was only left alone by Great Britain after the peace of 1783 because France took the hint, withdrew her garrison from Table Bay, and ceased for a time to attempt any settlement on the South African coast. But in 1795, when the troops of the French Republic had occupied Holland and the Prince of Orange had fled to England, the British Government sent a strong expedition under the authority of the Prince of Orange, and took possession of Capetown after a short struggle with the local authorities, who were then merely officials of a chartered Dutch East India Company.

The British were to a great extent popular with the Dutch settlers in Cape Colony in these early days, because the rule of the Dutch East India Company had been incredibly silly and tyrannous. It had established a grinding monopoly in commerce, and apparently did everything it could to discourage local agriculture. It was only because the

Dutch and the Huguenot settlers showed the same contempt for the Company's bureaucratic rule as was afterwards evinced by their descendants towards the regulations of



*Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

THE GRACEFUL STANLEY CRANE *TETRAPTERYN*  
PARADISEA

A BIRD PECULIAR TO SOUTH AFRICA, SOMETIMES TAMED BY THE BRITISH  
AND BOER SETTLERS

the British Colonial authority, and because they migrated to the interior and the east, away from all control, that Cape Colony was a region so extensively populated by white people at the time of the British landing in 1795. In fact, before the British arrived in 1795, the Dutch

burghers out of reach of the Company's forces at Capetown had established two independent Dutch Republics, one in the district of Graaf-Reinet, and the other in Swellendam.



*Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*  
A TYPICAL BOER FARMER IN SOUTH AFRICA ;  
OVER 6 FT. TALL

The European population (Dutch and Huguenot) in 1795 amounted to about twenty thousand souls. The area at that date more or less claimed or settled by the Dutch was about a hundred thousand square miles, increased by another twenty-five thousand square miles under the brief, but very able, direct Dutch government between 1803 and 1806.

The British in 1795 introduced the principle of free trade, limited by slight preferential duties in favour of British goods; and many other

liberal measures were enacted. But when at the conclusion of the peace of Amiens in 1803, the British governor was withdrawn and his place taken by two Dutch Commissioners, Mr. De Mist and General Janssens, Cape Colony became an integral portion of the Dutch dominions (then known as the Batavian Republic). Moreover, a great impetus was

given to agriculture and stock-rearing (the two Dutch Commissioners introduced the merino sheep, for example, and improved breeds of cattle). Consequently the Boer<sup>1</sup> settlers, for the first time really well governed by Holland, prepared to receive the British forces in a very hostile fashion when they once more anchored in Table Bay at the beginning of



*Photo lent by Leo Weinthal*

A PORTION OF CAPE TOWN

IN THE BACKGROUND IS THE FAMOUS TABLE MOUNTAIN

1806. General Janssens, commanding in South Africa on behalf of the Batavian Republic, had, besides Boer volunteers and a battalion of German soldiers from Waldeck, a regiment

<sup>1</sup> *Boer* (i.e. farmer, peasant) was the name applied to the Dutch agricultural settlers of Cape Colony in the eighteenth century, in contradistinction from the officials and trading agents of the East India Company of the Netherlands. The same word is found in Anglo-Saxon, *būr*, and in English, *boor* and 'neigh-*bour*.' 'Burger' (properly spelt, 'Burger'), meaning 'citizen,' is another term applied to the men of this race. Later on, to distinguish the South African Dutch from Hollanders (and also to distinguish the British who were native to the South African colonies from those born in the United Kingdom) the term 'Afrikander' came into use.

of disciplined Hottentots: in all he was able to dispose of a little more than two thousand soldiers, and a battle took place at the foot of the Blauwberg, near Capetown. But the German mercenaries, having no interest in the quarrel, fled during the action, and in spite of the brave fighting of the Dutch burghers, the British gained an easy victory. General Janssens retired into the mountains, and there made terms with the British, being sent back with his officers and soldiers to Holland at the expense of the British Government and under a flag of truce.

The first acts of the new British administration, which started in 1806, were reactionary, and much of the good work done by the two Dutch Commissioners was abrogated: moreover, a fresh impulse was given to the slave trade.<sup>1</sup> The British had not long been in possession of Cape Colony when they found themselves involved in the difficult problem of the 'Native' question. In 1809 the Hottentots of the western part of Cape Colony were brought into legal subjection to the Government. Prior to this date they had been regarded as a relatively free people, outside the white man's law. They were now made subject to that law on the same terms as white men. The wilder or more independent among them disliked this obligation to a settled life, and fled northwards into the arid regions of Namakwaland. The Hottentot Regiment also gave a great deal of trouble, as the men had picked up very bad habits from the loose-lived European soldiers with whom they had associated during the days of struggle between the British and Dutch. They were employed, moreover, in the interior to overawe the more rebellious Boers, and this added to a growing dissatisfaction felt by the Dutch settlers against the tactless

<sup>1</sup> This was checked, however, by the Parliament of Great Britain in 1807 to a certain extent; but as Capetown was appointed a place at which captured slaveships might be condemned, and the slaves on board released, and as this procedure flooded the Cape district with large numbers of masterless Negroes [who by apprenticeship were virtually inducted again into slavery] the actions of the British Governors of Cape Colony in the first quarter of the nineteenth century decidedly increased the difficulties which attended the eventual emancipation of the slaves. The Dutch had complicated the racial problem in the Cape of Good Hope district by the introduction of Malays during the eighteenth century.

(though often well-meaning) rule of obstinate British military governors. Unfortunately, during the earlier years of the nineteenth century, British missionaries (of the London Missionary Society), instead of pouring oil on the troubled waters (as their Moravian brethren had done), caused a bitter feeling to arise between the Boers and the British Government. They accused the Dutch settlers of innumerable murders and acts of cruelty against the Hottentots, Bushmen, and Kafirs, without having sufficient evidence to establish these charges in the courts of law which were framed to try them. There is no doubt that the Boers and Huguenots sometimes treated the Hottentots in an arbitrary and even cruel manner, but these tendencies would have gradually disappeared under a settled Government. As it was, the action of the well-meaning missionaries from Great Britain, in their ill-regulated enthusiasm for the



*Photo lent by R. Anthro. Inst.*

A KAFIR CHIEFTAIN

native race (an enthusiasm, however, which was a most precious asset in the building up of the British Empire in Africa, and prevented us usually from committing the same faults and mistakes as had sullied Spanish rule in America), was a principal cause of the long enduring race feud which grew up between the British and Dutch people in South Africa, a feud only extinguished by the granting of full rights of self-government to the two Boer colonies of the Orange River and the Transvaal in 1906-7, and the prospects of a confederated South Africa.

In 1811 the *first war*, undertaken by the *British* against the Kafir tribes, took place.<sup>1</sup>

The Bantu tribes who had crossed the Zambezi in pre-historic days were divided into at least three main stocks (according to language), the Bechuana in the centre, the Nyanja group in the north-east, and the Kafir (Zulu) in the south-east and south. The Kafir-Zulu group had a very distinct branch—the *Thonga* or *Ronga*—which occupied under many different names the easternmost portion of the Transvaal, the Lower Limpopo River, and the region about Delagoa Bay; but the Kafirs of 'Zulu' type became divided into three main sections (according to dialect): the Kafirs of Cape Colony (Xosa and kindred clans, see p. 247); the Zulu of Zululand and Natal; and the Swazi of South-east Transvaal. Nearly all Zulu-Kafirs are tall, well-made, dark-skinned Negroes, typified by the Zulu of Natal.<sup>2</sup>

These Zulu-Kafirs, who probably arrived in South Africa by following the south-east coast-belt, found themselves checked in their further expansion westwards by the Hottentots, and perhaps also by their Bechuana kindred, who, under the tribal name of Basuto,<sup>3</sup> were an equally warlike people. However, the Hottentots, weakened by the terrible incursions of smallpox, which had killed them by tens of thousands at different times during the eighteenth century, were no longer able to prevent the Kafirs from entering the settled districts of Cape Colony to the west of

<sup>1</sup> For meaning of word 'Kafir' see p. 246.

The Kafirs had fought with the Dutch settlers three times during the last half of the eighteenth century.

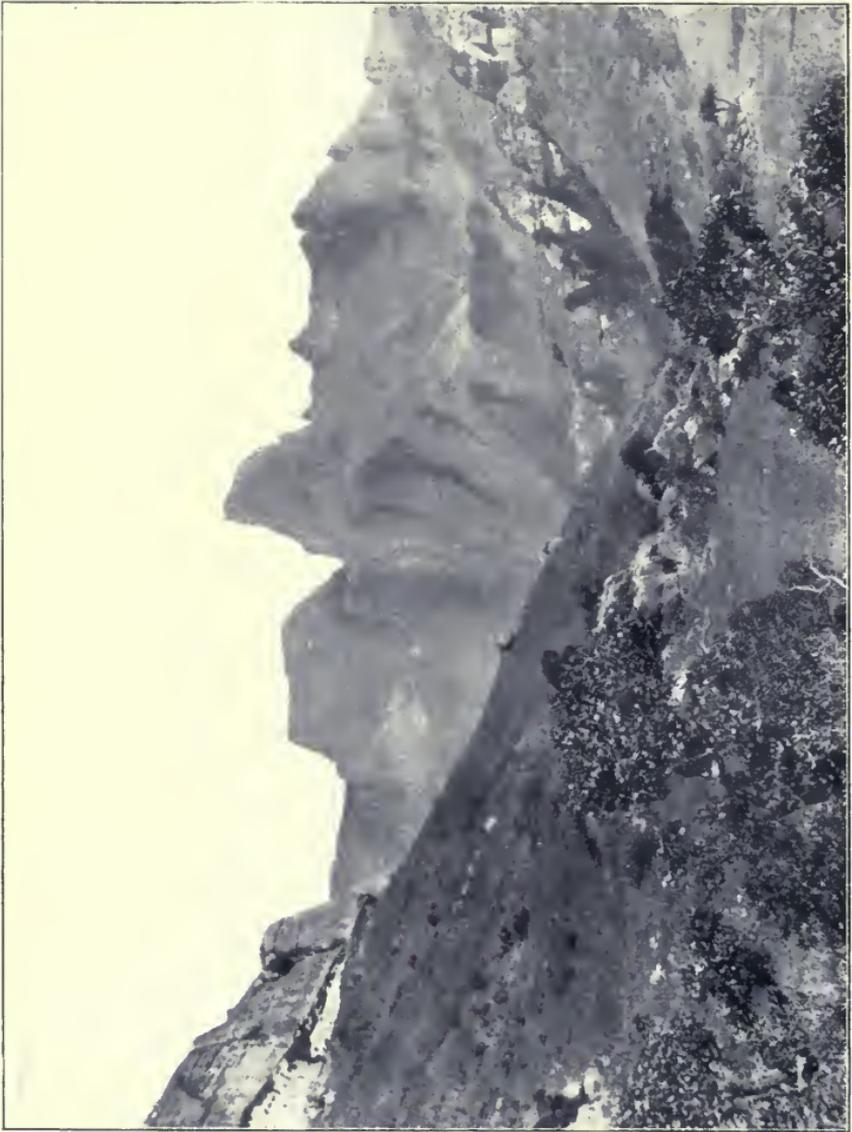
<sup>2</sup> Xosa is sometimes adopted as a term to comprise the language and dialects of the 'Kafirs' dwelling to the west of the Umzimkulu River, while the name 'Zulu' is now commonly applied to the language and people of the Kafir type between the Umzimkulu River and the Portuguese frontier. The people of Swaziland, although a hundred years ago it was only the name of a small clan of the Abatetwa 'Kafirs' of Zululand, are closely allied to the Zulu, but have a slightly different speech. The 'Zulu' dialect differs very little from Xosa and Swazi, but very much from the Tonga of northernmost Zululand. Xosa is spelt 'Xosa' in South Africa, but as the X really stands for a clucking click it is better to spell it with a special letter—X̣. [The other Kafir clicks are similarly rendered by C̣ and Q̣.]

<sup>3</sup> Possibly meaning the 'Brown people.'

the Great Fish River. It was now as the Americans would say—'up to' the British to stem the tide of Kafir invasion, and prevent the land of the European colonists and the Hottentot tribes from becoming a black man's country. The Hottentots, through disease, and perhaps injustice on the part of the settlers, had almost ceased to count as a factor, and the little Bushmen were fast disappearing, either at the merciless hands of the Europeans, or because they preferred to migrate northwards into desert regions, where they would be left alone. As the result of the short military operations in 1811–12 the Kafirs were expelled from the Zuurveld (the modern district of Albany), and were told to remain on the east side of the Great Fish River. At the same time Grahamstown was founded (named after the officer commanding the Hottentot Regiment) as a place of arms to keep the Kafirs in check. They made, however, so many incursions into the districts where the white settlers had begun to establish themselves, that in 1817 Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Somerset, Governor of Cape Colony from 1814, decided that the best obstacle in the way of repeated Kafir invasions would be to settle the Albany district with military colonists able to defend themselves. He, therefore, obtained a grant from the British Government of £5000 to promote emigration to the Cape, and between 1820 and 1821 about four thousand emigrants from Great Britain were settled in the eastern districts of the colony, principally in the county of Albany. At the same time a number of Irish were established in the western part of Cape Colony.

At first the Albany settlements were failures. But few of the colonists had any practical knowledge of agriculture. The cost of land transport pressed heavily on them, and the grants of land made to each family were too meagre for the somewhat wasteful requirements of African agriculture in an early stage. Moreover, it would seem that here, as elsewhere, there is some active spiritual agency in nature, which fights hard against new experiments. Between 1821 and 1830 the British colonists of the eastern part

of Cape Colony saw their fields of corn and vegetables destroyed by blights and insect plagues, or washed away



*Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

IN THE HEX MOUNTAINS, WESTERN CAPE COLONY  
ONE OF THE FIRST SETTLED AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS

into the stream valleys by excessive floods. Various diseases attacked the sheep and cattle. However, after ten years things began to right themselves, and the settlers who held on to the Zuurveld gradually attained prosperity, more

especially by the breeding of merino sheep for wool and the rearing of cattle.

Lord Charles Somerset's actions in other directions were bad and even disastrous in their effect; he had a violent temper and was obstinately despotic; but his settlement of this 'no man's land' in the eastern part of the then limited Cape Colony must be accounted excellent in its intentions and results.<sup>1</sup> It is due to his work that the central portion (as it now is) of Cape Colony is so very English in race and language, as compared to the western and northern parts, which remained completely Dutch. By 1828 the Albany settlements had become so important that Cape Colony was divided into two Provinces, the Western and the Eastern. Already, in the year 1824, its boundaries northwards had been extended to the Orange River.

Lord Charles Somerset found that the Hottentot Regiment stationed at Grahamstown was causing violent dissatisfaction amongst the Dutch settlers in the northern part of the Albany district. It was the now familiar story of the white man refusing to recognize the coloured man as in any sense an equal. The Hottentot soldiers were employed as police to arrest Dutch farmers on various charges. One such instance led to the death of a Boer named Frederik Bezuidenhout, who resisted the Hottentot policemen and was shot. His brother, Jan Bezuidenhout, took up the grievance as a bitter vendetta; in fact, he got up an insurrection of a rather futile character. But the local authorities were for the most part themselves of Dutch origin, and resisted stoutly any attempt to rebel against the constituted authority, however much they themselves might disapprove of the use that was made

<sup>1</sup> He took a very great interest also in the agricultural development of South Africa, founded a model farm (now called Somerset East), did much to improve agriculture, and introduced breeding horses at his own expense, from which cavalry remounts for the British Army in India were bred by the farmers to their great profit; but, when allusions are made to the generosity of the early Governors of Cape Colony, it must be remembered that they received enormous salaries and perquisites, amounting in some instances to a total of £15,000 a year.

of the Hottentot Regiment. Jan Bezuidenhout was killed in an attempt to arrest him, and a few insurgents were captured and tried on a charge of high treason. Although these people (one of them was the widow of Jan Bezuidenhout) had caused no loss of life (except in the case of the aforesaid widow), they were nevertheless punished with the greatest severity, six of them being sentenced to death, the others to long terms of imprisonment or banishment and heavy fines. In spite of strenuous pleading from British and Dutch officers alike, the obstinate Lord Charles Somerset insisted on five of the insurgent Boers being hanged at the place which was thenceforth to be known as 'Slagters Nek.' This stupid blunder of a British official completed the alienation of Dutch feeling from British rule in South Africa, which the tactless behaviour of the early missionaries had begun. Thenceforth there were definitely two camps—the Boer on the one hand, and the English-speaking British and German colonists on the other.

Friction between the two was further increased by the refusal in 1827 to acknowledge the use of the Dutch language any longer in Courts of Law, or to appoint any officer, of the Crown who was not conversant with the English language. Not even the admirable arrangements made in that year (1827) for the administration of justice by the creation of a Supreme Court with judges appointed directly by the Crown, of lower courts and police courts, sufficed to reconcile the thirty or forty thousand Dutch-speaking people in the colony to the disfranchisement of their beloved dialect, a form of speech already departing widely in pronunciation and vocabulary from the literary language of Holland. To a certain extent, in religious matters, a slight reconciliation took place. The South-African Dutch (mixed as they were with the descendants of French Huguenots) were bigotedly anti-Romanist. The settlers introduced by the British Government from England, Scotland, and Ireland were practically all Protestants; so were the Moravian missionaries (whose work in the colony

was begun in the eighteenth century), and the agents of the London Missionary Society. The Scottish settlers found their Presbyterianism agreeing exactly with the tenets of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Colonial Government had built numerous churches for the Dutch Reformed Colonists, and the early settlers from Scotland to some extent fused with the Dutch community. But trouble again arose, separating British and Dutch in sympathies, over the slavery question.

About 1830 there was a slave population in Cape Colony of about thirty thousand Negroes, mainly derived from Moçambique: another twenty-five thousand were Hottentots (agricultural serfs rather than slaves), and there



SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN

GOVERNOR OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1834-37

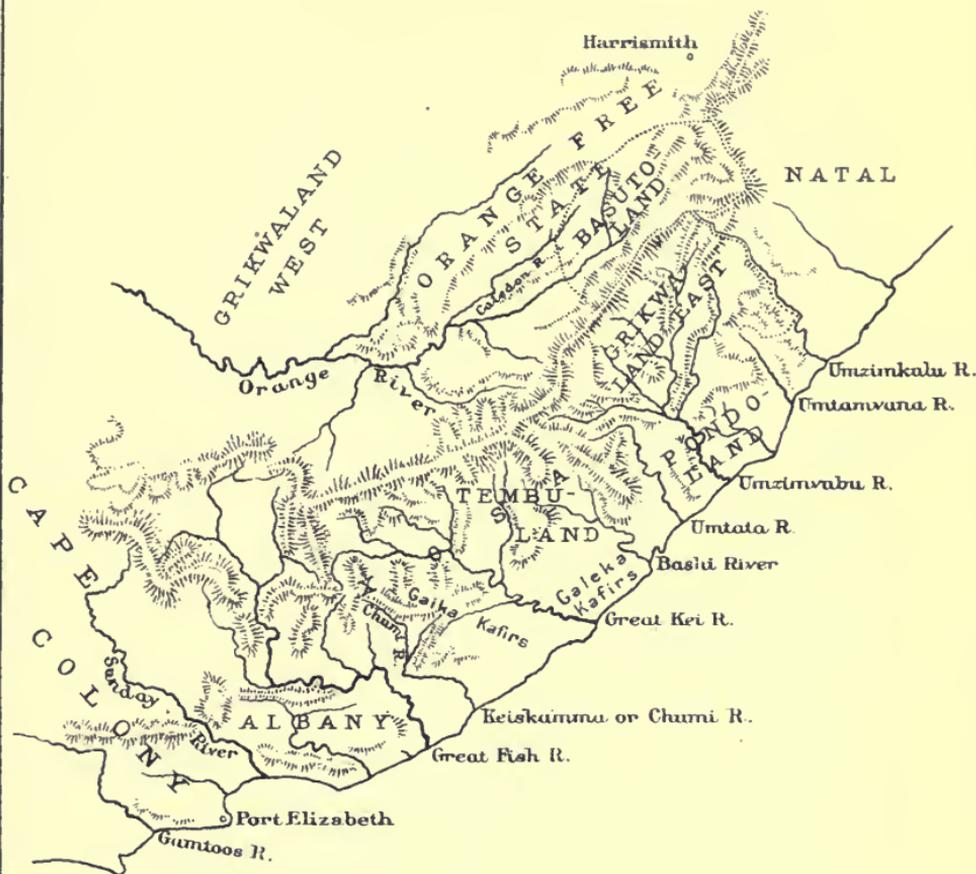
were perhaps nine thousand Malays and natives of Madagascar. In 1833 the status of slavery was abolished. It was enacted that on the 1st of December, 1834, freedom should be given to all slaves over a certain age, or subject to specified conditions. Complete freedom—the complete abolition of the slave status—was to take place on the 1st of December, 1838. Meanwhile the Imperial Government would compensate the slave owners to the extent of £1,250,000.

But this compensation—relatively small compared to the ratio adopted in other British Colonies—was so carried out as to give the Boers the greatest cause for dissatisfaction. It was saddled by various deductions and drawbacks, and it is to be feared that a good deal of the money found its way into the pockets of officials in England and in Cape Colony. At the beginning of 1830 the Boer farmers were seething with indignation at the cessation of their slave labour, and the inadequate amount they had received for the renunciation of their slaves.

Then, just as the slave emancipation was being put in force, there came a further addition to the Boer grievances. In 1834, shortly after one of the really great Governors of South Africa—Sir Benjamin d'Urban—had taken up his appointment, twelve thousand Kafir warriors of the Xosa group crossed the eastern frontier of Cape Colony with the deliberate intention of massacring or driving away the European colonists in the newly settled districts. For nearly a fortnight they had it all their own way from Somerset East to Algoa Bay, killing many white men, burning their houses, destroying or carrying off their property, and turning a beautiful province into a desert. This raid was absolutely unprovoked by any local action, but the Kafir chiefs afterwards gave as their excuse the fact that people had been turned out of the country on the west bank of the Keiskamma River, which they, the Kafirs, had recently seized from the Hottentots.

The Government dispatched Colonel (Sir Harry) Smith to repel this Kafir invasion. The Xosa warriors were driven eastwards of the Keiskamma,<sup>1</sup> and their own territory beyond the Great Kei River was next invaded. When the Kafirs sued for peace, Sir Benjamin issued a proclamation declaring the country between the Keiskamma and the Chumi (Tyumi) a British possession under the name of the Province of Queen Adelaide. As the people of the Kafir chiefs Gaika and Ndlambe recommenced a guerilla warfare, Sir Benjamin d'Urban established

<sup>1</sup> The Keiskamma is a little river which rises near Lovedale Mission College and enters the sea about sixty miles east of the Great Fish River.



## SKETCH MAP OF KAFFRARIA

To show locations of tribes and shifting  
of tribal frontiers during first half of  
19th Century.



a number of military posts along the eastern frontier of the new Adelaide Province, and garrisoned these with soldier-colonists. Very few of the conquered Kafirs were dispossessed of their homes, and such natives as the outcast 'Fingo' tribe were dealt with generously in regard to grants of land. The missionaries, with one exception, were encouraged to return to their work amongst the Kafirs on what remained Negro territory. The exception was an important one—the Reverend Dr. Philip, a representative of the London Missionary Society, who had been in Cape Colony since about 1820, and had identified himself enthusiastically, but not always judiciously, with the native cause. With Dr. Philip it seems to have been 'the native, right or wrong'; but he and some of his adherents overlooked the fact that the Kafirs, whose cause they championed with intense zeal, were no more native to these districts of Cape Colony than were the British: the real natives were the Bushmen and Hottentots. These two peoples had never been very numerous, but had in many districts ceased to exist by the beginning of the nineteenth century, either by the spread of disease, or by the persecutions of the Dutch, French, or early British settlers. The question really at issue between Sir Benjamin d'Urban and the great Kafir chiefs beyond the Keiskamma was as to the predominance in power of white or black rule, the question whether the whole of Cape Colony eventually should be occupied by Bantu Negroes, or whether the districts west of the Keiskamma should be reserved for European settlers, Hottentots, Malays, and such few Negro tribes as had already settled down there by permission of the British Government.

Dr. Philip,<sup>1</sup> however, made his way to England with a Kafir and a Hottentot, both trained in the mission schools. He greatly influenced the mind of Sir Charles Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg), then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and this statesman decided to

<sup>1</sup> A rather interesting side-light on Dr. Philip and on missionary society in Cape Colony in 1841 is to be found in a letter of David Livingstone given on pp. 64 to 69 in the present author's *Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa*.

annul the recent acts of Sir Benjamin d'Urban, although his proceedings had met with the approval not only of British and Boer settlers and of such Hottentot chiefs as could make their views known, but also of practically all the missionaries then in South Africa, with the sole exception of Dr. Philip. The Governor of the Cape was obliged to give back to the Kafirs of the Xosa tribes lands which had long been occupied by white settlers (chiefly Boers) within the Province of Adelaide. Moreover, this Province was placed under the separate Governorship of a Boer, Mr. Andries Stockenstrom, who had visited England to protest against certain actions of Sir Benjamin d'Urban. The last named (whose memory is perpetuated in the sea-capital of Natal) is described by Mr. McCall Theal, the celebrated historian of South Africa, as 'the best loved and most widely esteemed Governor Cape Colony had known since the days of General Janssens.' He attempted to dissuade the Secretary of State from carrying out his purpose, and was thereupon dismissed from office in the harshest manner. Almost broken-hearted at this treatment, he would not return to England, but retired to private life in Cape Colony until his countrymen should have the opportunity of considering his work, and perhaps of reversing the judgment passed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was not, however, until 1846 that the British Government realized what a blunder had been committed, and with what cruel unfairness Sir Benjamin d'Urban had been treated. He was subsequently appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Canada. 'To the great wail of agony from South Africa,' writes Mr. McCall Theal, 'Lord Glenelg had but one reply: that he took the responsibility of the policy upon himself, a responsibility so terrible, as subsequently seen, that it is charitable to suppose he was more thoughtless than cold-blooded.'

At this distance of time, most students of South African history of otherwise divergent opinion will probable concur in the strong words of the impartial historian of South Africa (himself a man who at different times has been accused

of too much sympathy for the Boers and for the natives). But they should realize that Lord Glenelg erred mainly through a desire to be absolutely fair to the Negro inhabitants of South Africa. He did not wish the extension of Cape Colony to be founded on injustice. He was also ill-informed as to the geography, anthropology, and history of South Africa. His blunder was in some respects less bad than many subsequent mistakes made by British statesmen in control of the Empire's destinies; men who, through the plan of education then and now prevailing, were often ignorant of the same great subjects.

The effects of Lord Glenelg's reversal of Sir Benjamin d'Urban's action were far-reaching. The white man and his changes of policy had become the laughing-stock of Kafirland, and such persecuted Kafir tribes as had been taken under our protection were incessantly harassed and killed off by the insolent Xosa people.

But worst of all, the unsettling of everything Sir Benjamin d'Urban had done decided the bulk of the Boers in the eastern part of Cape Colony to migrate out of reach of British authority to regions where, with their guns, they could carve for themselves new republics out of Negro territory: so that in the long run the Negro did not benefit from Lord Glenelg's interference. The Great Trek began in 1835, and the first pioneer party of Boers under Louis Triéhard (of Hottentot descent) and Jan van Rensburg, of under a hundred people (only eighteen of whom were full-grown men), started with thirty waggons, and a considerable number of Negro and Hottentot servants or slaves. They crossed what is now the Orange River Colony, and without any difficulty reached the Zoutpansberg Mountains, on the eastern frontier of the Transvaal, aiming vaguely at getting into touch with a seaport like Delagoa Bay. In this region the party divided into two, and that under van Rensburg continued to travel eastwards, but soon disappeared from all knowledge. Apparently all the members of this expedition, except two, were killed by the natives or died of fever.

Triéhard's following, in their attempt to reach Delagoa

Bay, descended from the high plateau of the Transvaal into the fever belt of the Limpopo Valley. Here many of the



THE OLD METHOD OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION — WAGGONS AND TEAMS OF OXEN

children and a few of the adults died from the effects of malaria; but the worst blow which befell them was the loss of their cattle from the tse-tse fly. This was probably the

first occasion in *recent* South African history when this



THE BOER COSTUME OF THE 'FORTIES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY  
(AS WORN BY THE FRENCH EXPLORER, M. DELEGORGUE)

potent insect impressed itself on the mind of the white man, as one of the gravest obstacles to his settlement in and

exploration of Tropical Africa. The Boers were for the most part quite ignorant, and read scarcely any book but the Bible; otherwise they might have learned, even at that day, of the Portuguese accounts, published and re-published at different times, between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries, alluding to the effect of the tse-tse fly on the early Portuguese expeditions into the interior of Zambezia. Here this same insect had absolutely put a stop to the attempts of the Portuguese to found a great African Empire in the gold-bearing regions of the Zambezi Basin. No other obstacle could have prevailed at that time against their guns and gunpowder, their armour and energy.<sup>1</sup>

Only twenty-six survivors of Triéhard's party reached the Portuguese fort of Lourenço Marquez at Delagoa Bay. The Portuguese treated them with the utmost kindness, and maintained them most hospitably for a whole year, during which time they were able to get into communication with other sections of the Boer people who were also emigrating eastwards from Cape Colony. Eventually these twenty-six people (including young Triéhard, who had walked overland all the way from Delagoa Bay) arrived in Natal, and joined the Boers who were founding a republic in that region. In 1836 a large party of Boers (and again one must record that some of the best of their men were of Huguenot descent) left the eastern part of Cape Colony under the leadership of Andries Hendrik Potgieter, also with the desire to found a republic in the far north-east, which might be in touch with Delagoa Bay. This party included amongst the children a boy named Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, afterwards to be one of the great names of South African history. There were in all about fifty families, perhaps two hundred and fifty men, women, and children. The Potgieter expedition made its way across the Orange River and past the northern flanks of the Basuto Mountains (Thaba Nchu) to the vicinity of the present town of Winburg. Here they met a headman of the Bataung tribe of Bechuana<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Note on the Tse-tse Fly (p. 93).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 243.

Bantu. The Bataung, together with other Bechuana tribes, had once occupied all the territory between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers, together with the western and northern parts of the Transvaal, but during the early part of the nineteenth century they had been frightfully harassed, and nearly exterminated by incursions of the great Zulu-Kafir races, who from the eighteenth century seem to have surged northwards and westwards from their confined territories along the south-east littoral, in attempts first to devastate, and, secondly, to occupy all the habitable lands between the Indian Ocean and the Zambezi. These movements, of the Zulus especially, were partly caused by inter-tribal quarrels,<sup>1</sup> and one such quarrel had sent a leader named Umsilikazi on a series of terrible raids into the countries of the Bechuana people. Umsilikazi is better known by the Bechuana version of his name—Moselekatse.

Potgieter's expedition found the land, which is now the Orange River Colony, almost depopulated (except in the high mountains) by the raids of Moselekatse. Without properly appreciating the tremendous risk of intervention, Potgieter purchased from Makwana, the presumed chief of the Bataung tribe, a large extent of territory between the Orange River and the Vaal. The purchase price was a small herd of cattle, but a condition of the purchase was an engagement on the part of the Boers to protect Makwana and his people against the Matebele<sup>2</sup> warriors of Moselekatse.

After concluding this bargain, Potgieter's party of Boer farmers, with their wives and children, settled down and began to create the beginnings of the Orange Free State. But Commandant Potgieter himself, with eleven other Boers, determined to explore the country eastwards till they reached Delagoa Bay. The western part of the Transvaal was found to be depopulated by the Matebele, and as the party could not find an easy route from the edge of the great Transvaal Plateau to the unknown eastern coast-lands,

<sup>1</sup> See the next chapter on the devastations of the Zulu-Kafir chiefs.

<sup>2</sup> *Amandebele* is the Zulu form; *Matebele* is the Sechuana version.

they turned back again to the Vaal River, to learn that during their absence several of their friends and relations had been killed by the Matabele.

They were just in time to assist the remainder of the colonists to defend themselves against complete extermination. In the principal stands they made against these hordes of victorious Zulus, they were sometimes at most



*Photo by S. S. Walkinzen*

A GREAT ZULU WAR DANCE: ZULULAND

THIS IS WHAT THE ZULU ARMIES MUST HAVE LOOKED LIKE, ADVANCING ON THE BOER PIONEERS

forty fighting men against five thousand, but they had early learned to adopt the plan of speedy fortification by fastening their heavy waggons together in what is called a laager.<sup>1</sup>

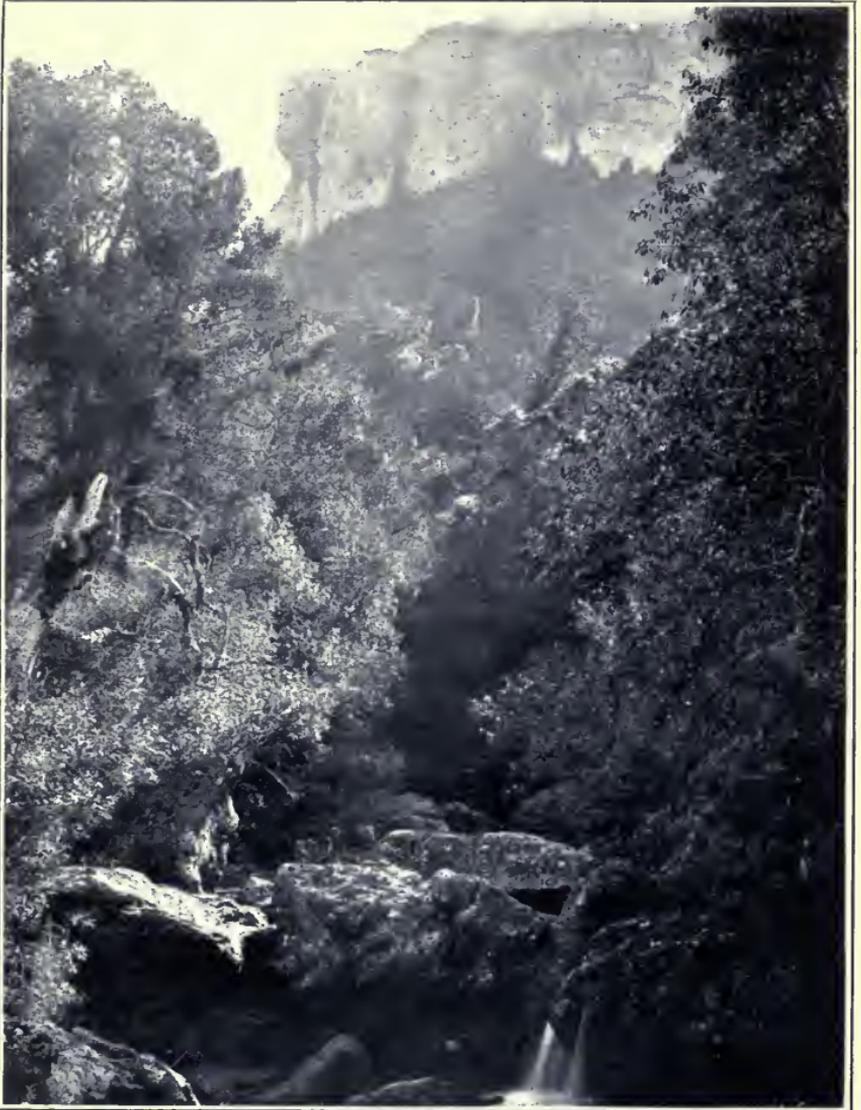
After the repulse of an army of five thousand Matebele, communications were opened up with a Barolong (Bechuana) settlement which had just been founded by the efforts of a very notable Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. Mr. Archbell, and also with another large party of Boers migrating

<sup>1</sup> A rough circle formed of waggons. The spaces between each wagon were filled up with thorns and brushwood, or the branches of trees.

towards Graaf Reinet under Gerrit Maritz. With the assistance of Mr. Archbell, the Boer women and children were placed in relative safety in the district of Thaba Nchu, and the Boer men, with the assistance of sixty Barolong Bechuana (under Matlabe) and forty Grikwa (Hottentot) half-castes—perhaps a hundred whites and a hundred coloured fighters, nearly all mounted on horses—started northwards on a bold attempt to inflict a punishment on the Matebele. They took a section of the Matebele by surprise at Mosega (in the South-western Transvaal). Moselekatse himself was away; the Matebele warriors, of course, had only their assegais to fight with, and their leathern shields as a defence. Four hundred were shot down almost immediately, without a single white man being killed or wounded. All through the morning of that day, till the horses were weary and could move no more, the Matebele were hunted hither and thither, and killed without mercy. Most of the waggons which the Matebele had snatched from the earlier Boer pioneers were recovered, together with six or seven thousand head of cattle. The habitations of the Matebele warriors were destroyed by fire, and the expedition returned, bringing with it three American missionaries and their wives (Wilson, Lindley, and Venable). It is worthy of note that at a time when the raids and devastations of Moselekatse were attracting most attention, these devoted missionaries had, at great risk to themselves, made their way to Moselekatse's head quarters, and had so far impressed him with their disinterestedness as to have been allowed to settle at Mosega. But for the unhappy quarrel which had arisen between the Matebele and the Boers, it is possible that these men, with further assistance, might have been able in time to bend the Matebele into the way of peace.

After the Boer victory at Mosega, the settlement of Winburg was definitely founded, and was named in reference to the victory. In June, 1837, a mass meeting at Winburg may be said to have founded the Orange River State by promulgating a Constitution, and electing a Boer from

Cape Colony, Pieter Retief, as Governor and Commandant-General.



*Photo by S. S. Walkinson*

THE KUDU PASS IN THE DRAKENSBERG MOUNTAINS, ON THE  
BORDERS OF BASUTOLAND

Larger parties of Boers began to arrive in this region from Cape Colony, and it was decided to dispatch another expedition against Moselekatse. By November, 1837, the

little Boer army—all of course mounted, and armed with guns, and thus in a position of great superiority to the unmounted Zulus, fighting merely with assegais and clubs—had driven Moselekatse and the whole of his army out of the territories now known as the Transvaal, across the Limpopo, and into those regions of Southern Zambezia which for many years afterwards were known as Matebele-



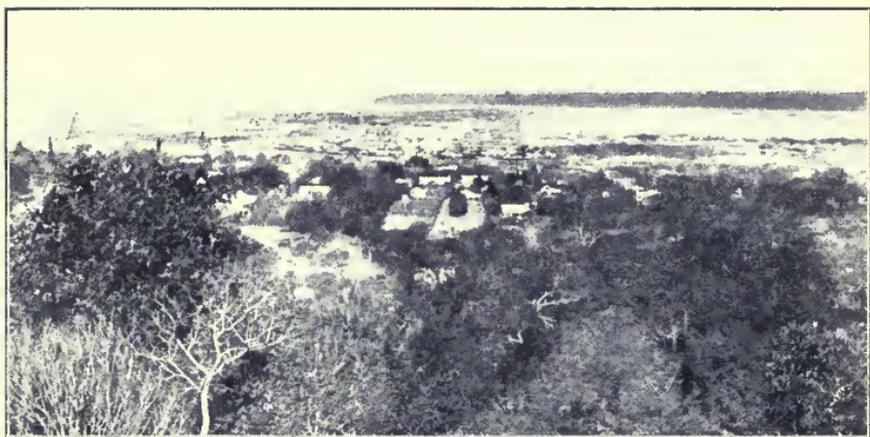
*Photo by S. S. Walkinson*

VASCO DA GAMA'S MONUMENT, DURBAN, NATAL

land. However much the Boers may subsequently have afflicted the native tribes which came under their sway, there is no doubt that their intervention in the 'thirties of the nineteenth century absolutely saved the Bechuana Bantu from extinction. A few years more, and the whole of this race between the Drakensberg Mountains on the south, the Kalahari Desert and the Zambezi watershed on the north, must have perished either from starvation and cold, or by direct assassination at the hands of the bloodthirsty Matebele Zulu. Probably no European power throughout

the whole of Africa has better title deeds to the lands it has occupied than the Boers of South Africa.

Whilst Commandants Potgieter and Jacobus Uys were accomplishing this noteworthy feat—perhaps the most noteworthy episode in the conflict between white and black in South Africa—Governor Pieter Retief was attempting to connect the new Boer settlements in the district of Winburg with some sea-coast not under the dominion of Great Britain—in other words, he was feeling his way towards what we now know as Natal.



*Photo lent by Francis Harrison*

THE TOWN AND HARBOUR OF DURBAN, NATAL

The word Natal is simply the Portuguese for 'Christmas,' because the discoverer, Vasco da Gama, had sighted the present harbour of Durban (or forested coast in its vicinity) on Christmas Day, 1497. Later on the name Natal was applied loosely to the Zulu country between the Umzimvubu (or 'Hippopotamus' River) and the Tugela. A settlement had been formed in 1823 at 'Fort Natal' by a small party of British colonists under the leadership of Lieutenants Farewell and King, officers of the Royal Navy. They had visited the Zulu King Chaka, and had obtained from him in 1824 a grant of the port of Natal, afterwards christened Durban<sup>1</sup> (with a hundred square miles of territory inland

<sup>1</sup> Durban was actually founded in 1835 by Captain Allen Gardiner, R.N., a lay missionary pioneer.

and a coast-line of thirty-five miles). Chaka, though he was a bloody-minded warrior, was an ambitious man, probably all unconsciously inspired by old Bantu traditions, and aiming at some Empire of Monomotapa such as had once, no doubt, destroyed the settlements of pre-Islamic Arabs, and inspired even the Portuguese with awe. Chaka was well inclined towards the great European power whose ships dominated the sea, and whose subjects might bring him all the supplies he required in return for the ivory and cattle, of which the countries under his rule seemed to possess a boundless store. Farewell and King proclaimed the little territory of Natal to be a part of the British dominions, but when, in 1834, Sir Benjamin d'Urban asked the Colonial Office for permission to establish a definite government in Natal, Sir Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg), with his dislike to assuming new responsibilities in South Africa, felt unable to grant the petition.

### NOTE TO CHAPTER III

#### THE TSE-TSE FLY AND PARASITIC DISEASES

THE Tse-tse fly is an insect belonging to the same order as that which includes the domestic fly (as this pest is still most improperly called, for so far from being a 'domestic' insect, our civilization should destroy it altogether). It belongs to the genus *Glossina*, and this genus has probably proved one of the most deadly foes of the whole mammalian class which the history of this earth has known: it has been more devastating in effecting the destruction of large beasts than even the British and Boer sportsmen. The Tse-tse is, however, only an agent, and does not itself fabricate the poison which it inserts into the blood. Tse-tse flies of different species nourish in their bodies and convey through their probosces the infinitely minute organisms which are known as Trypanosomes. These, according to their species, by a multiplication in the blood of vertebrate animals, create the Nagana disease, which destroys domestic cattle, horses, sheep, goats, dogs, and almost all the beasts not native in their origin to Tropical Africa; and the sleeping sickness which at different times has devastated the Negro populations of the Forest region of Tropical Africa. A nearly allied animalcule, the *Treponema*, is the cause of a number of other terrible diseases afflicting humanity, horses, cattle, &c. The *Treponema* diseases are transferred from one mammal to another by ticks (the tick is really a degenerate member of the spider class, and

not an insect), and possibly by other agencies not yet discovered. But so far as our knowledge goes, the Trypanosome diseases, of which Nagana (for non-humans) and sleeping sickness are the principal, are only conveyed by tse-tse flies of the genus *Glossina*. Malarial fever, which has been and is still one of the chief obstacles to human well-being throughout Africa, is caused by a Sporozoon<sup>1</sup> of the genus *Hamaxoba*, and this micro-organism is (so far as we know) only conveyed into the blood of human beings by mosquitos of the Anopheline group. The common or domestic fly is believed to carry about the germs of diphtheria, typhoid, dysentery, and other diseases.

Various kinds of flea convey the plague bacillus from the blood of one human being to another or from one mammal to another. So that if humanity could only find some means of destroying all these members of the insect and spider classes, whose fell purpose it is to convey poisonous organisms into the blood of mammalia, birds, and reptiles, we should have gone far in the direction of eliminating all disease, especially in tropical climates. Two species of *Glossina*, like the tse-tse, have been found fossil in North America (Colorado). These may probably have been the cause of the mysterious destruction of the vast herds of horses, rhinoceroses, camels, elephants, mastodons, and other beasts which swarmed over America down to the human period and then vanished too rapidly for their destruction to be attributed to the feeble efforts of Palæolithic Man. Fortunately for Africa, the tse-tse fly generally disappears before civilization after the cutting down or burning of the rank herbage, the tilling of the ground, and the establishment of human settlements. But its disappearance does not seem to be brought about by the destruction of big game.

<sup>1</sup> Of the *Protozoa* class, the lowliest of animal organisms.

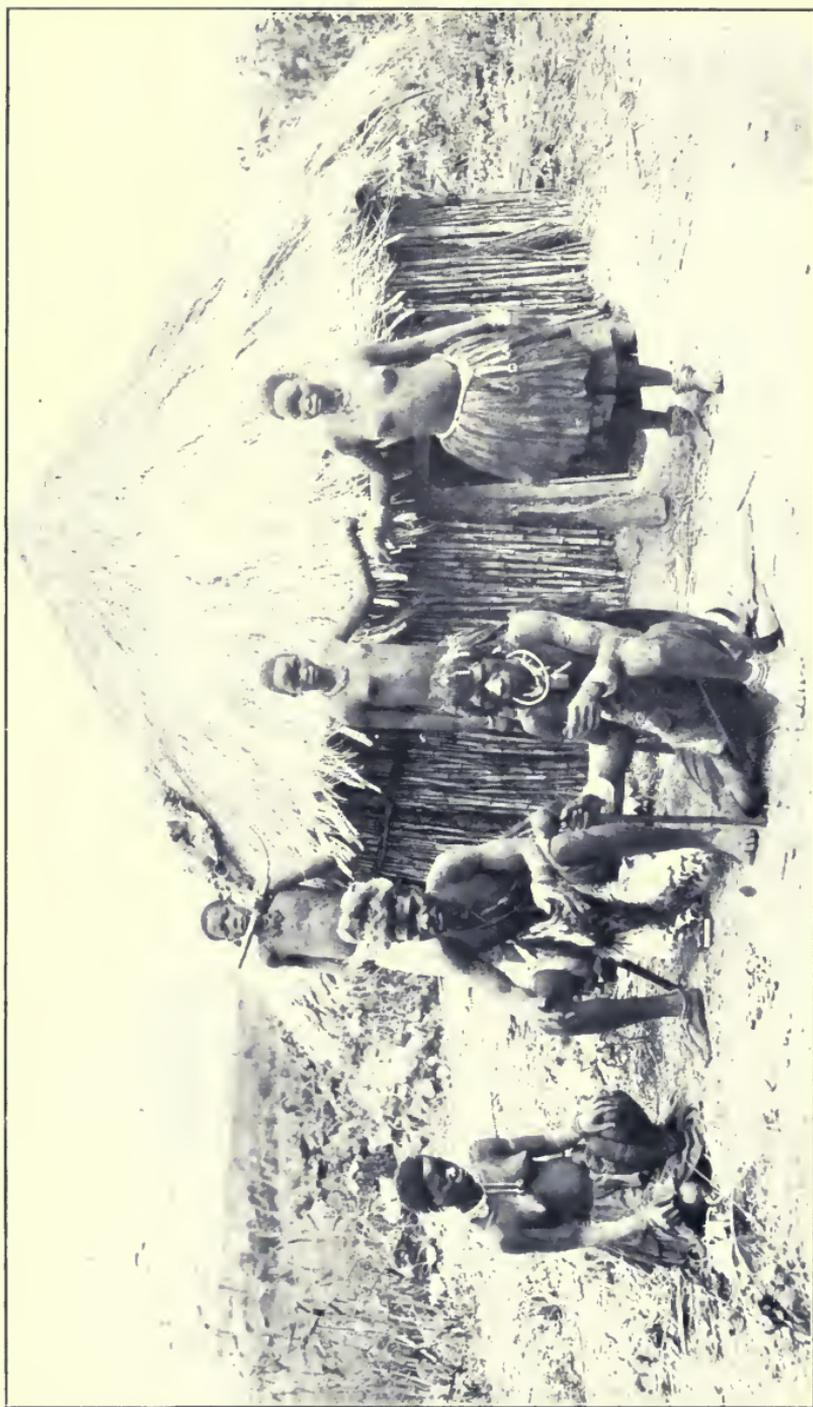
## CHAPTER IV

### ZULU-KAFIR MOVEMENTS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

IT is still an unsolved problem for students of the Bantu races to decide from what portion of the southern half of Africa came the original stock of the Zulu-Kafir peoples. Though their group of Bantu dialects is divided into two very separate types—the *Ronga* or *Thonga* of Delagoa Bay and the Lower Limpopo<sup>1</sup> and the *Zulu-Kafir*—these 'Kafir' languages are, with the exception of kinship to Sechuana-Sesuto, singularly without near relations amongst the other groups of Bantu speech. So far there is no striking evidence in speech relationships which would enable us to determine with accuracy the region of Africa in which the ancestors of the Zulu-Kafir people originated. A few indications in language point to East Africa: the myths, customs, weapons, utensils, style of house building, domestic animals, and other ethnographical features of the Zulu-Kafirs are peculiarly East African. But there is a large element in the Kafir language which offers no known affinities, either to other Bantu groups, or to non-Bantu language. Possibly the Zulu-Kafirs were so long isolated in South-east Africa, between the high mountains and cold plateaus on the north, and the sea coast on the south, that they developed this peculiar element themselves.

The western tribes of this great people occasionally recall in physical type the *Herero* or Berg-Damara of South-west Africa, who are tall, black-skinned Negroes, quite different from the Hottentots partially surrounding them.

<sup>1</sup> The Ronga or Thonga dialects are to some extent a link between the Zulu and Sechuana groups.



*Photo by Leo Weenthal*

A BAVENDA VILLAGE IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL  
THE BAVENDA ARE ALLIED TO THE BECHUANA GROUP OF PEOPLES

The Kafirs are a rather hairy people, with big and prominent noses and full beards, and tall of stature. The more eastern Zulu tribes are handsomer perhaps than the western Kafirs. The aristocratic families and the chieftains recall in their appearance the good-looking Negro or negroid races of North Tanganyika, Western Uganda, and the southern shores of the Victoria Nyanza. But in many of the tribes there is undoubted Bushman blood, showing itself in shortened stature and small, bridgeless, thin-nostrilled noses and yellow skin-colour.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the distribution of native races in Trans-Zambezi Africa probably stood thus: The *coast* regions of Cape Colony, between the Orange River on the north and the Great Kei River on the east, were inhabited sparsely by *Hottentots*. The interior of Cape Colony, portions of the Orange River Colony, Basutoland, the Western Transvaal, the Kalahari Desert, and the region between Lake Ngami and the westernmost affluents of the Zambezi were inhabited by nomad *Bushmen*. There were also Hottentots in Great Namaqualand, along the Lower Orange River, and on the coast between the Cape of Good Hope and Walfish Bay.

In the central regions of South Africa, between the Kalahari Desert, the Zambezi watershed, the Zoutpansberg Mountains, the Drakensberg and Kwathlamba Mountains, and the Upper Orange River, dwelt scattered clans of the wide-spread *Bechuana* race. (See p. 244.) In the basin of the central Limpopo River was the kindred people known as the *Bavenda*. In the somewhat limited region of South-east Africa between the Great Kei River on the south-west, the Lebombo Mountains and Santa Lucia Lake were the *Zulu-Kafir* tribes. In the south-eastern portion of Trans-Zambezi Africa between the Zambezi on the north and the vicinity of the Limpopo River on the south, were Bantu tribes such as the Ba-tonga (Batoka); the Ba-nyai, Ba-kalaña or Ma-karanga,<sup>1</sup> Ba-swina (Ma-shona); Ba-shangane and

<sup>1</sup> The 'Ma-shona' and Ma-karanga are practically the same people. So overlaid are both with exotic nicknames that it is very difficult to ascertain

Ba-rue; Va-tua; and the many differently named clans grouped under the general term of Thonga or Ronga—the 'Knob-noses' of the Boer and British pioneers.

None of these races in physical development could approach the Zulu-Kafirs. These last dwelt in a very healthy country, entirely free from the ravages of the tse-tse fly, and consequently well adapted for the unlimited breeding of cattle, sheep, and goats, permeated by ever-flowing rivers, and full of wild game, a land well typified by the modern State of Natal, the 'Garden Colony' of South Africa. Consequently, they increased and multiplied at a far greater rate than the tribes of the unhealthy malarial regions of the north-east, of the cold plateaus of the north, or the arid deserts to the north-west. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the westernmost sections of the Kafir-Zulu race endeavoured, as has been related, to dispute the possession of Hottentot South Africa with the incoming Europeans. They were driven back beyond the Great Kei River.

The Umvolosi runs through the middle of Zululand, and in the region watered by this stream grew up a small tribe of Kafirs of fine physical development who called themselves the Amazulu. The name means 'People from Above, from the Skies,' and the designation occurs elsewhere in the eastern basin of the Zambezi. The Kafir peoples of that period—the end of the eighteenth century—were divided into an infinitude of petty tribes, each tribe being probably the descendants of the children of some one powerful chief, warrior, or hunter, who by his own prowess had acquired a large number of wives, and after the manner of the old Patriarchs, had left behind him such a family of children as to constitute in the first generation the nucleus of a clan. Sometimes the original ancestor of the tribe was erected in their legends into a demigod, or he was associated in their traditions with some

their correct indigenous tribal names. The Ba-kalaña, or Ma-karanga, are known by the Bechuana as the 'Makalaka,' a name perpetuated by Livingstone, but the local designation seems to be Ba-kalaña and its etymology is very doubtful.



*Photo by S. S. Watkinson*

A TYPICAL ZULU CHIEF

animal or object which he had adopted as his Totem or Fetish.

The chief of the Amazulu had a younger son named Chaka.<sup>1</sup> This youth surpassed his brethren and all the other young men of the clan as an athlete and a warrior. Not being in the direct line of succession to his father, his success inspired jealousy amongst his brothers. He received a hint that trouble was brewing, and fled to Dingiswayo, a more powerful chief of a bigger tribe of Zulus known as the Abatetwa. Chaka so distinguished himself in episodes of tribal warfare that, when Dingiswayo was killed by enemies, the soldiers elected Chaka to be his successor. As soon as he was proclaimed chief, he brought about an amalgamation between the Abatetwa and the Amazulu, and soon became the master of the region we still know as Zululand. He carried further the great ideas regarding the control and armament of the tribal forces which Dingiswayo had initiated after a political exile in Cape Colony.<sup>2</sup> Chaka, in fact, was to this small portion of Bantu Africa what Frederick the Great had been to Prussia, or Julius Cæsar to Rome. He improved the style of shield and assegai used by his warriors, subjected them to an iron discipline, forced all the young men to enter the army and to serve therein for a certain number of years till he gave them permission to marry, and then started out to enlarge his dominions.

He first attacked the peoples in Swaziland and the Kafir tribes of Northern Natal. Orders were given in the assaults of his army that no one was to be spared, except the children. Of these, the young girls were handed over

<sup>1</sup> A name rendered by some authorities as Shaka.

<sup>2</sup> Dingiswayo (the 'Wanderer') indeed may be said to have begun the new order of things which made the Zulu a nation of conquerors. When a very young man he fell into trouble and fled to the Xosa country in the west, and from there visited Cape Colony, where he worked for some years; observing as he did so the disciplined troops of the British. About 1798 he came riding back to Zululand on a horse (in those days an animal unknown to the Zulu) and was speedily recognized and elected chief of the Batetwa tribe. He then put his new ideas into force and created the first Zulu army. He also opened up friendly relations with the Portuguese traders at Delagoa Bay.

to Chaka for distribution, according to his pleasure, as future wives for favourite warriors: and the boys entered his army, first of all as porters, and later to be trained as soldiers. All the others, men, women, and babies, were put to death. The villages, and all property and utensils therein were burnt, but the cattle and other live stock were handed over to Chaka. A few tribes sought to avert these disasters by adopting Zulu nationality and customs, and submitting themselves entirely to Chaka's orders. Others, who did not feel inclined to do this, or who dared not trust the treacherous Chaka, fled from his forces to the north and west. These fugitives, in their turn, through impinging on the territories of weaker tribes, became conquerors and devastators. Between 1819 (approximately) and the defeat of the Matabele by Dr. Jameson in 1893, much of Southern and South-eastern Africa was bathed in human blood by the war of negro against negro which followed the original conquests of Chaka.

One of the northern Zulu tribes, probably from Swaziland, under the chief Sochangana, fled to the Sabi River in Portuguese South-east Africa. Sochangana, as the distance grew between him and Chaka, soon became, with his horde of warriors, a conqueror instead of a fugitive. He ravaged what are now the Portuguese territories between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi River. He captured and destroyed every single Portuguese fortress or settlement on the south-east coast, and on the Lower Zambezi River. His people became known to the Portuguese under the dreaded name of the 'Landins.'<sup>1</sup> Even when the Portuguese took advantage of tribal dissensions to re-establish their positions during the middle of the nineteenth century, they were for long compelled to pay tribute to the descendant of Sochangana, who established the head quarters of his power in Gazaland. The last chief of this dynasty—Gungunyana—was captured by the Portuguese in 1896.

The march of Sochangana's army was followed by the Angoni-Zulu tribe, also fleeing from before Chaka. The

<sup>1</sup> Possibly from the name of a chief or captain called 'Umlandine.'

Angoni took a more westerly course, scarcely stopped till they reached the Zambezi, crossed that river about Tete, and conquered all the country between the Luangwa River and the west coast of Lake Nyasa. Here they founded chieftainships, which lasted down to the close of the nineteenth century, and the full establishment of the British protectorate over Nyasaland. Branches of the Angoni even



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

SNOW IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE VICINITY OF GIANT'S CASTLE IN THE  
DRAKENSBERG MOUNTAINS

pushed north between Tanganyika and Nyasa, curved round to the south-east, and founded a Zulu power on the plateaus to the east of Lake Nyasa, where their descendants remain to this day, still speaking a Zulu dialect. The main body travelled northward to the vicinity of Lake Victoria Nyanza, and their descendants were still committing ravages and raids as recently as 1875 (near Tanganyika) and 1895 in Nyasaland.

Another tribe, on the Buffalo (Umzinyati) River of Natal—the Amangwane—fled before the raids of Chaka,

and in their panic ascended the lofty heights of the Drakensberg—often covered with ice and snow—and then in their turn attacked the tribes of Northern Basutoland. These Basuto fled before the invading Amangwane Zulus and reorganized themselves in their northward flight under



*Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*  
IN BECHUANALAND

NOTE THE CANDELABRA *Euphorbia*, MISNAMED 'CACTUS,' THIS TREE GROWS IN ALL DRY PARTS OF EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA AWAY FROM ACTUAL DESERT

a prophetess, or woman-chief, called Ma-ntatisi.<sup>1</sup> The 'Ma-ntatisi' Basuto, as they were afterwards called, crossed the Vaal River and flung themselves on the Bechuana tribes of central South Africa, who were too bewildered to unite against this unexpected foe. The Ma-ntatisi (often accused of being cannibals) are said to have destroyed twenty-eight tribes on their path of conquest. But their

<sup>1</sup> The name meant Mother of Ntatisi.

career was arrested by a defeat in the Bañwaketsi country at Kanya. They then turned south, and received another severe defeat (organized by missionaries) at the hands of the Grikwa half-breeds in the Kuruman district. After this half the horde, still under the leadership of the woman Ma-ntatisi, returned to their original location on the Caledon River in the southern part of the Orange State, while the other half wheeled about and marched northwards along the verge of the Kalahari Desert till they reached the Zambezi. This section of the Basuto fugitives, which had split off from the 'Ma-ntatisi,' called itself Makololo, and adopted as leader a chief named Sebituane.

The Makololo reached the Upper Zambezi and made a conquest of the country inhabited by the distinct tribes of Ba-subia, Ba-tonga, and Ba-lui. Apparently the Bahurutse clan of the Bechuana had preceded the Makololo horde some years earlier in conquering the Ba-lui country on the Upper Zambezi, and had given their name to it, now shortened into 'Barotse.' When, in 1851, Dr. Livingstone reached the Upper Zambezi at Sesheke, he found the Makololo had created an empire there. They still spoke as the Court language a dialect of the Sesuto tongue. They received Livingstone with the utmost friendliness, and by furnishing him with stout-hearted guards and porters, enabled him first of all to reach the Atlantic coast of Angola, and then, more or less, to trace the Zambezi from its source to the Indian Ocean.

The Amangwane had set the ball rolling with a vengeance when they started off these Basuto people on a flight terminating in a conquest which carried knowledge up into the very heart of Africa; but they themselves got no further northwards than the Caledon River, and, pursued by Chaka's forces, were obliged to save themselves by invading Cape Colony or the territories of the X̣osa chiefs, more or less in alliance with the Cape Colonial Government. Here they were broken up by an allied force of British, Boers, and Kafirs, and eventually absorbed into Kafir settlements.

Chaka, having turned his forces also to the south-west, is said to have exterminated or driven away about a million black people from the heart of the modern Colony of Natal. A number of fugitives forced themselves into the settled countries of the Xosa and Tembu Kafirs, and the survivors of them, after much slaughter had been effected, were contemptuously termed the Amamfengu, or 'out-of-works.' This term, corrupted into 'Fingo,' has ever since been applied to the fugitive Kafirs from Natal, settled in large numbers in the territories once belonging wholly to the Xosa and Tembu. The British Government frequently intervened on behalf of the persecuted Fingos, until at last they are now dwelling in security and prosperity.

Between the routes taken by the ravaging hordes of Basuto under Sebituane on the west, and Sochangana (the leader of the Gazaland Zulus) on the east, lay a tract of country still inhabited by sections of the Bechuana race in the south, and by old-established Nyanja<sup>1</sup> tribes in the north, between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. Across this belt of central South Africa streamed the armed bands of Umsilikazi.

This Zulu chieftain, who is best known in history by the Basuto rendering of his name, Moselekatse, was the son of an independent Kafir chief, who, to save himself and his tribe from extermination at the hands of Chaka's Zulus, had prayed to be admitted with his people as a portion of the Zulu nation. Moselekatse entered the Zulu army as a boy, attracted the favourable notice of Chaka, and eventually was made an 'induna,' or leader of a division (*impi*). But having, after one successful raid on a Kafir tribe, yielded to the temptation of keeping a portion of the cattle for himself, and not sending all to the despot Chaka, he learnt that he had been denounced by Chaka and condemned to death. The soldiers, who were with him and who were implicated in the keeping back of the cattle, were also outlawed. This was a very foolish mistake on the part of Chaka, because it enabled Moselekatse to

<sup>1</sup> Karanga, Mashona, &c.

withdraw from the Zulu despotism with some fourteen thousand picked warriors. He fled to the north, through the Western Transvaal, and, as soon as he was well out of Chaka's reach, commenced to ravage and slay on his own account: and, following Chaka's plan, incorporated the boys and girls of the slaughtered Bechuana into his own people and army. At first he settled in—and ravaged—the district now celebrated as the gold-bearing region between Pretoria and Johannesburg, but being pursued by Chaka and beating off his attack with difficulty, he marched north to Mosega, not far from the modern Mafeking. Here, as already related, he was severely punished by the Boers, and the later history of his horde, which took the name of the Amandebele (in Se-chuana, the 'Matebele'), has already been related.

Another curious result of Chaka's volcanic energy was the practical foundation of the Basuto nation in the present area of Basutoland. Both French Protestant and British Wesleyan missionaries had founded stations early in the nineteenth century in the magnificent mountain country of Basutoland, where peaks and ridges rise here and there to over eleven thousand feet. It is, in fact, an African Switzerland, perhaps the most beautiful and the choicest district of all temperate South Africa. Before the terrible Zulu raids and the Great Trek of the discontented Boers, the Bechuana peoples, north of the Orange and Caledon Rivers, were living mostly on the elevated plains and in the stream valleys, and had left the great mountains of Basutoland to be inhabited by a few nomad Bushmen, by baboons in large numbers, zebras, antelopes, lions, leopards, and elephants. But when Chaka started his raids, followed by the convulsive movements of the Bechuana themselves, and the right-and-left slaughtering of Moselekatse's army, many 'Bechuana' refugees of the Batauiñ, Bakwena, Batlokoa, Baphuti, Basia, Bafukiñ, Batlapiñ, and Bapedi tribes, together with some Hottentot half-breeds and a number of derelict Kafirs, took refuge in the extremely difficult

mountain country now known as Basutoland. These clans, mainly of the Bechuana stock, came in time—early



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

A 'KRAAL' OR VILLAGE IN BASUTOLAND

in the nineteenth century—to be known as the 'Basuto.' (See p. 244.)

By degrees the 'Basuto' gathered round the kraal of a

young man named Moshesh,<sup>1</sup> a pupil of the missionaries and the petty chieftain of a Suto clan. Moshesh fixed his residence on Thaba Bosigo, a natural mountain fortress of extraordinary strength, and one which has never yet been captured by Boers, British, or Zulu. Here, and in the mountains round about, he offered a refuge to all derelict peoples of coloured race. He was ready to pay tribute, in reason, to any powerful chief or authority whom he could not afford to defy. But later on he was to show both Boers and British that if driven into a corner he could fight and, with the advantageous conditions of his country, prevail in battle. So he and his successors, aided by the direct interposition of the British Government, have built up in Basutoland (which is an area of 10,293 square miles) a Negro confederacy which in the long run will prove a far more important factor in the Black-versus-White problem of South Africa than the volcanic eruption of Zulu or Kafir tribes.

As to Chaka, who was the prime cause of these far-reaching movements of the South African Bantu, he 'petered out' (to use a slang phrase) without founding an undivided Zulu Empire of great extent such as he might easily have accomplished if he had been less of a savage. A large army, which he sent in 1828 to follow up and, if possible, exterminate Sochangana in Gazaland, met with a great reverse. This blow to his prestige gave his enemies their opportunity, and he was assassinated in September, 1828, by his half-brother Dingane at or near the junction between the Buffalo River and the Tugela.

Dingane succeeded him as head chief of the Zulu tribe, and was in every way as wicked and as maniacal in his lust for blood. His collision with the Boers and with the British in the present colony of Natal and his ultimate fate are related in the next chapter. It has been pointed out by Mr. McCall

<sup>1</sup> The great-grandfather of Moshesh was Sokake, a chief of the Bakwera or 'Crocodile' tribe in the north. His grandfather is said to have been a Zulu-Kafir of the Amahlabi tribe, and some think a refugee, or the son of a refugee, from Usutu, a district of North-eastern Zululand, from which country also came the ancestors of Čechwayo.

Theal that the extraordinary ravages<sup>1</sup> committed by Chaka had a profound effect on the later history of South Africa, in that they depopulated so much of what is now known as Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, as to place at the disposal of two or three thousand Boers and a few hundred British vast territories in South Africa, hitherto peopled sufficiently by Bantu negroes, who might not only have legitimately claimed to be the owners of the soil, but who were sufficiently numerous and powerful to enforce their claims. This has been only one instance, out of many, in the blood-stained history of Africa, pointing the moral that no one has been more cruel to the Negro than the Negro himself.

<sup>1</sup> This historian has computed that Chaka was directly or indirectly the cause of the death of a million Negroes in Natal, Zululand, and the Transvaal. On one occasion he had seven thousand women killed to celebrate his own mother's funeral, he having caused his mother to be put to death!

## CHAPTER V

### THE FOUNDING OF NATAL

WHEN the Boers under Pieter Retief had consolidated their position on the Caledon River in what is now the Orange State, they decided to find some way to the sea coast, and a port independent of Britain, which should not be so long nor so disastrously unhealthy as the route to Delagoa Bay. Consequently Pieter Retief in October, 1837, made his way with a few companions through the country of Natal, and eventually reached the settlement of Port Natal, which had just been re-named Durban. Here they found the British well established on the strength of the old concession given by Chaka, and reinforced by a number of missionaries—American Congregationalists and representatives of the Church of England. Amongst these was Captain Allen Gardiner, R.N., who, after leaving the service of the Royal Navy, had devoted himself to mission work, and had led the first missionaries to Natal. The English who were settled at Durban displayed no hostility whatever to the idea of the Boers establishing themselves in the hinterland, and furnished them with an English guide and an English interpreter to lead them to the head quarters of Dingane, so that they, too, might obtain a grant of land from the Zulu King.

Dingane, in his heart of hearts, hated the Boers, and dreaded them because of the severe defeats they had inflicted on the Zulus under Moselekatse. But he received them with outward friendliness, and through Mr. Owen, an English missionary, invested them by a document in writing with the land south of the Tugela River, conditionally on their first recovering for him a large number of cattle which had been stolen by a son of that extraordinary woman chief,

Ma-ntatisi, of the Batlokua tribe of Bechuana people in Northern Basutoland.

Pieter Retief engaged to do this, and did it. He then led a number of Boer colonists to establish themselves in the district of Weenen (as it was afterwards named). All this region was at that time entirely empty of inhabitants owing to the merciless raids of Chaka. After establishing his people on the highlands of Natal south of the Tugela River, Retief started for Ginginhlovu in Zululand with the cattle he had recovered for Dingane from the Basuto. He was accompanied by Mr. Owen, the English missionary, by sixty-four Boers, an English interpreter from Durban, and thirty Hottentots. Early in February, 1838, his party reached Dingane's kraal, and were received with apparent friendship. Mr. Owen was requested by Dingane to draw up another deed in writing, by which all the lands between the Tugela and the Umzimvubu (namely all South-western Natal and the modern Pondoland) were bestowed on the Boer immigrants by the King of the Zulus. He affixed his mark to this document, and handed it to Pieter Retief.

Completely misled by such apparent cordiality, the sixty-four Boers, two Englishmen, and thirty Hottentots went unarmed into Dingane's kraal on the 6th of February, 1838, to bid farewell to the Zulu King, who was there in state, surrounded by a great circle of warriors. Suddenly Dingane gave an order in a low voice, an order for which, no doubt, previous preparations had been made. Immediately the Zulu warriors flung themselves on the little band of ninety-six men and boys (for some of the Boers were mere children) and carried them off to a hillock in the vicinity. Here every single European and Hottentot was massacred. Simultaneously on the same day—the 6th of February, 1838—an army of ten thousand Zulus crossed the Tugela. At dawn on the 17th of February, without any warning, they attacked the Boer encampments at Weenen, and massacred forty-one men, fifty-six women, and a hundred and eighty-five children of the Boers, and two hundred and fifty Hottentot and Basuto followers of the

immigrants. Only three young Boer men escaped this slaughter (which caused the place to be afterwards



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

A ZULU WARRIOR

THIS TYPE OF BANTU NEGRO, SO CHARACTERISTIC OF ZULULAND, IS ALSO FOUND ALL THROUGH EAST AFRICA, SPORADICALLY, AND OVER MUCH OF THE CONGO BASIN

christened Weenen, or the Place of Weeping), and they galloped away on horses to warn the other settlements further to the west. The people of these had just sufficient

time to form their waggons into laagers, when the Zulu army dashed on them, only, however, to meet with the same fate as that of the Matabele attack on the Boer pioneers at Vechtkop. They lost so heavily from the fire of the Boer guns that they retreated (carrying off all the cattle they could find) and returned to their master at Ginginhlovu.

The Boers of the Orange State and the Englishmen of Durban united with the remaining Boer settlers in Natal to avenge the treachery of Dingane. Three hundred and forty-seven Boers, under the leadership of Hendrik Potgieter and Pieter Uys, marched in April, 1838, towards Ginginhlovu, but they were drawn into an ambuscade, and only cut their way through the Zulu army by hard riding and rapid firing, losing ten Boers, all their spare horses, baggage, and ammunition. The British detachment consisted of twenty Englishmen, twenty Hottentots, and about twelve hundred Zulus who were adherents of the British. They met with a temporary success, but eventually were routed in a terrible battle in which thirteen English and a thousand of their Negro soldiers were killed. The Zulus followed up their success by capturing and destroying Durban, but afterwards retreated again, and a few Englishmen resumed their settlement at this port.

The detachment of the Boers under Potgieter left Natal, returned to the Orange State, and afterwards crossed the Vaal River, and settled at a place which was subsequently called Potchefstroom. Here, in 1838, they laid the foundations of a future South African Republic. The other Boers drifted into Western Natal, and repulsed sturdy Zulu attacks on their settlements with heavy loss. Towards the close of 1838 they were joined by Andries Pretorius.<sup>1</sup>

Pretorius realized that the only chance of founding a Boer State in Natal was the destruction of Dingane's power. He, therefore, got together in the beginning of December,

<sup>1</sup> Andries Pretorius died in 1853. The town of Pretoria, founded in 1855, was probably named not after him but in honour of Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, subsequently President of the South African Republic. Potchefstroom is said to have been named after Potgieter and Scheppers, two Boer leaders, and also the stream (stroom) that flows through it.

1838, a force of four hundred and sixty-four mounted men, all of them Boers, except one, Alexander Biggar,<sup>1</sup> who was an Englishman. His little army included amongst other notable people Carel Cilliers (of Huguenot descent) and young Paul Kruger, afterwards to be President of the South African Republic.

This force rode, accompanied by many native followers on foot, towards Zululand, and with it went the all-important waggons, which provided the Boers with an easily-arranged system of movable fortifications, the 'laager,' afterwards to be so celebrated in the last South African War. Why the Zulus never attacked them when on the march is difficult to understand. They seem unconsciously to have played into the white men's hands by following the tactics they found so successful with black enemies—the attack in force at early dawn. Of course, this was just what the Boers desired. They were safely ensconced within their laager, and from this fortress could keep up an incessant fire with their muskets and rifles, and shoot down the Zulus by the hundred and the thousand. Thus on the 16th of December, 1838, at the little river in Zululand afterwards called the Blood River, from the streams of human blood which coloured its waters, the Boers avenged their murdered brethren by a slaughter of three or four thousand Zulus. They followed up their victory by a march on the Zulu capital at Ginginhlovu. Dingane fled to the Umvolosi River. The Boers destroyed his kraal and buried the remains of Pieter Retief's band of ninety-five followers (extracting from a bag hanging to one skeleton—probably that of Pieter Retief—the actual deed drawn up by Mr. Owen and signed by Dingane, conferring on the Boers the country of Natal).

Some months later on there was a disruption of the Zulu power. Panda,<sup>2</sup> a half-brother of Dingane, decided that it was better to come to terms with the white people. He left Zululand, therefore, with a large number of people and warriors, and joined hands with the Boers on the

<sup>1</sup> From whom Biggarsberg was afterwards named.

<sup>2</sup> Really Umpande.

Tugela River. Together the white men and their Zulu allies marched to meet Dingane, but in the battle that followed, all the fighting was done between Zulu and Zulu, the Boers only watching what must have been one of the most terrible scenes of human slaughter that white men have witnessed in African history.

A number of Dingane's warriors deserted to Panda's side, and Dingane being utterly defeated, and the rest of his army almost annihilated, fled northwards, but was murdered by one of his followers. Panda—the father of Cechwayo—was recognized by the Boers (and afterwards by the British) as head chief or King of the Zulus, but the country under his rule was defined as the region between the Umvolosi and Tugela Rivers, and he was



A ZULU PRINCE (DEBUKA): SON OF PANDA

to regard his sovereignty as being held under the overlordship of the Boer Republic at Natal.

Whilst the Boers were staking their existence on the crushing of the Zulu power, the British had resolved to re-occupy the only port of Natal—Durban. The occupation was very temporary, and had the somewhat unfriendly character of preventing the Boers from using Durban as a base of supplies in their attack on the Zulu power.

While, on the one hand, the British Government disliked any idea of extending the responsibilities of British rule over

black people in South Africa, and was punctilious regarding the claims on their consideration of independent Kafir chiefs, yet, on the other, it persisted in regarding all the Boer inhabitants of South Africa as British subjects, and calling them to account for all their actions, whether they dwelt within the carefully circumscribed limits of British rule or not. Moreover, though the British Government wished to restrict its administration to a small portion of what is now



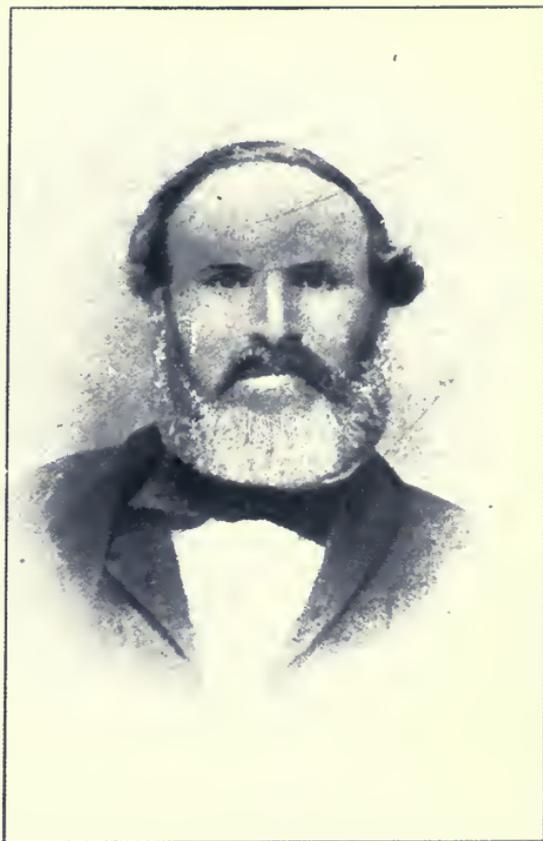
THE TEMPORARY BRITISH CAMP AT CONCELLA, NEAR THE SITE OF DURBAN, 1842

FROM AN OLD DRAWING REPRODUCED IN 'TWENTIETH CENTURY NATAL'

Cape Colony, it did not like the idea of any rival port coming into existence in South Africa which might compete with Capetown. Yet the Home Government had repeatedly compelled its Governor of Cape Colony to declare that Port Natal should not be included in the British dominions, in spite of concessions made or offered by Zulu kings. The attempts of the Portuguese to revive and strengthen their occupation at Delagoa Bay were regarded with jealous dislike. Yet no effect was given to the treaties which had been made by Captain Owen's expedition with native chiefs of the Delagoa Bay district in 1822-24 (the time when the Portuguese power had disappeared).

After their crushing of Dingane and taking Panda into vassalage, the Boers (following a vow which they had made before engaging in this struggle) had founded the capital of their Republic of Natal, and had named it Pieter-Maritzburg in memory of Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz

(two of the principal Boer leaders). A town was also founded at Weenen, and a settlement at Durban was included within their purview. But the hitherto desolate and empty country of Natal was now being invaded from the north-east and south-west by Kafirs desiring to withdraw from the rule of blood-thirsty chiefs, and settle down in quasi-independence under the shadow of the white man. The action of the Boer leaders in the organization of these



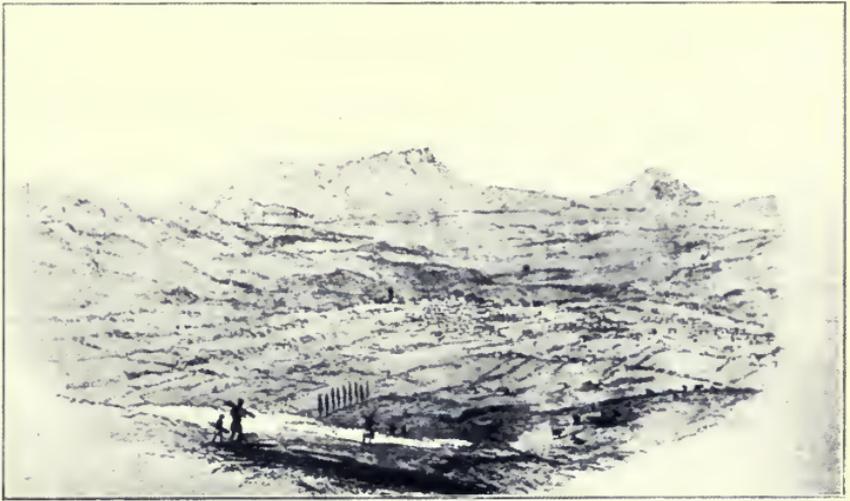
*Photo lent by Francis Harrison*

'DICK' KING, THE HERO OF THE 600 MILE  
RIDE IN TEN DAYS FROM DURBAN TO  
GRAHAMSTOWN, IN 1843

Kafir settlements conflicted with the policy of the Governor of Cape Colony, and was not liked by the Home Government. Consequently Durban, or Port Natal, was re-occupied by the British, and the Boers were again reminded that they were British subjects.

They had previously applied for a recognition of their independence, and had opened negotiations with the King of the Netherlands, asking to be taken under Dutch protection.

At length it seemed as though the issue between Boers and British must come to the arbitrament of war. A Captain Smith, who had been sent with two hundred and sixty-three men and some artillery to march overland and occupy the coast country of Natal, sustained a severe defeat by the Boers in the vicinity of Durban, a place which a Boer army of between six and seven hundred men then proceeded to invest. Durban would probably have fallen to the Boers had it not been that one of its English inhabitants—Richard



PIETER-MARITZBURG IN 1853

King, a marvellously good horseman—performed the truly remarkable feat of riding six hundred miles overland to Grahamstown in Cape Colony in ten days, with news of the precarious condition of the English garrison at the Port of Natal. Troops were immediately sent from Port Elizabeth and Capetown, the Boers raised the siege, and after negotiations, undertaken by a wise and capable Commissioner—Henry Cloete—the Boer Republic of Natal came to an end. Mr. Cloete conferred with the Boer settlements at Pieter-Maritzburg, and in November, 1843, between one and two thousand Boer men, women, and children decided to remain within the limits of the new Colony of Natal as subjects of the British Crown; the

others (and the majority), with bitter rage and disappointment at their frustrated hopes (hopes justly nourished on their marvellous achievements), withdrew behind the mighty range of the Drakensberg Mountains, a barrier which Mr. Cloete promised should mark the limit of British rule in that direction.

By agreement with King Panda, the boundary between independent Zululand and Natal was declared to be the Buffalo River and the Tugela. On the south-west the limit of the new colony was the Umzimkulu River and its affluent, the Ingwangane. The colony of Natal has since grown to more than double the size of the region which was declared to be a British colony in 1845.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CREATION OF THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY AND THE TRANSVAAL

THE Boers who preferred to leave their projected Republic of 'Natalia' when it became a British colony, and who sought independence in the territories to the north of the Drakensberg Mountains, founded their desired Republic at Potchefstroom, and called it, first of all, the Republic of Dutch South Africa, changing its name in 1858 to the South African Republic; but here they were not to be allowed much respite. In the Orange State and in the Transvaal they had rendered an immense service to the scattered, half-exterminated Bechuana peoples, by their crushing defeat of Moselekatse, who had, in consequence of their prowess, withdrawn himself and his soldiers to the regions beyond the Limpopo. But the Bechuana clans were fast recovering. Children were growing up into men and women. Fugitives were coming down into the plains from unexplored mountains, and the Bechuana as a race were now asking to possess fully the land which the Boers thought they had secured for themselves by their defeat of the Zulus. British missionaries—at their head the redoubtable Dr. Philip—espoused the cause of the natives. Accordingly, through the influence of Dr. Philip, the native tribes to the north and east of the Orange River were grouped into two states—Grikwaland West, under the chieftainship of Adam Kok (a half-breed), and Basutoland (including much of the existing Orange River Colony), under Moshesh. These arrangements were repudiated by the emigrant Boers, who refused in any way to consider themselves or their black followers as subject to the government of Negro chiefs.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, in 1845, entered into a make-shift arrangement with the Boers, by which a British resident was appointed in Grikwaland, ostensibly to advise Adam Kok, but really as a kind of Lieutenant-Governor over the white people. The first Resident was Captain H. D. Warden, who, in 1846, selected the site of Bloemfontein<sup>1</sup> as his head

quarters. He attempted to deal with Basutoland in the same way, but Moshesh, the Suto chief, was too wily to fall into this trap, which he foresaw would eventually lead to the preparation of his country as a mere province of Cape Colony. The Basuto question, therefore, was left unsettled, but a third large native State was created in 1844 between the western boundary of Natal, the



*Augustin Rischgilt*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR GEORGE WAKELYN  
HARRY SMITH, K.C.B.

Drakensberg Mountains, and the Umkata River. and this was allotted chiefly to the Amapondo tribe of Kafirs and was to be governed in practical independence by the Pondo chief Naku. The Boers, who were dissatisfied with the alternative of coming under the rule of a British Resident on the one hand, or of a Bantu chief on the other, began, in 1846, to trek across the Vaal River.

In 1847 there came out as Governor of Cape Colony

<sup>1</sup> Probably a camping place named after Bloem, an extraordinary German freebooter and hunter of the early nineteenth century.

the celebrated Sir Harry Smith, who, as Colonel Smith, had carried out in the province of Adelaide those far-sighted arrangements of Sir Benjamin d'Urban, which had led to the recall of that governor. Sir Harry Smith proceeded, after twelve years' interval, to reverse Lord Glenelg's settlement—or unsettlement—of Governor d'Urban's arrangements. He carried the boundary of Cape Colony up to the Orange River and to the limits of Pondoland. On the 3rd of February, 1848, after negotiations with Adam Kok, Moshesh, and the Boer settlers, he declared the whole of the territory between the Orange River and the Vaal a British possession, dividing the 'Sovereignty' of the Orange River into three districts. Provision was made for large native reserves, and for the governing of the natives by their own chiefs.

But this settlement was far from pleasing to the earlier type of Boer emigrants, who were settled in the district of Winburg. They appealed to their brothers beyond the Vaal River, and a Boer army under Commandant Pretorius marched on Bloemfontein, and obliged the British Resident and his staff to effect a hurried retreat to the Orange River. Sir Harry Smith joined issue with them before the strong position of Boomplats. After desperate fighting this position was taken, with more loss to the English than to the Boers, who had only nine killed, as against the English loss of twenty-two. Two Boer prisoners were afterwards executed by court-martial at Bloemfontein. This battle was, however, regarded as a British victory, and confirmed Sir Harry Smith's arrangement of February, 1848.

In the year 1850, however, very serious trouble broke out between the Cape Government and the Xosa Kafirs, who, under the excitement of a medicine-man named Umlanjeni, were obviously preparing for war with the Europeans. Sir Harry Smith attempted a conference with the chiefs at King William's Town, but none attended. In his wrath, Sir Harry Smith deposed the premier chief of the Xosa, Sandile, and placed at the head of the Xosa clans an Afrikander, Mr. Charles Brownlee. Brownlee was the son of a British

missionary of that name (London Missionary Society), and his mother was a Boer woman. His parents had settled amongst the Xosa Kafirs before his birth. In many respects—qualities of mind and body—he was fitted to inspire respect and liking amongst the Negroes, whose language he spoke perfectly, and amongst whom he had always lived. But this arrangement was repudiated contemptuously by the proud Kafirs, who entertained almost religious feelings towards their long-descended chiefs. An attempt made to arrest Sandile led to serious British reverses and to much loss of life among the British military colonists in the border regions, many of whom were murdered in cold blood by the Kafirs before they knew that war had broken out.

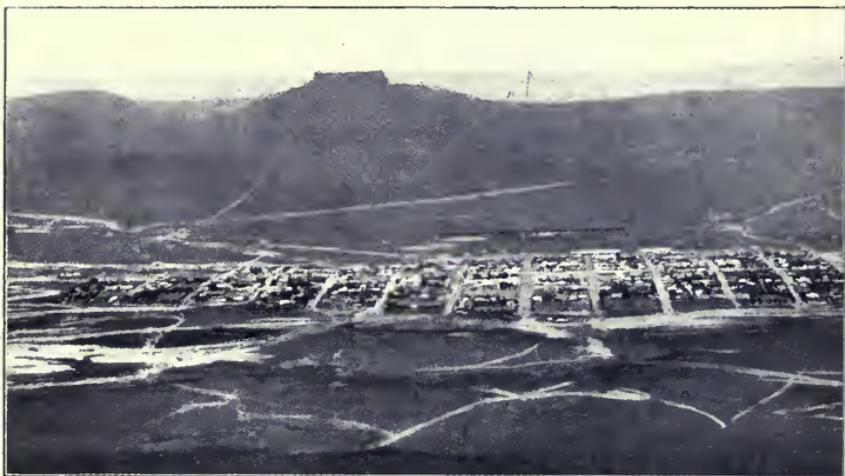
At the same time the Kafir Military Police, and even the Hottentots of the mission stations, joined the Kafir revolution. These Hottentots behaved with peculiar ingratitude and fiendish cruelty. They, at any rate, had no shadow of a grievance against the white man, having been placed in a position of safety and prosperity by the work of missionaries and officers. Nevertheless, they not only attacked the whites whenever an opportunity arose, but practised horrible atrocities on the wretched Fingo Kafirs, who lived in a condition of helots amongst the Xosa and Tembu tribes, in a sense as the *protégés* of the missionary societies or of the British Government.

This, perhaps, was the most serious of all the Kafir wars,<sup>1</sup> not even excepting the celebrated Zulu war of 1879–80. Possibly a million Kafirs between Pondoland and the Great Kei River took part in it. It was during this war that the *Birkenhead* struck and foundered off the coast near Capetown, only the women and children being saved, and a very few of the brave men. These had remained in their ranks till the ship went down, so that nothing should impede the filling of the few boats with the women and children.

No sooner had this terrific revolution of the Kafirs broken out than Moshesh, the chief of the Basuto, began to intrigue

<sup>1</sup> See p. 255 on Kafir wars, &c.

against the British power at Bloemfontein. By indirect means he endeavoured to sow mischief between the British Resident and the Boer farmers, and incited subsidiary chiefs to plunder the emigrants. A force sent against a Basuto Kafir chief, Molitsane, was skilfully drawn into an ambush at Viervoet, where it was almost overwhelmed, though its chief losses were amongst its black soldiers. The Boer malcontents of the Winburg district felt that their opportunity had arisen (the idea was suggested to them by Moshesh,



*Photo lent by Francis Harrison*

HARRISMITH, A TOWN IN THE EASTERN ORANGE FREE STATE,  
NAMED AFTER SIR HARRY SMITH

THIS PHOTOGRAPH GIVES SOME IDEA OF THE BARE, OPEN COUNTRY OF THE ORANGE STATE

who joined with them in inviting Pretorius to cross the Vaal River).

After the conclusion of a formal alliance between the Boers and the chief of the Basuto, Commandant Pretorius entered the Orange River Sovereignty and invited the Resident to arrange for a conference, which ultimately took place on the Sand River, 16th January, 1852. As a price for leaving the Orange River Sovereignty alone, Pretorius—then practically an outlaw, with a reward of £2,000 offered for his apprehension—obtained the following terms: The acknowledgment of the complete independence of the Boer settlers beyond the Vaal River, an independence only limited

by their agreement to prohibit slavery and to surrender British fugitives from justice who might take refuge on Transvaal territory.

At the close of 1852, therefore, the British dominions in South Africa consisted of the Cape of Good Hope Colony, which extended northwards to the Orange River and then again to the Vaal and Caledon (the boundary of



*Photo lent by Royal Geographical Society*

THE ORANGE RIVER : NAMAKWALAND

the independent Basuto), and along the southern flank of the Drakensberg Mountains to the western sources of the Umzimkulu River, which it followed to the sea.<sup>1</sup> On the other side of the Umzimkulu River was the new Colony of Natal, which likewise extended inland to the Drakensberg Mountains, and eastwards was bounded by the Buffalo (Umzinyati) and the Tugela Rivers. Between the Great Kei River on the west and the Umzimkulu River on the east, the territory, it is true, was practically under the

<sup>1</sup> At a later date the Colony of Natal was allowed to carve the county of Alfred (named after the Duke of Edinburgh) out of the Pondo country west of the lower Umzimkulu.

control of native chiefs: indeed that portion between the Umtata and the Umzimkulu Rivers—Pondoland—comprised two almost independent native kingdoms. But their policy was controlled from Capetown, and they were practically a dependency of that State.

British aspirations had early begun to extend northwards along the South-west African coast, beyond the Orange River. In 1843 the islets off the coast of Great Namakwaland were found to be rich in guano—the droppings of sea-birds—a substance which was revolutionizing agriculture in England and other highly developed countries by its qualities as a manure. These islets were all annexed to Cape Colony, between 1843 and 1866, as far north as 24° S. lat. (Walfish Bay, the only safe natural port along the whole south-west coast of Africa, was annexed to Cape Colony in 1878.)

Although the prosperity of Cape Colony was markedly increasing, in spite of the disastrous Kafir War of 1846–52, the local policy of British extension was to receive another severe rebuff at the hands of the Home Government. After the conclusion of the Sand River Convention, which recognized the South African Republic beyond the Vaal and limited British rule in that direction to the ‘Orange River Sovereignty,’ it became necessary to deal with the Basuto chieftain, Moshesh, who, with the object of founding a great Negro kingdom between the dominions of Boer and Briton, desired to make the existence of the white man as disagreeable as possible on the depopulated plateaus which had become the Orange River Sovereignty. Moshesh, for this purpose, instigated raids on the Dutch and British settlers. His people, in fact, turned themselves into a nation of thieves, stealing cattle and horses from the white settlers, setting fire to farmsteads, dispersing native labourers, and making themselves generally intolerable neighbours to the white man. Moshesh continually evaded responsibility for these acts, pleading ignorance of them, or denying that his own people were concerned in the matter, but he failed to be present at any conference with the Cape Governor (Sir

George Cathcart); and at last the latter decided to capture his stronghold, Thaba Bosigo, and arrest Moshesh (who had, however, at the last moment tendered a payment of three thousand five hundred cattle as compensation for losses incurred by the settlers).

Sir George Cathcart's little army of eleven hundred men met with serious repulses, and a total loss of about seventy killed and wounded by the time they had encamped at the foot of the great mountain, Thaba Bosigo. The results of the pitched battle fought at the base of this mountain were inconclusive, and the Basuto not only held their ground, but were able to put into the field no less than six thousand native cavalry, mounted on the hardy Basuto ponies.<sup>1</sup> Sir George Cathcart was no Sir Harry Smith, no Bartle Frere, no Milner. He thought of the disfavour with which the British nation would regard another Kafir War, and that, too, with the dogged Basuto people in the most difficult mountain country of all South Africa. At this juncture Moshesh, with his customary astuteness, addressed, through a French Protestant missionary at his court, a humble letter to the Governor, begging for peace, and promising to keep order amongst his people in future. Sir George Cathcart hailed this overture with inward thankfulness, and within three days of the 'Battle of Berea' (20th December, 1852) marched back across the Caledon River, and thence into Cape Colony, telling the settlers in the Orange River Sovereignty to make ready to defend themselves against the Basuto, and to conclude what terms they could with their Bantu neighbours.

The then Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Duke of Newcastle) immediately approved Sir George Cathcart's action, and sent out a commissioner, under Sir George Russell

<sup>1</sup> A recent writer says of the Basuto and their ponies: 'A Basuto never dismounts, and a sight worth seeing is a Basuto pony twelve hands high—a miniature cart horse in build trotting down a rocky footpath with a hulking great Basuto, weighing seventeen stone, jogging about on his back, keeping his seat entirely by balance, and not attempting to guide the little beast, who takes his own way, turning and twisting down the path, jumping boulders and stepping over stones. He never seems to tire or to make a mistake in his footing.'

Clerk, to effect the abandonment of the Orange Sovereignty. A year and two months were spent in discussion and negotiation with the white settlers, the majority of whom remained in favour of British sovereignty. In his impatience and haste to carry out the orders of the Home Government in full, Sir George Clerk was actually obliged to use Government funds to purchase the consent of a majority of votes amongst the settlers to the hauling down of the British flag, an event which took place on the 11th of March, 1854.

On the 28th of March, 1854, the representative Assembly, elected by the white settlers between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers, met at Bloemfontein to discuss a Constitution. At this Assembly a new Republic was constituted, which took the name of the Orange Free State. About 1856 it had invented and hoisted its own national flag, which consisted of seven white and orange stripes, overlaid by an orange tree in the centre, and containing the red, white, and blue of the Netherlands flag in the top left-hand corner. The Government of this Republic was really established on a business-like footing worthy of a civilized nationality by the second President, Mr. Jacobus Nicolaas Boshof, who had spent his previous working life as a colonial official under the British Government in Cape Colony and Natal.

But through the term of Boshof's presidency, Moshesh continued his subtle and treacherous methods of harassing the white settlers in the lands to the north of the Caledon River, resolved to exterminate them in the long run, now that the British Government had renounced any further responsibility for their welfare. Sir George Cathcart had been succeeded by one of the 'great' Governors of Cape Colony, Sir George Grey, who attempted at the close of 1855 to arrange matters in a friendly way between Moshesh and President Boshof. Moshesh actually put his hand again to an agreement, which was to maintain peace on equitable terms between the Basuto and the Boer and English settlers in the Orange River Republic. But in 1856 the Basuto raids



*Photo by S. S. Wilkinson*

THE MAJESTY OF SOUTH AFRICA  
A SCENE IN BASUTOLAND

across the Caledon River again commenced, and grew bolder and bolder, until by the commencement of 1858 no further disguise of his intentions was affected by Moshesh. On the 19th of March, 1858, consequently, the Orange River Republic, in sheer despair, issued a declaration of war against the Basuto. Two commandos<sup>1</sup> were organized to march on the stronghold, Thaba Bosigo. They met with much the same fate as the British expedition under Sir George Cathcart. Their progress was opposed at every place where the ground offered a chance of success to the Basuto, and on reaching the base of Thaba Bosigo they decided that the fortress was impregnable. Meantime the Basuto cavalry had been laying waste the eastern part of the Orange Republic, destroying farms, murdering the whites, and carrying off cattle (though it is said that most of the atrocities were committed by Hottentot half-castes and independent Bechuana tribes, especially in the western part of the Orange State).

But the Boers beyond the Vaal were making ready to come to the assistance of their brothers. Already the Transvaal forces (one of which was under the celebrated Paul Kruger) had inflicted terrible—but well-deserved—punishment on the Korana (Hottentot half-castes) and on the Batlaping Bechuana, who, like the Korana, had turned on the whites without the slightest provocation—in fact, in base ingratitude for past help against Moselekatse—and had murdered the unprotected women and children. Moshesh affected moderate counsels, and a desire merely to extend his frontiers over the eastern part of the Orange Free State. He invoked the mediation of Sir George Grey, which had also been invited by President Boshof.

In August, 1858, Sir George Grey arrived at Bloemfontein and arranged for a conference between Moshesh and the Orange State Commissioners at a place called Beersheba, a French Protestant mission station. Governor Grey had

<sup>1</sup> Commando is a Dutch term, going back in its origin as far as the long Spanish War with the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. It was imported by the Dutch into South Africa, and is equivalent to a large military expedition, a force of soldiers.

probably intended, if the Basuto proved utterly unreasonable, to mass all the forces at his disposal and reduce them to complete obedience, for he appreciated fully the



SIR GEORGE GREY, GOVERNOR OF CAPE COLONY, AND HIGH COMMISSIONER OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1854-60

danger then (as now) to a white South Africa of a warlike nation of Negroes settled in the great natural fortress of the whole sub-continent. Moreover, in return for such services—and it must be remembered that the Orange settlers felt as bitter against the Basuto as did the Russians against the Bulgarians in 1885 (for the Boers, especially, knew that

had it not been for their valour in attacking and driving off Moselekatse and other hordes of Bantu savages, no Basuto people could ever have grown up under Moshesh or any other leader) —the mixed Boer and British colonists of the Orange River Sovereignty would, under President Boshof, gladly have returned to the British allegiance. But at this juncture Sir George Grey was paralyzed by other Imperial difficulties; just as Lord Wolseley, in 1885, hearing of the Russian attack on Afghanistan, halted in that march on Khartum which would have swept away the Mahdi's power in its beginning, and saved the Sudan from the appalling ruin and loss of human life which succeeded the Mahdi's triumph. The Mutiny at this date (1858) was still unsubdued in India, and Sir George Grey had been implored to deplete Cape Colony of troops, in order to place every available man at the disposal of the Indian Government. Accordingly he arranged a peace of sorts between Moshesh and the Orange Free State, giving to the Basuto a considerable extent of land on the south-west, from which he obliged the Boer farmers to retire.

But the peace was only a truce, and the Basuto continued their policy of harassing raids. Mr. Martinus Pretorius—a son of the great Boer pioneer and Commandant, after whom Pretoria was named—had become President of the Orange Republic in 1860. In that year (and in 1861), under the administration of Pretorius, the Orange Free State was considerably extended westwards by the amalgamation (generally under equitable conditions of purchase) of large native reserves which had been allotted to Hottentot half-breeds (Grikwa) and Bechuana clans, who were now moving off further into the interior. It was these purchases and annexations which afterwards enabled the Orange Government to contest the British right to the Diamond fields. As regards the Grikwa, the absorption of their territory with the reserve allotted to Adam Kok in 1843 had been facilitated by Sir George Grey, who had offered Adam Kok's people a large area—now called Grikwaland East—in the north of the Pondo territory (south of the

Drakensberg Mountains). This brought the eastern Grikwa half-breeds under the control of Cape Colony.

But the trouble with Moshesh continued, as he was now striving to get possession of the eastern part of the Orange State, the districts of Winburg and Harrismith. In 1864 Sir Philip Wodehouse, then Governor of Cape Colony in succession to Sir George Grey, presided at



A STREET IN HARRISMITH, AN IMPORTANT TOWN IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE

a conference between Orange State Commissioners and Moshesh, and once more laid down the boundary of Basutoland (which is nearly identical with that of the present day). But after his departure Moshesh again sent out his raiding bands, and behaved in such an intolerable way that the Orange Government was obliged in self-defence to declare war. At this time the white population of the Orange State was about thirty-six thousand. They were, of course, in close touch with their kinsmen to the north of the Vaal River, and probably only the fierce dissensions which had been raging between various parties

in the Transvaal State from its inception in 1852 till the end of the 'sixties prevented common cause being made, and a single Boer State arising, without regard to the boundary of the Vaal River. The settlers on the plateaus to the north of the Caledon River—amongst whom, it



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

ADAM KOK

must be remembered, were a good many men of English and Scotch descent—felt in 1865 that the war with the Basuto was to be a fight to a finish. They had many checks and losses, alternating with defeats of the Basuto, captures of mountain strongholds, and herds of cattle. Thaba Bosigo was never taken—never has been taken—but scarcely any other strong place of the Basuto succeeded in repelling the Boers. Mos-

hesh was really beaten, however, by the dissensions amongst his own people. The Boers succeeded in preventing the harvesting of crops, and by this means, and by the constant capture and killing of cattle, reduced large sections of the Basuto to severe hunger; under pressure of which, with little regard to the National cause of the Negro, they made peace on their own account, and settled down as subjects of the Orange Free State. (It is to be remarked that in most cases, once they had concluded terms with the Boers, they did not rise

against them any more, even though Moshesh seemed every now and then to be on the winning side.) At length, in 1867, Moshesh felt his power crumbling. He then made an appeal to the British Government to be taken over, together with all his tribe, as British subjects. His request was agreed to at the beginning of 1868, and on the 12th of March in that year Sir Philip Wodehouse formally declared the Basuto and their country to be under British protection. A considerable force of Cape Mounted Police<sup>1</sup> was dispatched into Basutoland, and the Orange Free State was requested to remove its forces beyond the limits assigned to that country by Sir Philip Wodehouse. The Boer Government of the Orange State was extremely angry at the British interference. But for this, they believed they could have made an end of Moshesh, and have drafted his people on to other locations away from the high mountains of Basutoland. But their remonstrances were disregarded. On the 12th of February, 1869, President Brand, of the Orange River Republic, and Sir Philip Wodehouse signed a Convention, fixing the southern boundary between the Orange Free State and the British protected native State of Basutoland.

In 1866 a diamond was picked up by a little child on Jacobs' farm, near the south bank of the Orange River. It was given by Mrs. Jacobs to a neighbour, who eventually passed it on to a trader, by whom it was found to be a diamond, weighing twenty-one carats. Sir Philip Wodehouse purchased the gem for £500, and the price was divided very fairly between Mrs. Jacobs, her neighbour, and the trader. In 1867 another diamond was picked up on the north bank of the Vaal River, and in 1869 Mr. Van Niekerk, the neighbour of Mrs. Jacobs who had obtained the first stone and sent it by a trader (O'Reilly)

<sup>1</sup> This important force was first founded in 1853 under Governor Sir George Cathcart. It has, however, until quite recently consisted almost entirely of British, and British and German Afrikanders, with Fingo (Kafir) scouts and detectives. The Boers looked upon it as an element for their oppression, and for the undue protection of Negro interests, and therefore never viewed the force with sympathy, nor furnished any recruits for service in its ranks.

to Capetown, heard of a wonderful stone possessed by a native witch-doctor, a stone that was said to have been found on the bank of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Hart. He traced the witch-doctor to his kraal, and purchased what he at once saw was a diamond for a large herd of cattle. This stone was subsequently sold by him for £10,000, and is now known as the Star of South Africa.

This event at last attracted attention to the desolate and arid regions of the Lower Vaal River, and in 1870 the district, now known as 'Kimberley,' was invaded by a rush of people from all parts of the world. In 1871, at a place called Vooruitzigt<sup>1</sup>—soon re-named Kimberley, after the then Secretary of State for the Colonies—a great pipe of blue ground was discovered, containing diamonds by the thousand. The territory around Vooruitzigt was claimed by the Government of the Orange Free State (then under President Brand). President Pretorius of the South African Republic advanced a claim to control the northern part of this region, a claim based on negotiations with native chiefs. It was also held to be part of the native reserve allotted to the Grikwa or Korana half-breeds, or else it was claimed by petty Bechuana chiefs. Vooruitzigt (Kimberley) district, however, had certainly been included within the original limits of the Orange River Sovereignty.

On the other hand the new settlers, the majority of whom were derived from Europe (they were British, German, and French), disliked very much the idea of coming under a Boer Government. Already as regards the diamond grounds to the north of the Vaal River—indisputably Transvaal territory—the Transvaal Government had granted a monopoly to a single company, and seemed to be hostile to individual enterprise, and inclined to make diamonds a monopoly of the State. Sir Henry Barclay and President Pretorius (of the Transvaal) met to discuss the question as to which Government should

<sup>1</sup> This formidable-looking word—pronounced Foröitzikht—merely means 'a prospect.'



THE 'CULLINAN' DIAMOND, CUT INTO TWO HALVES

THE ENTIRE STONE WEIGHED  $3011\frac{1}{2}$  CARATS: IT WAS FOUND IN THE PREMIER DIAMOND MINE, TRANSVAAL, AND PRESENTED BY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION TO H.M. KING EDWARD VII FOR THE IMPERIAL CROWN

possess the Kimberley region. They arranged to submit their claims to a court of arbitration consisting of two members, a British magistrate and an Orange State subject, with a final appeal to Mr. Keate, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal. In the meantime the British Government had bought up the claims of Nicolaas Waterboer, a Grikwa 'captain,' and the Orange Free State had asserted their authority by placing a Landdrost (magistrate) at Vooruitzigt. The only valid claim was that of the Orange Free State, but this power was not represented at the arbitration proceedings which were to discuss the relative claims of Great Britain (on behalf of Nicolaas Waterboer) and of the Transvaal. The two arbitrators (Anthony Alexander O'Reilly for the Transvaal and John Campbell for the British Government) opened their arbitration court at the village of Bloemhof in April, 1871. The Transvaal was represented very inefficiently by counsel, the Cape Government, on the other hand, by Mr. David Arnot (ostensibly the agent for Waterboer), a very clever lawyer. The arbitrators disagreed, and the case was referred to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal (Mr. R. W. Keate). On the 17th of October, 1871, Mr. Keate announced as his award that Nicolaas Waterboer had the more valid claim, as against the Transvaal, while he allotted to various petty Bechuana chiefs the rest of the disputed country, of which a portion was part of the Transvaal district of Potchefstroom, which had been occupied by Europeans from 1840 onwards.

On the 21st of October, 1871, Sir Henry Barkly issued a proclamation taking over the territory of Nicolaas Waterboer as British, and his people as British subjects. He also named this new territory 'Grikwaland West' and made full provision for its government by British officials, and for the maintenance of order by the dispatch of a strong force of Cape Mounted Police. Under protest, the officials of the Orange Free State withdrew, and Grikwaland West became a Crown Colony.

This was one of the few shabby actions that can be laid

to the charge of Great Britain in the history of South Africa. It was simply a case of might over right : but Lord Kimberley justified the action of Sir Henry Barkly 'as a measure which would prevent the Boer Republics from obtaining an extended field for their slave-dealing operations,<sup>1</sup> operations which would probably lead to much oppression of the natives and disturbance of peace.' So far as this district had been settled at all, it was by Boer farmers when the country had been devoid of population. This dearth of previous inhabitants was due not only to the scare caused by the movements of Zulu and Bechuana hordes, but to the waterless and arid character of the land, before the white man took it in hand. Possibly it was better for the ultimate future of South Africa that Sir Henry Barkly acted as he did. If the British could not maintain their claim through Nicolaas Waterboer, they would have had little other justification for impeding the extension of the Boer power westwards in those regions beyond the Orange River, and thus the large Colony of the Cape and the prosperous region of Natal would have been for ever cut off from extension northwards to the Zambezi. But in the first instance negotiations should have been opened with the Orange State, as well as with the Transvaal, and the claims of the former purchased at a fair valuation, if the hoisting of the British flag over the Diamond Fields was felt to be an Imperial necessity. Sir Henry Barkly's high-handed treatment of the Orange State and the offensive insinuation in Lord Kimberley's dispatch caused a dislike of Great Britain to arise in the minds of the Orange Free State Boers, which revived after Majuba and again became patent after the Jameson Raid, leading finally to the alliance with the Transvaal in the war of 1899.

Yet it is possible—as Mr. McCall Theal remarks—that had they been allotted the Diamond fields in 1871, this might have proved rapidly as fatal to the national existence and

<sup>1</sup> This utterly unfounded charge, *so far as the Orange State was concerned*, rankled far more in the minds of the Orange State citizens—many of them of British extraction—than the sharp practice which ousted them from a small portion of their western territory.

independence of the Orange State, as did the gold fields of the Rand subsequently in the case of the South African Republic. Five years after the territory of the Diamond fields had been annexed as a British Crown Colony, a number of Orange Free State citizens brought actions before the High Court of Grikwaland West to obtain possession of farms which they alleged had been granted to them by the same Grikwa 'captain' (Nicolaas Waterboer) as had made over his general claims to the country to the British Government. Assuming that he had the power to do the latter thing, his granting of these farms would have been equally valid. But the British Judge of the High Court, in strict justice, decided that Nicolaas Waterboer had no claim over the land, and thus could neither bestow farms nor any other rights over the region which had become Grikwaland West. This decision, of course, cut at the root of the British title, and the President of the Orange State—the Hon. Sir John Brand—proceeded to England to claim justice from the British Government. Here it was decided that, rightly or wrongly, the Act of Annexation could not be annulled, as under it very important vested interests had been created, and, generally speaking, for strategical and political reasons (such as the securing of the route northwards to the Zambezi), it was essential to Great Britain as the Ruling Power in South Africa that the territory of Grikwaland West should be under the British flag. President Brand was, however, offered the sum of £90,000 as an indemnity for any breach of Orange State rights which might have been committed through this annexation. He wisely accepted this indemnity, and applied it to paying off the public debt of his now prosperous Republic. After this Grikwaland West was no longer governed as a Crown Colony, but became a province of Cape Colony.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It had been proposed, in 1872, that Cape Colony should incorporate Grikwaland West, but the Afrikaner majority in the Cape Parliament felt so keenly the injustice to their brothers of the Orange River Republic that they refused to have anything to do with the matter until after the settlement of the question with President Brand, who, it might be remarked in passing, was one of the greatest statesmen that South Africa has produced.

The history of the Orange State, after this settlement with Great Britain in 1877, remained uneventful until the Jameson Raid in 1895-96. During this period of nearly twenty years the prosperity of the Orange State grew without a check,



*From the 'Illustrated London News'*

THE HON. SIR JOHN BRAND, PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE

for although there was trouble between the Basuto and the Cape Government, the over-ruling power of Great Britain was sufficient to stop any Suto outbreak across the Caledon River. By the year 1890 the railway had reached Bloemfontein, and by 1892 had crossed the Orange State to arrive at the frontier of the Transvaal. Anyone travelling through

the Orange State during the early 'nineties of the last century found it difficult to believe that he was not still in Cape Colony, still in a portion of South Africa under the British flag; for English was taught as much as or more than Cape Dutch, the names and signs over the shops were more often English than Dutch, and the feeling universally entertained towards the British was one of unquestioned friendship. This happy result had been obtained partly by



*Photo lent by Francis Harrison*

AN INCIDENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

means of the statesmanlike action of Sir John Brand, the great President of the Orange State, who had accepted a British knighthood, and the 'pro-Boer' policy followed by Mr. Cecil Rhodes since his accession to office as Premier of Cape Colony. When President Kruger, in 1895, closed the 'drifts'<sup>1</sup> of the Vaal River (see also page 186), public opinion

<sup>1</sup> The 'Drifts' were the various fords across the Vaal or other rivers along the frontier line of the South African Republic, chiefly those dividing it from the Orange State. In other words, by closing the recognized waggon-road entrances into the Transvaal, President Kruger desired to force all commerce and transport coming from the west or south to adopt the railway route only, and pay the very heavy freight charges of the Netherlands Railway Co.

in the Orange State was at one with that in Cape Colony and Natal in approving of armed action to force the Transvaal to adopt more brotherly relations with the rest of British and Dutch South Africa.

But the unhappy Jameson Raid changed all that. In 1896 the Government of the Orange Free State, of which Mr. Reitz became President, concluded an alliance, defensive and offensive, with the Government of the South African Republic, and immediately made common cause with it in the war against Great Britain which broke out on the 11th of October, 1899.

The decisive battles of that war were fought in the Orange Free State. Why the original British attack was not delivered in that direction, both for the purpose of taking the strongest resistance of the Boers in flank, and also compelling them to withdraw from Natal, is not apparent. It was probably due to the inadequate knowledge of the British military and political authorities as to the actual conditions of South Africa and the Boer strength. But as soon as the situation was realized, Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, with Lord Kitchener as Chief of his Staff, directed the whole of his attack on the Orange State, and Bloemfontein was occupied by the Imperial forces on the 13th of March, 1900. On the 28th of May, 1900, the Orange Free State was annexed to the British dominions, and was governed as a Crown Colony under the name of the Orange River Colony until 1907, in which year it received complete self-government under a British Governor. Soon after this history is published, it will have become fused into the one great State of South Africa.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE HISTORY OF THE TRANSVAAL

IT has already been pointed out that the Transvaal, as a recognized State, free from British domination, came into existence by the conclusion of the Sand River Convention of the 17th January, 1852. During the first years of its existence the only definite boundaries of this State were the Vaal River and the Drakensberg Mountains on the south, and the shadowy claims of Portuguese sovereignty on the east. Between 1852 and 1860 the Transvaal territory was for practical purposes divided into four semi-independent magistracies (or Landdrosten<sup>1</sup>) round the little towns of Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Rustenburg, and the mountain district of Zoutpansberg.<sup>2</sup> There was, it is true, a Popular Assembly (Vólksraad) founded on the 23rd of May, 1849, but its decrees and decisions did not command much obedience until 1857, at the commencement of which year a new constitution, drafted by a committee of which Paul Kruger was a member, was solemnly proclaimed. Henceforth the country was to be termed the South African Republic, with a national flag, the 'Vierkleur,' the Netherlands colours of red, white, and blue, with a stripe of green. The first capital chosen was Potchefstroom.

But for some reason the people of the eastern and southern part of the Transvaal (Zoutpansberg, Lydenburg, and Utrecht) repudiated this arrangement, and declared themselves to be members of an independent Republic (of Lydenburg). The Potchefstroom Republic had as President

<sup>1</sup> From the Dutch words 'land' and 'drost' (a bailiff).

<sup>2</sup> *Zoutpansberg* = 'Salt pans mountain.' There are many shallow pools or lakes in South Central Africa containing brackish or salt water.

Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, who endeavoured by persuasion or force to secure unity with the now independent Orange State, but the Boers of the Eastern Transvaal sent armed assistance to President Boshof, and on the 1st of June, 1857, President Pretorius of Potchef-



*Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*  
IN THE TRANSVAAL

stroom and Mr. Boshof of the Orange State concluded a treaty in which they recognized the independence of the two Republics to the north and to the south of the Vaal River. A movement was then promoted for the reconciliation of the eastern and western divisions of the Transvaal, which resulted finally in an agreement on the 4th of April, 1860, at Pretoria (a town which had been founded in the year 1855). By this agreement all the Boer settlements between the Vaal River and Portuguese East Africa were

united under the name of the South African Republic, and the Republic of Lydenburg came to an end. Pretoria was then selected as the State capital.

But, soon after this, further trouble was caused by a troublesome personage, Mr. Stephanus Schoeman, of the Zoutpansberg district. Schoeman had started the original opposition to the organization of the South African Republic under Pretorius in 1857, and had not been placated



*Photo lent by Leo Weinthal*

THE DUTCH (REFORMED) CHURCH AND THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE :  
PRETORIA

by being made Commandant-General in 1858, when the Zoutpansberg district fused with Pretorius's Republic. The political differences of this period were envenomed by religious hatred. During the 'fifties clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church had been coming out from Holland to conduct public worship in the Transvaal, and superintend education, but there was rising up amongst the Boers of the Transvaal an even stricter type of Calvinistic worship than was practised in Holland—a worship in which any form of music was eschewed. Schoeman identified himself with the party holding less bigoted religious views,

while Paul Kruger became the champion of the 'Separatist Reformed' or Dopper Church, a party also markedly hostile to admitting foreigners (that is, non-Afrikanders) into the Transvaal. There followed, therefore, between 1862 and 1864, a condition of civil war, in which first of all Kruger and Schoeman were the leading combatants, and then Kruger and Jan Viljoen. This warfare was occasioned by the disputes as to the election to the Presidency of the Republic. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius had resigned in September, 1860, to avoid civil strife. His eventual successor, Van Rensburg, was elected by a small majority in 1863. Finally, on the 10th of May, 1864, Pretorius was again elected President.

As such he was accepted by the whole of the community, not because he commanded universal confidence, but because the Boers were beginning to perceive that these internal wranglings were greatly weakening their own power, face to face with the black inhabitants of the Transvaal, now increasing markedly in numbers and strength. On the west the extension of Boer rule was being made practically impossible by the intervention of the British missionaries (from 1845 onwards). Through their assistance, and also in the ordinary course of trade with Cape Colony, the various Bechuana tribes were acquiring guns and gunpowder. Dr. David Livingstone, the great missionary explorer, had become the enemy of the Boers in this direction. He was bent on keeping open what he called the 'English road' to the north. He had conceived a great dislike to the Transvaal Boers, partly owing to their attitude towards the natives,<sup>1</sup> and also because in this middle period of the nineteenth century all the outlaws, escaped criminals, unscrupulous adventurers among the Europeans, fled to the region north of the Vaal and spread themselves far and wide amongst the native tribes, shooting the wild game, and making unscrupulous use of the power and influence they obtained by enlisting

<sup>1</sup> The Transvaal Government, in 1856, passed an Apprentice Law which seemed to the missionaries very like the legalizing of slavery; and in their Constitution it was expressly laid down that *there should be no equality of treatment of coloured people and whites.*

one native tribe on their side to attack, enslave, or plunder another. Many of these adventurers were German and English as well as Dutch, but the Boers got all the discredit for their misdeeds. It is obvious, however, that certain Bechuana tribes, like the Bapedi and Bavenda, were inclined to behave in a hostile and treacherous manner to the Transvaal Boers; and when they were punished for these actions (often with unnecessary cruelty), first the British missionaries and next the British Government felt obliged to express great indignation against the emigrant farmers.<sup>1</sup>

By 1864 a great deal of the north-eastern part of the Transvaal, south of the Limpopo, had been settled by returning Bechuana clans or by Zulu refugees from the bloody rule of Moselekatse. But here, with the customary lack of national cohesion amongst Negroes, the Swazi Zulus made an alliance with the Boers to attack and overcome these emigrants from the north.

By 1867 the north-eastern portion of the Transvaal, including much of the Zoutpansberg district, had come back into the possession of Bantu tribes, in succession to the European settlers who were driven away, or who died out in course of time.

In 1866 a remarkable German explorer, Karl Mauch, entered the regions of South-east Africa from the Transvaal. He was the first scientific explorer to lay down the main features of the region between the Limpopo and the Lower Zambezi. In roaming about this region he discovered gold

<sup>1</sup> The following instance may be given as an example: In 1854 a party of Boer elephant hunters, under Hermanus Potgieter, arrived at the Bavenda kraal named Makapan, together with their wives and children. Suddenly, without warning, they were attacked by the Bavenda, and murdered, or tortured to death, Potgieter himself being skinned alive. Immediately afterwards the Bavenda attacked and demolished a number of Boer settlements in the Zoutpansberg district. But the Boer revenge was even more terrible and shockingly cruel. A Boer force under Commandant Potgieter and Field Cornet Paul Kruger soon afterwards drove the chief Makapan and several thousand of his people into a vast cavern. The mouth of this was blocked up with brushwood and stones. The brushwood was set fire to, and the cavern blockaded for twenty-five days, at the end of which it was entered, without resistance, because over two thousand Negroes inside had been stifled by the smoke, or had died of thirst, while another thousand had perished in their attempt to force a way out. No attempt was made by the Boers to let out the women and children.

in the bed of the Tati River, in the north-west basin of the Limpopo. He made known this discovery at Pretoria in



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

A BOER FARMER OF THE TRANSVAAL AND HIS TEN SONS READY FOR WAR  
 THESE NINE MEN AND TWO BOYS ALL TOOK PART IN THE LAST SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

the close of 1867, with the result that a few Boers and many more British (from the United Kingdom, the Cape, and Natal) established themselves in the Tati district and commenced gold-mining.

Owing to Karl Mauch's discoveries, the President of the South African Republic (Pretorius) issued a proclamation on the 29th of April, 1868, which extended the frontiers of the Transvaal State on the north and west to the watershed of the Zambezi and to Lake Ngami, and on the south-east to the mouth of the Maputa or Pongola River (flowing into Delagoa Bay).

Great Britain and Portugal both protested, and in 1869 President Pretorius was obliged to give his assent to a treaty with Portugal, which arrested the Boer State at the edge of the Lebombo Mountains, and kept it away from the Lower Limpopo and the territory surrounding Delagoa Bay. Sir Philip Wodehouse, moreover (then Governor of Cape Colony), protested against the westward extension of the South African Republic into territories occupied by independent Bechuana tribes.

This point, however, was again raised by the discovery of diamonds in what was really for the most part the western portion of the Orange Free State, though a small portion of the territory was claimed by the Transvaal. The award of Lieutenant-Governor Keate, which allotted the diamond fields to Great Britain, caused consternation in the Transvaal. It was felt that great natural riches were being discovered in Central South Africa, and that they, through ignorance and want of knowledge of the outside world, were frustrated by diplomacy as well as by force. President Pretorius was obliged by popular feeling to resign in 1871; and in 1872 (after efforts had been made in vain to induce President Brand to add the Transvaal territories to the Orange Free State and become President of both), an Afrikander ex-clergyman, Mr. Thomas François Burgers, a native of Cape Colony, was elected to the Presidency of the South African Republic. At the same time Commandant Paul Kruger was elected Vice-President. Mr. Burgers had been chiefly educated at Utrecht in the Netherlands, and had been appointed by the Cape Government a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Hanover (Cape Colony).

President Burgers started with great ability on his almost

hopeless task of reorganizing the Transvaal State. He obtained a loan from a South African Bank which enabled him to withdraw from circulation the worthless Transvaal paper currency, and to carry on the administration of his Government. He then proceeded on a journey to Europe, in the course of which he visited the Netherlands in 1875, where he was enthusiastically received. His idea in making this journey was to obtain the capital, and the necessary concessions from Portugal, for connecting Pretoria with the town of Lourenço Marquez on Delagoa Bay (thus making the Transvaal no longer dependent on the adjoining British colonies for access to the outer world). He also wished to recruit in Holland properly qualified teachers for the schools which it was necessary to establish in the South African Republic, and competent officials for the various Government departments, besides, if possible, to promote emigration from the Netherlands to the Transvaal, which might once more link up the South African Dutch with the parent country in Europe.

He returned to South Africa in 1876, but found his country once more menaced with a Negro rebellion. Sekukuni, the chief of the Bapedi tribe of the Basuto (the son of the Sekwati whom the Boers under Potgieter had had to fight in 1852), was ravaging the Lydenburg district, and retiring with his plunder to strongholds in the Olifant Mountains.

President Burgers led a force against him, but the Boer farmers distrusted the efficacy of his command. He was looked upon as a foreigner, and as being very unorthodox in religious opinions, and consequently unfavourably regarded by Providence. A slight reverse sustained by the Boer army was sufficient to create an actual panic, and the President's military force dispersed to its homes.

In 1875 the Earl of Carnarvon, who some years previously, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, had assisted in the creation of the Dominion of Canada, desired to see if he could not effect a similar beneficent action in

unifying South Africa. The Government of which he was a member no longer regarded South Africa as having lost its interest through the opening of the Suez Canal. The discovery of gold and diamonds, and the great events which were taking place elsewhere in the east and west of the Continent, had changed the British attitude of callous unconcern. Mr. James Anthony Froude, the historian, had been sent out



*Photo by B. W. Caney*

A LOCUST SWARM IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE BOERS, BOTH IN BURGERS' TIME AND IN LATER DAYS, OBJECTED TO MEASURES BEING TAKEN TO DESTROY LOCUSTS, ARGUING THAT THEY WERE A PUNISHMENT SENT BY PROVIDENCE AND MUST NOT BE INTERFERED WITH

to South Africa to discuss the question of confederation with the political leaders among the white populations. In 1876 the different Governments in South Africa were invited to send delegates to London to discuss a plan of confederating all the States under one flag.

But Lord Carnarvon's proposal had been coldly received by the South African Dutch, who then commanded a majority of votes in the Cape Parliament. Sir John Molteno, the Prime Minister of Cape Colony, was emphatically not an Imperialist, but only an Afrikaner in his

sympathies. He threw cold water on the scheme, alleging that the desire for confederation should first be expressed of their own free will by the people of the two independent Dutch States, and not be in any way imposed on South Africa by a British Secretary of State. This was a foolish



SIR THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE, WHO ANNEXED  
THE TRANSVAAL IN 1877

and narrow-minded quibble. Had Lord Carnarvon's proposition—whether it was or was not presented tactfully by Mr. Froude—been accepted, and delegates from all the great South African States met in London in 1877, the woes of the last thirty years might have been spared to South Africa, and the triumph of 1910 anticipated. But Natal alone sent a delegate to London, and this was the celebrated Sir Theophilus Shepstone. His arrival, just after the accounts of the unsuccessful Boer attack on the Bapedi

tribe had inflamed British opinion, probably led Lord Carnarvon to think that the next best solution of the South African difficulty was to annex the South African Republic, whose proceedings with regard to Delagoa Bay were viewed with distrust and dislike.

Following on the Boer attempt to claim the southern part of the Delagoa Bay district in 1868, the British Government had attempted to revive old claims to the south shore of that remarkable inlet, the only good natural harbour on the African coast between Table Bay and Moçambique. The British rights were chiefly based on treaties concluded by Captain Owen with the chief of Tembe in 1822 and 1824. But these rights were vehemently disputed by the Portuguese Government, at that time also in litigation with Great Britain about Bolama, on the West Coast of Africa (now a portion of Portuguese Guinea). Mr. Gladstone's Government had submitted the dispute concerning Delagoa Bay to the arbitration of the President of the French Republic (Marshal MacMahon). The British case was for once a strong one. We had no right, nor did we claim any, to the Portuguese settlement of Lourenço Marquez on the north side of Delagoa Bay, but we had better claims than Portugal or the Boers to the southern shores of that inlet. However, Marshal MacMahon decided against the British, and allotted the whole of the territory anywhere near Delagoa Bay to the Government of Portugal.

As it was alleged at the time that magnificent presents had been made by the Portuguese Government to, and accepted by, the wife of President MacMahon, this decision caused great bitterness of feeling in England, and a prejudice in future against submitting disputes to arbitration. It was felt by Lord Carnarvon that if the alleged gold discoveries made in 1871 and 1872 in the eastern part of the Transvaal turned out (as they ultimately did) of great importance, the enriched Boer State might be free of any international scruples, and forcibly take possession of Delagoa Bay. Accordingly, it is reasonable to suppose that the



*Photo lent by 'South Africa*

A GROUP WITH SIR THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE AT THE ANNEXATION OF THE TRANSVAAL IN 1877

THE FIGURE SEATED BELOW SIR THEOPHILUS IS HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY, MR. RIDER HAGGARD, AFTERWARDS FAMOUS AS A NOVELIST

annexation of the Transvaal was resolved on by the British Government at the end of 1876. In any case, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, with only a few officials and an escort of twenty-five policemen, travelled to Pretoria from Natal, and on the 12th of April, 1877, proclaimed the annexation of the South African Republic, and hoisted the British flag at Pretoria. At the time he did so a civil war was threatening in the distracted Boer Republic, a considerable party wishing to make Paul Kruger President in place of the distrusted Burgers. Cechwayo, who had succeeded Umpande as King of the Zulus, was said, by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, to be threatening to attack the Transvaal on account of a piece of territory which had been in dispute between himself and the Boer Government since his accession to the government of the Zulu people in 1864 (it is thought now that Shepstone exaggerated the Zulu danger, in which the Boers did not seriously believe, as an excuse for British intervention). The Boer treasury was empty, the Volksraad was bewildered.

Mr. Burgers was sick of governing what to him was practically a foreign country, and preferred peace and quiet and a British pension to a possibly violent ejection from power. Therefore, at the time, though a formal protest was tendered, no immediate opposition was made to the Act of Annexation.<sup>1</sup> It is possible, moreover, that if the second British Administrator of the Transvaal had been a personality sympathetic to the Boers—such a man, for example, as Sir James Alexander showed himself in the 'thirties, or even Shepstone himself—the Transvaal Boers, after prolonged grumbles, might have settled down as British subjects, and soon have been participating eagerly in the magnificent developments of South Africa which would then have followed. But the successor to Shepstone (Sir Owen Lanyon) was, in the words of Mr. McCall Theal,

<sup>1</sup> In addition to this protest, Paul Kruger and Dr. Jorissen, Attorney-General, carried to London a verbal protest on the part of the State Council, which they laid before Lord Carnarvon in 1877, who, though he received them graciously, told them that the Act of Annexation was final.

‘a retired military officer, who regarded the farming people with something like contempt, and who made no effort of any kind to conciliate them.’ After a few months of his administration, in 1879, the Boers felt that the iron had truly entered into their souls, and became united in their desire to expunge the Act of Annexation.

Paul Kruger, who had figured in almost every great public act of the South African Republic since its inception, had been from the first bitterly opposed to the annexation of his country by Great Britain. Not daunted by the unsuccessful results of his 1877 mission, he conveyed to England in 1878 a petition with six thousand five hundred and ninety-one signatures of Dutch and English settlers in the Transvaal, praying for the retrocession of their country; but his reception by Sir Michael Hicks Beach (afterwards Lord St. Aldwyn) was unsympathetic. He was reminded that as many signatures to a document could be obtained in an inconspicuous English market town. This, if historically true, was not a very wise answer. Kruger might have replied that if deeds in warfare against savage nature and savage men counted for anything, these six thousand five hundred and ninety-one settlers of the Transvaal were each of them equivalent to an English village. It is more than probable that had Sir Michael Hicks Beach, or Lord Carnarvon before him, assured the Boers of the speedy granting of full representative institutions, and a system of responsible government as complete as that of Cape Colony, the citizens of the Transvaal might still have been reconciled to the accomplished fact, especially as Shepstone, in annexing their State, had promised them that they would speedily receive these institutions of self-government.

Sir Bartle Frere had become Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner of South Africa in March, 1877, and in April, 1879, he visited the Transvaal, but was very coldly received, and again presented with a memorial praying for independence. This memorial receiving no reply, on the 16th of December, 1879, it was resolved at a well-attended meeting of Boers that they should take up arms for their

independence in the following spring. No doubt they were

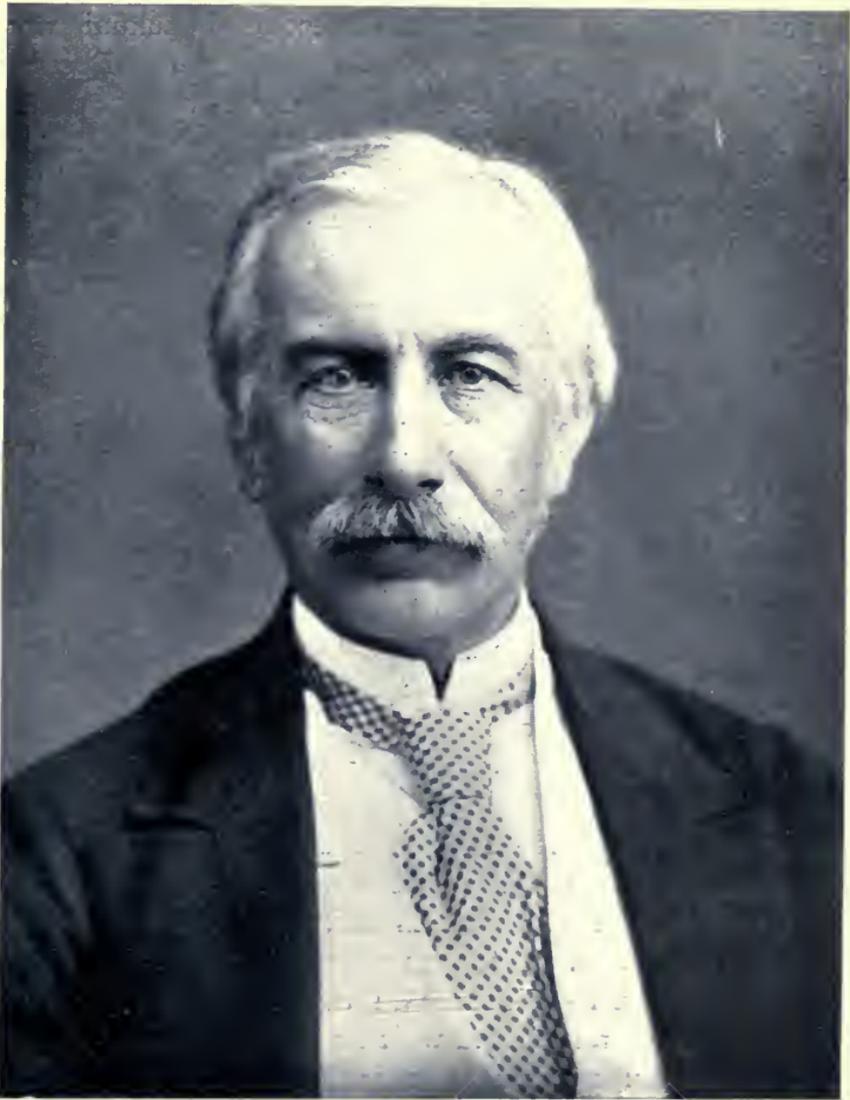


*Photo by Paul Boyer*

STEPHANUS JOHANNES PAULUS KRUGER: PRESIDENT OF THE TRANSVAAL  
(SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC) FROM 1881 TO 1900

influenced in their determination by the reverses which the British troops had sustained in Zululand in the early part

of 1879.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime Sir Garnet (afterwards Viscount)



SIR HENRY BARTLE EDWARD FRERE

GOVERNOR OF CAPE COLONY AND HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR SOUTH AFRICA, 1877-

Wolseley had been made High Commissioner of South-east

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter X. The Zulu War provoked the Transvaal rising of December, 1880, in two ways: First, it showed how stupidly British soldiers could be handled by officers failing to appreciate the peculiar character of the country in which they were carrying on warfare; secondly and principally, it removed the one terror which influenced the Boers in keeping quiet—the constant dread of an overwhelming Zulu attack.

Africa (including the Transvaal) in order that he might primarily settle the affairs of Zululand. He determined to dispose once for all of the troublesome Sekukuni, who, encouraged by his having so easily defeated the Boers in 1876, had now begun to devastate the north-western part of the Transvaal. Lord Wolseley dealt with this matter as effectively as he did with all his other military expeditions before and since, and Sekukuni was brought as a prisoner to Pretoria. His tribe, the Bapedi, never again gave trouble.

But Sir Garnet Wolseley returned to England, and Lord Beaconsfield's Government was succeeded by that of Mr. Gladstone in the spring of 1880. Several Liberal statesmen had, in 1877, denounced the annexation of the Transvaal as an act of great unfairness. Consequently, the Boers looked to the new Government to restore their rights. Finding, however, that Mr. Gladstone considered the lapse of three years and the occurrence of the Zulu War to have altered the condition of affairs in South Africa, and that they were no longer inclined to reverse the annexation, the Boers resolved on a rising against the British power. On the 8th of December, 1880, some six thousand fighting men assembled at Paardekraal, and elected Paul Kruger, ex-President M. W. Pretorius, and Commandant-General Pieter Joubert, a Triumvirate, to carry on a provisional government. Each man of the nearly six thousand present swore to be faithful unto death to the cause of South African independence, and attested his oath by placing a stone on a cairn which was raised, and which was afterwards included in the national monument near Krugersdorp. Joubert became Commander-in-chief, and fighting broke out against the British on the 16th of December, 1880, with the attempt on the part of Commandant Cronje to get a proclamation of the restoration of the South African Republic printed at Potchefstroom. On the same day (the anniversary of the defeat and slaughter of Dingane's Zulus at the Blood River, on the 16th of December, 1838) the four-coloured flag was hoisted at Heidelberg. Cronje's force, after two days'

fighting, captured Potchefstroom. A British detachment, advancing from Lydenburg in the east to Pretoria in the centre, was obliged to surrender after terrible loss at Bronkhorst's Spruit.

Sir George Colley, Commander-in-chief, attempted to march on Pretoria from Natal with only twelve hundred men. He was attacked by Commandant-General Joubert



MAJUBA HILL IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

at Laing's Nek in the Drakensberg Mountains, and driven back with heavy loss. On the 26th of February, 1881, in another unsuccessful attempt to get round the Boer position at Laing's Nek, General Colley conceived the idea of ascending a peak called Majuba, which commanded the Boer camp. But the Boers were not going to allow themselves to be shelled out of their camp without a desperate attempt to eject the British force from Majuba Mountain. Creeping up its precipitous sides from boulder to boulder, protected by the great stones from the wild fire of the panic-stricken English, they reached the edge of the summit (which rose

like a rim round the circular hollow in which the British camp was situated), and poured a volley at close quarters into the British ranks, which killed General Colley and many of his soldiers. The rest of the five hundred and sixty British fled down the slope of the ridge on the other side of the mountain, and the position of Majuba remained in the power of the victorious Boers.

These startling victories of the Boers made it very difficult for President Brand to hold in his people of the Orange Free State, of whom many volunteers were speeding across the Vaal to assist their Dutch-speaking brethren in their fight for independence. More than half of the inhabitants of Cape Colony sympathized with the Boers, and denounced the British Government. In these circumstances Mr. Gladstone's administration felt that, even with Sir Evelyn Wood and twelve thousand picked soldiers from Great Britain under his command, they were risking a disaster in attempting to coerce the Transvaal back into subjection : that they were risking the loss of South Africa. So, as history will probably decide, they prudently and humanely invited President Brand to act as mediator. This great South African statesman soon negotiated an armistice, and on the 3rd of August, 1881, a Convention between the Government of the Transvaal (as directed by Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert) and that of Great Britain (represented by Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Sir Henry de Villiers) was signed and shortly afterwards carried into effect. By this document the Transvaal State became a slightly smaller territory than the South African Republic, with carefully defined boundaries, especially on the west, where its limits had hitherto been very vague. The Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland was recognized as the suzerain of the Transvaal, with control over treaties between it and foreign powers, the right to establish a resident, to move troops through the country in time of war, and a protectorate over the indigenous Negroes. This Convention was received with very ill favour by the victorious Boers, but nevertheless it was ratified by the new

Volksraad on the 25th of October, 1881. Paul Kruger was then elected President of the restored South African Republic.

But this high-sounding name was not yet recognized by Great Britain, perhaps wisely. In the Convention of August, 1881, the Boer territory is referred to as 'the Transvaal State.' The Boers were very dissatisfied with this Convention, especially in regard to the position and powers of the British Resident, and the severing from the independent Boer community of those farmers who had gradually settled in the Bechuana countries to the north of Grikwaland West. After a good deal of negotiation and correspondence, a deputation, headed by President Kruger, proceeded to London to negotiate with the Earl of Derby, who had become Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1882. A new Convention, which was signed on the 27th February, 1884, replaced that of August, 1881. In this document the claim to the suzerainty of the British Sovereign was tacitly dropped, and the title of the South African Republic explicitly recognized. The only lien which Great Britain retained over the Boer Republic was the engagement on the part of the latter that it would conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation (except the Orange Free State), or with any native tribe outside the limits of the Republic, until such treaty or engagement had been approved by the British Sovereign.

But this further and very considerable concession to Boer independence was received with the greatest disfavour in Great Britain, and did much to weaken the already impaired popularity of Mr. Gladstone's administration. British missionaries began to complain again of the way in which the Boers were interfering in the tribal feuds of the Bechuana tribes and of the Grikwas, and as the result of such interference installing themselves as possessors of tribal lands, which they were carving up into somewhat ridiculous Boer Republics, such as the land of Goosen (i.e. Goschen), Stilleland (Peaceful Country—a name corrupted by the British into 'Stella'-land). When Mr. Gladstone's Government gave way to the administration of Lord

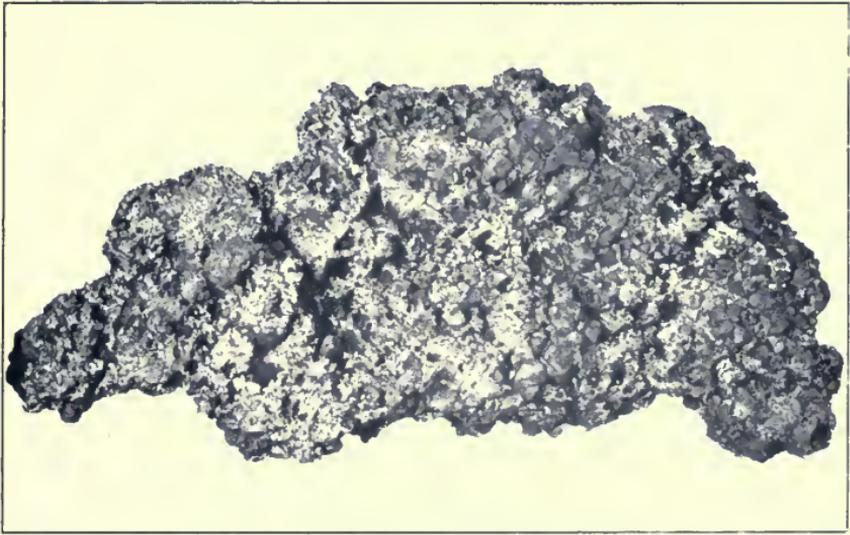
Salisbury in the spring of 1885, a strong expedition was sent out under General Sir Charles Warren, R.E., with an escort of about four thousand soldiers to pass through Bechuanaland and restore native rights. As a matter of fact, in Stilleland it was found that native rights had scarcely been transgressed at all, most of the farms having been legitimately purchased. However, the shadowy Republics were abolished, though no European settler was disturbed, and this long-harassed region between the Boer conquests of 1837 on the east, and the Hottentot and Bushman deserts on the west, was annexed by Great Britain under the name of British Bechuanaland.

It was almost hoped in English circles at the time that Sir Charles Warren's expedition would trail coat-tails that might be trodden on by impulsive Boers, that some excuse might be given for reversing the shame of Majuba and reconquering the Transvaal, for while the finances of this Republic were still much embarrassed, and its capacity for internal government remained very poor and inept, intelligence had again come to hand regarding its probable wealth in gold. Gold discoveries in the eastern part of the Transvaal (near the northern boundary of Swaziland) had led to the first rush of emigrants from the outer world, who founded the town of Barberton.

But the Boers accepted Sir Charles Warren's settlement of Bechuanaland, their attention likewise being distracted towards the invasion of their country by the foreign miner and prospector. In 1886 the existence of gold on the high table-land, or rand, between Pretoria and the Vaal River—in the Witwatersrand district principally—soon showed the South African Republic to be one of the richest of gold-bearing countries in the world, though its wealth was but little alluvial,<sup>1</sup> and was mainly locked fast in the crystalline or conglomerate rocks. Close at hand were great deposits of coal, as if provided by Nature to furnish the steam power for crushing the rocks. In an extraordinarily short space of

<sup>1</sup> Namely, in the form of nuggets or dust in the sand and shingle of the rivers.

time—eight years—this region was being traversed by railways (laid down with the reluctant consent of President Kruger's Government) and studded with great cities of noble stone buildings, or mushroom towns of corrugated iron. At the same time, while these discoveries and events were flooding the Transvaal with foreigners, the majority of whom were English-speaking, the abounding prosperity of this Dutch Republic not only enabled it to obtain the services of eminent Hollanders in its public departments.



*Photo lent by Leo Weinthal*

AN ALLUVIAL GOLD NUGGET OF 30 OZ. FROM LYDENBURG, EASTERN TRANSVAAL

but attracted to it the interest and attention of other European powers, and the general tone of its people towards the British Government and the British colonies in South Africa became unfriendly. It seemed once more, as in 1838 and 1868, as though the South African Republic would by fair means or by force obtain direct access to the Indian Ocean either at Delagoa Bay or in the No-man's-land lying between British Zululand and the Portuguese possessions ('Kosi Bay'), or even that it might fulfil its early ambition to stretch across the sub-continent to the confines of Damaraland, perhaps joining hands and aims with the Teutonic colony in South-west Africa.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CAPE COLONY FROM 1835 TO 1885

IN following the fortunes of the Dutch-speaking colonists of South Africa, we have left in arrears the history of the British South African Colonies. The status of slavery had been completely abolished in Cape Colony by December, 1834.<sup>1</sup> It has been already mentioned that the amount of the compensation paid to the Boer slave-owners and the manner of paying it had caused much dissatisfaction. The British Governors had actually re-established that slavery which it had been the purpose of the Dutch Commissioners to abolish in 1803-5, and their action had encouraged the Boer farmers for some years afterwards to purchase slaves for agricultural purposes. Many of the Boer farmers complained, with truth, that they received only about one-fourth of the compensation due to them, the balance having stuck somewhere in Government offices or in the hands of Government officials. But although the South African farmers had perhaps a legitimate grievance in this respect, it was not (as some histories relate) the cause of the Boer migrations. It was not the settled agricultural Boers who left Cape Colony between 1830 and 1840, but the restless, nomadic families on the Kafir borderland, who were disheartened by the vacillating policy of the Imperial Government (see page 80).

In 1836 municipal government was established in the towns and villages of Cape Colony, and in 1843 Road Boards were created of an elective character, institutions

<sup>1</sup> Though all slaves not actually children at the time were to serve their masters as apprentices for four years. There were at this time (i.e. in 1834) 39,000 slaves in Cape Colony.

which have since grown into something like our County



AN AVENUE OF PINES NEAR CAPETOWN

ALL THE SPLENDID AVENUES AND FORESTS OF PINES AND OAKS IN CAPE COLONY WERE PLANTED BY THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH SETTLERS. THESE TREES ARE NOT NATIVE TO SOUTH AFRICA

Councils. A system of free public elementary education began to come into force in 1838, but education in Cape

Colony is not yet compulsory, and a rather serious proportion (about twenty-five per cent.) of the white inhabitants are illiterate. Nevertheless, the whole educational system of Cape Colony at the present day is of good quality, and this is largely due to the fact that almost all the earlier teachers sent out from Great Britain were Scotchmen.

Between 1820 and 1848 considerable additions were made to the European population of Cape Colony by immigrants from England, Scotland, and the north of Ireland, and by the settlement of time-expired soldiers of the British army, and of officers of the East India Company's service, who were familiar with Capetown by calling there on the way to and from India, and who found it pleasanter to settle down there on narrow means than to do the same thing in England.

In 1846-48 another war<sup>1</sup>—the fifth—broke out between the Cape Government and the restless Kafirs across the Great Kei River, which was succeeded by the establishment of British Kaffraria. In 1850, however, the Xosa Kafirs under Sandile again rebelled, and the sixth Kafir War raged until 1852, in which year the force of the Cape Mounted Rifles was established as a military police to guard the frontier districts.

In the year 1849 tremendous excitement raged in Cape Colony over the proposal of the Imperial Government to land convicts at Capetown, so as to make use of South Africa for the foundation of those penal settlements which were becoming impossible in Australia. Similar attempts at founding convict stations in Cape Colony had been made in 1841, 1842, and 1848. Earl Grey, who was then directing the affairs of the Colonial Office, made several attempts to induce the people of Capetown to allow convicts to come from England and Bermuda, but during a year's struggle, which almost reached the point of civil war, the Colonial Office gave way, and on the 8th of March, 1850, a day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed for the deliverance of South Africa from the shame of being made a dumping

<sup>1</sup> See p. 255.

ground for convicts.<sup>1</sup> The cause of Capetown was pleaded in the House of Commons so ably by Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Adderley (later still, Lord Norton), that one of the leading thoroughfares of Capetown—Adderley Street—was named after him. Common action against the Imperial Government, and the possibility of having to fight for their opinions, had done much to draw together into a feeling of



ADDERLEY STREET, CAPETOWN

South African nationality the English- and the Dutch-speaking settlers in Cape Colony, who, in the year 1850, numbered about a hundred and twenty thousand, of whom fifty thousand were British, and the remainder of Dutch or Huguenot descent.

Between 1850 and 1853 discussions—sometimes acrimonious—were going on between the Dutch and British

<sup>1</sup> It was, of course, the principle for which the stand was made. As a matter of fact, not a few of the convicts who were destined to be landed in South Africa were persons of blameless character suffering for political offences, some of whom afterwards attained considerable distinction in Australia.

settlers of the Cape and their Governors on the one hand, and various representatives of the Imperial Government on the other, regarding a Constitution which should give to Cape Colony representative government. A Constitution was conferred on Cape Colony in 1853, which provided for a freely elected House of Assembly, and a Legislative Council, and the franchise was granted without distinction of race, colour, or creed, being subject only to a small property qualification and limited to adults of the male sex.<sup>1</sup> The first Parliament under this Constitution met in Cape-town on the 30th of June, 1854.

In 1839 a good breed of merino sheep was imported from Australia into Cape Colony, and in the previous year Colonel Henderson, an ex-Indian officer who had settled near Capetown, introduced a flock of Angora goats from Asia Minor, an experiment which, though only partially successful, owing to various accidents, was reinforced by other importations a few years later, until by 1850 the production of the long silky fleece of the Angora goats was established as one of the principal exports of Cape Colony.

After the Crimean War was over, the Xosa Kafirs on the eastern frontier were misled by superstitious teaching into the belief that, if they would kill all their cattle and destroy their stores of grain, new herds of heavenly cattle would rise from the earth, while at the same time all their dead chiefs and warriors would come to life, and, aided by bands of Russians from over the great sea, they would be able to drive the English and Dutch out of South Africa. The immediate result of this teaching was the destruction of over two hundred thousand cattle and immense quantities of stored grain, followed by appalling famines, which resulted in the death of nearly a hundred thousand Kafirs.

<sup>1</sup> The Franchise Act of 1892, passed under Mr. Rhodes' Administration, defined the qualification of voters (no distinction is made as to race or colour) as the possession of property worth, at least, £75, or the receipt of, at least, £50 a year as salary or wages, and *the ability to write* name, address, and occupation. The coloured people of Cape Colony freely exercise the franchise. About 60,000 of them are registered voters. They feel themselves consequently more identified with the government of their country than is the case with the Transvaal and Natal.

The region between the Bashi and the Kei Rivers was almost depopulated, and the place of the Negroes was ultimately taken by white settlers, amongst whom were noticeable a number of Germans, who had served in the foreign legion employed by the British during the Crimean War, and several thousand agricultural labourers introduced by Governor Sir George Grey from North-western Germany.



*Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*  
ANGORA GOATS OF CAPE COLONY

The district between the Bashi and the Kei was offered to the Fingo and Tembu tribes, and later on to the remnant of the Xosa.

In 1859 the first railway in Cape Colony was commenced from Capetown to Wellington, and also to Wynberg, and in 1860 the first telegraph lines were put up. In that year (1860) also occurred the visit of the Queen's second son, then Prince Alfred (afterwards Duke of Edinburgh and of Saxe-Coburg), an event which caused great interest and pleasure to the people of a colony then situated at a weary distance of time from Great Britain. Prince Alfred's visit was commemorated geographically and was rendered rather

noteworthy by the natural history collections formed by the Prince and presented to the British Museum.

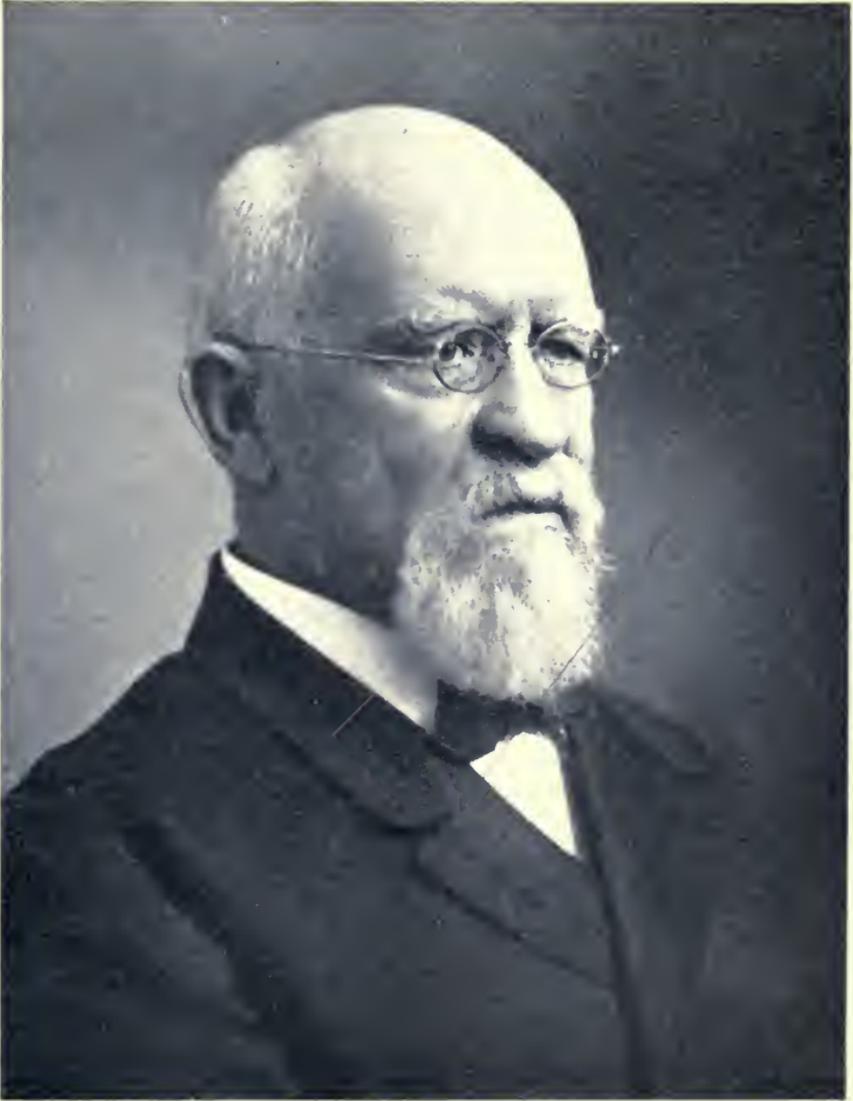
In 1865 an Act of the Cape Parliament (carried through by the British Governor after considerable opposition from the Dutch-speaking majority) united British Kaffraria as far east as the Bashi River with the rest of Cape Colony. The rest of Kaffraria up to the Natal frontier, and including Pondoland, was annexed piecemeal to Cape Colony between the years 1875 and 1885.

In 1872 the present system of responsible government was introduced into Cape Colony, which from that time onwards became what might be called a daughter nation rather than a colony. Only its governor was nominated by the British Crown, the heads of all public departments or ministries being appointed by the Governor of Cape Colony on the advice of the leader of the majority in the House of Assembly. The Ministers, of course, could only be chosen from among the Members of Parliament elected by the constituencies.

In 1882 measures were passed in the Cape Parliament which gave equal rights to the Dutch language. Henceforth the speech of the Netherlands, in its slightly corrupted South African form, might be used equally with English in schools, law courts, public offices, and in Parliamentary debates. In this year also (1882) the Afrikaner bond was established by Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr (Cape Colony), Mr. Borckenhagen (Orange State), and Mr. Reitz (Transvaal). Its avowed object was to build up an Afrikaner Dutch-speaking nation, independent of the British flag.

In 1877, after a long interval of peace, the eighth Kafir War broke out with that turbulent Xosa tribe which, more than any other section of the Kafir people, had exasperated the white man in South Africa by its unreasoning and unreasonable behaviour. Like several other struggles, this war commenced by the Xosa attacking the Fingo tribe, which, as before related, was composed anciently of Natal Kafirs, driven westwards by the Zulu and Bechuana convulsions. In this eighth Kafir War, the chief Kareli, or Kreli,

was very prominent, together with Sandile, another Xosa



THE LATE JAN HENDRIK HOFMEYR  
A LEADING POLITICIAN OF CAPE COLONY AND THE FOUNDER OF THE AFRIKANDER BOND

chief. Sandile was killed in 1877, and Kreli defeated and imprisoned.

In 1878 the Dutch Afrikaner Prime Minister, Sir John Molteno, was dismissed by Sir Bartle Frere, and Sir Gordon Sprigg, an Englishman, became Premier of Cape Colony.

Molteno's dismissal, which was slightly unconstitutional, arose from the action of Mr. J. X. Merriman (now, in 1909, Prime Minister of Cape Colony) in instructing the Colonial troops to act independently of the British commanding officer in the long-drawn-out Kafir War, but was really occasioned by the dissidence of feeling which had arisen between the

Dutch-speaking population of Cape Colony and their Governor, Sir Bartle Frere, owing to the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, an act which had infuriated all the Dutch-speaking people in South Africa.

In 1876 Sir Henry Barkly (who had preceded Sir Bartle Frere as Governor and High Commissioner of South Africa) had, on the advice of his ministers, dispatched Mr. W. Coates Palgrave as special Commissioner to examine the coast country between the mouth of the Orange River and the vicinity of the Portuguese possessions on the west coast, with a view to seeing whether this region should



CHIEF SANDILE OF THE  
GAIKA KAFIRS

come under British sovereignty for the purpose (amongst others) of putting an end to the strife between the Ovaherero (Damara) and the Namakwa Hottentot half-breeds.

Originally, the Hottentots seem to have been expelled from what is now Bechuanaland and Matebeleland by the ancestors of the Bechuana. According to their legends they travelled to the west coast of South Africa from the north-east, and had descended the coast from Walfish Bay to the Orange River. Later, they extended their settlements up that great stream for about half its course, and southwards

along the coast to the Cape of Good Hope, and finally as far east as the Great Fish River. The intervening lands were still in the possession of the Bushmen. On their original migration from Northern Bechuanaland to the Atlantic coast, the Hottentots had reached a mountain region where they found a black tribe living, now known as the Berg-Damara. These they conquered and taught to speak a Hottentot dialect.

Then came the great Herero invasion from the north in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which made the Bantu undisputed masters of the greater part of what is now German South-west Africa. But when the Hottentots, and most of all the bastard Hottentots who were half Boer or half Bantu, acquired guns and gunpowder and horses, and started forth north of the Orange River at the beginning of the nineteenth century on great hunting forays, the Bantu Herero (called contemptuously 'Damara'<sup>1</sup> by the Hotten-



KRELI, CHIEF OF THE GALEKA  
KAFIRS

tots) were obliged to retreat northwards. From that time onwards all this region was in a continual state of warfare between Herero and Hottentot, though during the period in question it was being traversed and settled in by missionaries—mostly German—and by British and Boer hunters. Walfish Bay, the only natural harbour in the immense stretch of coast between the Orange River and the Kunene, had a hundred years ago or more attracted the attention of whaling ships as a safe port in which they could land and refresh

<sup>1</sup> A feminine plural.

themselves, and prepare their cargo for the home voyage. It was notably frequented by Americans, and the Hottentots in that region had become used to the English language.

Mr. Coates Palgrave was everywhere well received, and a desire was expressed on the part of many of the chiefs between the Kunene River and the Orange River for the taking over of the general administration of their country by Great Britain. Moreover, the German missionaries of those days, never dreaming that Germany would stretch her hand so far afield, and desiring greatly to put an end to the intolerable warfare between Hottentots and Herero, did their best as interpreters and counsellors to advise the acceptance of a British Protectorate.

Apparently this step was not taken by Sir Bartle Frere because of the ill-feeling which had arisen between himself and the Dutch majority in the Cape Parliament, owing to the annexation of the Transvaal and other matters.<sup>1</sup> The only result of Mr. Palgrave's mission was the hoisting of the British flag over the harbour of Walfish Bay (12th March, 1878), while the various islets along the coast had been annexed at different times between 1843 and 1867. Also the 'Gordonia' district, north of the Orange River, had been taken over since 1878.

In 1882 the writer of this book met a German explorer starting by way of the Kunene River for the Rhenish missions in Damaraland. He was evidently proceeding there at the instance of those German missionaries to consider whether, as Great Britain had refused this region, it might not be taken over by Germany. A German merchant in South Africa (Herr Ludwig Lüderitz) had similar ideas, and in 1883 had obtained from the Hottentots a concession for Angra Pequena Bay. This he sent home to the German Government, who, in 1884, asked the British Government if it had any claims to the coast of South-west Africa, or whether it would accept responsibility in regard to the natives and the foreign settlers. No definite answer was

<sup>1</sup> Later on, in 1880, he again attempted to annex up to the Portuguese boundary, but the Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberley, forbade this movement.

made by the British Government, and at length, in 1884, German war vessels hoisted the German flag, and a German protectorate was eventually declared over all the coast between the mouth of the Orange River and the Kunene, the British Government confining itself to the assertion of its rights to Walfish Bay, and to the small guano islands.

Shortly afterwards, in 1885, Germany made a bolder bid for entrance into the South African world. She attempted to get a foothold in the quasi-independent Pondo country between Natal and Cape Colony, and actually raised the German flag in Amatongaland, between the Portuguese frontier of Delagoa Bay and the northern part of Zululand. It was obvious that these last two incursions could not be permitted without the abandonment on the part of Great Britain of her South African empire. By negotiation, therefore, Germany was induced to withdraw these claims, in return for ampler recognition on the part of Great Britain of her South-west African protectorate, and of a large territory in the Cameroons district of Equatorial West Africa.

German intervention stirred up Great Britain to active enterprise in South Africa. The expedition sent out under Sir Charles Warren in 1885 was definitely to assert British authority over Bechuanaland, and to prevent a junction between the Transvaal Boers and the projected German colony in Damaraland. It was in reference to this intervention of Great Britain in Bechuanaland that Mr. Cecil John Rhodes first came into note as a South African personality of importance.

## CHAPTER IX

### RHODES AND RHODESIA: 'BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA'

CECIL RHODES, the son of an Essex clergyman, whose family had been associated still earlier with the north-east of London, was probably the scion of a Yorkshire stock, and, like so many people of the name of Rhodes, may have been descended from Norman Crusaders, and consequently have had Byzantine blood in his veins.<sup>1</sup> He was born at Bishops Stortford in 1853, and, after becoming an undergraduate at Oxford, had gone out to South Africa to strengthen his health and to seek for a livelihood.<sup>2</sup> After vicissitudes of fortune, he acquired an interest in the Diamond mines of Kimberley, and by his masterful genius became the principal agent in effecting the consolidation of all the diamond-mining associations into one great Company, the 'De Beers.' In the middle of the 'eighties of the last century his sympathies were a good deal more 'Afrikander' than British. He sided to a great extent with Dutch feeling in Cape Colony, and in the Bechuanaland question was the opponent of the Rev. John Mackenzie, a missionary of the London Missionary Society, who, owing to his great influence over and knowledge of the Bechuana peoples, was for a time British

<sup>1</sup> Rhodes, in conversation with the present writer, used at one time to refer to this possibility, and assert, half seriously and half in jest, that his Roman type of face and Cæsarian procedure may have been due to some faint, far-off descent from Roman emperors. The same idea had been worked out in Mr. Rider Haggard's novel *She*, and had no doubt set up the fancy in Rhodes's mind.

<sup>2</sup> Several of his brothers were more or less prominently associated with Africa. Colonel Frank Rhodes served in Egypt, the Sudan, and Uganda; Herbert Rhodes accompanied Consul Frederick Elton in an important expedition to North Nyasaland in 1878, and died on the River Shire in 1880.

Commissioner in that region. Rhodes disliked the inter-



THE LATE RIGHT HON. CECIL JOHN RHODES, FORMERLY PRIME MINISTER  
OF CAPE COLONY

vention of the Imperial Government at that day, and would

have preferred that all Bechuanaland should be placed under the Cape Government. But the latter had already, in 1884, found itself unable to administer with tact or to constrain by force the Basuto people. Consequently there was a strong prejudice in 1885 against placing the Bechuanaland

Crown Colony or Protectorate under Cape Colonial administration.

But Rhodes was soon aiming at bigger things. In 1881, in effecting the amalgamation of the Diamond interests, he had inserted in the articles of agreement of the De Beers Company powers which might enable that Company to spend its money on many other things besides diamond-mining, in short, to become, if need be, a territorial power. Rhodes had already conceived the idea of a Chartered Company, which might put into his own hands as Managing



*By permission of 'South Africa'*

THOMAS BAINES

AN EARLY EXPLORER OF SOUTHERN ZAMBEZIA, AND  
ONE OF THE FIRST PIONEERS IN GOLD MINING  
IN THE TRANSSVAAL AND MATEBELELAND

Director the destinies of South Africa, destinies which at that period, so far as he was concerned, might equally well be those of a great independent Boer-British Republic, or of an integral part of Queen Victoria's dominions. He, however, disliked the ignorant Boer Government of the Transvaal, and between 1881 and 1885 was (as a member of the Cape Legislative Assembly and a Colonial Deputy Commissioner) the leading agent in provoking the British occupation and defence of Bechuanaland against Transvaal invasion. He had already interested himself, his friends, and

associates, and his Diamond Company, in the development of the gold industry of the Transvaal. In fact, by 1888 he was to a great extent master of both interests in South Africa, the gold and the diamonds. As regards the gold, he was well aware of the existence of the Tati gold-mining concession since 1868, and of the discoveries and assertions of the late Karl Mauch and Thomas Baines<sup>1</sup> as to auriferous reefs in Southern Zambezia. He decided, in 1887, to send an expedition which might enter into relations with Lobengula, and eventually, in 1888, this expedition, under Messrs. C. D. Rudd, Rochfort Maguire, and F. R. Thompson, secured from that wily potentate a concession to work all the minerals in the region under his sway between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. The world of adventurers got wind of possibilities in innermost South Africa, and between 1887 and 1889 a great many expeditions went out and obtained, or professed to have obtained, claims from native chiefs, and set them up against Rhodes's documents, in order to have a share of the spoil or to extract blackmail. Some of these claims were bought up. Others were defied. Rhodes had already conceived the idea of applying for an Imperial Charter, and in his somewhat cynical way had attempted to spike the guns of the possible opposition by entering into close relations with the Home Rule Party under Mr. Parnell. The Tati concession alone refused to amalgamate its interests with his.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Baines was a somewhat ill-used and very notable South African pioneer. He had a certain gift for drawing and painting, though remaining always amateurish in these things, which enabled him to depict very interestingly before the days of photography the scenery, natives, and industries of inner South Africa. [He must not be confused with Professor Bain, the South African geologist, after whom have been named some strange extinct reptiles found in the Karoo formations.] Thomas Baines was engaged, in 1858, to accompany the expedition of Dr. Livingstone to Zambezia. According to his own complaints (confirmed from other sources) he was not well nor even justly treated by Livingstone, the only blemish that has ever been attributed with any truth to that great man, who seems to have been influenced towards Baines by some personal dislike. After leading the Livingstone expedition, Baines explored a great deal of South-western Africa between the Zambezi, Damaraland, and the Transvaal, and died in 1875 a disappointed, heart-broken man, after having secured, in 1868, a concession for gold-mining purposes from Lobengula, the son of Moselekatsé. For further particulars, see pp. 250-51 of *Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa*, by Sir H. H. Johnston.

Early in 1889 Mr. Rhodes came to England to apply for a charter. Up to that date he had thought of little more than a dominion which might extend from the Cape of Good Hope to the Upper Zambezi, and perhaps one which would include all, or a portion, of the half-abandoned Portuguese positions in South-east Africa. But, reading some articles by the author of this History which, in 1888, had shaped the idea of British dominion from the 'Cape to Cairo'<sup>1</sup> and 'Cairo to Old Calabar,' Rhodes ascended to greater heights of colonial enterprise, and made the phrase 'the Cape to Cairo' peculiarly his own.

In 1888 the British Government had assented to an understanding with King Lobengula, by which the British sphere of influence was extended north of the Molopo River across Bechuanaland to the Central Zambezi. It was necessary to move in this matter, because both Germany and Portugal were already mustering their forces—explorers or military expeditions—to carry their flags across South Central Africa. A war, referred to in the close of this chapter, was raging between the African Lakes Company on Lake Nyasa and the Arabs, and had riveted British attention on these Trans-Zambezi regions.

As early as the summer of 1888 the late Lord Salisbury was seeking for some means of bringing all South Central Africa not actually claimed by Germany or Portugal under British sway, from Lake Nyasa to the Limpopo; he was hindered in his projects by the obstinate dislike of the late Lord Goschen and the British Treasury to any further adventures in Africa which would increase the responsibility and yearly expenditure of Great Britain. Mr. Rhodes came

<sup>1</sup> *Vide the Times* for 10th August, 1888. Although, perhaps, actually the phrase 'the Cape to Cairo' was first used in print by Sir Harry Johnston in 1888, the credit of the conception—if there be any—should really be given to the late Sir Edwin Arnold, who first projected the idea of a British dominion stretching from the Egyptian Sudan to Cape Colony in a pamphlet he published in 1876, which was provoked by Stanley's wonderful journey through Uganda. But the ultimate suggestion of this ambition may be carried back further still, to a Portuguese explorer, Dr. José Lacerda, who, in 1796, predicted that this would be the future aim of Great Britain—continuous African empire stretching from Egypt to the Cape of Good Hope.

on the scene in the summer of 1889, when Lord Salisbury was puzzled as to his next step. He was loth to entertain the idea of seeing Nyasaland divided between Germany and Portugal, and yet had no fund at his disposal from which to



A BAOBAB TREE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

THE BAOBAB IS SCARCELY FOUND OUTSIDE THE TROPICS IN AFRICA, AND IS ONE OF THE FIRST INTIMATIONS TO THE TRAVELLER FROM THE CAPE NORTHWARDS THAT HE IS ENTERING TROPICAL AFRICA

guarantee an effective administration of these regions if placed under the British flag. Mr. Rhodes solved the difficulty. He asked for his charter, and promised that if it were granted he would, if necessary, out of his own pocket provide the funds for the administration of what was to be called 'British Central Africa,' namely, the projected British sphere of influence between the Zambezi and Lake

Tanganyika.<sup>1</sup> Consequently the granting of this charter to the British South Africa Company became almost a foregone conclusion, the only person offering any criticism in Parliament being Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who, however, adopted a more friendly attitude when the difficulties of the situation were explained to him.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, after having secured his charter, still remained faithful to his special interest in Cape Colony, and by his influence with the British Government added to the dominions under the control of the Cape Colonial Parliament the colony of Bechuanaland. The Bechuanaland Protectorate was placed within the sphere of the newly created Chartered Company.

It was almost inevitable, as the result of these successful dealings, that Cecil Rhodes should become Premier of Cape Colony in 1890. Down to 1893 he remained, as in the past, the warm friend of the Dutch party in South Africa, and really did a great deal of good in England by dispelling many myths regarding the Boer character and the

<sup>1</sup> All that Rhodes subsequently spent on this enterprise down to the end of 1893 was repaid to him by the Imperial Government, which financed the Nyasaland Protectorate from 1892.

<sup>2</sup> If afterwards the British South Africa Company or the action of its officials caused embarrassment to the British Government, and anyone is to be blamed for calling that company into existence—a company which beyond all question secured for the British Empire all the vast regions bounded by the Molopo and Limpopo on the south, the Congo frontier, Lake Tanganyika, and German East Africa on the north—the blame should be laid on the late Lord Goschen and on the permanent officials of the Treasury who sided with him. Had the British Treasury at that period—1888-89—consented to pledge British resources to the tune of forty or fifty thousand pounds a year, the whole of this vast dominion might have been secured for the British Crown, and there would have been no need to call a chartered company into existence which must be some day bought out at a considerable expense. The same story exactly applies to the creation of British Nigeria and British East Africa. The Imperial Treasury would take no risks, and consequently when private enterprise had created vast provinces under the British flag and it became necessary to take them under direct British administration, the British people had no right to grumble at having to buy out the companies with large sums of public money. The error of the whole proceeding, however, has lain in this: that the sums with which the rights of the Chartered Companies have had to be purchased in the past should have been converted into national debts attributable to each of the thus-founded colonies or dominions, debts which they would have been, in the course of time, well able to pay off out of their great natural resources. Thus the money would have found its way back into the national purse of the United Kingdom.



CECIL RHODES' HOME AT GROOTSCHUUR, RONDEBOSCH, NEAR CAPETOWN

history of the Boer dealings with the natives. Many persons are able to date their first real conception of the worth of the Afrikander Dutch from the energetic defence of this people by Mr. Rhodes.

But the Transvaal Boers did not altogether reciprocate. They were very indignant at the granting of the Company's Charter and the declaration of a British Protectorate over the lands between the Limpopo and Tanganyika, which was definitely secured by the Anglo-German Convention of 1890. Parties of Boers, unchecked by the Government of the South African Republic, attempted between 1890 and 1893 to ignore the Chartered Company and take possession of claims in Lobengula's country. At the same time the Boer Government of the South African Republic harassed the new mining industries with vexatious laws, and in the matter of closing the Drifts<sup>1</sup> not only nearly provoked a war with Great Britain, but actually aroused the hostility of the Dutch element in the colony over which Cecil Rhodes was Prime Minister.

Rhodes himself, between 1890 and the summer of 1893, was fully occupied by the difficulties of working his mining concessions in Matebeleland. The control of this enterprise was first of all placed in the hands of Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, but in 1891 Dr. Leander Starr Jameson<sup>2</sup> took command. At first the Chartered Company had no right to the unoccupied land; they had only a mining concession. Even after this right was secured from Lobengula in 1890 they were perpetually harassed by his turbulent people, who regarded the indigenous serf-like Mashona and Makaranga as their subjects or slaves, and proceeded to exert their authority over them with great cruelty under the very eyes of the Chartered Company's representatives. In fact, having got all the money and rifles out of Rhodes that he was likely to get, Lobengula was intriguing with the Transvaal, and perhaps

<sup>1</sup> See footnote p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Now the Right Hon. Leander Starr Jameson. Dr. Jameson was born in Edinburgh in 1853. He came to South Africa in 1878 as a doctor and surgeon, and in this capacity settled at Kimberley, where he made Rhodes' acquaintance. He assisted to obtain the Lobengula concession in 1888, and entered the service of the Chartered Company in 1889.

even with other powerful African chiefs, with the idea of repudiating the South Africa Company and declaring himself independent, believing that if he did so Great Britain, owing to the remoteness of his kingdom and its inaccessibility, would take no steps to punish him.

Dr. Jameson, however, was steadily making preparations



*Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

for the inevitable trial of strength. In May, 1893, with very little warning war broke out in Matebeleland. Within a month Dr. Jameson's mounted men and artillery had defeated the Zulu armies and occupied Bulawayo, Lobengula fleeing before him to the Zambezi, and ultimately dying on the road (January, 1892). A party of Chartered Company's troopers, under Major Alan Wilson, were cut off in their pursuit of Lobengula and killed to a man. This was the only serious reverse incurred by the British

in a struggle which made them masters and rulers of Central South Africa.

After this great victory of Dr. Jameson, Cecil Rhodes



RIGHT HON. DR. LEANDER STARR JAMESON, PRIME MINISTER  
OF CAPE COLONY, 1904-7

rose to dizzy heights of power and prestige. He was made a member of the Privy Council and his bold lieutenant a Companion of the Bath.

Then he turned his attention in 1894 to the Transvaal difficulty. Dr. Leander Jameson, misinformed as to the strength and fighting quality of the Boers, and ill-seconded in his work by hot-headed English officers, believed it

possible by means of a small force of determined mounted men to seize Pretoria before the Boers could rally their forces to the defence, especially if a simultaneous movement occurred in the English-speaking town of Johannesburg. In order to secure a good 'jumping-off place,' it was necessary to obtain from the British Government for the Chartered Company a piece of territory (Mafeking) which originally

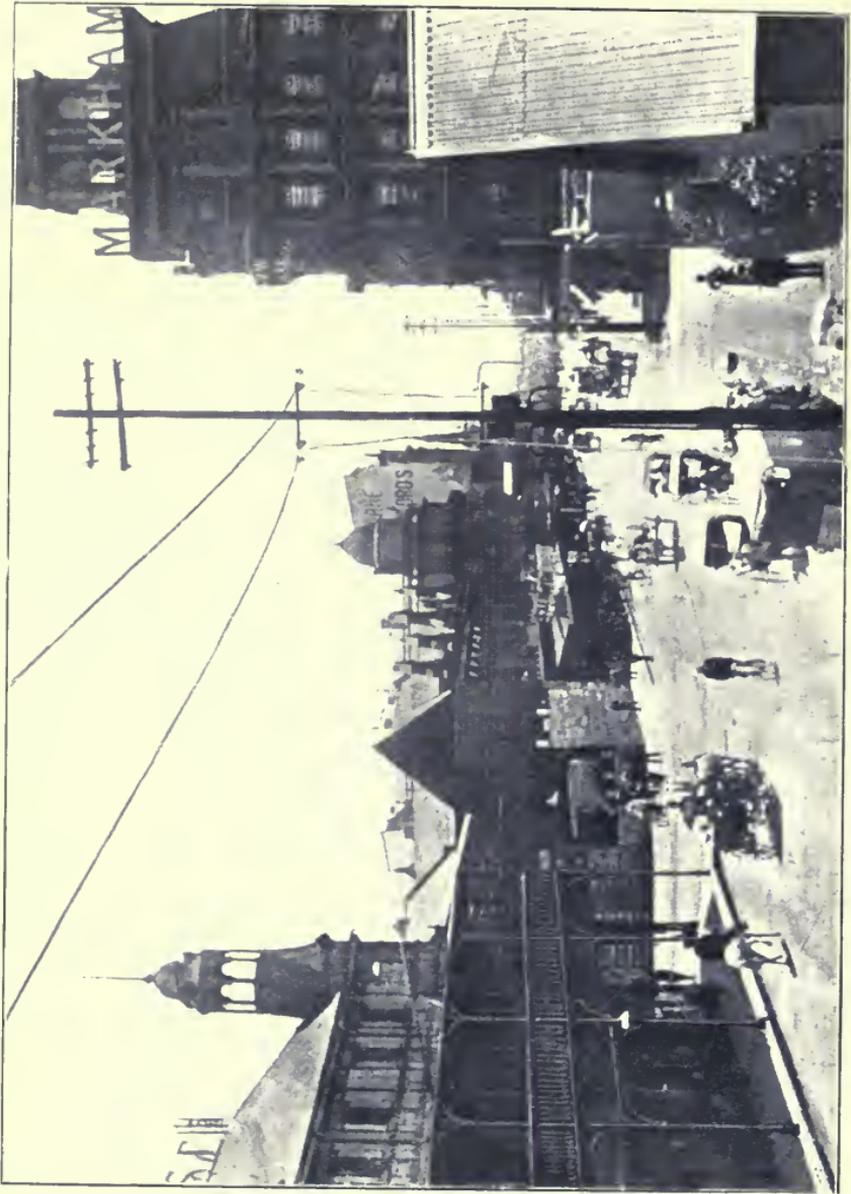


POST OFFICE : JOHANNESBURG

THIS SPLENDID CITY OF THE TRANSVAAL WAS FULLY ORGANIZED AND BUILT IN  
TEN YEARS, 1888-98

belonged to the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland. The aims and intentions of the Chartered Company by now ought to have been apparent to the British Government, but they received no check either under the Liberal administration of Lord Rosebery or that which succeeded it in 1895 of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain. Arms were being smuggled into Johannesburg and almost open preparations for insurrection were being made there without the intervention of the Imperial authorities in South Africa, and similar preparations were being concluded by Dr. Jameson at Mafeking. Only at the last moment, when it was too late, did the responsible authorities in London dispatch telegrams

to stay such action on the part of the Chartered Company.



JOHANNESBURG TO-DAY

But Jameson had cut the telegraph wires and had crossed the Transvaal border on the 30th December, 1895.

Johannesburg, however, did not rise. Its Franchise Reform party had little stomach for fighting. The Jameson

Raid was a fiasco. At the last moment, partly no doubt owing to the orders of the War and Colonial Offices, some of Dr. Jameson's men drew back, and he advanced on the Boers with a much smaller force than he had anticipated. After a brief fight he found himself so greatly outnumbered that to avoid the massacre of five hundred men he surrendered.

So did the Reform party at Johannesburg, and the Transvaal Boers were masters of the situation. Rhodes resigned his Premiership of Cape Colony; a great many hearts and reputations were broken or damaged, and the inconclusive State inquiry followed in London in 1896. Dr. Jameson and one or two of his officers were sentenced in England to terms of imprisonment as first-class misdemeanants. Ultimately Sir Alfred (afterwards Viscount) Milner was sent in 1897 to succeed the aged and enfeebled Sir Hercules Robinson.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to the Jameson Raid, Rhodes' Chartered Company had been entrusted with the administration of all British Central Africa except the small Protectorate of Nyasaland.

Rhodesia, as a general name, was given to all the territories of the Chartered Company in 1893, and the region south of the Zambezi was styled Southern Rhodesia. The money raised by Rhodes, his friends, and allies secured the building of a railway from Salisbury to the Portuguese port of Beira on the south-eastern African coast by the year 1899. Moreover, the same energies had pushed on 'the Cape to Cairo' railway<sup>2</sup> from Vryburg in British Bechuanaland to Bulawayo by the year 1897.

Already, in 1894, Rhodes conceived the idea of an overland telegraph which should release South Africa from the expensive and formerly tyrannous monopoly of the Cable Companies. This overland wire now crosses Portuguese Zambezia and Nyasaland to Lake Tanganyika and Ujiji, not far from the Victoria Nyanza.

<sup>1</sup> Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner, 1881 to 1886, and 1895 to 1897. Afterwards created Lord Rosmead. Viscount Milner was Governor and High Commissioner from 1897 to 1905.

<sup>2</sup> The Rhodesia Railways, Limited. This line was completed to the Victoria Falls of the Zambezi by 1902 and now (1910) extends to the Congo frontier (Katanga).

Almost immediately after the Jameson Raid had withdrawn much of the armed force from Southern Rhodesia, the Matebele broke out into a rebellion, which involved a far more serious strain on the Chartered Company's



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

A HOUSE IN MODERN BULAWAYO

THIS CITY, COMMENCED IN 1892, HAS HAD A GROWTH AS WONDERFUL AS JOHANNESBURG

resources than that caused by the Matebele War of 1893. Rhodes at the head of the Chartered Company (assisted, however, loyally by the forces of the British Government) threw himself into this struggle, and no doubt exercised his remarkable personal influence and diplomacy to very considerable effect. But this native rebellion was not finally extinguished till the year 1898.

The Jameson Raid converted the dislike, which was growing up between the British of South Africa and of the

United Kingdom on the one hand, and the Boers of the Transvaal on the other, into a positive hatred. The British had been to blame for this, undoubtedly, by their alternate violence and chicanery: but the Boers were also not behaving fairly towards the South African ideal. Their administration was getting more and more into the hands of natives of Holland, who were on close terms of intimacy with officials of the German Empire, and were seemingly aiming at the foundation of a great South African state which should lean on Germany, if indeed it did not become a definite appanage of that empire. The Boer Government of the South African Republic was neither honest nor capable. It stultified legislation on modern lines by appeals to Hebrew legislation of three thousand years ago. For example, it would take no measures to stop the ravages of the locusts or of cattle plague, lest it should be interfering with some Divine purpose. Sanitation it regarded with indifference or contempt. Its officials were more corrupt and dependent on bribes than those of the Turkish Empire in its former condition. The mining industry was plundered legally and illegally, and yet little or nothing was done by the central Government for the amenities of life in the mining settlements. The great Paul Kruger was great in bravery, in obstinacy, in reserve, and in the tactics of diplomacy, but in other respects he was a stupid and ignorant old man. The few educated officials from Holland were so embittered by their blind hatred of everything to do with Great Britain that they had no inclination to turn their abilities towards the better administration of the South African Republic. War between the two powers was inevitable, the fault no doubt largely of Rhodes's change of policy in the early 'nineties, and of the indefensible blunder of the Jameson Raid. But the British Government on its side, both in regard to its representatives in South Africa and in the Cabinet of the late Lord Salisbury, was likewise to blame in that, recognizing this eventual struggle for predominance in South Africa to be inevitable, it took no pains to be well informed as to the strength and the fighting powers of the

two Boer Republics. It seems to have completely overlooked the fact that the Orange Free State, since the

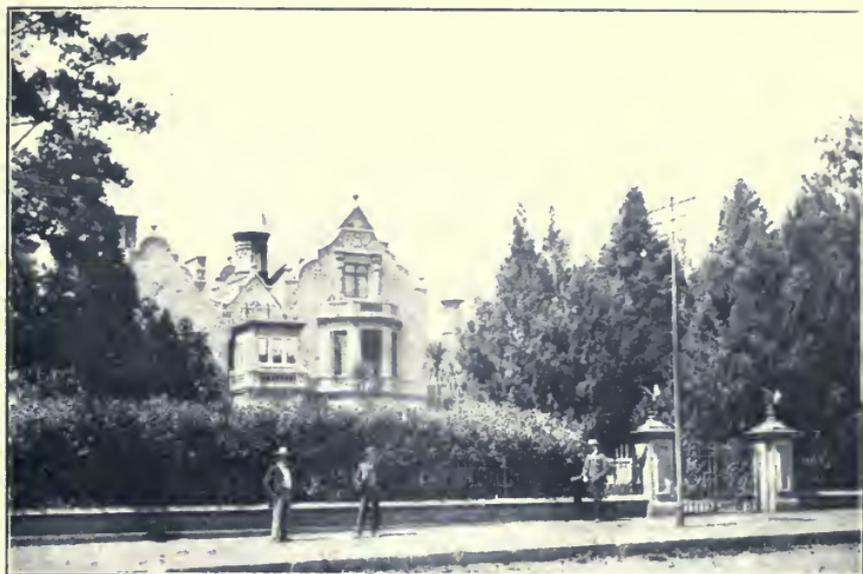


*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*  
THE GRIM REALITIES OF WAR: THE BRITISH DEAD IN THE TRENCHES OF SPION KOP

Jameson Raid, was pledged to stand by the Transvaal in an offensive and defensive alliance.

Accordingly when war broke out in 1899 precipitated by the ultimatum from the South African Republic, ordering

the British Government to cease sending troops to South Africa, and to withdraw its troops from the vicinity of the Boer frontiers—the British army entered upon a campaign of blunders which dealt the Imperial prestige a very serious shock. The Boers occupied the northern half of Natal, and very nearly succeeded in capturing the position of Ladysmith and the large British army locked up in that city.



*Photo by Leo Weinthal*

A HOUSE IN PRETORIA, THE CAPITAL OF THE TRANSVAAL  
PRETORIA AT PRESENT IS THE VIRTUAL CAPITAL OF SOUTH AFRICA. IT WAS IN THIS  
HOUSE THAT LORD ROBERTS RESIDED IN 1900

But by dint of sending overwhelming forces, including Colonial contingents, and entrusting its armies to the common sense of Lord Roberts and the military genius of Lord Kitchener, the British Government was in a position in 1900 to annex the Orange Free State and the South African Republic to the British dominions in South Africa. The British flag was flying over Pretoria and Bloemfontein from the summer of 1900. Then followed two years of guerilla warfare—a war of skirmishes, ambushes, traps, and counter-traps. For two years after the capture of Bloemfontein the forces of the Orange Free State and of the Transvaal sparsely reinforced by volunteers from other parts of the

world, and only numbering at most seventy thousand men—defied the resources of the British Empire. They had at last to surrender to starvation. The war between Boer and Briton of 1899–1902 will always be celebrated in history



*Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

THE REALITIES OF WAR: A BURNT HOUSE AND DESTROYED  
HOMESTEAD IN THE TRANSVAAL

not only for the gallantry and resourcefulness of the weaker side, but for the revolution which it has caused in our ideas of warfare, especially of defensive warfare.

Wounding to our national pride as its episodes were in the beginning, wild as was the talk in British social circles on the part of Jingoers or Pro-Boers, this three years' struggle has probably laid the basis for a perfect understanding between the English-speaking and the Dutch-speaking settlers in

South Africa. It caused the British people and Government to realize, as they had never done before, the splendid stuff of which the Boers were made. It got rid of the ignorant and corrupt Kruger and his fanatical counsellors, and it rescued South Africa from the perhaps not-altogether-judicious domination of Rhodes.



*Photo by S. S. Watkinson*

THE TUGELA RIVER AT COLENZO, SHOWING THE NATAL GOVERNMENT RAILWAY BRIDGE DESTROYED IN 1899 AT COMMENCEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

He, poor man, if he made some mistakes, and followed here and there false ideals, had conceived great and even beneficent purposes, and prepared the way for their achievement by magnificent deeds. But he was a broken-hearted man after the Jameson Raid; and the long anxieties, the undeceptions of the three years' South African War, wrecked a naturally fine constitution. Just as peace was about to be declared, and as Rhodes might have come once more to the front as the developer of Central South Africa, he

was involved in an unpleasant case. A German lady of princely rank was accused of offering for acceptance in South Africa bills for several thousand pounds, the signatures to which were declared to be a forgery of Rhodes' name. Mr. Rhodes, though very ill, started for South Africa to appear as a witness in the prosecution of this case. The



*Photo by S. S. Watkinson*

LADYSMITH

effort killed him, and he died of heart disease on the 26th of March, 1902.

The history of the Nyasaland Protectorate and the two Rhodesian Provinces to the north of the Zambezi and Chobe-Kwando Rivers—that extensive region between the Zambezi and the Congo basin for some time styled 'British Central Africa'—has until recently been rather separated from the history of South Africa, although it was the British landing at the Cape of Good Hope in 1795 which started the movement towards the discovery and conquest of 'Northern Zambezia.' In the year following this event

the Portuguese Government, represented by Dr. José Lacerda (a native of Brazil), commenced the exploration of the unknown country which is now the Province of North-eastern Rhodesia, with the view of forestalling the British advance from the Cape to Cairo.



*Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

RHODES' GRAVE IN THE MATOPPO HILLS

But the Portuguese efforts soon relaxed, owing to the troubles of the Napoleonic wars, the declaration of Brazilian independence, and the civil wars in Portugal itself.

Meantime British missionaries travelling northwards in Bechuanaland heard of a region of flowing waters and great trees beyond the desert, from those adventurous Bechuana raiders who had already made a conquest of Upper Zambezia. Dr. Livingstone determined to seek for this great lake or river, and interested the big game hunter—

William Cotton Oswell—in the research. Oswell, in fact, financed the expedition. On the 29th of June, 1851,



DR. DAVID LIVINGSTONE

THIS IS A VERY INTERESTING PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT TAKEN EARLY IN 1857.  
THE EXPLORER IS HOLDING THE HORNS OF A WHITE RHINOCEROS

Livingstone and Oswell discovered the Upper Zambezi at Sesheke. Between 1852 and 1856 Livingstone, alone, traced the mighty river to near its sources, travelled thence to the Angola coast; after a brief rest explored the south-west basin of the Congo, and retraced the

general course of the Zambezi from Lake Dilolo to the Indian Ocean.

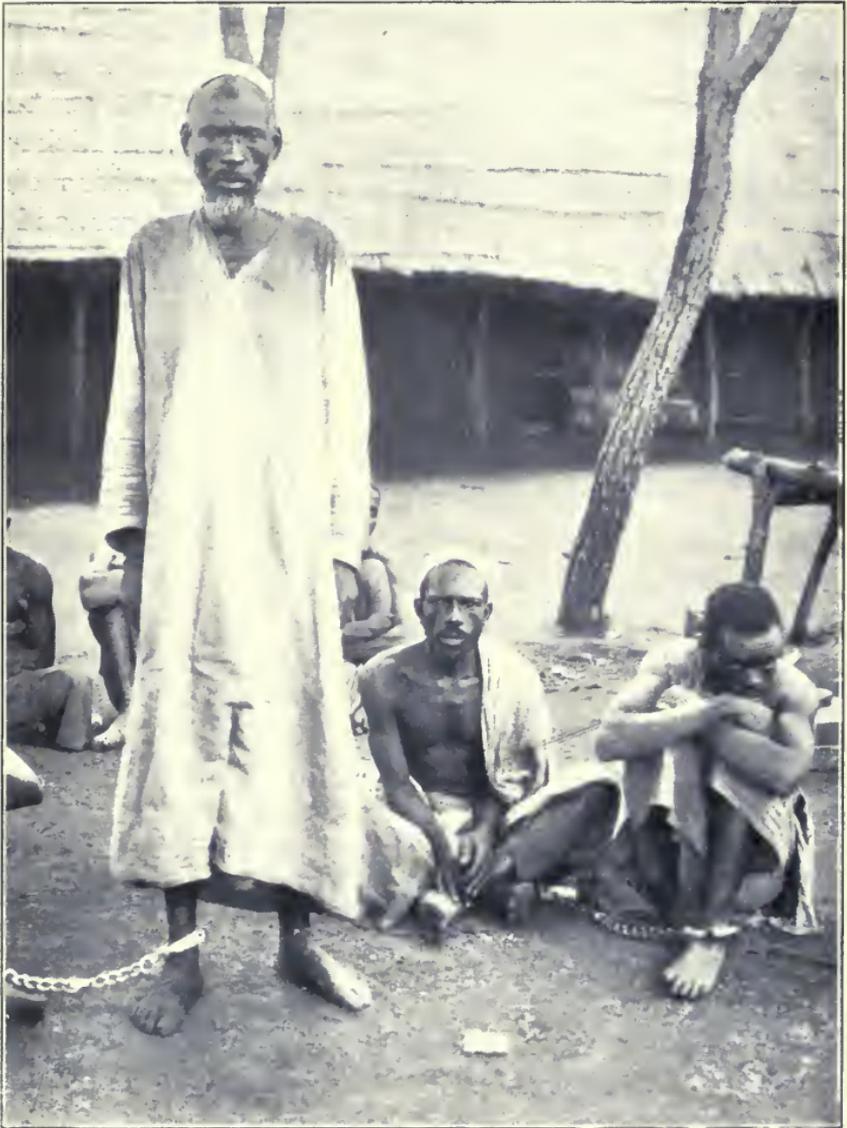
The British Government sent him back to Zambezia as consul, at the head of a great expedition which was to explore, and perhaps to annex. Dr. John Kirk (who had served in the Crimea) went with him as doctor and botanist, and there were also Charles Livingstone, the brother of the explorer-missionary, Thomas Baines (see p. 181), and Richard Thornton. Livingstone's second Zambezi expedition discovered the Shire River, Lake Nyasa, the Luangwa, and a hint of the rivers flowing north-west to the Congo. The Universities' Mission was installed in southern Nyasaland<sup>1</sup>: but the whole scheme ended in temporary failure and disappointment. The Arabs and their Negro allies, the Yao, had started ravaging the country for the slave trade, and neither Livingstone's expedition nor the Mission possessed the necessary force or authority to put them down. The worst obstacle of all, however, lay in the unfriendly attitude of the Portuguese—not so much towards Dr. Livingstone, to whom they were always kindly and hospitable, as to any idea of a British settlement in these regions which could then only be approached with ease across Portuguese territory or along Portuguese waterways. (No one had then discovered a mouth of the Zambezi with sufficient depth of water to be entered by a large ocean-going ship. The Chinde mouth of the Zambezi, now utilized by so many steamers, was first revealed by Mr. Daniel Rankin in January, 1889.)

Dr. Livingstone's Government expedition was recalled in 1864; but in 1866 the indefatigable explorer was back again in Nyasaland, bent on searching for the great rivers and lakes of the far interior which were, he thought, the sources of the Nile. He had left behind on the River Shire some of his faithful Makololo headmen borrowed from Sekeletu,<sup>2</sup> the chief of Barotseland. These became

<sup>1</sup> After the death of Bishop Mackenzie in 1862, the Universities' Mission was withdrawn to Zanzibar, and not re-established in Nyasaland until 1881.

<sup>2</sup> The son of Sebituane (see p. 104).

minor chiefs on their own account and assisted the indigenous Mañanja people to defend themselves against the slave-raiding Arabs, Yaos, and half-caste Portuguese.



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

ARAB AND YAO SLAVE TRADERS OF NYASALAND

Livingstone reached the south end of Lake Nyasa from the east coast (via the Ruvuma River) in 1866, and then turned north-west to make those great discoveries which led to the

revelation of the Congo system. But meantime a false rumour of his death had been spread abroad, and the Royal Geographical Society of London sent an expedition to the south end of Lake Nyasa under Lieutenant Edward Young R.N.<sup>1</sup> 'The Livingstone Search Expedition' was one of the most brilliant feats ever recorded in African travel. Lieutenant Young left England in the middle of May, 1867; reached the mouth of the Zambezi on 25th July, and Lake Nyasa in September: halted a month at the south end of the lake, making inquiries and collecting evidence, which proved the reports of Livingstone's death at the hands of Angoni Zulus to be absolutely false; and then returned to England in January, 1868, after an absence of only eight months.

Livingstone's Makololo had helped Young to carry his boat past the Shire Falls. His visit to the Shire and Lake Nyasa strengthened British influence there.

On 28th January, 1867, Livingstone discovered the Chambezi River or extreme Upper Congo, which rises on the confines of Nyasaland; on 1st April he reached the south end of Lake Tanganyika (the northern half of which had been discovered by Burton and Speke in 1857); Lake Mweru was revealed on 8th November in the same year, and Bangweulu on 18th July, 1868. In March, 1871, he reached the banks of the Upper Congo (under the name of Lualaba); in 1872 he surveyed the north end of Lake Tanganyika with H. M. Stanley; and on 1st May, 1873, Livingstone died at the village of Chitambo, near the south end of Lake Bangweulu, in what is now the heart of that 'British Central Africa' which he practically created by the glamour of his achievements and the strength of his appeals.

For, immediately his death was known, the Livingstonia Free Church Mission was founded in Scotland, and sent out its first party of missionaries to Lake Nyasa in 1875. They were joined in 1876 by the pioneers of the Church of Scotland Mission, who chose the Shire Highlands as the

<sup>1</sup> Young had been a warrant officer on H.M.S. *Pioneer*, which had assisted Livingstone's expedition on the Zambezi-Shire in 1859-63.

sphere of their work, and founded the present commercial capital of Nyasaland—Blantyre<sup>1</sup>—in 1877. As it was not



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

MASEA (STANDING UP) AND MWITU (SITTING DOWN NEXT TO MASEA) :  
THE LAST TWO SURVIVORS OF LIVINGSTONE'S MAKOLOLO ON  
THE RIVER SHIRE, 1893

possible to carry on mission work without the use of trade goods (as cash was unknown in the country, and as there was much transport work to be done), it was resolved in Scotland to supplement the work of the missionary societies by the creation of a small company for trade and transport,

<sup>1</sup> Named after Livingstone's birthplace in Lanarkshire.

which was subsequently called the 'African Lakes Company.' Two brothers, John William Moir and Frederick Moir, were sent to Nyasaland to manage this concern. By 1885 these energetic men, aided by other Scottish pioneers, had opened a route across the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau and had launched a small steamer on the waters of Tanganyika on behalf of the London Missionary Society. They had also



THE SOUTH END OF LAKE TANGANYIKA AND THE LITTLE STEAMER  
'GOOD NEWS,' PUT ON THE LAKE IN 1886

established trading stations at the north end of Lake Nyasa, under John Lowe Nicoll and Monteith Fotheringham; and these agents could scarcely avoid interfering to protect the hapless and helpless Nkonde, Henga, and Mambwe natives from the slave raids of the Zanzibar Arabs and their Baluchi<sup>1</sup> allies. Thus by 1887 the African Lakes Company found itself at war with the Muhammadan slave traders, whose iniquities had first been blazoned abroad by Livingstone. Volunteers came to their assistance—notably (Sir) Alfred Sharpe, (Sir) Frederick Lugard, and Captain Richard

<sup>1</sup> Many Baluchi men from the regions west of British India were imported into Zanzibar as the guards or soldiery of the Sultan. Some of these in time took to slave-trading in the interior.

Crawshay. But Frederick Moir, John Moir, Lugard, Sharpe, and other Britishers were wounded in the fighting; and the first attack on the North Nyasa Arabs ended in a truce, arranged by the writer of this book, who proceeded to Nyasa and Tanganyika on a special mission from the British Government in 1889.



*Photo by the late E. J. Glave*

MLOZI, THE ARAB CHIEF OF NORTH  
NYASA

The leading personage amongst these so-called Arabs (some of whom were really Muhammadan negroes) was *Mlozi*, who was becoming recognized as a kind of Sultan over all the Arabs between Nyasa and Tanganyika. On the west shore of Nyasa, however, was Tawakali Sudi, an Arab notability of a better nature—the ‘Jumbe’ or representative of the Sultan of Zanzibar. The predecessor of this Zanzibar agent had been a friend and helper of Livingstone. The Jumbe, who, in 1889, was living at Kota-kota, had placed

his territories under British protection in that year, and had lent powerful support to the present writer in his negotiations with Mlozi and his confederates.

In 1890 and 1891 the territories of British Central Africa were defined as a British Sphere of Influence by conventions concluded with Germany and Portugal. British rights over this region were based on treaties with native

chiefs concluded by Mr. (now Sir) H. H. Johnston, Mr. John Buchanan,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Alfred Sharpe,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Alfred J. Swann, and others. In 1891 Nyasaland was separated from the rest of the sphere of influence as a Protectorate (under the name of 'British Central Africa' in 1893), and was administered by a Commissioner (the present writer) on behalf of the Imperial Government. The same official governed the rest of Northern Zambezia for the British South Africa Chartered Company, this Company having been the direct means of securing the regions west of Nyasaland for British political influence. Since 1895 the Chartered Company's territory north of the Zambezi has been managed by the Company itself, and is divided into two provinces—North-west Rhodesia and North-east Rhodesia. The first named—including Barotseland—was brought under the supervision



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

TAWAKALI SUDI: JUMBE OF KOTA-KOTA

<sup>1</sup> Practically the pioneer of the Shire Highlands coffee planters, and for some years British Acting Consul in Nyasaland.

<sup>2</sup> Now Sir Alfred Sharpe, Governor of Nyasaland.

of the South Africa High Commissioner in 1895, while the other remained under the general control of the British Central Africa Commissioner, with an appeal in judicial questions to the High Court of Zanzibar. No doubt, before long, what remains of 'British Central Africa' will be attached to the South African system, to which, on the whole, it more naturally belongs. In 1904 the supervision of the territories of British Central Africa was transferred to the



*Drawing by Sir Harry Johnston*

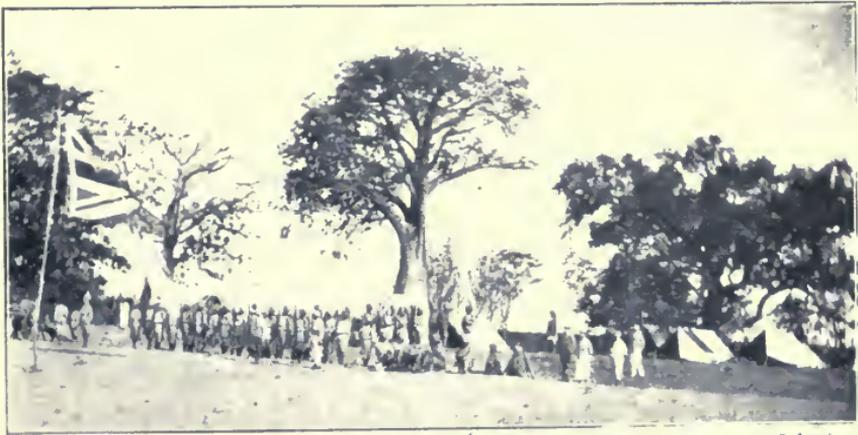
A CORNER OF MLOZI'S GREAT STOCKADE ON THE RUKURU RIVER,  
NORTH NYASALAND: TAKEN BY THE BRITISH FORCES, DEC. 5, 1895

Colonial Office, and in 1907 the name of the Protectorate was changed to 'Nyasaland.' The area of Nyasaland is 43,608 square miles, and that of the Chartered Company's province of North-east Rhodesia, 109,000 square miles (North-west Rhodesia is 182,000 square miles). The population of Nyasaland and of North-east Rhodesia is approximately 1,326,000; that of North-west Rhodesia, 500,000.

Since 1897 there has been a practically unbroken peace throughout these regions of Northern Zambezia. In North-east and North-west Rhodesia there has been no fighting at any time with the natives, except a few police operations in early days by the British South Africa

Company's forces against the turbulent, slave-raiding Bemba people.

But the British intrusion into Nyasaland involved us in a long and costly struggle with the Arab slave traders and their Muhammadan Negro (Yao) allies. This war was fought out with a force of British officers and Indian (Sikh) and indigenous Negro soldiers commanded by Major C. A. Edwards, and culminated in a month's campaign against the North Nyasa Arabs under Mlozi in November-



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

THE HOISTING OF THE BRITISH FLAG AT MAKANJIRA'S, SOUTH-EAST NYASA, 1893, AT THE PLACE WHERE CAPTAIN MAGUIRE WAS KILLED AND DR. BOYCE AND MR. McEWAN WERE MURDERED

December, 1895. All the Arab strong places were taken, and their leader, Mlozi, was hanged on 4th December, 1895, for the murder of hostages. Some fighting occurred in 1896-97 against the principal or more powerful chief of the western Angoni-Zulu<sup>1</sup>—Mpezeni, whose power for harm was easily crushed by an expedition under Lt.-Col. (Sir) William Manning.

The first interest displayed by the British Government in Nyasaland was in reference to its supposed capabilities as a cotton-growing country, at a time when (as now) it was deemed a wise policy that the mills of Lancashire should not be too entirely dependent on the Southern

<sup>1</sup> See p. 102 for the Angoni invasion of Nyasaland.

United States for their supply of raw cotton. But Livingstone's pioneer work was not followed up by the British



*Photo by Capt. P. Weatherly*

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON IN A CAMP ON THE UPPER SHIRE, WHICH WAS BESIEGED AT THE TIME (1893) BY ARAB AND YAO SLAVE TRADERS

Government, and cotton as a paying product in Nyasaland gave way in the latter 'seventies and the 'eighties to coffee. Numerous English and Scottish planters settled in the Shire Highlands as coffee planters. Then coffee proved

relatively disappointing in its results, and tobacco took its place. Now again, and perhaps permanently, cotton is becoming the main staple of British Central African



*Photo by F. Melland*

RIVER SCENERY IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

commerce, together with minerals in North-west Rhodesia. To facilitate the working of both, a railway is being constructed to connect Lake Nyasa with the sea coast at Quelimane (the British Central Africa Company), and the 'Cape to Cairo' railway has been carried through

North-west Rhodesia by the enterprise of the British South Africa Company.

Greatly changed is the land that Livingstone knew, wherein—at Chitambo—his heart lies buried. For more than twelve years there have been no slave raids by Arab, Yao, Bemba, or Angoni-Zulu—raids which often turned a natural paradise into an uncultivated wilderness, making burnt-out villages, stinking corpses, starving people, man-eating lions and hyenas common sights and incidents in the experience of all travellers during the nineteenth century. Mission schools exist in almost every centre of population; the young men frequently go away in numbers to earn money in South Africa, and return to spend it on the purchase and cultivation of land around their old homes. Perhaps there is no part of Tropical Africa in which the advent of the white ruler has created more good and done less harm than in British Central Africa.

## CHAPTER X

### NATAL: AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE annals of Natal after the British annexation in 1843<sup>1</sup> were uneventful, until the 'seventies of the last century. Then, in 1873, action had to be taken against the Kafir clan of the Amahlubi on the southern slopes of the Drakensberg Mountains in Western Natal, who were under the rule of an aristocratic old chief, Langalibalele. The dogged resistance offered by these people before they were finally subdued and scattered by a small force of military and police undoubtedly inspired the Zulus under Cechwayo with the belief that they might, if need be, stand up against the British power. In 1875 Sir Garnet (now Viscount Wolseley) came to Natal for five months as Lieut.-Governor to report on the 'Native' question and to initiate changes in the Colonial Government.

Cechwayo had been Regent of the Zulu nation after his father's illness in 1857 and 1861, and in the year 1872, by the death of Umpande, he actually became King of the Amazulu, and was recognized in this position by the High Commissioner of South Africa (1873). But from that time onwards he began to resume the drilling of his armies, and apparently to prepare an attack on the colony of Natal. His objective might also have been the Transvaal, recently annexed by Great Britain, with which State he had a dispute as to land on its northern boundaries. Sir Bartle Frere, High Commissioner of all South Africa, had decided, rightly or wrongly, to disperse this Zulu danger, and not to wait until after some invasion and terrible resultant massacre had

<sup>1</sup> In 1843 proclaimed a British Colony; in 1844 made a district of Cape Colony; in 1845, a separate colony.

occurred in Natal. He therefore called on the Zulu king to disarm on 22nd January, 1879, and on his not complying with this demand ordered the commander-in-chief of the British forces—Lord Chelmsford—to cross the Tugela River and march on the Zulu capital.

The opening of the campaign was marked by two



*From a photograph by the London Stereoscopic Co.*

KING CETSHWAYO IN 1875

striking incidents: the capture of the British camp at Isandhlwana<sup>1</sup> with a loss to the British of eight hundred white and five hundred Negro soldiers; and the defence of Rorke's Drift on the Buffalo River, under Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead and a hundred and twenty British (Imperial and Colonial) white soldiers against four thousand Zulus rendered madly confident by their victory at the Hill of the Little Hand. This defence of Rorke's Drift saved Natal from

terrible disasters of unimagined magnitude.

Another episode of this war, which has raised it in the interest of the world far above that of all other Kafir wars, was the death of the Prince Imperial of France on a reconnoitring expedition. But for this unhappy accident it is almost certain that for the last twenty years there would have been a French Empire instead of a French Republic.

<sup>1</sup> This word is a diminutive of *Isandhla*, a hand.

Lord Chelmsford, however, defeated the Zulus at the battles of Ginginhlovu, Kambula, and Ulundi, and in September, 1879, the Zulu king Cechwayo was captured and sent as a prisoner of war to St. Helena.

Under Mr. Gladstone's administration in 1880-85, the Home Government continued that fatal policy of irresolution which has led to so many woes in South Africa. It would



*Photo by S. S. Watkinson*

ISANDHLWANA : OR THE HILL OF THE LITTLE HAND

not annex Zululand outright, but after setting aside a small portion as a reserve under a British resident, it divided the rest into thirteen districts, each to be governed by a native chief under the advice of the British resident. One of these chiefs was actually a white, English hunter-adventurer named John Dunn.<sup>1</sup> The Zulus began to quarrel among themselves and the British Government decided

<sup>1</sup> John Dunn remained chief of this portion of Zululand until his death in 1895. He was the son of an English doctor, married a Kafir wife, and left a large family of children who have received small land grants. 'He was the soul of hospitality and kindness, of most courteous bearing, and was greatly respected,' writes a Natal Government official.

to restore Cechwayo as king over a reduced territory, reserving a small portion of his country as a separate principality for a rival chief (Usibepu), inimical to Cechwayo. But soon after Cechwayo's return in January, 1883, he was attacked by Usibepu and obliged to flee for refuge to the British reserve, where he died broken-hearted in 1884.



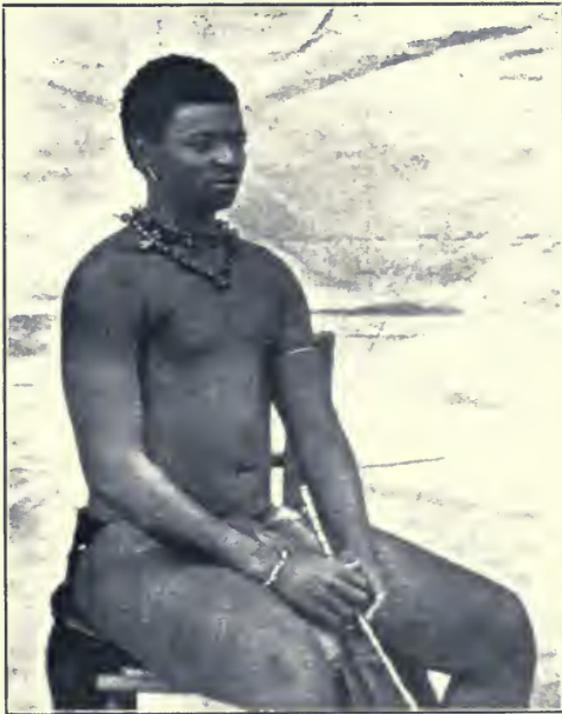
CHIEF JOHN DUNN OF ZULULAND

The quarrel was continued after his death between his son and successor Dinizulu and Usibepu. The former called in the assistance of some Transvaal Boer adventurers with whose aid he completely crushed and finished Usibepu. As a reward for their services Dinizulu gave a large piece of north-west Zululand to the Boers. This became the 'Nieuwe Republiek,' and later was fused with the South African Republic.

In 1887 what remained of Zululand (northwards to Santa Lucia Lake and the Umkuzi River) was annexed by the British Government to be governed henceforth by the Governor of Natal as a separate province. This measure was objected to by Dinizulu's followers, who began to create a disturbance. Dinizulu was therefore deported to St. Helena and was detained there for eleven years. As the result of constant efforts and appeals on the part of Miss Frances

Colenso,<sup>1</sup> Dinizulu was released in 1898 and allowed to return to Zululand: but since 1908 has again been in difficulties with the Natal Government and is now in prison.

Between 1890 and 1895 the regions of northern Zululand and Amatongaland up to the Portuguese boundary were brought under British control, and finally the whole of this region—Zulu- and Amaton-ga-lands—was annexed to the



AN EARLY PHOTOGRAPH OF DINIZULU,  
THE SON OF CÉCHWAYO

colony of Natal at the end of 1897. Amatongaland included the very poor port of 'Kosi Bay,' which had been several times offered (with the approval apparently of the British Government) to the Transvaal: but for some reason the concession had never been taken up. Yet when in June.

<sup>1</sup> A daughter of the great Bishop of Natal, J. W. Colenso, who lived in that colony almost continuously from 1853 to 1883, in which year he died at Durban. He published a grammar and dictionary of Zulu, and is commemorated (besides his many works on mathematics, languages, and Biblical study) by the Natal town of Colenso.

1895, Amatongaland and Kosi Bay were placed under the British flag. President Kruger was very angry, and is said from that time to have inclined himself towards intimate relations with Germany.

After the conclusion of the South African War in 1902, the districts of Utrecht and Vryheid were detached from the Transvaal and annexed to Natal. Even with all these additions Natal still has an area of only 35,371 square miles,



*Photo by B. W. Caney*

#### IN LOVELY NATAL

and is therefore the smallest of the four great South African colonies, though in some respects the most richly endowed by Nature.

The colony of Natal received powers of representative government—that is to say, ceased to be a mere Crown colony—in 1856, and in 1893 was granted responsible government, from which date it assumed the position of a daughter nation. It contains a considerable intermixture of Dutch-speaking settlers (about 13,000) in its northern regions, but, on the whole, is the most ‘English’ of all the divisions of South Africa.

The first railway in Natal was completed between Durban and Pieter-Maritzburg in 1880. This main line was connected with the Transvaal lines to Johannesburg and

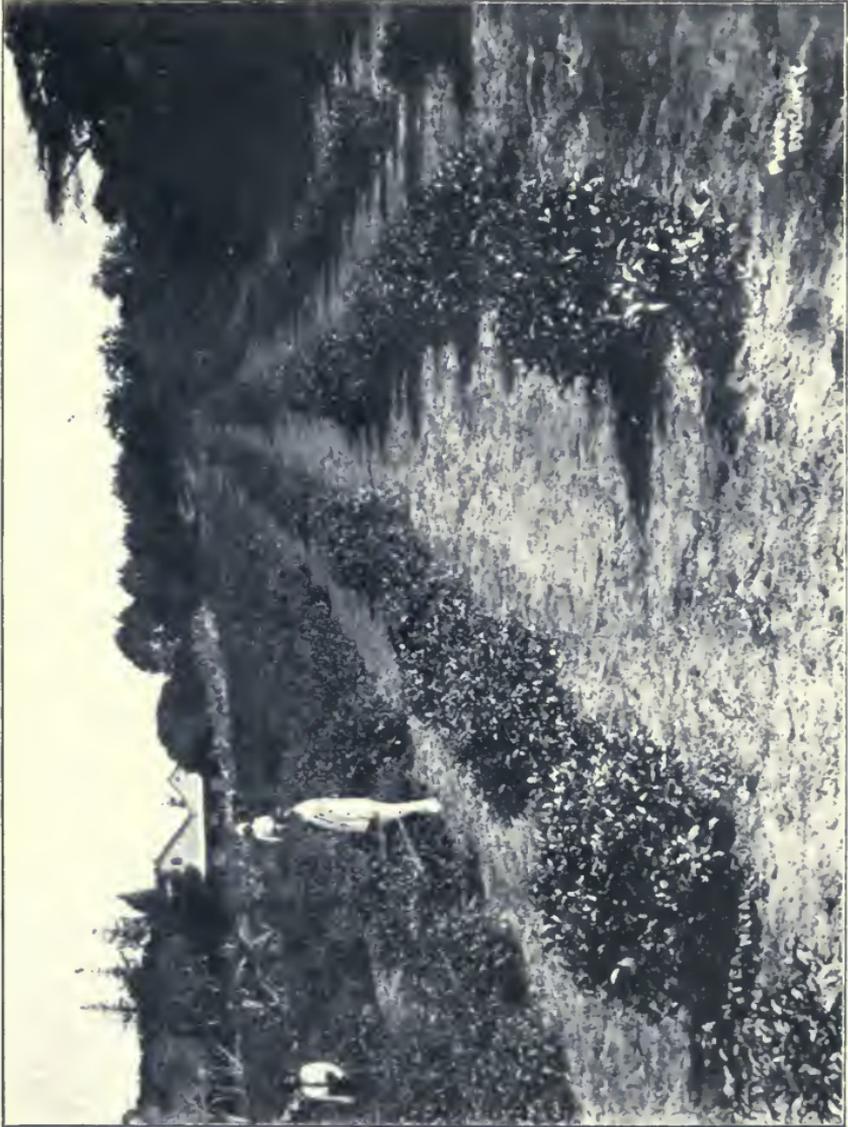


Photo by B. W. Caney

A NATAL TEA GARDEN WORKED BY INDIAN KULIS

NATAL NOW exports TEA

Pretoria in 1895. The scenery of this colony is extremely beautiful, and its climate sub-tropical or almost tropical, except in the far interior, where the lofty mountains are occasionally covered with snow. It is literally the choicest

State of South Africa, its fertile soil being admirably well-watered and clothed with an abundant and beautiful vegetation. And its hundred thousand settlers of European race have really achieved wonders in making a good port out of Durban (at the cost of two or three million pounds), and in developing the agriculture of this garden colony until it now exports sugar, tea, pineapples, tobacco, maize, cotton, potatoes, grapes, and apples to Europe and to less favoured parts of South Africa.

Between 1865 and the present day there has been a



*Photo lent by Francis Harrison*

THE ENTRANCE TO DURBAN HARBOUR

considerable settlement of Indians in Natal, originally as indentured 'kulis' or labourers, but in later times as traders and free colonists. These Indians come chiefly from the southern and south-eastern parts of India, and they now number about 116,000. If left to themselves they would not only increase and multiply with great rapidity, but they would call to themselves fellow immigrants from India, so that in the course of a few years the Asiatic would probably predominate over the Negro and entirely swamp the European. Consequently there has been legislation at intervals on the part of the Natal government to restrain immigration from India, and no doubt the eventual outcome of this trend of popular opinion will be the exclusion of Asiatics altogether from Natal territory as from the rest of self-governing

South Africa. Meantime the well-treated Negroes of the Zulu-Kafir stock multiply rapidly. When Natal was first annexed as a British colony there were probably not more than *twenty thousand* Negroes within its limits, west of the Tugela. In Natal (omitting Zululand) there are now at least 700,000 Zulu-Kafirs, and including Zululand, the total number of natives is 960,000. The white population during



*Photo lent by Francis Harrison*

HAY MAKING IN NATAL  
THE WORK IS BEING DONE BY INDIAN KULIS

the same period has only risen to about 93,000, and is actually less now than it was in 1904. The Negro question, therefore, is one of considerable importance in the politics of this State. The white man is struggling to preserve, at any rate, some portion of the territory of Natal as the home for a white race.

The franchise is still practically withheld from 'natives': or at any rate is rendered so difficult of acquisition that at the present time there are said to be only six persons out of the Zulu-Kafir population of 960,000 who are entitled to vote. This policy is justifiable as regards the Zululand district,

because the majority of the Trans-Tugela Zulus are content still to lead a semi-savage existence entirely without education. But this one-sided policy in Natal proper is causing some discontent to grow up between governors and governed. At least twenty thousand Natal Kafir men can read and write, thanks to the missionary schools, and many more of these travel to and fro to the gold mines, the diamond fields, and the eastern parts of Cape Colony. 'If



*Photo by S. S. Watkinson*

THE TOWN HALL, DURBAN, NATAL

their brothers in Cape Colony have the parliamentary franchise' (they ask themselves), 'why should not they?' They are said to resent the arbitrary way in which new taxation is instituted without their being consulted or listened to or having any voice in the disposal of the funds raised by 'native' taxation.

In 1906 the Natal Parliament passed a law levying a poll-tax on all youths of sixteen years and upwards not paying a hut tax: a measure intended to check loafing and idleness. No preliminary steps, however, were taken to explain this new law to the Kafirs in the wilder parts of the

colony, and an attempt was actually made to levy the tax in some villages three months before it was due. The tax-collectors had to obtain a police escort, and in one village



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

NATAL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POLICE

the police were hustled. Their commanding officer fired at the crowd. His fire was returned and he fell dead.

After this event martial law was declared and eventually twelve Kafirs were arrested for the crime. By martial law (on not very conclusive evidence) they were found guilty and sentenced to death. Exception was taken to the

legality of this procedure in Natal and in England, and it was proposed to appeal to the Privy Council. But while this appeal was being arranged the death sentence on all the twelve men was carried out—an action which created considerable resentment in London and an impression that the native policy of this self-governing colony required amendment.

The friction between the Natal Government and the



*Photo by S. S. Watkinson*

ZULU WOMEN DOING EACH OTHER'S HAIR

natives of western Natal possibly accentuated a rebellious spirit which had been growing up in Zululand since the conclusion of the South African War. On what it was based is not very clear, but it seems to have centred round Dinizulu, the principal chief. In 1908 Dinizulu was arrested, and whatever may be the outcome of his trial he will probably not be allowed to reside in Zululand any longer.

But the only legitimate grievance of the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal is that they have absolutely no voice in the government

of their country and are not consulted in projected legislation which affects them particularly. Otherwise they should be well content with British rule. In 'old' Natal 4000 square miles, out of a total area of 17,000, are vested in the 'Native Trust' for the use of Kafirs *only*. On the Crown lands of Natal many natives are tenants of small holdings at a rental of £2 per annum. The greater part of Zululand is owned tribally by the Zulus. Throughout the



*Photo by S. S. Watkinson*

H.M.S. 'GOOD HOPE' ENTERING DURBAN HARBOUR

whole colony the utmost degree of direct taxation imposed on the Negroes is *a hut tax for married men* of 14s. per annum, and *a poll tax on unmarried men* of sixteen years and over of 15s.

The South African War was brought to a conclusion by the *Peace of Vereeniging* on 31st May, 1902. By this peace the Boers of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic became British subjects, and those States under the names of 'Transvaal' and 'Orange River Colony' were henceforth integral parts of British South Africa, and were



THE PRINCIPALS WHO NEGOTIATED THE ARMISTICE AND PEACE OF VEREENIGING  
FROM LEFT TO RIGHT, GENERALS DE WET, LOUIS BOTHA, VISCOUNT KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM

temporarily made Crown colonies under Lieutenant-Governors.

When the war was over the next problem to face and settle was the saving from bankruptcy of the mineral industries of the Transvaal. No doubt these had been greatly over-capitalized, but the contention of the mining companies was that if only a regular, certain supply of reasonably cheap labour could be obtained nearly every



*Photo by Leo Weinthal*

NEGRO MINERS IN THE TRANSVAAL

mine could be worked to pay. Prior to the war, all the skilled work was done by white men, the unskilled by Negroes recruited in British South Africa and in Portuguese South-east Africa. But many of these had been making so much money out of the war that they no longer cared about working underground, and in any case wanted higher wages than the mine managers cared to pay. White men as unskilled labourers were too expensive, especially in South Africa, where the enormous duties levied on foreign food, building material, and other necessaries made living very costly. The idea, moreover, of flooding the country with white men of the labouring class and giving them

(of necessity) the franchise was not pleasing to the mine magnates. The alternative to complete dependence on the Negro as a labour force was to import Asiatics under indenture, as was done in the early days of Natal.

But public opinion in the Transvaal, Orange River



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

A CHINAMAN ON THE RAND AND HIS TWO CHILDREN

Colony, and Natal was dead against the bringing in of Indians under conditions which might result in their settling down as future citizens. Yet the Indian Government would not allow its subjects to be engaged for South Africa on terms different from those in force elsewhere—terms which have resulted in the creation of large, prosperous, Indian colonies in Natal, the West Indies, and South America.

Therefore it was proposed in 1903 to import Chinese

labourers under contract and to keep them in the Transvaal on the 'compound' system. This meant confining the Chinese workers—by force if necessary—to an abode in a large or small enclosure connected with the mine at which they were working. The compound system was to be adopted to prevent the Chinese from deserting and wandering away into South Africa generally, thus eventually colonizing and, in common with the East Indians, adding an Asiatic



*Photo lent by Leo Weinhart*

MINERS, WHITE AND BLACK ; 1000 FT. UNDERGROUND IN THE  
TRANSVAAL GOLD MINES

element to a population already divided into two camps : the white man and the Negro.

For various reasons a large section of public opinion in the United Kingdom was opposed to the introduction of the Chinese under this 'compound' system. It was, however, permitted for three years, namely until the autumn of 1906, when it was abolished by the Transvaal Legislature. Since that time the mine-owners have been able to obtain a sufficient supply of Negro labour.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1908 the *indigenous* Negro labour force in all British South Africa (south of the Zambezi) was computed at 600,000. To this may well be added the 70,000 or 80,000 which annually came from Portuguese South-east

In 1906 the Liberal administration of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman passed a measure giving to the Transvaal responsible government, and General Louis Botha (a prominent Boer General in the three years' war) became the first Prime Minister of a self-governing Transvaal. In the following year, 1907, similar powers of self-government

were granted to the Orange River Colony.

The result of this 'trusting the Boers' has proved on the whole a happy experiment. For the first time in the history of British South Africa something like a real fusion of interests and aspirations seems to be taking place between the English-speaking and the Dutch inhabitants of this great South African Empire. In 1907 a strong movement grew up for the complete unification of British South Africa.

During 1908 and 1909 protracted conferences

of South African statesmen were held, and the final result was the preparation of a measure which has been submitted to the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the King-Emperor for ratification,<sup>1</sup> a measure which will create one single great South African State to be known simply henceforth as 'South Africa.' This State will include under one central South African Parliament and Governor-General Africa to work in the Transvaal and Cape Colony. The local labour force of British Central Africa is about 100,000 for Nyasaland, and 250,000 for the two northern Rhodesian provinces.

<sup>1</sup> Ratified, September 21st, 1909.



*Photo lent by Leo Weinthal*

A CHINESE MINER, TRANSVAAL, 1905

the former colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River, besides the Protectorate of British Bechuanaland, which, since 1896, has been



THE RIGHT HON. LOUIS BOTHA, PRIME MINISTER OF THE TRANSVAAL

administered directly by Great Britain. It will also, no doubt, comprise in time the native territories of Basutoland and Swaziland, and Rhodesia up to the Zambezi River. North of the Zambezi, the two Rhodesian territories, the native kingdom of Barotseland, and the colony of Nyasaland will possibly be once more grouped under the title

of 'British Central Africa,' and will form a vast domain (chiefly Negro), to be administered for a time directly by



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*  
CAPE TOWN WITH THE 'TABLE CLOTH' ON TABLE MOUNTAIN

Great Britain through the Governor-General and High Commissioner for South Africa.

Eventually, this wardship may be transferred to the safe-keeping of the South African Parliament, but probably not

until Great Britain is well assured that the Negro race in



*Photo by B. W. Caney*

A TOBACCO PLANTATION IN NATAL

this sub-continent will receive just and sympathetic treatment from their white fellow-subjects.

An un-Imperial feature in this new Constitution limits

membership of the South African Legislature to men of European descent, thereby excluding the five or six millions of Negroes between the Zambezi and the Cape of Good



*Photo by B. W. Coney*

COTTON PLANTING IN NATAL

Hope (together with the half-castes, Malays, and East Indians) from any share, however small, in the administration of the affairs of this sub-continent. Provision is further made for the cancellation of the existing franchise given to

the Negroes and coloured people of Cape Colony under the Constitution of 1853, provided such a step receives the sanction



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

' BRAYING ' A SKIN TO MAKE A KAROSS

of a two-thirds majority of votes in the new Parliament. So that from a strictly 'Imperial' point of view, this desired Union

of South African States will start on its national career as an imperfect and transitory measure. But, no doubt, when it is well established it will see its way to enlarge the boundaries of its liberties. Severe educational tests and a small but sufficient property qualification should limit the exercise of the franchise and of the right to be elected to the Legislature to persons who, whatever their skin colour or race, are at any rate capable of bearing and exercising responsibilities.



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*  
CATCHING A COCK OSTRICH FOR PLUCKING, CAPE COLONY

#### NOTE TO CHAPTER X

##### THE AREA AND PRODUCTS OF BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

THE geographical continuity of all the states herein mentioned must lead by degrees to some kind of political and perhaps fiscal union. The *Protectorate of Nyasaland* has an area of 43,608 sq. m.; *North-eastern Rhodesia*, 109,000 sq. m.; *North-west Rhodesia*, 182,000 sq. m.; *Southern Rhodesia*, 148,575 sq. m.; the *Protectorate of Bechuanaland*, 275,600 sq. m.; *Transvaal*, 111,196 sq. m.; *Swaziland*, 6536 sq. m.; *Orange River Colony*, 50,000 sq. m.; *Basutoland*,

10,293 sq. m.; *Natal*, 35,371 sq. m.; and *Cape Colony* (including Walfish Bay and islets on Atlantic coast), 276,995 sq. m. Total area : 1,249,174 sq. m.



RIGHT HON. JOHN XAVIER MERRIMAN, PRIME MINISTER, CAPE COLONY

NYASALAND produces *cotton, coffee, tobacco, tea, chilli peppers, rubber, rice, maize, wheat, and potatoes*. It also possesses deposits of coal and some minerals of value.

- N.-E. RHODESIA produces much the same vegetable products as Nyasaland, but is very much less developed. The oil palm of West Africa grows in the north-west of this province and there are indications of considerable wealth in *copper*.
- N.-W. RHODESIA is highly mineralized in its eastern and central portions—copper and gold being the chief output at present. The western part—Barotseland—inclines to be swampy and unhealthy, but is well adapted to *cotton* cultivation. There are still great herds of wild game in this province, which exports a good deal of ivory.
- SOUTHERN RHODESIA exported about 700,000 oz. of *gold* in 1908 (as against 215 oz. in 1897). It also possesses *copper*, *silver*, *lead*, and other metals; *diamonds*; and rich deposits of *coal*. Its chief vegetable products are *tobacco*, *maize*, and *fruit*.
- BECHUANALAND is a poor country except in the east, where there are gold mines (Tati concession). Its principal exports are *ostrich feathers* from wild ostriches; *cattle*; and the dressed *skins* of jackals, foxes, antelopes, lynxes, &c., which, when sewn together, make those splendid rugs or mantles known as 'karosses.'
- The TRANSVAAL is celebrated for its mineral wealth: *gold* (7,052,617 oz., value £28,000,000, exported in 1908), *diamonds* (the largest known diamond, the 'Cullinan,' was produced in this State), *coal*, *tin* (chiefly from Swaziland), *lead*, *copper*, *galena*, *asbestos*, &c.
- The ORANGE RIVER COLONY produces *coal*, *diamonds*, and a little *gold*; *wool* from its great herds of sheep; *hides* of cattle; *fruit* and *jam*.
- BASUTOLAND exports *grain*, *cattle*, *wool*, and a most useful breed of *horses*, celebrated all over South and Central Africa.
- NATAL for climate, fertility of soil, and variety of products is almost the pick of South Africa. There is a great wealth of *coal* in the north, the average annual output being a million tons. The other chief articles of export at present are *sugar*, *maize*, *tea*, *potatoes*, *wool*, the *bark of wattle* (Australian acacia trees), *mohair* (the silky hair of Angora goats), *tobacco*, *hides*, *fruit*—especially *oranges* of fine quality, *apples*, and *grapes*.
- CAPE COLONY exports about £7,000,000 worth of *diamonds* annually; about £1,100,000 worth of first-class *ostrich feathers* from its domestic ostriches; enormous quantities of *wool* and *mohair*; *copper*, *gold*, *wine*, *brandy*, *hides*, *horses*, *cattle*, *goats*, *maize*, and excellent *fruit*. The fruit, indeed, of Cape Colony promises to become a most important article of export, like that of Natal. The Colony produces *grapes* of the first quality, *apples*, *plums*, and *peaches*.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE NATIVES OF BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

IN this Chapter the term 'native' must be understood as meaning *Negro* or *Negroid*. It is a popular misuse of the word, because about 800,000 Dutch- and English-speaking white people were born in South Africa, and are consequently equally native with the Negro or Hottentot. But in a conventional way 'natives' and the 'native' question are understood in South Africa to apply to the aborigines.

To complete our historical survey of the British Empire over Southern Africa, it is necessary to give some information as to the Negro and 'coloured' inhabitants of this sub-continent. The vast region under review extends over twenty-seven degrees of latitude from the south end of Tanganyika ( $8^{\circ} 20'$  S. lat.) and the southern limits of the Congo basin, to Cape Agulhas ( $35^{\circ} 30'$  S. lat.), and possesses a total area of 1,249,174 square miles. This South African Empire comprises the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Orange River, and Transvaal; the protectorates of Bechuanaland and Nyasaland, the Chartered Company's territories of Rhodesia, and the native states of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Barotse. It has a white population in round numbers of 1,145,000 (of which again 583,000 are English-speaking and 562,000 Dutch-speaking or of Dutch descent), and 7,000,000 African coloured people, of whom about 6,650,000 are Negroes and about 350,000 half-castes, between the Negro and the European. There are also about 150,000 natives or settlers of Asiatic origin: such as the Malays of Cape Colony, the East Indians of Natal, the Transvaal, Rhodesia, and Nyasaland; and the Zanzibar Arabs still trading in the last-named country.

Beginning our survey of the principal native tribes



Photo by Sir Harry Johnston

A MAŔANJA OF THE SHIRE HIGHLANDS

on the extreme north of British South Africa, we note the *A-mambwe* and *A-lungu* of South Tanganyika. These are a well-made, comely, but not tall race of Bantu Negroes, who at the time of their first discovery by white people went almost completely naked; as also did the interesting *Konde* group of tribes of the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau and the north end of Lake Nyasa. These 'Konde' or Nkonde peoples speak an archaic type of Bantu language, as also do the once warlike *Bemba* or *Awemba* of Itawa and the region between Lake Mweru and the Chambezi River. The *Bisa* people of South Bangweulu were remarkable for their enterprise in the early part of the nineteenth century, when they formed caravans and traded with the Arab towns on the East coast. They have since suffered much from the

slave trade. (Allied to this group linguistically are the *Balala*, *Bausi*, and *Balenje* between the Luangwa and the Upper Kafue). On the west

and north-west coast-districts of Lake Nyasa is the *Henga-Tumbuka* group, to which the light-hearted, industrious *Atonga* of West Nyasa belong. The *Atonga* were from the very first the allies of the white man in his struggles against the Arab and Yao slave traders. The *Yao* (*Wa-yao*, *Wa-Jawa*) tribes of South-east Nyasa and the eastern part of the Shire Province came originally from the Ruvuma River in East Africa. They were most of them converted to Muhammadanism by the middle of the nineteenth century, and began to invade the territories of the Nyanja people about that time. From 1850 to 1893 they carried on constant slave raids to supply the markets of Zanzibar and the East African coast. But they were often enslaved themselves and sent far and wide by the slave dealers of Zanzibar. They made a most dogged resistance between 1886 and 1895 to the foundation of the British protectorate over Nyasaland; but once it was established, they turned round and enlisted in its army and police; and more than that, they have since fought valiantly for the British Empire in Ashanti and Somaliland. The great NYANJA congeries of peoples extends from the eastern shores of Lake Nyasa to the verge of the Limpopo basin, and from central Zambezia to the mouth of the Zambezi and the Beira coast. [The name really means 'lake'; it, like 'Nyasa,' is a variant of the older form, *Nyanza*. In the Shire highlands the word apparently becomes *Nanja* (*Mañanja* pron. 'Mang'anja').] In the Nyanja group are included the *Senga* people of the Luangwa River and all the tribes inhabiting the basin of the Zambezi below the Luangwa confluence: also the *Ba-nanswa* of the region immediately south of the Victoria Falls, the *Ba-nyai*, the so-called *Mashona* (*Ama-swina*), the *Ba-karaña* (*Makaranga*, *Makalaka*), and the *Mashangane* of Southern Rhodesia. The Nyanja peoples are seldom warlike. They are settled agriculturists (the men working in the fields with the women), who have been easily dominated in the past by Angoni.<sup>1</sup> Ndebele,

<sup>1</sup> There are still a few pure-blood Zulu chiefs and head-men in West Nyasaland. But the bulk of the Angoni Zulus are fused with the Nyanja or *Atonga* population.

and Gazaland Zulus; by Bechuana; and by Wa-yao, or half-caste Portuguese. In all eastern Nyasaland the women of the Nyanja peoples make themselves hideous by inserting



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

A NATIVE OF THE CENTRAL ZAMBEZI WITH FRONT TEETH REMOVED

a large flat wooden disc or ring into their upper lip (the 'pelele').

The TONGA group includes the *Ba-subia* of the Zambezi and the Chobe Rivers at their confluence. With the Tonga

group is closely allied the *Ba-ila* or 'Mashukulumbwe' people. These last proved for a long time recalcitrant to European influence and attempted to kill such European hunters or traders as entered their country. They are a fine race, the men of which go completely naked, but wear their hair in an extraordinary chignon which is prolonged into a stiff yet elastic pigtail rising high over the head and curving forward. They knock out the front teeth of the upper jaw 'so as to resemble oxen and not zebras.' The *Ba-tonga* of Central Zambezia (much written of by Livingstone under the Sechuana name of Batoka) have also several times massacred European missionaries or traders, but have now settled down quite peaceably under the rule of the Chartered Company. The melodious language spoken by all these Tonga peoples is, like the Luyi language of Barotseland, related more nearly to the speech of the Southern Congo basin.

The leading people of Western Zambezia are the BA-LUYI or *Balui*, nowadays misknown by the name of Barotse (which is really the corrupted form of a Bechuana tribal name, Bahurutse). They belong in their affinities more to the peoples of the south-west basin of the Congo than to South Africa. The Ba-luyi were apparently twice conquered by incursions of Bechuana peoples from the south: first the Bahurutse, and later on, the horde of Makololo under Sebituane (referred to on p. 104). About the year 1865 they recovered their independence and drove out many of their Bechuana chiefs, but they still used to a great extent the Se-chuana language. They willingly came under British protection about the year 1892, and the government of their country is supervised (under the High Commissioner of South Africa) by the British South Africa Chartered Company. The King of the Barotse, Lewanika, was present in Westminster Abbey at the Coronation of King Edward VII.

The BECHUANA tribes extend from near the Central Zambezi on the north to the Orange River and the Drakensberg on the south. Westwards their range is bounded by the harsher portion of the Kalahari Desert, and

eastwards they extend to the high mountains of the Eastern Transvaal. They include amongst other prominent groups the *Ba-toana* about the Botletle and Lake Ngami; the *Ba-mangwato* of Northern Bechuanaland, the *Ba-kalahari* of the Kalahari Desert (degraded Bechuana much mixed with Bushmen in blood, leading somewhat the same existence as hunters, though practising agriculture); the *Ba-kwena*, the *Ba-wañketsi*, the *Ba-roloñ*, *Ba-hurutse* and *Ba-tlapiñ* of Central Bechuanaland; the *Ba-pedi* of the Western and Central Transvaal (whose chief, Sekukuni, once gave so much trouble), the *Ba-venda*, of the Northern Transvaal, and the celebrated BASUTO of Basutoland. The language spoken by all these Bechuana tribes, with the exception of the *Ba-venda*, is practically one, though divided into a number of dialects. These are grouped under two types—*Se-chuana*, spoken in the centre and north of Bechuanaland, and *Se-suto* of the Orange River Colony and Basutoland. The *Chi-venda* language of the Northern Transvaal occupies a transitional place between the Sechuana group, Zulu and Nyanja.

The *Ba-mangwato* people are celebrated for their enlightened chief *Khama*, who under British protection has ruled them so long and so wisely, and who has made every possible effort (with success) to keep alcohol out of his country, after having witnessed in his youth the extent to which it was degrading the South-African natives. There are about 100,000 *Ba-toana* in the Lake Ngami district, and about 150,000 *Ba-mangwato*, the Basuto number about 360,000, and the rest of the Bechuana tribes of Central Bechuanaland and the Transvaal about 100,000. Considerable powers of self-government are left to the Basuto, the *Ba-mangwato*, and the *Ba-toana*.

The origin of the name 'Bechuana' is quite uncertain. It was first introduced by the German naturalist, H. Lichtenstein, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The root *-chuana* was thought by Livingstone to mean 'resembling one another.' The name is not recognized by the Bechuana themselves, who have no general term for

this vast congeries of tribes speaking similar languages. The most probable derivation is from the name of the present tribe living round Lake Ngami: *Ba-toana* or *Ba-tuana*. This may be derived from 'Batauana'—'little lions,' or else from the Bantu root, *-twa*, meaning 'dwarf.' [The suffix *-ana* is a further diminutive, so that *Ba-toana* would mean 'Pygmies' or very small Bushmen. This was perhaps a nickname given to the first Bantu inhabitants of South Africa by the later arrivals, such as the Zulu-Kafir, because of their intermixture with the Bushmen.]

The only serious wars between the Bechuana peoples and the white man have been the troubles in Basutoland already described, and the conflicts between the Boer Government of the Transvaal and Sekukuni, chief of the Ba-pedi, which conflict was only terminated by British action (see p. 160).

The THONGA or RONGA section of the Zulu-like peoples<sup>1</sup> live almost entirely on Portuguese territory, between Delagoa Bay and the Sabi River, so they need not be further described here; but there is a section of them—the *Magwamba*, or 'knob-nosed Kafirs'—who are found in the north-east angle of the Transvaal.

The ZULU-KAFIR peoples, speaking two, or at most three, closely allied dialects of the same language, are for linguistic reasons divided into the following groups: the AMASWAZI of Swaziland (south-eastern Transvaal); the ZULU of Zululand and Natal; and the KAFIRS or XOSA of the eastern parts of Cape Colony.

'Kafir' was the name applied by the Moslem Arabs to a heathen man, an unbeliever in the Muhammadan religion. After the Arabs had been converted to this religion by

<sup>1</sup> The majority of these in their languages and, no doubt, in their origin, were related to the great Nyanja group of Nyasaland; but there was a certain independent element, from a language point of view, in the interior (between the Buzi and Limpopo Rivers) of the modern 'Moçambique Province,' which may be explained some day as either the remains of a pre-existing non-Bantu people, or some special and peculiar local developments of Bantu speech. In the south-easternmost portions of Portuguese Africa, however, between Inhambane and Amatongaland, the tribes who are grouped together under the designation of the 'Ronga' or 'Thonga' peoples (including the Magwamba) are, in language, more related to the Zulus and Bechuana than to the other tribes of South-east Africa.

Muhammad and had returned to South-east Africa to trade once more in gold and ivory, they found themselves constantly repelled by the powerful Bantu Negroes, who in those days met the Arabs on equal terms and were not



*Photo lent by Francis Harrison*

**CHIEF ADABUKA OF ZULULAND**

The Zulus are among the finest-looking Negro peoples, although the chiefs and head men allow themselves to become too corpulent after forty by much native-beer drinking

interested in their religion. The Arabs therefore styled them *Kufar*, or 'unbelievers' (in the singular, *Kafir*). This term was picked up from the Arabs by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and by them handed on to the Dutch, French, and British in the form of *Caffre* or *Caffer*. It was gradually restricted to the tall, dark - skinned Negroes speaking a peculiar type of Bantu language in the southernmost parts of Africa. Finally it was confined to the Bantu natives of Cape Colony and Western Natal, while their eastern brethren (differing from them in language no more than does the Scotchman from the Englishman) became

known as Zulu or Swazi, or under many other tribal terms.

The Kafirs dwelling to the west of the Umzimkulu River were again subdivided into the tribes of XOSA (AmaXosa), TEMBU (Amatembu<sup>1</sup>), and MPONDO (Pondo, Amampondo).

<sup>1</sup> The Amatembu are often referred to in South Africa as 'Tambuki' as well as *Bomvana*. Tambuki was really the name of a Bushman people that was absorbed by this Kafir tribe of Bomvana, who clipped the last syllable of the name and called themselves Amatembu.

The raids of Chaka drove various clans and tribes from Natal to take refuge in territory more controlled by the British to the west of the Umzimkulu River; among these may be mentioned the *Amaḁesibe*, the *Pondomisi*, and the *Amamfengu* ('Fingoes'). The name Amamfengu is said to be derived from the verb *fenguzā*, 'to be out of work,' because many of these poor refugees, to save themselves from starvation, went about amongst the wealthy Kafirs in



*Photo lent by Francis Harrison*

A NATIVE KRAAL IN ZULULAND

possession of the land, offering to undertake any office however menial. The 'Fingoes' were protected and taken up by the British, with whom they nearly always remained allied in the Kafir wars. The Fingo Kafirs of Natal are now a most prosperous, civilized, educated, contented race of Negroes, who should remember—as they do, probably—that they owe their existence and all their welfare to the protection of the white man. The total KAFIR-ZULU population of Cape Colony is 1,500,000; of Natal, 950,000; of the Transvaal, about 100,000.

The XOSA of Cape Colony were subdivided into

four principal clans, the eldest being the *Ġaleka*, the next senior the *Ġaika*, and the junior the *Amabaċa* and the *Amandlambe*.<sup>1</sup> All these clans were named after the original chief, who was practically the father, grandfather, or ancestor of the group.

The Non-Bantu Negro tribes of Southern Africa belong to the HOTTENTOT and BUSHMAN stocks. The Hottentots are divided into the *Nama* (Namakwa) and *Kora* (Korakwa, Korana) groups, of which the Nama—dwelling along the south-west coast and to the north of the Orange River—is the purest, that is to say, the freest from Bantu or European intermixture. The *Korana*—now nearly extinct—are found along the middle and upper Orange River, the Vaal, and the Modder. They probably represent the original stock of the Cape of Good Hope Hottentots, who only remain elsewhere in a half-caste type. Some of these ‘Bastaards’ (as the Boers called them) crossed the middle Orange River early in the nineteenth century, and invaded Great Namakwaland, where they are known as the ‘Oerlams’ or ‘overlanders.’ Others were settled under the name of *Grikwa* in Grikwaland East and Grikwaland West. The Oerlams and Grikwa were hybrids between the Boers and the Hottentots. The modern hybrids between the Korana Hottentots and the Kafirs were called *Gonakwa*, and dwelt along the eastern frontier of Cape Colony. The total number of Hottentots and Hottentot half-breeds in British South Africa at the present day is about 100,000.<sup>2</sup>

The BUSHMEN of Southern Africa are probably reduced now to about 26,000, of whom more than two thousand inhabit German territory. There are still about four thousand Bushmen (or ‘San’) of pure race inhabiting Cape Colony, chiefly along the south bank of the Orange River and in parts of Grikwaland East along the gorge of the Umgazi.

<sup>1</sup> The correct spelling of these names should really be as follows: (Ama)ġcaleka; (Ama)ñġika. Ama-, of course, is only the plural tribal prefix. Ġ, ġ, and ñ represent severally the dental, palatal, and lateral clicks.

<sup>2</sup> Another 100,000 in German territory.

On the eastern borders of German South-west Africa are the *Kau-kau* Bushmen (about five thousand in number, of small stature and unmixed type) ; round about Lake Ngami and the Botletle River are another five thousand or so of *Kalahari* Bushmen (somewhat mixed with Nama Hottentots) ; and along the north-west frontiers of Bechuanaland, between the Kwando, Chobe, and Okavango Rivers, are about ten thousand tall, black-skinned *Masarwa*, *Tannekwe*, *Hukwe*, and *Bugakwe* Bushmen mixed in blood with the Bantu. They are divided into three linguistic groups : *San*, *Kau-kau*, and *Ngami-Kwando*.

In Capetown itself and its suburbs, and along the coast of the colony to the east and north-west of the capital, are about 16,000 Malays, originally brought as slaves by the Dutch from the Malay Archipelago. They are all Muhammadans.

The rest of the Cape Colony population, when the clearly-defined Hottentot-Bushmen, Negro, and white elements have been enumerated, are the *Cape Boys*, a strongly-built, yellow-skinned, vigorous people of Hottentot, Boer, British, Negro, and Malay intermixture, on their way to make a new race which resembles somewhat in outward appearance the Tartar type of Central Asia. They number now nearly 300,000.

In Natal there are about 116,000 settlers or residents who are Asiatics, mainly natives of British India. These people furnish a large proportion of the agricultural labourers (*Kulis*), artisans, and small tradesmen. There are about 30,000 Indians in the Transvaal, about 5000 in Rhodesia, and 3000 in Nyasaland. Included in the term 'Asiatic' are some Chinese, Arabs, and Persians.

It may be useful to add a list of names of native chiefs and notables among the Bantu peoples in the history of South Africa during the nineteenth century :—

*Gaika* was the first Kafir chief to come into close relations of peace and war with the British. He died in 1828, and was succeeded by *Makoma* (as regent), and *Chali* by *Sandile*. Sandile, the chief of the Gaika Kafirs, gave us

much trouble at times. He was killed in 1878 in the eighth Kafir War.

*Hinza* was the chief of the Galeka clan in the early part of the nineteenth century, and was succeeded by *Kareli*, or Kreli, who died about 1890, after being deposed in 1877.

*Ndlambe* was the head chief of the Amandlambe clan of the Xosa, who, in 1790–96, came into conflict with the Dutch settlers by stealing their cattle and invading their territory west of the Great Fish River. He was constantly at war with his ‘nephew’ Gaika. He died in 1828.

*Makana* was a Xosa Kafir of plebeian birth, but of singular intelligence. He was a religious mystic, and acquired a remarkable influence over the Xosa of the Ndlambe and Gaika clans. He led them in the second Kafir War of 1818–19, but died, a prisoner of war, in 1820.

*Umlanjeni* was a Kafir ‘medicine’ man who, in 1850–51, urged on the Xosa and Tembu tribes to fight against the British.

*Umhlakazi* was the Xosa false prophet who, by his teaching, brought about the mad delusion of cattle destroying which led to the war of 1856–57.

*Moselekatse* was the Zulu War leader and chief whose raids are described on pp. 105–6. His name in Zulu was Umsilikazi, and he founded the empire of the Matebele (properly, the Amandebele), people between the Limpopo and the Zambezi, died in 1870, and was succeeded by his son *Lobengula*, who for many years ruled the Matebele, and died in 1894.

*Manikusa*, or *Sochangana*, was another Zulu leader who fled with his people before the raids of Chaka, but invaded Portuguese South-east Africa and established a Zulu kingdom in Gazaland. He was succeeded by *Umzila*, and *Umzila* by *Gungunyana*, who ruled over Gazaland (east of the Transvaal) till 1894, when he was captured and exiled by the Portuguese.

*Matiwane* was the leader of the Amangwane Kafir clan of northern Natal, who, likewise fleeing before Chaka’s army,

invaded and ravaged much of Basutoland and attempted to occupy the Xosa territory. Matiwane was completely defeated and probably killed by a mixed British, Dutch, and Xosa force in 1828. *Madikane* was the chief or leader of the *Amanfengu* (*Fingo*) Natal fugitives whom the raids of Chaka in 1824 forced into British Kaffraria.

*Dingiswayo* was the first chieftain of the Abatetwa (Zulu) tribe who commenced the military organization of the Zulu people. He copied the idea of a disciplined army from the soldiers he had seen in Cape Colony, when a refugee there, at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1805 he received Chaka into his army as a recruit.

*Chaka* (Shaka, Tyaka) was the first great king of the Zulu people, born, the younger son of a small chief, about 1787. By the age of twenty-five he had become supreme chief and war lord of the leading clans of the Zulu people, chiefly the big tribe of the Abatetwa and the small clan of the Amazulu, with the results described in Chapter IV. He was killed in Natal by his half-brother and successor Dingane (assisted by another brother and by a servant) in 1828. *Dingane* succeeded Chaka and perpetrated the massacre of the emigrant Boers (p. 111). Dingane was in his turn killed on the borders of Swaziland in 1840 after the defeat of his army by his half-brother *Umpande* (Panda). Panda ruled as King of the Zulu till 1872, but in 1856 he had transferred all his kingly power to his son *Cechwayo*.

*Cechwayo*, the celebrated Zulu king, fought against the British in 1879–80 and died in 1884. He was in a measure succeeded by his son *Dinizulu*,<sup>1</sup> grandnephew of Chaka. Dinizulu warred for some time with another Zulu chief, *Usibepu*, and it was this internecine strife which led to the allotment of north-west Zululand (*Vryheid*) to the Boers. (This is now a district of Natal.) Dinizulu was exiled to St. Helena (1889–98), and is once again (1908–10) in trouble with the Colonial authorities in Natal.

*Bunu*, or *Mbandine*, was the principal chief or 'king'

<sup>1</sup> This name in full should really be *Udinizulu*: *Udini* means the haft of an assegai.

of Swaziland, and was notorious for his frightful cruelties. He ruled more or less between 1870 and 1890. The paramount native chief of Swaziland at the present day is Bunu's grandson, *Sebhuza*. [The native name of Swaziland is *Pungwane*.]

*Langalibalele* was the chief of the small, mixed Hlubi clan settled in south-west Natal near the Drakensberg Mountains. This people fell out with the Natal Govern-



Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway  
FINGO KAFIRS

ment in 1873 because they introduced guns and gunpowder into that colony from the Orange Free State. *Langalibalele* was captured and imprisoned for a time. He died in 1886.

*Ma-ntatisi* was a woman chief or prophetess of the Batlokua clan of the Bechuana people in the Orange Free State. When this region was invaded by the Zulus in the early part of the nineteenth century, she led her people in a mad rush northwards to escape the Zulu warriors. One section of her horde called itself *MAKOLOLO*, and under the chief and leader, *Sebituane*, took possession of Barotseland on the Upper Zambezi. *Ma-ntatisi* eventually returned to the home of her people on the Caledon River and died there.

*Moshesh* (the name possibly means in Sesuto 'a woman's garment'<sup>1</sup>) was the first great chief of the Basuto, and claimed to be the great grandson of Sekake, and chieftain of the Bakwena or 'crocodile' clan of Bechuana. It may be, however, that his grandfather, Pete (pronounce: Pété), was of Zulu origin and related to the 'Basuto' Zulus. Moshesh began to be recognized as a ruler in 1818, and reigned over the Basuto till his death in 1870 at about eighty years of age. After his death, Basutoland was eventually divided into seven districts, each ruled over by a chief of the Moshesh family.

*Lerothodi*, the grandson of Moshesh, was the leading chief of Basutoland down to his death a few years ago. His successor is his son *Letsie*, sometimes called 'Letsienyane' or 'little Letsie,' to distinguish him from his grandfather, the first Letsie, who was the eldest son of Moshesh.

*Moirosi* was a Suto chief who fought with the Cape Government in 1879; *Masupha*, another Suto chieftain, noteworthy nearly thirty years ago for his independent attitude.

*Khama*, the great chief of the Bamangwato (northern Bechuana), has occupied a recognized position under the British Government for the last twenty-five years. He is a Christian, a strong advocate of total abstinence, and has quite regenerated the northern Bechuana.

*Sekukuni* was the chief of the eastern Basuto, or Bapedi (North-central Transvaal), who fought for years against Boers and British and was finally vanquished in 1880.

*Andries Waterboer* and *Adam Kok* were 'captains' of the Boer-Hottentot hybrids, called *Grikwa* in 1823 by the British missionaries. These 'captains' were recognized as chiefs by the British Government in the depopulated Grikwa countries to the north-west and south-east of Basutoland. *Nicolaas Waterboer* was the son of Andries, and was supposed to possess a claim to the present Diamond Fields district.

*Sig'cau*, chief of the eastern Amampondo Kafirs, and

<sup>1</sup> Sir Godfrey Lagden derives it from *Mosheshwe*, the *shaver* or *leveller*.

*Nqwiliso* of the western Amampondo, were for their cruelties deposed from independent rule in 1894, and their country (Pondoland) was annexed to Cape Colony.



*Photo lent by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*  
CLERGYMEN OF THE NATIVE ETHIOPIAN CHURCH, NOW  
AFFILIATED TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

*Sebituane* was the founder of the Barotse Empire on the Upper *Zambezi*; *Sekeletu*, his successor, was a great friend and helper of Livingstone (died 1864); *Lewanika*, the present King of Barotseland, is of the old Baluyi stock.

*Ra-makukane*, a Makololo from Barotseland, was left by Livingstone in 1863 with other Makololo to guard the Mañanja of the Lower Shire from slave raiders. He and his two comrades, *Chipatula* and *Mlauri*, effectually preserved the Shire route for the British settlers and missionaries. *Mlauri* fought against the Portuguese under Major Serpa Pinto in 1889.

*Mponda*, an important Yao chief at the south end of Lake Nyasa, alternately friendly and hostile to the British over the question of the slave trade; but latterly a strong supporter of the British administration.

*Makanjira*, a hostile Yao chief living on the south-east shore of Lake Nyasa, seized and flogged Consul Buchanan in 1888, and fought with the British between 1891 and 1894. Captain Maguire lost his life in capturing *Makanjira*'s slave daus, and Dr. Sorabji Boyce and Mr. McEwan were treacherously killed by *Makanjira*'s orders in December, 1891.

*Zarafi* was a Yao chief of the northern Shire Highlands, who long battled with and defied the British.

*Mlozi* was the chief of the North Nyasa Arabs. *Jumbe Tawakali Sudi* was a Zanzibar Arab of West Nyasaland, who assisted the British to acquire the Nyasaland Protectorate.

The following is a list of the wars between the British and the natives of the southern third of Africa:—

The *first British War* with the Kafirs took place in 1811, though the Kafirs had fought with the Dutch settlers three times during the last half of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Military operations by the Government of Natal were also undertaken against Natal Kafir chiefs and those of Zululand in 1906–8. In the first British Kafir War the Xosa Kafirs were driven away from the Sunday River (see map, p. 80). The *second Kafir War* was in 1811–12, and sent the Xosa clans across the Great Fish River; the *third Kafir War*, of 1818–19, pushed back the Kafir frontier on the east to the Chumi, or Keiskamma River; the *fourth Kafir War* began as an aggressive

<sup>1</sup> In 1779–81 and 1789.

invasion of the Xosa clans under Makoma and Chali in 1834, and ended in 1835 by the British annexation of the territory



*Photo by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway*

A NATAL POLICEMAN

KAFIR RACE

eastwards as far as the Great Kei River, but the Kafirs between the Keiskamma and the Great Kei were not deprived

of their land. The *fifth Kafir War* broke out in 1846, unprovoked by the British. The *sixth Kafir War* occurred in 1850 and did not end until 1853, but resulted in the Kafirs being expelled from the Amatola mountain district and the latter being occupied by Hottentot half-breeds.



Photo by Sir Harry Johnston

ZANZIBARI ARABS, LAKE NYASA

The *seventh Kafir War* came about in 1858 from the cattle-slaughtering delusion spread by the false prophet Umhlakazi, who had predicted a millennium and the disappearance of the white people, which would follow the destruction by the Kafirs of all their herds and stores of grain. The *eighth Kafir War* was the last attempt of the Galeka and Gaika clans of the Xosa tribe to dispute the sovereignty of South Africa with the white man. It was fought out in 1877-78.

In 1873 trouble arose in the *west of Natal* between the British Government and the *Ama-hlubi* under their chief, Langanlibalele. The *Ama-hlubi* were a mongrel people, half Zulu, half Basuto.

The great war with the *Zulu* power broke out in 1879, and was finished in 1880.<sup>1</sup> Sir Garnet Wolseley led an expedition against Sekukuni, the Bapedi chief of the North-central Transvaal in 1880. The wars between the British South Africa Company and the *Matebele-Zulus* of Southern Rhodesia occurred in 1893 and 1896–97.

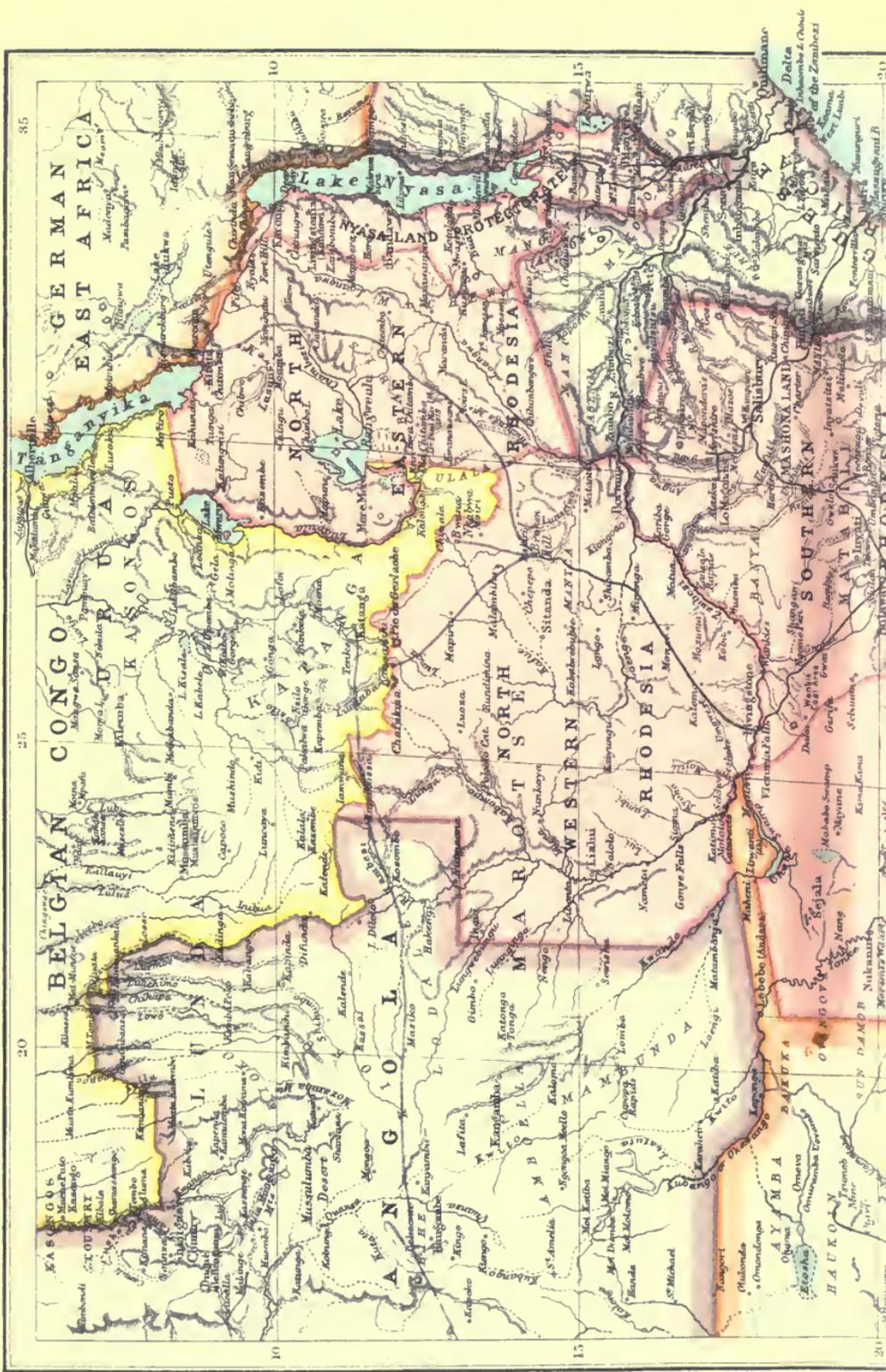
There was fighting between the British and *Basuto* in 1852, and between the Basuto and the Cape Colonial forces in 1879–80.

In 1887 an unofficial war broke out in north-west *Nyasaland* between the agents of the African Lakes Company and the *Arab* slave traders under Mlozi, Kopakopa, and others. In 1888 Captain (afterwards Sir Frederick) Lugard took command. His capture of several Arab strongholds checked their raids, but he was severely wounded and the Company's force broke up without having achieved a victory. In 1891 the Muhammadan (*Arab* and *Yao*) slave-trading chiefs of Nyasaland broke out into war again, this time with the British Government, which employed a small force of Indian and trained Negro soldiers (and artillery) against the semi-savage foe. Warlike operations did not come to an end until 1896, by which time every hostile Arab and Yao chief in the Nyasaland Protectorate had been vanquished. Several British officers—amongst whom may be mentioned Captain Cecil Maguire and Lt.-Col. Charles Edwards—lost their lives in these campaigns, but the slave trade throughout Nyasaland and North-eastern Rhodesia was suppressed, once and for all.

In 1896–97 the *Angoni-Zulu*, under Chikusi and Mpezeni of western Nyasaland, were reduced to order in short campaigns.

<sup>1</sup> To complete the catalogue of wars between the white man and the Zulu in South Africa should be noted the Boer Wars with Moselekatse in 1837, and with Dingane the Zulu King in 1838–40. Besides these, the Boer settlers of the Orange Free State fought with the Basuto at frequent intervals between 1855 and 1857, and their brethren of the South African Republic carried on wars with the Bapedi tribe under Sekwati and Sekukuni in 1852 and 1876.





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GERMAN EAST AFRICA

BELGIAN CONGO

BRITISH EAST AFRICA

Lake Tanganyika

Lake Nyasa

Lake Malawi

NORTH RHODESIA

SOUTH RHODESIA

WESTERN NORTH RHODESIA

EAST AFRICA

MAARROOT

AMANDA

AMBA

AMBA

AMBA

AMBA

AMBA

AMBA

AMBA

AMBA

DELTA

ZAMBIA

MAASHONA LAND

MAASHONA





## CHAPTER XII

### THE MASCARENE ARCHIPELAGOES

THE Mascarene islands<sup>1</sup> of Réunion, Mauritius, and Rodriguez, in the Indian Ocean, situated between 400 and 640 miles to the eastward of Madagascar, were, together with the other islets and archipelagoes—Diego Garcia, Almirante, Aldabra, Cosmoledo, &c.—discovered by the Portuguese in the early part of the sixteenth century: and possibly the existence of the Seychelles was revealed at the same period. No attempt, however, was made to occupy any of these islands till the close of the sixteenth century. The Dutch occupied Mauritius (which the Portuguese called Cerné) as early as 1598, and named it after the then Stadhouder, or life President of the United Provinces—Prince Maurice of Nassau. The Dutch left Mauritius in 1712. In 1721 the island was formally annexed to the French dominions by the French East India Company. After the break-down of the French Empire, Mauritius passed into the possession of the Crown of France (in 1767), and was thereafter called L'Île de France. Réunion (or Bourbon, as it was called down to 1816) had much the same history.

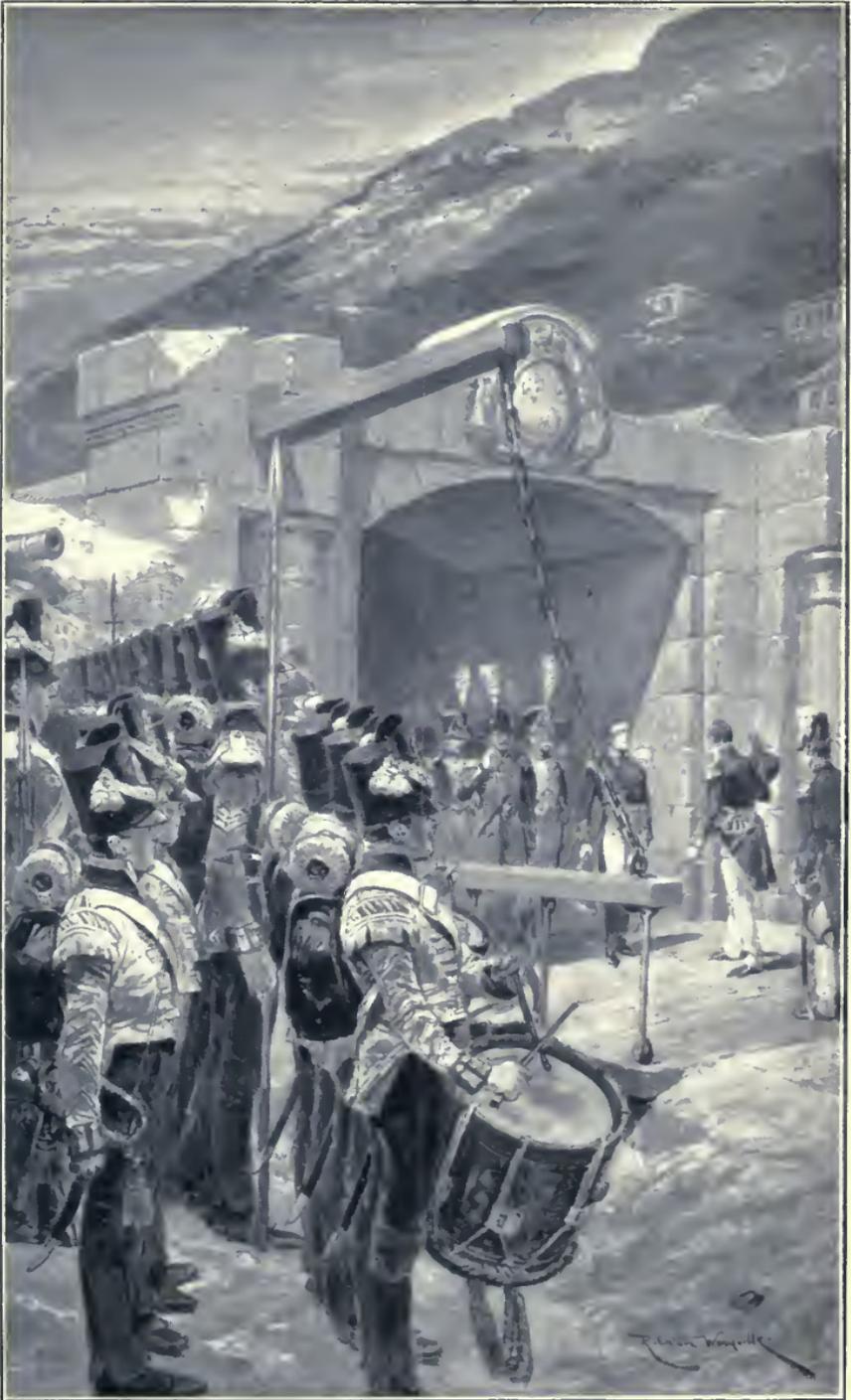
The British had secured as early as the middle of the seventeenth century a calling-place for their ships

<sup>1</sup> Named after the Portuguese navigator, Pedro de Mascarenhas, who discovered Réunion in 1513, and sighted some of the other islands between 1505 and 1510. These Mascarene Islands had a remarkable bird fauna when first discovered, connected more with Malaysia and the Pacific Islands than with Africa. It included two species of the celebrated dodo on Mauritius and Réunion, and an immense bird (*Pezophaps*, the size of a swan) on Rodriguez; Island, generally called the 'solitaire.' All three were large ground pigeons which had lost the use of their wings.

in the South Atlantic—the island of Saint Helena—but they seem to have been singularly negligent of their opportunities during the next hundred and forty years to acquire a port of refuge either on the coast of South or South-east Africa or in the Indian Ocean, and throughout the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, their ships passing to and from India round the Cape were greatly harassed by French pirates or privateers, who especially made the island of Mauritius their headquarters.

Consequently, in 1810, Mauritius and Bourbon were captured by a British naval expedition. The Seychelles were taken possession of by the French in 1743. In 1756 they received their present name, which was a misspelling of that of the Vicomte Moreau de Séchelles (a French Controller-Général of Finance), and was given to the archipelago by one of the numerous Irish officers in the service of France. A British ship of war captured the principal island—Mahé—in 1794, but the French Governor was allowed to administer the archipelago more or less as a French Colony till 1810, from which time onwards it was governed as a British possession, generally dependent on Mauritius till 1897 and 1903, in which last year it was erected into a separate Colony, under a Governor and Commander-in-chief. Attached to the administration of the Seychelles Islands are the little archipelagoes of Aldabra (the home of gigantic tortoises), Almirante, Cosmoledo, and other groups of tiny coral islands or islets.

The island of Bourbon was restored to the French in 1816, and was then renamed 'Réunion.' The British had, in annexing Mauritius and the other French islands, taken over at the same time the French claims to Madagascar, but although these were revived at different periods during the nineteenth century, and at one time (1814–17) it seemed very probable that the Governor of Mauritius would extend a kind of British Protectorate over the greater part of Madagascar, all these ideas were finally dropped in 1890, when, in return for French consent to



THE SURRENDER OF THE ISLAND OF MAURITIUS TO THE  
BRITISH, AT PORT LOUIS, 1810

a British Protectorate over Zanzibar, a French Protectorate over Madagascar was fully recognized.

Mauritius, being until the opening of the Suez Canal a most important calling station on the way to and from India, received quite an Indian complexion. Originally a number of French white colonists had settled on this beautiful island, which is about the size of Surrey, and had



THE SEYCHELLES FROM THE SEA

started plantations of sugar and other tropical products, which were worked by slave labour. Mauritius thus acquired a very large Negro population during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Indians that came there during the nineteenth century were mainly indentured kulis or labourers, whose work was to till the ground when the status of slavery was abolished amongst the Negroes. Other Indians have settled there of their own free will, till at last there is a total Indian population in this island of about 261,000. The white population (about 50,000),

which is mainly French-speaking, is said to be slowly diminishing, and in all probability the island will become in time the home of a brown people, half Negro, half Indian in race, with a strain of white blood. For the greater part of the nineteenth century the white population was not well disposed towards British government, as it still retained its family connections and community of speech



VIEW IN THE SEYCHELLES

with the French. Various troubles arose amongst the British officials or between those officials and the colonial population, which necessitated inquiries from headquarters. Of late, however, there has been relative peace, and the island would be extremely prosperous were it not that at intervals it is ravaged by hurricanes. These violent winds do as much damage in the archipelagoes of the Indian Ocean as they do in the West Indies. They do not, however, so much affect the Seychelles Islands, which are in the region of equatorial calms.

This last archipelago of nineteen large and small islands

and islets<sup>1</sup> is, owing to its perfect climate and fertile soil, becoming an extremely prosperous item in the British Empire. The area of the whole Seychelles government is about 156 square miles (larger than the Isle of Wight). The population—white, black, brown, and mixed—is about 22,000. The remarkable features in the natural history are the gigantic tortoises on Aldabra Island and the ‘double coco-nut’ palm (*Lodoicea*) of the Seychelles.

<sup>1</sup> There are actually eighty-nine islands in all under the Seychelles government, including those of the other groups between the Seychelles archipelago and Madagascar. They are all, including the Seychelles (now distant 600 miles from Madagascar), prominences of a sunken ridge extending six or seven hundred miles north of Madagascar and between Madagascar and Africa.

## CHAPTER XIII ·

### THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA

THE close of the great American War by the Peace of Paris in 1783 left Great Britain with two problems for consideration. Firstly, where was she to send such convicts and prisoners as she had been wont to transport from out of British gaols to the American plantations, and what was to be her attitude in regard to the slave trade?

Attendant on the first question was the finding of homes for American loyalists, black as well as white, such men and women as refused to remain in the United States after the withdrawal of the British forces. Some of these naturally passed over into Canada, a few eventually settled in South Africa after 1795: but, although for the mass of these people, as well as for the allocation of convicts, British colonies were founded from 1788 onwards on the island continent of Australia, there was an idea for a short time in the minds of British statesmen that colonies could be established on the west coast of Africa which might receive not only the American black men who had gained a right to freedom by fighting as soldiers of the British army, but some of the white American loyalists who were dissatisfied with the new American conditions.

A wave of sentimentalism was sweeping over Northern Europe. Various Englishmen,<sup>1</sup> Swedes, and Germans began to spin theories of colonization quite uncombinable in those days with the actual conditions of life in Tropical Africa. Learned Scandinavians had visited the West Coast of

<sup>1</sup> Such as Dr. Smeathman, who, in 1783 and 1786, specially advocated a colony at Sierra Leone, the Swedes Wadstrom and Sparrman, and the German Arrhenius.

Africa during the eighteenth century, and had made remarkable collections of its flora and fauna. Their superficial acquaintance with this wonderful region left them with too favourable an impression of its climate, and of the placable nature of the indigenes. It was believed that flourishing colonies of whites as well as blacks might be established on the estuaries of the great West African rivers and along the densely-forested coast belt. There were regions here which



*Photo by Rev. J. T. F. Halligey*

IN A PANDANUS SWAMP: WEST AFRICA

at first sight appeared veritable Edens, with their dense banana groves supplying luscious fruit, their plantations of yams, pumpkins, ground-nuts, sweet potatoes, and maize, their abundance of fish, flesh, and fowl, and the presence of naked, cheerful, stalwart savages apparently destined by nature to be the willing serfs of the white man.

So in 1789-90 a chartered company was founded to acquire land in the district of Sierra Leone or, possibly, in what is known as Portuguese Guinea, there to establish model colonies which might prove a happy home for derelict

white people, and above all for such American Negroes as were left in the hands of the British Government after the conclusion of the first war with the United States.

As already mentioned in Chapter II, British fortified trading settlements under chartered companies<sup>1</sup> had been founded at the mouth of the river Gambia, on an island of the Rokel River (Sierra Leone), and also along the Gold Coast. One or other of these companies (chartered or unchartered)



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

A MARKET-PLACE AT BATHURST, RIVER GAMBIA

kept the British flag flying about the mouth of the Gambia with very few interruptions from 1664 until, in 1807, the Gambia settlement was annexed to the Government of Sierra Leone. The trade between Great Britain and the Gambia flourished exceedingly after 1713, when an arrangement (the 'Asiento') was made with Spain for the supply of slaves to America in British ships instead of Dutch. This contract increased the slave trade to tremendous proportions. Through the efforts of the British the whole of Senegambia and the Upper Niger directed its supply of slaves to the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 53 *et seq.*

British fort at the mouth of the Gambia; and through the agency of Great Britain the British and American plantations in North America, South America, and the West Indies must have received the greater proportion of their Negroes from this part of Africa during the eighteenth century. The profitable trade in slaves—not abolished until 1807—led to an interest being shown in the affairs of the interior.



MID-DAY IN A MUHAMMADAN TOWN, RIVER GAMBIA

and in 1795 the African Association<sup>1</sup> and in 1805 a British Secretary of State (Lord Hobart) dispatched the enterprising young Scottish surgeon, Mungo Park, to search for the rumoured Niger River and the wonderful cities of Jenne and Timbuktu. [Park was killed at the Busa Rapids in 1806.]

The further history of the Gambia may be disposed of here in a few lines. Between 1807 and 1843 it was made definitively a British possession, and British rule was extended

<sup>1</sup> The African Association, founded in 1788 for the special purpose of exploring the Niger, was the parent in 1830 of the Royal Geographical Society.

along its banks into the interior as far as Macarthy's Island, in the vicinity of the first rapids. The capital, Bathurst, on the island of St. Mary at the mouth of the river, was founded in 1816. Various portions of territory were purchased on the banks of the river from native chiefs down to 1855. In 1843 the Gambia was created an independent colony, but again in 1866 its administration was fused



*Photo by Capt. W. Stanley*

A LANDSCAPE IN THE GAMBIA COLONY

with that of Sierra Leone. Once more, in 1888, it was granted an independent administration. About that time the energies of the French prevented any territorial junction between Sierra Leone and the Gambia, so that British Gambia was limited to little more than two narrow strips of land on the banks of this deep and navigable river, from the end of its rapids (the Falls of Barakonda, about three hundred miles up stream) to the sea coast.

After this settlement with the French, there was a certain amount of friction amongst the warlike Muhammadan people (mostly Mandingo), who resented this gradual extension

of civilized control over a country in which every strong man with a band of followers establishes himself in a clay-walled, fortified town and becomes a robber. A Mandingo chief, called Fodi Kaba, had been expelled from British territory in 1892. From the adjoining French possessions he directed hostile action against us, and brought about in 1900 the murder of two British officials at the town of Sankandi. A joint Anglo-French expedition sent against him resulted in his death, and in the capture of his strong places in British and French Gambia.

The Gambia colony is now governed partly as a colony, with a Legislative Council (on which one or more Negroes sit), and partly as a protectorate over native chiefs, who administer the internal affairs of their own districts. Although so isolated by French possessions it is a very prosperous possession (about 4000 square miles in area), and does a great and growing trade in ground-nuts. The interior of the regions about the Upper Gambia are particularly interesting to naturalists because in this part of Western Africa there is a fauna of big game—giraffes, antelopes, buffaloes, lions, ostriches, &c.—which recalls that of the Sudan and of East and South Africa. The human inhabitants (about 153,000 in number) are Negro or negroid. The first class includes the ugly, savage-looking Felups of the coast belt, the handsome black Wolof, and the various 'Mandingo' tribes; the negroids of the interior are the yellow-skinned, ringlet-haired Fula (see pp. 21 and 272). All but the Felups are Muhammadan.

But although the prosperity of the Gambian trade and the intention on the part of the British Government of those days to annex sooner or later the French settlements on the Senegal coast, directed British Imperial attention to this westernmost part of Africa as a field of exploitation, it was less with the idea of maintaining the trade in slaves than of putting a stop to the slave trade altogether. Hereabouts, it was thought, a suitable locality might be found for depositing such freed slaves as could not conveniently live in England or America.

At its very foundation in the seventeenth century the great sect of the Quakers—the Society of Friends, as they should properly be called had set its face against the whole principle of slavery. They inspired with these anti-



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

A MANDINGO

slavery ideas the various Nonconformist bodies such as the Baptists, which came into definite existence at the close of the seventeenth century, and which on account of their non-conformity with the Established Church in England had so often been compelled to seek a refuge in America. The Church of England, until the middle of the eighteenth century, did not take that strong line against

either slavery or the slave trade, which, afterwards—1760—1834—ranged its Bishops, deans, and clergy generally on



*Photo by Capt. W. Stanley*

THE RINGLET-HAIRED FULA

the side of the abolitionists. But individual members of this Church did occasionally protest against the cruelties involved in the principle of slave labour, and attempted to alleviate the lot of the slaves. The Quakers, however,

pegged away until they had created a respectable body of opinion in what are now the United States and in the British West Indies so strongly opposed to the whole principle of the slave trade and of slavery that it definitely detached the Northern States of the American Union from any sympathy with this institution, and so laid the foundations of the eventual struggle between North and South in the middle of the nineteenth century. The



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

THE FORMER ALAKE OF ABEOKUTA: A GREAT CHIEF OF THE EGBA PEOPLE (LAGOS HINTERLAND)

ABFOKUTA WAS AT ONE TIME A GREAT FEEDING GROUND OF THE SLAVE TRADE

victory of the North freed the Negro slaves for all time in the United States.

The great Moravian missionaries—one of the most notable agencies for good that we can find in all human history—took up the crusade in 1732. The enthusiasm spread to the Lutheran Church, and thus reacted on public opinion in Denmark. As early as 1792 the Danish king (Christian VII)—who had started the first Protestant Christian missions to India— forbade the slave trade to Danish subjects on the west coast of Africa. In 1794 the

slave trade was decreed unlawful by the United States. The great cause was not won in Britain until 1807, although the anti-slavery movement had commenced in England in 1772 by the decision of the Lord Chief Justice (Mansfield), who fixed the law to the effect that no one could be a slave on British soil (namely, within the limits of the United Kingdom).<sup>1</sup>

The Sierra Leone settlement of American Negroes (and derelict Europeans), promoted by the philanthropist, Granville Sharp, commenced in 1787,<sup>2</sup> but the creation of this ex-slave colony proved extremely difficult; and in 1794 the enterprise was nearly wrecked by a most savage attack of a French war fleet guided by an American slaver. The Sierra Leone Company then had as governor Zachary Macaulay, the father of the great historian.

In 1807—the year in which Great Britain declared the illegality of the slave trade—the British Government took

<sup>1</sup> The following is a brief summary of the events and personalities connected with the final abolition of the slave trade and the status of slavery in the British dominions, more especially in Africa. Strong disapproval of both the slave-trade and slavery had been expressed by great leaders of thought in English literature and in the Church of England during the first seventy years of the eighteenth century. To Granville Sharp, however, falls the honour of first testing in a court of law the legality of British slavery. He found the means and the men of law to carry the issue before a bench of judges in 1772 in order to assert the freedom of a West-Indian negro named James Somerset. The verdict given by the Lord Chief Justice (Mansfield) opened a new epoch. No man could be a slave within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland. In 1776 the first motion against the slave trade was brought before the House of Commons by David Hartley. It was lost. But the ferment went on working. In 1785 Dr. Peckhard, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, gave out as the subject for a prize essay in Latin the question, 'Whether it were lawful to enslave unwilling people.' A student, Thomas Clarkson, won the prize, and in reading up his subject had become intensely convinced of the wickedness of the slave trade, and had resolved to devote himself to its abolition. His book on the subject converted William Wilberforce, who undertook to conduct the abolition crusade through Parliament.

An Anti-Slave-trade Committee was formed in 1787 under the Presidency of Mr. Granville Sharp. After many failures and rebuffs, in 1807-8 the British slave trade was abolished. In 1811 trading in slaves was declared a felony punishable by transportation. Finally, thanks to the unwearied efforts of Wilberforce and of Zachary Macaulay, Thomas Fowell Buxton, James Stephen, and others—last of all of Earl Grey—slavery itself was abolished in 1833-38.

<sup>2</sup> Founded on a deed of sale and cession by the king and chiefs of the Bullom people made to Captain John Taylor of the brig *Myro*, and dated 22nd of August, 1788. The *Myro* was chartered by Mr. Granville Sharp, chairman of the Anti-Slave-trade Committee.

over the direct management of the colonies which were then styled the 'West Africa Settlements.' At different times during the nineteenth century this title included the general government of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and even Lagos. From 1888, however, Sierra Leone—greatly enlarged as to territory (about 32,110 square miles in all)<sup>1</sup>—has been a separate government, the other West



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

IN FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE

African colonies having likewise been accorded an independent position.

In 1819 mixed commission courts for trying the slaving vessels caught by the British cruisers were established at Sierra Leone.

After the British Government had commenced, in 1817, active naval measures to suppress the slave trade by treating it on the same footing as piracy, Sierra Leone—together with, for a short time, Fernando Po—became the principal

<sup>1</sup> The limits were defined by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1895. The possession is divided into the old 'Colony' (the seaboard) of about 4000 square miles, and the 'Protectorate' (hinterland) of 28,110 square miles.

place for landing the slaves taken out of the captured ships. It was not considered convenient or practical to repatriate these liberated Africans because of the extreme difficulty which would attend their return to their native districts, so they were landed at Freetown—the capital of the Sierra Leone colony (founded in 1787)—and there expected to settle down as free citizens. In this way during the first half of the nineteenth century Sierra Leone became the receptacle of Negroes from all parts of Tropical Africa. Here a great missionary of the Church of England—the Rev. Sigismund Koelle—compiled remarkable studies of African languages illustrating the speech of nearly every important tribe in West Africa and the Niger basin, of Lake Chad, parts of the Egyptian Sudan, the Cameroons, the Congo basin, Angola, Zambezia, and South-east Africa, showing the enormous range of the slave trade in those days. Wretched Negroes might be captured or torn from their homes in the very heart of Africa, in regions that were not made known to European geography till fifty, sixty, or eighty years afterwards, in order that they might be sold for the value of a few shillings in trade goods, and eventually be shipped to Brazil, the West Indies, or the United States.

The indigenous natives of Sierra Leone belong in the main to three stocks—the *Temne*, the *Bulom*, and the *Mende* or *Mandingo*. There is also an important cattle-keeping group, called *Limba*, who are allied in language to the Temne group. The Temne, the Bulom, and the *Kisi* speak languages that are governed by prefixes, and (in the Temne) with a concord recalling very markedly the system of the Bantu of the southern third of Africa; but in word-roots these languages are widely separate each from the others, and are entirely unlike the Bantu. The Mende belongs to the great Mandingo group, which includes so many of the forms of speech in French Guinea, along the Upper Niger, and in the northern and western regions of Liberia. The Mandingo are the most important people in West African politics. They are evidently a very mixed race, some of their tribes or individuals exhibiting marked traces of Arab, Fula, or

Libyan intermixture: that is to say, being very like the Caucasian race in facial features and in the greater length and



*Photo by Capt. F. C. Hicks*

A TYPICAL KRUBOY SEAMAN, SIERRA LEONE

less tightly curled character of their hair. The Mandingos were very early converted to Muhammadanism, and in common with the Songhai people of the Upper Niger established dynasties of black kings between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries who introduced Arab civilization

and commerce into much of the interior of West Africa. Unlike the aboriginal coast natives of Sierra Leone and Senegambia generally (who are nearly naked), the Mandingo peoples clothe themselves elaborately in handsome embroidered robes. Their dress has, of late years, been a good deal copied by the other tribes who are not related to them in history or language, such as the Temne.

All these other non-Muhammadan or non-Mandingo peoples of Sierra Leone, especially in the regions nearer the coast, believe in very cruel and wicked forms of religion, and belong to secret societies that often indulge in cannibalism or in stabbing or poisoning people, either for reasons connected with witchcraft or in order to take their possessions. One or other of these 'Leopard' societies has given trouble to the Sierra Leone Government down to quite recently.

Sierra Leone was known as 'the white man's grave' for about a hundred years after it came into our possession, but since the recent discovery of the mosquito as the source of infection in malarial fever and the precautions and measures which have followed this discovery—since, also, Europeans have gradually learnt that alcohol is almost fatal in the tropics and that people must live very carefully in order to retain health, this colony is now no more unhealthy than India. The scenery is everywhere very beautiful owing to the magnificent forests, shapely mountains, and noble rivers.

Although Sierra Leone—to the extent of the mountainous peninsula of that name (about the size of the Isle of Wight); the coast to the north-west and south-east of this peninsula; the Los Islands (now ceded to France); the great marshy island of Sherbro,<sup>1</sup> and the Turner 'peninsula' up to the frontier of Liberia—has been in the possession of Great Britain for at least fifty years, it was not until the close of the nineteenth century that this important West African possession received anything like its present development and organization. A good deal of the peninsula and of the patches and islands along the coast were settled with the

<sup>1</sup> The old form of this name was Cerbro.

freed slaves already referred to—a type that is now generally known as ‘Creoles.’ The natives of the interior, a great proportion of whom were Muhammadans, remained absolutely independent of British authority, and were strong enough until the days of machine guns to maintain that independence. The hinterland of Sierra Leone is still comparatively little known to scientific explorers, and until the very end of the nineteenth century was almost a *terra incognita* on the maps.

The encroachments of the French from the west and north, which threatened to deprive the port of Freetown and the Sierra Leone coast of any hinterland or profitable trade, and the turbulent character of the interior natives, who, not contented with their independence, were perpetually attacking the settled districts and their composite population of English-speaking Negroes, compelled the British Government to take action, military and diplomatic, to defend the frontiers of this possession and make it everywhere safe for law-abiding people. Numerous expeditions were sent against the aggressive natives;<sup>1</sup> but the real clearing war, which definitely established the *Pax Britannica* throughout the whole of this productive region, was provoked by British interference in slavery and the slave trade (after the establishment of the Protectorate in 1896), and the imposition of a hut tax to meet the cost of supervising and policing the interior. The Temne and Mende tribes (especially) rose against the British authority, sacked the American and British mission stations, and murdered many of the missionaries, male and female, European and Negro. The result of the military operations undertaken by British officers and Negro troops in 1898–99 was to establish British authority over every square mile of the Sierra Leone possessions. Simultaneously (and subsequently) a line of railway was pushed on through the swamps and forests of eastern Sierra Leone until the richly-endowed regions of the Liberian frontier were attained,

<sup>1</sup> Especially during the 'eighties of the last century, when the Yonnis, a Temne tribe, gave much trouble.

where a most profitable trade was ready to be tapped for the benefit of Sierra Leone merchants. The internal government of the country is still conducted entirely by native chiefs, recognized and installed by the British Government, who are advised in each province by British commissioners. Law and order are maintained by a native police force officered by the British. Roads and branch railways are being constantly extended; and the people are now so deeply engaged in profitable trade and agriculture that they



*Photo by J. W. Howard*

CAPE COAST CASTLE, GOLD COAST

have become one of the most contented and prosperous sections of the British Empire.

The trading settlements of the British on the Gold Coast began in the seventeenth century, as has been already described, and were (in common with the Gambia and Sierra Leone forts) controlled by a British chartered company, sometimes assisted by the Imperial forces. In 1812 the general supervision and control of these forts on the Gold Coast was conferred on the Governor of the West African Settlements, who resided at Freetown, Sierra Leone. In 1821 the 'African Company of Merchants' was dissolved, and its possessions were vested in the Crown and placed

under the government of the West African Settlements at Sierra Leone.

In 1824 the British had their first war with the Ashanti power. Sir Charles Macarthy, the Governor of Sierra Leone, had been residing at Cape Coast Castle (the Cabo Corso of the Portuguese), and had decided to champion the cause of the Fanti coast people, who were being conquered and enslaved by the inland tribe of the Ashanti. With a



*Photo by Rev. J. T. F. Halligey*

IN THE NATIVE TOWN, ACCRA

few fever-stricken English soldiers as a nucleus, he led an army of two or three thousand Fanti against an Ashanti army, but he was killed at the beginning of the fight on the 24th of January (1824), and his force was then totally routed. But the British naval and military forces came to the rescue, more native troops were enrolled and better disciplined, and in 1827 the British inflicted on the Ashanti army a most severe defeat at Dodowa, near Accra.

As soon as the disaster commencing with the death of Sir Charles Macarthy was known, the first impulse of the British Government was to clear out of all responsibility in regard to the Gold Coast. They, therefore, transferred

the government of the forts<sup>1</sup> on the Gold Coast in 1827, consisting of Dixcove, Sekondi, Kommenda, Cape Coast, Anamabu, Tantum-Kweri, Winneba, and Accra (various places in between and about belonged to the Danes and to the Dutch), to a committee composed of local merchants and London firms trading with the Gold Coast. This body of African merchants seems to have dealt with the situation in a spirit of sound common sense. They engaged as their



*Photo lent by Leo Weinthal*

ON THE RIVER ANKOBRA, GOLD COAST HINTERLAND

governor on the Gold Coast a Mr. George Maclean. To him was guaranteed a subsidy of £4000 a year, with which he was able to maintain only a force of about one hundred police, mainly British soldiers. But his tact and energy, his personal character and bravery, so completely won over the more powerful native chiefs that he really laid the foundations of the present Gold Coast Protectorate or Colony, extending British influence far beyond the patches of territory or forts actually occupied by them on the coast. The administration of this trading company was

<sup>1</sup> The British possessions then were little else than castles on the coast protecting native towns.

a financial as well as a political success; but, in order to raise sufficient revenue for the work, it is possible that they to some extent winked at the slave trade, which was still existing in that region.

The rapid development of agriculture (cotton and sugar) in America invited such considerable shipments of slaves across the Atlantic, and the efforts of the British and French navies to suppress this traffic were still so ineffective, that it is scarcely surprising the local officials of the merchant



*Photo by Major J. J. Lang, C.M.G., R.E.*

IN THE FOREST OF THE GOLD COAST HINTERLAND

administration of the Gold Coast were not very keen about an anti-slave-trade crusade, and regarded this undertaking as belonging exclusively to the functions of the Imperial Government. Pressure was brought to bear on the Colonial Office by British philanthropists, and in 1843 the Gold Coast was again taken over by the Crown and placed under a lieutenant-governor, though Mr. Maclean was brought into Government service and retained as a judicial assessor to the native chiefs. The general direction of Gold Coast affairs was once more vested in the Governor of Sierra Leone.

The growing trade of the country in palm oil, gold, and other products, and the improvement of native conditions in

the coast tribes (owing to the work of the Basel Mission<sup>1</sup>), inspired a greater interest in this portion of Africa on the part of the Imperial Government, who began to find the co-existence of Danish and Dutch possessions very awkward in any attempt to confer a uniform administration on the thickly-populated region of the Gold Coast. Negotiations were first entered into with Denmark, and the Danish



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

ON THE VOLTA RIVER NEAR ITS MOUTH

possessions of Christiansborg and the coast-line between that fort (close to Accra) and the Volta River were purchased by Great Britain for a sum of £10,000. This was a most important addition, and it was now considered advisable to make the Gold Coast a colony independent of Sierra Leone.

During the early 'sixties, however, a great feeling of discouragement seized the British House of Commons in regard to African ventures, especially on the then very

<sup>1</sup> Who commenced work in 1828, and in 1835 founded their main establishment at Akropong (Akwapim).

unhealthy west coast of Africa. With no knowledge whatever of the mosquito being the agency for the inoculation of malarial fever, with quinine very expensive and very little used as an anti-malarial drug, with the excessive abuse of alcohol on the part of all Europeans, excepting missionaries, with a diet wholly unsuited to life under an equatorial sun, it is little wonder that the British officials,



Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks

SURF-BOATS LEAVING THE SHORE, ACCRA

soldiers, and merchants died at a most appalling rate. The *climate* of all Central and nearly all Eastern Africa is distinctly *healthy* (the prevalent diseases being mainly introduced into the human system by insects and ticks); but the climate of the West African coast from the Gambia to the Congo is somewhat unhealthy, because, in addition to the accidental sickness caused by the agencies referred to (which are to some extent avoidable by careful people), there is an excessive, unmitigated heat prevailing nearly all the year round, so that a really cool, crisp night anywhere

within the low-lying coast belt is almost unknown. The body and mind of the European are alike weakened by life in a continual Turkish bath atmosphere and the incessant perspiration which is the result. Once the European can get away from this coast belt into the mountains or plateaus behind, where nearly every night the air becomes cool and perspiration ceases for a reasonable period, health and vigour can be maintained: provided, of course, the European is able to avoid the diseases caused by the introduction of germs through insect or other agencies.<sup>1</sup>

Because of Home discouragement in regard to West African ventures, and in some way to lessen direct British responsibility, it was decided, in 1866, that the Gold Coast possessions, in common with the Gambia and Lagos, should be placed under a central government at Sierra Leone, the Governor of that Colony to be Governor-in-chief over all British West Africa.

Nevertheless the trade of the Gold Coast continued to improve, and in the following year (1867-68) the British Government was persuaded to negotiate with Holland in regard to the difficulties caused by the intervening Dutch possessions in matters of customs and control of the natives. Forts and patches of territory were surrendered on both sides, with the result that the Dutch were allotted a definite and continuous portion of the Gold Coast between Sweet River (near Cape Coast) on the east and Axim on the west. The British still retained a hold over the westernmost portion of the Gold Coast (Assini), though here they were checked in their extension towards Liberia by the French having hoisted their flag at one or two points on the Ivory Coast.

<sup>1</sup> The mean temperature on the Gold Coast all the year round is nearly 80° Fahr. It may fall as low on one or two cool nights at the end of the dry season as 60° (a very rare occurrence), and it may rise during the hottest part of the day to 105°. Usually it ranges between 90° in the daytime and 75° in the early morning, but the thermometer is very seldom below 80°. Yet it is interesting to note that, in spite of occasional fluctuations, the death rate among Europeans in the Gold Coast has decreased from an average 5 per cent. at the close of the nineteenth century to about 1.5 per cent. at the present time. A marked improvement has shown itself after precautions against mosquito bites were taken, *and also since the lessened consumption of alcohol.*

But the consolidation of Dutch interests on a coast line which was particularly near to the Ashanti country beyond the Pra River, led to the Dutch being faced by the alternative either of an expensive and difficult war of conquest against the Ashanti, or virtual surrender of their rights to that native power. Consequently, negotiations were again entered into. The British had certain claims in Sumatra remaining from the end of the Napoleonic wars. These were surrendered to Holland and were exchanged for all the Dutch possessions on the west coast of Africa, and at this price Great Britain became the undisputed mistress of the Gold Coast from Assini on the west to a place called Danô, to the east of the Volta River.

Then followed almost inevitably the great Ashanti War of 1873-74; for no sooner had the Dutch transferred their possessions (in 1872) than the King of Ashanti transferred his quarrel with Holland to Great Britain, and invaded the newly-acquired British protectorate south of the Pra River. He attacked the British fort of Elmina.<sup>1</sup> In this attack the Ashanti force was repulsed and defeated by Colonel (Sir Francis) Festing. Towards the close of 1873 a personage afterwards very notable in the history of British West Africa—Sir John Glover (then only Captain Glover)—was at his own suggestion dispatched from Lagos with a Hausa force to the eastern territories of the Gold Coast in the direction of the Volta River, to see if he could not organize the warlike tribes of that region and lead them against the hated slave-raiding Ashanti. His flank movements against the Ashanti proved of the utmost value to the operations, which were commanded by Sir Garnet Wolseley.<sup>2</sup> Sir Garnet Wolseley landed at Cape Coast Castle in December, 1873, with a force of about 10,000 troops, consisting of 2400

<sup>1</sup> The history of this place goes back possibly to the fourteenth century. It is thought that the mariners of Dieppe first established a settlement here then. The Portuguese laid the foundations of the existing fort in 1482; the Dutch took the place from the Portuguese in 1637; and the British succeeded the Dutch in 1872. The native name is Edenã. The original Portuguese name was Mina, or 'the mine'—Saõ Jorge da Mina. *E/*mina is a corruption due, no doubt, to confusion with the native name Edenã.

<sup>2</sup> Now Viscount Wolseley.

British, and over 7000 West Indian Negroes (of the celebrated West India regiments). He added to this nucleus levies of native auxiliaries from the Fanti and other Gold Coast peoples and some British seamen and marines. On the 31st of January, 1874, Sir Garnet turned a strong position of the Ashanti army at Amoaful. During the next four days a dogged fight through the forest was carried on, until, on the 4th of February, the British force entered the Ashanti capital



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

SURF-BOATS COMING OFF FROM CAPE COAST CASTLE (GOLD COAST)

of Kumasi. On the 13th of February Captain Glover also entered Kumasi, coming from the east with his large force of native allies—a very remarkable operation, and one which materially assisted Sir Garnet Wolseley to effect a well-ordered retreat from Kumasi: for the British, having reached Kumasi, were extremely anxious to leave it, owing to the panic dread inspired by the climate and the ravages of malarial fever. A peace with King Kofi was somewhat hastily concluded at a place called Fomanah, the king signing with a pencil cross a treaty sent to him for that purpose by Sir Garnet's messengers. By this treaty he recognized all

the country to the south of the Pra River as under British protection, agreed to abandon the appalling human sacrifices whereby the capital of Ashanti, like that of Dahome



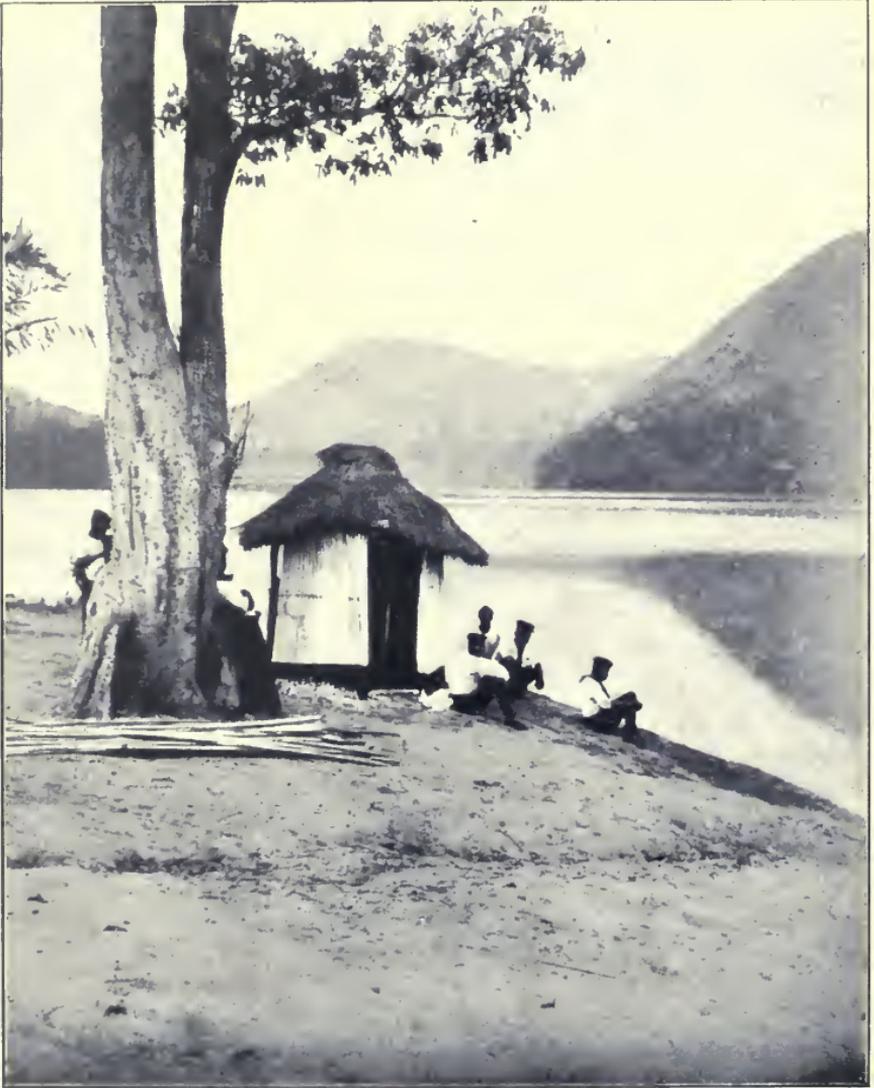
*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

TALL FOREST IN ASHANTI

and Benin, was continually soaked with human blood, and also to pay an indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold—a clause which was never completely satisfied.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There were several threats of further war with Ashanti in the 'eighties. In 1896 a strong force under Sir Francis Scott entered Kumasi and took

As the result of this defeat of the Ashanti power in 1874, the British got more into touch with the neighbouring



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

CUSTOMS STATION AT CHÉASE, ON THE RIVER VOLTA, OPPOSITE  
GERMAN TOGOLAND

kingdoms of the inland forest region between the River  
prisoner the Ashanti king, Prempe. Sir Francis Scott's military secretary was  
Prince Henry of Battenberg (grandfather of the heir to the Spanish throne),  
who died of fever on his return to the coast. In 1900 the Ashanti people  
suddenly rose against the British, but were finally subdued by an expedition  
under Sir James Willcocks.

Komoe and the Volta. Their exploring officials also in the 'eighties of the nineteenth century penetrated beyond the dense forest belt to the pastoral open country of the far interior in the basin of the upper Volta.

The extent of the basin of this important river, with its two great confluent streams, the White and the Black Volta, was mainly discovered by the explorations of Captain L.



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

ACCRA BOATMEN OF THE GÅ TRIBE: GOLD COAST

Binger, an experienced French explorer, who afterwards became an important official in the French Colonial Office. Beyond the influence of bloodthirsty Ashanti and its gloomy forests, where no horses could live long, was a sunny land of grassy plains and stony mountains, where the people were either Muhammadans using Hausa as a trade language and slightly acquainted with Arabic, or, at any rate, semi-civilized, well-clothed pagans, who lived in walled towns of clay houses. Of such were the remains of the once powerful kingdom of Moshi, and all the other tribes of the Guresi-Teme groups, which often end in the suffix *-si* or *-shi*:

kingdoms once in touch with the early Portuguese explorers and long frequented by Muhammadan traders from the Niger regions (perhaps since the twelfth century A.D.).

To the British officers who explored the Gold Coast hinterland in the valley of the Volta twenty to twenty-five years ago, and to other colonial and consular officials on the coast (such as the late E. H. Hewett and the present



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

ASHANTI PEOPLE

writer), the idea of connecting the Gold Coast possessions with the Lagos colony and the projected Nigerian protectorates was very tempting: but in 1885 Germany stepped in and annexed a patch of coast (Togoland) east of the Volta coast district: and France declared a protectorate over Dahome (once, till 1884, a Portuguese ambition). Eventually, by agreement with France and Germany, the boundaries of the Gold Coast possessions were fixed as we see them to-day, extending north as far as  $11^{\circ}20'$ , and including (1) the original Gold Coast Colony, (2) the kingdom of Ashanti (annexed in 1896 and finally conquered

by an expedition under Sir James Willcocks in 1900), and (3) the northern territories of the parklands and prairies beyond the forest. The total area is now not far from 80,000 square miles, and the population about 1,700,000.

The peoples of the Gold Coast are mainly divided into three groups: (1) The *Gã* or 'Accra' people of the region between Accra and the lower Volta; (2) the *Ashanti-Fanti* group of all the forest region, western coast and middle



Photo by Capt. T. C. Huicks

FANTI ARTISANS: GOLD COAST

Volta; and (3) the *Guresi-Teme* group of Negroes in the northern territories (Gurunsi, Mampursi, Dagboma, Dagari, Gbomyan). Group number (1) is sometimes called the Yellow people from their lighter skin colour. The south-eastern Gold Coast is a dry, open country, and here seems anciently to have penetrated some negroid hybrid race of the interior of finer features and more bearded than the black-skinned, smooth-faced Ashanti and kindred tribes of the forest. Guresi or Gurunsi peoples are more akin in physical type to the Negroes of the Central Sudan, and their languages are distantly related to the Fula groups (see p. 330). According to their language relationships the

Ashanti group of Negroes once came from the Niger north of Yoruba land, in the Borgu country. They grew to be a



*Photo by the late Arthur Fjoulkes*

A FANTI WOMAN : GOLD COAST

powerful people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partly through working the alluvial gold of the forest belt.

Like the tribes of Dahome and Benin, with whom they had possibly some ancient kinship, they were exceedingly blood-thirsty, delighting to see blood flow and to sacrifice men and



*Photo by Capt. F. C. Hanks*

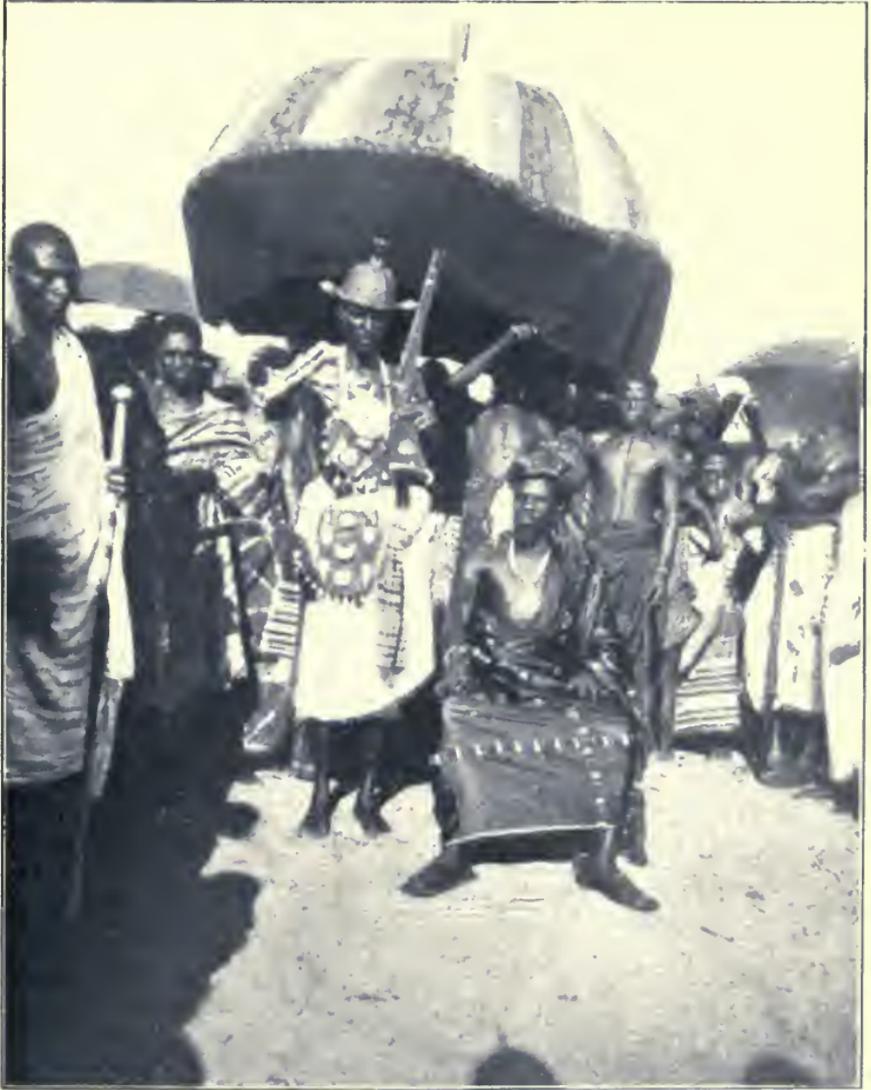
GROUP OF CHIEFS AND PEOPLE, NKRANZA, BEYOND ASHANTI,  
GOLD COAST HINTERLAND

women to their gods and ancestors: but they were not cannibals like the wild tribes to the west of them. In the northern territories of the Gold Coast the great commercial tribes of the Mandingo or 'Mali' peoples of inner West Africa send their 'commercial travellers' the Dyula to meet the westernmost extension of the Hausa trading



GROUP OF PRINCIPAL CHIEFS : NAVORO : NORTHERN TERRITORIES : GOLD COAST *Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

influence coming from the Central and Nigerian Sudan, and originally attracted to the dense forests of Ashanti as much by the kola-nut trade as by the gold dust.

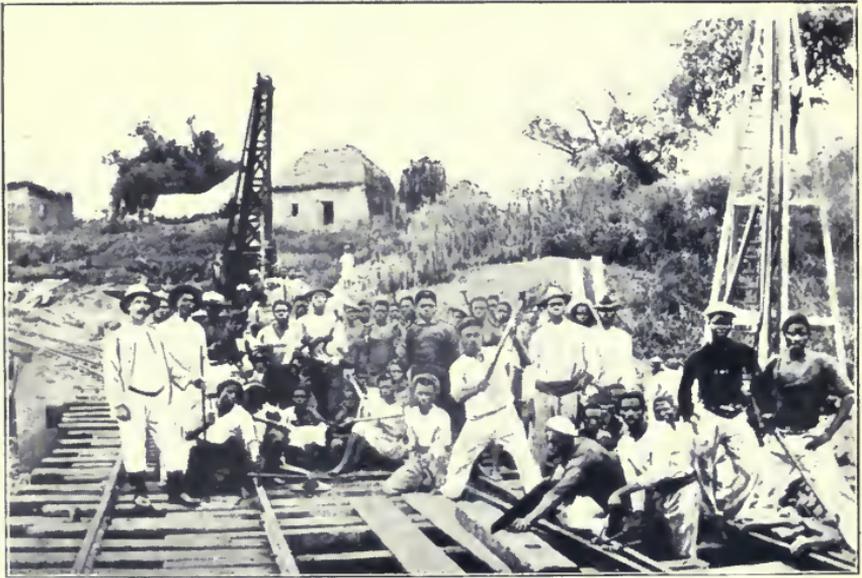


*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

THE OMANHIN OF INSUAIN, A CHIEF FROM THE EASTERN  
HINTERLAND OF THE GOLD COAST COLONY

The most important export of the Gold Coast is still gold, as it was in the fifteenth century when these regions were discovered or rediscovered by the Portuguese. This gold was until recently alluvial only: namely, limited to the

dust or tiny nuggets washed out of the rocks by flowing water and deposited in the sand or sediment of rivers. Very early the rumour of the precious metal seems to have attracted to these regions (from the north, overland) the trade of the civilized Mediterranean world. Beads from Egypt and from the Roman Empire found their way through many intermediaries from the Lower Nile and the Mediterranean coast a thousand years ago and more, till they



*Photo lent by Leo Weinthal*

BUILDING THE RAILWAY FROM SEKONDI TO THE GOLD MINING  
REGION OF THE WESTERN GOLD COAST

became part of the necklace of some man or woman of these black forest Negroes and were buried in the graves of notables. Soon after the Muhammadan Arabs and Moors had spread their religion and their commerce over all the countries of the Upper and Middle Niger, they got at the Gold Coast from the back and spread rumours of its wealth through Mediterranean Europe.

Between 1880 and the present day a number of companies have attempted to extract the gold from the rock by crushing, as well as by dredging streams. It has been uphill work, owing to the unhealthy climate and the difficulties of transport, but is now in most cases giving a profitable return.

In the year 1907 about 273,898 ounces of gold were exported from the Gold Coast, worth £1,163,017. Accra has been the capital of the Gold Coast since 1876, instead of



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Huxks*

THE RAILWAY TO THE GOLD FIELDS: GOLD COAST

Elmina, as it is healthier but the landing here on the open beach is dangerous owing to the terrible surf. The whole West African coast between Sierra Leone and the Cameroons is almost without a natural harbour. This fact, no doubt, has retarded for centuries the profitable development of a very

richly endowed part of Africa, which is forested with magnificent timber, contains many kinds of india-rubber, vegetable oils, spices, dyes, and drugs, deposits of bitumen



*Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks*

A GOLD MINING SETTLEMENT: WESTERN GOLD COAST

or of mineral oil, besides gold, tin, and corundum (which produces aluminium). Although the seas of the great Gulf of Guinea are without the storms and bad weather of the north and south Atlantic, and consequently ships never meet with high waves, there are great rolling swells which break

on the rocky or sandy coast of West Africa with terrific force. Rare, indeed, is it to find some sheltered cove or some river-mouth without a bar, wherein a landing may be effected from a boat without danger from the surf.

Accra (near which was the old Danish capital of Christiansborg) had no natural protection from the breakers, but within the last ten years the local Government has realized the excessive loss to trade and danger to life of this condition, and is erecting at great expense a breakwater and a



*Photo lent by Leo Weinthal*

A STEAM DREDGER AT WORK IN A GOLD COAST RIVER, EXTRACTING THE GOLD FROM THE SAND AND MUD OF THE STREAM

pier at which goods and passengers can be landed in safety. But Accra has been hitherto left out of the plans of railway construction, the colony having had to devote all its resources and energies to connecting the principal gold fields with a coast port. Sekondi (at which a breakwater has also been made), and carrying on this line to Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti province (reached in 1903). The Ashanti railway will no doubt be prolonged right through to the northern territories with their herds of cattle and horses, and their industrious Muhammadan traders. But if Accra is to remain the capital, it should be connected by railway

with this line to Ashanti, and preparations to effect this have already been begun.

Eventually, no doubt, the railways of Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos will, in the far interior of the Niger basin, join some great French line of rails, the future Trans-Saharan railway from Algeria across the desert to the Niger and Lake Chad. This is the national enterprise on which France should concentrate all her energies and expenditure. As it is, she has already spanned the desert with a telegraph



Photo by Capt. T. C. Hincks

A GOLD COAST STOOL CARVED IN THE FORM  
OF AN ELEPHANT

line, and this will, no doubt, soon be connected with the telegraph systems of the Gold Coast, so that an alternative means of telegraphic communication will be secured, besides the ocean cable which already connects it and the other West African colonies with England and France.

In addition to gold, however, the Gold Coast has many other commercial resources. Besides palm oil and palm kernels,<sup>1</sup> the Gold Coast exports cocoa to the value of about

<sup>1</sup> From the Oil palm, *Elais guineensis*. Palm oil was at one time, after the slave-trade was finished, the great staple of West African commerce. It was chiefly shipped from the Niger Delta, Calabar, and the Cameroons. Owing to the treachery of the natives and the unhealthiness of the swampy country, the European traders who shipped palm oil generally lived in great hulks—dismantled sailing ships—which were moored in mid-stream of the river estuaries. It is said that the usefulness of palm oil (which is of two kinds: the red, thick oil, derived from the orange-coloured husk surrounding

£400,000 annually, about the same value of india-rubber, about £100,000 worth of good timber, and about £75,000 of kola nuts.<sup>1</sup>

the nut, and the clear, white oil pressed from the crushed kernel of the nut) was first demonstrated by an American negro in Liberia in the early part of the nineteenth century. It rapidly came into vogue in Great Britain and France about 1840 for two purposes: the making of soap and candles, and the lubricating of the axles of railway locomotives. It was, in fact, the enormous development of railways in Europe during the nineteenth century which gave a proportionate impetus to the collection of palm oil from West Africa, and consequently to the civilizing and pacifying of West Africa generally.

<sup>1</sup> The kola nut is derived from an African tree (*Cola acuminata*), and has long been in favour, more especially amongst the Muhammadan natives of Africa, as a stimulant. Small portions of the nut are chewed. It is so bitter that it makes everything else, especially water, taste delightfully sweet, but there is no doubt that it invigorates the nerves. Of late years it has entered largely into all sorts of stimulating drinks used in Europe and America. Cocoa (the bean of the Cacao or *Theobroma* shrub) is, of course, not a native of Africa, but of Central and South America. Its cultivation was introduced into West Africa (the Portuguese islands of Saõ Thomé and Príncipe) about 1860, and later on it was cultivated in Fernando Po. Here very nearly the best quality of cacao beans is produced, the only better quality arriving from Ecuador. Its introduction to the Gold Coast is probably not more than twenty years old, but it has proved an immense success, more especially because it is almost entirely cultivated by indigenous Negroes on their own ground.

## CHAPTER XIV

### NIGERIA

LAGOS, already alluded to, was so named when discovered by the Portuguese about 1472, partly from its lagoon and partly from a place of the same name in southern Portugal. During the first half of the nineteenth century it became a great centre for the slave trade. As its king, Kosoko, refused to desist from selling slaves, the place was bombarded by a British force in 1851, a new king (Akitoge) placed on the throne, and a consul was established in his town to see to the maintenance of treaty conditions. This measure, however, proved ineffective, and in 1861 Lagos was annexed by Great Britain, an indemnity or pension of £1,030 a year<sup>1</sup> being allotted to the native king (Akitoge's son, Dosemo). From 1863 onwards it was placed under an administrator, and made subordinate (in 1866) to the Governor-General of the West African Settlements (Sierra Leone). In 1874 it became a portion of the Gold Coast Colony. But the trade of Lagos, at first in palm oil and kernels, and, later on, in wild rubber, grew to such dimensions [and with it grew the territory in the hinterland], that in 1886 it was erected into a separate government.

In the hinterland was the important country of Abeokuta,<sup>2</sup> which had received missionaries with tolerance, if not with favour, in the early part of the nineteenth century. Behind

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 1200 bags of Kauri shells, for money was not in use in Southern Nigeria till about 1890. The Kauri shell (originally from India) was the currency of East and Central and Western Africa down to this late period.

<sup>2</sup> Whose prince is known as the Alake. He visited England a few years ago. Other quaint titles of great chieftains in the Lagos province are the Afafe of Oyó, the Obá of Ode Ondo, and the Attá of Idá.

Abeokuta were the powerful Muhammadan Negro states of Yoruba and Ilorin, linking on with Borgu and the Niger. All these regions inevitably came more or less under British influence through the occupation of Lagos. But in the east remained, absolutely recalcitrant and latterly quite closed to Europeans, the powerful pagan kingdom of Benin, which, like Dahome on the west, was carrying to an extreme development the Negro religion of blood. A certain inter-



*Photo by Major J. J. Lang, C.M.G., K.E.*

IN THE NEGRO QUARTER OF THE TOWN OF LAGOS

course took place between a viceroy (Nana) of the King of Benin at the mouth of the Benin River and European traders settled there: but the King of Benin was firmly resolved to have no personal dealings with Europeans of any nationality for fear of losing his independence.

As regards Nigeria—Northern and Southern—British interest in this vast territory (333,660 square miles under the British flag) dates from the close of the eighteenth century, although there were British slave traders established on the coast of the Niger Delta and Calabar a hundred years earlier than that. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, an Association for the promotion of

the exploration of Inner Africa' was established in 1788 especially to study the Niger problem. This Association not only dispatched Mungo Park<sup>1</sup> to reach the Niger near its source, but in 1796 engaged a German, Friedrich Hornemann, to proceed from Egypt to Fezzan, and so cross the desert and reach the rumoured Lake Chad and the eastern basin of the Niger. Hornemann lost his life somewhere



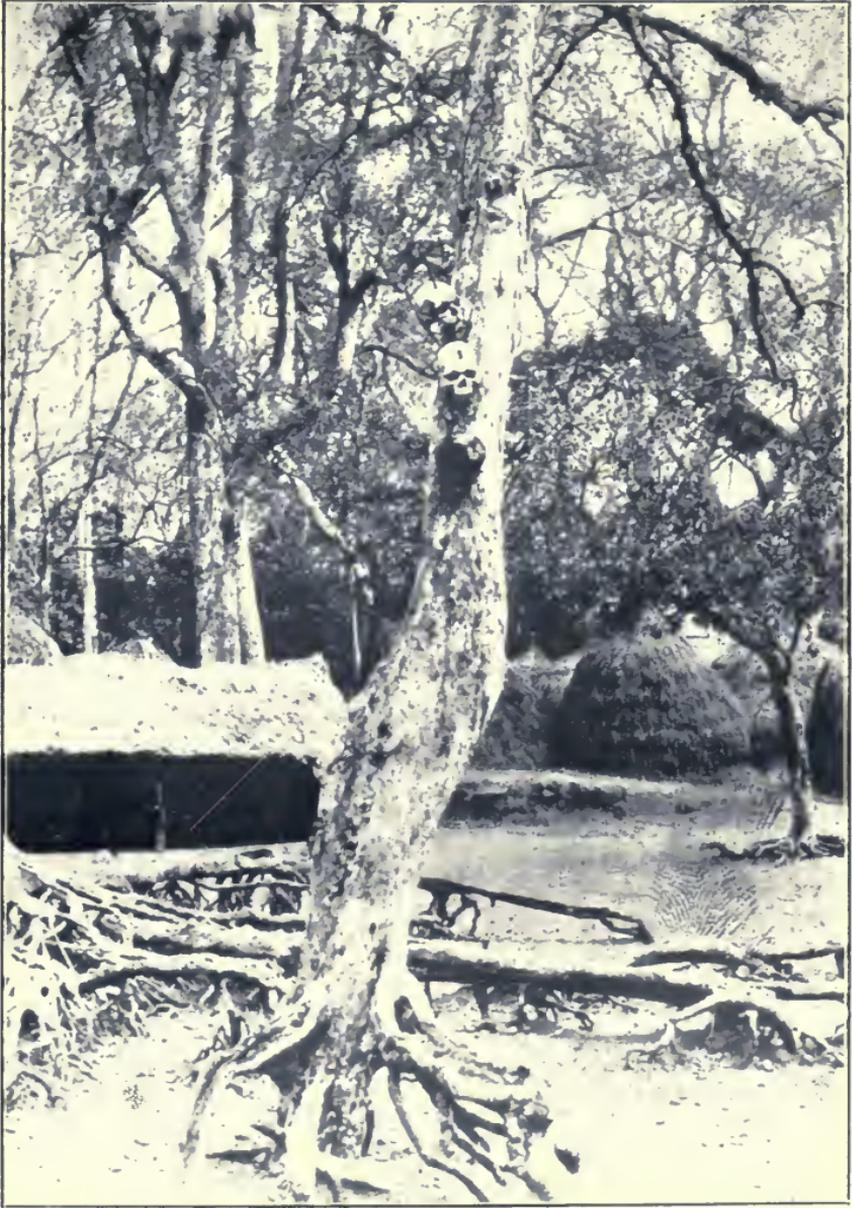
*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

NATIVE IDOLS OF THE NIMBI OR 'BRASS' RIVER PEOPLE: NIGER DELTA

to the south of Fezzan. After the Napoleonic wars were over, the British Government, desirous of opening up new avenues of profitable trade in Africa and at the same time of bringing influence to bear on chiefs and tribes to give

<sup>1</sup> Mungo Park was a young Scottish surgeon who, after a voyage to Sumatra in which he distinguished himself by his natural history researches, was engaged by the African Association in 1794 to journey overland from the Gambia in search of the reported great river, the Niger. This purpose he accomplished fully, and in fact, from the European point of view, he 'discovered the Niger' in 1795. In 1805 he was sent by the British Government to follow up his discoveries and, if possible, to trace the Niger from its source to its mouth. He got as far as the Busa rapids, and there lost his life in attempting to pass the rapids under the attacks of the hostile natives. Although he was so near to complete success, the actual outlet of the Niger into the sea was not fully determined until 1830, by Richard Lander.

up slave-raiding and slave-trading, took over the costly



*Photo by Rev. J. T. F. Halliday*

A VILLAGE IN THE LAGOS HINTERLAND

THIS IS ALSO THE SITE OF A MARKET-PLACE AND THE SKULLS ARE THOSE OF THIEVES,  
NAILED AGAINST A TREE AS A PUBLIC WARNING

task of the African Association, and dispatched in 1816  
Captain J. K. Tuckey, R.N., to explore the unknown River

Congo from its mouth upwards, and ascertain whether it was or was not the mouth of Mungo Park's Niger. In 1818 Mr. Ritchie and Captain George Lyon, R.N., were sent to Tripoli,<sup>1</sup> on the Mediterranean coast, to penetrate inland across the desert to the Niger or the Great Lake. The explorers only reached the southern limits of Fezzan, and Ritchie died. They were succeeded in 1822 by the expedi-



*Photo by Capt. C. H. Foulkes, R.E.*

THE BUSA RAPIDS, LOWER NIGER

IT WAS HERE THAT MUNGO PARK WAS DROWNED IN 1806

tion under Dr. Oudney (who died in 1824), Captain Hugh Clapperton, R.N., Lieutenant (afterwards Major) Dixon Denham, William Hillman (a seaman shipwright), and, at a later date, by a Mr. Toole, who died in Bornu in 1824.<sup>2</sup>

On 4th February, 1823, the Oudney expedition discovered Lake Chad, first of all white men. Dr. Oudney, who held the rank of Consul to Bornu, died in that country in

<sup>1</sup> Just as Napoleon Bonaparte led us into Egypt, so he indirectly brought about our advance to the Central Sudan; for his seizure of Malta obliged us to occupy that island, and thus brought us into close alliance with the Basha of Tripoli, who told our emissaries of the fertile and wealthy Sudan.

<sup>2</sup> Toole, a young soldier, made the journey, in those days of sailing-ships and post-chaises, from London to Bornu, via Tripoli, in only four months.

January, 1824. Major Denham discovered the Shari River, south of Lake Chad, and Commander Clapperton got as far as Sokoto, but was prevented from seeing the wonderful river (Niger) by the jealousy of the Fula Sultan, Bello. Eventually he returned to England across the Sahara with Denham and Hillman, who had remained in Bornu.



*Photo by Capt. C. H. Foulkes, R.E.*

ON THE SHORES OF LAKE CHAD

Promoted to be a commander in the Royal Navy on his return, Clapperton was sent out with a staff of three officers—including a doctor—to resume his exploration of the Niger and to trace it to its mouth. He took with him as personal servant a young Cornishman, Richard Lander. The officers on his staff soon died of fever in the difficult country between Lagos and the Niger. Clapperton crossed the Niger and entered Hausaland. Eventually he was checked from further exploration at Sokoto, and died there in 1827 of dysentery.

Major Alexander Gordon Laing, a Scotchman, in 1823

practically discovered the source and altitude of the infant Niger, and in 1825 started from Tripoli to reach the far-famed city of Timbuktu across the desert. He passed through Ghadámes and the oasis of Twat, and thence across the Sahara by a route which may some day be followed by a French Trans-Sahara railway. He was

attacked on the way by the Tuareg, who left him for dead, bleeding from twenty-four wounds. Still he recovered, and actually entered Timbuktu on 18th August, 1826. Obligated by the fanatical people to leave the city, he started out towards Morocco, but was assassinated in the desert by the Tuareg. This remarkable man deserves to be better remembered.



*Photo by Augustin Rischgilt*

COMMANDER HUGH CLAPPERTON, R.N. THE  
FIRST BRITISH EXPLORER TO REACH  
SOKOTO AND NUPE

Clapperton's explorations were carried on to ultimate success by Richard and John Lander, who traced the Niger to its mouth at Brass in 1830. Then followed the enterprise of the Liverpool shipbuilder and merchant, MacGregor Laird, who, with Richard Lander and Mr. Oldfield, ascended the Niger in a small steamer in 1832 as far as Rabba, and also discovered and explored for eighty miles its eastern affluent, the Benue. In 1840 a British consul (Beecroft) ascended the main Niger for a considerable distance; and in 1841 a naval expedition was dispatched to explore the Niger from

its mouth upward to the Busa rapids ; but it got no farther than Ega, and the British Government was much discouraged by the terrible mortality among the crews from malarial fever.

In 1849 a further attempt was determined on to open up trading intercourse between the Mediterranean coast and Central Nigeria. Mr. James Richardson, British



*Photo by Capt. C. H. Foulkes, R.E.*

IN BORNÜ (NORTHERN NIGERIA)

Consul at Tripoli, was appointed to lead the expedition, and at the suggestion of Mr. Bunsen, the Prussian Ambassador, two Germans were selected as his scientific assistants - Dr. Heinrich Barth, a Hamburger, for languages and what we should now call 'ethnography,' and Dr. Overweg, a Prussian, for astronomical observations and surveying.

After reaching Lake Chad, Mr. Richardson fell ill and died in Bornu: Dr. Barth started off on a remarkable journey due south and discovered the upper reaches of the Benue River: and Dr. Overweg navigated Lake Chad in a collapsible boat.<sup>1</sup> But he fell ill before he could

<sup>1</sup> Probably the first time this ingenious invention was employed in Africa.

complete his survey, and died in 1852 after Barth's return from the south. Overweg was buried on the north-eastern shore of Lake Chad. Barth then started on an adventurous journey to the Niger, via Sokoto, crossed this river (travelling disguised as a Syrian doctor) at Say, travelled through the interesting Hombori Mountains, and reached Timbuktu in the year 1853. Returning from Timbuktu, he descended the Niger stream to Say, and then travelled back through Hausaland to Kukawa in Bornu, where he found the British Government had sent to reinforce him another German scientific explorer—Dr. Vogel—accompanied by two British non-commissioned officers from the Royal Engineers.

Barth returned to Europe across the Sahara Desert; but Vogel determined to extend his predecessor's explorations far to the south of Lake Chad, and then return via Wadai and the Egyptian Sudan. One of the two Royal Engineers returned with Barth; the other, Corporal Macguire, eventually quarrelled with Dr. Vogel and went off independently with a section of the caravan. Unfortunately both he and Vogel were assassinated by the Wadai people, a kingdom of fanatical Muhammadan Negroes and Arabs who were strongly opposed to the advent of the white man and his possible interference with the slave trade.

Dr. Barth added enormously to our knowledge of Central African peoples and languages, and of the geographical features of the Nigerian Sudan. In reward for his services he was made a Companion of the Bath; but otherwise received but scant return from the British Government he had served so well. The entire expense of his expedition cost the British Treasury only £1400, and the scientific results may be said to be still unexhausted as a field of research. After further travels in the Turkish Empire, Barth retired to Berlin, where he died in 1865.

His discovery of the Upper Benue had again excited an interest in the Lower—navigable—Niger. In 1854 the British Government sent out another expedition to ascend the Niger from its mouth in a small steamer, H.M.S.

*Pleiad.* Dr. Baikie, R.N., accompanied and afterwards commanded the party, remaining behind finally in an honorary consular capacity on the Niger, and residing at Lokoja. Lokoja, now a most important town, at the confluence of the Niger and the Benue, was practically founded by Baikie, though an attempt had been made to start a model freed-slave settlement here in 1841. And the



*Photo by C. L. Temple*

ON THE LOWER NIGER, IN THE DELTA

Benue itself was explored by Baikie till he almost reached the western limit of Barth's survey. Baikie, however, died of fever at Sierra Leone in 1863,<sup>1</sup> and the interest of the British Government in Nigerian development slackened. In 1866 the British consulate at Lokoja was abolished.

Nevertheless, despite deaths and disappointments, the seed had been sown. The Church Missionary Society stuck to the Lower Niger and navigated its waters with steam launches. In 1852 the dauntless MacGregor Laird had

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Baikie's work at Lokoja for nearly five years (1855-63) was most remarkable of the best British type.

established a regular line of steamers (the African Steamship Company<sup>1</sup>), trading between London, Liverpool, and the West Coast of Africa; and, in consequence of the development of profitable commerce in palm oil, various small companies established themselves on the Lower Niger between Lokoja and the sea.

But meantime other European powers were beginning to dream of Nigerian empires. Germany, through Hamburg and Bremen, had been building up a profitable trade with West Africa from about 1840 onwards. In 1869 the Prussian Government decided to send a mission to the Sheikh, or King of Bornu, to present gifts and a letter of thanks from the King of Prussia in acknowledgment of the kindness shown to the German travellers Barth, Overweg, and Vogel. This mission was carried out very ably by Dr. Nachtigal. In 1877 the German explorer, Von Bary, charged with another Government mission, left Tripoli for the Niger, but was assassinated by the Tuaregs at Ghat.

The French under the impulse of Gambetta determined to lay the foundations of a great Nigerian Empire, and advanced from the Senegal to reach the Niger near its sources; while, at the same time, two great French commercial companies were heavily subsidized to establish themselves on the Lower Niger and with their superior resources drive out the feeble British companies. At this juncture arrived on the scene the man who was to found the British Empire on the Niger. Mr. George Goldie Taubman, who had been for a short time an officer in the Royal Engineers, had visited Egypt in the 'seventies, and there was much interested in meeting Hausa and other Negro pilgrims from Central Nigeria, passing through Egypt on their way to and from Mecca. He decided, in 1877, to make a journey to the Niger by sea and examine into the possibilities of its commercial development. Eventually his influence consolidated the four or five rival British

<sup>1</sup> Still in existence, but practically fused with the powerful company started by Elder Dempster & Co. from Glasgow and Liverpool—the British and African Steamship Co.

firms trading on the banks of the Niger, between Lokoja and the sea and up the River Benue, and he formed



RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE TAUBMAN GOLDIE, THE FOUNDER OF  
NORTHERN NIGERIA

them (1879) into a single association called the United African Company. Then began a fierce commercial war between this British group and the subsidized French

Company of the Lower Niger. Gambetta was dead, and possibly the French Government considered that, in attempting to oust Great Britain from the Lower Niger, they were going farther than was reasonable or safe. The French Company was not supported in its struggle for commercial supremacy, and eventually sold its rights for £60,000 to Captain Goldie Taubman's National Company, which now changed its name to the National African



*Photo lent by Sir Harry Johnston*

A CHIEF IN HIS STATE CANOE, BONNY RIVER, NIGER DELTA

Company. [The German efforts were frustrated later by the engagement by Captain Taubman of a celebrated Scottish explorer, Joseph Thomson—who had gone far in 1882–84 to lay the foundations of British East Africa. Thomson made a rapid journey to the court of the Fula Sultan of Sokoto (1885), and there concluded arrangements with him which were virtually a commercial control over the whole of what is now Northern Nigeria, on behalf of the National African Company.]

Armed with the purchase of the French Company and a trading monopoly, which was not intended to be used

selfishly, but merely to secure much of the Niger Basin for the exclusive political control of Great Britain. Captain Goldie Taubman approached the British Government just as the latter was being summoned by Bismarck to the Congress of Berlin. This assembly was to witness our withdrawal from any idea of control over the Congo, or any other arrangement with Portugal for the aggrandisement of the British dominions in Africa. But, no doubt, behind all the mass of verbiage and sham philanthropy which masked the proceedings of that congress, it was practically decided that if Great Britain took a place therein she was to issue from it mistress over the Lower Niger and the Benue.

From 1886 till 1900 all that dominion which is now known as Northern Nigeria was under the government of the Royal Niger Chartered Company (the former National African), whose chairman had become Sir George Taubman Goldie.<sup>1</sup>

The vast delta<sup>2</sup> of the Niger and the adjoining territories of Old Calabar and the Cameroons required a different treatment. Here the trade was in many hands and there

<sup>1</sup> Now the Right Honourable Sir George T. Goldie, P.C., K.C.M.G.

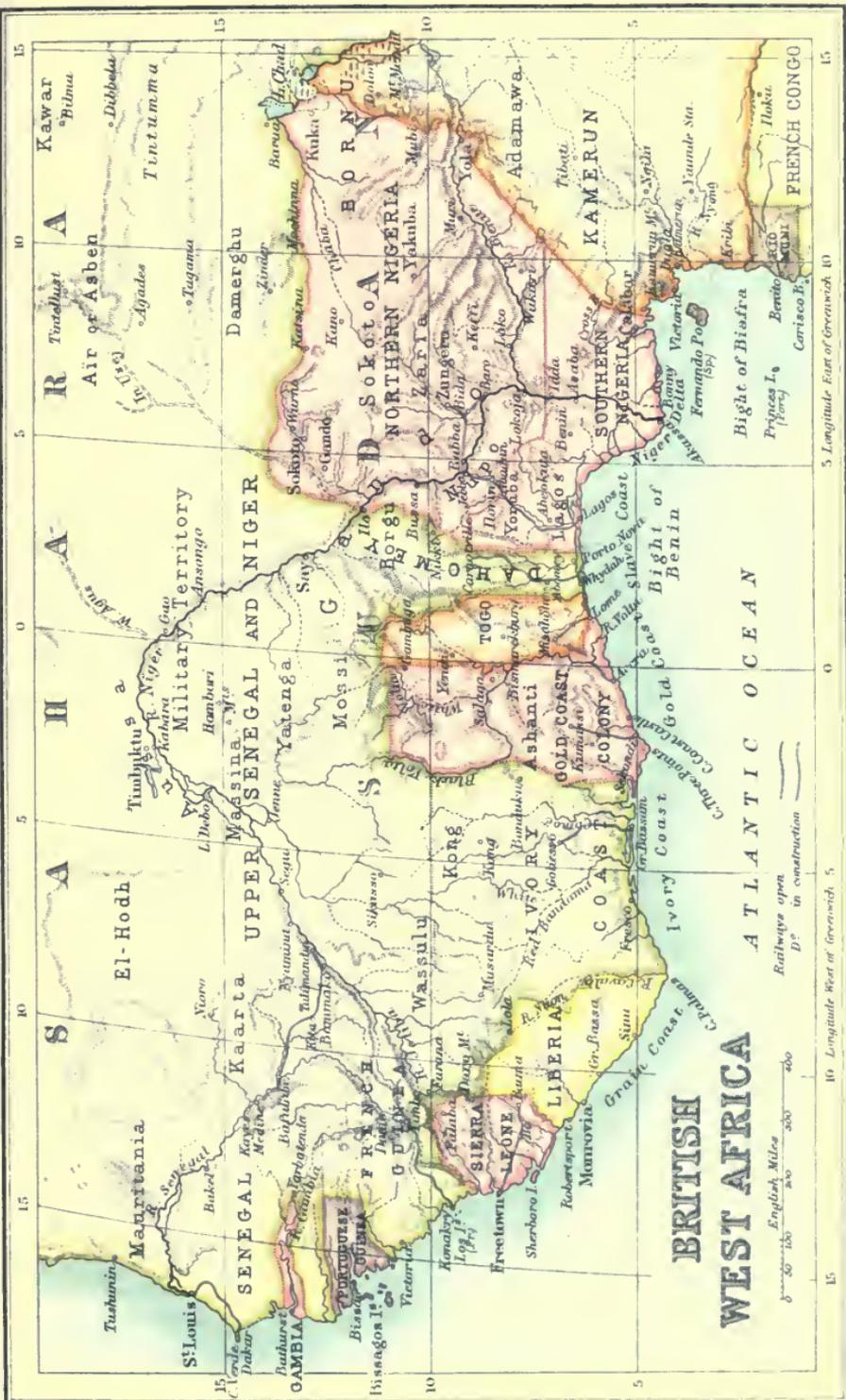
<sup>2</sup> The direct outlet of the Niger is the River Nun, at the mouth of which is Akassa, long the seaport of the Royal Niger Company and under their rule. From about 1889 the Forcados mouth on the western side of the delta was adopted as the seaport of inner Nigeria because it possessed a much deeper entrance for sea-going ships. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Brass River, one of the many Niger mouths, a few miles to the east of Akassa, was usually adopted as the entrance to the great river. The Bonny and the Opobo estuaries have fairly good bars, but the Opobo is almost an independent river. It is said to be possible to travel in a native dug-out canoe or boat of light draught all the way from the Volta River (eastern Gold Coast) to the Kwo-Ibo River, near Old Calabar, without going into the open sea, by following the intricate natural canals, lagoons, or creeks which unite one river mouth to another.

Palm oil of the two kinds—husk and kernel—of the best quality, and in the greatest abundance, was exported from Lagos, the Niger Delta, the adjoining Calabar estuary, and the Cameroons, with the result that the district round the Bights of Benin and Biafra came to receive the general name of the 'Oil Rivers.' By far the bulk of the commerce lay with British ports; the only missionaries belonged to British societies; British consuls and vice-consuls were established to keep order and deal out justice between white and black, and British men-of-war appeared on the scene to enforce their decisions. 'First the missionary, then the consul, then the soldiers,' said a melancholy chief to the present writer when some curtailment of his unwisely-used powers was insisted on. Inevitably these regions were in a large measure with their own consent—drawn towards the British Empire.

were German firms established as well as British. Here the British Government was quite prepared to accept direct responsibility, the more so because, if it refused, its place would be taken possibly by France or, more probably, by Germany. A large number of the native chiefs had sent petitions through the British Consul, Mr. Edward Hyde Hewett, asking for British protection. Their jurisdiction over white men and foreign Negroes had long been tacitly entrusted to British consuls, and they realized that they could no longer maintain a position of independence: if they were to choose any European nation as a protectress, they preferred Great Britain.

The British Government assented to their propositions in 1883. Unfortunately, treaty making necessary to secure in an emphatic manner every possible native state on the coast of the Niger Delta, Calabar, and the Cameroons was a lengthy business, and whilst Mr. Hewett was making quite sure of the Niger mouths, the Germans managed to get in at Mahin beach, between Lagos and the Benin River, and most of all in the estuary of the Cameroons River. Here one chief only—King Bell of the Duala tribe—could be induced to sign a treaty of protection of the Germans; but he did conclude this arrangement—a few days before the arrival of Mr. Hewett—and for the sum of £1000 sold to the Germans two or three square miles on the south bank of the Cameroons estuary. Almost at the same time a French gunboat was proceeding to the Cameroons River to annex the district without troubling to conclude arrangements with the native chiefs. Mr. Hewett, indignant at having been forestalled in this minute fraction of the vast territory he was authorized to bring under the British flag, rapidly brought the whole remainder of the Cameroons coast, except a portion of the south, within the contemplated British protectorate, especially the little settlement of Amba Bay (Victoria), opposite the Island of Fernando Po.

Here British missionaries of the Baptist communion had long been established on land bought from native chiefs. The island of Fernando Po, distant twenty miles



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or so from this region of the Cameroons, was a Spanish possession, but after the cessation of the slave trade the Spaniards had rather lost interest in it, and had allowed it for a time to be made use of by the British Government as a base for its operations on the Lower Niger and its suppression of the slave trade. Both Fernando Po and this neighbouring settlement of Ambas Bay (under the shadow of the mighty Cameroons volcano) had been selected as places at which to disembark slaves set free by the British squadron. Eventually, when the Spaniards resumed control over Fernando Po, the British missionaries concentrated all their efforts on the Cameroons, and had built up something quite approaching a civilized state amongst the Duala people, and also at Ambas Bay.

The Germans, however, punished very drastically the other Cameroons chiefs who rose in rebellion against the action of their brother chieftain, King Bell; and the British Government, desiring to induce the Germans to withdraw from the coast between Lagos and the Niger Delta and from Santa Lucia Bay in the north of Zululand, and generally to come to a friendly arrangement on the subject of African settlements, decided to renounce all its claims to the Cameroons region. Even Ambas Bay, retained for a time, was given up to Germany, and the eastern frontier of the new protectorate of the Oil Rivers (later to be known as the Niger coast and finally as Southern Nigeria) was drawn at the estuary of the Rio del Rey, which is practically the north-western limit of the Bantu-speaking populations (see p. 42). From the Rio del Rey the frontier was carried to the Upper Cross River and thence to the vicinity of the Upper Benue. Ultimately Germany secured a further strip connecting the Upper Benue with Lake Chad.

The writer of this book succeeded Mr. Hewett temporarily as acting-consul in what was then termed the Protectorate of the Oil Rivers. He found that a great difficulty had arisen in the development of commerce by the attempts of certain tribes or chiefs to act as middlemen between the European merchants on the coast and the natives of

the interior who manufactured or obtained all the trade products. These tribes or chiefs vehemently objected to traders going inland direct to the 'markets' and there purchasing the palm oil, kernels, ivory, rubber, ebony, or dye-woods which the natives had to dispose of. The 'middlemen' wished to lay down as a rule that Europeans could only trade through them, leaving of course in their hands a very heavy commission on the goods which they brought down from the interior. One chief, indeed—Jaja (of Opobo, a big river flowing into the eastern part of the Niger Delta)—went farther than this. He desired to 'corner' practically all the trade produce between the main Niger on the west and the Cross River on the east, and sell it entirely at his own prices and his own convenience. Mr. H. H. Johnston, then the acting-consul, pointed out to Jaja that in thus acting he was breaking the terms of treaties which he had concluded with the British Government. Eventually, as Jaja persisted in closing the access to the interior and using violence to enforce his wishes, Mr. Johnston, with the assistance of a British gunboat and the native King of Bonny,<sup>1</sup> obliged Jaja to surrender to the British authorities and retire to the Gold Coast. Eventually Jaja was tried by a special commissioner at the Gold Coast and deported to the West Indies for a term of five years. He died whilst on the return voyage to his country, where he would have been permitted to resume his place on the condition of not interfering any more with the freedom of commerce. The only other serious trouble which has arisen between the British authority and the natives in this now extensive Protectorate of Southern Nigeria<sup>2</sup> (united with the Government of Lagos in 1906) was in connection with the bloodstained kingdom of Benin on the west, or the equally bloodthirsty tribes of the Ibo and Ijō peoples living between the Cross River and the Upper Opobo (the district of Aro).

<sup>1</sup> This important place, at the mouth of the Bonny River, one of the principal mouths of the Niger, is really called Obani by the natives. The King of Bonny (grandfather of the man alluded to above) was converted to Christianity in the middle of the nineteenth century and visited England.

<sup>2</sup> Its total area now is 77,260 square miles.

In 1890 the Protectorate of the Niger Coast was placed under a commissioner, Sir Claude Macdonald. In the



*Photo by Rev. J. T. F. Halligey*

A CHIEF OF THE LAGOS HINTERLAND

course of the organization of these territories (a portion of which was still governed by the Royal Niger Company) his Government came into conflict with Nana, the Viceroy

of the King of Benin in the western part of this new protectorate. Nana had been a great friend of the present writer, whose administration had preceded that of Sir Claude Macdonald. He had afforded him considerable assistance in settling the difficulty with Jaja. It is possible that there may have been some misunderstanding, but Nana was thought at a later date to be conspiring against the British authority, and, like Jaja, whom he had helped to oppose, he was sent into exile for a period.<sup>1</sup> Following close on this, an imprudent attempt was made to come to terms with the King of Benin. This monarch, direct representative of a dynasty which had ruled over Benin for something like seven hundred years, alarmed at proceedings taken against his Viceroy, not only refused to receive the acting-administrator of the Protectorate, Mr. E. O. Phillips, but plainly stated the mission would be attacked if it forced its way through the jungle to the city of Benin. Mr. Phillips, however, persisted in accomplishing his purpose, and, foolishly enough, as evidence that he came on a purely peaceful errand, he went with a party that was practically unarmed. They were attacked by the King's forces, and Mr. Phillips and one or two other Europeans and the majority of the native carriers were killed. One British officer, Captain Boisragon, escaped, badly wounded. The inevitable sequel was the dispatch of a naval and military expedition, and this effected the purpose of the conquest of Benin with the least possible expenditure of time, lives, and money—one of the most difficult, yet one of the most creditable, operations ever accomplished by the British Empire in Africa.

For although Mr. Phillips may have been technically wrong in choosing the moment and the method of entering into relations with the King of Benin, it would have been impossible much longer for the British Government to tolerate the misdeeds of that kingdom. For centuries a horrible kind of murder mania, a lust for blood, has filled the minds of the Negroes of Ashanti, Dahome, Benin, and of the Ijō and Ibo communities of the eastern Niger Delta. On the pretext of religious ceremonies—killing people so that

<sup>1</sup> Long since restored to his home.

their souls might go to the spirit-world to wait on the souls of dead chieftains ; as sacrifices for the appeasement of gods and devils ; for cannibal feasts ; for vainglory and display of power ; on suspicion of witchcraft or treason ; for the sheer delight of seeing blood flow and tortured bodies writhe—hundreds of thousands of unfortunate men and women were slain annually throughout these native kingdoms, especially during the greater part of the nineteenth century. Native kings or chiefs would justify themselves by reproaching the British Government for putting a stop to the slave trade. They would say, ‘ If you will not let us sell our war captives, our criminals, or the people we want to get rid of, the only alternative is to cut their heads off.’

The city of Benin when entered by the British forces was a blood-stained shambles, and no excuse need be offered for this interference on our part with the native power. The present condition of this prosperous, thickly-populated, busily-trading community is sufficient justification.

At the commencement of the present century the forces of the British Protectorate of Southern Nigeria practically disposed of the blood-stained mysteries of the Ijōs and Ibos in the Eastern Delta. Since then the only fighting of any importance has lain in the extreme north-east of the Protectorate, where it marches both with the German territory of the Cameroons and the adjacent British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Here, in the southern basin of the Benue, dwell the powerful Munshi or Michi people, speaking a language which is very distantly related to the Bantu family. The Munshi are brave fighters, and are still bitterly opposed to the white man’s interference in their concerns. They are cannibals, and very much inclined to raid the more peaceful and timid native tribes of the Benue basin. By diplomacy as well as force they will no doubt before long have been brought into a condition of peaceful acquiescence in the general direction of their affairs by the British Government of Southern and Northern Nigeria.

Europe had recognized central Nigeria as coming within the British sphere of influence. But there still remained great

difficulties to be surmounted before it could be regarded as an organized portion of the British Empire. The Niger Company, being a trading organization, required to obtain the funds for policing, at any rate, a portion of its domain by levying customs duties and by making profits on trade. Both France and Germany resented very strongly the commercial monopoly of this company. It was, no doubt, an unfortunate concomitant of the hoisting of the British flag in Central Nigeria; since, as a rule, when a land is brought under British influence, it is known there is no partial discrimination established in matters of commerce. Consequently Sir George Goldie's administration of this region, between 1886 and 1900, was incessantly hampered by the attempts of French and German explorers or officials to ignore its authority and treat the Niger regions as a domain open to all adventures and adventurers. Then again, the powerful Muhammadan chieftains—of the Fula and Nupe peoples—and the Negro despots of the Lower Niger, with their bloodthirsty customs, resented any political interference on the part of the Niger Company. At last (in 1896) the Fula power (using its Nupe vassal as its direct means) threatened to drive the British traders altogether away from the Niger above the Benue confluence. There was no alternative between withdrawal and fighting. Therefore, in 1897, the Royal Niger Company organized an expeditionary force under Major-General Arnold, accompanied by Sir G. Goldie as political officer. With the aid of machine guns, which were beginning to tell so mightily in the contest between the civilized and uncivilized races of the world, the large armies—chiefly cavalry—of the Nupe King and his Fula suzerain were defeated and put to flight. A solid basis was established in Nigeria on which the British might henceforth rule the country for its good.

The task—like that of India in 1858—was becoming too grave in its responsibilities and risks to be trusted to a trading company however ably directed. In 1900 the British Government annulled the charter of the Royal Niger Company (as a governing body) and compensated it by a

payment of £850,000. The 'Niger Company' still exists as the most powerful of the trade organizations in these



SIR FREDERICK DEALTRY LUGARD

regions, but from 1900 onwards the British Government has ruled directly in Northern Nigeria.

Its first High Commissioner (later Governor) over that

region was Sir Frederick Lugard, who as Captain Lugard had been an officer of the Royal Niger Company (since 1894) engaged in securing western regions of the Lower Niger against the advance of the French. Sir Frederick Lugard, when he took up the government of Nigeria, found it difficult to place a limit on his interference in the affairs of the native States. The Fula Empire was absolutely bound up with the



Photo by Major J. J. Lang, C.M.G., R.E.

A FULA WARRIOR: NORTHERN NIGERIA

HE IS WEARING THE *lisham* OR MOUTH-VEIL, INTRODUCED AS A FASHION BY THE TUAREG OF THE SAHARA

whole principle of slave-raiding and slave-trading. It was becoming hated by the millions of Hausa people whom it governed or misgoverned under Fula satraps. The old Negro kingdom of Bornu had been ravaged and depopulated by a Sudanese adventurer, Rabah, who, after the Mahdi's movement in the Sudan, had crossed with a large following into the regions of Lake Chad and extinguished the old kingdom of Bornu. With his well-equipped fighting force he had conquered nearly all the region of the Central Sudan between the Congo watershed on the south and the Libyan

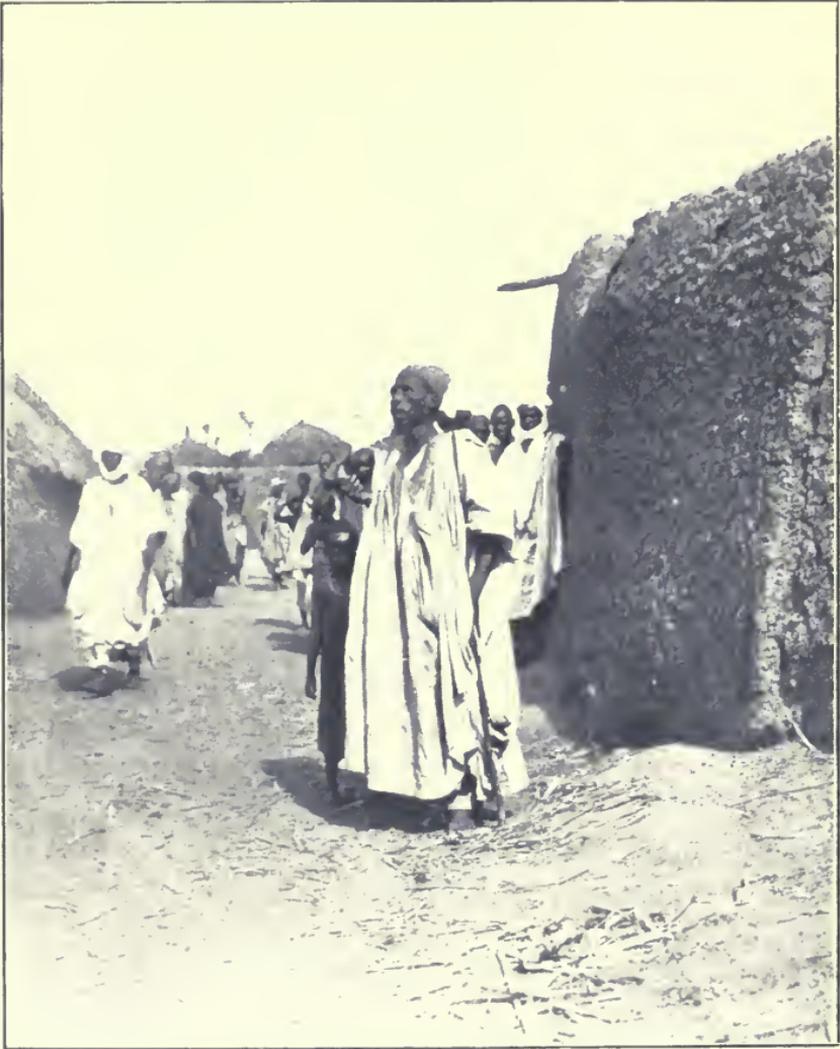
desert on the north. He was to a certain extent aided by the influence of the Senussi sect of Muhammadans, who were spread far and wide over the Central Sudan, were bitterly opposed to European influence, and in some respects regarded Rabah as the champion of Islam.<sup>1</sup>

Rabah might have proved a very formidable enemy to the extension of British influence over Eastern Nigeria had it not been that the French Government solved the trouble for us by attacking him from the south, advancing from the Congo Basin; Rabah having previously murdered treacherously the officers of a French expedition of exploration. Rabah was killed in a battle with the French in 1900.

Sir Frederick Lugard and the commander of his troops, Colonel Morland, succeeded to a much more powerful position in Nigeria than that which had characterized the earlier years of the Chartered Company's rule. Sir George Goldie and Colonel Arnold together had broken the power of the Fula everywhere near the vicinity of the Niger River and the Benue. It still remained, however, to enforce complete acceptance of British overlordship at the headquarters of their monarchy—Sokoto, and most of all in the great Hausa capital of Kano. The struggle was precipitated by repeated risings of the Fula and their Hausa subjects, especially when the British began to interfere with the renewed activity of the slave trade. In a series of brief but

<sup>1</sup> Early in the nineteenth century, about the time when the French were first invading Algeria, there arose a Muhammadan religious teacher—Sayyid Muhammad es-Senussi—who preached a reform of the religion of Islam and an avoidance of dealings with Christians. He left Algeria about 1835, and after several changes of abode established himself at Jaghbul, near the western frontiers of Egypt, but on soil of the Turkish province of Barka. In 1857 he died, and was succeeded by his famous son, Muhammad al-Mahdi. Towards the close of the nineteenth century the Senussian followers practically dominated the administration of Tripoli and Barka, the Turkish Government being more or less obliged to employ them. They probably conspired a great deal against the extension of French rule over Tunis, and certainly created troubles for the French in Algeria. It was thought at one time—down to a few years ago—that they were powerful enough to keep both Britain and France out of the Nigerian Sudan; but a considerable conflict arose between the Senussi sectarians and the influence of the other Mahdi and his khalifa (lieutenant and successor) in the Egyptian Sudan. To a great extent the influence of Senussi's teaching has waned, and is likely further to decrease under the more liberal tendencies now spreading throughout the Muhammadan world. Muhammad al-Mahdi-es-Senussi died in 1902 at Kanem (Lake Chad). His son and successor lives peacefully in the westernmost outskirts of the Egyptian Sudan.

very brilliant campaigns Sir Frederick Lugard and Colonel Morland absolutely defeated all hostile elements, and estab-



*Photo by Capt. Foulkes, R.F.*

IN SOKOTO

SOKOTO IS THE HEADQUARTERS AND CAPITAL OF THE FULA SULTAN OR EMPEROR WHO FORMERLY RULED NEARLY ALL BRITISH NIGERIA

lished the British dominion most conclusively over Bornu, Hausaland, the Fula state of Sokoto, and the pagan and Fula chieftainship of the Benue Basin. In fact, the whole of Northern Nigeria is now almost as completely subject to British authority as the peninsula of India, with the exception,

probably, of the still unsubdued Munshi cannibals of the lands south of the river Benue. A number of Nupe, Fula, Hausa, and Kanuri chiefs or sultans are maintained in their positions and allowed to govern their own people under British supervision; while here, as in Uganda, Barotseland, Southern Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia, by far the greater quantity of the land remains entirely the property of the natives who live on it.

The conquest first achieved by British officers and sub-officers when leading a few thousand disciplined Hausa and



*Photo by Leo Weinthal*

THE RAILWAY FROM LAGOS TO THE NIGER

Yoruba Negro troops is being completed by the building of railways, this having proved to be, in the long run, by far the most effectual and satisfactory way of establishing an unshakable British dominion over regions that were once part of savage Africa.

The area of Northern Nigeria, since the last frontier definition with France in 1904, is 256,400 square miles. It reaches to French Dahome on the west and the waters of Lake Chad on the east, and on the south includes much of the southern watershed of the Benue. Its boundary line with Southern Nigeria (including Lagos) crosses the Lower Niger main stream (below the Benue confluence) at Idá. Probably before long Southern and Northern Nigeria (total area, 333,660 square miles) will be under one general government, united by permeating railways.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XIV

## A. THE PRINCIPAL TRIBES AND PEOPLES OF BRITISH NIGERIA

THE most important native race with which the British have to deal in the administration of these vast regions is the FULA. The actual word Fula has no existence in the language of the people to whom it refers, but it is the most convenient general term under which to refer to them. The root from which it is derived is *ful* or *pul*, said to mean red or light-skinned. In the Fula language there are a large number of *suffixes* which answer very closely to the Bantu *prefixes*; there is also a concord very similar to that of the Bantu. But the modifications of word roots are carried out by means of a syllable placed at the *end*<sup>1</sup> of the root, and not at the *beginning* as in the Bantu. For example, Pulo means one Fula person; Fulbe means the Fula people; Fulde, the Fula language or style. By the Arabs they are generally styled Fellata; by the Hausa, Fullani. The French (who have to deal with them in Senegambia) usually style them *Peul*.

When of pure race they are a handsome, tall, light-skinned people, with hair that grows in long ringlets and is not tightly curled like the Negro hair. In fact, they look exactly what they are, in all probability, an early cross between the white-skinned Caucasian of Libya or Egypt (North Africa) and the Negroes of the Southern Sahara or the Sudan. The region in which they originated is still uncertain. According to Arab traditions compiled in West Africa several hundred years ago, the Fula originally dwelt in the mountainous country of Adrar, which lies far to the south of Morocco in that portion of the Sahara Desert bordering the Atlantic, and at a distance of several hundred miles from the Senegal River. Some southern movement of the Libyans drove the ancestors of the Fula out of Adrar on to the Senegal River. Disliking the climate of this low-lying part of Tropical Africa, a considerable section of the Fula people migrated with their cattle to the highlands of Senegambia and of the Upper Niger, and extended south of the main Niger across the mountainous country of Hombori. Here they mixed more with Negroes, and developed somewhat specialized tribes usually known as the Habe or Habu. They maintained in purest form the Caucasian features of their race in the mountains of Senegambia.

On the other hand, the Fula now settled in Central Nigeria believe that their ancestors originated in Fezzan, a large country (the farthest limits of the Roman Empire over Africa) in the southern part of the modern Turkish province of Tripoli. Many theories have been promulgated about the Fula from time to time. It has been suggested that they were the descendants of the shepherd kings of Egypt; that

<sup>1</sup> Though, in addition, there is often a change of initial: F to P, G to W, H to K, S to J. Here are some examples: Gor-ko = man; wor-be = men; lam-do = king; lam-be = kings; fau-ru, a frog; *plur.*, pau-be; puju, a horse; *plur.*, pujudi; baba mōto = a good father (father good); babara-be moto-be = fathers good; ba-ngo sebu-ngo = spear sharp (a sharp spear); ba-di sebu-di = spears sharp.

they came direct from Arabia; that they are the descendants of an ancient Egyptian invasion of Central Africa, and thus akin to the remarkable 'Hima' aristocracies of equatorial Africa.<sup>1</sup> Some even attempt to derive them from the Malay Peninsula! A learned Austrian philologist classed their language (*quite wrongly*) with that of the Nubian group.

With regard to language affinities, the Fula tongue seems to be closely connected in structure and origin with certain language-families of true West Africa. There is a far-off affinity with the speech of the black-skinned, handsome-featured Wolofs of Senegal, and even with



Photo by Capt. C. H. Foulke, R.F.

A FULA HERDSMAN AND HIS CATTLE: NORTHERN NIGERIA

some of the purely negro language groups of Sierra Leone and Liberia, but most of all with the Gurunsi Teme and allied languages spoken at the back of the Gold Coast and Dahome. It cannot be denied also that in structure, though not in vocabulary, the Fula offers resemblances to the type of languages from which the Bantu family must have arisen.

There is no need to go so far afield as Egypt for an explanation of the Fula race. The Egyptians themselves in varying degrees are composed of the same racial elements—Caucasian (Libyan, Semite, and Hamite) and Negro. There are, it is true, elements in the primitive culture of the Fula which recall ancient Egyptian civilization; but these elements are also common to the Libyan peoples of North Africa. The usual type of *cattle* belonging to the Fula is practically identical with that of ancient Egypt and modern Galaland and

<sup>1</sup> Whom they much resemble in appearance, though differing *totally* in language.

equatorial Africa. It is certain, however, that a considerable element of Egyptian culture entered negroid Africa by way of Darfur, Wadai, Lake Chad, and thence to the Upper Niger; and along this route



*Photo by Capt. W. Stanley*

A FULANI WOMAN

the dominant type of long-horned cattle may have reached the Fulani of West Africa.

So far as the history of Western and West-central Africa is known, there were no Fulani east of the Niger River as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. The Fulani, through the much more

Negro Mandingo, had been early converted to Muhammadanism, a religion which they held with a purity and tenacity, enhancing their physical resemblance to North Africans and Arabs. When the Mandingo kingdom and that of Songhai fell to pieces and the Moorish rule, succeeding both, faded away, there was more than a century of chaos in the Western Sudan. During this period the Muhammadan Fula cattle-keepers of Senegambia and the Upper Niger were harassed and annoyed by Negro chiefs. They rose against their oppressors at the end of the eighteenth century under a leader named Othman dan Fodio, and were seized with a Muhammadan fanaticism which recalls



*Photo by C. L. Temple*

HAUSA PEOPLE BATHING IN THE NIGER AT LOKOJA

that of another Niger people, the Murabitin (known in Spanish history as the Almoravides). In a short space of time the Fula, starting from Senegambia, had conquered the whole of the basin of the Western Niger, had crossed that river and established their imperial headquarters in Sokoto, had brought all Hausaland under their sway, and extended their slave raids and their rule not only to the powerful kingdom of Nupe and the basin of the Benue River, but far south of that river to the hinterland of the Cameroons. Though they never actually conquered Bornu, bands of more or less nomad Fula cattle-keepers have since penetrated across Bornu into Darfur and the Egyptian Sudan.

After Othman dan Fodio died in 1818, his vast dominions were divided into seven Fula kingdoms, of which the most important were Futa Jallon (behind Sierra Leone), Masina (Upper Niger), and Sokoto (Middle Niger to Upper Benue).

## B. THE HAUSA PEOPLE

It is computed that there are some fifteen millions of Negroes in the Central and Western Sudan speaking the HAUSA language. Unlike the Fula, the Hausa are distinctly Negro; occasionally the men (who are big and burly) suggest the type of Arab or Egyptian features one meets with in the Mandingo and the Fula; the women are Negresses often of a pronounced type, with very high and prominent cheek bones. But a long while ago—perhaps two thousand years ago or more—there must have been some unrecorded Libyan invasion of the Central Sudan which created the Hausa language by one of those curious compromises which have occurred over and over again in the history of human speech. In Celtic Britain we are led to believe by language indications that the dark-haired Iberian people, who lived here before the arrival of the fair-haired Celts, spoke a language akin to that of other Iberian peoples in Spain and North Africa (that is to say, like the Libyan languages of North Africa at the present day). The invading Celts usually killed the men but intermarried with the women. Iberian mothers in teaching their children adopted, to a great extent, the vocabulary of their Aryan husbands, but moulded it on to their own Iberian type of grammar. And thus we have, for example, the Irish and Welsh languages of to-day with a style of grammar which is much more akin to that of the Libyan languages, but with word-roots which mostly belong to the Aryan family. So also in the Swahili language of East Africa we have a Bantu syntax, but a vocabulary largely borrowed from Arabic. In the opposite direction the modern Hausa language has a *grammar* closely akin to that of the Libyan language family, whilst its vocabulary no doubt is purely Negro.

The Hausa people, industrious, energetic, and enterprising as they are, seldom seem to have been able to remain independent of control by some other race. They have been ruled or influenced by the Kanuri of Bornu, the Libyans of the Desert, the Arabs of the Egyptian Sudan, the Moors of North Africa, and latterly by the Fula of Senegambia.

## C. OTHER TRIBES OF BRITISH NIGERIA

The KANURI people of Bornu speak a language which, so far as we know, stands absolutely alone, but no doubt was connected in very distant times with forms of speech prevailing in Nubia. It seems to have been brought from the Tibu country of the Eastern Sahara, on the verge of the Libyan Desert, where it is the speech of the Tibu or Tibesti people. The Tibus are a negroid-Caucasian race somewhat resembling in features the Gala, the Somali, and the negroid peoples of the Egyptian Sudan. Bornu as a more or less civilized kingdom was probably founded by Tibu invaders, and was influenced by Arabs coming from the Egyptian Sudan in the eleventh century. As already related, Bornu received with friendliness the first envoys sent by Great Britain across the Sahara Desert in the early part of the nineteenth century (1822-24). Since that time it has been devastated and depopulated to an almost incredible extent by wars, invasions, and slave-raids, and the resulting epidemics of disease. It

is a marvel that it should contain any inhabitants at all at the present time ; but it is fast recovering under British rule.

The BUDUMA Negroes of the islands and swamps of Lake Chad are a vigorous race obviously allied to the Nilotic Negroes in bodily formation, if not in language.

Some mention should be made of the SONGHAI negroid people of the Fula kingdom of Sokoto. Their language at present shows no indications of affinity with other groups of Negro or non-Negro speech.



*Photo by Capt. C. H. Foulkes, R.E.*

A KANURI HORSEMAN : BORNU, NORTHERN NIGERIA

but the people themselves have obviously absorbed in past ages a considerable proportion of Caucasian blood, no doubt by mixing with the people of the Libyan Desert, with Arabs, Fula, and even possibly with ancient Egyptians, whose commerce certainly extended into these regions. When the first rush of Islam across Africa (or southwards into Africa along the Atlantic coast) took place in the tenth century of our era, great semi-civilized kingdoms sprang up in these Negro or negroid countries of the Inner Niger Basin, to the north of that vast belt of tropical forest which so long remained absolutely closed to the influence of the Caucasian. A great Mandingo kingdom arose, that of 'Male,' which extended its rule far north into the Western Sahara and right across the basin of the Niger to Sokoto. Then this fell to pieces, at any rate partially, and its place was taken by a Songhai

empire which included the city of Timbuktu, originally founded by the



Photo by Leo Weinhart

THE PEOPLE OF LAGOS

Libyans or Tuaregs in the twelfth century. The Songhai dynasty was extinguished by a Moorish invasion in 1590, and for about a century the Emperor of Morocco was also Emperor of the Western Sudan. After an interval arose the Fula power already alluded to, and the last Fula Sultan resides within and rules over (with British supervision) the original home of the Songhai people, who still speak their peculiar language.

To the north of the junction of the Benue and Niger is the former kingdom of NUPE, until quite recently a vassal state of the Fula Empire. The Nupe people, though Muhammadans, are absolutely Negro, and their language belongs to a great group of Lower Niger tongues to which the *Yoruba*, the *Igara*, and perhaps even the *Ibo* belong. There may, indeed, be connections between this Yoruba or Ibo group and the language of *Borgu* (Bariba), of Dahome, of Ashanti, and other Gold Coast idioms. There is even also a faint, far-off resemblance in the vocabulary to the parent speech of the Bantu. These Bantu resemblances are still more marked in the languages of the pagan tribes that dwell to the east and south-east of the Nupe people (such as the *Gbari*). Indeed, it is quite conceivable that the original site of the Bantu mother language may have been in the region between the basins of the Benue, the Mubangi-Congo, the Shari, and the Bahr-al-Ghazal (Nile).

The MUNSHI cannibals of the southern Benue have been already mentioned. Their

language is also semi-Bantu in its features, and they are Negroes of a good-looking type.

The BAUCHI pagans in the northern basin of the Benue, on the contrary, are ugly and debased in their physical features, those of the Bauchi mountains offering apparently some resemblance to the Congo pygmies.

The peoples of the Lower Niger are typical Negroes, black-skinned, tall, big-bodied, with projecting jaws, flat noses, large mouths, and long upper lips. It is the Negro type in its most pronounced and exaggerated development, though both men and women not infrequently exhibit well-developed, handsome bodies. They belong chiefly to the YORUBA, IGARA, IBO, JEKRI, SOBO (BINI, BENIN), EFIK, and Ijō races. With the exception possibly of the Ijō there is an underlying connection (though very faint and distant) in structure and vocabulary between all these language groups, and the people using them are of much the same physical type. The Ijō—though they do not differ in appearance from the other Negroes of the Niger Delta—speak a very peculiar language, though it is one having general affinities in vocabulary both with other West African groups and with the Bantu. The Efik language is distantly related to the Ibo, and again to the forms of speech met with in the basin of the Cross River, and all these last merge into the semi-Bantu languages of the Upper Cross River. Even down to the present day these tribes of the Lower Niger and Cross River basins are much addicted to cannibalism, and fifty years ago there was probably not a single man amongst them—nor even a woman—that did not eat human flesh whenever it could be obtained. Even at the present day, in out-of-the-way places not yet reached by British authority, human flesh is exposed for sale in the market-places. Their religious beliefs were closely associated with the incessant shedding of blood, and reached a climax in the abominable practices of Benin.

## CHAPTER XV

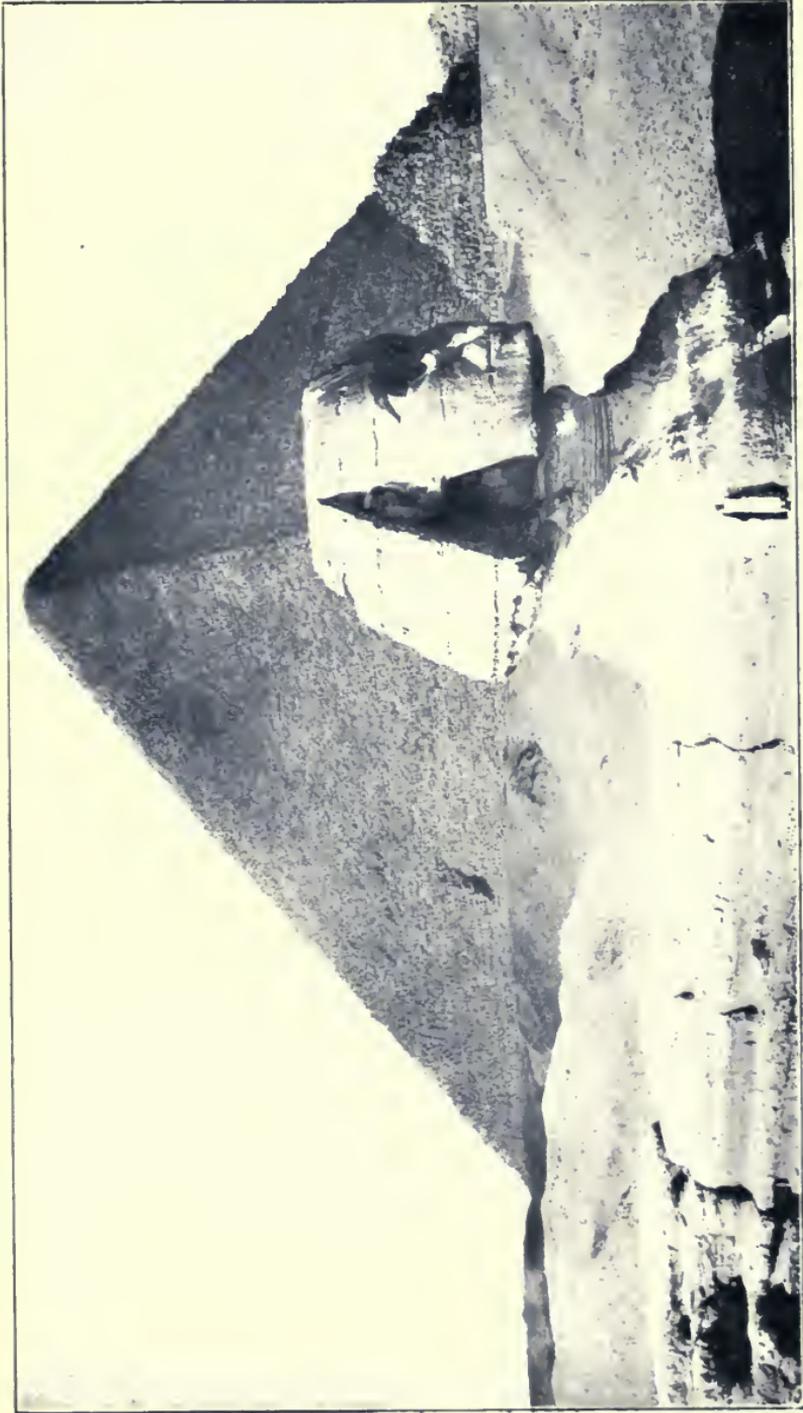
### EGYPT AND THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

IT has been already pointed out that the desire for plenty of *pepper* was the first inducement which drew the British from the shores of England to the West African coast. This incentive, coupled with the attractions of the *slave trade* and the lust for *gold*, gradually brought about the creation of our vast empire in West Africa between the Gambia and Lake Chad. But it was the still more eager attempt *to found a great trading empire in India* which drew us into Southern and Eastern Africa.

When the British first attempted to seize the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch, if they thought about the interior at all they believed it to be a worthless desert—they knew nothing of gold in the reef or diamonds in the pipes of blue clay. The only practicable route to India was round the extremity of South Africa, and therefore a half-way station under the British flag seemed to be an absolutely necessary link with the projected Indian Empire.

But scarcely had Great Britain made her first landing at Table Bay than three years afterwards Napoleon Bonaparte countered this stroke by a descent on Egypt. His purpose was immediately understood. He desired to create and command an overland route to India which should restore to France an exclusive empire over that enormous peninsula, then, as for hundreds of years previously, the most precious objective of all European trade.

One week after the Battle of the Pyramids had given Egypt to the genius of this mighty leader and the valour of his unsurpassed soldiers, Nelson had destroyed the French ships of war and transports in Abukir Bay. After this



*Photo by Leo Weinthal*

THE SPHINX AND THE PYRAMIDS

naval victory it was merely a matter of time before the French were ousted from Egypt. At first Napoleon conceived the grand scheme of marching through Syria to the conquest of Constantinople and making himself emperor of a new Byzantine empire. He would certainly have achieved this stupendous project (and probably the world would have been better and happier for its accomplishment) but for the interposition of the British naval forces in the siege of Acre. The British and Turks combined and drove the French back into Egypt. British troops were brought from India through the Red Sea and landed on the arid coast of the Nubian Alps. The French evacuated Egypt, and the British, after a delay and hesitation of several years which were fatal to their immediate aspirations, decided to succeed them, having realized fully that the control of Egypt was an indispensable element in the vast schemes which had been projected for a British rule over Southern Asia.

But in the interval and after the French had left, Turkey found at one and the same time an Albanian Turk who was able to drive off the British and retain Egypt for Muhammadan rule, and yet to be the agency through whom Egypt was eventually detached from Turkish control. Muhammad Ali,<sup>1</sup> born in 1768 at Kavalla, in Macedonia, rose by *valetur*, massacre, tricks, and diplomacy to be Pasha of Egypt. His stepson, Ibrahim, was a great military genius who carried the Egyptian arms with glory over nearly all Arabia, who drove the Turkish armies out of Syria and would, like Napoleon Bonaparte before him, have taken Constantinople but for the intervention of England. The French hoped that by favouring Muhammad Ali's projects they would eventually come to rule in Egypt themselves, since this Turkish viceroy had taken so many Frenchmen into his service and had employed them to the great advantage of Egypt, in exploration, in organizing public works and departments of state: therefore they

<sup>1</sup> The rendering 'Mehemet' Ali is wrong. 'Mehemet' is an affected Turkish pronunciation of 'Muhammad.'

did nothing to hinder him or his dynasty in its attacks on the Turkish suzerain. Great Britain, with some assistance from Russia, reduced Muhammad Ali in his old age to the viceroyalty of Egypt and Sinai.

To Egypt proper Muhammad Ali added much of the present Egyptian Sudan, to which were joined later the old Turkish ports on the west coast of the Red Sea. His ultimate successor, Ismail, with the help of British heroes like Sir Samuel Baker and Charles Gordon, of able American officers (Chaillé-Long and Mason), of Italian soldiers of fortune such as Gessi Pasha and Casati, and Swiss such as Munzinger, so enlarged his grandfather's conquests that at last



A CIRCASSIAN OFFICER OF THE OLD STYLE  
IN THE EGYPTIAN SERVICE

THESE CIRCASSIANS OR GHEZZ PLAYED A CONSIDERABLE PART IN EGYPTIAN AFFAIRS DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

the Egyptian Sudan extended on the west to the confines of Wadai and the basin of the Congo, on the south to Uganda, and on the east to Abyssinia and Galaland. The Egyptian dominions further included the whole of Somaliland down to the Juba River, except a few isolated ports occupied by the Sultan of Zanzibar.

But the British after Napoleon's action never again took

their eyes off Egypt. Soon after the Napoleonic wars were over, and when steam vessels were coming into use, various enterprising Britishers began to consider the possibility of making Egypt a half-way house to India. The persistency of Lieutenant Waghorn, R.E., established at last, in 1839, the 'overland route,' a system of transport from Alexandria to Suez by canal boat, and horse and camel (followed soon by a railway), which enabled passengers to journey by steamer from British ports to Alexandria, and then, after crossing the isthmus of Suez, to embark at the Red Sea in steamers bound for Bombay.

A Dublin steamship company which had started by running paddle steamers to and fro between England and Ireland, extended its service to Gibraltar, and then grew into the Peninsular and Oriental Company, which employed steamers to run between Southampton and Alexandria, Suez and Bombay. Contemporaneously—in 1839—the British Government seized the port of Aden from both Turks and Arabs to make it a place of call for British shipping between Suez and India.

Then in the early 'fifties of the last century the idea of a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea occupied the mind of the great Frenchman, De Lesseps, who had become acquainted with the Levant through serving in the French consular service. De Lesseps obtained from the Viceroy, Said Pasha, the concession for cutting this canal. His project was snorted at by British statesmen, but was not vehemently opposed because it was believed to be impracticable.

Yet, in 1869, it was opened to traffic by a gorgeous procession of Eastern princes and European monarchs or heirs-apparent, amongst whom was his present majesty King Edward the Seventh. In 1871 something like a thousand British steamers passed through the Suez Canal, and the fate of Egypt was sealed. It had become apparent to all the more enlightened statesmen of the British Empire that, if Egypt could not maintain its independence as a weak neutral power, it must not come under the domination of





any nationality strong enough to defy Great Britain and close the Suez Canal. In 1875 Lord Beaconsfield—then Mr.



AHMAD ARABI PASHA

Disraeli—atoned for Lord Palmerston's disbeliefs by buying from the Khedive of Egypt the large number of shares held by that ruler in the Suez Canal. In 1877, when the financial affairs of the Khedive and the Government of his country fell into utter confusion, Britain and France joined

in a dual control over Egyptian finance. In 1879 the Khedive Ismail thought himself able to break away from this dual control, and at the request of Britain and France he was deposed by the Sultan and succeeded by his son Taufik.<sup>1</sup>

This intervention of the Christian nations was exciting a growing dislike amongst the Muhammadan people of Egypt. Their hatred of European intervention found its exponent in



ALEXANDRIA : PLACE DES CONSULS  
IT WAS HERE THAT A MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS BY THE MOB TOOK PLACE  
ON JUNE 11, 1882

a major of the Egyptian Army, Ahmad Arabi, who directed a movement which eventually grew to an insurrection and to a massacre of Christians at Alexandria. The Khedive Taufik had become powerless, and finally gave himself up to the British authorities and invited them to restore order. After punishing the mob of Alexandria by a bombardment for the massacre of Christians, a British army was landed in Egypt under Sir Garnet Wolseley, the hero of Ashanti. He defeated the national army of Egypt under Arabi in various engagements, the most notable of which was Tel-el-Kebir.

<sup>1</sup> Persistently misspelt as 'Tewfik.'

Cairo was occupied on the 15th of September, 1882, and Arabi taken prisoner.<sup>1</sup>

The British Government now found itself obliged to occupy Egypt with its troops until some condition of permanent order, not only in finance, but in stability of internal government, could be assured. With probably real genuineness of intention the administration of Mr. Gladstone gave repeated assurances that England would evacuate Egypt, in six months, in two years, or at the end of some period not



THE CITY OF CAIRO SEEN FROM AL AZHAR UNIVERSITY

named. The British Government of the 'eighties was not at all anxious to be drawn into vast African enterprises through its interference with Egypt. Russia was assuming a menacing attitude in Central Asia. France, from the date of the Alexandrian bombardment, had become a bitter enemy of England. France, it is true, was invited by us to share in the occupation of Egypt, but was afraid to commit herself

<sup>1</sup> Eventually he was reprieved after sentence of death and dispatched to a long exile in Ceylon, from which he returned a few years ago. It is possible that he would have been executed if the wish of the Egyptian authorities had been carried out, but he was defended at his trial by Mr. A. M. Broadley with great ability and at the expense of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt and his wife, Lady Anne Blunt, had been notable explorers of Northern Arabia, and were generally ready to champion the Arab cause against misrepresentation.

to any far-off warlike enterprise because she feared the intentions of Germany. Yet she resented the loss of Egypt to her political influence, an eventuality which now seemed



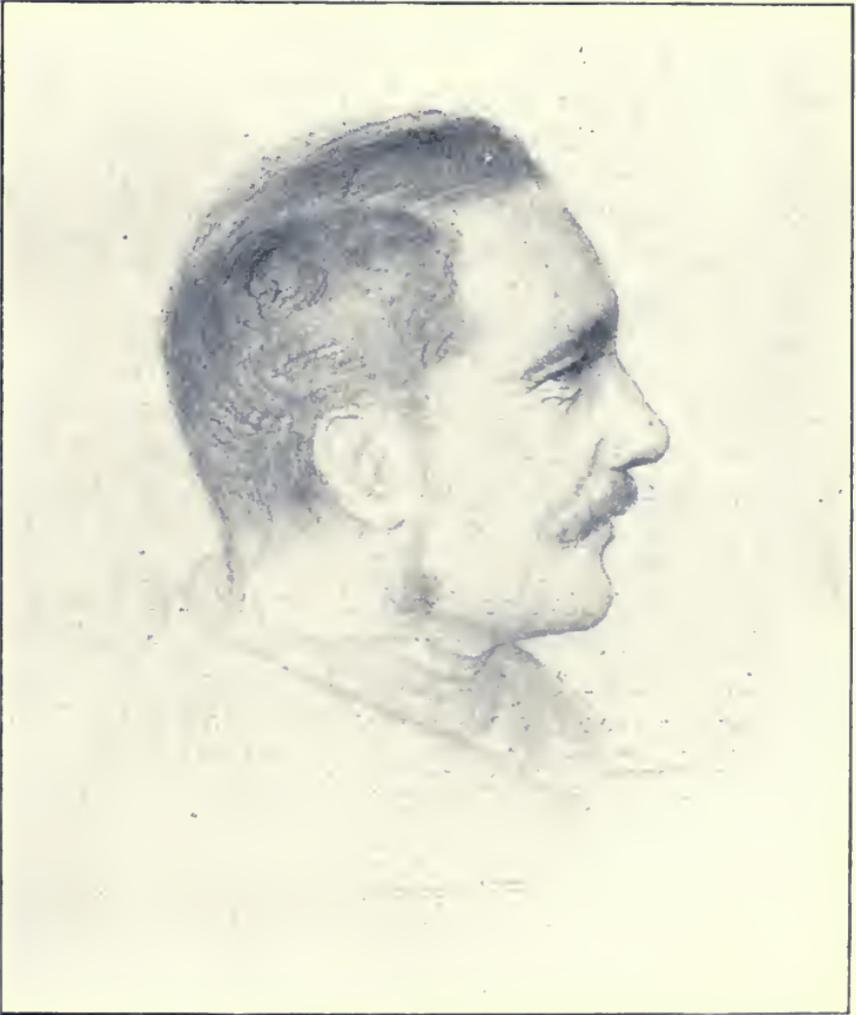
SIR SAMUEL BAKER, DISCOVERER OF LAKE ALBERT NYANZA,  
AND AT ONE TIME THE GOVERNOR OF THE EQUATORIAL  
PROVINCE OF THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

certain if the British remained there. Thus from 1882 to 1904 we had France for a potential enemy. She opposed us with peculiar acerbity throughout West Africa, in China, in Madagascar, the Persian Gulf, Siam, and Burma.

Mr. Gladstone's dread of African complications arising

from the occupation of Egypt was soon justified by the collapse of the Egyptian Sudan.

This region had been explored by John Petherick, a



*National Portrait Gallery*

GENERAL GORDON

AN HOUR'S SKETCH TAKEN JUST BEFORE HE LEFT FOR THE EAST, DECEMBER 21, 1882

British trading consul at Khartum, by Captains Speke and Grant, Samuel Baker, and other British sportsmen and travellers. A great deal was said about the terrible ravages of the Nubian slave raiders and traders. Partly to appease public opinion in England, and partly from a genuine desire

to accomplish a great and good work in Central Africa, the Khedive Ismail not only engaged American officers to assist his administration of the more remote provinces of Central Africa, but commissioned Sir Samuel Baker—celebrated for his discovery of Lake Albert Nyanza—to be Governor of the Equatorial province. Later on he entrusted to Charles Gordon—fresh from his triumphs in China—the same post, and in 1877 made him Governor-General of the whole Egyptian Sudan.

Gordon most of all had interfered with the slave trade, a business which possessed many sympathizing agents in Egypt proper. The whole Muhammadan population of the Egyptian Sudan, from two hundred miles south of Khartum to the borders of Abyssinia and of Egypt, grew to hate the interference with their time-honoured maltreatment of the black peoples, and attributed it, of course, to the overweening ambition of the Christian. The rule of Egypt in the Sudan became synonymous with the rule of white people.

Soon after the independence of Egypt fell at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, one of the numerous fanatics which arise from time to time in uneducated Muhammadan countries, who proclaim themselves heaven-sent leaders and ‘Mahdis,’<sup>1</sup> created a disturbance by preaching, and achieved several successes against the police or the troops sent to deal with him by the Egyptian Governor-General of Khartum. At last the military situation in the Sudan became so serious that the British Government authorized the newly-reconstituted Egyptian Government at Cairo to dispatch one of the British officers still in its Sudanese service—General Hicks Pasha—with such forces as he could collect to dispose of the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad in the country of Kordofan, where he had taken refuge. [Kordofan is a vast half-desert region lying to the south of Nubia at some distance from the main Nile. It is an interesting region to the naturalist, because it is one of the most northerly extensions at the

<sup>1</sup> *Mahdi* (the *h* is strongly aspirated) means a Messiah, a messenger sent from God.

present day of the real African fauna. It is remarkable for its giraffes, its antelopes, lions, baboons, and wild asses.]

Hicks Pasha fought with half-hearted, bewildered, undisciplined soldiers, who had to battle with the difficulties of bad transport and, above all, scarcity of water. His expedition was misled by treacherous guides and exterminated by the Mahdi's army at Kashgil on 3rd and 4th November, 1883.

After this disaster the situation in the Sudan seemed irretrievably grave to Mr. Gladstone's administration, and the one thought in their minds was how to relieve Egypt of all responsibility in regard to this vast possession. Italy was allowed to occupy Masawa and the coast countries of the Red Sea. Somaliland

was divided between Britain, France, and Italy, and General Gordon was sent out to withdraw as quickly as might be the Egyptian garrisons maintained in the Bahr-al-Ghazal, on the frontier lands west of Abyssinia, in the equatorial regions of the Upper Nile, and at Khartum itself. Suakin, the Egyptian port on the Red Sea coast of the Sudan, would probably be retained by Egypt and defended for the time being by British ships.



DR. EMIN PASHA (EDUARD SCHNITZER),  
GOVERNOR OF EQUATORIA

In the region of Bahr-al-Ghazal, Lupton Bey,<sup>1</sup> a young Englishman, was governing most ably for Egypt; Dr. Emin Bey, a German-Jewish physician originally from Silesia, was administering the Equatorial province between Gondokoro and the Albert Nyanza; Rudolf Slatin Bey, an Austrian, was in charge of Darfur. By the annihilation of Hicks Pasha's army, all these lieutenants were cut off from the Governor-General of Khartum.



GENERAL CHARLES EDWARD GORDON,  
R.E., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF  
THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

General Charles Edward Gordon<sup>2</sup> was nominated Governor-General of the Congo Free State by the King of the Belgians, but did not proceed, for the reason that at this juncture his services were claimed by the British Government, who sent him to Khartum to recall the garrisons of the Egyptian Government in the Sudan, and to withdraw them all to places of safety which could be controlled by the British or the Egyptian Government.

After reaching Cairo, however, General Gordon was made Governor-General of the Sudan by the Khedive, and upon reaching Khartum seems—very naturally—to have shrunk from the responsibility of abandoning to utter barbarism vast provinces which he had done so much to redeem from the Nubian and Arab slave traders, the Nyamnyam cannibals, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Bey* is a Turkish title meaning 'Colonel.'

<sup>2</sup> Born at Woolwich in 1833. Served in the Royal Engineers, and was lent to the Chinese Government to put down the Taiping rebellion. Governor and Governor-General in the Egyptian Sudan from 1874 to 1879. Served the British Government in Mauritius, and in Basutoland.

destructive forces of nature.<sup>1</sup> General Gordon thought that his personal influence would probably detach a good deal



GENERAL VISCOUNT WOLSELEY

BESIDES HIS WORK IN ASHANTI AND THE TRANSVAAL, HE EFFECTED THE CONQUEST OF LOWER EGYPT IN 1882 AND CARRIED OUT THE FIRST SUDAN EXPEDITION TO BEYOND DONGOLA IN 1884-85

of native support from the Mahdi's movement, and that gradually, from Khartum as a centre, he might regain the

<sup>1</sup> Such as, for instance, the blocking of the great Nile waterways by the periodical growth of floating vegetation (the 'sudd').

whole Sudan for some form of civilized administration. To effect his purpose and gain time he even temporized in the then burning question of slavery, promising not to interfere with this institution so far as concerned existing establishments of slaves.

But the Arabs of the desert region between Dongola and those of the Atbara and Blue Nile made common cause with the Mahdi, and Gordon saw his communications with Egypt viâ the Nile route and the Red Sea being cut off. He therefore strongly urged fresh intervention on the part of the British Government, either by allowing Turkish troops to be sent to reconquer the Sudan with the assistance of Zobeir Pasha (a former slave dealer, but a man wielding a vast influence over the Sudanese Arabs), or by dispatching a British force. Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. Stewart, whom he sent away in September, 1884, to lay his proposals before the authorities in Cairo or London, was treacherously murdered by Arabs at Metemmeh.

By the month of March, 1884, General Gordon was almost completely invested in Khartum by the Mahdi's huge army.<sup>1</sup> The British Government, too late for success, decided to send a large force of British troops under Lord Wolseley to reach Khartum and succour the unfortunate Governor-General of the Sudan. Khartum fell on the 26th of January, 1885, and Gordon was speared to death at the top of the staircase of his palace on the morning of that date, only two days before the British, in his own Nile steamers, came within sight of the city, came near enough to see that the Egyptian flag and the British ensign were no longer flying above the Governor's palace.<sup>2</sup>

It is possible that had Lord Wolseley been permitted to continue his march southwards (his base was then at

<sup>1</sup> Except for the waterway of the Nile.

<sup>2</sup> The British Government of the day was deservedly blamed for its stupidity, vacillation, and delay in failing to secure General Gordon's safety, and much was written about the 'too late' expedition. But the real unpardonable blunder was the withdrawal of General Sir Gerald Graham's force from Suakin in April, 1884, against the advice of Sir Evelyn Baring and the appeals of Gordon. After the withdrawal of this force, Berber (Gordon's last outpost on the Nile) surrendered to the Mahdi's forces, and Gordon was doomed.

Korti, 270 miles to the north of Khartum), he might, at tremendous cost in men and money, have been able to recapture Khartum from the Mahdi. To make the conquest conclusive, we should then have had to send expeditions far and wide to destroy the Mahdi and his followers, and to build a railway from the confines of Egypt across the desert to Khartum (as it was, a railway from Suakin to Khartum was started, but abandoned in 1885), but these actions at such a date would have been leaps into the



*Photo by Leo Weintal*

A VILLAGE IN UPPER EGYPT, NEAR MEMPHIS

unknown. At this moment Russia was threatening the border state of Afghanistan on the Indian frontier: France was bitterly hostile; Germany only too anxious to take advantage of our embarrassment elsewhere to seize the whole of East Africa, much of West Africa, and various footholds in the Pacific Ocean. Lord Wolseley was ordered to retreat, and the limits of Egypt were drawn at Wadi Halfa and the outskirts of Suakin.

Egypt itself, indeed, was a sufficiently onerous problem at this period of the history of the British Empire. We had been constrained to take part in a Congress for the neutralization of the Suez Canal—that canal whose existence had drawn us into Egypt. A task of enormous difficulty

lay before the British Agent and Consul-General—that of



THE EARL OF CROMER, G.C.B., BRITISH AGENT AND CONSUL-  
GENERAL IN EGYPT FROM 1883 TO 1906

the introduction of necessary reforms in the finance of Egypt, its army, its internal legislation as to land, regarding

the rights of the peasantry, taxation, and education. No single nation of any importance—except now and again Germany—was well disposed to the British occupation of Egypt, and inclined to facilitate it by giving up a particle of the power possessed by that system of international control which was based on the Turkish capitulations<sup>1</sup> and on the later concessions of the Khedive Ismail.

Slowly, however, the dogged tenacity of Sir Evelyn



*Photo by Leo Weinthal*

‘ PHARAOH’S BED ’: THE HALF-SUBMERGED TEMPLES IN THE  
DAMMED-UP NILE WATERS

Baring—who was created Lord Cromer in 1892<sup>2</sup>—sufficed to solve the Egyptian problem: and gradually in the ‘nineties of the last century the solution became more and more apparent. Egypt was rapidly approaching a condition

<sup>1</sup> These ‘capitulations’ were special privileges granted to Great Britain in 1675, and to other European nations before and since, enabling them to exercise jurisdiction over their own subjects on Turkish territory. Thus, if a British subject commits an offence in Turkey, he is tried before a British consular court, and not before a Turkish court. On the other hand, if a Turk breaks the law in England, he is tried like anybody else before an English magistrate, judge, or jury. In Egypt international courts were instituted (in 1876, in lieu of innumerable consular courts), to which all foreigners are now subject.

<sup>2</sup> Earl of Cromer in 1901.

of prosperity in which she was able to pay off a large proportion of her debts and to develop her public works—the damming of the Nile, the opening of fresh canals for irrigation or navigation, the extension of railways, and the improvement of native agriculture. Her reorganized army under British officers (strengthened also by British battalions) checked the ‘Dervishes’—as the fanatical Arab and Ethiopian followers of the Mahdi and Khalifa were called—when in 1886 and 1889 they determined to invade



*Photo by Leo Weintal*

THE NILE AT LUXOR

Egypt. In the battle of Sarras (1886), General Sir H. Chermiside inflicted a severe defeat on the Mahdist general Wad-en-Nejumi (the conqueror of Hicks Pasha and of Khartum), and in 1889, at the battle of Toski, General (now Lord) Grenfell abolished, once and for all, the danger of Sudanese invasion by a crushing victory over Wad-en-Nejumi's army, in which that Dervish leader lost his life.

In the revolt against Europeanized Egyptian rule which broke out in 1881–83 a prominent Arab leader was Osman Digna, a slave dealer at Suakin. This man had great military genius and made effective use of the warlike and fanatical Hamitic people (Hadendowa, Bisharin, Beni-Amer)

of the western Red Sea littoral. After harassing and besieging Suakin for years, he was finally defeated in 1891



THE 'FUZZIE-WUZZIES': HAMITE TRIBES OF EASTERN EGYPT,  
HADENDOWAS, BISHARIS, ETC.

1891 by Colonel Hotted Smith in the battle of Afahit, which regained for Egypt the hold over the Eastern Sudan.

The Italians in 1883 occupied Masawa and other points on the south-west shore of the Red Sea (the modern Eritrea). In 1893 they delivered a well-deserved thrashing to the Dervish forces on the northern and north-western frontiers of Abyssinia, and by agreement with Great Britain occupied for a time the important former Egyptian town of Kassalá. The Italian capture of this city from the Dervishes was a material blow dealt at the stability of the Khalifa's rule.<sup>1</sup> In the 'nineties also of the last century, the Belgians boldly marched northwards from the Congo basin into the south-western regions of the Egyptian Sudan, and wherever they met the Dervish outposts, fought them and beat them back.

All this time Sir Herbert Kitchener, who had become Sirdar or Commander-in-chief of the Egyptian Army, and Major Francis Reginald Wingate, his chief intelligence officer, were collecting information and employing emissaries which enabled them to arrive at a better understanding of Sudan politics, of tribal quarrels, intrigues, and jealousies. Their efforts, moreover, and those of the Austrian Government effected in 1895 the escape from imprisonment of (Sir) Rudolf Slatin, and of certain Austrian missionaries. The arrival in Egypt of these ex-prisoners supplied the Egyptian Intelligence Department with valuable information. But the British Government, as represented by Lord Cromer, refused to allow their hand to be forced or to consent to any untimely advance on the Sudan.

One great difficulty in the way was the cost of a campaign of this extended character. Who was to find the money? Egypt could not, without the consent of the leading European powers—a consent which would always be opposed by France and Russia, because the Egyptian surpluses were pledged to the liquidation of her debt. The British Treasury would almost certainly refuse money for a

<sup>1</sup> The Mahdi, who raised all this trouble in the Sudan, died of small-pox in June, 1885, and was succeeded by a notable warrior (Abdallah et Taaishi) of the Baggara Arab tribe, known as the Mahdi's lieutenant or 'Khalifa': the same word, of course, as caliph. The original caliphs of the first Arab Empire were theoretically the lieutenants of the Prophet.

venture which would be regarded as quixotic, since it would

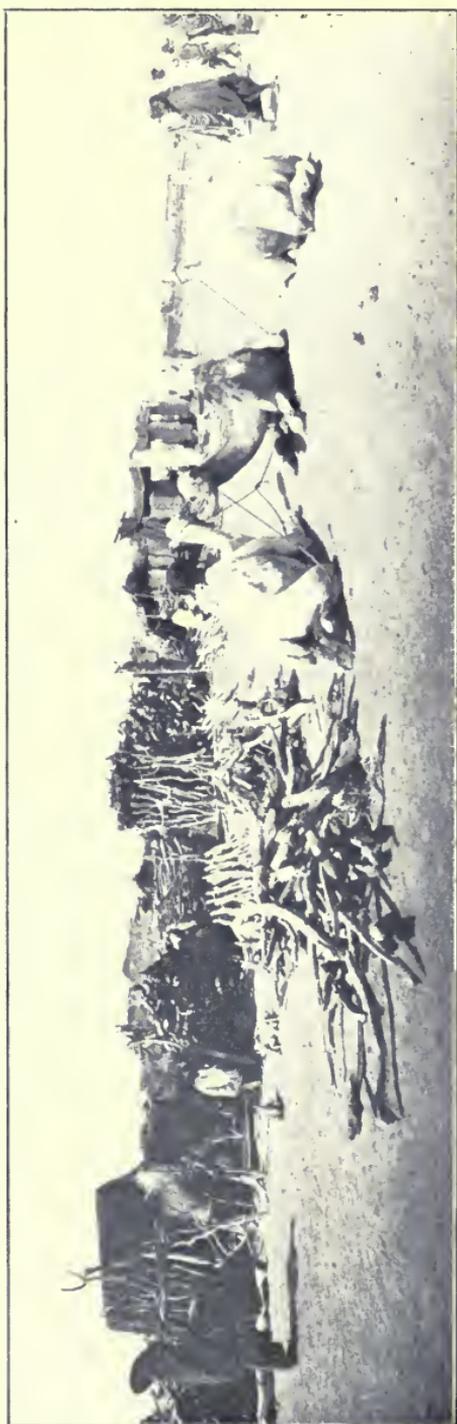


SIR FRANCIS REGINALD WINGATE  
SIRDAR OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

have to be carried out in the name of Egypt, a power over which Britain had then no recognized rights.

In the spring of 1896, however, Italy met with a terrible reverse in Abyssinia. A defeat of her forces (which were attempting to conquer that mountain kingdom) made an almost exaggerated impression on the German Emperor, who seems to have thought that a British march on the Sudan was the only method of saving the Italian forces from being driven into the Red Sea by the triumphant Abyssinians. German influence consequently to some extent solved the international difficulty in Cairo. Private financiers also, such as Sir Ernest Cassel, came to the assistance of the Egyptian Government and advanced funds which enabled her to set her forces in movement.

The result was that in the summer of 1897 the Anglo-Egyptian conquest of the Dongola province had brought British and



*Photo by Leo Weintal*

THE SITE OF OMDURMAN

Egyptian soldiers as far south as the advanced campaigns of Lord Wolseley in 1885.

The complete success of this undertaking made the forward movement on Khartum a year afterwards a foregone conclusion. The advance was accompanied by a marvellous feat in rapid railway construction. By 2nd September, 1898 (after a terrible slaughter of the fanatical Dervishes, who met their self-imposed fate with splendid courage), Sir Herbert Kitchener was master of the Khalifa's capital



THE MAHDI'S TOMB: OMDURMAN

of Omdurman and (on 4th September) of the abandoned ruins of Khartum. The murder of Gordon and of many other Europeans, or of whole Arab tribes (like the Jaalin) which had attempted to remain or become friends with the Government of Egypt, was avenged by the destruction of the Mahdi's tomb and the scattering of his remains.

The ancient Nile steamers, dating from the days of Gordon's government, were hastily patched up, and in them Sir Herbert Kitchener steamed up the White Nile to take possession once more of the Equatorial province of the Egyptian Sudan on behalf of Egypt. When he reached the

little village of Fashoda, on the west bank of the Nile near its affluent, the Sobat, he found what he expected to find—a post flying the French flag and garrisoned by French soldiers, white and black. It had been known since 1895 that the French Government had dispatched a military expedition from the French Congo to cross the region of the Bahr-al-Ghazal and create French posts on the White Nile: perhaps later on even to join hands with the



THE GORDON STATUE: KHARTUM

*Photo by Leo Weinfeld*

French possession of Jibuti on the north-west coast of Somaliland. If the British had desired a dominion stretching from the Cape to Cairo, France, with quite as much justification, had conceived of an African Empire stretching from the Senegal to Somaliland. If she could not turn the British army of occupation out of Egypt, she might, at any rate, reoccupy the abandoned Equatorial provinces of the Egyptian Sudan.

But after the death of Gordon and Stewart, after the long and humiliating wait of thirteen years which had

followed, after the successes of Toski, Afafit, Dongola, of Mahmud's zeriba,<sup>1</sup> and of Omdurman, the temper of the British public would stand no frustration of their long-cherished wish—to bring the whole of the Egyptian Sudan, made famous first of all by Petherick, Baker, Speke, Grant, and Gordon, within the area of the British Empire. France only avoided an ultimatum by agreeing to order her great soldier-explorer Marchand to continue his journey across Africa from Khartum to Abyssinia. This crisis, which



*Photo by Leo Weizthal*

THE WHITE NILE, NEAR KHARTUM

brought England and France nearer to war than at any time since 1815, really meant the 'fighting-out' of the Egyptian question: for in March, 1899, followed a convention (additional to the Niger Convention of 1898) between the two countries: which, while it materially improved the position of France in Nigeria, secured us the western borders of the Libyan Desert, and the western edge of the Nile basin as the limits of the British sphere of action in Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan, so far as France was concerned. The additional convention of 1904 was a logical sequel to that of 1899. In 1904, in

<sup>1</sup> This was a fortified Dervish camp on the Atbara River, captured by Kitchener on 8th April, 1907. This great victory cleared the way for the final struggle of 2nd September, four miles from Omdurman.

return for the British recognition that Morocco might come



*Photo by Leo Weimthal*

THE TRAIN CROSSING THE DESERT FROM PORT SUDAN (RED SEA) TO KHARTUM

within the French sphere of influence, France recognized the peculiar and supreme position of Great Britain in the Egyptian Khedivate and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

A small amount of trouble next arose in regard to the King of the Belgians. When British interest in the Egyptian Sudan was at its lowest point (in 1894), while its belief in the philanthropic intentions of King Leopold was at its highest, the British Government (partly to frustrate France) had (while reserving the rights of Egypt) agreed to recognize as a sphere of influence attached to the Congo State the greater part of the Bahr-al-Ghazal and a small territory on the west side of the Mountain Nile, namely, Lado Enclave. This was, no doubt, partly in recognition of the gallant feats of the

Belgians in beating off the Dervishes who were devastating these regions.

But partly on account of a revival of Dervish power, the Belgians took no step to give practical effect to these concessions, and when, in 1898, the French withdrew from Fashoda, there were no European posts of any kind whatever within the vast area of the Egyptian Sudan. However, the Belgians later (1898) reoccupied Lado. Here they were allowed to remain, but their entry into the Bahr-al-Ghazal was forbidden, and this province, together with the whole remainder of the Egyptian Sudan, was, from 1899 onwards, placed under a careful British organization. By the Anglo-Egyptian convention of 19th January, 1899, the entire Egyptian Sudan from the Egyptian frontier<sup>1</sup> southwards is administered jointly by Britain and Egypt, the head of the administration being selected by

<sup>1</sup> This is fixed in the south at the 22nd degree of N. latitude, just above Wadi Halfa.



THE TRAIN AT KHARTOUM STATION

the British Government, and then receiving appointment at the hands of the Khedive. The capitulations already referred to do not exist in the Sudan, which for all practical purposes is governed like a vast British African dominion. As a memorial to Gordon of a very sensible and practical character—the memorial he would probably have liked beyond all others—a great educational college has been established at Khartum for the education specially of the Sudanese.

During the last ten years it has been necessary to fight a number of subsidiary battles with recalcitrant or reactionary tribes. For instance, though the Khalifa was defeated with enormous loss on 2nd September, 1898, he survived to fly with some of his captains and a considerable force of cavalry to that arid, inaccessible country of Kordofan, where Hicks Pasha's army had been annihilated. They were followed up, nevertheless, two years later by Sir Francis Reginald Wingate, and in the battle of Omdubreikat, on 25th November, 1899, the Khalifa and nearly all his notable generals lost their lives, and the Mahdi's revolt came for ever to an end. Osman Digna, who had proved such a redoubtable foe to the Egyptians and the British in the Eastern Sudan between the years 1883 and 1891, was captured, a homeless fugitive in the hills south of Suakin, and is still living as a political prisoner.

Sir Reginald Wingate succeeded Lord Kitchener (when the latter went to South Africa) in 1900, since which time, as head of the Egyptian Army and Governor-General of the Sudan, he has administered these vast regions (about 950,000 square miles) with signal ability and wisdom. It has been necessary to repress insurrectionary movements amongst the Arabs of the Blue Nile, the Dinkas of the south, and the Nyamnyams of the south-west. The sudd<sup>1</sup> has been cut through, and regular steamer communication is effectively established between Khartum and the frontier of Uganda at Gondokoro. Lado is now (1910) restored to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

<sup>1</sup> This is the Arab name given to the thickly matted, floating vegetation which blocks the watercourses of the Upper Nile.



*Photograph by Leo Weirich*

A LIBYAN VILLAGE ON THE CONFINES OF EGYPT (OASIS OF SIWAH)  
THESE GREAT STONE AND CLAY CASTLES ARE FOUND RIGHT ACROSS NORTH AFRICA FROM  
THE CONFINES OF THE LIBYAN DESERT TO MOROCCO

In Egypt itself railways have been carried westwards to connect the principal oases of the Libyan Desert with the settled regions of the Nile Valley, and also along the coast west of Alexandria towards the Tripolitan frontier. There has been a marked growth of national feeling in Egypt which is increasingly hostile to British occupation—a hostility easily to be understood; for what British reader of this little history would cheerfully acquiesce in the administration of British affairs by the Germans or the Japanese? But the British Government has not shown itself hostile to the idea of the *eventual* complete self-government of Egypt by the Khedive (as an independent sovereign), his ministers, and his Parliament. On account of the strategical importance of the Suez Canal and of Egypt itself, this Muhammadan kingdom for many years to come



Photo by Leo Weinhart

will probably be a self-governing, integral state of the British Empire on much the same footing as Canada and Australia. The British troops may eventually be transferred to the peninsula of Sinai<sup>1</sup> and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan will probably be annexed outright to the British Empire, although it may continue to be governed with a full appreciation of its relations to Egypt. But the Sudan is almost entirely a black man's country, while Egypt belongs to the Caucasian race. Nor are all the natives of the Sudan Muhammadans. A large proportion of them do not belong to that religion, and may eventually change their paganism for Christianity.

#### NOTE TO CHAPTER XV

##### THE NATIVES OF THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

THE principal races dwelling within the limits of the Egyptian Sudan at the present time may be roughly divided into the following groups: Arab, Ethiopian or Hamitic, Nilotic Negro, Sudanian Negroes, Forest Negroes.

The ARABS mostly came from Arabia in the great migration of the eleventh century. They suffered terribly during the Mahdi's revolt and rule, several tribes (the Hawasma, Kababish, Shukerieh, Battalin, and Jaalin) being almost wiped out of existence.<sup>2</sup> The following are

<sup>1</sup> When by the agreements with France in 1899 and 1904 the position and rights of Britain in Egypt and in the Egyptian Sudan were settled, there remained as the only other question affecting British work in Egypt that of the frontier between Egypt, on the south-west, and Turkish Syria and Arabia, on the north-east. The Turks under the late Sultan never viewed with any favour the British occupation of Egypt, and not unnaturally after this event had taken place strove to push back the Egyptian frontier as far away as possible from Palestine or Arabia. When the present Khedive succeeded his father and required to be instituted as Khedive of Egypt by the Sultan of Turkey, an attempt was made to remove from his control the Sinaitic Peninsula, the region that will be for ever associated with Biblical history. The British Government protested and Turkey retreated. But in the year 1905 the Turks attempted almost by force to extend their control over the Sinaitic Peninsula and to within a few miles of the Suez Canal. Under the threat of a British ultimatum they gave way, and in 1906 the frontier of Egypt on the north-east was clearly defined, so as to give to Egypt henceforth the whole of the Sinaitic Peninsula.

<sup>2</sup> Mainly for assistance rendered to the British in 1883-85, and in 1896-97. It is a mistake to call the Mahdi's revolt an 'Arab' uprising. It was rather 'Ethiopian' in character and mainly supported by the Hamitic Bisharin and Hadendowa, the mongrel black Arabs of Kordofan and the White Nile, and the 'Nubian' slave traders of the Eastern and Central Sudan.

the principal Arab tribes of the Egyptian Sudan of the present day : The *Kababish* (fair-skinned, handsome) of Southern Dongola ; the *Jaalin*, between the Atbara and the Blue Nile (also fair-complexioned and good-looking) ; the *Shukerich* and *Battalin* (also light-skinned), between the Atbara, the Blue Nile, and Abyssinia : the *Resheida* (dark-skinned and truculent ; great slave traders), between the Atbara and the Red Sea coast ; the *Hawawir* and *Sawarab* found on the Nile north and west of the Jaalin ; the *Hassanich* and *Hawasma* dwelling to the west of the main Nile south of Khartum ; on the middle course of the Blue Nile and also in Kordofan the black *Kenaua* Arabs ; the *Halawin*, south of Khartum, great agriculturists ; and lastly, in Kordofan, north, west, and south-west, the *Baggara* Arabs, dark-skinned, nomadic, and devoted to the chase. All these Arabs speak a somewhat debased form of Arabic, which is rather different from the Arabic of Egypt and more like the dialects of Western Arabia. Some of the so-called Egyptian 'Arabs,' however, of the North-east Sudan really speak Hamitic dialects, related to the Gala and Somali forms of speech.

The ETHIOPIAN or 'Hamitic' tribes of the Sudan are, in the north, the *Beni-Amer*, the *Hamak*, *Ababdeh*, *Bisharin*, and *Hadendowa*, peoples who speak languages allied to *Gala* and Somali, and dwell in the region between the Atbara, the main Dongola Nile, and the Red Sea coast. They are related in origin to the *Gala* who dwell in the south-eastermost portions of the Egyptian Sudan between the Sobat and the Blue Nile. The Hadendowa, Hadaref, Beni-Amer (Amerab), and Bisharin tribes were the celebrated 'Fuzzie-wuzzies' who fought so gallantly with the British soldiers in the Nile and Surakin campaigns of the last century.<sup>1</sup> The Fuzzie-wuzzies were aptly nicknamed thus for their mop of curly hair, which is a compromise between the straight hair of the Arabs and the tightly curled hair of the Negro. They may be as dark as Negroes in complexion, but they generally preserve the straight, handsome features of the Caucasian type. (See photo on p. 357.)

The NILOTIC NEGROES are remarkable for their black skins, their disproportionately long legs and their great stature. They have longer legs in proportion to their bodies than any other human race and are, therefore, in sharp contrast to the Forest Negroes, who have disproportionately short legs. The languages of the Nile Negroes are of a very distinct type and their range extends from the Blue Nile and the western borders of Abyssinia across the White Nile into the Bahr-al-Ghazal region, and even in isolated patches to Lake Chad and the River Shari. To the south and south-east the Nilotic languages

<sup>1</sup> These Hamitic tribes, we know from Greek and Roman historians, were very much in their present situations two thousand years ago. Before the Muhammadan invasion in the seventh century it is probable that little or no Arabic was spoken in Egypt (except, perhaps, on the north-west coast of the Red Sea) or the Egyptian Sudan. Greek was the language of 'Roman' Egyptian commerce and possibly of the Government. The Egyptian language was settling down into its present form in modern Coptic, and this is a language related both to the Libyan or Berber family of North-west Africa and to the Hamitic of North-east Africa, while it further reveals certain relationships to the distantly allied Semitic tongues. Down to the present day the speech of the oases of Siwa is Libyan (Berber), and not Hamitic or Arabic.

reach the Mountain Nile, the shores of Lakes Albert and Kioga and the north-eastern coast of the Victoria Nyanza. This family also includes the Masai language, which extends southwards far down into German East Africa six degrees south of the Equator. The principal Nilotic Negro tribes of the Sudan are the *Shilluk* of the south-east, the *Dinka* (Dyange) of the south, the *Nuer* and the *Annak* of the Sobat and the Bahr-al-Ghazal.

The SUDANIAN NEGROES vary in type. Some, like the Nyamnyam, suggest an intermixture with Caucasian peoples coming from the north. As a rule they resemble the West African type of Negro which is found from the Senegal to the Mountain Nile outside the limits of the great forests—a big, well-proportioned type of man or woman of very dark skin, and sometimes rather repulsive facial features (flat nose, high cheek-bones, pointed chin). Their bodies are well proportioned, however, the legs being neither too long nor too short, and they offer considerable resemblance to the average type of Bantu in Southern Africa, but have a broader face and more pointed chin. Their language in the south occasionally suggests a resemblance to the Bantu family, though they are at present divided into many distinct groups of apparently isolated forms of speech.<sup>1</sup>

The FOREST NEGROES come but little within the limits of the Egyptian Sudan. This type merges into that of the *Congo Pygmy*: in fact, these Forest Negroes only differ from the Pygmy by being less dwarfish in stature. They have disproportionately short legs, long bodies, long arms, and faces that are sometimes of a very low type, with very broad, flat noses, prominent eyes, large mouths, and long upper lips. This type is found along the line of the water parting between the systems of the Nile and the Congo in the Lado frontier and the southern part of the Nyamnyam country. We are entitled to believe by following native traditions, allusions in the documents and paintings in ancient Egypt and other evidence which there is not space to recapitulate here, that the actual Congo Pygmy type extended two or three thousand years ago far northwards from its present range up the Nile Valley. In the far south-east of the Egyptian Sudan on the borders of Abyssinia and British East African territories there are traces still existing of Pygmy tribes, some of which bear a bodily resemblance to the Congo Pygmies, while others suggest a slight affinity to the Bushmen of South Africa.

Although the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has an approximate area of 950,000 square miles (i.e. as large as Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Germany, and Austro-Hungary put together), its total population at the present time is only estimated at 2,500,000, owing to the appalling destruction of human life caused by the slave-trade wars, the wholesale massacres of the Khalifa, and the spread of disease and famine due to these troubles. This is a fit illustration of Africa left to itself.

<sup>1</sup> Amongst these may be mentioned the *Nuba* of Kordofan; the *Fur* of Darfur; the *Bongo* of the Bahr-al-Ghazal (which has a sexual gender absent from the other Negro languages except the Nilotic and Hottentot); the *Golo* and the *Krej* of the Western Bahr-al-Ghazal; and the *Mundu*.

## CHAPTER XVI

### EAST AFRICA

THE island of Zanzibar—once, no doubt, an emporium of Phœnician and early Arab trade—became a place of some interest to the British towards the close of the eighteenth century by reason of its close commercial relations with the Indian peninsula. The name ‘Zanzibar’ is probably derived from two Persian words—*zang*, *zanj*, and *bar* or *bara*, the first meaning a black man, and the second a land or territory. The Persians had founded trading colonies at Lamu on the north Swahili coast, and at Kilwa on the south Swahili coast, probably after the uprising of Islam, but before the eleventh century of the Christian era. These Persian settlements gradually became absorbed, or were conquered, by the Arabs of Western and Southern Arabia.

Then came the Portuguese maritime adventurers under Vasco da Gama, Francisco d’Almeida, Affonso d’Albuquerque, Pedro d’Anaya, Ruy Lourenço Ravasco (the conqueror of Zanzibar), and others, who, taking advantage of divisions amongst the Muhammadans themselves, managed to conquer or occupy all the Arab and former Persian stations on the East Coast of Africa from Sofala (practically the same as the modern Beira) in the south to Magadosho in the north, including the island of Zanzibar. In the seventeenth century these Portuguese East African possessions were attacked by the Dutch and by a revival of activity amongst the Arabs.

During the eighteenth century much energy was put into the African slave trade by the Maskati Arabs, Baluchis, and Persians of the Persian Gulf, who made their base of operations the East Arabian state of Oman, of which

the capital is Maskat. During the eighteenth century the Maskati Arabs, who were ruled by a dynasty of priest-kings or *imams*, prevailed finally against the Portuguese. Zanzibar became Arab again about the year 1732. Mombasa was finally taken from the Portuguese in 1729, after it had been recaptured and held by them for some time. From all points on the East African Coast as far south as the



*Photo lent by Leo Weinstock*

THE SEA FRONT AND CLOCK TOWER AT ZANZIBAR  
THIS PICTURE SHOWS THE EXTRAORDINARY CARVING IN STONE OF A SHIP, WHICH  
CONTAINS A PALM GARDEN

Rovuma River the Portuguese were driven away and the Arabs of Oman ruled in their stead.

But frequent quarrels arose between these Maskati Arabs and the descendants of the old Western and Southern Arabian settlers at places like Lamu, Malindi, and Mombasa. There had grown up, indeed, an Arab dynasty of some distinction—the Mazrui—in the country round about Mombasa, and these merchant- or planter-princes were ill disposed to accept as suzerain the less orthodox Arab princes of Oman.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The origin of the Mazrui family is disputed. They may likewise have come at an earlier date from South-east Arabia, or may have proceeded from the Red Sea Coast of Egypt, as is related in some traditions. A good account of their quarrel with Zanzibar is given in Professor J. W. Gregory's *Foundations of British East Africa*.

These disputes between the Arabs of the mainland and those of Zanzibar and the continental fortresses formerly belonging to the Portuguese attracted the attention of the British Government, which early in the nineteenth century had begun to inquire into all these things, partly out of an interest in Indian trade, and also with the general idea of closing to French ambition any possible foothold on the coasts of Africa and Arabia. In 1825 British men-of-war belonging to the great survey expedition of Captain Owen interfered in Arabian quarrels at Mombasa for the protection of British Indian subjects, and Captain Vidal actually annexed that place for Great Britain, though, after a brief occupation, the action was disavowed.

In 1861 the British Government finally interfered in a family quarrel which had arisen with regard to the government of Zanzibar. Down to that year Zanzibar and all the Arab stations on the East Coast of Africa were considered the appanage of the Imamate of Oman, and were generally governed by a younger brother of the Imam as viceroy. Locally this Maskati prince was known as the Sayyid or lord. Through the intervention of the British Government in 1861, the dominions of Zanzibar were completely separated from the Imamate of Maskat, and Sayyid Barghash bin Said was recognized as Sultan of Zanzibar.

But at the same period in the nineteenth century France, under the Emperor Napoleon III, had begun to revive plans for a great extension of French political influence all over the world, and viewed with some jealousy the drift of East Africa and Eastern Arabia towards the position of British Protectorates. Equally the British Government was becoming suspicious of French surveys and explorations along the coasts of the Indian Ocean. As neither power wished to take precipitate action, a kind of self-denial treaty was arranged in 1863, by which England and France agreed mutually to respect the independence of Maskat and Zanzibar.

Nevertheless, the drift of circumstances was too strong for the British Government to preserve more than the letter

of this agreement. The establishment of the Church Missionary Society at Mombasa in 1844, and the discovery



*From a drawing by Sir Harry Johnston*

THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN IN AFRICA: 19,720 FEET  
THE SNOWY DOME OF KILIMANJARO, KIBO

of the Snow Mountains of Kenya and Kilimanjaro by Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebmann, missionaries in its

service:<sup>1</sup> the remarkable exploring journeys of Richard Burton, J. H. Speke, and J. A. Grant, which revealed to us the great lakes of Tanganyika and the Victoria Nyanza; the equally striking journeys of Livingstone, who (with Dr. Kirk, afterwards British Agent at Zanzibar) discovered Lake Nyasa, and later on, in his great solitary explorations, revealed the upper course of the river Congo and the lakes of Bangweulu and Mweru, which fed its furthest parent stream, the Luapula — all these things increased the interest felt by the British public in Zanzibar and the dominions of its Sultan, whose Arab subjects in those years were the virtual rulers of much of East Africa. All this time the trade interests of India were growing apace at Zanzibar; in fact, so closely was Zanzibar related by religion and trade with Muhammadan India that, down to a quite recent period, the British Agency and Consulate-General in that island was really an appanage of the Indian Government.

Livingstone's journeys had aroused popular sentiment against the shocking brutalities of the Arab slave trade. A British guardship, the *London*, was stationed at Zanzibar; British cruisers plied up and down the coast, arresting Arab slave-carrying vessels. In 1873 the Sultan of Zanzibar was practically compelled by British threats to declare the slave trade illegal, though slavery as an institution has only recently been abolished within the tiny dominions left to the descendant of that Sultan.

Sir John Kirk, the companion and lieutenant of Livingstone in his Zambezi and Nyasa journeys (1858–65), had been Consul, and afterwards Agent and Consul-General, at Zanzibar since the year 1866. He had thoroughly mastered the Swahili language and the dialect of Arabic spoken at Zanzibar, and his personal character inspired both Arabs and Negroes with affection and respect. So strong was his

<sup>1</sup> 'The story of the work of Krapf and Rehmman, the two founders of the East African Mission, is one of the brightest chapters in African History' (Professor J. W. Gregory, *The Foundation of British East Africa*, p. 70). The actual discoveries of these two missionaries, and the stories of big lakes and other wonders which they collected from the Arabs and transmitted to Europe, started rolling the ball of East African exploration.

influence with Sultan Barghash bin Said that for something like fifteen years—till his recall in 1887—Sir John Kirk was virtually the ruler of Zanzibar and its vast continental



*Photo by Mayall & Co.*

SIR JOHN KIRK, G.C.M.G.

SECOND IN COMMAND OF LIVINGSTONE'S 2ND ZAMBEZI EXPEDITION, 1858-63; CONSUL  
AND AFTERWARDS AGENT AND CONSUL-GENERAL AT ZANZIBAR FROM 1856 TO 1887

dominions. Realizing the instability of the Arab power (based as it was on slavery and the slave trade), and this feeling being shared ultimately by the Sultan Barghash himself (who in time grew to be a very enlightened man), Sir John Kirk from the time of the Sultan's visit to England in 1874 was, with the full cognizance and approval of the Sultan, gradually

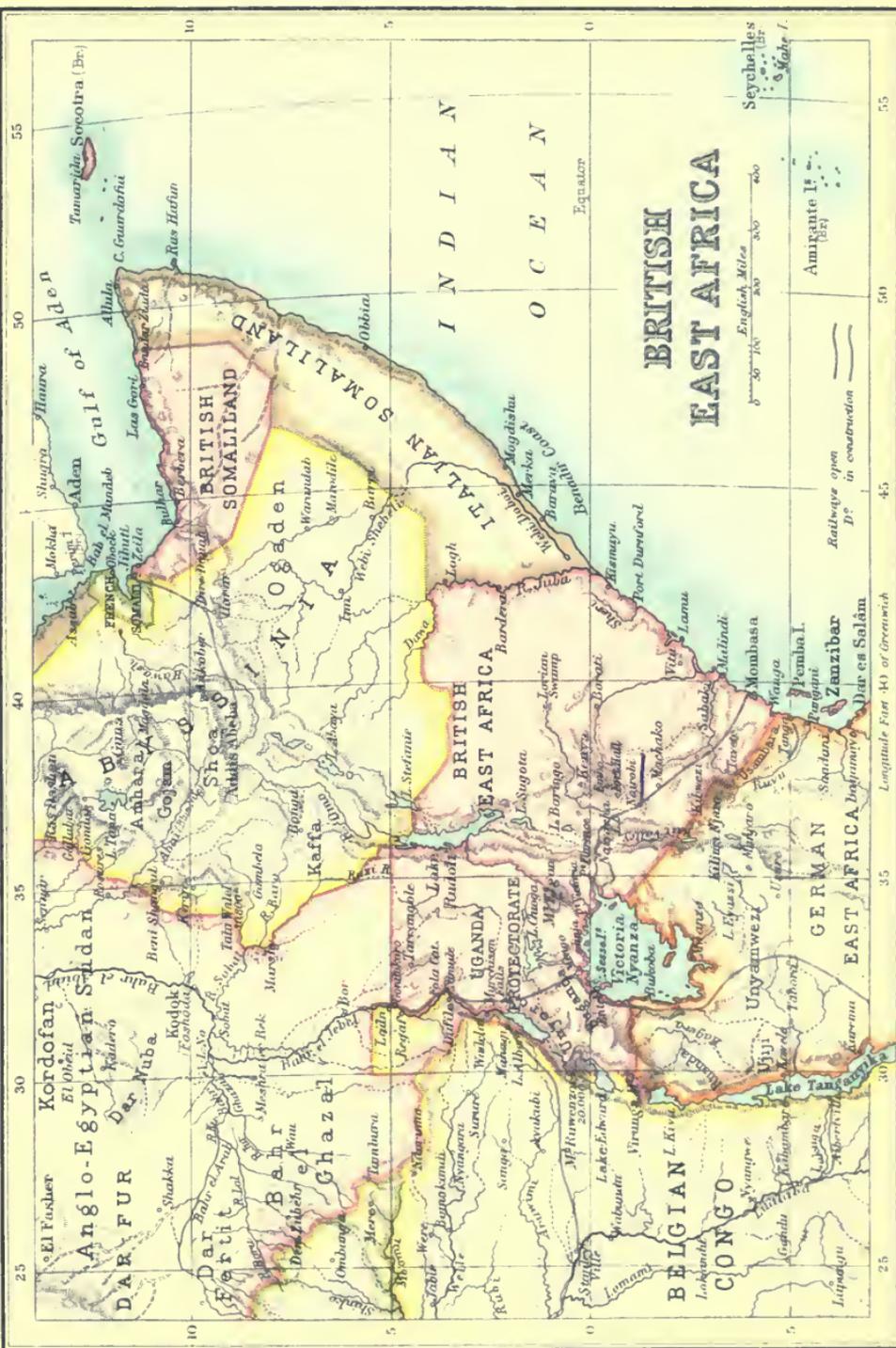
preparing for the establishment of a British protectorate over all his dominions: a protectorate which would have extended from the west coast of Lake Nyasa to the Upper Congo, and from the Ruvuma River to Somaliland.

But these projects were not looked upon with favour in the Government circles of Great Britain until the hour was past in which they could have been carried out to the fullest extent conceived by Sir John Kirk. Stanley had made his great exploration of the Congo from where Livingstone had left it, at Nyangwe, to its mouth on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. This marvellous journey, coupled with the remarkable crossing of Africa on foot by Commander Verney Lovett Cameron, R.N., had drawn the attention of other European powers to the possibilities of Central Africa.

It is only fair to point out that German interest in these regions really dates from the discoveries of the German missionaries (such as Krapf and Rebmann) in the service of the Church Missionary Society of England. In 1861, a wealthy German nobleman, Count von der Decken, had resolved to verify the existence of the reported Snow Mountains. Accordingly, he made a most exhaustive exploration of Kilimanjaro—1861 and 1862—though circumstances prevented his reaching the other snow-crowned volcano of Kenya. Count von der Decken<sup>1</sup> was much struck with the possibilities of Zanzibar as a future empire for Germany, not then in any sense a united empire at home, but on its way to unification. However, the Germans for a time did nothing, and the rôle of rival to Britain in these regions was attempted by the King of the Belgians, who under the developments of international exploration conceived the idea of founding a Belgian protectorate over inner East Africa (a scheme transferred later to the basin of the Congo).

As part of the 'international' plan of African exploration set on foot by King Leopold II, the Royal Geographical

<sup>1</sup> He lost his life in 1865 when exploring the Juba River.



The Edinburgh Geographical Institute  
 National Society's Depository, 19 (St. Peter Street, Westminster, S.W.)  
 John Bartholomew & Co.



Society of England dispatched Joseph Thomson (already famous for his exploration of North Nyasa and Tanganyika) to verify the existence of Mount Kenya (only known by a vague report from Krapf), and to reach the north-east coast of Lake Victoria Nyanza by the shortest route from Mombasa.

Thomson carried out this journey with brilliant success by the commencement of 1884. The interest that he aroused in the British reading public on the subject of the splendid, healthy plateaus of Equatorial East Africa, the warlike, manly Masai, and the gigantic volcano of Elgon, so fixed the British attention on the possibilities of these regions, that when the additional reports of the present writer on Kilimanjaro and its vicinity reached the British Government in 1884, the Cabinet of Mr. Gladstone resolved to carry into effect the great schemes of Sir John Kirk by coming to some arrangement with France (relative to French ambitions in Madagascar) and by agreement with the Sultan of Zanzibar.

But the delay in adopting Sir John Kirk's original schemes of 1881 proved fatal to the attainment of their full purpose. In 1884–85 German explorers had concluded treaties with native chiefs in the hinterland of Zanzibar, in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro, and also behind Lamu in Equatorial East Africa. Eventually, in 1886, a temporary arrangement was come to with Germany, by which the foundations of British East Africa were laid, these foundations being based on the treaties concluded by the present writer in 1884, and (as regards the hinterland), of course, on the steps taken by Sir John Kirk to secure the assent of the Sultan of Zanzibar. In 1890 a final accord was reached with Germany, whilst France agreed to a British protectorate over Zanzibar in consideration of the recognition of French rights in Madagascar and in Central Nigeria. By this agreement the kingdom of Uganda and other states to the west of Lake Victoria Nyanza were placed within the British sphere, which in a westerly direction would be bounded only by the frontier of the Congo Free State.

This treaty was partly the result of Stanley's journey



*Photo by Elliott and Fry*

SIR HENRY MORTON STANLEY, G.C.B.

DISCOVERER OF THE COURSE OF THE CONGO RIVER AND OF RUWENZORI, LAKE  
EDWARD, LAKE LEOPOLD II, AND MANY OTHER FEATURES  
OF CENTRAL AFRICAN GEOGRAPHY

overland from the Congo to relieve and remove Emin Pasha (as Dr. Emin Bey had become). As already

mentioned, Emin Bey was a lieutenant of Gordon's who had become Governor of the Equatorial province of the Egyptian Sudan. He was too far away to be easily conquered and captured by the Dervishes, as had been the case with poor Lupton Bey in the Bahr-al-Ghazal. He was maintaining a somewhat precarious existence through the support of his black troops, who were Muhammadans, but not entirely in sympathy with the followers of the Mahdi or Khalifa. Emin Pasha was a great naturalist—one of the few great naturalists who have ever explored Africa. His books on the wild life and peoples of the heart of Africa are eminently worth reading. In all such subjects he was an accurate observer. But he was not a strong ruler of men, and gradually inspired contempt amongst his soldiers by the time which he (in their minds) wasted on natural history exploration. He was practically a prisoner in their hands when finally rescued by Stanley's expedition.

Stanley concluded certain rather vague treaties on behalf of the British East Africa Company, to whom the British Government, with its customary shirking of direct responsibility, had handed over the administration of East Africa in 1888. This same Company (partly to defend itself against stronger ambitions and partly because of Stanley's own connection with the Congo Free State and belief in the philanthropic intentions of King Leopold) had made somewhat embarrassing promises to the King of the Belgians regarding the allotment to him of such territories as it might acquire on the Mountain Nile, and these engagements were the real reason why the 'Lado Enclave' and Bahr-al-Ghazal Concession were allotted to King Leopold by the British Government in the Anglo-Congolese Treaty of 1894. But the prestige accruing from Sir Henry Stanley's<sup>1</sup> journey of 1886-90 enabled the British Government to insist in its negotiations with Germany on founding a British sphere of influence right across Eastern Equatorial Africa to the frontiers of the Congo and the Egyptian Sudan.

<sup>1</sup> He was made a Grand Cross of the Bath in 1899.

Neither Germans nor French, however, were pleased with this arrangement. Dr. Peters, who had founded German East Africa, had, on the plea of attempting to rescue Emin Pasha (also a German), made a remarkable journey from Lamu up the Tana River to the Victoria Nyanza, and had concluded (too late) a treaty with the fickle King of Uganda, bringing his country under German



*Photo lent by Leo Weintal*

A STREET IN MOMBASA

protection. Emin Pasha, once rescued by Stanley, turned against his rescuer, whom he accused of faults of manner, and entered the service of the German Government in East Africa. Accompanied by a very able explorer, Dr. Stuhlmann, he attempted to return to his old sphere of operations, but was eventually killed in the Congo forests by an Arab slave trader.

German and French interest in Uganda was very strongly represented in the Roman Catholic Mission of the White Fathers, a mission founded by Cardinal Lavignerie in North Africa, and containing in its ranks not only Frenchmen, but Germans and Dutchmen. This Mission had

come into somewhat sharp antagonism with the Bishop and clergy of the Church of England long established in Uganda under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. This English Mission had, by arriving on the Victoria Nyanza in 1876, followed very promptly Stanley's invitation to them, sent from Uganda in 1875. The King Mutesa of Uganda had expressed a desire for Christian teachers to live amongst his people, and Stanley had forwarded this message to England by way of the Egyptian Sudan.<sup>1</sup> In 1884, however, King Mutesa died, and his successor, Mwanga, was a miserable creature who not only hated all foreigners, but was excessively cruel to his own people. The Zanzibar Arabs about this time—the middle 'eighties of the last century—were trying to convert the Baganda to Muhammadanism. The country, therefore, between 1888 and 1898 was the theatre of incessant and terrible religious wars, in which Roman Catholic Christians fought against Anglicans, Muhammadans fought against both, and pagans committed frightful atrocities in allying themselves to one or other party. The Roman Catholics styled themselves the Ba-fransa or French Party (undoubtedly the White Fathers Mission hoped that if the Roman Catholic Party prevailed, Uganda might become a French protectorate): the Anglicans adopted the name of the Ba-ingrezi, or 'English': the Muhammadans were the Ba-islamu or the Ba-alabu ('Arabs').

The British East Africa Company had at first attempted to take these regions under its control through its envoy, Captain (now Sir Frederick) Lugard, who, to put it plainly, conquered Uganda<sup>2</sup> for British influence by enlisting Emin Pasha's abandoned Sudanese soldiers, by importing a few men from Zanzibar, and most of all by the help of the Protestant or English Party in Uganda.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 222 of the present writer's work, the *Uganda Protectorate*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Uganda' is the name applied by the Colonial Office to the entire Protectorate, of which the kingdom of *Buganda* is the nucleus, and one of the six provinces.

<sup>3</sup> Lugard, and later on, Major A. B. Thruston, brought the Sudanese, once in Emin's service, from the west coast of Lake Albert. Here some of their slaves or followers had already contracted sleeping sickness from the natives of the Northern Congo forests. They brought this terrible disease

But the Chartered Company of British East Africa found that the administration of Uganda would be far beyond its monetary resources. In 1893 the British Government sent Sir Gerald Portal, Commissioner and Consul-General at Zanzibar, to report on the situation in Uganda. In 1894, as the result of his report, they decided (acting under the influence of Lord Rosebery) to declare Uganda to be a British protectorate, and a Commissioner, Colonel Sir Henry Colvile, was sent out to administer its affairs. The Protectorate, as then defined on the map, only included the kingdom of Buganda, then a relatively small state, and the allied country of Busoga. Behind Buganda on the north was the warlike land of Unyoro (properly Bunyoro). Unyoro has for some hundreds of years been closely knit up in history with Buganda. The dialect spoken in Buganda is also, with a slight difference, spoken in Busoga and the Sese Islands. Though quite a distinct tongue, Luganda is closely related to the speech of Unyoro (Bunyoro), and this last, in differently named dialects, extends round the west of Buganda to the south shores of the Victoria Nyanza and to the watershed of Tanganyika, as well as to the islands in the south-east of the great Victoria Lake. Sometimes there would seem to have been an Emperor of Buganda who extended his rule over the various Unyoro or Hima kingdoms; sometimes, on the other hand, it was the Unyoro influence that predominated. At the time, however, when these countries were being opened up by Europeans, Unyoro under its evil-tempered monarchs, first Kamurasi and later his son Kabarega, was bitterly hostile to Buganda and equally so to European explorers.

Soon after Colonel Colvile took control of the Uganda

with them into the central parts of the Uganda Protectorate (Busoga), where they were settled for a long time, and this in 1901 was the beginning of that epidemic of sleeping sickness which has caused terrible ravages amongst the population of the kingdom of Buganda, something like 240,000 of its people having died from this malady since 1901. Major A. B. Thruston was killed in Busoga by the mutinied Sudanese soldiers on 19th October, 1897; a cruelly undeserved fate, for he was a gallant young officer and devoted to the welfare of his men.

Protectorate, the Unyoro attacks were resumed. He put



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

A NEGRO PORTER OF EAST AFRICA: MNYAMWEZI  
PRIOR TO THE BUILDING OF THE RAILWAY THE ONLY CERTAIN MEANS OF TRANSPORT WAS HUMAN PORTERAGE.

himself at the head of the Buganda forces, and large portions of Unyoro were conquered. Eventually, the whole

of this territory up to the Victoria Nile and the Albert Nyanza were declared to be within the British Protectorate.

Sir Henry Colvile was succeeded by Mr. Ernest Berkeley, under whose commissionership broke out the mutiny of the Sudanese troops. It must be remembered, that in those days the kingdom of Buganda was situated at a distance of some eight hundred miles from the Mombasa coast of East Africa, which was the only possible base of supply. Between it and Egypt on the north still existed the Dervish Khalifate. The only means of reaching Uganda was by walking (six hundred miles!) and then taking canoes across the great Victoria Nyanza. Every particle of goods sent to the British in Uganda had to be carried on men's heads over a distance of about six hundred miles. It was soon realized by Lord Salisbury's Government (which succeeded that of Lord Rosebery in 1895) that, if a British protectorate over the Uganda territories was to be upheld (and if not, the French or Germans were ready to take possession), a railway must be constructed from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza and steamers put on that lake. Consequently the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1896.

But meantime and for a long while the British officials in Uganda were frequently left without money or its equivalent—trade goods. The Sudanese troops were employed in incessant warfare against the fierce mountain tribes of the Nandi plateau (who would attempt to block intercommunication by their highway robberies); against the King of Buganda himself (who latterly had turned against the British and become a Muhammadan); and against the forces of Unyoro, who were striving to regain their lost territory. In addition to many just causes of dissatisfaction, there is also reason to suppose that a portion of the Sudanese troops coveted the rich lands of Uganda for themselves and the people of their Muhammadan religion, that they thought of expelling the whites—a mere handful—and of joining hands with the Dervishes in the Sudan. No doubt at the critical moment they were not

always handled tactfully or firmly by one or two British officers. At any rate, a portion of them broke out into mutiny in the eastern part of the Uganda Protectorate (the Nandi plateau) in 1897. The mutineers marched rapidly on Busoga, where a considerable proportion of the Sudanese were stationed. Here they made hostages of and ultimately shot Major A. B. Thruston, Mr. N. A. Wilson, and a Mr. Scott. In the first attempts to subdue them and prevent their entering the kingdom of Uganda, a missionary, Mr. Pilkington (who had attended the British force as a non-combatant to render assistance to the wounded), was killed and Mr. F. J. Jackson, the Acting-Commissioner, was wounded.

Mr. George Wilson, an official who had originally entered the service of the Imperial British East Africa Company, was stationed at the native capital of Buganda, Mengo (or, as it was usually termed at that date, Kampala), and bestirred himself vigorously. With the assistance of both Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians under the leadership of the great Prime-minister and Regent of that country—now Sir Apolo Kagwa—he managed to keep the Sudanese from crossing the Nile and ravaging the settled parts of Buganda.

The Sudanese were, however, defeated by forces of native and Indian troops under British officers in a series of stiffly contested engagements. The greater part of this work of quelling the mutineers and finally conquering the Banyoro was conducted under the leadership of Sir J. S. L. Macdonald, R.E. Colonel Macdonald, as he then was, had been sent to Uganda purely to effect a general survey of the countries between that Protectorate and the Upper Nile, and for the purpose of forestalling the French in any occupation of those regions. He had applied to the Acting-Commissioner of Uganda for an escort of Sudanese troops; and it is supposed that the idea amongst the Sudanese that they would have to accompany Colonel Macdonald in a journey of great length and serious hardships was one of the causes that provoked the mutiny.

By the beginning of 1899 the real danger of the rising

against British authority by the Banyoro under King Kabarega, the recalcitrant Baganda under the runaway Mwanga, and the fiercely fighting Sudanese mutineers was over. Various British officers had reached the Mountain Nile (where the British flag had been planted by the late Major Roderick Owen in 1895), and had carried the limited



*Photo lent by Leo Weinthal*

THE MASAI OF EAST AFRICA

BETWEEN 1850 AND 1890 THE MASAI WERE THE TERROR OF MOST CARAVANS IN EQUATORIAL EAST AFRICA, BUT THEY SOON GREW TO BE ON FRIENDLY TERMS WITH THE WHITE MAN

British occupation as far north as Fort Berkeley. Kabarega and Mwanga had been captured and deported to the east coast of Africa (whence they were ultimately sent to the Seychelles Islands). Mwanga's infant son, the present king, Daudi Chua, was installed in his father's place under a regency of three Baganda chiefs. Great additions had been made to our geographical knowledge by the expeditions of Cols. Seymour Vandeleur, (Sir) J. S. L. Macdonald, John Evatt, and Captain H. Maddox.

But the finances of the Protectorate had fallen into great disorder during this time of stress and turmoil, and many questions regarding native rights needed careful examination and settlement. The British Government, there-



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

THE RIFON FALLS AND THE BIRTH OF THE VICTORIA NILE  
ON THE NORTH COAST OF THE VICTORIA NYANZA. THE BROAD RIVER SEPARATES THE  
COUNTRIES OF BUSOGA AND BUGANDA. IT WAS NEAR THE BUSOGA SHORE  
THAT BISHOP HANNINGTON, FIRST ANGLICAN MISSIONARY BISHOP  
TO UGANDA, WAS MURDERED IN 1886

fore, decided to dispatch, in 1899, a Special Commission. Sir Harry Johnston was appointed to direct this, with Mr. J. F. Cunningham as secretary: and the work of the Special Commission lasted for two years (1899 to 1901). The last remains of the Sudanese mutiny were disposed of by the expeditions under Colonel Charles Delmé-Radcliffe, Colonel John Evatt of the Indian Army reorganized the military forces of the Protectorate, still retaining

a body of Indian troops at the headquarters of the administration. This last had been fixed at Entebbe,<sup>1</sup> a promontory on the north coast of the Victoria Nyanza, instead of at Kampala, a suburb of the native capital of Mengo. [The idea of a European city on this promontory of Entebbe had originally been conceived by Sir Gerald Portal.]

Under Sir Harry Johnston's administration the extent of the Uganda Protectorate was very considerably enlarged<sup>2</sup> and made to march northwards with the frontiers of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It was divided into six provinces. Of these the eastern province was, in 1902, detached from Uganda and added to the East Africa Protectorate. Sir Harry Johnston concluded a treaty with the Kabaka or King of Buganda, which settled many points in dispute, amongst others the question of native taxation, the status of the native king, his parliament, system of government, &c. Similar treaties were concluded with some other native chiefs of importance. The scientific collections made by the Special Commissioner's expedition revealed many new and interesting animals and plants in this portion of Equatorial Africa, amongst other discoveries being the Okapi of the Congo forests, on the frontiers of Uganda.

Since 1902 there has been occasional trouble with the mountain tribes of the Nandi and Lumwa regions, once included within the limits of the Uganda Protectorate: otherwise there has been no warfare with the natives, and, except for the devastation of the 'sleeping sickness,' the civilization and prosperity of the Uganda Protectorate have increased to an extraordinary degree. The completion of the Uganda Railway to the shores of the Victoria Nyanza in 1903, and the placing of big steamers on the waters of that lake, have greatly stimulated native commerce. The present population of the Protectorate, despite the ravages of 'sleeping sickness,' is estimated at 3,000,000 Negroes, 3,000 Asiatics, and 400 Europeans.

<sup>1</sup> On the slopes of a fine, breezy down. Entebbe in the native language means 'The Throne.'

<sup>2</sup> At present (1909) it is computed at 110,000 square miles.

Much of the credit for the present satisfactory condition of affairs in this portion of the British dominions is due to the work of the missionaries, who have had remarkable success in their propaganda and have educated the natives not only to read and write, but to employ themselves in



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

THE VICTORIA NYANZA

many profitable and healthy industries. There are approximately 750,000 native Christians belonging to the Anglican and Roman Churches, and 300,000 Muhammadans.

The adjoining Protectorate of British East Africa came into being earlier than that of Uganda, but has had perhaps a less eventful history. At first, when its coast territories were taken over by the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888, things went very smoothly. The company for a

time possessed a capable administrator in Mr.—afterwards Sir George—Mackenzie, who solved the slavery difficulty by redeeming the slaves of the Arabs and then setting them free. This no doubt prevented the coast Arabs from attacking the British régime at a time when they had nearly destroyed that of Germany in the regions further south.

But as soon as the British Government annulled the East Africa Company's Charter<sup>1</sup> in 1894, took over the administration of the Protectorate (under Sir Arthur Hardinge), and interfered to prevent the maltreatment of the blacks by Arab landholders or chieftains, they found themselves involved in a war with the Arab power, represented by Sidi Mubarak,<sup>2</sup> the descendant of an ancient dynasty of Arab rulers, the Mazrui (see p. 373). Also, in inheriting the German Protectorate over Vitu (on the Ozo River behind Lamu) they had involved themselves in serious trouble: for the Sultan of Vitu absolutely refused any idea of control over his external actions, was resuming the trade in slaves, and caused a party of German timber cutters to be massacred. Vitu was captured by a naval expedition under Admiral Sir E. Fremantle in the late autumn of 1890. Mubarak was finally disposed of at the end of a long-drawn-out war of skirmishes in 1896, and took refuge on German territory.

The Masai, who it was thought would give the most serious trouble to any over-ruling power, very soon acquiesced in the idea of a British protectorate, and have really been the allies of the British in many of their difficulties with recalcitrant peoples.

In 1902, as already mentioned, the Protectorate of East Africa took over the eastern province of Uganda, and was extended to the shores of the Victoria Nyanza and to the slopes of Mount Elgon. On the north its boundaries reached the north-east coast of Lake Rudolf and the Juba River. It now contains seven provinces and a northern tract of

<sup>1</sup> Giving them as compensation, £450,000.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes called Mbaruk.

territory not yet organized.<sup>1</sup> Some difficulties occurred in this northern region owing to numerous rebellions of the



*Photo by Sir Henry Johnston*

IN THE BANANA GROVES OF BUGANDA <sup>1</sup>

Ogadein Somali on the lower Juba, and, in the Boran Gala country, the raids of Abyssinian soldiers, but this northern part of the Protectorate is so sparsely populated that at

<sup>1</sup> The narrow coast belt from Kismayu to Kipini is leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar for £17,000 per annum.

present no attempts are made to administer and control more than the coast belt. Interest in the East African Protectorate is at present centred on the rich but unhealthy region along the coast of the Indian Ocean (in which some 20,000 British Indians are settled); on the territory that borders the line of the Uganda Railway; and most of all on those magnificent tablelands which commence at a distance of about three hundred miles from the coast and



*Photo by Leo Weinthal*

THE UGANDA RAILWAY DESCENDING INTO THE RIFT VALLEY,  
BRITISH EAST AFRICA

extend thence almost to the shores of the Victoria Nyanza. There are many portions of these tablelands without native inhabitants owing partly to the cold temperature, but most of all to disastrous inter-tribal wars which have exterminated peaceful agricultural tribes. On these tablelands four hundred and fifty English and several hundred Boers (together with some other Europeans) have taken up their abode, and there is a strong movement towards the creation of a White East Africa over a region of elevated country of irregular shape with a scattered area of nearly 30,000 square miles. The presence of these white people, and the fact that many of them are persons of consequence

and wealth, have caused some friction with the authorities established by the British Government. A paternal and despotic type of administration, suited to Negro kingdoms like the Uganda Protectorate, is no longer found to be an appropriate type of administration for East Africa. Yet it is only over about 30,000 square miles that there is space and an appropriate climate for the settlement of Europeans. The total area of the Protectorate is nearly 200,000 square miles, of which about one-half may be considered as definitely allotted to Negro peoples. There remains an area, perhaps, of 70,000 square miles not suited to European settlement, and not as yet occupied by Negroes. It is thought, therefore, that to this region may be directed, without injustice to any interest concerned, a stream of Indian migration.

With regard to Zanzibar, the whole of its continental dominions were taken possession of by Germany after the year 1890, and after the payment of an indemnity in money to the Sultan of Zanzibar. For all practical purposes the Sultanate of Zanzibar is now reduced to the two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Here the Sultan governs under the advice of a ministry, of whom the principal members are Englishmen. An agent and consul-general maintained at Zanzibar supervises all acts of the Sultan's administration. The young Sultan of Zanzibar (Sayyid Ali) is a grandson of Sultan Barghash bin Said, and has been educated carefully in England. He is consequently an oriental prince of the new type, like the Khedive of Egypt, and certain of the great feudatory princes of India. Under his government Zanzibar has made great strides of late towards prosperity, and neither Arabs nor Negroes have had in the long run to regret British intervention. A reactionary movement against the British (partly due to wrath at our interference in the slavery question) was started in 1896, when an attempt was made to interfere with the settled succession of the Zanzibar throne. This led to the bombardment of Zanzibar, and to the installation of a Sultan (the father of the present ruler) pledged to the British policy of reforms.

One reason why—seemingly—these British conquests and extensions of Imperial rule or supervision have been so relatively easy and so permanent has been the determination of the British authority to respect, as far as was possible and practicable, the natives' rights to the land and the produce of the land on which they dwelt. Here and there it has been necessary to supersede the native authority in taking charge of national property—forests, mines, big game, &c., but the funds derived from this communal property of



*Photo by J. F. Cunningham*

SLEEPING-SICKNESS PATIENTS, ENTEBBE, UGANDA, 1903

the State are part of the State's revenue, and are accounted for in the eyes of all men and administered solely for the benefit of the State itself. For instance, if there is, or should be, a surplus in any particular department of administration, or on the total revenues of these many African kingdoms, states, and colonies under British control, this revenue is not put into the pocket of the King-Emperor, nor is it given to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, nor applied to any purpose solely connected with the United Kingdom. The revenue that is raised in these countries is spent on their interests solely; and the people of these lands, if they are sufficiently educated, can ascertain to a penny how it has been expended, and are even beginning in some of the lands in British Africa to have a voice as to

the manner in which the public revenues shall be raised, and how they shall be dealt with. It is only by maintaining a perfectly honest administration of these lands assigned—perhaps only temporarily—to our control, that we shall merit the distinguished position in which we have been placed by circumstances, and that without recourse to mere force we may be able to maintain ourselves as rulers in Africa, with the full consent and fraternal co-operation of the Negroes, negroids, and other backward coloured peoples, for whom we are doing what the Romans and Normans did for us.

The Somali coast, as may be seen on the map, is only separated from South-west Arabia by a narrow gulf of sea. Off the north-east point of the great projection

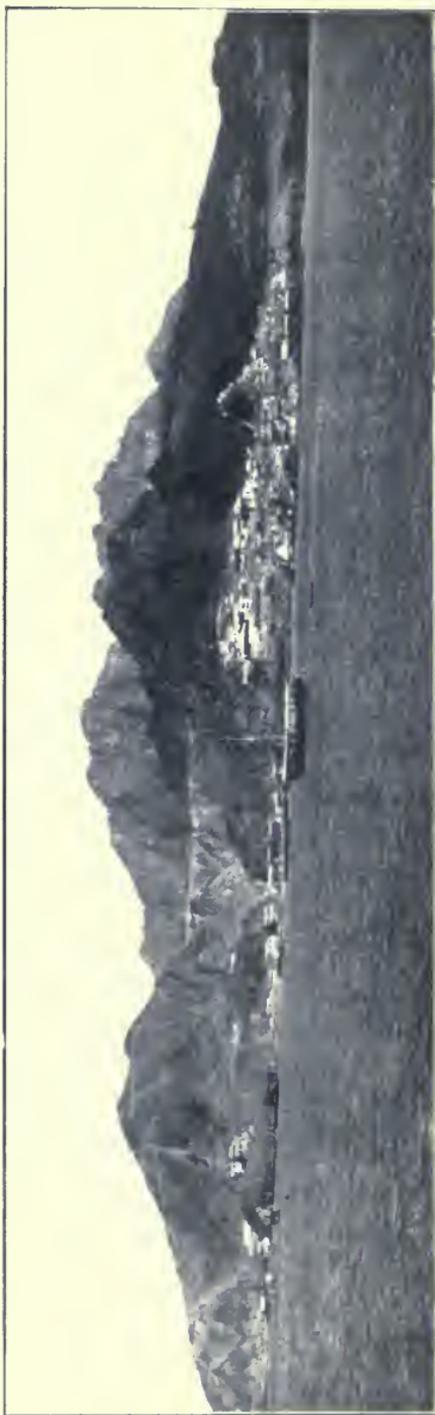


Photo by Leo Wernthal

ADEN

ALTHOUGH ADEN IS ON THE SOUTH COAST OF ARABIA, NEAR THE SOUTHERN ENTRANCE TO THE RED SEA, ITS OCCUPATION BY BRITAIN IN 1839 GREATLY AFFECTED THE HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA AND LED TO THE BRITISH PROTECTORATE OVER SOKOTRA AND SOMALILAND

of Somaliland—the Eastern Horn of Africa—are the large island of Sokotra and a number of islets. Possibly, when men first entered Africa, this Gulf of Aden was dry land and the Red Sea consisted of one or more long lakes connected with the Mediterranean.

Arabia was probably peopled at an early period by a yellow, negroid type of man—akin to the modern Gala, Somali, and Ethiopian races of North-east Africa, not only in bodily appearance, but in language. People of this description had very early occupied the island of Sokotra.



*Photo by Col. H. G. C. Swayne*

TYPICAL SOMALILAND LANDSCAPE : STONES, RUBBLE, AND THORNS

but they were followed up by Arabs and Phœnicians.<sup>1</sup> At one time also Sokotra was occupied by Byzantine Greeks, and there is even a Greek strain in the blood of its present people. By the middle of the nineteenth century it had come into the possession of an Arab dynasty connected with the little state of Kishin, on the south coast of Arabia. As the island<sup>2</sup> occupied a strategical position of some importance in the Indian Ocean, and might have been seized to the detriment of British trade by another European power, it was brought within the British sphere of influence in

<sup>1</sup> At the present day the Sokotrans do not speak Arabic but Mahri (also the dialect of Southern Arabia). Mahri is descended from the old Sabæan Semitic language of South-west Arabia, probably spoken by the Queen of Sheba.

<sup>2</sup> Area, 1584 square miles ; population (mainly Arab), 12,000.

1876, and declared a British protectorate in 1886. Its affairs are directed through the British residency at Aden.

Somaliland remains almost to the present day one of the least known and most independent parts of Africa. This great eastern projection of the Dark Continent is profoundly interesting in its natural history, as it contains quite a number of peculiar beasts, birds, reptiles, insects, and plants. The giraffe of Somaliland is a separate species by itself. Equally remarkable are the strange Grevy's zebra with its numerous thin black stripes; the dwarf Kudu antelope; the vulturine guinea fowl with its beautiful neck plumage of cobalt blue; the wild ass with striped legs; gazelles with very long necks, and many remarkable and peculiar antelopes; and a very strange baboon—the Gelada. Some of these Somali beasts and birds stray beyond the political limits of Somaliland, but most of them are concentrated within those limits.

Throughout this vast country, except for a few pygmy-like negroïds near Cape Guardafui and settlements of escaped slaves along the course of the Shebeili and Juba Rivers, there are no Negroes. There are poor, half-starved helot tribes, living like gipsies amongst the Somali proper—the Midgan, Tomal, and Yibir—but they are little else than degraded Hamites; they are not Negroes.

The Somalis, a tall, handsome, dark-skinned race with Caucasian features and black, curly hair, are divided into a number of tribes, some of them very hostile to each other. Within the political limits of the country known as Somaliland (which is divided between the powers of Britain, France, Italy, and Abyssinia) there are no pagan Somali: they are all Muhammadans and of a somewhat fanatical type. There was probably at one time an important Gala and even Arab civilization in this arid country (once, no doubt, less desert-like in appearance), and this civilization is marked by the ruins of remarkable stone buildings.

In the sixteenth century Somaliland first attracted the attention of the Portuguese on account of its striped

horses.<sup>1</sup> and through the uprising of a powerful Muhammadan leader, a sort of 'mad Mullah' of his day—Muhammad Granye—who attempted to conquer Abyssinia (a Christian country), and would have succeeded but for the intervention of the Portuguese. The Somalis have since often tried to conquer the southern provinces of Abyssinia, but have been gradually beaten back by the better-armed



*Photo by Col. H. G. C. Swayne, R.E.*

A SOMALI HUT

Abyssinians, though the last named have never been able to conquer Somaliland proper.

During the Middle Ages those ports or places at which it was possible to land from a ship, such as Magadosho and Brava on the south coast of Somaliland, together with Berbera and Tajurra on the north coast, were occupied by Arab trading colonies. The Portuguese for a long time held the southern ports of Somaliland, but were ejected by the Maskat Arabs, who transferred these rights over the south

<sup>1</sup> The first zebras known to history were shipped from Zeila in the sixteenth century. 'Zebra' is an Abyssinian or a Gala word.

Somaliland coast to the Sultanate of Zanzibar. The ports of the north coast were added to the possessions of Egypt between 1870 and 1880, and Egyptian garrisons held important places in the Somali interior. But after the downfall of Egyptian power in the Sudan, the garrisons of Egypt were withdrawn entirely from Somaliland. This led in 1885 to the declaration of a French protectorate round Tajurra Bay (nowadays French Somaliland),<sup>1</sup> and in 1884 to a British protectorate over all the northern regions between Tajurra and the vicinity of Cape Guardafui. Over this eastermost point of Africa, Italy was allowed to establish a protectorate, and eventually, by arrangement with Zanzibar, acquired all the south coast of Somaliland as well. The British Protectorate came under the Colonial Office in 1898, and now has an area of about 68,000 square miles. The population is approximately 300,000.

Northern Somaliland had been explored by the great travellers Burton and Speke in 1854, but the expedition (on its way to the great lakes) had been repelled and very nearly exterminated. So many Somalis, however, went over to Aden to work for the British and then returned to their own lands with their savings, that it is surprising that their country was not better disposed than it proved to be towards British control. But the Somalis, though an extremely intelligent race and more like Europeans than Negroes, are very proud and jealous of their independence. Soon, therefore, after the British Protectorate was organized in 1898, trouble began to arise and national discontent was concentrated in a rising under a petty headman named Muhammad Abdallah. The proceedings of this last personage at first seemed so fatuous in their attempts to harass the British power that he was nicknamed by the British officers the 'Mad Mullah.' As a matter of fact, though a fanatical Muhammadan, he was a remarkably clever person. By 1901 his attacks on the settled Somali in the vicinity of British stations had become so serious that

<sup>1</sup> In 1855 France purchased the port of Obok, and acquired other points in 1881-84.

regular expeditions were organized and sent against him, the first, under Colonel E. J. Swayne, defeating the Mullah with considerable loss, the second (1902) ending in a repulse of the British. In 1903 Brigadier-General Sir W. H. Manning was sent to Somaliland to co-operate with an Abyssinian army in the subjugation of Somaliland, but his expedition in its attempt to penetrate to the innermost recesses of this arid, waterless, thorny country met with several severe



*Photo by Col. H. G. C. Swayne, R.E.*

IN SOMALILAND

reverses. Even General Sir C. C. Egerton, who renewed the British attack in 1904, only exacted a half-hearted peace under which the Mullah was allowed considerable privileges, such as access to the sea coast of Italian Somaliland. Abyssinian co-operation in the attempt to subdue the Somalis completely failed, either because the Abyssinians were too prudent to risk a defeat, or more likely because they secretly sympathized with the efforts of a kindred race to eject the European.

After a brief interval of doubtful acquiescence in the British terms of peace, the Mullah, Sayyid Muhammad

Abdallah, broke out again into hostile action in 1908 and 1909, and, at the time of writing, measures are under consideration for securing British Somaliland against his hostile operations. Probably the British Government will adopt the sensible policy of not risking its armies with defective transport in a waterless desert, but will spend its money instead in constructing a railway right through Somaliland towards the White Nile. Nothing subdues a restless, warlike, eager people (such as are the Somalis) better than the construction of a railroad. It diverts their thoughts to a profitable commerce, offers them well-paid regular work, and fascinates them with the idea of quick transport. It is indeed strange and sad that we should be engaged in warfare with this remarkable people, so many individuals of which have worked with the British in East Africa and Central Africa as assistants in the great work of exploration, and in a position always superior to that accorded to the local Negro. Stanley's principal factotum in his marvellous exploring and organizing journeys in Eastern Africa and the Congo Basin was a Somali, Dualla, who also assisted Count Teleki in the expedition which discovered Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie.

#### NOTE TO CHAPTER XVI

##### THE NATIVE TRIBES OF THE BRITISH EAST AFRICAN DOMINION

THE negroid, 'Hamitic' people of Somaliland have already been mentioned; it remains, therefore, to enumerate and describe the principal races and tribes of British East Africa (including the Uganda Protectorate) and Zanzibar.

They belong to the following types and designations: (1) The CONGO PYGMY race, found in a more or less pure form on the extreme western frontier of Uganda, and known as *Bambute*: short-legged, short-necked, broad-nosed, big-nostrilled dwarf people from 3 ft. 8 in. to 4 ft. 8 in. in height, with hairy bodies and usually reddish-brown skins. In a taller, less pronounced, darker-skinned form, the pygmy-type is found amongst the *Ba-amba* of Ruwenzori, the *Ba-chagwe* of eastern Buganda, and perhaps among the mountain peoples of the Elgon district. The Pygmy-prognathous type (as I term it in my book on Uganda) shades into the FOREST NEGRO, with his short legs, long arms, and powerful chest, which is characteristic of all forested Africa

from the shores of the Victoria Nyanza westwards to Senegambia. The mass of the Bantu populations of the Uganda Protectorate—the *Ba-nyoro*, *Ba-ganda*, *Ba-soga*, *Ba-sesc*, *Ba-iru* (Ankole), and the *Ba-konjo* of Southern Ruwenzori—belong mainly to this group, though percolating through them are two superior strains of negroid—the HIMA aristocracy and the long-legged NILOTIC type. The Hima are also called Huma, Yima, Witu, Hinda, Ruhinda, Tusi, and Chwezi ('spirit,' 'demigod'), according to the district and the local dialect. They are obviously of Gala or even ancient Egyptian type and represent the remains of sparse invasions from the north, which must have begun to enter the regions of the Albert and Victoria Nyanza between two thousand and one thousand years ago. They evidently brought with them from the Nile Valley or from Ethiopia the art of working metals, and most of the domestic animals (oxen, sheep, goats, fowls) and musical instruments which the people have at the present day. When seen in a relatively pure form, the men and women of this negroid aristocracy are a very handsome race. Their bodies have the beautiful proportions of a Greek statue; their faces, the fineness of feature of a good-looking European. The skin colour is usually a ruddy brown or even pale yellow; but the hair, though thick, abundant, and fairly long, is the tightly crimped Negro 'wool.'

The Bantu-speaking populations of the north-east and eastern shores of the Victoria Nyanza are more like the Nilotic Negroes in type, with very long legs, rather small heads, and a tendency to slimness. Whereas in the northern *Kavirondo* tribes they have mingled with the more typical Negroes and their bodies are better proportioned, their faces are comely. The ugliest and most debased amongst them, however, speak a most interesting type of Bantu language (the Masaba dialects of West Elgon). These, in some respects, come nearest in structure to the original mother tongue of the Bantu languages. Some of the so-called Kavirondo people, however, still use a Nilotic Negro speech closely allied to the Acholi (Gang), Aluru, and Tesi of the Western Nile and Central Provinces of Uganda. In the lands bordering Lake Rudolf on the west and between Rudolf and the Nile, there is a race of giants of splendid physical formation—the *Lango*, *Lotuka*, *Tukana* (Turkana), *Karamojo*, and *Suk*—belonging in their languages to the Nilotic group (though perhaps most akin to the *Masai* sub-division), but in their physical formation recalling more the best type of Bantu Negro than the lanky peoples of the Nile Basin. The *Tukana* are, perhaps, the tallest race in the world, the height of the men almost averaging 6 feet, individuals of 6 ft. 10 in. and even 7 feet being relatively common.

Amongst the *Sūk*, however (speaking the same language), a dwarfish type is often met with, almost a pygmy. These short men and women between four and five feet in height also occur in the widespread *Dorobo* nomad tribes of Eastern Africa, and perhaps again (as already mentioned) in the *Doko* peoples of Southern Ethiopia. In some respects they suggest the Bushman type of South Africa rather than the Congo Pygmy. Some of the *Dorobo*, however, of British East Africa are almost like Europeans in their facial features. This *Dorobo* tribe of hunters, which ranges from the Nandi plateau almost to the coast of the Indian Ocean, though it is united by the



*Photo by Sir Harry Johnston*

A CHRISTIAN NATIVE OF BUGANDA

use of similar dialects (which are related to Nandi), is evidently a congeries of outcast peoples of widely varying physical types, some of



TYPES OF BRITISH MEN WHO HAVE OPENED UP AFRICA: THE MISSIONARY SCHOLAR<sup>1</sup>

them resembling Bushmen in appearance, others Gala or Somali on the north. The *Nandi* people are taller than the average Dorobo, and in the *Lumbwa* tribe they become almost giants. They are often a quite handsome people with Gala-like faces, though occasionally a low type of Negro crops up. They are warlike and restless, and have given the British Government a great deal of trouble. They are related in language to the tribes that live on the north of Mount Elgon and on the east and south of that huge volcano. The Nandi language group is a section of the great Nilotic family and is distantly related to the Nile languages, and also to the group which includes Masai, Bari, and Tukana.

The *Bari* people, though they speak a language of the Nilotic group, are more akin in appearance to the Sudanian Negroes. The

*Madi*, who form a considerable enclave in the Nile province of the

<sup>1</sup> George Grenfell.

Uganda Protectorate are altogether Sudanian in type (big, black Negroes, with very prominent cheekbones). Their language also is related to the great Central Sudan congeries of tongues which extends westwards into the basin of the Benue. The *Lendu* of the west coast of the Albert Nyanza have an aristocracy of Hima origin, but the mass of the people are dwarfish and the language they speak is very isolated in its affinities. On the other hand, the *Lango* and *Lotuka* peoples living to the west of the Bari and Madi are a tall, handsome race with pronounced Gala affinities, speaking languages allied to Masai.

The MASAI, to whom so many references have been made, have no great numerical importance at the present time. They have died out to a great extent through civil wars, diseases, and other causes. They number, perhaps, three hundred thousand at the present day. During the nineteenth century they were the terror of East Africa. They must have invaded the Bantu countries south of the Equator three or four hundred years ago, and have destroyed many of the tribes speaking Bantu languages between the east coast of the Victoria Nyanza and the Indian Ocean. They extended their raids and their settlements as far south as the seventh degree of south latitude, and were only checked in that direction by the warlike



Photo by Capt. F. C. Hincks

TYPES OF BRITISH MEN WHO HAVE  
OPENED UP AFRICA: THE  
MILITARY OFFICER

Hehe people of German East Africa, a tribe that was, to a certain extent, stiffened by the infusion of Zulu blood from the south (as related on p. 102). In appearance the Masai are long-legged and chocolate-skinned, with large eyes, a tendency to prominent cheek-bones and long front teeth. But as a rule they are a good-looking race, and are negroid rather than Negro. Originally they were a pastoral people who cared for nothing but keeping cattle and taking by force all cattle belonging to other tribes. But a section of them—often referred to as the Kuavi, Wasengishu, or Enjamusi—settled down in the regions round Lake Baringo and on the Nandi plateau and became agriculturists. The cattle-keeping Masai turned on their more peaceful brethren in the middle of the nineteenth century and nearly exterminated them. This is one of the reasons why the British found so much of the upland region between the Rift Valley on the east and the Victoria Nyanza on the west denuded of people. The Kavirondo, Masai, Nandi, Tukana, and most of the Nilotic Negroes of East and Equatorial Africa, although their women were well-clothed, affected nudity amongst the men; at any rate until within the last few years. In this they differed markedly from the Bantu Negroes of Africa (except in the case of a few tribes or castes, like the Hima aristocracy and the Zulu peoples, obviously derived from a Nilotic intermixture).

Curiously enough the Masai, though such terrible foes to the Negro races of East Africa, accepted British and German domination with little or no resistance. This is said to be due to one of the great 'medicine-men' chiefs amongst them having predicted the coming of the white man thirty or forty years ago, before any European had penetrated the interior of East Africa. In making this prediction on his death-bed, he advised his people to receive the white race as brothers and allies.

In the *Kikuyu* Highlands of East Africa, and round the eastern slopes of Mount Kenya (*Wadhicho*), on the south-east (*Taveita*) and north-east (*Rombo*) of Kilimanjaro, and along the course of the Tana River, there are mountain tribes of Bantu Negroes. The *Kikuyu* tribe is numerous, and has been very much inclined to fight the incoming European; but they are industrious agriculturists, and now that they see the land is not taken from them, they are settling down peaceably. The handsome, tall, naked *Akamba* occupy the open plains of Ukambani (at an average altitude of 3,000 feet); and the coast belt of British East Africa, from the German boundary on the south to the mouth of the Tana River on the north, is occupied by black-skinned Negroes of a mixed type. But north of the lower Tana, the *Gala* and the *Somali* extend their range from the sea coast to the eastern shores of Lake Rudolf. All the northern part of the British East Africa Protectorate is in the occupation of Gala or Somali tribes. The two are somewhat closely allied in language as well as in race. They are negroids, with, perhaps, a greater proportion of Caucasian blood, so that they are usually ranked amongst the Caucasian peoples, because their hair is never tightly curled as in the Negro, and their facial features are almost exactly those of Europeans, though the skin colour may be dark. The men of the pagan Somali and Gala tribes of the far interior go quite naked, but a large proportion of these

people in the east have long been converted to Muhammadanism, and have dressed to a certain extent like the Arabs. They use a plough, which alone differentiates them from the Negro; for no Negro race whatsoever throughout the whole of Africa—unless constrained to do so within the last few years by Europeans—has ever used a plough. The chief agricultural implement of the Negroes is the hoe, originally made out of a crooked branch.

The coast Bantu Negroes of East Africa are related in language to the *Swahili*-speaking people of Zanzibar, though their own dialects are quite distinct. The principal tribes are the *A-nyika* and *A-giriama*. The people of Lamu, the Ozo River (Vitu), Mombasa, and most of the coast towns, and of Zanzibar are mainly *Swahili* (i.e. Negroes mixed with some Arab or Persian blood).

The Swahili language is an easy, musical speech of the Bantu family, but much mixed with Arabic words. It is now spoken as a trade language over all East Africa and the Congo basin.











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