

SOUTH AFRICA

P. W. MURRAY



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SOUTH AFRICA

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FROM

ARAB DOMINATION

TO

BRITISH RULE

EDITED BY

R. W. MURRAY, F.R.G.S.

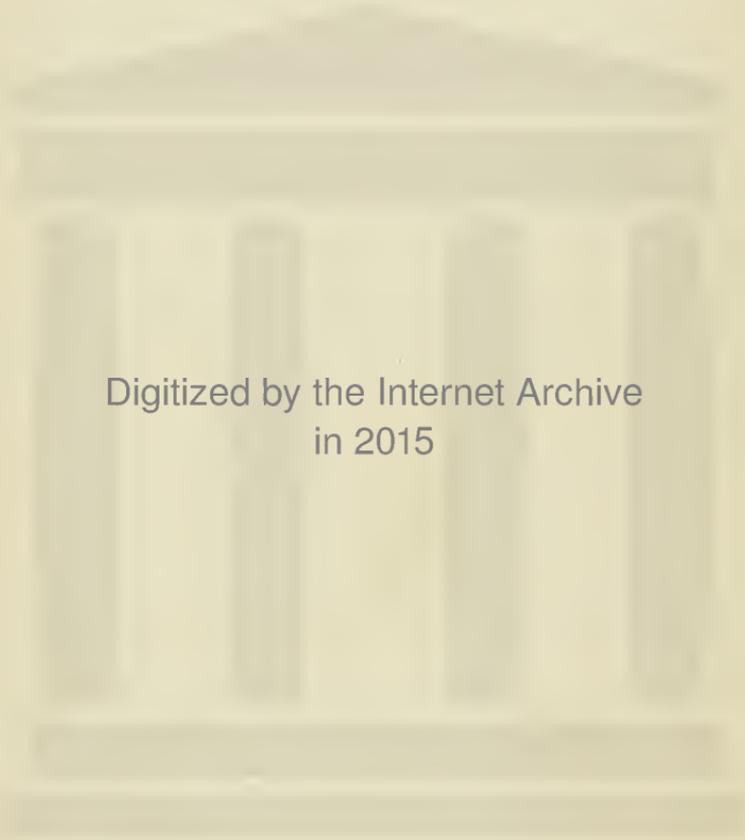
OF CAPE TOWN

WITH MAPS, ETC.

LONDON: EDWARD STANFORD

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PREFACE

WE have endeavoured to produce a concise and trustworthy history of "South Africa, from Arab Domination to British Rule." Professor A. H. Keane has contributed the chapter on "The Portuguese in South Africa"; and the translations from the Dutch historian Dapper, appended to that chapter, have been prepared by Mr. J. J. Beuzemaker.

The maps speak for themselves, whilst the engravings of Cape Town (1668-1891) will show what British Rule has done for South Africa.

R. W. MURRAY.

LONDON, *June* 1891.

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CHAPTER I

THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH AFRICA

THEIR MERITS AND DEMERITS—SINS OF COMMISSION
AND OMISSION—CLAIMS AND PRETENSIONS

By Prof. A. H. KEANE

At the close of the fourteenth century the African seaboard was known only as far as the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb on the east and a little beyond Cape Nun on the west side. The Canary Islands facing this cape had already been discovered, or rather rediscovered, for they were certainly known to the Ancients, and “Canaria,” one of the *Fortunatae Insulae*, figures on Ptolemy’s map (A.D. 130), though placed by that geographer nearly twenty degrees too far south. The memory of these sunny “Isles of the Blest” seems never to have quite died out, and after centuries of apparent oblivion they again emerge from the Atlantic waters in the Africa of the Arab historian Edrisi (1154). Two centuries later their position is somewhat accurately fixed on the Catalan map of the world (1375), for they had meantime been reached

The African seaboard.

First discoveries.

Edrisi’s map.

The Catalan map.

and even temporarily occupied by some daring Genoese navigators. But beyond this point all was pure fiction, and the Catalan map terminates appropriately southwards with a *Finistera*, or "Land's End," off the mouth of a *Riu de lor*, or "River of Gold," which is drawn eastwards to a lake "Njll," and thence still eastwards right across the continent to the Egyptian Nile below Nubia.

First navigators not Portuguese.

Portuguese writers claim for their nation the glory of having been the first to plunge into the "Gloomy Ocean" of Edrisi, which stretched beyond this *Finistera* away to the unknown Austral regions. But the claim must be disallowed. Their first authentic expedition to the West African waters was certainly despatched about the middle of the fourteenth century by Alphonso IV., but it was commanded by Italians, Angiolino di Tagghia and Nicolosi di Recco, and its object was neither discovery nor even conquest, but simply plunder. Nor did these "sea-robbers," as they were called by contemporary records, get beyond the Canary waters, where they had been preceded by other Italians, and followed by Norman rovers under Béthencourt (1402). The Cape Verd Islands also were first reached in 1456 by the Venetian, Cadomosto, and the Genoese, Usodimere, and the next expedition to that archipelago (1460) was conducted by Antonio di Noli, another Italian in the Portuguese service.

Angiolino. Nicolosi.

Cadomosto. Usodimere.

Antonio di Noli.

The first Portuguese navigators.

Giliane 1434.

But the Portuguese navigators are unquestionably entitled to the glory of having first put a girdle round the continental periphery from Cape Bojador, doubled in 1434 by Giliane (Gil Eannes), to Cape Guardafui,

reached in the very first years of the sixteenth century by Albuquerque. Duarte Barbosa, who wrote in 1512, already tells us that in his time the Portuguese ships "lie in wait about Cape Guardafun for the [Arab] ships plying between the Red Sea and India, and take them with all their riches."¹

At first their progress was slow, for they had to feel their way cautiously down the arid Saharan seaboard and the more southern fever-stricken coastlands. "Hence it was not by any one extensive voyage, but by many successive expeditions, that the shore-line of Africa was gradually mapped out. In this way greater courage, confidence, experience, and skill were gained with each successive addition to the limits of the known, and a spirit of emulation was aroused which irresistibly carried the new knights-errant of commerce and science farther and farther south in search of the promised land,"² that is, the empire of the legendary Prester John, or the gold and spice regions of the Far East.

Pioneers were also discouraged by the old Aristotelian teaching that the southern regions beyond the tropic of Cancer were uninhabitable, being burnt up by the scorching solar rays, which prevented the germination of all vegetable and animal life. But that delusion was for ever exploded when in 1443 Nuno Tristam doubled Cape Blanco and reached the

Slow progress
along the
West Coast.

Nuno Tristam
1443.

¹ *Viage por Malabar y Costas de Africa*, 1512, translated from a Spanish MS. (itself from a Portuguese original) in the Barcelona Library, 1524, by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley, Hakluyt Series, 1868.

² Joseph Thomson, *Mungo Park and the Niger*, p. 20.

Diniz 1445.

Arguin Archipelago three degrees within the tropic. Progress was now somewhat more rapid, and the doubling of Cape Verd by Fernandez Diniz (Dinis Dias) in 1445 was followed by several expeditions, by which, within the next thirty years, the whole of the Senegambian and Upper Guinea coasts were surveyed as far as the equator, which was crossed in 1470.

Diego Cam
1484.

Cape doubled
by Bart. Diaz
1486.

A fresh impulse was given to maritime adventure by King John II., during whose eventful reign (1481-95) the Congo estuary was reached by Diego Cam in 1484, and the "Stormy Cape," afterwards re-named the Cape of Good Hope, doubled by Bartholomew Dias in 1486. A pause of over a decade now ensued, as if time were needed to study and co-ordinate the multiplicity of facts, which had been accumulated during the gradual exploration of the western seaboard. But the extreme southern limits of the Continent were now known, and the portals of the eastern seas were thrown open to the first comers. Meanwhile glowing accounts continued to be received of the boundless wealth, of the gold, and silks, and spices, and diamonds of those regions, a western route to which had been found by the discovery of the New World. It was no longer possible to hesitate, and thus risk the loss of the rich prize that had been earned by over half a century of almost superhuman efforts to reach the Austral waters. Hence, on the accession of Emanuel (1495), almost a greater encourager of maritime enterprise than his predecessor, preparations were immediately made for the memorable expedition of 1497, when Vasco da Gama,

following in the wake of Dias, again doubled the Cape, coasted the seaboard as far north as Melinda (Malindi), and then, under the guidance of local pilots, steered straight for India. Within five years of that date the whole of the east coast, as far north as Cape Guardafui, was visited, and many points permanently occupied. The barriers between East and West had been suddenly broken down for ever, and the Portuguese "burst into the Indian Ocean like a pack of hungry wolves upon a well-stocked sheep-walk."—Sir George Birdwood.

Vasco da
Gama opens
the road to
India 1497.

The contrast in this respect between the western and eastern sides of the Continent was most striking. The exploration of the Atlantic coast had taken the greater part of a century (1434-86), whereas the opposite seaboard was surveyed and brought to a large extent under the sway of Portugal within a single decade. But this contrast finds its explanation in the still greater political and social contrasts at that time prevailing between the two regions. With the single exception of the Congo empire, the west side from Marocco to the Cape was inhabited by innumerable aboriginal populations without any political cohesion, mostly in a state of perpetual inter-tribal warfare, and at the lowest state of savagery compatible with any kind of human society. Little trade or general intercourse had been developed between hostile communities possessing no sea-going craft, without any wants needing an interchange of commodities, destitute of harbours or seaports, and mostly dwelling in frail habitations, easily destroyed

Cause of slow
progress on
the West
Coast.

and almost as easily reconstructed elsewhere. The conquest of such peoples was necessarily a work of endless detail, which, in fact, has scarcely yet been everywhere accomplished.

Rapid progress on the East Coast.

Far different were the relations prevailing on the eastern seaboard, which had for ages been subjected to the civilising influences of powerful, and in some respects highly cultured, nations, such as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Greeks, followed in later times by the Arabs, Persians, and Hindus. Edrisi's above-mentioned map of 1154 already shows a coast-line, disposed doubtless in the direction from west to east instead of from north to south, but containing such familiar names as Berbera, Markah, and Melinde, and offshore the islands of Sokotra, Komor (Comoro), and Malai, that is Madagascar, largely peopled by Malays (Malagasy) from the Eastern Archipelago.

Edrisi's main divisions on the east side.

Zenj.
Sofala.
Wakwak.

The mainland itself, from the parallel of Sokotra southwards, is divided on this map into three great regions, named respectively Zenj (Zang), Sofala, and Wakwak, a division which roughly corresponded with the conditions that still existed three hundred and fifty years later, when Vasco da Gama first penetrated into the Indian Ocean and opened the seaward route to the Far East.

Wakwak identified.

WAKWAK, a term which has greatly puzzled historical geographers, is simply an Arabic corruption of Kwa-kwa, later Khoi-khoi, that is "Men of Men," the proper national name of the Hottentots, whose domain in Edrisi's time extended through Kafirland up the south-east coast, probably to the Limpopo, whence,

“long before the Portuguese circumnavigation of Africa, they were driven back by Kafir tribes.”¹

The only station ever founded by the Portuguese in “Wakwak” was Lourenço Marques, established in 1545 by a trader of that name at the mouth of the Espirito Sancto river in Delagoa Bay. It was a mere factory, engaged almost exclusively in the slave trade down to the year 1828, when it consisted of a single house, round which were clustered a few wretched hovels. It served, however, to mark the extreme southern limit of the Portuguese possessions on the east coast, though it was so destitute of communications with the capital of the province, that when the governor was killed and the fort destroyed by the Zulus in 1842, it took a whole year for the news to reach Mozambique by the roundabout way of Brazil! The Portuguese do not appear to have ever crossed over to the south side of Delagoa Bay; yet when the

Portuguese
stations in
Wakwak.
Lourenço
Marques.

Delagoa Bay.

¹ “Bis sie von dort, schon lange vor der Portugiesischen Umschiffung Afrika's von Kaffer-Stämmen wieder zurückgedrängt wurden” (Dr. Lichtenstein, *Travels*, i. p. 400). It may here be remarked that this former extension of the Hottentot domain eastwards and north-eastwards can be proved by the still surviving Hottentot names of rivers and mountains in lands at present occupied by Ama-Xosa and other Kafir peoples. “Für gewisse Gegenden ist diess völlig erweislich, indem Berge und Flüsse des Landes, wo jetzt die Koossa (Ama-Xosa) wohnen, in ihren Hottentotischen Namen den sichern Beweis an sich tragen dass sie einst ein bleibender Besitz der Hottentoten gewesen sind” (*Adelung u. Vater*, Berlin, 1812, iii. p. 290). Note that *kwa*, usually written *qua*, still survives as the regular plural ending of masculine names in Hottentot. Thus: Nama-qua, Gri-qua, meaning the “Nama men or people,” the “Gri-men,” and so on. In Hindustani the word *lōg* = “people,” has in the same way become a plural ending, as in *Angrezilōg* = “English-people,” “Englishmen.”

English appeared on the scene in 1823 they claimed possession of the whole inlet, including a part of the southern district of Tongaland. After over half a century of litigation the question was decided in their favour in 1875 by Marshal MacMahon, President of the French Republic, to whom it had been referred by both parties.

Edrisi's Sofala determined.

The whole space on Edrisi's map stretching from Wakwak west (north) to Zenj is occupied by SOFALA, a term which needs no identification. It was, and still is, the designation of a seaport which gave its name to an ancient kingdom, which at one time extended from the Limpopo northwards far beyond the Zambesi, but which later was limited on the north side by that river. It consequently corresponds roughly to the present Gazaland, though to what extent it reached from the coast inland was never known to the Portuguese. The port was actually visited by Pedras Cavalho, a Portuguese captain, in 1480, that is, seventeen years before Vasco da Gama had opened the route to India. It was also one of the very first places seized and permanently occupied by the Portuguese, who captured it in 1505, and who, supposing it to be the Ophir of the ancients, here erected a Fort Ophir, the ruins of which still exist. They also identified the river Sabi, which reaches the coast some miles lower down, with the name of the Queen of Saba (Sheba), all these identifications being due to the fact that Sofala had for centuries been the great outlet for the gold brought down to the seaboard from the old mines of Manica and other auriferous inland districts.

First Portuguese stations.

Fort Ophir.

The gold-fields.

The whole of these goldfields seem to have at that time belonged to a powerful chief named Benamatapa (Benomotapa), or Monomotapa, who is already mentioned by Barbosa, and of whom Camoens also sings—

Vê do Benomotapa o grande imperio
De Selvatica gente, negra e nua.—X. 93.

But the first authentic reference to this potentate, who has given rise to as much mystification as Prester John himself, is made by De Barros in his *Asia*, First Decade, Book X. chap. i. As De Barros is not accessible in English form, it may be well here to give a close translation of those passages bearing on the Benomotapa, his territory and the famous palaces or castles of Symbaoe (Zimbaoé), which are now in ruins, but which seem to have been still occupied as royal residences so late as the sixteenth century :—¹

“All the land which we include in the kingdom of Sofala is a great region ruled by a pagan prince named Benomotapa; it is enclosed like an island by two arms of a river, which issues from the most considerable lake in all Africa, which was much sought after by the ancients as being the hidden source of the famous Nile, whence also issues our Zaire [Congo], which flows by the kingdom of Congo. In that direction we may say that this great lake lies nearer to our western ocean than to the eastern, according to the position of Ptolemy; for from the same kingdom

Monomotapa.

De Barros's account of Monomotapa, his kingdom, palaces, and gold-mines.

Extent of Monomotapa's kingdom.

Lakes and rivers.

¹ The edition here used is that of Lisbon, Royal Printing Office, 1777. De Barros was born in 1496 and died in 1570, and was consequently a contemporary of the period covered by his history.

of Congo there flow to it six rivers—Bancáre, Vanba, Cuylu, Bibi, Maria Maria, Zanculo—which are very copious, besides others without name, which make it like a sea navigable by many sails; wherein is an island which sends forth 30,000 men who go to fight with those of the mainland. And of those three notable streams which at present we know to issue from that lake, which go to fall into the sea at such great distances one from the other, the one which flows through most land is the Nile, which the Abexijs [Habesh, Abyssinians] of the land of Preste João [Prester John] call Tacuij, which is joined by two other considerable rivers called by Ptolemy Astabora[s] and Astapus, and by the natives Tacazij [Tacazze] and Abanhi [Abai, Blue Nile?]. And supposing even that this Abanhi issues from another great lake called Barcena [Tana, Tsana? ¹], and by Ptolemy Coloa, and also contains islands in which are some monasteries of monks (as will be seen in our geography), still it cannot compare with our great lake, for, according to the information we have from Congo and Sofala, it has a circuit of over a hundred leagues.

“The river which flows towards Sofala after issuing from this lake, and which has a long course, divides into two branches. One reaches the coast this side of Cape Correntes, and is the river which we formerly called the Rio da Lagoa, and now the Rio do Espirito

¹ The identification here suggested is highly probable, the first syllable *bar* of *Barcena* being a Semitic word (*bahr*), meaning lake, sea, river; hence Bahr-cena = Lake Cena, Tsana, the Abyssinian lake whence flows the Abai or Blue Nile.

Sancto, lately fixed by Lourenço Marques, who discovered it in the year '45 [1545], and the other branch debouching 25 leagues below Sofala is called the Cuama, although other people inland call it Zam- bere.¹ This branch is much the more copious than the other do Espirito Sancto, being navigable for over 250 leagues, and into it fall these six large rivers—Panhames [Hanyani,² which rises at Mount Hampden in Mashonaland?], Luamguoa [Oangwa, a large western affluent of the Hanyani], Arruya [Ruia, which with the Mudzi or Mozi and the Ruenya drains a large part of the north Mashona slopes to the Zambesi?], Manjovo [Majova on the north side of the Zambesi], Inadire [?], and Ruenia [Ruenya, a main affluent of the Ruia], all of which water Benomotapa's land, and the greater number of them carry down much gold which is yielded by that land. Thus these two branches, with the sea on the other side, form this great kingdom of Sofala into an island, which may have a circuit of over 750 leagues. . . .

The Zambesi.

Zambesi
affluents
identified.

“The mines of that region, where gold is obtained, those lying nearest to Sofala, are those which they call Manica [still so named]; they are in a district encircled by mountains which may have a circuit of 30 leagues; and they generally know the locality which yields the gold from its dry and arid appear-

The Manica
gold-mines.

¹ This is of course the Zambesi, the interchange of *s* and *r* (Zambesi, Zamberi) being normal in many South African Bantu dialects, as between the Bechuana and Zulu-Kafir groups. Thus Bechuana *Morimo* = Kafir *Mosimo*, etc. In Kafir there is no *r*, which is always replaced either by *s* or *l*.

² *nh* Portuguese = *ny* English : *Inhambane* = *Nyambane*, etc.

ance, and the whole district is called Matuca [Mashona], and the people who mine it are the Botongas.¹ . . . In those Manica mines, which may lie some 50 leagues to the west of Sofala,² the Caffres [Kafirs] have to labour hard, the land being so dry; for all the gold found there is in dust, so that they have to take the excavated earth to a place where water can be had, for which they make some holes, where it collects in winter, and generally nobody digs more than six or seven spans deep [four to five feet], and if they go to twenty they come upon the hard rock.

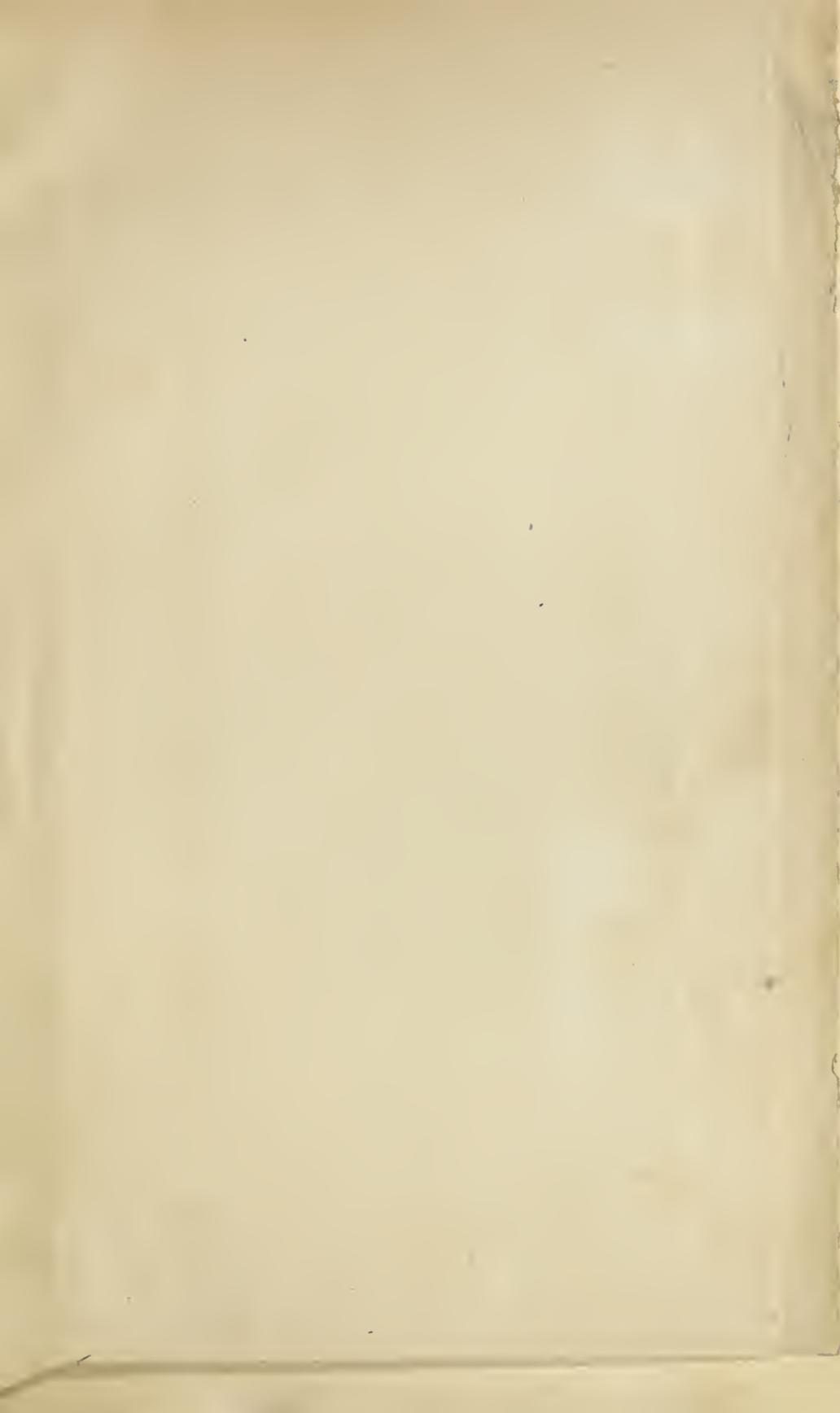
The Boro and Quiteve gold-mines.

“The other mines farther removed from Sofala may be from 100 to 200 leagues distant; they are in the districts of Boro and Quiticuy,³ and in them, as well as in the above-mentioned rivers which water that land, the gold is found of larger size, some embedded in the reefs, some already cleared by the winter torrents; hence in some of the pools, such as remain in summer, they dive down and find much gold in the mud brought up. In other localities, where are some lagoons, 200 men set to work to drain off about half the water, and in the mud which they sift they also find gold; and so rich is the

¹ That is the Ba-Tongas or Ama-Tongas who have since migrated southwards to Tongaland between Delagoa Bay and Zululand. There is still a kindred Ba-Toka people east of the Ruenya river, who were widespread before the arrival of the Mashonas, and who gave their name to Matoka or Matucaland, that is, the present Mashonaland.

² Massi Kesse, the present chief station in Manicaland, is about 170 miles or 50 leagues in a bee-line from Sofala.

³ That is, Quiteve or Kiteve, which, however, in Mr. E. A. Maund's new map of this region is placed *east* of Manica, therefore nearer to Sofala. Portuguese *qui* = English *ki*.





Dichiaratione dell' Egitto dal Cairo in giù

A. Cairo Vecchio
 B. Soltau dove si prendela terra
 C. Sito delle Piramidi
 D. Gran Cairo
 E. Babo
 F. Divisione del Nilo per congiungere i due mari
 G. Ramo di Rosetta
 H. Salomon
 I. Fua
 K. Fossa d'Alc Sandria
 L. Ale Sandria
 M. Lago Maria
 N. Rosetta
 O. Castello alla bocca del fi.
 P. Altro castello all'altra bocca
 Q. Barchin porto d'Esfor
 R. Fossa
 S. Fossa
 T. Deserto
 U. Macale
 V. Ramo di Damietta
 W. Rosetta
 X. Mansura
 Y. Mansura
 Z. Mensura
 AA. Fossa cominciata amirante
 BB. seguita in parte da Sinan Pasha
 CC. Diuisione del Nilo per congiungere i due mari
 DD. Fossa Traiana
 EE. Deserto
 FF. Lago Sorbonide detto
 GG. Fossa d'Alc Sandria
 HH. Fossa d'Alc Sandria
 II. Lago Maria
 JJ. Rosetta
 KK. Castello alla bocca del fi.
 LL. Altro castello all'altra bocca
 MM. Castello
 NN. Damietta
 OO. Brulle Lago
 PP. Deserto
 QQ. Marmarica

Almolto Ill^{mo} & Re^{mo} Mons^{re} Antonio Migliori Vescovo di S. Marco, & Commendatore di S. Spirito.

Infino ad hora niuno ha così ben rappresentato in disegno l'Africa et il Capo di buona Spe: raiata, et i Laghi del Nilo, et i monti donde scende, et i Reami del Prete lami, et di Congo, et le contrade vicine, come il nostro Sig^{ro} Odoardo con la grande sua carità che V. S. R^{ma} si narra in questa minore forma. Hor io parim^o affermo non uederli il sito dell' hodierno Egitto dal Cairo in giù in tuola ueruna stampato tanto simile al uero, quanto nella presente, et io regolo per hauerlo due uolte cammato et ritto con diligenza secondo la strettura dello spatio. Sono con lettere segnati inuochi per douersi elle portare nella Cartella sopra posta, et aggiungerli li nomi di ciascheduno.

Di Roma à 25 d' Aprile M.D. XCX¹ Ser^o Filippo Pigafetta.

CIL NEST ROSE SANS ESPINE

ground that if the people were industrious great quantities could be had; but they are so indolent that stress of hunger alone will keep them at the mines. Hence the Moors who visit those districts have recourse to a ruse to make them diligent. They cover the negroes and their women with clothes, beads, and trinkets, in which they delight, and when all are pleased they trust everything to them, telling them to go and work the mines, and on their return at such a time they can pay them for those things, so that in this way by giving them credit they oblige them to work, and so truthful are the negroes that they keep their word.

“There are other mines in a district called Toroa,¹ which is otherwise known as the kingdom of Butua, whose ruler is a prince by name Burrow, a vassal of Benomotapa. This land is near the other which we said

¹ The Toroa and Butua gold-mines.

¹ On Pigafetta's map (1591), here reproduced, Toroa and Butua figure, not as one but as two distinct territories, the former south, the latter west of Manhica [Manica], with Zimbae between. Both are placed south of the river Magnice, which cannot be correct, if the Magnice or Manhice (*gn* Italian = *nh* Portuguese) is to be identified with the present Manitze (Wanetze, Nuanetze), affluent of the Limpopo. But Toroa and Butua have given historical geographers as much trouble as the phantom empire of Monomotapa itself, and, like it, they still go wandering up and down the maps in hopeless search of a final resting-place. In the text Pigafetta says nothing about Butua, but places Toroa somewhere near the mythical “Mountains of the Moon,” source of pretty well all the great rivers of Africa. “These two rivers (St. Christopher and Lourenço Marques, *i.e.* Espirito Sancto) flow from the Mountains of the Moon, so famous amongst the ancients, called by the people of the country Toroa.” The Italian text is obscure, and might mean that Toroa was the local name, not of the country, but of the Mountains of the Moon themselves.—*Relazione del Reame di Congo et delle Circonvicine Contrade, per Filippo Pigafetta, Rome, 1591.*

Ancient
buildings.

consisted of extensive plains, and those mines are the oldest that are known in that region. They are all in a plain, in the middle of which stands a square fortress, all of dressed stones within and without, well wrought and of marvellous size, without any lime [mortar] showing the joinings, the walls of which are over 25 hands thick [18 to 19 feet], but the height is not so great compared to the thickness. And above the gateway of that edifice is an inscription which some learned Moorish [Arab] traders who were there could not read, nor say what writing it was. And grouped, as it were, round this structure are others on some heights, like it in the stonework and without lime, in which is a tower twelve braças [72 feet] high.

Symbaoe,
Monomotapa's
residence.

“All these structures the people of the country call Symbaoe, which with them means a court [royal residence], for every place where Benomotapa stays is so called; and as they speak of this as being a royal building, all the other dwellings of the king bear the same name.¹ There is a nobleman in charge of them like an *alcaide mór* [head constable], and such an

¹ This term has sorely perplexed etymologists, who, in their ignorance of the local Bantu dialects, could only make the wildest guesses at its meaning. That De Barros gives its true signification seems highly probable, the components being *nzimba*, a house, residence, and *mbuie*, a lord or chief; hence *nzimba-mbuie*, *zimbabye*, *zymbaoé*, etc., as it is variously written, clearly means a royal residence. In the widespread Chinyanja language of Nyassaland *mbuie* still means a lord, and *nyumba* a house, where it is to be noticed that *ny* interchanges with *nj*, *nz*, etc. Compare Lake Nyassa, Nyansa, Nyanja, Nyanza, etc. Hence *nyumba* = *nzumba*, *nzimba*, *zimba*. See A. Riddel's *Grammar of the Chinyanja Language*, London, 1880. Compare also Kongo *nzambi* with Loanga *nyambi* = a spirit, a god.

office they call Symbacáyo, as we might say Warden of the Symbaoe; and in it are always some of Benomotapa's women, of whom this Symbacáyo has charge. When or by whom these edifices were built, the people of the country, being unlettered, have no memory; only they say they are the work of the devil, because, compared to their own power and skill, they do not think men could have made them; and some Moors who had seen them, when shown the work of our fortress of Sofala [Fort Ophir] by Vincente Pegado, former commander of that place, the workmanship of the windows and arches for comparison with the dressed stonework of those buildings, said they were not to be compared, so clean and finished were they.

“They lie west of Sofala in a straight line 170 leagues more or less under the latitude of 20° and 21° south,¹ without there being any other old or modern building in those parts, for the people are very barbarous, and all their houses are of wood. In the

Origin and antiquity of the Sofala monuments.

¹ These data, so far as latitude and relative position to Sofala are concerned, correspond exactly with the site of the chief ruins which are identified in Maund's map with Zimbabwe, and which lie due west of Sofala, near the recently erected Fort Victoria in Matabililand, in latitude $20^{\circ} 15'$ south. But the distance (170 leagues = 640 miles at least) is much too great, as the ruins in question cannot be more than 230 or 240 miles “in a straight line” west of Sofala. The Portuguese league equals 3.84 English miles. But till recent times, that is, since the explorations of Livingstone, the Portuguese had the crudest notions of distances, and on Pigafetta's map the Congo empire still appears conterminous with Monomotapa's. Hence their absurd claim to a Lusitanian South African domain stretching right across the Continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. It will be seen that, both on historic and geographic grounds, such a claim is baseless.

opinion of the Moors who saw them, they seemed to be very ancient, and were built there to hold possession of those mines which are very old, from which for years no gold has been taken owing to the wars. And considering the position and style of the buildings erected so far in the heart of the country, the Moors also admitting that they are not their work for their great age, and still more, because they had no knowledge of the letters of the inscription over the gateway, we may well conjecture that to be the region by Ptolemy called Agysymba,¹ where he calculates his meridian; for its name as well as that of the captain placed over it somewhat agrees, being partly corrupted one from the other. And grounding our judgment on this, the work seems to have been ordered by some prince who at that time was lord of those mines, in order to hold them, but lost them with time, and also because of their distance from his state; for as regards their appearance they seem much like others in the land of Prester John in a place called Acaxumo, which city was a residence of Queen Saba [the Queen of Sheba], which Ptolemy calls Axuma, and the prince lord of that state was also lord of the mines, and on their account had those structures erected, just as we now hold the fortress of Mina and this one of Sofala itself. . . .

Monomotapa's
subjects.

“Those natives of Benomotapa's state are well dis-

¹ This identification, though ingenious, cannot stand. Ptolemy's Agysymba (Agizymba) was not a fortress or a city, but a vast region (*regio Æthiopyum latissime extensa*), which he placed south of the “Lunæ Montes,” about the equator, and through which he drew his meridian, which was also the meridian of Alexandria (30° E. Greenwich).

posed to receive our faith, because they believe in an only god, whom they call Mozimbo,¹ and have no idols nor any objects of worship, and while all the negroes of other parts are much given to idolatry and fetishism, these punish nothing so severely as a fetishman, not for religious motives, but because holding them very injurious to the lives and property of people, and none escape death.² . . .

“This prince, whom we call Benomotapa or Monomotapa, is, as with us, an emperor, for this is the meaning of his name amongst them, and his state does not consist of much pomp or show about his person, for the greatest ornament which he has in his house are some cotton stuffs which are made with great labour in the country, each of which may be as large as one of our sumptuous robes, and worth from twenty to fifty cruzados.³ For insignia of his royal

Monomotapa's
state and
power.

¹ This word, into which the missionaries later read the meaning of “an only God,” simply means a spirit good or bad, and especially the souls of the dead, from *zemba* = to disappear, to vanish. The religion of the South African Bantu races is essentially based on ancestry worship, and with them “the knowledge of God is most vague, scarcely more than nominal. There is no worship paid to God.”—Rev. W. H. Bentley, *The Kongo Language*, London, 1887, p. 96. De Barros' *Mozimbo* is the Nyassa *Nzimu*, the Kongo and Angolan *Nzambi*, the Loango *Nyambi*, the Mpongwe *Anyambie*, etc. The translations of Scripture into these languages, even when verbally correct, do not convey to the native Africans the same sublime ideas of the Deity that are embodied in the Semitic and Aryan texts of Holy Writ.

² There is a confusion here between the wizard who bewitches, and the witch-doctor who “smells him out.” It is the former who nowhere in Negroland “escapes death,” whereas the latter is held in great awe, more dreaded than the chief himself.

³ That is from 8 to 20 milreis, or £2 : 6s. to £5 : 15s.

state he has a very small hoe with ivory head, which he always wears in his girdle in sign of peace, and another emblem is one or two assegais to denote justice and defence of his people. Under his lordship are some great princes, some of whom, bordering upon distant kings, at times revolt against him, and on this account he usually retains by him the heirs of such chiefs. . . . There are no horses¹ amongst them, so that Benomotapa makes war on foot with weapons such as bows and arrows, throwing darts, daggers, iron battle-axes, which are very sharp, and next his person he keeps over 200 dogs, for they say that these are very faithful both in the hunt and war.”²

The “Empire of Monomotapa” a myth.

From all this some important conclusions may be drawn. It is at once evident that Benomotapa or Monomotapa was not a principality but a “prince,” not an empire but an “emperor,” and that his state comprised Edrisi’s coast region of Sofala between the Cuama (Zambesi) and Espirito Sancto (Delagoa Bay), and extended for an unknown distance inland. It is expressly called *o reyno de Çofala*, the “kingdom of Sofala,” *que senhorea hum Principe gentio chamado Benomotápa*, “which was ruled by a pagan

The kingdom of Sofala.

¹ This shows that neither the Arabs nor the Portuguese had penetrated inland from the Sofala coast down to the middle of the sixteenth century, after which scarcely any further progress was made. Hence the horse continued to be unknown in South Africa until the arrival of the Dutch and English. We read that Dingiswayo, true founder of the Zulu military system, acquired great prestige when he returned in 1797 from Cape Town mounted on an English cavalry horse, for such an animal had never before been seen in Zululand.

² Here De Barros enters into the domain of fiction, where we may leave him.

prince called Benomotápa.”¹ Thus vanishes the mighty “empire of Monomotapa” which occupied a great part of the interior, and with which the Portuguese had treaty rights giving them the suzerainty of South Central Africa, but which for three hundred years geographers have vainly sought and are still seeking, but will never find till the crack of doom, for it never had any existence.

A comparative study of De Barros and his contemporary, Father Ivano dos Santos (1505-1580), makes it probable that the “Juiteva” of the latter writer was the above-mentioned *Quiticuy* or *Quiteve*, and that this was simply an alternative title of the Monomotapa himself. That, like Monomotapa, it was originally a personal title, and not the name of a territory or district, is abundantly evident from the account given of the Juiteva by Dos Santos, who resided in the country and was personally acquainted with this potentate. There is an anonymous English translation of Dos Santos’ *History*, and the work

¹ *Benomotápa* is the prevailing form of the word in all the earlier Portuguese writings, as, for instance, in Barbosa (p. 6) and in Camoens’ great epic (*loc. cit.*) But we have seen that De Barros also uses the alternative Monomotápa which afterwards prevailed. But both words have the same meaning, which he rightly explains not as the name of any particular ruler, but as a general title, *príncipe, emperador*, “prince,” “emperor,” etc. The first components, *Bena* and *Mono*, are ordinary Bantu words (Bwana, bana; Muene, mwana, etc.) answering to our chief, lord, master, etc. The second part, *motapa*, has not been satisfactorily explained; but it probably means “mine,” from root *tapa* = to excavate, extract.

Hence $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Beno} \\ \text{Mono} \end{array} \right\} \text{motapa} = \text{“Lord of the Mines,” an appropriate title for the ruler of the auriferous Manica and Mashona Lands.}$

has also been largely quoted and commented upon by Lieutenant-Colonel Sutherland in a curious and extremely rare book entitled *The Kaffirs, Hottentots, and Bosjesmans of South Africa*, Cape Town, 1845.

Dos Santos' history.

“Being desirous,” writes Lieutenant-Colonel Sutherland, “of taking a review of former proceedings on the frontier of the Cape Colony, and searching after a copy of Valentyn and Le Valliant, I was fortunate enough to hit upon a copy of the Portuguese Priest’s History in the Graham’s Town Library. He appears to have been one of the missionaries of the order of St. Dominick, who embarked at Lisbon in April 1506, and arrived at Mozambique on the 13th of August following. I had no idea that there was at that time a Moorish sovereignty at Juiteva so powerful as to offer so formidable a resistance to the Portuguese fleet of six ships of war, fitted out by Dona Catalina and commanded by Pedro de Naya; that the Portuguese had constructed such works at Sofala, or that they had produced so complete a revolution amongst the Moorish princes whom they found there, as to depose the dynasty of the king of Juiteva, which formerly ruled as lord over all that country; to put up in its stead the traitor Abexin, who reigned over it many years; or that in process of time there were no less than twenty-two kings in that region who did homage to Portugal for their thrones.”

Here the expression “at Juiteva” and “the King of Juiteva” might seem to imply that Juiteva was the name of a country and not of a person. But the text of Dos Santos states explicitly that the

word was not only a title but the very highest title any sovereign could bear; a title something like that of "Augustus," constituting him a sort of divinity in the eyes of his subjects. The subjoined extract from the *History* (Book I. Chapter IV.) will fully establish this point, and at the same time go a long way to show that the Juiteva and the Monomotapa were one and the same person:—

"The name of Juiteva is common to the sovereign lord of the country bordering on the river Sofala, which, at his accession to that dignity, he assumes to the exclusion of the titles he might before have been known by, this dignity, in the esteem of the people, placing him on a level with the Deity; indeed, the Kaffirs acknowledge no other god than their monarch, and to him they address those prayers which other nations are wont to address to heaven. The Juiteva maintains a number of wives, the chief of whom are his near relations, and are denominated his queens; the residue, by whom also he has children, are regarded merely as his concubines; from this circumstance, when he dies a great confusion is created in nominating his successor. The new queen is commonly selected from among those of his children who are the offspring of his own daughters or sisters; with these near relations he has exclusively the privilege of cohabiting, the laws of the country forbidding in an express manner his subjects from intermarrying with their sisters or daughters, under penalty of death.

The title of
"Juiteva."

His house-
hold.

"If the women of whom I speak, on the one hand,

enjoy the favour and countenance of the king during his life, they are, on the other, obliged to give themselves up to death when he happens to die ; for this purpose, that they may be constantly ready to accompany him in case of his suddenly expiring, they are always provided with a dose of poison. The erroneous persuasion of the princes and vassals of this country that this mortal life is succeeded by another, in which still higher rank awaits the great than they have enjoyed in this world, occasions those whom the more powerful, on account of their being of opposite parties, make the victims of their interest, to submit with joy to their fate, in hopes to be courtiers to the king in another world.

Rule of
succession to
the throne.

“As soon as the Juiteva ceases to live a successor is chosen, capable of governing with wisdom and prudence. Commonly for this purpose his oldest son by the royal blood is selected ; and should he fail in the requisite qualifications, the next oldest, and thus in succession to the rest. And when among the whole it chances to happen that not one adequate to the high post is found, his successor is the minister to whom the defunct was accustomed to impart his secrets. This rule of succession is not, however, so strictly followed but that some deviations from it occasionally take place.

“Thus, for example, when I was at Sofala the Juiteva died, and left upwards of thirty children, legitimate and illegitimate, still not one of them was nominated to succeed him on the throne ; but the brother of the deceased, who, to a thorough know-

ledge of the affairs of the state, joined all the qualifications necessary for a governor; and, indeed, should he be deficient in this respect, it would be enough that a majority of the king's concubines should join in his favour, as on these the possession of the throne depends.

“As soon as the Juiteva is dead he is buried with his predecessor, and after his obsequies are terminated, on the succeeding day his successor repairs to the royal palace, where he meets with some of the concubines of the late king (for it is only those most beloved, and in whom he was wont to place the utmost confidence, that take poison on his dying), and with their consent he seats himself on a throne prepared for him in a large hall. When seated here, a curtain is drawn before him and his wives; thence he issues orders for his proclamation through the streets. This is the signal for the people to flock to render him homage and obedience, a ceremony which is performed amid great rejoicings.

“The officers and soldiers belonging to his guard in the meantime place themselves at the gates, and prevent the entrance of more than sufficient to fill the hall, that no disturbance or confusion may take place. At first those admitted prostrate themselves on their knees, and thus advance to the throne one after another, when they address the monarch, he remaining constantly behind the curtain, without exposing himself to public view until every one that has entered has done him homage. After this has been effected, each, according to the custom of the country, shakes

Ceremonials.

hands with the Juiteva, and retires. He again places himself behind the curtain till the hall is once more filled, and the ceremony is again repeated. In this manner the whole day passes in receiving homage. The next day the king sends his ambassadors to publish the death of the late prince, and the peaceable installation in his stead of the new sovereign.

“So great is the respect the Kaffirs show their king, that on being permitted to his presence they never presume to look him in the face or front him; but withdrawing on one side, they keep their eyes constantly bent on the ground, and never speak to him but on their knees. The Portuguese alone are allowed the privilege of addressing him standing; they otherwise follow the example of the Kaffirs, and at intervals clap their hands as a token of joy.

“When all have been admitted to the presence, and the levee is finished, the king causes wine, extracted from millet, and called pombé, to be presented to the whole company. Should it happen that any one from apprehension should object to drink the proffered beverage, the refusal is regarded as an act of disrespect by the Juiteva, and the individual guilty of such ill manners is ordered not to quit the town except with his permission, which, as it is never granted, causes the delinquent to be thus consigned to perpetual imprisonment.”

Here we see that all other titles are eclipsed by that of “Juiteva,” which placed the lord paramount “on a level with the Deity.” Amongst those “other

titles" was presumably that of "Monomotapa," "Lord of the Mines," which, though inferior in dignity, had a greater fascination for the Moors, Portuguese, and other strangers attracted to the country by the report of its golden treasures. Hence Monomotapa prevailed amongst foreigners, while Juiteva was known only to the natives and to the few strangers who, like Dos Santos, resided amongst them. Dos Santos was a Dominican missionary, hence was naturally more interested in a title of a religious character than in one that merely spoke of worldly wealth. Thus we see how the native ruler of Sofalaland is for De Barros a Monomotapa, but for Dos Santos a Juiteva. In any case it is quite impossible to suppose that two such mighty potentates could have ruled at the same time in the same land; for Dos Santos expressly states that the Juiteva also was "the sovereign lord of the country bordering on the river Sofala." By the "river Sofala" is here obviously meant either the Sabi or the Pungwe, which leads from near the city of Sofala straight to the Manica goldfields. The identity of the two personages is thus clearly established, and the territory of Juiteva (Quiteve) becomes as mythical as "Monomotapa Land" itself.

Dos Santos certainly speaks of another ruler, a so-called Sedanda, whose territory was contiguous to that of the Juiteva, but he was evidently a mere subordinate chief, a sort of feudal vassal of the lord paramount. The passage, however, is so curious as to be worth quoting:—

The relations
of the
Sedanda to
the Juiteva.

“ Out of such a multiplicity of wives and sons, the widows all standing in near relationship to the deceased sovereign, it may be readily supposed that there must be a constant struggle for succession ; and that out of this, constant intrigue and frequent disturbance must ensue. We find each widow accordingly endeavouring by presents and promises to increase the number of her adherents. All the princes are educated at a distance from the palace, and none can come to court without the express consent of the king. When once admitted the pretensions of the young prince are regarded as indisputable, whilst it is criminal in any competitor to attempt to enter the palace without permission, and the claim of succession is thereby forfeited. There is another prince called Sedanda, whose dominions are contiguous to those of Juiteva. Sedanda was afflicted with leprosy, and conceiving his malady incurable, and fearing that it would render him loathsome in the eyes of his people, he resolved to take poison ; for he was of opinion that sovereigns should serve in all things as an example to their people, and that they ought to have no defects whatever, even in their persons, for that then they cease to be worthy of governing their dominions and of life ; and Sedanda preferred death in compliance with this law rather than to live and rule with the reproach of having violated the law. Another Juiteva, however, who has lost a front tooth, felt no disposition to follow the example of his predecessor, but told his people that this accident had happened in order that beholding

they might recognise him. He declared that he was resolved to live and reign as long as he could, for that he deemed his existence to be necessary for the welfare of his subjects. He at the same time condemned the practice of his predecessors, considered them imprudent or mad for condemning themselves to death for casual accidents to their persons; he considered that no reasonable being, much less a monarch, ought to anticipate the scythe of time, and abrogating the mortal law, he ordained that all his successors, if sane, should follow the precedent he gave, and the new law established by him.

“A Sedanda, who was named successor by a Juiteva, attempted on his death to enter the palace and to seat himself among the women, supposing that they would, according to custom, receive him. But they commenced an intrigue for his exclusion, imputed to him many imperfections, and objected to his entering the palace. Hoping to conciliate them, he suffered the night to pass without offering the slightest umbrage. He again presented himself on the following day, but met with still greater resistance, and was obliged to retire. Another prince was summoned by the women, who came, seated himself amongst the women, and assumed the throne. The Sedanda who was thus supplanted resented the affront, and sought for vengeance by a resort to arms. His friends and partisans promised support, and as they were mere courtiers who only looked to improve their own fortunes by his success, and as by having recourse to arms they would violate the law and be guilty of

treason, they no sooner heard that the rival prince had been proclaimed king, and that he had peaceable possession of the crown, than they abandoned the unfortunate Sedanda to his fate, and he was obliged to fly for safety to the territories of his neighbours.

“The king, when acknowledged legal possessor of the throne, summons all his grandees to repair to court to assist in breaking the bow of the deceased Juiteva, which bow had been made at the period of his accession. This gathering of the nobles is a stratagem used by the new sovereign to enable him to rid himself of his enemies, for under pretence of making a court in the other world for the deceased, he causes those grandees to be assassinated who are obnoxious to him, that they may attend that monarch, and he gives the posts which they enjoyed to such as possess his own favour. Those inimical to the new king do not, however, obey the summons, and in this they are imitated by all who may have objected to his nomination, and all retire to the dominions of some neighbouring prince, where they pass the remainder of their days.”

Farther on (Chapter VI.) the same observer gives an interesting account of the annual ceremonies held by the Juiteva in honour of his deceased ancestors:—

“The king every year, on the appearance of the new moon in the month of September, repairs to a mountain covered with forest called Zemboe, which is the place of sepulture of the kings. By a convocation of all his courtiers, and others who flock hither from every part to be present at the ceremonies used

Place of
sepulture of
the kings.

on the occasion of the celebration of the obsequies of the kings, he pretends to afford comfort to the souls of his predecessors. As, however, the ceremonies chiefly consist of excesses, it is by no means wonderful these monarchs should persist in their errors; they bewail the dead by dint of drinking, and desist from leaping and dancing then only when fatigue obliges them to cease. The order of this anniversary is as follows: On the appointed day they repair to the mountain, and in the forest find materials for feasting already prepared; here they eat and drink so plenteously that throughout the week these orgies last no one knows his companion. The king, who excites the company to drink, prides himself on being the best and greatest toper of the assemblage; but the most diverting part of the scene is to see a troop of people drunk with wine, and scarcely able to stand, so mad as to exhibit a mock engagement. For this purpose they divide themselves into two parties, one opposite to the other, their bows in their hands, from which they incessantly discharge flights of arrows into the air as signals of rejoicing; now they advance towards each other like two battalions about to engage, now strive each party to break through the ranks of the one opposed, mingling in a pleasing manner their forces, and playing off a number of manœuvres. Those who remain on the field of battle are acknowledged the most valiant, and bear away the prize set aside for these gambols; but the adjudgment, it will readily be conceived, is not always the most correct, nor can those who best sustained the

Funeral obsequies.

Feasting.

shock at all times be rightly considered the bravest, as the conflict is between men so deeply intoxicated as not to know their next companion.

The Kaffir
sorcerer.

“The feasting terminated, the king and all his courtiers prepare for three days to bewail the death of their former kings. After this period a demon enters into a Kaffir sorcerer, and so well imitates the voice of the king whose obsequies are celebrated that every one is deceived, and imagines that it is the soul of the king from the other world, returned to teach the reigning prince how to govern his people, which speaks. The king now advances to confer with the sorcerer; every one prostrates himself; and after other marks of respect for the soul of the prince, all retire and leave the king tête-à-tête with the man possessed, who not only imitates the voice of the deceased king, but speaks in all kinds of languages, if required, and holds conversation with the monarch with the same familiarity a father would with his son who might interrogate him on what is to happen in his kingdom. The demon pretends to unfold the future, declares whether or no war will take place, and if the living king shall prevail or be vanquished; whether his subjects shall revolt; and many other familiar things, in which divers impostures are dealt. And notwithstanding the king is aware of the cheat, he nevertheless annually continues the farce, on account of the profit he derives from it in presents made on the occasion, and the esteem this mock conference nourished for him in the minds of the people; those regarding him as the favourite of the souls of

the dead, and believing he holds converse with them when he will, that he learns from them, as oracles, whatever passes in his dominions, and is instructed thus in the rule of government he should follow."

Here the forest-clad mountain "called Zemboe," to which frequent reference occurs in the pages of Dos Santos, is obviously to be identified with the Symbaoe (Zimbaoe) of De Barros and other writers. The correspondence in name, position, character, in fact in all respects, is so complete as to need no comment. It removes any doubt that might still remain regarding the identity of the many-titled potentates themselves. Zemboe is elsewhere spoken of by Dos Santos as the Juiteva's "Capital," and we have already seen that Symbaoe was also the Monomotapa's "royal residence."

What extent of this *reyno de Çofala* was at any time occupied by or even known to the Portuguese? It is clear from De Barros that at an early date they possessed some general information regarding the auriferous districts of Manica, east Matabili and Mashona Lands, as shown by their accounts of the Zimbabwe buildings, and by the numerous rivers above identified as flowing north to the Zambesi and south to the Limpopo. In the Zambesi valley they certainly penetrated inland as far as their station of Zumbo, which, however, was never more than a market-place, occasionally visited by a few "Canarians,"¹ or Indian traders, and often abandoned for long periods, as between the years 1836 and 1863.

Portuguese
stations in
Zambesia.

Zumbo.

¹ So called because they came from the Kanara district on the west coast of India. They were the "Banyans" of these parts.

It is clear, however, from Dos Santos that in the sixteenth century the Portuguese held a dominant position on the Cuama, that is, the Lower Zambesi, where they were strong enough to send expeditions from the stations of Sene and Teté even to the country on the north side of the river. They never retained possession of this region to any distance from the banks of the Zembri, and their expeditions to the interior generally ended in disaster. Nevertheless their claims based upon these historic events have served as a colourable pretext for the cession to them of 50,000 square miles north of the Zambesi between British Zambesia and Nyassaland by the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of May 14th, 1891. Of all their military leaders in this region the most renowned and successful was Francis Barreto, of some of whose exploits Dos Santos may have been an eyewitness. In Book II. he gives the subjoined account of Barreto's famous expedition to the kingdom of "Macorongá and Manica," the main object of which was to secure possession of the gold mine for which the Portuguese are still contending (Summary by Lieut.-Colonel Sutherland):—

"Don Sebastian was scarcely seated on the throne of Portugal before he resolved on sending an expedition to Sofala, entrusting the command to Francis Baretto, who, penetrating into the kingdom of Macorongá and Manica, discovered mines of gold in these countries, of which, by his prudence and valour, he made himself master. In the prosecution of his designs it was necessary that he should pass

through the territory of the Juiteva, who, objecting to the measure, prepared to resist. He feared too, lest the king Chicanga, his enemy, more powerful than himself, should join the Portuguese, or that he should also become tributary to that power. He therefore sent one army to dispute, step by step, the advance of the Portuguese, and another to prevent a diversion on the part of the troops of the king of Chicanga. He also placed ambuscades, and skirmishes constantly took place, in which, although the Portuguese had the advantage constantly, they sustained some loss; still the harassing warfare disgusted them with the enterprise, and the loss of one man on their side was equal to the loss of a hundred men to the enemy. The resolution of the Portuguese enabled them, however, to open a passage for themselves through the files of the enemy. The Kaffirs no longer considered themselves safe in their towns, but abandoning them, carried off their cattle and provisions, trusting thus to oblige the Portuguese to retreat from want of provisions. Baretto continued, however, to follow up his conquests both by land and sea. Juiteva at last fled from his capital Zemboe, carrying the inhabitants to a neighbouring forest rather than risk the defence of the city. It was given up to pillage and fire, and the march was continued towards the kingdom of Manica, which was reached in a few days. The monarch of this country, concealing his vexation at the arrival of the Portuguese, sent a complimentary deputation with provisions to greet Baretto. In return for this civility,

Advance of
the Portu-
guese disputed

The flight
from Zemboe.

The kingdom
of Manica.

messengers were sent to the Moorish monarch, entreating that he would accept the presents which were intended for him by the king of Portugal. He expressed a wish to see the Portuguese general, and came forward to meet him, as a mark of the esteem in which he held the king, his master. A treaty of amity was negotiated at the conference which ensued, and the king of Chicanga engaged freely to admit the Portuguese throughout his territories, for the purpose of trafficking, as well in gold-dust as in other merchandise. Of the former, the quantity bartered is very considerable in this country. The Portuguese were accordingly delighted with the conclusion of a treaty promising such advantage to their sovereign and to the realm, hoping, too, to return enriched with gold. A long description follows of the mode in which the Kaffirs collect and wash the gold which they find embedded in the ravines after heavy rains. Baretto, however, returned to Sofala, well pleased with the treaty which he had concluded with the king of Chicanga. He was also so fortunate as to conclude another treaty with the Juiteva, who, when informed that Baretto was about to return, invited him to pass through his country, assuring him that he would meet only with friends, and that he begged to class himself among the number of Baretto's friends. The treaty of peace comprised the following articles: Juiteva engaged to allow the Portuguese free access to his kingdom, for the purpose of traffic, and to pass through it to Chicanga, to trade in gold. Baretto, in return for this con-

A treaty of amity between the Moorish monarch and the Portuguese.

The terms of the treaty.

cession, engaged to furnish the Juiteva annually with 200 ells of linen. But the state of amity thus established was not of long duration. . . .

The breaking of the treaty.

“The treaties formed by the Portuguese with the kings of Chicanga and Juiteva created great consternation; their object now was to open a road to the kingdom of Mongas, which was only to be effected by the sword. The obstacles were many, but Baretto was prudent, commanded a well-disciplined army, and by the bravery of his troops was constantly victorious in skirmishes, as well as in pitched battles.

“The king of Mongas was powerful, had a very fine army on foot, and disputed every pass. The day at length arrived when the Portuguese had to combat the whole force of the Kaffirs, who, although far superior to the Christians, were somewhat intimidated. The Portuguese had, too, an old sorcerer with them, whom superstition regarded as a palladium calculated to secure victory to whichever side she espoused. They of course placed no reliance on this tale, which was promulgated by herself, or on the power of witches, but formed their line of battle in due order. She joined the ranks of the Kaffirs, was gladly received by them, and the attack began on the part of the Portuguese. The sorceress promised victory to the Kaffirs, engaged to strike their enemies with panic, and to blind them with a powder which she had in a bag, provided her friends would stand firm against the first shock; they had such implicit confidence in her promises that they had provided

The defeat of the Kaffirs by the Portuguese.

themselves with cords with which to bind their victims. 'The Portuguese,' Dos Santos says, 'laughed at the imaginary enchantments of the witch, bore down upon the opposite army, and the general singling out the old woman, who was readily distinguished in their ranks by her ridiculous contortions, and was then in the act of giving to the air the powder which should deprive them of sight, directed a field piece to be pointed to her, expecting thus to intimidate her; but, confident in her charms, and deeming herself invulnerable, she mocked the effect of the cannon. The match was applied, and the palladium of the enemy at once blown to atoms. The confidence of the Kaffirs in their invincibility was now at once annihilated;' and 'Baretto, in the destruction of the witch, however he might deem it a weakness to rejoice at the fall of a woman, from motives of policy joined with the army in the shout of exultation which was sent forth from the ranks.' The cannonade thundered incessantly upon the Kaffirs with such effect that whole columns fell; victory, however, remained long uncertain. At length the Portuguese made themselves masters of the field, took the baggage of the enemy, and many prisoners, whom they made slaves. The Kaffirs being anxious for peace, it was granted to them on condition that the king should allow themselves and their merchandise free access to his dominions. It might be questioned whether, in their invasion of the kingdom of Mongas, the Portuguese were more in search of gold or of slaves, except that the period is earlier

than that at which they began to export slaves from Africa to their possessions in America.”

The English translator of Santos' History says in a note that the sovereign of the country of Mongas is called Monomotapa, as the sovereign of Sofala is termed Juiteva. This is a purely gratuitous statement refuted by the fact that Symbaoe (Zemboe) is distinctly stated to have been the “royal residence” of both sovereigns.

“Although the country is rich in gold and silver mines,” continues Dos Santos, “yet their contents are not easily obtained, for the Kaffirs are prohibited under penalty of death from showing the mines either to their neighbours or to foreigners. The sovereign enacted laws prohibiting his subjects from showing the mines, and enjoining a declaration to be made to the court on the discovery of a mine, to prevent the Portuguese from gaining possession of any portion of the mines; and afterwards making war to secure the remainder. On his way to the silver mines at Chicona, Baretto was opposed by the king of Mongas, but defeated him in several battles; and, although the most powerful of all the princes of that quarter, he sued for peace, which was granted. The remaining Kaffirs abandoned their habitations and the open country, taking refuge in the woods, after which the Portuguese advanced and arrived in safety at Chicona. There is little of interest, or descriptive of the condition of the inhabitants, in Baretto's search of the silver mines. He left a part of 200 men at Chicona, well supplied with ammunition and

The defeat
and retreat of
the Portu-
guese.

provisions, instructed not to quit the post until the mines were discovered, but to make frequent incursions into the woods, and hunt out the inhabitants who had fled from their homes, hoping thus to force the Portuguese to forgo their designs after their provisions should be consumed. Baretto returned with the remainder of his forces to Sena. But Dos Santos tells us little of the numbers on either side. By strongly entrenching themselves, and pursuing the inhabitants in their recesses, the Portuguese almost constantly returned, although encountering great resistance, loaded with provisions and spoil. At last some of those who had fled into the woods came to terms with the Portuguese; who never suspected that the Kaffirs had planned the treaty merely to make the invaders fall into the ambush which they were preparing. The terms of the treaty were, that either party should regard the other as friends; that the Kaffirs should furnish the Portuguese with provisions in their entrenchments, with guides to point out the mines and people to assist in working them. The last article proved fatal to the Portuguese; for the Kaffirs arranged amongst them that whilst in progress to the mines they would draw them into an ambuscade; 160 well-armed men had, in this position, to sustain the fire of 400 Kaffirs from their covert in the forest, which effected the destruction of almost the whole of the Portuguese detachment; only a few being left to bear the news to their comrades in the fort. At first it was proposed to evacuate the fort. It was invested by 4000 Kaffirs; and when at length

An ambuscade.

the provisions of the Portuguese were exhausted, they sallied forth, selling their lives as became the Portuguese of that age; but, overwhelmed by numbers, they fell to a man.

“Beyond Fort Teté, on the opposite side of the river Cuama, there are two nations of Kaffirs, the one called Mumbas, the other Zimbab, or Muzimbab, both of which are cannibals; that they kill all they meet by sea or by land, for the purpose of devouring them; and that, when victims amongst strangers are wanting, they put to death their slaves and the aged, who, they say, are but an encumbrance. They have no religion, neither altars, images, nor idols, and no other object of adoration than their sovereign, who styles himself lord of heaven and earth. He pretends to have dominion over the elements, and should the season appear to contradict his will, he spends his rage in imprecations, and impiously lances his arrows against the skies. When, however, it does not rain, or rains too much, his subjects naturally regard him as a pretender to powers which he does not possess, and he is in danger of losing not only their accustomed offerings, but of being precipitated from his throne. The Portuguese sought to establish themselves firmly in the country, and one of their modes of doing so was by supporting those who were favourable to their cause. They espoused the cause of a Kaffir who was oppressed by a neighbour of greater authority, took arms in his defence, crossed the river, and marched direct to Chicaronga against his oppressor, the Mumbo Kaffir.

Portuguese
tactics against
the natives.

The place was evacuated by its garrison of 600 men, and the inhabitants resolved to be the friends of the Portuguese, who returned to their original position, carrying with them to Fort Teté a number of slaves—men, women and children—whom they found shut up in pens, for the purpose of being killed and eaten, according to the general practice.” Dos Santos says that the Mumbo Kaffir had, before his defeat by the Portuguese, become so arrogant and cruel that he placed over the gate of his fort the heads of all whom he killed, keeping their mangled bodies in a room, into which all who came to visit him were introduced, as well to impress them with awe as to show that his vengeance against his enemies did not terminate with life. But the example of Mumbo was not sufficient to deter Muzimbas, another Kaffir chief in the neighbourhood of Sena, from attacking another Kaffir partisan of the Portuguese. This chief fled, and appealed to Andre St. Jago, the governor of Sena, who espoused his cause, and took the field at the head of his people, with two pieces of cannon. Muzimbas was deaf to friendly propositions, and the Portuguese found his position so strongly fortified that they turned the siege into a blockade, calling for assistance from Fernandez de Chares, the commander of Fort Teté. He marched to their aid, at the head of as strong a detachment as he could spare, but, holding his enemy too cheap, advanced without sufficient order or precaution, fell into an ambush, and the Portuguese were cut off to a man. The conquerors mangled the bodies of the slain; and cutting off their

Another
Portuguese
expedition
destroyed.

limbs and heads, joined their companions in the fort. The first account which reached Andre St. Jago of the disaster was his enemy's shout of exultation and the sound of his drum. He then saw the troops of Muzimbas marching in triumph on the ramparts, each carrying a limb, and on the end of a pike the head of the governor of Fort Teté. Hopeless of succour, he determined on a silent retreat, but Muzimbas, apprised of his intention, fell upon him unexpectedly, and the party shared the fate of the commander and garrison of Fort Teté. Amongst the soldiers fell Father Nicholas de Rosario, a monk of the order of St. Domingo, who had accompanied the army to say Mass and administer the sacraments. Dos Santos says that Muzimbas, desirous of signalling himself, put on the clerical dress of the monk, and bearing in one hand the chalice, and in the other a spear, marched thus at the head of his troops, who each bore one or other of the members of the Portuguese they had killed, which they ate at a feast given in honour of their victory. This took place in 1592.

The following year (1593?) Don Pedro de Souza, governor of Mozambique, attempted to revenge the death of Andre de St Jago, and of his troops, but he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of most of his rearguard, baggage, and cannon. He then formed an army, consisting of 1500 Kaffirs and 200 Portuguese, and besieged Muzimbas in form; the Kaffir repelled several attacks, and raised epaulments for the protection of his men from the Portuguese artillery. They filled the ditch with fascines, and pushed their

Attempted
revenge by
the Portu-
guese.

Mohammedan
strategy.

lines to the foot of the counterscarp, meaning to carry the place by assault. The enemy threw hot water and boiling oil on the naked Kaffirs, throwing at the same time certain machines of iron which they use for the defence of towns, and which, being propelled with strength and precision, carry death wherever they strike. The Portuguese, and the Kaffirs with them, lost the whole day in attempts of no avail; and at length sounded a retreat, in order to dress their wounded and bury their dead.

Defeat of the
Portuguese.

On the following day gabions were erected, which commanded the ramparts of Zimbas, and the enemy was so severely annoyed by musketry that he at length offered to capitulate. But while the articles were preparing, Muzimbas, as excellent a politician as a warrior, availed himself of a stratagem, which obliged the Portuguese to raise the siege. He counterfeited a number of letters from the women of Mozambico and Sena, telling their husbands in Don Pedro's army that they were in great danger of returning to their pristine slavery, for that the Kaffirs threatened to destroy both towns, conjuring them to return to their homes. The most endearing expressions were used in these letters; and the superior claims of kindred and affection to those of their friendship for the Portuguese were strongly insisted upon. The substance of these letters was spread through the camp, and the Kaffirs represented the necessity under which they were of flying to the protection of their families and their property. Don Pedro, having at last only 200 men left with him, determined on

raising the siege. Muzimbas had taken his measures so well that he caused the rear of the Portuguese to be attacked in a narrow defile, cut it in pieces, took their artillery and baggage, and returned triumphant to his fortress. An agreement was, however, subsequently concluded by which Muzimbas consented to restore the usurped possessions of the Kaffirs, which had originated the war, to the right owner.

“The Portuguese were thunderstruck at the severe check they had received, and occupied themselves in endeavouring to reorganise their army to take signal vengeance for the treachery which Muzimbas, they considered, had recourse to in surprising them on their raising the siege of his fortress. Their wary enemy foresaw their intention, and persuaded his own subjects and his neighbours that it should be the object of wise men to seek the acquisition of glory and to render themselves formidable on earth. By these means, and, above all, by promising them success and rich booty, he persuaded many to fly to arms. This was the more easy, since the Kaffirs are an idle race, preferring the ease of plenty which usually attends in these parts on warfare, to the toils of peaceful occupations. Their ardent spirits could not brook a peaceful life. Muzimbas made incursions with his new levies into his neighbour's territories, whose wives and children were killed and eaten, or made prisoners by his troops; whose numbers and depredations spread such consternation that the neighbouring chiefs flocked to his standard, in order to escape similar injuries. Muzimbas soon found himself

at the head of 15,000 men, unrestrained by discipline from any licentiousness provided they only obeyed his orders. He accordingly planned an attack on the island of Juitoa (between the mouths of the rivers Juitoa and Juisima, north of Cape Del Gado), and hastened to put his design in execution, but the tide was too high to admit of his carrying this into effect; so he contented himself with laying waste the adjacent country, and commenced a blockade. The inhabitants were adverse to the dominion of Muzimbas; but a Moor who was among them swam across an arm of the sea, which separated the army from the island, and during the night led the army by secret passes in perfect safety. The place was carried, and more than three thousand inhabitants fell, who served the cannibals for food during the pillage of the town. The only family left was that of the traitor, who entreated Muzimbas to regard them as the most faithful among his subjects. But nature had implanted sentiments of honour, as well as a cruel disposition, in the chief, who, like Alexander, could hug the treason while he abhorred the traitor. Addressing the Moor, Muzimbas said, 'I condemn you, together with your family, to be cast into the sea, esteeming you all alike unworthy to serve as a meal for my soldiers, fearing lest the perfidy of your nature should communicate a venomous quality to their flesh and blood.'

The march on
Mombaza.

“After the destruction of Juitoa Muzimbas marched against the island of Mombaza. But the Turks had anticipated him by sending from the Red Sea four galleys to its relief, which arrested his progress. A

Portuguese fleet accidentally at this juncture arrived off the place, which succeeded in beating the one party and in resisting the other. They defeated and captured the Turkish galleys, and entered Mombaza victoriously, in presence of the army of Muzimbas, which lay on the opposite bank of the river. The chief exclaimed that the Portuguese were truly the gods both of sea and land, and thenceforth sought their alliance and friendship. Muzimbas concluded a treaty of peace with the Portuguese, received the town of Mombaza from them, and afterwards proceeded against the capital of Melinda, which he expected to take with ease. He had already effected a lodgment on one of the bastions, but a succour of 3000 men was thrown into the town by certain Kaffirs called Molsequios, which repulsed him; the garrison then sallied, overthrew the army of Muzimbas, a small vestige of which only escaped the fury of the Kaffirs, by dispersing in every direction."

Defeat of the allies of Portugal.

A few still extant ruins at Zumbo mark the extreme limits of Portuguese power and influence on the east side of the Continent. They lie about 500 miles from the coast by water, and date from the year 1740. Nominal possession was resumed in 1881, when a Capitão Mór, or head governor, was appointed. But this representative of Portuguese authority, Lobo by name, is a half-caste and kinsman of Kanyemba, the local chief, who has received the title of Sergente Mór, and who is said to command some 10,000 men armed with rifles by the Portuguese. Desolation reigns supreme both here and lower down at Tete,

Results of Portuguese rule.

Ruin and decay.

where the old Roman Catholic church is a forest-grown ruin, worshipped by the natives as a kind of fetish. "On every side you see the wasting work of Time's relentless hand. You see it in the crumbling ruins of houses at one time inhabited by prosperous merchants. Indigo and other weeds now rise rank amid the falling walls, and upon spots where houses once stood. You see it in the church, which has now crumbled to the ground. Departed glory is knelled to you by the bells which toll from the slight structure where the Jesuit Fathers and their small flock now perform the holy rites of their creed."¹

Slavery and savagery still rampant.

Within the very sound of these bells domestic slavery is still rife, and the worst atrocities are daily practised by the local chief, who regards all his subjects as slaves, and treats them with fiendish cruelty. "He may have as many as fifty or even a hundred wives. Should it suit his humour to put any of them to death, he does so without further ado. Executions are carried out sometimes in the presence of the woman's father, who, through fear of giving offence to the king, will exhibit satisfaction rather than sorrow. Any appearance of grief would be fatal to him. Occasionally the king may order the father to be the executioner, and even then the horribly unnatural command is obeyed with apparent satisfaction."²

While the Portuguese are clamouring for more land in Africa, it is well to put on record the state of

¹ W. Montagu Kerr, *The Far Interior*, ii. p. 42.

² W. M. Kerr, *op. cit.* p. 52.

things prevailing within their "sphere of influence." They do not themselves perpetrate these horrors, but they are obliged to tolerate them because helpless to prevent them. Were they to attempt to enforce orderly government, they would be at once swept from the Zambesi valley, where they are completely at the mercy of their "Capitães Mórs," that is, of their own native and half-caste officials. Their impotent rule is a curse to the natives themselves, whom it cannot elevate, and a nuisance to the enterprising British chartered companies and missionaries, whose beneficent influence is everywhere thwarted in the Lower Zambesi and Nyassa lands by the Portuguese obstructionists.

Portuguese
powerless
except for
evil.

Their own missionaries, chiefly Jesuits and Dominicans, had their day and lost it. Deservedly so, for they were the minions of despotism, who aimed by unworthy means at unrighteous ends. Their first systematic attempt at the conversion of the natives dates so far back as the year 1560, when Camoens was singing their great deeds, De Barros chronicling the stirring events of that epoch of storm and stress, and Xavier carrying the banner of the cross triumphantly to the remotest confines of the eastern world. In that year a Jesuit mission was despatched from Goa to the country ruled over by the powerful Benomotapa for the purpose of enlightening his subjects, described as being "as black of soul as of body." The military expeditions sent at this period under Barreto (1569) and others to reduce the native chiefs were all accompanied by preachers of the Gospel, who were

Portuguese
missionaries.

Unholy
alliance of
spiritual and
temporal
arms.

Result total
failure of
missionary
efforts.

charged "to subdue the aboriginal populations by their teachings as the military subdued them by the sword." This unholy alliance of the spiritual and temporal arms could result in no good. The bickerings of the rival Jesuit and Dominican friars, the administration of priests banished from Portugal for civil crimes or simony, and especially the traffic in slaves both pagan and Christian, "resulted in the disappearance of most of the parishes founded at any distance from the settlements on the coast. The churches crumbled to ruins, and in many places these melancholy remains of misapplied zeal are still seen surrounded by the superstitious respect or awe of the aborigines."¹ Apart from these ruins, all that now survives of those missionary efforts are some faint echoes of the old liturgical rites orally perpetuated in a few plaintive melodies, which are mechanically repeated by the Zambesi boatmen as potent spells wherewith to conjure the demon of the rapids, or the voracious crocodile lurking for his prey. Such is the song recorded by Mrs. Pringle, in which the name of the Virgin Mary has been kept alive long after the word has ceased to convey any intelligible meaning to the natives—

Sina mama, sina mamai,
I-not-with mother, I-not-with father.

Sina mama Maria, sina mamai,
I-not-with mother Mary, I-not-with father.

¹ A. H. Keane's *Reclus*, xiii. p. 300.

Mary, I'm alone, mother I have none ;
 Mother I have none, she and father both are gone.
 None to pity, none to listen, none to speak to me.
 Mute indeed thou, still a mother Mary be.¹

In recent times the Jesuits have again appeared on the scene, but with little success. Not a single full-blood native chief appears to have yet accepted their teachings.

Massi Kesse in the Manica mining district appears to have been the farthest point permanently occupied by the Portuguese of Sofala. Near this place are the ruins of the old mining town from which the Portuguese were driven by the natives at the close of the last century. These natives (Ba-Rue and Ba-Toka) had revolted against the intolerable oppression of their white taskmasters, but afterwards fell into the hands of the ferocious Zulus (Matabili) under Umzilikatze, who massacred most of them and closed the mines. Both British and Portuguese prospectors again visited the district in 1890 ; it lies on the edge of the Mashonaland plateau, and Massi Kesse itself has been left to Portugal, while the surrounding territory remains within the sphere of British influence.

Portuguese
stations in
Manicaland.

Massi Kesse.

At Mutassa, a little west of Massi Kesse, the Portuguese had also recently installed a native "regulo," or chief, who was kept in awe by another Capitão Mór, a certain Gouveia, stationed farther east in the natural stronghold of Messara in the hilly Gorongoza district. This local potentate resides at the village of Inhangu, now also called "Villa Gouveia," where he keeps a

Mutassa.

Messara.

"Villa
Gouveia."

¹ *Towards the Mountains of the Moon*, p. 128.

garrison of Landins (Zulus), who, like the native troops at Tete, have been armed by the Portuguese Government, and who, like them also, are a terror to all the surrounding tribes. Gouveia's territory of Gorongoza has been identified by some authorities with the Kiteve (Quiteve) of the early writers; but see above, p. 19, where it is shown that Quiteve (Juiteva) was not a territory but a personal title.

The modern kingdom of Gazaland.

Its paramount chiefs never subject to Portuguese authority.

The Portuguese hold no other stations in any part of Gazaland, which, as stated, roughly coincides with the old kingdom of Sofala. The Zulu, or rather Swazi, kingdom of Gazaland was founded about the year 1833 by Manikûs, who had been sent by Chaka's successor Dingan to drive the Portuguese from Delagoa Bay. Failing in this enterprise, and fearing to return to certain death, he passed northwards, reduced the whole country between the Limpopo and the Zambesi, captured the Portuguese seaport of Inhambane (1834), plundered Sofala itself (1836), and levied tribute on Tete and Sena, at that time the only Portuguese stations on the Zambesi. Manikûs was succeeded by Umzila, and he by Gungunhana, the present ruler, whose kraal lies about the sources of the Bosi, 120 miles west of Sofala. None of these Zwazi kings ever acknowledged Portuguese supremacy;¹ on the contrary,

¹ "The Portuguese try to insist that we are bound by a vague admission we at one time made, that they had a treaty with Gungunhana. But now that we have come to close dealings we have insisted on seeing this treaty, but there is no treaty to show except a document signed by two so-called Indunas in Lisbon and some very subordinate Portuguese official. The Portuguese know as well as we that Indunas in South Africa cannot possibly sign away any of their tribe, and that

they have kept the Portuguese confined to the coast, where "they have merely nominal authority, except in the immediate vicinity of Sofala. The latter place appears to have sunk to a very low degree of activity under the modern Portuguese rule. Communication with the outside world must be very rare, as in 1880, when visited by the Jesuit mission from the interior [Tete], the inhabitants had not heard of the Franco-German War."¹

Outcome of
400 years of
Portuguese
rule.

Such is the outcome of Portuguese rule in the ancient kingdom of Sofala after a tenure of nearly four hundred years (1505-1891).

Passing north we come to Edrisi's ZANG (ZENJ),² a name which still survives in "Zanguebar," though in recent times this term has withdrawn from the mainland and found a last refuge under a corrupt Indian the Lisbon document is valueless. Against this we have to place Gungunhana's own strenuous repudiation of Portugal and his earnest desire for British protection."—*Times*, March 13, 1891.

Edrisi's Zang.

Empire of
Zanguebar.

¹ Report on Matabililand by Lieutenant C. E. Haynes in Blue Book, 1885, Transvaal.

² The two forms are due to the gradual change in the sound of the Arabic letter ج , which in Edrisi's time was always hard, like the *g* in *give*, but is now mostly soft, like the *g* in *gem*; hence ج , formerly *zang*, is now pronounced *zanj* or *zenj*, and Zanguebar has in the same way become Zanjibar, Zanzibar, in the mouth of the Indian banyan traders. The antiquity of the commercial intercourse between Hindustan and East Africa is shown by the fact that this form *Zanzibar* already occurs in the earliest Portuguese records. Thus Barbosa (p. 14) speaks of the island of "Zanzibar" abounding in rice, millet, oranges, lemons, trading with the coast and possessing "kings and many mosques." The ending *bar* means "land," "region," and especially dry land as opposed to water, as in the Arabic expression *barran wa bahran*, "by land and by sea." Hence Zangue-bar on the east coast of Africa answered to Male-bar on the opposite or west coast of India.

Extent.

Widespread
commercial
relations.

form in the adjacent island of "Zanzibar." In Edrisi's time the domain of the Zang people extended from the Zambesi to Somaliland; and when Vasco da Gama entered the Indian Ocean it was a great and powerful empire inhabited by Moors (Arabs), Kafirs (pagan negroes), and many coast tribes (Swahili¹), assimilated in religion and partly in speech to the Arabs. Its commercial relations were widespread, extending to all the lands encircling the Indian Ocean, and even beyond it to China, and through the Red Sea to Europe. Its northern seaports lay on the track of the ancient trade route between the eastern and western worlds, which passed from India across the Arabian Sea, and up the Red Sea through Alexandria to the Mediterranean.

Object of the
early
Portuguese
expeditions,
not legitimate
trade, but
plunder.

But a primary object of the Portuguese expeditions to the eastern waters was the diversion of this profitable trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, from the Italian to the Iberian peninsula round the recently discovered Cape of Good Hope. It soon appeared, however, that the Mediterranean or overland was the natural route, and consequently could be superseded only by *force majeure*. Hence from the very first the Portuguese expeditions assumed a military and aggressive character, and they appeared

¹ Wa-Swahili, or "Coast People," from ساحل, *sāhil*, "coast." These Wa-Swahili are the direct descendants of the old Negroid Zang nation, and are still mostly Mohammedans, speaking a Bantu language (Ki-Swahili), with a large admixture of Arabic words and expressions. Ki-Swahili has long been a chief medium of intercourse along the eastern seaboard, and in later times has become the *lingua franca* for a great part of Central and South Central Africa.

in the eastern seas not as legitimate traders, but as marauders and sea-robbers. In the preface to his translation of Barbosa Mr. Stanley aptly remarks that the "piracies of the Portuguese are told without any reticence, apparently without consciousness of their criminality, for no attempt is made to justify them, and the pretext that such and such an independent state or city did not choose to submit itself on being summoned to do so by the Portuguese, seems to have been thought all-sufficient for laying waste and destroying it. This narrative shows that most of the towns on the coasts of Africa, Arabia, and Persia were in a much more flourishing condition at that time than they have been since the Portuguese ravaged some of them and interfered with the trade of all."

Along the East African seaboard they were essentially iconoclasts, who ruthlessly destroyed an ancient culture, and left desolation in its place. The Zang empire, whose rulers had for centuries claimed the title of "sovereign of the sea," contained at that time a great many large and flourishing seaports, extending all the way from Magdoshu (Magadoxo), the "Immense" (Ibn Batuta), on the Somal coast, to Kilwa (Quilwa), with its three hundred mosques, in Mozambique. Nearly all these places fell successively into the hands of the Portuguese corsairs in the first years of the sixteenth century, and those that were not laid in ashes gradually lost all their trade, and sank to the position of obscure fishing villages, whose wretched hovels were grouped round the ruins of their former splendour. Thus Barbosa candidly tells us that the

The flourishing Zanguebar Empire ruined by the Portuguese corsairs.

Destruction of Magdoshu

and of Brava.

Moorish town of Brava, on the Somal coast, which was well built with good stone houses, "has already been destroyed by the Portuguese, with great slaughter of the inhabitants, of whom many were made captives, and great riches in gold, silver, and other merchandise were taken here, and those who escaped fled into the country, and as often as the place was destroyed they returned to people it" (p. 15).

Fate of
Mombaza

The Portuguese feeling towards "infidels" and "heretics" was like that of the present Sicilian peasantry, who cannot be made to understand that any creature has any claim to consideration outside the pale of the Church. Hence Camoens exults over the ruthless destruction of the famous city of Mombaza *co' o ferro e fogo*, "with sword and fire," the massacre of its inhabitants, and the flight of its king, *o perfido tyranno*, who suffered *em pago dos passados maleficios*, "in return for their past misdeeds" (x. 27). Mombaza, residence of the Zang monarchs in the fourteenth century, was afterwards reoccupied by the Portuguese, who here built a great stronghold, on the crumbling walls of which may still be read the figures 1635, date of its erection. But they were expelled at the close of the seventeenth century, and the place remained deserted down to quite recent times. When Mr. Joseph Thomson passed through it in 1883 on his expedition to Masai Land, he found everywhere the ruins of houses and mosques, telling the tale of decayed grandeur, of the loss of former spirit, energy, and enterprise.¹ Since then, however,

¹ *Through Masai Land*, p. 39.

its prosperity has somewhat revived, and as the headquarters of the British East Africa Company (Ibea) Mombaza now promises to become an important centre of civilising influences throughout East Central Africa.

Quiloa, the most famous city on the east coast and of Quiloa. south of Mombaza, is described by Barbosa (p. 10) as a flourishing seaport, with fine stone houses, very lofty streets, gardens, orchards, and much water, doing a large trade with India, Arabia, and Sofala, and at the time of the Portuguese discovery residence of the Zang sultans, to whom were subject the Moors of Sofala, Zuama (the Zambesi), Anguox (Angosha), and Mozambique. But then came Francisco d'Almeida and his piratical followers, who after a ruinous siege captured the place, killing many of the inhabitants, because the sultan, "for his great pride, refused to obey the King of Portugal." Later it was abandoned by the Portuguese themselves, who retained scarcely any stations on this coast except Mozambique, Angosha, and Quilimane in the Zambesi delta. Mozambique. Mozambique, capital of their East African possessions, lies on an island close to the mainland, and after nearly four hundred years' occupation, it is still dependent at times on the goodwill of the neighbouring tribes for its supply of provisions. It is still so badly supplied with water that most of the inhabitants are mainly dependent upon a brackish, brown-coloured liquor, "often the thickness of porridge" (Pringle, p. 55). The place is so unhealthy that it has always Mainly a convict station and been used as a convenient convict station for the

worst class of criminals. "When any Reynol or European Portuguese in India commits any capital crime, instead of punishing him according to their national or martial laws, he is banished hither for as many years as the Viceroy of Goa and his Council shall order ; and very few ever return from their exile, for five or six years is a long life here." ¹

centre of the
slave trade.

Mozambique has also always been a great centre of the slave trade, and to this day the descendants of the negroes formerly imported into the Cape by the Dutch are still called "Mozambiques." The nefarious traffic, though somewhat disguised, is still carried on, and so recently as September 1890 the steamer *Rei de Portugal* put into Cape Town with a number of "coolies" on board. But some of these having effected their escape from the vessel, it was discovered that they were virtually slaves bound for the Portuguese plantations in the islands of St. Thomas and Prince. Hence when application was made for their surrender it was refused by the Supreme Court, which declared them free from the moment they set foot on British territory. Mozambique exercises scarcely any control beyond the reach of its guns and gunboats, and the coast populations are practically as independent as they were before the arrival of the Portuguese. Till the recent explorations of O'Neill, Johnston, Last, and Roscher the surrounding country had remained almost a *terra incognita*, for this station "had never been utilised as a starting-point for exploring expeditions in the interior, and

¹ Captain Hamilton, *New Account of the East Indies*, 1726, quoted by Pringle, p. 58.

the Portuguese continued to occupy it for three hundred years without collecting any information regarding the neighbouring lands and peoples that might nevertheless have easily been visited.”¹

Angosha also has been chiefly noted as a centre of the slave trade, while Quilimane, the indispensable gateway of the Zambesi, is mainly inhabited by a few dozen whites, mostly convicts or descendants of convicts, and a few thousand blacks, mostly descendants of slaves or still virtually slaves. When the Rev. Duff Macdonald passed through the place in 1878 one of the sights he beheld was a number of natives “employed in carrying enormous trees, each of which required about thirty bearers. Every party was accompanied by a man with a whip, who seemed to have as hard work as any of them!”²

Angosha.

Quilimane.

Domestic
slavery.

This passage is the best comment on the statement that the Portuguese have at last officially abolished slavery throughout their African possessions. And when we also read that while slaves are still allowed to be imported at Chisanga they are excluded from Quilimane, the thought suggests itself that this is possibly because in Quilimane the local supply is already sufficient for the demand. At all events it needs some nice hair-splitting to distinguish between gangs of slaves and gangs of labourers compelled to work under the lash.

But it is difficult to discuss in sober language the action of the Portuguese in connection with slavery

The slave
trade.

¹ Keane's *Reclus*, xiii. p. 281.

² *Africana*, vol. ii. p. 56.

Complicity of
Portugal.

in South Africa. The evidence against them is so overwhelming that their feeble attempts at defence are apt to create a feeling of irritation or impatience. A chief argument in palliation of undeniable charges is that their *pombeiros*, or caravan leaders, admittedly engaged in the traffic throughout a great part of South Central Africa, are not full-blood Portuguese, but at most half-caste Ambakistas (natives of Ambaca in Angola), or Bihenos (natives of Bihé on the east Benguela frontier), over whom the officials have no control. The argument, if sound, would amount to little more than a confession of weakness, and one of the most serious indictments against Portuguese rule in South Africa is this very charge of impotence, incapacity or powerlessness to maintain orderly government in their possessions.

Portuguese
slave-traders.

But the argument is not sound, for the officials themselves, as well as "full-blood" natives of Portugal, are deeply implicated on absolutely unimpeachable evidence. Livingstone's whole career was a standing protest against the Arab slave-raiders in the north and their Portuguese abettors in the south. When he was exploring the Lower Zambesi and Nyassa regions, he took the servant of the Portuguese governor of Tete red-handed at the head of a large convoy of slaves. Later (1861), when the Universities' Mission under Bishop Mackenzie began operations in the same region, it was discovered that the Portuguese were everywhere carrying on the traffic to such an extent that a clause was inserted in their treaty with the Anyasa tribe to the effect "that if

Testimony of
Livingstone,

of Bishop
Mackenzie,

any Portuguese or other foreign slavers came into the land they [the Anyasa] would drive them away, or at once let us know of their presence.”¹

At that time there was no secret at all about the matter; the Portuguese were “slavers” pure and simple within their “sphere of influence,” just as the Arabs were in the Upper Congo and White Nile basins. Even many years later abundant proofs of this were collected by Cameron during his expedition of Cameron, across the Continent in 1874. On one occasion he met a slave-gang conducted by the Portuguese “slaver” Coimbra, of whom he writes:—

“Coimbra arrived in the afternoon with a gang of fifty-two women tied together in lots of seventeen or eighteen. Some had children in arms, others were far advanced in pregnancy, and all were laden with huge bundles of grass cloth and other plunder. These poor weary and footsore creatures were covered with weals and scars, showing how unmercifully cruel had been the treatment received at the hands of the savage who had called himself their owner. . . . The cruelties perpetrated in the heart of Africa by men calling themselves Christians can scarcely be credited by those living in a civilised land. To obtain these fifty-two women at least ten villages had been destroyed, each having a population of from 100 to 200, or about 1500 in all” (*Across Africa*).

In the year 1865 Monteiro tells us that he was of Monteiro, present at the arrival in Benguela of a caravan with no less than 3000 slaves. This is the largest number

¹ See full text of the treaty in *Africana*, vol. ii, p. 11.

recorded in modern times anywhere in Africa except at Kuka on Lake Chad, whence, according to Nachtigal, convoys of as many as 4000 are occasionally despatched across the Sahara to Fezzan and Tripoli. Of Monteiro's gang one-third were destined for exportation, and he adds that all the Portuguese officials, from the governor down to the smallest underling, were bribed to shut their eyes to the nefarious transaction (*Angola*).

Doubtless since then (1878) the Portuguese Government, under pressure of European public opinion, has abolished the slave trade in all its possessions. Nevertheless, as Mr. Stanley discovered, "means were found to carry on the traffic under another name. They have got over the difficulty by importing what they call 'colonials.' They are brought in lighters to Benguela from Catumbella, and then taken to Loanda in the mail steamer. Their names, ages, and descriptions are taken by Government officials, and they are asked a number of silly questions, such as, 'Are you hungry?' 'Have you anything to eat?' 'Do you want any food?' in order that the affirmative 'yes' may be obtained. They are then shipped by mail steamers to St. Thomas to labour for five years. In the steamer I came home in there were eighty-two of these Africans. The great curse of this system is that any planter, after he has received his consignment of black labourers, can go down to Santa Anna, the capital of St. Thomas, and recontract these natives without consulting them for another term of five or seven years. That this is slavery cannot be denied."

Even so recently as 1886 Captain Latrobe Bateman discovered documentary evidence of slave dealings under specially distressing circumstances by natives of Portugal in the Kasai basin. During his stay at Luebo at the Lulua-Luebo confluence he made the acquaintance of Senhor Carvalho and Senhor Saturnino da Souza-Machado, two Portuguese traders who were in the habit of buying slaves from the Ba-Luba people and selling them for ivory to the Ba-Kuba and Ba-Kete tribes. Yet they were fully aware that these slaves were wanted for the human sacrifices offered on the graves of great chiefs and on other solemn occasions. "As a sample of the value given and received, I submit the following statement from original and authentic memoranda in my possession. In return for some slightly damaged 'point of ivory' Senhor Carvalho gave

of Latrobe
Bateman.

Duas nymphas . . .	Two young girls
Cinqua cruzetas de cobra . . .	Five crosses of copper
Cinqua mil buzio . . .	5000 cowries
Duas centos bagos d' alman- drilha	} 200 twisted Venetian beads." ¹

Elsewhere this Congo Free State official writes:—
"Towards the end of August [1886] it was reported to me that there had arrived in our vicinity, from the country to the east, a caravan of slave-dealers known as Bihenos. These people, inhabitants of Bihé in Angola, have long been wont to travel into the interior for the purpose of exchanging salt and other articles of barter for such slaves as they could obtain

¹ *The First Ascent of the Kasai*, London, 1889, p. 85.

by means so far fair, or, those means failing, by kidnapping the unfortunate victims of their cupidity.”¹

Portugal was the last civilised state to abolish the traffic in human flesh. These documents and authentic records show that she is the only civilised state that continues the traffic, or impotently allows it to be continued, after its official abolition.

Slight contributions of Portugal to geographical exploration.

Of Portugal it must also be said that she is the only civilised state holding territory in Africa that has never made any serious contributions to the geographical knowledge of the interior of that continent till quite recent times. As above seen, she was the first to put a girdle round the periphery from Cape Bojador to Cape Guardafui. But it will now be seen that she was almost the last to attempt any scientific exploration of the interior. For Mr. A. Silva White's *Development of Africa* (1890) Mr. E. G. Ravenstein has prepared a number of coloured maps, amongst which is one showing the progress of discovery at successive periods down to the present time. The work accomplished in the southern section of the continent during the period ending 1650, that is, while Portugal held undisputed sway south of the equator, is indicated by a narrow bordering round the seaboard, which nowhere extends to more than a few miles inland, except at Loanda, below the Congo on the west, and at Quilimane and Kilwa (Quiloa) on the east side.

Researches of missionaries in the kingdom of Congo.

It has already been seen that the Portuguese had at an early date penetrated from Quilimane up the

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 157.

Zambesi to Tete and Zumbo. At a still earlier date, that is in 1491, seven years after the discovery of the Congo estuary by Diego Cam, an expedition had already reached the Mbanza or "court" of the Congo empire, where the first missionaries met with considerable success. The emperor himself was baptized, taking the name of John I. in honour of the reigning King of Portugal, John II. ; and he was succeeded by Don Alphonso, Don Pedro, and other Christian sovereigns, whose capital, "San Salvador," became a bishop's see about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The missionaries explored the country to a distance of about 250 miles from the coast, and many geographical names occurring in Pigafetta's *Relatione del Reame di Congo* and on the accompanying map (1591) may still be identified. Thus Bamba is the present Mbamba; Sundi is the town of Nsundi seventy miles west from Stanley Pool; Sonio is evidently a corruption of San Antonio at the mouth of the Congo; Pango answers to Mpangu, Batta to the district of Mbata, and Pemba to Mpemba, east of the Arthington falls on the Ambrize (Mbidiji) river. But the Congo itself seems to have been avoided, for no trustworthy information regarding it can be gleaned from the missionary records. The interior of the Congo State and of Angola also remained wholly unknown, and such was the prevailing ignorance of its geographical features that the fabulous Lago Aqueluna (Lake Aquilonda) and river Berbela figuring on Pigafetta's map were still being sought for till the year 1879, when their existence

Early
geographical
names
identified.

Gross
ignorance of
the interior.

The mythical
Lake
Aquilonda
and river
Berbela.

was disproved by Capello and Ivens. "We remained long under the impression that the celebrated Aquilonda, which we had been seeking since our arrival in Yacca, must be somewhere in this neighbourhood, and we made constant inquiries among the natives as to its whereabouts, but without success. . . . The natives only stared when we talked about this great lake Aquilonda, and they looked even more astonished when the subject of the celebrated river Barbela (Berbela) was broached, which we described as a drainage canal of the lake in question."¹

Pigafetta's
map of
Africa
a geographical
nightmare.

This map of Pigafetta's, which was mainly prepared from the data supplied by Odoardo (Duarte) Lopes, and the southern section of which is here reproduced, looks more like the embodiment of a geographical nightmare than the work of a sober cartographer. Not only is the "Berbela" made to flow from the "Lago Aqueluna" through Ptolemy's Agisymba north to the Lower Congo, but both river and lake are made to send other streams east to a much larger but equally fabulous lake not named, but thus described in the text:—

Pigafetta's
text equally
absurd.

"This kingdom [Sofala] begins from the river Magnice, which rises in the first lake, whence issues the Nile, and discharges into the sea at the middle of the bay which is formed by Cape Peschiera [Ponta da Pescaria] turned towards Cape Correnti [Correntes], situated in 23 degrees and a half of the Antarctic pole under the tropic of Capricorn. With it are joined near the sea three other considerable rivers,

¹ *From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca*, 1882, vol. ii. p. 145.

the chief of which is called by the Portuguese St. Christopher, because discovered on that feast day, and by the natives Nagoa. The second is named from Lourenço Marques, who first found it. These two rivers flow from the Mountains of the Moon, so famous amongst the ancients, named by the natives of the country Toroa, in which they supposed the celebrated Nile had its sources; but they were mistaken, since (as has been said) from those mountains the first lake does not rise, nay, it is far distant, and below it and the mountains lies a low plain, and their waters pour eastwards, and give their waters to other great rivers, so that they cannot contribute their waters either to the above-mentioned lake or to the Nile, and especially as the Magnice issuing from the first lake takes a different course from the Nile, going eastwards and joining the two above-mentioned rivers. The third river is called Arroë, rising on the other side of the mountains of the gold mines of Monomotapa,¹ in which river gold is found in some parts ground to

¹ From this and other passages it appears that in Pigafetta's time Monomotapa had already been transformed from a king to a kingdom, which on the map is made to stretch inland to the eastern confines of the empire of Congo. Yet in one passage (p. 77) occurs the expression "l'imperio di questo Monomotapa," as if reminiscences still survived of De Barros' "principe" or "emperador" Benomotapa. Elsewhere the accounts become mixed up with classical legends of the Amazons, and so forth, as where Pigafetta speaks of "le legioni delle femine, stimate molto dal Re et il nervo delle sue forze militari; queste bruciano col foco le loro poppe sinistre, à fine che non gli siano d'impaccio al saettare secondo l'uso dell' Antichissime Amazoni tanto celebrate da gli Historiografi delle prime memorie profane" (p. 73). Later Dapper has the expression "Monomotapaland," and so on down to the present time.

sand. These three rivers join the great Magnice near the sea, and all four together form a watercourse, which enters the sea with a very broad channel [Delagoa Bay]. From the mouth of this river along the sea-coast stretches the kingdom of Sofala as far as the river Cuama [Zambesi], which takes its name from a castle and fortress of the same name held by Mohammedans and by pagans, and by the Portuguese is called the Cuama, because at the sea that river branches into seven mouths, where rise five islands, besides many others which are opposite the river, all densely peopled by pagans, and said river issues from the same lake and from the fountains whence descends the Nile " (pp. 72, 73).

Impossible
lakes and
watercourses.

The map is even more absurd than this text, for it sends rivers from "the first lake" careering in every direction over the continent through equatorial "Lagoa do Nilo," with its cavalli marini ("sea-horses"), north to the Mediterranean (Nile), west to the Atlantic (Congo), and east to the Indian Ocean (Zambesi and Golnes or Colne?). Of this problematical Golnes the "rio Tacasj" (Tacazze) is made a tributary, so that geographical knowledge had not merely made no progress, but had actually retrograded since the time of De Barros, who knew very well that the Tacazze flowed to the Nile.

Lethargy of
Portugal.

The cause of the retrogression was the eclipse of Portugal herself, which for sixty years (1580-1640) was absorbed in the Spanish monarchy. After her restoration under the Braganza dynasty her vitality was too impaired ever to put forth any of the wonder-

ful energy which had formerly sent innumerable conquering and plundering expeditions west to Brazil and east to India (Diu, Goa), the Eastern Archipelago (Timor) and China (Macao). In South Africa the seaports, such as Loanda on the west and Mozambique on the east side, continued to be held, chiefly as flourishing centres of the slave trade. Hence when that traffic was abolished these places began to decline, and, in fact, have never recovered their former prosperity. The pombeiros also developed a brisk inland trade in slaves and ivory, and some of these men are claimed as pioneers of geographical exploration in Central Africa, because they crossed the continent from west to east at the head of their slave-gangs in the year 1806. "But none of these men were explorers in any intelligent sense of the word; they prepared no charts or itineraries of their routes; they were incapable of taking any astronomical observations; their excursions, undertaken for purely commercial purposes, mainly in connection with the ivory and slave trades, added absolutely nothing to our knowledge of the interior." ¹

The Pombeiros slave traders, not explorers.

The last remark is applicable even to José de Lacerda e Almeida, the one name which relieves the dreary record of Portuguese rapacity and incompetence in South Africa during the long interval between the beginning of the sixteenth and the close of the eighteenth century. Lacerda was certainly an explorer in the better sense of the term, a man actuated by no sordid motives, but by a genuine love of science.

¹ A. H. Keane, *South Africa*, p. 9.

But his expedition of 1798 to the equatorial lakes had unfortunately a disastrous issue. He perished on the return journey to Mozambique at Kazembé's, in the Lake Bangweolo district, and with him perished most of his papers. In fact, little has been preserved except the diary of his companion, Father Pinto, which is not of much scientific value. Then Portugal fell asleep again till recently roused from her lethargy to find the Dark Continent at last illumined by the splendid achievements of Livingstone, Burton, Speke, Grant, Baker, Cameron, Stanley, and the other British pioneers of Central and South African exploration. Amongst these great names those of Capello, Ivens, and Serpa Pinto occupy a somewhat subordinate position; but they are nearly all that Portugal has to show since the heroic age of her maritime discoveries.

Capello and
Ivens,
Serpa Pinto.

General
picture of
Portuguese
misrule in
Africa.

It is not much, taken even in connection with the efforts of the early missionaries in the Congo empire, to put in the balance against centuries of misrule, against the terrible misdeeds of her piratical sea captains, of her lawless traders and raiders on the mainland. At all events it affords no basis for the monstrous claims recently put forward for more than the lion's share in the late distribution of African territory and "spheres of influence" amongst various European states. The Portuguese have always ruled and still continue to rule, not for the benefit of the natives, but for their own aggrandisement, and this consideration alone should suffice to put them out of court. "They hold the keys of the land routes

from Loanda and Benguela [the Ambaca and Bilé routes to the interior], but keep out foreign capital and enterprise, and are the moral accomplices of slave-traders and kidnappers. A blind system of protection, carried out by underpaid officials, stifles trade, and renders these places hotbeds of corruption.”¹

Yet they have asked European consent to the extension of such a retrograde system right across South Central Africa, from their Angolan possessions on the Atlantic to Mozambique on the Indian Ocean. This assumption of a double “Hinterland” meeting in the centre of the continent has fortunately been summarily disposed of by the extension of British protectorates and spheres of influence from the Cape through Bechuana, Matabili, and Mashona Lands northwards, to Barotseland beyond the Zambesi. By a similar process they have been righteously excluded from the Shiré and Nyassa highlands, discovered by Livingstone and evangelised by Scottish missionaries. Their pretensions to this region were specially extravagant, seeing that it had never been visited by a single Portuguese till it was in recent times invaded by their pombeiros, Capitães Mórs, and other disturbers of the peace.

Baseless
claims of
Portugal.

A double
Hinterland.

Still more preposterous was the claim to hold the Zambesi as a Portuguese river. This was as if the Dutch were to claim exclusive control over the Rhine, because its delta was comprised within the limits of the Netherlands. The right to thus block at its mouth the chief highway leading from the east

The Zambesi
question.

¹ Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 334.

coast to the interior of the continent could not be admitted. When the question was discussed in the House of Lords in July 1888, Lord Salisbury remarked that "the Congo and other rivers have been declared free; and that being the case, and especially considering the very peculiar circumstances in which the Zambesi is placed, I am convinced that the opinion of the civilised world will be on our side when we say that the Zambesi must be a route open to all, and not confined to one."

This policy has since been steadfastly adhered to, and it may be safely predicted that whatever convention is ultimately ratified with Portugal will contain a clause breaking down the barriers set up by that power at Quilimane, and declaring the great artery of South Central Africa free to all nations for ever.

Summary.

Even so, far more territory will still be left to Portugal on both sides of the continent than she is at all competent to administer in her present effete condition. To sum up: "The career of Portugal since the middle of the sixteenth century has been a steadily downward one; in every possible respect the decadence can be traced. Her territory has been reduced, and at one time for more than forty years her very independence was extinguished; her population has been diminished, so that it is now little more than that of London and its suburbs, amounting in the mother country to four millions, and in the colonies to three and a half. Her government has deteriorated in character and in power; her colonial

Decadence of Portugal.

Powerless to develop the resources of her colonies.

administration is marked by weakness, corruption, and inefficiency. Her people are sunk in ignorance and burdened with taxation. Her internal resources are still to a large extent undeveloped, and her colonial resources almost entirely so. Her navigation has all but ceased to exist, her mercantile marine consisting of only about a hundred vessels, transporting some 16,000 tons of merchandise. Not a single line of Transatlantic steamers sail from her ports, and even the mail to Angola has to be largely subsidised by the Government. Her fisheries, once rich and productive, afford now only the most slender subsistence to a miserable population, producing not one tittle of what they formerly did. Her internal communications and public works are still in the most elementary state; her finances show an annual deficit;¹ and her colonies are in abject decay, forming a charge upon the mother country instead of yielding to it any revenue, while the condition of the people in them subject to her sway is utterly deplorable."²

¹ Revenue of Portugal (1890-91), 40,963,000 milreis; expenditure, 42,861,000 milreis; public debt, 533,316,000 milreis (*Statesman's Year-Book*, 1891, p. 825). A milreis, that is, 1000 reis, averages 4s. 5d.

² *Le Portugal et ses Colonies*, Guillaumin, Paris; quoted by H. G. Guinness, 1890, p. 98.

CHAPTER II

EXTRACTS FROM DAPPER'S "AFRICA"

[THE Portuguese claim to have made a treaty in 1607 with the "Emperor of Monomotapa," who, in return for their aid in quelling the revolt of a powerful vassal chief, is stated to have "ceded to the King of Portugal all the mines in his dominions for ever." But until the text of this treaty is produced it must be regarded as visionary, no more substantial than "Monomotapaland" itself. No serious attempts were made to take advantage of the Emperor's liberal concessions, and throughout the seventeenth century the Portuguese stationed on the east and west coasts continued to remain in the same profound ignorance of the interior as had prevailed during the previous hundred years. This will be made abundantly evident by the appended extracts from Dapper's *Africa*, which was published in Amsterdam in 1685, and which sums up all that was known of South Central Africa down to that date. The extracts, which have been faithfully translated by Mr. J. J. Beuzemaker, have reference to THE EMPIRE OF MONOMOTAPA; the tributary kingdoms of AGAG and DORO; the neighbouring states of INHAMBANA and INHAMIOR; the "VAST KINGDOM OF" MONOAMUGI; the kingdoms of SOFALA, CHITAMBO, and ANGOS, besides the seaports and islands on the eastern seaboard. It would be difficult to present the reader with a more eloquent commentary on the position of the Portuguese in the Austral Continent after two centuries of "occupation" than this incoherent text of the quaint Dutch writer. The map here reproduced from Dapper's work shows little advance in real knowledge of the interior beyond Pigafetta's published nearly a hundred years earlier (1591), and also re-issued in this volume (see p. 13).]



THE empire of Monomotapa or Monomotapaland is called Benomotapa by Joseph Barros, Benomotaxa by Sanut. It lies inland behind the kingdom of Sofala, which stretches along the sea-coast between the river Magnice, called in Portuguese Rio de Spirito Sancto, *i.e.* the river of the Holy Ghost, and the great river Quama. Both rivers are looked upon by some as two branches of the river Zambesi, which flows out of the lake Zambesi. This country would be like an island if Sofalaland, which borders on the sea, were added to it, and this has been done by some.

Empire of
Monomotapa.

It reaches to the south as far as the small kingdoms, situated in the direction of the Cape of Good Hope, is bounded on the north by the kingdom of Monemuga or Nimeamaya and the river Quama, on the east by the littoral of Sofala, and on the west and south by the river Magnice and the neighbouring mountain range. Kluveer gives as its boundaries on the east, south, and west the Atlantic, on the north the kingdoms of Congo and Abyssinia and the Zanzibar country.

Boundaries.

The same Kluveer estimates its length, measured between Lake Rô, the Ethiopian Sea, and the Mountains of the Moon, at 400 German miles; its breadth, measured between the principal sources of the Nile and the Cape of Good Hope, at 300 German miles; for all the smaller kingdoms situated between the river Magnice and the Cape of Good Hope, and likewise those of Torua and Butua, are said to acknowledge the Prince of Monomotapa as their liege. The whole circumference of this country or island is computed by many to be 735 French miles.

Its extent.

The capital.

The capital of the empire or kingdom is a large town called Banamatapa. Vincent le Blanc, however, calls Madrogan the capital of the whole kingdom, the place where the Prince usually resides, situated six days' journeying from a certain building called Symbaoe or Zimbaoch, and five miles from Sofala in the west.

The houses.

Nearly all the houses have pointed roofs and are roomy. All the wooden and earthen buildings are built with great taste, and whitewashed inside and outside.

The king's
palace.

The king's palace is very large, has four principal gates and many large rooms. It is fortified on the outside by watch-towers, and made strong inside with cotton cloth of many colours, interwoven with gold. The rooms are beautifully furnished. The ceiling is gilt, or, according to others, covered with golden plates and ornamented with ivory chandeliers suspended by silver chains. The chairs are gilded, painted in many colours, and artistically inlaid with enamel. The four principal gates of the court are beautifully ornamented, and well guarded by the Emperor's bodyguard, called Sequender.

The Emperor has at his court a great many servants, who are well disciplined, address him with bended knees, and serve him in silence. His table-service is of porcelain, ornamented with golden wreaths in the form of natural coral.

Among the principal towns of this empire are reckoned the towns of Zimbao, situated a mile and a half from Sofala; likewise several others, as Teté, where the Portuguese Jesuits live, Sena, etc.

Certain fighting women, like the ancient Amazons, who take the field in arms, and who are the bravest warriors of this prince, have a special district assigned to them by the king. Sanut, however, places them in a special kingdom, on the frontiers of the kingdom of Damont and Goraga, rather more towards the south.

Abode of the Amazons.

Near this kingdom of Monomotapa there is supposed to be another kingdom, named Chitambo, in which there is the town of Tambaro, but nothing further is known about it.

The kingdom of Chitambo.

The kingdom of Monomotapa has a temperate climate. It contains fertile parts, which, although not all inhabited, afford cattle and fruits sufficient for the sustenance of the body. There are many kinds of trees, and in many places abundance of sugar-cane, which grows luxuriantly without the aid of man. This is owing in no small measure to the rivers and brooks which water this country. The country is rich in oxen and cows, which are valued more than gold or silver, which the people possess in abundance.

The climate.

Its vegetation.

Its animals.

There are no horses anywhere to be found, nor any other animals on which to ride but elephants, which congregate there in large numbers in the woods, as is proved by the quantity of teeth exported from the country. There is an animal called Alsinga, which is in shape like a deer. There are also a great many ostriches, as large as oxen.

Certain trees grow there, called Koskoma, with a fruit in shape like golden pippins, of a purple colour and sweet to the taste. But if eaten in large

quantities they cause diarrhœa, which often becomes dysentery and results in death.

Gold-mines.

This country has several gold mines, and gold is also found in its rivers and in veins of quartz. In some rivers the gold is rendered pure by the action of the water. To obtain this gold the inhabitants dive into the rivers. They bring up the slime with the gold, and extract the gold on the river-banks. This same diving for gold also takes place in certain large lakes which are found in the length and breadth of this kingdom. For this reason the King of Monomotapa is called by the Portuguese the Golden King.

The inhabitants.

All the inhabitants, without exception, have short black crisp hair. According to Linschoten they are of middle height, but Pigafet calls them very tall. They are well built, of sound physique, but black. They display more signs of intellect than the peoples of Mozambique and Melinda. They are very warlike and brave, and they have the reputation of being of a mutinous disposition.

Food and occupations.

Most of them are engaged in war, but others trade. Their ordinary food is salt beef, their beverage milk slightly sour, and oil of sesamos. Their bread is baked like cakes, and made of rice, millet, or of the root called tgnames. As has been observed, the beverage of the common people is milk, but that of the king and notables is wine, made of honey or mead, which is kept in cow-horns, or palm-wine spiced with manna, amber, and musk.

The king spends daily two pounds of gold in

incense, which is procured for him by certain merchants. The torches for his use are made with incense. Of these he uses four in the morning. They are carried before him on dark mornings, he being seated in a richly fitted-up palanquin carried by four noblemen, followed by a large retinue, and having a screen by way of a sunshade studded with precious stones.

The king never gives an audience when he is about to start on a journey. Nor does he ever leave his palace without going across some animal that has just been slaughtered, whether he goes out on foot, or on horseback, or on an elephant, or—which, however, happens rarely—on the animal called alsinga. On walking or riding across this slaughtered animal all his courtiers and his retinue set up a great howling; and they watch the entrails of the animal in order to ascertain whether they indicate a good or a bad omen for the king, and report accordingly to their priests.

The king is only allowed to dress after the fashion of his forefathers, namely, in a silk coat made in the country (for he wears no foreign clothes for fear of poison), and over this is a long wide garment in the shape of a woman's cloak reaching down to the knees, taken in at the waist and tied with a neat knot on the shoulder. Generally he carries in his girdle a spade with an ivory handle, and in his hand two arrows. The girdle is to signify to his subjects that in time of peace they have to cultivate the land; one of the arrows signifies that he has the power

The king's
dress.

to punish evildoers, and the other to protect him against his enemies.

Dress of the
people.

The people go naked from the neck to the waist. From the waist to the foot they are covered with a parti-coloured cloth or with the skin of an animal. The notables wear the same dress with the addition of a tail, which reaches behind to the ground and moves up and down with them when they dance and jump. According to Sanut their dress is made of cotton, whilst the notables wear Indian stuffs interwoven with gold wire.

The women, when unmarried, go naked, except that they wear a small piece of cloth round their loins, but after marriage and after having borne children they cover their breasts and bodies with dresses of cotton.

Marriage.

Every man is allowed to marry as many women as he can feed. The first wife, however, is most thought of, and looked upon as the head of the household. All the other wives have to serve her, and after the husband's death his goods are divided among her children. No one is allowed to marry a woman who has not reached the age of child-bearing.

The women are held in such respect that even the princes of the blood have to give way to them when they meet them on the road.

Their houses.

Their houses are built of wood, in the shape of a bell or tent, as a protection against rain, but the richer and more exalted a man is, the higher is the house he builds himself.

The inhabitants render great honour to their dead

When one of their friends, or a woman who leaves children behind, dies, they preserve the bones after the flesh is rotten, mark them with certain signs to distinguish them from one another, and then lay them out in an open space or court, whither the survivors repair every seven days, dressed in white mourning, there to place bread and boiled meat in honour of the dead on a table covered with a cloth, and, after having prayed to the dead for the welfare of their king, they eat the bread and meat.

Honours rendered to their dead. Jos. Barros, lib. 10.

The inhabitants are not subject to any taxes, but when they wish to have an audience with the king they must bring a present with them. This is according to the custom of these countries that no inferior shall address a superior without offering him a present, as a token of obedience and respect. In the same way all the notables are bound to place themselves at the service of the king for seven out of every thirty days.

The king's revenues.

The merchants that come to trade in these parts must also offer some present to the king in order to be allowed to appear before him. If they neglect to do this, they incur his displeasure.

The chief product of these lands is gold, which is found in the mines and in the rivers, although they value it very little. But yet they seek it very diligently for the sake of the foreign goods for which they can barter it. And the Portuguese are not averse to this trade in gold. They possess in Monomotapa a few gold mines and a stretch of land of more than sixty miles.

Products. Jarric, lib. c. 42. Sanut, lib. 1.

Their
weapons.

The weapons of these peoples are bows and arrows, poignards, and sabres.

The Emperor has a strong permanent army, but, as there are no horses, it consists entirely of foot-soldiers. He generally has about his person a few brave fighting women, who take the field as well as men, yea, better. They burn off their left breast in order to be able to shoot quicker and more freely, for the which they rightly deserve the name of Amazons. They carry the same weapons as the men, and when they feign a flight they shoot backwards. But the moment they perceive the enemy in pursuit, they wheel round and cut down everything before them.

In times of war a wooden building is erected on the spot where the king pitches his camp. In this building a fire is constantly kept burning. No one washes his hands or his face as long as the war lasts. Each man carries his own provisions, but the king provides oxen and sheep.

Government.
Osor. de rebus,
Emanuel, lib.
4.

Before the Portuguese made themselves master of these coastlands all the kings along the coast acknowledged the King of Monomotapa as their Emperor. Even now several kings on the coast owe him obedience and pay him a yearly tribute.

The King of Monomotapa rules over many other great princes. Some of those that are at a great distance rebel at times. He therefore, according to an old custom, keeps near his court their nearest relatives, partly to gain their goodwill by educating them at his court, partly to retain his hold over the

kings whose relatives he keeps as hostages. He sends every year an embassy to his subject kings and lords, to convey to them a new fire and with orders to extinguish all the other fires. When an ambassador appears at the court of any of the princes, every one is obliged to put out his fire. Nor is any one allowed to relight it before the ambassador has kindled a new fire. From this new fire all the subjects of that prince must fetch fire to be taken into their houses. He who shows himself reluctant in this matter is looked upon as a rebel, and punished accordingly.

The king has generally upwards of a thousand wives, all daughters of his subject lords. The wife whom he marries first is the chief of all the others, whatever may have been her rank before marriage. The first-born son succeeds to the throne on the death of his father.

The ruler of the empire is called Benomotapa, that is to say Emperor; or, according to Texeira, that great traveller and explorer of foreign parts, Munne-mota, because the kings beyond Kaffirland bear the title of Mune, a word related to the name Mani, the usual title of the kings of Angola and Kongo.

His title.
Jos. Barros,
lib. 10, c. 1.

The king is greatly honoured by all his subjects; they serve him on their bended knees. No one, except Portuguese, Moors, and his principal favourite, is allowed to address him standing. When he drinks all those present shout his praise, which praises are passed from each man to his neighbour, so that the whole capital rings with shouting when the king drinks. The whole of his retinue remain

seated in his presence, without daring to utter a word.

Punishments.

The king and all the administrators of justice are very severe with evildoers, on whom they inflict the most cruel punishments. The sentences of the judges are confirmed by the king. After the investigation of the case and the hearing of the witnesses, the sentence is carried out forthwith. As soon as a crime has been committed the perpetrator is punished in a field. But if it is required to retain the culprit a few days before sentence is pronounced, his punishment is aggravated by his being tied to a tree, and a guard being placed there to watch him. This takes the place of a prison, of which there are none in the country. As the accused man has no chance of escape, he generally poisons himself as an alternative to a more cruel death. If a man injures another without cause he is laid naked on the ground and mercilessly beaten with a knotted rope. But this involves no disgrace. Judges themselves are subject to this punishment, and even the greatest noblemen in the land and magistrates; but the latter in secret, and in the presence of the king, and with the loss of their office.

If it happens that the judges wish to get at the truth of a mysterious affair, they make the persons whom they suspect drink an extract made of the bark of a tree cut in small pieces. If the person suspected can keep this liquid on his stomach without vomiting, he is set free, but if not he is punished. This custom prevails in the whole of Negroland.

Most of the people are idolaters. They call their

chief god Maziri, the creator of all things, called by other nations Atuno. They pay great honour to a certain Virgin, named Peru, and have convents in which they keep their daughters shut up.

The fact that they keep holy certain days of a moon and the birthday of their king shows that they have some kind of religion, but the enormous number of their gods makes it impossible for them to honour a single one with any degree of fervour. The Portuguese Jesuits, however, have converted through careful instruction several of the inhabitants to the Roman Catholic religion, and baptized them. In the year 1560 the king himself and his mother and more than 300 noblemen and notables were baptized by a certain Jesuit, named Gonzalves Sylveyra. But as a reward for his labours he was killed by order of the king by eight of his servants. This was at the instigation of the Mohammedans, who accused Sylveyra to the king of witchcraft. But they themselves had to pay for this information by their lives.

The kingdoms of Agag and Doro are tributary states of the empire of Monomotapa. They both bounder in the east on Negroland, and in the west on the kingdom of Takua.

The kingdoms
of Agag and
Doro, and
Toraka or
Butualand.

Toraka or Torealand, called by some Butua or Buttualand, is likewise subject to the empire of Monomotapa. It begins, according to Linschoten and Pigafet, at Fish-cape and stretches as far as the river Magnice, otherwise called the river of the Holy Ghost, but not as far as Cape das Correntas, which belongs to the kingdom of Sofala. In the south this

country extends to the Mountains of the Moon and Fish-cape, in the north to the river Magnice, in the direction of Monomotapa, in the west to the river Bravagal. The principal town is Zenebra, the next in size Fatuka.

The building
called Sym-
baoe.

Far inland in this country, in the midst of many iron-mines, there stands in a plain a celebrated building, called Symbaoe. It is square and built like a castle. The walls are made of very hard stone on the inside, and of beautiful chiselled stone on the outside, without mortar or cement. They are more than twenty-five hands broad, but not proportionately high. On the gate there is an inscription, which is indecipherable. Nor has any one been able to find out by what nations the characters of the writing are used.

In the same neighbourhood there are several similar buildings, also named Symbaoe, a word which must mean court or palace, for all the places where the Monomotapa or Emperor resides are so named, which proves that this edifice must be one of the king's palaces.

The inhabitants believe it to have been made by the devil, because in the whole district there are none but wooden buildings; they say that it is stronger than the fort of Portuguese, situated on the coast about 150 miles from it.

The Emperor of Monomotapa keeps in this building a garrison for its defence, and some of his wives.

This country, especially at a little distance from the coast, consists of nothing but grassy plains and

pasturages full of cattle. But there are no trees, so that the inhabitants have to use the dung of animals for making fires on their hearths. The winters are rather cold, on account of the proximity of the South Pole and the cold winds which blow from the frigid South.

There are rich gold-mines, the which alone makes it possible to build the above-mentioned edifices. Two of the gold-mines in this country are called Boro and Quitici, situated about 150 miles from Sofala. These two are richer in gold than any of the other mines.

The clothing worn by the inhabitants for protecting their bodies against the cold is made of skins of animals.

There is a great deal of ivory, as there are many elephants. There are also rich salt-pits, which produce salt for a large part of Africa, although salt is very dear in some of the places situated far from the coast.

The town of Fatuka is rich in gold, silver, and precious stones.

The country is governed by a prince, called Buro, a vassal of the Emperor of Monomotapa.

The kingdom of Inhambana is situated a little distance inland in the tropics, on the side of Cape of Good Hope. Its capital is called Tonga.

The heat is so great as to be almost insupportable by European nations, especially by the Portuguese who trade there. It causes a great deal of disease.

The majority of the inhabitants are idolaters.

Gold-mines.

Dress.

Products.

Government.

The kingdoms of Inhambana and of Inhamior. Jarric, lib. 5, c. 9.

Many of them, however, have been baptized and converted to the Roman Catholic faith through the zeal of the Portuguese Jesuits. The Jesuit Gonzalves Sylveyra baptized in the year 1560 the king and the whole of his court.

Another kingdom, named Inhamior, is situated near the river Kreama. The place where the king resides lies about half a mile from the village of Sena. This village is under the suzerainty of the King of Monomotapa. Many Portuguese live there.

The kingdom of Monoamugi or Nimeamaya. Boundaries of the kingdom of Monoamugi. Pigafet, lib. 2, c. 9. Congo. Jarric, lib. 3, c. 3.

The vast kingdom of Monoamugi or Mohenamugi, by others called Nimeamaya, lies far inland, opposite the kingdoms of Mombaza, Quiloa, and Melinda. It is bounded on the north by Abyssinia or Paep-Jans-land and the kingdom of the great Makoko, on the south by the kingdoms of Monomotapa and Mozambique, on the east by the kingdoms of Mombaza and Quiloa, on the west by the river Nile between two lakes, from which it is generally supposed to take its origin. Between this kingdom and Paep-Jans-land, on the north side, there are a few small kingdoms, which are very weak, and are now in the power of the King of Monoamugi, now in that of the King of Abyssinia.

Dress.

These lands are rich in gold, silver, and copper, and besides feed a great many elephants. The inhabitants, who are said to have white skins and to be of a much larger stature than the natives of Europe, go naked down to the waist, and wear below it clothing made of silk or cotton, which are imported by foreign merchants. They wear as ornaments chains of amber

beads, which shine like glass and are brought from Kambaya. They use these same beads as money, for they set no store by gold.

The king maintains peaceful relations with the kings of Quiloa, Melinda, and Mombaza, for the sake of the trade with them, which is very profitable. In times of peace, silk, cotton-stuffs, the above-named beads from Kambaya, and many other wares are imported into his country and exchanged for gold, silver, copper, and ivory.

The King of Nimeamaya, too, lives nearly always in peace with the great Makoko, because some black men from their lands trade with the Portuguese, who have their markets in the kingdom of Fimgeno and in Pombo d'Okango.

According to the reports of some black traders from the kingdom of Nimeamaya to the Portuguese, there is a large lake to the east of the kingdom of Nimeamaya. They call it a sea. Many rivers spring from it, but their names are not known. The black men say that there are in this lake numberless islands, all inhabited by black people; that they have seen land on the east side of the lake, and have heard there the sound of bells (probably brought thither by the Abyssinians); and that they have seen buildings which they believe to be churches; that now and then on this same east side brown-coloured men, many of whom are yellow, with sleek hair like that of white men, arrive in boats to trade with the black men of the above-named islands, and with the subjects of their King Nimeamaya; and that these men

are better mannered and better clad than all the other black men. When the black men in Pombo d'Okango were asked how many days they had to travel to get from Okango to this lake full of islands, they answered, at least sixty, always travelling eastwards or facing the sun.

According to the reports gained by the Portuguese from the black men of Nimeamaya, the district between Okango and this lake is very fertile and beautiful. It has many springs and all kinds of quadrupeds and birds. The inhabitants make wine and oil from the juice of the palm trees, which grow in abundance. In many places there the honey runs like water over the earth, and cannot all be consumed. No Christian has ever penetrated into this district on account of the roughness of the country and the high temperature of the air, which causes the heads of the white men to swell to twice their size, and also through the dangerous character of the Jages, the most cruel of the races that dwell in these regions.

These Jages resemble in customs, manner of war-faring, and savageness the Jages of Ansiko. Probably they are one and the same race, for they also eat those taken in war or sell them as slaves. They also wear as ornaments feathers stuck through their noses, and knock out of their mouths the two upper incisors. No one is allowed to fight in their armies without these marks.

The kingdom
of Sofala.

The kingdom of Sofala is situated between the river Magnice, otherwise called the river of the Holy Ghost, and the river Quama—that is, it stretches

from the mouth of the one to that of the other ; for it is bounded on the north by the river Quama and the kingdom of Angoche, on the south by the river Magnice and the kingdom of Buttua or Toroa, on the west by the kingdom of Monomotapa, and on the east by the Indian Ocean.

Its bound-
aries.

The capital of the kingdom lies on an island in the river Quama, called, like the whole kingdom, Cefala, or Sofala. Near it the Portuguese have a fort built in the year 1500 by a certain Portuguese of the name of Guaja. When the Portuguese first came to this capital it was not very large. There were then no fine well-built houses, but only low ones surrounded by small trees and wild-growing brushwood.

The capital.

According to Linschoten there are few other towns and villages. But the African geographers speak of two other towns, built like villages, called Hautema and Daudema, as well as a few hamlets, Sagona, Boerha, Gasta, etc., situated between these two towns on the coast.

Geogr. Nub.

The river Magnice, situated at about $27^{\circ} 40'$ southern latitude, was called at first by the Portuguese Rio dos Lagos, which means River of the Lakes, but was afterwards renamed by the Portuguese Laurens Marches, in the year 1540, Rio do Spirito Sancto, that is, the River of the Holy Ghost. According to some it takes its origin in the lake Goyama, and after flowing for a long distance in the direction of Sofala, divides into two branches, the one keeping the name of Magnice, and emptying itself in the sea by a large mouth which forms the triangle at Cape Fish, between

The river
Magnice.

Cape Fish and Cape das Correntas. Near the sea it receives the waters of three other rivers. The first and largest is called by the Portuguese Saint Christopher, from the day on which it was discovered; the natives call it Nagoa. The second has been named after Laurens Marches, the discoverer of these two rivers, which both flow from the Mountains of the Moon, through a certain land called Toroa. The third, named Arroa, flows from the north right through the gold-mines of Monomotapa. All these three rivers fall into the great river Magnice, and form all four a single wide mouth which joins the ocean.

The river
Quama.

The other arm of the river Magnice is called Kuama, or Quama, or Kovagna, according to Pigafet, after the castle which the Mohammedans possess on its bank. But higher up the river the inhabitants call it Sambera. This arm has much more water than the river Magnice itself, which appears from the fact that it is navigable for a distance of ninety miles, and receives the waters of six other large rivers, the Panhames, the Luangoa, the Arruya, the Maniono, the Inandire, and the Ruenia, all of which flow through the kingdom of Monomotapa and bring down gold-dust. It divides near the sea into seven mouths, forming a delta of seven (*six*?) islands. These islands, as well as several others situated opposite the delta, are thickly populated. At the mouth of the river Quama the Portuguese have a fort for keeping the inhabitants in awe. It was founded in the year 1500 by a Portuguese named Guaja.

The kingdom of Sofala does not extend far inland. It is merely a coast-land, for a little way inland one gets at once into Monomotapaland. About the middle of the coast lies Cape das Correntas, as it is called by the Portuguese, at about $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ southern latitude. Between this cape and the island of Madagascar are the rocks of Judea, called in Portuguese Baixos da Judea, which are very dangerous and are the cause of many wrecks. They begin about the twenty-first degree southern latitude, in the channel of the Sofala coast.

The country extending from Cape das Correntas Matukaland. to the river Kuama or Quama is called Matuka. The centre of its gold-mines lies near Sofala, is called Manica, and is under the rule of the Emperor of Monomotapa, as is also a large part of the country of Matuka.

On the Sofala coast in Matukaland lies Cape San Sebastian and another cape, Saint Catherine.

The climate is healthy and temperate, especially Climate. in Matuka. The country is flat in some places, hilly, barren, and wild from the mouth of the river Magnice to Cape das Correntas, but very fertile and populous from this cape to the mouth of the river Quama.

The country of Matuka is not quite flat along the Sanut. coast, but hilly along the river Quama. The valley of the Quama is well wooded and fertile. The flat part of the coast is covered with low shrubs, which Schip, Spilberg. 1601. are sooner smelt than seen, on account of the quantities of odoriferous flowers that grow amongst them.

Animals.

There are large numbers of enormous elephants, but the inhabitants are not able to tame them. There are also many lions, bears, deer, wild boars, and many other animals, and at the mouth of the river Quama the rhinoceroses disport themselves.

The mines and rivers produce abundance of gold. The black people fish the gold out of the rivers at the foot of the mountains. This gold is swept by the torrents from the mountains and caught up in closely braided nets, in which they often take large pieces.

The inhabitants.

The inhabitants of Sofala are well built, mostly black, but some of them have a brown-coloured skin. Those that live near Cape Karondos are less savage than the dwellers at Gabo das Agulhas or Cape Needles, and at Cape of Good Hope. They are also milder and more sociable than the rest of the inhabitants of this kingdom, although of the same colour and stature.

Their food consists of rice, flesh, and fish.

Dress.

They go naked down to the waist, but from there to the knees they wear a covering of silk or cotton. Their heads are enveloped with silk stuff, in the manner of a turban. Some, however, wear caps of scarlet flannel and of other materials. They obtain the silk from the Portuguese at Kambaya and at other places. At their sides they wear sticks with ivory handles.

Language.

Some speak the Arabic language, but the majority speak the language of the natives. Arabic is their native language, for it must be remembered that the inhabitants of Sofala are not the aborigines, but came

from their native land, Arabia Felix, long before the appearance of the Portuguese in their districts, to trade with the people of Monomotapaland. As the trade grew they settled on the deserted islands and gradually went to the mainland.

The inhabitants declare that the gold-mines of Sofala can yield yearly ten millions of metigals, a metigal being $1\frac{1}{3}$ ducat, and that the ships of Zedem and Mecca and other places actually used to carry away in time of peace two millions of gold yearly; and finally that this is the very place where King Solomon got his gold. And, as Moquet writes, there is no place in Africa where the gold is better and more plentiful. The chief of Mozambique receives from Mozambique, Sofala, and Quama, during his three-yearly tenure of office, more than 300,000 eskus, or golden crowns, in addition to the pay of his soldiers, and a third portion which goes to the King of Portugal.

Products.
Navig. di
Tho. Lopez.

Moquet, lib. 4.

The inhabitants trade with other Mohammedans, who cross the sea from the kingdoms of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinda, in small vessels, called zambuks, bringing with them white and blue cottons, silks, and ash-coloured, yellow, and red Kambai-corals, which they exchange with the inhabitants of Sofala for gold at a great profit. The latter exchange these same wares at a much greater profit with the inhabitants of Monomotapa for gold, which they receive without its ever having been weighed.

Od. Barb.

The Sofalese have also plenty of ivory, which they exchange with merchants who export it to

*Voyages of
Spilb.*

Kambaya ; likewise ambergris, which they get from the neighbouring islands of Ueiques. When the inhabitants on the coast perceive any foreign ships, they light fires to show that they are welcome. The inhabitants weave great quantities of white cotton. The art of dyeing is not known to them, nor have they any dyes. Sometimes they unravel the coloured Kambai-cloth, and they weave this with their own yarn into particoloured cloth.

Weapons.
Osor. lib. 4.
Spilber.

Their weapons are swords, bows and arrows, but lately they have been taught the use of powder and blunderbuss by the Portuguese. The king is always surrounded by a great number of warriors, his body-guard.

Since the Portuguese Guaia founded a fortress in the year 1500, the Portuguese have exercised sovereignty over this country and kept it in submission.

Sovereignty.

Some writers, as, for instance, Pigafet, maintain that the former ruler of this country was a Moham- medan, who transferred his allegiance from the Emperor of Monomotapa to the King of Portugal. But in the *Voyages of Spilbergen* we read that the king was a Portuguese by birth. This again is at variance with what we find in Jarrik, that the King of Sofala only paid tribute to the Portuguese. Finally, Marmol writes that in his time the King of Sofala was subject to the Golden Emperor ; that is, the Emperor of Monomotapa.

Religion.

According to Pigafet and the books of voyages by Dutchmen sailing to the East Indies, the people of

Sofala confess the religion of Mohammed. This fact is also given by Osorus. But Jarrik says that the natives of Sofala have no religion, neither a good nor a bad one, and are, so to speak, a tabula rasa, capable of adopting any religion. It is certain that the Mohammedans in these parts have flourished for more than two hundred years and have founded a town, called Sofala after that coast, on an island in the river Quama; so that there are there Mohammedans as a ruling caste and Kaffirs or people without a religion as a subject race, who are neither Mohammedans nor idolaters.

Book IV.
*History of
King
Emmanuel.*

As most expositors of the Bible and geographers identify this land of Sofala with the land of gold, named Ophir, whither King Solomon sent a fleet, manned with men of Hiram, King of Tyre, from Asiongabar, a port on the Red Sea, which fleet returned after three years laden with gold and ivory, I hold this to be a suitable opportunity to state the pros and cons of this old and still undecided dispute.

Dispute about
the exact
situation of
Ophir.

Some, as, for instance, Arias Montanus, Postel, Goropius, take Ophir to be that part of America which is usually called Peru. And as they read in the Hebrew text the word Peruaim, a plural of Peru, they hold that Peruaim means the two Perus, North and South Peru, as if it was written in the Bible that gold was brought from the two Perus. But there are many arguments against this.

Firstly, it is probable that Peru was not known at the time of Solomon, nor that ships could sail to such far distances, as the compass was not known then.

Secondly, there are no elephants in Peru, so that no ivory could have been brought from thence.

Thirdly, in order to sail to Peru, Solomon might have chosen a much more suitable starting-point from one of the harbours in the Mediterranean, instead of the harbour of Asiongabar in the Red Sea, to avoid the long detour round the Cape of Good Hope and along the coast of Guinea.

Saint Hieronymus, a learned Hebrew expositor, who died in the year 422 at the age of ninety, during the reign of King Theodosius, took the word Ophir to mean simply "good or pure gold," and rendered it in his translations by "very good gold," and not by gold from Peruaim or from any other part. But this opinion has been rejected long ago.

The Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, in his book on the Coptic or Egyptian language, maintains that Ophir is a Coptic or Egyptian word, by which the ancient Egyptians designated India, which included the kingdoms of Malabar, Ceylon, the land of Gold, Chersonesus or the hanging island of Ptolemeus, situated to the north of the river Ganges, to the east of a gulf called by Ptolemeus the Great Gulf; also Sumatra, the Malucca Islands, greater and lesser Java, and other neighbouring gold lands, whither the fleet of King Solomon was despatched at fixed times by King Hiram. As to the gold, called in the Hebrew text the gold of Peruaim, this same Kircher opines that it was the gold from Javim, that is the islands of Java. He also thinks that he has read of

these two islands in the books of the Rabbis under the name of Ophir.

Most geographers agree with Kircher in placing Ophir in East India and not in America; Ortebus, Volaterraen, Gramaye, and others identify it with Sofala, because this country is rich in gold and ivory.

If one calls Ophir the country between the rivers Magnice and Quama, together with Monomotapaland, which is called Sofala by Barros, there are great reasons for thinking that this land can be no other but the gold-land of Ophir of Solomon, because of the houses found near the gold-mines, which are not built after the manner of the country, but seem to have been constructed by foreigners, and because of the inscriptions in strange and unknown characters. Furthermore, Thomas Lopez asserts in his voyage to India that the inhabitants of Sofala possess books in which it is stated that Solomon got his gold from these parts every three years. It may be added to this that the seventy translators of the Bible have rendered the word Ophir in Greek by Sophira, which is very much like Ophir. In the same way, Josephus, the historian of the Jews, speaks of Ophir-India, adding that in his time this was called the gold-land. A certain writer, Eupolemeus, speaks in Eusebius of Ophir-Vreten, and states that it is an island in the Red Sea, and that the ships load at Melanis, a town in Arabia.

This country, which some identify with the country called Zanzibar by Ptolemeus Azysymba and the Venetian Marcus Paulus, is called Zanguebar by the

Zanguebar-
land.
Jos. Barros,
lib. 8, c. 4.

Persians and Arabians, because Zangue in their language means black, and the country is chiefly inhabited by black people. Hence the Arabians call its inhabitants Zanguy, and Kaffirs or people without laws or religion.

Lib. 12.
Boundaries.

Jos. de Barros states that this country extends along the coast from Cape das Correntas to the river Quilmanci, whilst Sanut, in order not to include in it the half of Sofala and Monomotapa, gives as its southern boundary the northern boundary of these two kingdoms, that is, the river Quama, and as its northern boundary the river Quilmanci. Marmol, however, gives the coast of Zanguebar as stretching from south to north as far as Cape Guardafui, at a latitude of about 12 degrees, placing this country between two seas, the Eastern and the Western seas.

The country further comprises the kingdoms of Angos, Angoche, Mongalo, Mozambique, Melinda, Mombaza, Quiloa, and a few others situated in islands.

The river
Quilmanci.

The river Quilmanci, named by Ptolemeus Rapta, like the Cape at its mouth, is one of the greatest in Southern Africa. It springs from certain mountains in Abyssinia, called by the inhabitants Graro. The river Quilmanci they call Oby, but the Moors dwelling at its mouth have named her Quilmanci, after a certain place which is in their possession, situated at one of its mouths which flows along the kingdom of Melinda. Some Portuguese writers maintain that this river Quilmanci is the same as the river Zebee, which springs in Narea, a country in Abyssinia near

a place called Boxa, running southward and emptying itself in the sea in the kingdom of Gingiro. Other Portuguese state that the river which runs not more than a thousand paces from Melinda is indeed a great river and flows from Abyssinia, but that they have never been able to obtain exact information as to its origin, and that those sent to trace it were always driven back or killed by the natives.

The climate of this country is unhealthy and pestilential, as are also the products of the earth, which is ascribed partly to the lowness and swampy nature of the ground, partly to large numbers of rivers and lakes, which make this country almost like a group of islands.

Climate.

The natives are black and have all short crisp hair. They go naked from the shoulders to the waist, but their loins are covered with particoloured cloth and with skins of wild animals. The notables among them wear these skins with the tails trailing behind them. The blacks along the coast, however, are better dressed.

Inhabitants.
Their dress.

The blacks at the coast and on the neighbouring islands live chiefly on wild fruits, the flesh of wild animals, and on the milk of the animals which they breed. This is more particularly the food of the Moors or Bedouins, who live a little farther inland and trade with the Kaffirs.

Food.

Great quantities of gold are found in these parts, which is a great boon to the natives, as it enables them to acquire by barter all those necessaries of life which nature has denied them.

Products.

Religion.

The natives are idolaters, but those living on the islands on the coast are nearly all Mohammedans, descended from some Arabians, banished from their native land on account of having tried to introduce heresies into their religion. They were followers of a certain Zayd, a nephew of Hocens, son of Haly. For this reason they were called Emossayders.

The islands of
Quirinba.
*L'Ambassade
de D. Garcias
Figueroa en
Perse.*

Opposite Zanguebar in the sea are situated the islands of Quirinba, extending along the coast over more than fifteen miles as far as a promontory called in Portuguese Cabo del Gado, in a gulf of the same size.

Some of the islands are much larger and lie nearer the coast than others. They are separated by channels, but so narrow and shallow as to be fordable at low water. Although every island has its own name, the Portuguese call all the islands, except the first on coming from Mozambique, Quirinba.

These isles were formerly inhabited by the Arabs, a fact which is proved beyond a doubt by the ruins of houses and mosques built by a people less barbarian than that which dwell on them nowadays. These buildings were made with mortar, stone, and bricks, like those in the towns of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinda. But after the Portuguese went with their ships as far as India, their soldiers and sailors, from an instinctive hatred of all Mohammedans, were not satisfied with robbing them and burning and pulling down their houses and mosques, but made a furious attack upon them, and massacred them all, without distinction of sex or age.

The half-castes who dwell on these islands still preserve the tradition of these cruelties. After that time the islands remained deserted for many years, until some Portuguese, who happened to be on the continent in order to buy slaves and ivory, crossed over to them from Mombaza and Mozambique. Some also came thither from India. In this way a few inhabitants settled on each island. The Governor of Mozambique, which is at a distance of about thirty-three miles, rules over the islands and sends once a year a judge to settle the disputes of the inhabitants.

Every inhabitant lives in his own house built of stone and mortar. He has a wife, children, and slaves of both sexes. He shares the profits of his commerce with friends and relations in order to secure their assistance against the Niggers of the continent, who might molest him.

Everybody, including the slaves which they get from India, is armed with muskets, blunderbusses, and other arms against the natives of the continent.

Most of the islands are very small, not more than a mile or half a mile in circumference. At low water one can walk from one island to another. They are very fertile; palm, orange, and citron trees abound and the valleys have no lack of fresh water. Twice a year there is a crop of fine figs, grapes, and all kinds of vegetables.

There are also plenty of oxen, cows, and goats, and large numbers of birds, amongst others wild pigeons and turtle-doves. Every kind of food can be obtained. Corn, rice, dried and preserved fruits, are

imported from Ormus. The sea around the islands abounds in many kinds of fish.

The island of Quirinba is the largest and was populated first. There are on it twenty-five houses belonging to Portuguese and to half-castes, most of whom have wives and slaves, as in all the other islands. These houses stand in twos and threes, scattered here and there, not close together as in a populous town.

There is no particular ruler over the island, but one of the inhabitants is chosen as judge for a period of three years. A Dominican priest from Goa visits them to say Mass and celebrate the Sacrament. He officiates in a hermitage situated in a central part of the island, which is also used by the people of the other islands as a place of worship.

Oybo. The second island, Oybo, is smaller than Quirinba. Its climate is more temperate and cooler. The whole island is like a garden, watered in many places by the finest springs and rivers in the world.

The other islands have neither roadstead nor harbour for vessels to anchor, except the island in the gulf; but this can only be approached by small vessels, as in the deepest channel at low tide there are not three feet of water.

A Portuguese rules over the island of Oybo, who lives in a large beautiful house, with rooms on both its stories. At the back of the house there is a garden, surrounded by a stone wall two fathoms high, with spikes so that it may be used as a bulwark, in case the owner and his household, who are all armed, should have to repulse the blacks from the

continent. They mostly, however, live at peace with one another through the trade carried on between them.

At one of the mouths of the river Quama there is a district or kingdom called Mongalo, inhabited by Mohammedans who are under a king of their own.

The kingdom of Mongalo and Anche (also called Angos).

Gold can be obtained in any quantity. It is brought thither from Monomotapa.

At another mouth of the river Quama lies the kingdom of Ango, called by Pigafet in Italian Agnoscia, and by Moquet in French Angoche. Barbosa calls it simply Angos, and gives the same name to the neighbouring islands.

The country is rich in mealies, rice, and cattle. The inhabitants are short of stature and very black. They go naked up to the waist, but are covered at the loins with cotton or silk. Some wear turbans or other head-coverings made of silk. They speak a language of their own, although some speak Arabic.

The Moors of Angos are all merchants trading in gold, ivory, cotton, silk, and in Kambay beads or paternosters, like the merchants of Sofala. The cotton, silk, and beads they get from the merchants of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinda, who, without the knowledge of the Portuguese, come to their coasts with their wares in small skiffs or *Almadies*, made out of a single piece of wood. They barter their wares against large quantities of gold and ivory.

All the inhabitants are ruled over by a Mohammedan king. They are partly Mohammedans, partly heathens.

A little way past the island and kingdom of Angos we come to the kingdom of Mozambique,¹ so called after the island Mozambique, the principal of three islands, of which the other two are called St. Jacob and St. George, all three situated near the mouth of the river Meginkate, better called Maginkate.

The kingdom
of Mozam-
bique.

Opposite the island of St. George, at a distance of about a thousand paces, there is a promontory called Caboceira, which is a hanging island attached to the mainland by a narrow tongue of land, underneath which the waters of the sea on both sides join at high tide, but where it is fordable at low tide.

The country of Mozambique, opposite the island Mozambique, is fertile, and all kinds of pulse, rice, lemons, and oranges grow there luxuriantly; likewise mealies, which the black natives protect against the elephants by lighting fires and by making noises with stones, for elephants are frightened at the sight of fire.

Vegetation.

There is also found a certain plant called *Pao* or *Antak*-wood, a creeper which is very much like our aristolochy. Its fruit consists of small green slender seeds or peas. Its root has the wonderful power of healing a certain disease, called *Antak*, which foreigners contract through intercourse with the black races, and which can be cured by no other remedy.

The inhabitants make wine from mealies, which wine they call *Huyembe* or *Pembe*.

Animals.

There are a great many tame and wild birds, deer,

¹ The author names this country now Mozambique, now Mozambique.

wild pigs, and so many elephants that the inhabitants dare not travel by land without burning sticks or torches. The females with their young ones are, however, not so easily frightened by fire.

There are many oxen and cows, and in the woods wild hens, slightly larger than East Indian hens, speckled white and black, with heads much smaller than our ordinary hens, and a small, thick, very red comb. Not only the top of the heads, but also part of the neck is covered with a gray-blue skin.

Inland there are many silver, gold, and other mines.

The people have short crisp hair, lips two fingers Inhabitants. thick, an oblong face, and very large white teeth.

They wear no garments except a small blue piece Dress. of cotton round the loins, and paint their bodies with a certain red earth which they look upon as a great ornament. The most artistic among them paint foliage on their bodies in indigo, and make three holes in each lip, in which they hang bones, jewels, and other things. This costume, however, is that of the notables only. Among the common people the men cover themselves with a piece of bark only, and the women, in front and behind, with the leaf of a tree.

They live on various fruits of the earth and on the Food. flesh of animals, but also eat the flesh of those whom they capture in war. They chiefly live on the flesh of elephants. They are false, deceitful, and stupid, but take to work like animals. Nor do they complain of being slaves, but consider this to be their proper estate.

In each province a different language is spoken. Language.

- Wealth. The wealth of the people consists in gold found in the rivers, in ivory, ebony, and slaves. They care little to trade with foreigners, nor do they carry on any commerce among themselves, except on the coast in small skiffs made of a hollowed-out trunk of a tree. They do not allow any foreigners to trade in their ports, except the Portuguese, who trade in gold, silver, copper, ambergris, wax, and rice.
- Weapons. Their weapons are bows and axes.
- Government. There are several small kingdoms, or rather principalities, in Mozambique, but they are all of small extent and account.
- Religion. According to Linschoten, some of the people are heathens and some Mohammedans, but Pyrard states that they have neither religion nor laws, as they are really Kaffirs.
- The island Mozambique. The island Mozambique lies a little more than half a mile from the mainland of Mozambique, in the bay of that name. It is about one-third of a mile long, a quarter of a mile broad, and about a mile and a half in circumference. It has a white shore. It stretches from south to north along the mainland. Between it and the island, or rather the fort on the island, is the bay, which serves as a good harbour, protecting ships against all winds. This harbour is very large, as the coast-line makes a great curve. There are from eight to ten fathoms of water in it. It reaches to within a stone's throw of the town, the ships lying between the mainland and the castle.
- To the north of the island is the mainland, and about half a mile to the south, two other uninhabited

small islands, close together, just opposite the furthest point jutting out from the mainland. The nearest of these two is called St. Jacob or Jago, the other, lying a thousand paces farther, is St. George. Nothing grows on either of them but shrubs and brushwood. Some give two towns on the island Mozambique, one of which, they say, is inhabited by Portuguese and the other by natives. But others, for example Pyrard, state that there are no towns but several villages scattered over the island, and that there are a large fort, five or six churches, chapels, and convents on it.

But in the *Voyages to the East Indies by Verhoeven in the year 1607*, we read that the town of Mozambique is very large, has walls and beautiful houses, and some churches and convents, and is situated within gunshot of the castle. Paulus van Kaerden in his *Voyage to East India* also speaks of its beautiful, enormously large houses. Moquet gives a town of about two hundred houses, whilst Linschoten says that there is nothing but villages and the castle of the Portuguese, where the governor and his people live; adding that about fifty Portuguese live outside the castle, who in case of need are obliged to assist in defending the castle, and that, besides the houses in the village, there are four hundred huts, in which the natives live.

According to the notes of Garcias de Silva Figueroa in his *Persian Embassy*, the town consists of one hundred and fifty houses, all made of wood, straw, and palm-leaves, except a few which are of stone.

With regard to these different accounts we may observe that the first writer who speaks of two towns may have seen two large villages, as they may have been in his time, and have called them towns. Linschoten in his drawings of the island represents the houses in two groups, one near the old fort, commonly called Fortarez a Velha, and another close to it. Others may have taken a large number of houses built close together for a town. But it may also be that things were as they were described by the different authors at the different times.

There is a convent of San Domingo, with a rich hospital, which is said to have been at one time a castle founded by the King of Portugal, to which sick Portuguese sailors are taken.

Besides the St. Antonius, St. Dominicus, and St. Gabriel churches, all situated outside the fort, there is a church, called in Portuguese Nossa Senhora do Baluarte, close to the fort at a corner of it.

Climate.

The climate of Mozambique is warm and very unhealthy, so that there is a good deal of sickness among the residents and the death-rate is very high. There is a lack of fresh water. There is only one insignificant spring in a wood of palm trees, so that most people are at times obliged to drink salt water. Most of the fresh water is brought in earthen vessels from a place called Kabacere on the mainland.

Infertile soil.

The lack of water causes the land to be infertile and barren. Nevertheless there are cocoanuts, oranges, lemons, pineapples, and other Indian fruits, especially figs, which are hanging ripe on the trees

the whole year round. Further, there is nothing but barren fields (*velt*), with a few sandy parts towards the north.

In the gardens of some of the inhabitants grow beautiful figs and other fruits, for the cultivation of which they have to do nothing but water the ground with water from the mainland.

There are neither apples, pears, plums, cherries, nor any other similar fruits. Wheat and rice are imported from the mainland, and from Goa and the East Indies; likewise grapes, and Spanish wines, and stuffs, and other necessaries of life, so that life here is much more expensive than at many other places which the Portuguese possess on the coast of Africa. Large quantities of fresh water are brought from the mainland in large Indian pots, as there is no other water but what is gathered in the rainy season in reservoirs under the houses, which are as large as cellars.

There are on this island a large number of animals : Animals.
oxen, cows, sheep with tails as long as the fifth of the length of their bodies, goats, and pigs. Pork here is considered more wholesome than any other meat, wherefore doctors often prescribe it to their patients, to the exclusion of all other meat. The pork is delicious, and excels in taste the meat of all other quadrupeds.

There are also fine birds with black feathers and flesh, which is black both raw and cooked, which appears very strange to those who have never seen it or heard of it. It looks just as though it had been

cooked in a black sauce. The lizards, snakes, and ants are a great plague, and often disturb the inhabitants in their sleep.

The harbour of Mozambique swarms with a kind of fish, called by the inhabitants *Marraxos*, and by the Portuguese *Tentoreas*, which is very fond of human flesh. As soon as they perceive a man who has fallen into the water or is going to swim, they rush at him to devour him.

Inhabitants. The inhabitants of the island are mostly Mestis; some are Christians and Mohammedans. All are very submissive to the Portuguese.

The natives are black and of short stature. Their hair is short and crisp like the wool of black lambs. They emit a disagreeable smell, especially when they are warm. All the women are very small but well built. They are barbarians, of rough manners, cruel and deceitful, very timorous, without any desire for governing, but in secret inimical to the Portuguese. Some, however, have improved in manners through intercourse with the white man.

Dress. Both men and women go naked. The men wear nothing but a small piece of cloth in front, and the women cover the part from the breasts to the thighs with a piece of coarse cotton. But those who live far inland wear nothing whatever.

Ornaments. Their ornaments are a string of coral beads that goes three or four times round the neck. The beads are of different colours—white, green, blue, and red. Round their arms they wear ten or twelve copper or tin bracelets of the thickness of a finger, which fit so

tight that they cannot be taken off without breaking them. They all have pierced ears, through which they put, instead of rings and pendants, copper-wire and small pieces of copper or brass. Both men and women make cuts in their shins, before and behind, by way of ornamentation.

Their ordinary food is fish and rice, boiled in water, with honey. They drink the palm-wine and water, but have also another beverage extracted from rice, called Arak. Food.

Their boats, or *Almadies* or canoes, are all of one piece, made out of the trunk of a hollow tree without any iron bands, but their large vessels are made of several pieces. They have, however, neither iron nor nails, but join, or, to speak more correctly, sew the planks together with string made of palm-wood.

The language of the natives is Arabic.

They manufacture a kind of ornamental mats which are sent to Goa.

The Portuguese carry on in these parts a large trade in Spanish wine, oil, cotton, stuffs, Portuguese garments, red coral, and such like.

The Portuguese on the island trade also with the dwellers in the neighbouring towns on the mainland, Sena, Makuno, Sofala, Quama, etc.

Their weapons are bows, arrows, and assagais, but some are beginning to learn how to use guns from the Portuguese. Weapons.

The Portuguese have had built on this island many years ago a military fort to protect their settlements. Many consider this the strongest point

they possess. It consists of four bulwarks, each at a corner, commanding the harbour in different directions. It is surrounded by three walls and a wide moat. The latter, however, was only added afterwards, about the year 1613.

Unsuccessful
attacks by the
Dutch upon
the Portu-
guese fort.

Our people (the Dutch) have several times tried to take this fort. One of the chief attacks was in 1606, by Paulus van Kaerden on his expedition to India with three or four ships. But after mounting several batteries and a continuous cannonading with big guns, he was compelled to retire after a siege of thirty-two days, although not until he had taken many ships and burned many churches, canoes, and houses on the mainland, and the churches of San Gabriel and San Domingo on the island.

Some of the inhabitants, through their contact with the Arabs on the coast, profess the doctrines of Mohammed; others are Christians; the rest are idolaters, or rather they live without any idea of a Deity.

The kingdom
of Quiloa.
Situation.
Pigaf. 2 b.
§ H.

The kingdom of Quiloa takes its name after a certain island having a southern latitude of $8^{\circ} 50'$, about one hundred and forty miles from the island of Mozambique, at the mouth of the river Kuavo, which is said to take its origin from the same lake Zambie as that from which the Nile is commonly supposed to flow, and which has a rapid descent into the sea.

The island lies a little more enclosed by the mainland than that of Mozambique; opposite it, farther out at sea, there is another island, also called

Quiloa. These two islands of Quiloa hardly differ in any one respect, either in size, vegetation, animals, or manner and character of inhabitants. According to Pedro Alvarez, it lies very close to the mainland and as if connected with it, and has a beautiful town, by some identified with the Rapta of Ptolemeus, with high houses after the Spanish style, all containing many splendid halls and rooms, filled with most costly furniture, and having beautiful roofs and gardens full of fruit.

On the mainland of Quiloa, on the coast, there lies another town called old Quiloa. It was founded about six hundred years ago, by a certain Haly, son of Hoçern, King of Siras in Persia, who sent people to it to dwell therein. It is not so large as the town on the island. The king of this island formerly ruled over many other fertile and populous islands, his kingdom extending, before the arrival of the Portuguese in these parts, along the coast for a distance of one hundred and ninety German miles. He ruled formerly over the kingdoms of Sofala, Quama, Angos, and Mozambique. When Francis Dulmanda in the year 1505 appeared on this coast with the Portuguese fleet, he sent for the king, but the latter, under pretence of being ill, made preparations for resistance, whereupon seven hundred Portuguese landed, took the town, put the king to flight, and laid the town under tribute. Sanut, lib. 32.

According to Sanut, the country is so unhealthy for Europeans that the Portuguese were obliged to leave, although they had built a fort in it, and

had found no difficulty in taking possession of the whole country. That the climate, however, is very temperate appears from the fruits which grew there.

According to Osorius, there are many clear springs, and there grow all sorts of grains and fruits, requiring hardly any labour in the cultivation. There is plenty of maize and rice, as well as oranges, citrons, and lemons.

Animals. There are a great many oxen and sheep, fowls, pigeons, and turtle-doves, and many other kinds of strange birds. The woods harbour wild animals and there is much fish in the sea.

Some of the inhabitants, of Arabian origin, are white, some are black, others brown, although Pigafet states that they are nearly all white, and another Portuguese writer, Pedro Alvarez, that they are all black.

Food. Their usual food is maize or Turkish corn, rice and other grains, roots and wild fruits, a diet for poor people.

During the period of mourning the men abstain from all food, and shave, or rather scrape, their hair off.

Dress. The dress of the rich is made of cloth embroidered with gold, silk, or cotton. They wear beautiful turbans. The women, too, are sumptuously dressed, and wear gold and silver chains on their arms and legs, and beautiful pendants in their ears, which on the death of their husbands or friends are taken off as a sign of mourning.

In short, the people of Quiloa dress after the Arabian or Turkish fashion.

They generally speak Arabic, but understand many other languages besides, learnt through trading with many foreign nations, whose ships touch at their port. Language.

There are on the island of Quiloa many rich merchants, who carry on a large trade in gold, silver, ambergris, pearls, and musc. Wealth.

The inhabitants of the island are ruled over by a special prince, who, according to Linschoten, is a subject of the King of Monemugi. Government.

Most are virtually Mohammedans and use the books of Mohammed, which they hold in high esteem, but all the rest are heathens. Religion.

North of Quiloa on the coast lies the kingdom of Mombaza, so called after a certain island, which, like Quiloa, lies in a bay at a southern latitude of $4^{\circ} 5'$. Sanut puts the circumference of the island of Mombaza at twelve Italian miles. Jarrik, however, makes it only about a mile. The kingdom of Mombaza. Boundaries.

The town, of the same name as the island, is built in the Italian style, is of a moderate size, and is situated on a high rock. The extent of this kingdom is not very large. It is contiguous on one side to the town of Orgaba on the river Onchit, which flows into the Nile near the Amara mountain, where the kingdom of Melinda begins. The Turks had of old built a fort on the river, which had to be crossed in order to get to the town, and had put cannon on the walls to protect the place against the Portuguese. The town of Mombaza.

But the latter, under Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese who was on an expedition to India, took the fort in the year 1500, and at the same time captured the Turkish galleys.

Further
disasters.

About the same time the town was taken after a hard siege by a certain people called Imbiars, dwelling not far from the Cape of Good Hope, with the assistance of the Portuguese. Five hundred of the latter, on having gained an entrance into the town, razed the walls, the churches, and a certain large castle, and burned all the vessels in the harbour. Even the King of Mombaza, with the whole of his court and the magistrates of the town, fell into the hands of the Imbiars, who killed them all, and ate them, for the Imbiars are cannibals.

The town had been destroyed before, in the year 1505, by a certain Francis Almede, and after having been rebuilt a few years afterwards by the King of Mombaza, was plundered by a Portuguese called Nunno de Acunha. Later the Portuguese were forced to quit the town, retaining nothing but the aforesaid fort, which they valued little. This was taken from them in the year 1631 by the King of Mombaza.

The climate.

Vegetation.

The climate in this country is very temperate, and there is plenty of fresh water. There is abundance of mealies, rice, sweet and sour oranges, also some very large ones with sweet rinds like the Messina oranges, cottons, pomegranates, all kinds of vegetables, and peaches without stones.

Animals.

There are also a great many very fine sheep with round tails, and cows, large goats, and fowls.

The people are brown, white, and black, of a milder nature than those of the other coast-lands. The inhabitants.

The women dress in great style, in cloth of gold and silk, after the Arabian fashion. Dress.

Their usual food is bread made of mealies and rice; their beverage Areka, extracted from rice by the heat of fire, and wine of honey, kept by them in large cow-horns instead of casks. These cow-horns are cut to different sizes. Food.

They have a king whom they honour as a God. They say he rules the whole earth, as the Portuguese the whole sea. He is said to be so silly, foolhardy, and conceited, that he will burst out in anger against heaven, and in his frenzy span his bow against it, when rain falls or when there is great heat when he does not wish it. In short, he styles himself Emperor of the whole world, and threatens to destroy the whole earth. Generally he keeps an army in the field of 80,000 men. On taking the field, large numbers of animals go before the army to turn or to foil the attacks of the enemy; then follow bearers of fire, to signify that all those whom he is going to conquer have nothing else to expect but to be roasted and eaten. He destroys all the towns in the enemy's country and kills every man and beast on his way, so that everybody is frightened of him and flies at his approach. Government.

The King of Mombaza and all his subjects were formerly idolaters, but embraced the Mohammedan religion through their last king, about the year 1631. This king had been brought up from infancy in the Religion.

Catholic religion and was married to a Christian wife, but having been grossly insulted by the governor of the Portuguese fort, he seceded from the Romish Church and had all the Christians killed. He also took possession of the Portuguese fort and of all the belongings of the Portuguese.

This town had formerly a large trade through the convenient situation of its harbour, which was frequented by foreign merchants from Zanzibar, Penda, Arair, and other parts of Africa.

The kingdom
of Melinda.
Boundaries.

The kingdom of Melinda, situated more northward than that of Mombaza, as well as the neighbouring bay, takes its name from the capital on the coast. It has a southern latitude of $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and extends along the sea from Mombaza to the river Chimanzi. It reaches inland along this river as far as a place called Kalice, where dwell Mohammedans who are nearly white.

The capital.

The capital, Melinda, lies on a pleasant plain, and is surrounded with several gardens. It consists of a large number of houses, well built of cut stone, with fine rooms and painted ceilings. Some assert that the town of Mondel, mentioned by the famous Arabian physician Avicenne as the place where the black aloe grows, is the same as Melinda. The harbour is situated at some distance from the town, as there are many rocks on the seaside of the town, which render it dangerous to land.

Vegetation.

The soil is rich and fertile. All the necessaries of life are produced in the country, except bread, instead of which the inhabitants eat roots called *Patatese*.

Melinda produces abundance of rice and barley, but wheat and rye are imported from Kambay. There are many kinds of fruit trees, delicious melons, called in the native speech *Dormous*, used by the natives in summer to prepare a cooling drink. The blossom of the citron-tree, which grows everywhere, spreads its fragrance over the length and breadth of the land, to the great delight of the inhabitants.

There are all kinds of game and fowls, large and small cattle, especially sheep, of double the size of those in Europe, with tails weighing from twenty-five to thirty pounds. There are also hens, geese—in short, all kinds of meat. Animals.

Some of the people are black, others brown, all with crisp hair; but those beyond the river Quilmanci are white, as also most of the women of Melinda. Inhabitants.

The women dress in great style; they wear golden and silver chains and bracelets, and out of doors a veil. The men go naked down to the waist; below it they wear cotton or silk petticoats; some wear only a piece of cotton cloth in front and a linen or cotton turban as a head-covering. Dress.

There are rich merchants who trade in all kinds of stuffs, gold, ivory, copper, quicksilver, and other wares, with the Mohammedans and heathens of Kambay, who come to these parts in ships laden with carpets which they exchange against gold, ivory, and wax, at great profits to both parties.

Their weapons are sabres, shields, assagais, bows and arrows. Some consider them the most warlike Weapons.

people of the whole of Africa, although at times they have been frightened by those of Mombaza, by whom, but for the help of the Portuguese, they would have been worsted.

Honours to
the king.

The king is treated with great reverence by his subjects. They carry him on their shoulders, burn incense when he passes through the streets, just as they do when foreign princes and rulers visit their country.

Justice.

The king takes note in a most laudable manner of all the cases that come before the governors of the districts and magistrates. If a man wishes to accuse another before the king, he has to have a good case or else his life is in danger. When a complaint is lodged, the king forthwith sends for the accused. If he is one of the notables a horn is sounded at his arrival to make it known to all the servants at the court, who take him to his accuser to be both brought before the king, who questions them and goes into their case with great patience in the presence of his council. If they are both found to be in fault, the one of a low degree is sent to the sheriffs who administer his punishment, which consists of a bastonading; the notable is condemned to a money fine.

If a notable has committed an offence not against the person, he is taken into the king's room, undressed, and laid on the floor. If he begs for mercy the king administers to him with his own hands a few blows with a stick, more or less according to the magnitude of his offence and past services to

the king. Thereupon he picks up his garments, kisses the king's feet, and thanks him with great humility for the favour conferred. Finally the king takes him into the hall, where he announces his pardon before the assembled court, and then conducts him outside the town with the usual burning of incense, without any one knowing in the least what has happened; whilst the culprit himself returns as happy as if he has received a great treasure.

When the king goes forth to inspect his dominions he mounts a richly caparisoned horse, and rides, on coming out of his palace, across an ox which has been slaughtered for the purpose, whereupon all the people shout for joy, and the priests inspect the entrails to predict success for the journey, or the reverse.

On making his entry into a town, all the most beautiful married and single women appear before him, of whom some sing a hymn in his praise, some burn incense before him, others beat a kind of cymbal with short sticks, all vying with each other to please the king. When ambassadors arrive from a neighbouring prince on important affairs, they also kill an ox, over which the king steps three times, whilst the *Labs* or priests make a great noise and utter fearful incantations, and then view the entrails to discover whether the intentions of the embassy are peaceful or warlike.

Some say that the inhabitants of Melinda are idolaters, others that they are Mohammedans, which knot is cut by Linschoten by saying that there are Mohammedans as well as idolaters.

Religion.
Osor. Tur-
sellen.

The Mohammedans in Melinda belong to the sect of the Emorayds, who do not believe in the whole of the Koran. They are followers of Zayd, the son of Hoğein.

The Roman Catholics in Melinda are a properly organised community. In their town there are seven churches and chapels, and the Portuguese have erected for them below the town a large gilt marble cross.

CHAPTER III

THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE SOUTH

THEIR COLONISATION

By the EDITOR

FROM time immemorial Africa has been regarded as a land of mystery. Stanley, in his own telling style, describes it as a dark continent. Whatever may be said of Africa as a whole, certain it is that the more we become acquainted with South Africa the more astonished we are at the discoveries after discoveries which are being made. Vast tracts of land which were but yesterday shown on maps as arid deserts, are now known to be the finest cattle-ranching districts in the world, well supplied by a system of underground veins of water and possessing numerous and extensive valleys of rich alluvial soil. Sunburnt plains, the sterility of which is positively appalling, except when the rains have fallen and the earth is carpeted with a gaudy flora, rivalling in colour the bright blue of African skies, are yielding immense wealth in copper. In the midst of what was only spoken of as a red-brown sandy plain some twenty years ago, we have at present the greatest diamond mine the world has ever known. Behind a long stretch of white sand-hills which, as the eyes of

British settlers rested upon them in 1820, made their hearts sink within them, is now a town of magnificent buildings and elegant residences, with gardens as well stocked with flowers as are the grounds of the well-to-do in the mother country ; and on the beautiful coast belt which stretches from Albany past Pondoland and up to Natal—and there is probably no more beautiful coast in all the world—there are towns and settlements occupied by people enjoying the delightful climate, and abundantly supplied with all the necessities of life. We will endeavour to convey in some degree what English colonisation has done for Africa as compared with that of any other European Power.

The first
colonists.

From the musty records on which the dust of ages had gathered for centuries, giving us quaint history and strange romance, we must turn our thoughts to that period when the colonisation of South Africa began. The Portuguese, with all their spirit of adventure, were never traders in the best sense of the term; they were little better, it is said, than pirates.¹ The editor of this book, however, cannot be accused of hostility to the Portuguese. He has always advocated a proper consideration for their rights so far as they can be maintained (*vide* Appendix). But those who have travelled in South-East Africa fail to see any great beneficial or humanising

¹ "The piracies of the Portuguese are told without any reticence, and apparently without consciousness of their criminality." (See Translator's Preface by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley, being a description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar by Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese, translated from an early manuscript in the Barcelona Library.)

results achieved by them. Along the seaboard of eastern equatorial Africa the only indication of anything like a civilised effort at occupation by a European race is on the small coral island of Mozambique, where the large stone-built fortress, the Government buildings, and the church are monuments of an energy which for centuries seems to have passed away from the Portuguese race. From these very early monuments of Portuguese enterprise we have placed before us the policy which that nation pursued in its endeavours to exhaust the wealth of distant countries for the enrichment of the crown of Portugal. There is no indication anywhere of an intention to develop the resources of those new countries by European colonisation; it was evidently deemed sufficient to leave the original occupiers of the land in full possession of it; to permit them to gather together whatever riches they knew how to mass, leaving it to the Portuguese officials, in consequence of their position at the coast, to levy tribute upon the natives according to opportunity.

Those who have visited what may be described as the ruins—for the fort, Government and other buildings, at Mozambique are little better than that—of Portuguese occupation along the east coast of Africa, and seen the conditions of life there, can only be shocked at the decadence of Europeans when coming into a too close contact with the conditions of native life. It is not the purpose of this work to deal at any length with the presence of the Portuguese at some points on the shore line of Eastern Africa; there has

been no colonising work south of the line except in that portion of the continent which is either under or in close sympathy with the British flag, the labours of the missionaries being regarded merely as the labours of pioneers in advance of colonisation.

1652.
Van Riebeck.

It was in 1652 that the first move was made towards the occupation of South Africa by white settlers, and it is worthy of note, especially just now, when the British Chartered Company is endeavouring to bring under trade influences the barbaric territory which we are calling British Zambesia, that the first Europeans who went to the Cape of Good Hope did so under the charter granted by the States-General of the united provinces of the Netherlands to the Dutch East India Company. The government of the Dutch settlement at the Cape was entrusted to a surgeon of that Company named Jan Anthony van Riebeck, and his expedition arrived in Table Bay on the 5th of April 1652. The period of the occupation of the Dutch East India Company extended from the 5th April 1652 to the 12th November 1795; to a brief occupation by the English came that of the Batavian Government in 1803, which was brought to a close in 1814.¹ To the Dutch settlement of Van Riebeck South Africa is indebted for the well-laid-out town of Cape Town; the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 led to the migration to the Cape, under the assistance of the Dutch Republic, of French refugees, to whose colonisation is attributable the great extent

¹ For a concise and accurate history see *South Africa Past and Present*, by John Noble; also *Chronicles of Cape Commanders*, by Theal.

of vine-lands which now exist in the Cape Colony ; and from these refugees and the early settlers came the sturdy race of pioneer warrior farmers who have been the advance guard of the army of civilisation, which has moved up from the southernmost point of Africa towards the Zambesi. It is singular that from the very earliest days of the occupation of the Cape of Good Hope, even back to the days of Van Riebeck, the idea prevailed that the far interior could be better reached by the healthy highlands of the south than by shorter routes on the seaboard where the dreaded fever belt existed.

In 1660 Van Riebeck equipped a party to proceed from the Cape by way of the healthy highlands to the gold regions behind Sofala ; and coming down to so recent a period as 1886, we find Mr. H. M. Stanley at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition advocating a similar route to the lake system of South Central Africa.

1660.
Expedition
inland for
gold of
Sofala.

The occupation of the Cape of Good Hope permanently by the British Government provoked no feelings of hostility in the breasts of the old colonists, for the government which had existed had been corrupt ; the people had been so oppressed that numbers of them moved away into the interior, running the risk of extermination by the native hordes which then existed, rather than live under such despotism.

1814.
The per-
manent
occupation by
the British.

Amongst the arbitrary enactments of the East India Company's officers was the prohibition of the use of the French language by the refugees in addressing the Government upon official matters and in their

The voor-
trekkers.

church services, with the result that years before the occupation of the Cape by the English the French language had ceased to be used in the Colony. The voor-trekkers or pioneer farmers took with them in their trek into the interior a hatred of government with its oppressive regulations and unjust taxation, and they handed down the memories of those days to their descendants, who in their turn have until quite recently fled before the approach of all governments as they would from a plague. What sometimes, therefore, has been attributed to a hostile feeling to the English Government may more correctly be described as a dislike to all governments, whether under the British or any other flag.

These voor-trekkers, as they worked their way into the back country, in their modes of life, in the struggles with the aboriginal races, and the way in which they banded together either for offence or defence, followed pretty much what was done by the hardy backwoodsmen in America and the sturdy squatters of Australia.

The abolition
of slavery.

The abolition of the slave trade added to the bitterness of the feeling against government interference, and the compensation to slave-owners was so unjustly managed that the loss to wealthy land-owners placed many of them in poverty as compared with their previous condition. The well-built houses still to be seen in Cape Town, the homesteads with their broad vine-trellised verandahs in the valleys of the Drakenstein, the Paarl and Constantia with orange-groves and large tracts of vine-lands, show

what the prosperity of the viticulturist was like in the days of slavery.

In the trek from Cape Town to the settlements inland there is found evidence by the buildings of who the people were who built them. As the voor-trekkers settled as they worked their way inland they formed primitive communal arrangements for their common protection and common welfare. These early settlements of the voor-trekkers at the Cape were beyond the control of distant government, even of a government so near as at Cape Town. This was so found at the beginning of the British occupation. In the endeavour to bring them under the control of the Government there were troubles and defiances of the law, and whenever the law began to assert itself, so sure was it that large numbers of people would retire farther and farther from the Cape.

Early inland settlements.

An event occurred in the year 1820, which year may be taken as the beginning of the second epoch in the history of the colonisation of South Africa. The Governor at that time was Lord Charles Somerset, who was a man of great energy, as is attested at the present day by the number of enactments bearing his name in statutes of the Cape. Lord Charles Somerset, having visited the eastern portion of the Cape Colony, was very much struck with the beauty and fertility of that portion of the Colony which is now known as Lower Albany. The despatch in which he described to the Home Government the beauty of this country, with the luxuriant foliage of its forests, the

1820.
The second epoch in the colonisation.

air scented with jessamine and other flowers, and the rich plumage of the birds, reads something like the descriptions of the New World with which the Raleighs and the Drakes of Queen Elizabeth's Court used to delight the wondering ears of their listeners. Those who visit that part of the country to-day after having read Lord Charles Somerset's description will find that he has not exaggerated the beauty of the scenery. For the purpose of sending out English colonists to this eastern portion of the Cape Colony the British Parliament passed a vote of £50,000; applications were called for emigrants, and out of 90,000 applications 4000 people were selected and landed at Algoa Bay. Thus began a distinct English occupation of a portion of South Africa. Behind the barren sand-hills of Algoa Bay the settlers found a country richly watered and admirably suited for agricultural and pastoral pursuits; but in the early days there were frequent fights with the natives. These were a warlike people, with an inflexible and a not unnatural objection to the passing away of their lands from themselves to the whites. Peace only reigned after costly wars to England. The great Kaffir chiefs were either killed or taken prisoners. Indeed peace only came when the power of the tribes for war was completely broken.

Freedom of
speech.

Just after the arrival of the British settlers in the eastern province, and whilst they were trying to get a footing in the land notwithstanding the hostility of the Kaffirs, the importation of British elements into the western district of the Cape Colony led to a

movement for freedom of speech. Lord Charles Somerset, with all his energy, intellectual capacity, and deep desire for the progress of the Colony, was an overbearing autocrat. His attempts at establishing a censorship over the press of Cape Town, and the tyrannical way in which he treated the newspaper writers who objected to his censorship, are amongst the dramatic episodes of that time. Lord Charles Somerset's high-handed proceedings were not confined to Cape Town, for the British settlers also were provoked into wrath by the overbearing acts of His Excellency. The endeavour to make the Cape a penal settlement also provoked the people, and thus, step by step, public opinion was formed in this colony, based unhappily on ill-judged measures on the part of the officials. As in most cases where the public will is thus challenged, the people in the long run had it their own way.

The late Judge Watermeyer, a descendant of the old colonists, who was held in affectionate esteem by all classes in the land, and who was a member of a court which has always commanded the very highest respect throughout South Africa, describes the feeling of relief which came with the change of rulers. In an address delivered at Cape Town, he summed up the events which led to the hoisting of the British flag in the following memorable words :—

“The reign of the Dutch East India Company had ceased. The sole question at the date of the arrival of the English fleet was whether the colony should be yielded to the anarchy of those who had raised the

The beneficial
results of
British rule.

standard of rebellion, or should pass into the hands of a European power by whom at the peace it might be restored.

“Thus, at the end of the last century, after 143 years of existence, the domination of the East India Company fell at the Cape of Good Hope. At the commencement of the period the energy of these traders of a small commonwealth, who founded empires and divided the command of the seas, merits admiration. But their principles were false, and the seeds of corruption were early sown in their colonial administration. For the last fifty years at least of their rule here there is little to which the examiner of our records can point with satisfaction. The effects of this pseudo-colonisation were that the Dutch as a commercial nation destroyed commerce. The most industrious race of Europe, they repressed industry. One of the freest states in the world, they encouraged a despotic misrule, in which falsely called free citizens were enslaved. These men, in their turn, became tyrants. Utter anarchy was the result. Some national feeling must have lingered; but, substantially, every man in the country, of every hue, was benefited when the incubus of the tyranny of the Dutch East India Company was removed. Since then the advancement of the colony, both under an English and a brief Dutch administration,¹ has been

¹ *The Government from 1803 to 1806*, by De Mist and Janssens, under the “Batavian Republic,” was most beneficial to the Colony, and furnishes a great contrast to the misrule of the East India Company.

as rapid as that of any in the world. So great has been the progress, so utterly different is the condition of the inhabitants, so much has in the intermediate sixty years been effected,—that it is with incredulity and with some effort that we are compelled to accept the fact that affairs within so short a period were in the state which our history describes.”

Upon the admirable system pursued by England in respect of her colonies, by which it is insisted that the people shall be governed according to their necessities and the requirements of the distant lands in which they live, grievances were removed as they became known and thoroughly understood at headquarters. In the growth of each colony are reproduced the steps by which the inhabitants of the British Isles obtained freedom of speech; the liberty of newspapers to publish reports of and give their criticisms upon all that makes up the daily life of the nation; and the control of government by a liberal extension of the electoral franchise. But there is the difference that whilst in the British Isles these various liberties had been secured only after long and determined efforts, they were secured in the Colonies by leaps and bounds. It is to this system of colonisation that England owes the creation of the great Anglo-Saxon-speaking empire across the seas, an empire growing more and more in sympathy as it increases in population, wealth, and prestige, with the mother country. To know what the Colonies require, and what is good that they should have, is the only art which Downing Street has now to exercise to

The English
system of col-
onisation.

carry out the system under which England's colonial empire has become so great a consideration to all the world. This is the lesson which those who will take the trouble to enter deeply into the study of the question will learn as the reason of England's successful colonising efforts in South Africa as elsewhere. Her aim has been to improve and not to plunder. Here we get the difference between her idea of colonisation and that of such nations as the Portuguese. In saying this there is nothing which detracts from the bravery of any nation, from the good and self-denying work of explorers, or from the famous voyages made to the unknown seas in the days of old. It is simply that the English system of colonisation was right and the other system wrong. This has led in the one case to success, and in the other to failure.

The moulding
of South
African
politics.

The history of what occurred through the wars of the English colonists aided by British troops, or, more correctly speaking, the wars of British troops for the aid of colonists, and the wars of the sturdy voo-trekkers fought in their own fashion, would fill many volumes if fully described. The stubborn advance of the two columns of civilisation,—the one along the seaboard and the other inland, the one with all the regularity of military discipline backed by the resources of a mighty empire, and the other relying on its own simple organisations based upon its acquaintance with the natives, their mode of warfare and their treachery,—abound in reminiscences of heroism and of marvellous adventure by flood and field. It is singular that amidst the thrilling incidents of those times two

events should stand out with such painful prominence as never to be lost sight of in South African history, and each the prototype of the other, showing how remorseless and how treacherous the natives were in those days in the pride of their strength and their numbers. In Albany the seaboard column of English settlers believed they had conciliated the natives, for they came to the fairs which, in sympathy with old English custom, had been introduced into the new country, and bartering went on between the natives and the settlers; whilst native servants, as tillers of the soil, as cattle-herds, and even as nurses, were in the service of the whites. The land seemed soothed to rest in the sleep of peace and plenty. On Christmas Eve the natives had been bartering with the settlers; apparently the most friendly relationships existed; native servants had nursed the children of the whites in their cradles, but on the morrow the war-cry rang through the fair vales of Albany, and in a few hours, where there had been many happy farmhouses and a contented people, only ruins blackened by fire remained. The deed was dastardly, and was never forgotten or forgiven. The whites who were not killed fled to the military posts, which were held until reinforcements came up and the barbaric hordes were hurled back. Very similar was that which befell the voor-trekkers, who had worked their way inland so far to the north-east as to have crossed the Drakensberg into Natal, where they proposed settling down. Dingan, fearing them, pretended to be friendly. He invited them to a feast; there was a

great native martial display in their honour, and they were partaking of native hospitality when suddenly the Zulus swept down on them and massacred them. Punishment came in due course by commandoes, which were composed of Englishmen as well as Dutchmen: in the decisive engagement, by which the inland advance column held its own and established its right by force to exist in that part of South Africa, three thousand natives are said to have been killed. The country on which the inland column now cast its eyes was perhaps fairer in its more semi-tropical aspect than even Lower Albany, and none who have looked upon the luxuriant vegetation and the grass-clad slopes, with their marvellous luxuriance of foliage and flora which holds the harbour of Natal in its embrace, can be surprised that the voor-trekkers wished here to sit down by the sea. British policy, however, did not permit the voor-trekkers to do so. War-ships came up, the soldiers were landed at Natal, and the voor-trekkers resumed their trek inland. The two movements again went on; the one along the shores, the other in almost a parallel line in the back country, but always ahead of the coast advance. In time the voor-trekkers ceased to regret that they had lost sight of the sea. The boundless billowy plains of the healthy higher plateaus, with their forests of yellow wood, camel thorn, and other trees; the valleys, with their streams of water and arable land; and the immense quantities of game, more than compensated them for what they had lost by their voluntary exile from the coast. In this manner

did the white races spread over South Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to what is now known as the Transvaal. The Boers being satisfied with a patriarchal form of government as they grew in numbers, whilst the two elements—the Anglo-Saxon and the descendants of the old colonists—at the Cape of Good Hope having been brought into sympathy by a joint and successful resistance against the attempt of the Home Government to make a penal settlement at the Cape, began clamouring for Representative Government. Indeed, Earl Grey, then Secretary of State, justified the clamour in his despatch, in which he greatly lamented the attempt to land convicts, which never, his lordship said, would have been made had he been aware how strong was the feeling at the Cape on this subject. The means of communication being insufficient to convey to the Home Government the desires of the colonists, it was perfectly plain that some alteration and improvement was necessary.

It is proof of the rapid strides made by colonial communities in obtaining the liberty of legislative action for their own Government that we find, forty years after the corrupt Dutch East India Company had been swept away from the Cape of Good Hope, that the first Cape Parliament met in Cape Town. The Parliament consisted of an Upper House, styled the Legislative Council, and a Lower House, styled the Legislative Assembly, both being elected by the people, the lower house being constituted of representatives of electoral divisions; the upper house by the electors of the two provinces into which the colony

1854.
The first Cape
Parliament.

was divided for electoral purposes. The officers of Government under the Governor who had seats in Parliament were appointed by the Crown, and not by the Legislature, as is the case where colonies have what is called Responsible Government. The Parliament was more critical than creative. It was the Executive, composed of officers of the Crown, who designed and introduced the proposals which were laid before Parliament for providing the ways and means of revenue regulating expenditure over public works and for the general conduct of the Government; but to carry their proposals through Parliament it was necessary to command a majority of votes in both Houses of the Legislature. The Government of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope was thus carried on from the 1st of July 1854 to the 29th of November 1872. There was no lack of vigour in the first Cape Parliament. "Limner," in his descriptive sketches of the Houses architecturally, politically, and personally, says of the appearance of the House of Assembly in 1855: "The interior of the House is not unlike many of the board-rooms attached to the English union workhouses: not quite so elegantly fitted as some, but very closely resembling them in its style of arrangement." A descriptive writer of the present day would have to give a far different account of the magnificent pile of buildings in which the Cape Parliament now deliberates. Whatever may have been the building of 1855 in which the Lower House of the Legislature assembled, it was still there on the 29th of November 1872 when the New Constitution,

which gave Responsible Government to the Cape of Good Hope, was proclaimed. The eighteen years of the Cape Parliament had been most eventful years to all South Africa. The parliamentary battles which had been fought seemed to reflect the battles which were fought in the mother country. The opposition, backed by the memories of the fights against the real or assumed despotism of officialism, was content at the earlier stages to expose what it denounced as Government abuses, so as to weaken the authority and the influence of the Executive; then came a battle royal as to whether a burgher law should be passed which should apply to the Western Province, as the Opposition contended that by the immense distance of the inhabitants from the eastern frontier, the services of western burghers would be of little use, and the enormous expense attending their removal would entail a fearful burden. After the first pitched battle in the Cape Parliament the Burgher Bill, by which the inhabitants could be called out for the defence of the Colony, was adopted; and that may be regarded as the first step in its existence towards nationality. As time progressed parties and combinations of parties were formed. The parliamentary struggles as to the voluntary principle as to churches resembled those in the English Parliament respecting the disestablishment of the Irish Church; the Eastern Province parliamentarians, in their demand for separation of the Eastern from the Western Province, were agitating for Home Rule; the majority in the Cape Parliament, like the Unionist majority in the British

1885.
Burgher
law.

Parliament of the present day, fought for the retention of the votes of the Eastern Province at Cape Town in the same way that the fight is for the retention of the Irish votes at Westminster. It is remarkable also that the Cape Government was often accused of leaning towards the very party which was aiming at dividing the Colony into two small colonies instead of one large colony with one interest, one ambition, one policy. The truth was, however, that the fight was between an immovable and a movable executive—an executive nominated by the Legislature or an executive nominated by the Crown. The Responsible Government party grew in strength year by year. The parliamentarians of the Separation League fought their fight with such determination that the Home Government was perplexed: local self-government under a Federal or Central Government and other schemes were prepared. Sir Philip Wodehouse, the then Governor of the Colony, made the experiment of alternative parliaments before suggesting to the Legislature any federal scheme.

1864.
Grahamstown
Parliament.

The Parliament in Grahamstown, although it gave to the Government for the hour the taxation which was asked for, sounded the death-knell of alternate parliaments, the practicability of which could never have been entertained as a serious proposition of statesmanship, and it is most difficult to understand how it could be excused on the ground of expediency. At any rate, whatever may have been the virtue in so strange a manœuvre, the Executive so tyrannically availed themselves of the strange opportunity afforded

them that the country became alarmed at the risks it would run from peripatetic parliaments. The annexation of British Kaffraria, which was at that time a crown colony, without the Cape Parliament being fairly consulted, provoked much anger from different parties from different points of view. The squabbling over the annexation gave the nominee executive a fresh lease of official life.

The Responsible Government party was, however, about to get a powerful ally. The Colonies were not popular with the statesmen who were at this time in charge of the destinies of the British Empire. Separation between the Colonies and the mother country was assumed by them to be a mere matter of time ; and to take time by the forelock by arranging trade relationships with foreign countries, and to save as much as possible in the way of responsibility and expenditure in respect of England's colonies, was regarded as the most prudent and economic English statescraft. The Governor, who had so daringly upheld the nominees of the Crown constituting the Cape Executive, was displaced by a governor favouring election to the Treasury benches by the Colonial Legislature. The policy was not the policy of the new governor. His knowledge of the Colony could only have been what might have been obtained by reading and not by personal acquaintance. The Cape Colony was encouraged by the Home Government to accept Responsible Government, not out of any regard to the welfare of the Colony, but in pursuance of the economic policy laid down by the political party then

1872.
Responsible
Government.

in power in England. The Crown officials forming the Executive at the Cape refused to advocate the proposed change of Government. The opponents of Responsible Government pleaded for an appeal to the constituencies before so radical a change in the constitution was made, and the request was not an unreasonable one; but was disallowed. In the eventualities of electioneering, the Responsible Party, successful in Parliament, may have been unsuccessful at the poll. For a governor sent out to carry Responsible Government, it would have been for him the very height of indiscretion to have imperilled his mission by following ordinary constitutional methods. As Responsible Government in the Cape Colony is now regarded with so much satisfaction by the colonists themselves, the statement of these incidents is only interesting inasmuch as they contribute towards the showing of the strangely wavering way in which British policies permeated and affected the development of South Africa.

The native question.

Having arrived at the period when the Cape was entrusted with self-government, we find the Orange Free State prospering as an inland state "ring-fenced" by Imperial policy against native invasions, and left at its own sweet will to reap under its Republican form of government whatever its capabilities—agricultural, pastoral, or mineral—would give to it. We must pass quickly over events. The diamond-fields came as a new factor on the scene. They were discovered some four or five years before the advent of responsible government at the Cape. With their

discovery a wave of interest again passed over England, and England's statesmen wisely saw how the native question hedged in the advancement of South Africa. We have here another singular illustration in respect of the development of South Africa, for whereas in other colonies of England, or where English-speaking races occupy the land under their own flag, as does America, and where the natives die out in course of time in their contact with white civilisation, we have the very reverse in South Africa. This very serious fact is sometimes lost sight of in the territorial jealousies amongst the white South African communities, who in the future will have to face this native question. A study of it should induce all the white communities of South Africa in their advancement as self-governing communities not to impair the strength of the whites through uncalled-for or mistaken rivalries.

Statesmen who have been sent out from England have endeavoured at various times to bring this fact home to the governing and the governed. All those representatives of the British Crown sent to South Africa who have had both the ability and the will to grapple with this great question have seen that it is necessary that there should be some sort of federal union between the governments of the Colonies and republics of South Africa. The more perfect the unity of the white communities of South Africa, the more capable will they be of undertaking their own self-defence, and strong people, in the knowledge of their strength, are merciful. England has always

Necessary
union of
white races.

regarded with determination, and the fact is in proof of the humane spirit which pervades British colonisation, the welfare and the protection of the subject native races which have come under the British flag through the acquisition of distant lands.

Present
condition of
the natives.

The condition of the natives in the Cape Colony, which is now under self-government, is such as to indicate that the white races of South Africa are as humane in their treatment of natives as the most philanthropic British Government could desire ; therefore it may be assumed that if a federal scheme had been brought about nearly half a century ago, as was proposed by Sir George Grey, many costly wars might have been avoided, or at any rate, if any wars had taken place through the aggressive acts of the natives, valuable assistance would have been given to British troops, whilst if the white men as a body had stood shoulder to shoulder through common trials and troubles they would have been more of a homogeneous people than they are now.

Sir George
Grey and
federation.

The veteran statesman, Sir George Grey, in a speech delivered by him on the occasion of the Federal Convention which has recently been held at Sydney with such magnificent results, pointed out how his policy was defeated by the misconceptions of statesmen at home. He said : " A great change had come over public opinion in Great Britain in regard to the outlying dependencies of the Empire. At one time there had been a desire to force them to separate, but now that was changed. When he was a representative of the Queen in Africa he had arranged a federation of

the different states there, all having agreed to come into it except one; but the plan was regarded with disfavour both by the Ministry and the Opposition of the day in England, and the consequence was that he was summarily dismissed. One person in the Empire held that he was right in the action he had taken, and that person was the Queen. Upon her representation he was reinstated. Her Majesty, together with the Prince Consort, held that it was necessary to preserve to the Empire openings for the poor and for the adventurous, and experience had shown that the Queen better represented the feelings of the British people on that question than did the Ministers of the day. The Queen held rightly that the energies of the British race should spread the Empire as instinct moved them, so long as no wrong was done to her people."

The next attempt at bringing about some such union was made by the late Earl of Carnarvon somewhere about 1875, and, strange to say, the movement was defeated—not by the partisans of the Republic, not by the descendants in the Colony of the old colonists, but by the Ministry which was in office at that time at the Cape. Cape Ministers regarded with jealousy the proposal of confederation, inasmuch as it was not made through the Governor of the Cape Colony, but was introduced to the consideration of the Cape people by an eloquent delegate who came direct from Downing Street. Cape Colony was then in the first blush of the liberties which had been bestowed upon it by self-government. Constitution-

Earl
Carnarvon's
confederation
policy.

ally, probably both the Ministers and the Governor were right.

English
statesmen and
South African
policy.

If the Home Government was desirous of introducing a policy to South Africa, it should have been done through the High Commissioner, but whatever the cause, the defeat of Lord Carnarvon's intention was a matter of much regret, for there is every reason to believe that had a South African conference been held at that time the result would have been something similar to that which has occurred recently at the Federal Convention which has been sitting at Sydney, and thus would have been avoided the events in the Transvaal which have led to the retrocession of the British from there; and the Zulu war and many other events which have caused such deep pain to the people of England and to the white races of South Africa. The moral of this is certainly that when statesmen accept positions in the colonies as Colonial Governors they should be in thorough sympathy with Downing Street, and should have the fullest support from the people at home. The more difficult the task, the more loyal should be home support. It would of course be a grand thing for the British Empire if we could frame an Imperial Colonial policy above and away from domestic legislation, so that, whatever the party in power in England through the requirements and the vicissitudes of domestic legislation, Imperial policy in respect to the Colonies should be continuous and unchanging. If so desirable a plan cannot be arranged, England will have to place the framing of colonial policy almost entirely in the

hands of Colonial Ministers, trusting to the mere sympathy and goodwill between England and the Colonies for the linking of them to the mother country. Probably there is no link so binding as sentiment; the propelling force behind the magnificently disciplined armies of Germany was sentiment. The national song to which the forces of the Fatherland marched to the Rhine provoked the enthusiasm which drove the military machine on to victory.

In proof of the advanced prosperity of South Africa we have the fact that when the work of colonisation began the population of the Cape Colony was less than 100,000 souls, and they chiefly slaves and Hottentots. The census just taken shows the population of the Cape alone to amount to 1,524,000, of which Europeans or whites amount to 377,000, the aboriginal blacks 848,000, and all other coloured races 299,000. In 1875 the total census amounted to 720,000. So we have in seventeen years the enormous increase of 804,000 souls, but in the census of 1874 the population of the Transkei, then numbering 157,000, was excluded. But here we have again evidence of the increase of native population in South Africa under British rule, for the Transkei population of 1874 has increased to 476,000 natives in 1891, and there are 10,000 whites in the same territory.

The prosperity
of South
Africa.

To estimate the increase of the population it must be stated that during the four years beginning 1875 and ending 1879, there was an increase of close on 70,000. The arrivals in the country for 1887 were

The increase
of population.

5314; 1888, 6029; and 1889, 12,329. The departures were 4693 for 1887; 1888, 4881; and 7482 for 1889. These arrivals and departures, excluding naval and military forces, would make for those three years 23,672 arrivals as against 17,056 departures, leaving only a balance of 6616 who have remained behind as colonists. This indicates that the growth of population is attributable not to any large influx of migration, but to the large increase of the population settled in the lands, of which an immense proportion consists of natives.

Want of
Crown lands.

The Cape Colony, like some other colonies of England and other parts of the world, has no great extent of Crown lands to dispose of. There was a feeble system of aided emigration for about ten years from 1873 to 1884, but all the assisted immigrants numbered not more than 20,000 men, women, and children. The population of Natal is given at under half a million, of whom 400,000 are natives, and some 35,000 are Indians, the white and Indian population being about equal. The population of the Orange Free State is about 140,000, of whom about 70,000 are white and about the same number are coloured. The population of the Transvaal is about 100,000 whites, of whom the proportion of Africander origin and of English or foreign nationality is about equal, whilst the estimate of the native population varies from 300,000 to three-quarters of a million. Basutoland in 1875 had a population of 128,176, of whom only 469 are whites. The writer has not been able to place his hand on an estimate of the population of

British Bechuanaland, and no census has ever been taken of the native hordes who occupy the country which is spoken of as British Zambesia, but the figures given show the immense peril in which the white races may find themselves by internal dissensions which are utterly uncalled for.

On the other hand, England may congratulate herself that from the chaos of policies so great a period of rest and so great a period of prosperity has come to South Africa. To permit any foreign power to bring in elements of discord amongst the South African communities would be a singular disregard of those communities in whose interest and for whose welfare England has expended so much blood and so much treasure. It was stated in a recent newspaper published in England, that "every one in South Africa—even those most hostile to the British connection—are keenly anxious that the Home Government should despatch a good big force to Cape Town, in order that it may make a military promenade as far as Bechuanaland. Our South African brethren see in such a movement a golden opportunity of finding in the War Office a purchaser at fancy prices for all their worn-out waggons, weedy horses, and unsound cattle." This is the repetition of an old story, uncalled for, unjust, and cruel. The sufferings endured by the pioneer columns of civilisation; their heroism, and their losses—losses not merely of property, but of lives so dear to them—and the conduct of South Africans ever since, should have laid at rest such calumnies as these.

The
emergence
from a chaos
of policies.

Sympathy
with English
institutions.

Another error on this side of the water is the prevailing opinion that Cape Town is the nursery-bed of a revolutionary party which aims at the creation of a great Republic from the Cape of Good Hope to the Zambesi. It is nothing of the sort. Wherever the English language prevails in South Africa sympathy exists with English institutions, admiration of the generous system of English Government, and goodwill towards the people of English descent. In the reliance that the language must spread, true South Africans have been patiently working side by side with the Republicans in the Republics in the hope and trust that as years went on and intercourse became greater the union of interests would be effected by the facilities of railways and the union of hearts by matrimony. Mr. Rhodes has got in his hand the key to South African policy when he advocates the construction of well-considered lines of railway, and at the same time perfects the system of the teaching of the English language in the parent colony.

Recent
extension of
British
territory.

The extension of British territory, first to Bechuanaland and afterwards towards the Zambesi, was for the good of all South Africa. It has, without affecting the development of the Transvaal, where the South African Republic has, in all conscience, sufficient territory and territory of immense resource, brought law and order where lawlessness and disorder would have prevailed as the disappointed and the reckless fled from the Colonies and the States for some reason or other. What would have occurred but for the

policy suggested by South Africans and adopted by the Home Government in respect of British Zambesia we have proof of in the threatened migration of Boers into territory claimed by the Portuguese, and which migration it is hoped has collapsed through the prompt and wise action of the High Commissioner, which was so loyally responded to by the Government of President Paul Kruger. The Government of the South African Republic should be as thankful as must be those who are entrusted with the administration of British Zambesia at this stopping of a movement which might have created a sort of Alsatia on its borders. The Portuguese Government, it is said, denies that it had any sympathy with, much less encouraged, this movement. Let us admit this to be the case. But the crux of the whole question is that the Portuguese would have been powerless to resist it. Their appeals to ancient history would not have had much effect on a commando consisting of Boers and Africander Englishmen.

Colonists generally do not give much heed to ancient history when they go into native territories. The Portuguese on the East Coast of Africa have behaved with ill-temper and with ill-grace to Englishmen. It is no new story. Their pettiness and their petulance were experienced by Livingstone and all of our race who came after him. Pursuing a dog-in-the-manger policy, they could not, or would not, develop their so-called East African possessions, and when England offered to do so through her commercial representatives in connection

Portuguese
obstruction.

with Portugal, every effort was made to induce other influences to come in so as to keep England out. Those who are working for the unity of South Africa do not want the experiment to be carried on there of different systems of European colonisation. We are content with the English experiment. If Portugal wishes to work loyally with the rest of South Africa, as she has got a strip of the coast—which is matter for much regret—she can easily do so by some such process as coming into a Customs union, and she will gain more by that than by trying to stir up strife in this southern land, where there is such an immense supply of inflammable material. That the Government of Lord Salisbury, to whom not only South Africa but all the colonies of England owe so much, for marvellous results have been achieved in the last five years, has told Portugal that these intrigues must cease, and these disturbances be put an end to, is the right thing for a great Government to do after patient inquiry into facts.

The wealth of
South Africa
as compared
with all
Portugal.

Let us appeal to figures to show what English colonisation has done for South Africa. It is impossible to show what Portugal has done to earn the gratitude of South Africa, for it has done nothing. The following figures will tell their own story. The imports to the Cape Colony, excluding specie, in 1826, amounted to £278,965, and the exports to £189,640. In 1889 the value of the imports, nearly all from England, amounted to £8,446,065, and the exports to £9,591,319. The declared value of diamonds in addition in 1889 amounted to £4,325,137,

and the total value of diamonds exported from the Cape from 1867—in which year the value was only £500—up to 1889 amounted to the prodigious sum of £50,456,977. The public revenue, which in 1826 was £110,239, as towards public expenditure £109,909, was in 1888-89 £4,338,114, as against expenditure £3,414,552. Natal, which had a revenue of £33,310 in 1855 and an expenditure of £28,020, has in 1889 a revenue of £1,327,105 and an expenditure of £1,146,079. The Orange Free State and the Transvaal, if not under the British flag, are in sympathy with the rest of South Africa, and were developed by the aid of British capital, and those states contribute to the commonwealth of South Africa. The Orange Free State, which had in 1856-57 a revenue of £15,327, has in 1889-90 a revenue of £272,318. It is not easy to find what the revenue and expenditure of the Transvaal were in past years. It has, however, for 1890 an estimated revenue of £1,610,906, with an expenditure of £1,299,991. The total revenue of the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State amounts to £7,448,439, against an expenditure of £6,075,430, leaving a balance to the good of £1,373,009. The imports amount to £12,963,075 against exports, including diamonds, gold, and copper, of £17,592,774. The revenue of all Portugal, which is very old, whilst South Africa is comparatively in its infancy, was in 1889 £9,746,061, and its expenditure £11,085,758, leaving a deficit of £1,339,697. Its imports were £9,302,272, and its exports £5,209,668, leaving a difference to the bad as between exports

and imports of £4,092,604. The public debt of Portugal, internal and external, amounts to £139,817,152, whilst that of all South Africa is about £27,000,000, of which in the Cape Colony alone £14,282,768 is invested in railways which are paying £5:15:1 per cent on the total capital expended on them; and Natal, with its £3,000,000 expended on its railways, has been earning £7:15:6 per cent. From these figures it will be seen that whilst Portugal has been dreaming of African possessions, British enterprise and British capital have created a country with a revenue far surpassing all the resources of Portugal itself.

bird
of
African
nation,



A MAP OF
SOUTH AFRICA
 shewing the
 PRESENT POLITICAL DIVISIONS
 1891.

Scale of Statute Miles.
 0 50 100 200

CHAPTER IV

THE NORTHERN SETTLEMENT

BECHUANALAND, MATABELELAND, MASHONALAND

By the EDITOR

THE bringing of the native territories to the west and north of the South African Republic under the ægis of the British flag may be regarded as the third epoch in the work of developing and colonising South Africa. And with it have virtually been brought to a close the chapters of South African history descriptive of the wanderings into the wilds of Africa of the voor-trekkers. The partitioning of Africa has left no room for them to wander in their old restless, discontented manner, away from all governments into the great solitudes of the north. There can be no doubt but that the missionaries paved the way for the advance of the British. It was upon their representations that the Imperial Government in saving the Bechuanas from extermination by voor-trekkers, amongst whom were many nationalities, and who were despoiling the natives of their lands and their cattle just as they were killing off the immense herds of game that were thriving so well on these boundless grass-clad plains. It can be no matter for surprise that these

The third epoch of South African colonisation, 1890.

voor-trekkers sullenly resisted the taking away from them of the No-man's-land, where those could take who had power and those should keep who can. The incidents connected with the British retrocession had given to the rough-and-ready frontiersmen, who were more hunters than farmers, and more cattle-lifters than anything else, an overwhelming conceit of their skill with the rifle. They had a growing contempt for civilisation, with all its legislative machinery and methods. They were being educated to believe that England was tired of its experiment of colonisation in Africa; that if it had the resource to enforce its presence there it had not the will; and a defiance of English pretensions resolutely made would promptly lead to the withdrawal of those pretensions. The men who were called filibusters had unhappily too much ground for this belief. They knew how Sir Bartle Frere, the ablest statesman England had ever sent to South Africa, had been deserted by England when he was trying to carry through the policy which would have given full representation to all sections of the white races of South Africa under the British flag. They could not conceive, with that desertion quite fresh in their memories, that England would go to any expense in respect of Bechuanaland when it had but yesterday given up the Transvaal with all its known wealth. The filibusters were mistaken. In the shame as the retrocession began to be thoroughly understood, and consequently felt by the British nation at large, again a wave of intense interest passed over England in respect of South

Africa, aggravated no doubt by the rumours which were becoming current of the vast mineral discoveries in the Transvaal.

The British Government, ever wisely responsive to the electorate of the British Isles, met public opinion at home by a costly military promenade through what is now known as British Bechuanaland. It was an efficient demonstration of the earnestness of the British Government. And the filibusters themselves did not complain much, for instead of getting the fat beeves and the fair lands of the natives, there was considerable compensation in the money which the presence of the expedition circulated. Sir Charles Warren's expedition in 1885 cost England £1,000,000. The Zulu War, which was undertaken to give tranquillity to Natal and the Transvaal, had cost her £5,000,000. The Transvaal War had cost £1,000,000, in addition to the Sekukuni campaign, which amounted to £180,000. Her war expenses in South Africa from 1877 to 1885 make up the enormous total of £7,572,090. After such an expenditure it is difficult to think that she should have ceased to take an interest in South Africa, unless perchance the British ratepayer had grown tired of the drain on the Home Treasury. The Bechuanaland Expedition was an emphatic demonstration to Bechuanaland filibusters and others, and the settlement of Bechuanaland by farmers under the British flag is now being very satisfactorily proceeded with.

Crown Colony
in Bechuana-
land.

To the north of British Bechuanaland is the territory of the chief Khama, whose persistently ex-

The British
Protectorate.

pressed desire to come under British protection was at last acceded to. The wise old chief knew that this protection would save him and his people from being "eaten up," as he was threatened by the powerful king of the Matabele, whose military organisation was kept in efficient existence by the frequent "washing" of the warriors' spears in blood. Khama, unlike most native chiefs, was anxious to induce white men to settle in his country, and for this purpose he granted a concession of 400 square miles of his territory for exploitation and development by Europeans. The concession was taken in hand by a company formed in London, and the Colonial Office, ascertaining that those who were interesting themselves in the movement were worthy of being encouraged, gave them its support. It was probably on this incident, of no great importance in itself, but leading up to vast consequences, that the extent of British influence in South Africa depended. The voor-trekker party at Pretoria egged on the President to forward a representative of the South African Republic to negotiate with Lobengula, who was already in negotiation with a representative of the London Company. The President despatched a mission, which on its way came into collision with Khama's warriors, was driven back, and the republican official in charge of the party was unfortunately killed. This led to the sitting of a joint Commission, appointed by England and the Transvaal, resulting in compensation being paid by Khama to the relatives of the deceased. Whatever may be the truth of the events which led to the

collision between the republican party and Khama's men, there can be no doubt but that the Boers treated the natives with their customary arrogance, and that the despatch of the party from Pretoria was for the purpose of bringing the northern territories of the natives between the Transvaal borders and the Zambesi under the domination of the Boers. The failure of the attempt, the firm attitude of Khama, and the no less firmness of the British Government, settled at once which was to be the paramount power in South Africa.

The encouragement given by the Colonial Office to those wishing to develop Khama's country stimulated enterprise and drew attention in England to the resources of these native territories. An offer was made by British capitalists to extend the Cape Railway from the Cape frontier through British Bechuanaland. Again the Colonial Office gave its support, and promptly the railway surveyors were sent out. The construction of this railway was much resented by the Government of Pretoria. In all the pride of the surprising wealth pouring into his treasury by the wonderful gold discoveries within the Republic, the President surrounded himself with a halo of autocracy. It was not to be wondered at. The simple, hard-headed old farmer-President was overwhelmed with hourly adulation by men from all parts of the earth, who had invaded his republic in search of concessions obtainable through his favour. In truth he wanted no new arrivals. His desire was a Boer republic, constituted of his own people. He feared the turbulence of gold-digging communities, and the

The railway
to the north.

upsetting of the form of government under which he knew how to rule his people, by the reforms which must come as a progressive people overran the land. He was, however, the South African autocrat of the hour. The glitter of Transvaal gold filled all men's thoughts—Colonial statesmen as well as other men. Pretoria, or more correctly speaking, the gold-field of Witwatersrandt, was the goal of all South African ambition. When, therefore, President Paul Kruger declared that he regarded with the utmost disfavour the extension of the Cape railway through Bechuanaland, those Cape politicians, wishing to bask in the sunshine of the President's goodwill, became afraid of offending him. Happily for British South Africa, those entrusted with the Bechuanaland Railway scheme had properly discounted the value of the President's affection for the Cape, as well as the real value of the Witwatersrandt gold-fields, in respect of permanent South African development. The railway scheme went on, and in a few months Cape politicians, whatever political party they belonged to, saw that there was no favour to be obtained by the Cape from the Government of Paul Kruger. It was for Pretoria alone, and not for South Africa as a whole, that the President was using every effort.

The British
Chartered
Company..

Following up the policy of the pioneer companies in Bechuanaland, the British Chartered Company, with a more comprehensive scheme and with greater resource, came into existence. The pioneer companies were, so to say, the mere stepping-stones towards the statesmanlike scheme on which Matabeleland was

brought into touch with the commercial instincts of the British nation. Lobengula had been restrained from washing his spears with the blood of Khama's people, and even this barbaric monarch, whose rule rested upon the strength and the employment of his armies, had been educated to some extent into respect of British rule as compared with that of the rule of any other white race. He knew perfectly well what had befallen Macomo, Sandilli, Kreli, Cetewayo, and Sekukuni, for native potentates are well supplied with news through their own peculiar method of communication. It is quite possible that he saw that he would have to prevent his country being overrun by the Boers, who would be quite prepared to co-operate with the Portuguese against the natives, as has been done by the Boer voor-trekkers who had moved into Portuguese territory in the neighbourhood of Mossamedes, where it may be mentioned the Boer voor-trekkers with the Portuguese had sent an expedition, ending in complete failure. Whatever the reason, Lobengula despatched his Indunas to see the great White Queen, and gave permission for the exploitation of his country for minerals so long as the exploitation was distant from his kraals and did not interfere with his people. Under these circumstances the British Government granted a charter to the South Africa Company,—a charter falling very much upon the lines of that granted to the British East India Company,—and before the days of that Company, by the Republic of the Netherlands to the Dutch East India Company. The creation of

The concessionaires entered into a business agreement with Lobengula.

the British Chartered Company of South Africa was thus another illustration of history repeating itself. It was also becoming the policy of European Governments to protect the interests obtained through the enterprise of their merchants and their capitalists. In granting the charter to the British Chartered Company the British Government was simply following what was fast becoming the fashion in Europe. With similar privileges granted to British enterprise, there was every reason to believe that the aptitude of colonisation, which had been for centuries so pronounced a characteristic of the English race, had not passed away from it. The occupation of Mashonaland by the forces of the British Chartered Company has proved that the qualities which were dominant in the days of old have not, altogether at any rate, passed away from British enterprise. The conduct of the pioneer expedition into Mashonaland was characterised by a careful regard to the susceptibilities of the natives, and a firmness of purpose which must have made its proper impression on the barbaric hordes of Matabeleland, whilst a spirit of conciliation pervaded the advance. The natives soon learned that the British pioneer force came into the country, not as foes, but as friends, with the result that the march of many hundreds of miles was effected without the firing of a single shot in anger or the loss of a single life. That the northern movement was popular in Cape Town was established by the magnificent demonstration which was given in honour of Sir Henry Loch, the new High Commissioner, who

The acquirements of rights were obtained not with British bayonets but by British money.

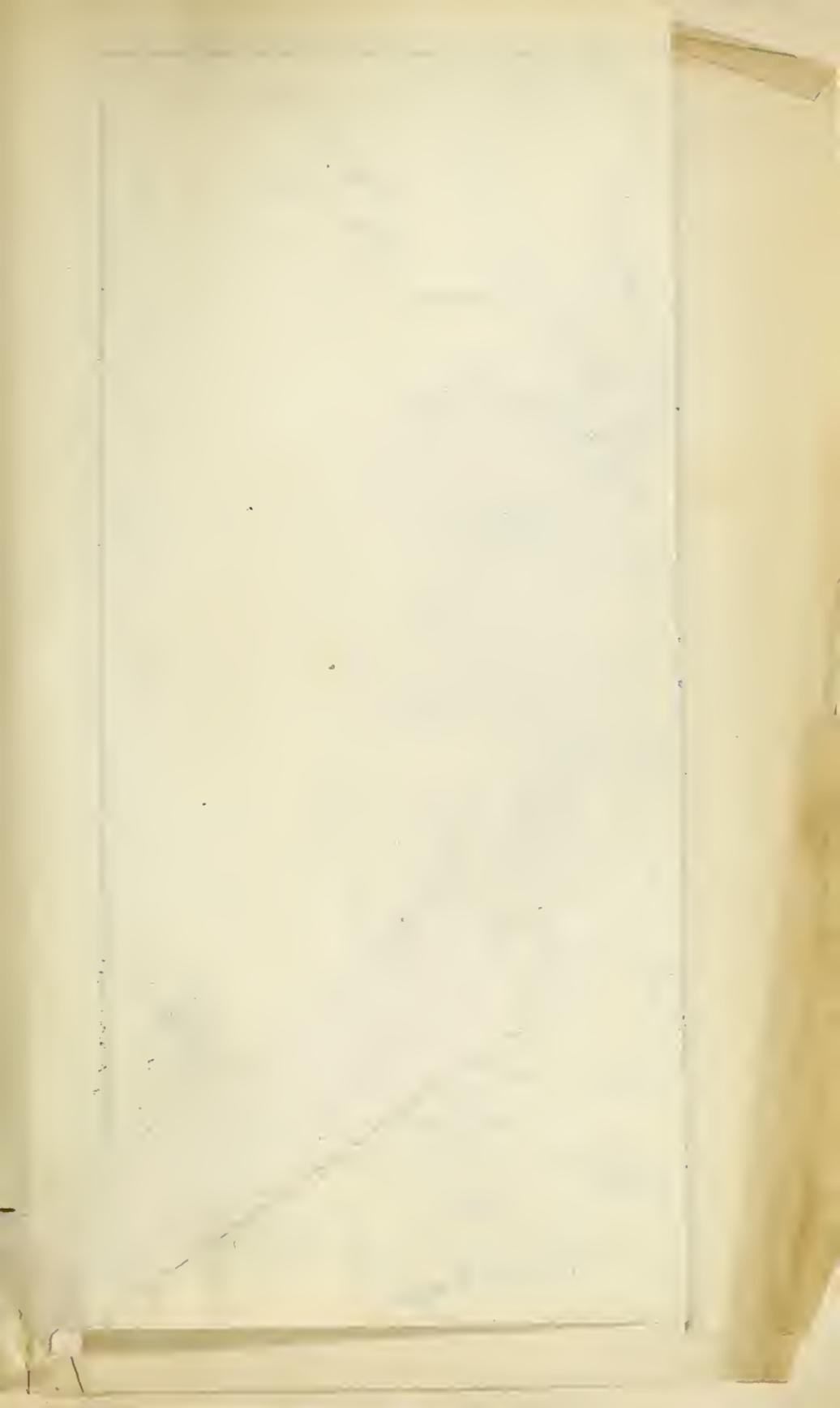
arrived in Cape Town at the beginning of the carrying out of the policy of the Chartered Company. Those entrusted with the carrying out of the chartered policy were anxious to invest the movement with all the sympathies of a national advance, so as to bring the whole of South Africa in sympathy with the policy. It was made plainly felt that where, in the territory being brought under the British flag, there was land suitable for farmers of colonial descent, their presence would be most welcome; the forces which were sent ahead to maintain law and order were selected from men in South Africa well acquainted with its people and thoroughly inured to the conditions of frontier life. The one reservation made in all the arrangement was that the natives should not be disturbed in the occupation of the lands which they utilised, and that those who came into native territory under the British flag would have to be amenable to the regulations issued in respect of the occupation of that country. The British occupation was the death-blow to filibustering. The Transvaal Republic, seeing how prosperous the Orange Free State has grown, protected as its borders were by Imperial policy, should have been well content, with all its resources for internal development, to have been alike free from native trouble. The Government of the Transvaal has of late shown that it is impressed not only with the advantage but with the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the British Government. This is the outcome of the determined policy of

Downing Street conveyed in plain language during the last two or three years. Whatever England has lost in South Africa, she has lost through her own indecision. The policy now definitely shaped is not likely to be departed from. President Kruger understands that, and the Northern Settlement will not only bring rest to South Africa, but it will stop the irritation which was constantly being created by the action of irresponsible bodies of men in their marauding expeditions into unprotected native territories. The bold cattle-raiders are being taught that British Protection of those territories is a reality and not merely a name. The President of the Transvaal is at present engaged in assuring a section of his people who are threatening to invade territory under the administration of the Chartered Company that this is so. And the High Commissioner has given the warning that whoever enters the country in defiance of the English Government will be punished. If, however, they conform to the laws they will be made as welcome as are other law-abiding people. These territorial jealousies from within of the Chartered Company may therefore be regarded as having been overcome; those with the Portuguese from without are still going on. What we think of the right and title of the Portuguese to be on the east coast of Africa has fully been set forth in the first pages of this book. Portugal has done nothing for South Africa, and therefore South Africa can have no sympathy with that country. The Government of England, however, has decided, out of European and not

South African interests, that Portugal shall have a generous slice in the partitioning of Africa; and there the matter must rest, leaving to the progress of events in South Africa the ultimate settlement of this matter. The new Government at Lisbon, of which Senhor Carvalho is the most conspicuous figure, protests that the narrow and illiberal Portuguese policy of the past is to give way to a more generous policy, and that his Government will uphold a friendly policy with England and the English Colonies on liberal terms upon a customs tariff to be mutually agreed upon. This would be wise policy on the part of Portugal, for it is perfectly certain that whatever development goes on in South Africa, it will be mainly through British enterprise and the employment of British capital.

South Africa itself will give a hearty welcome to all, irrespective of nationality, who wish to use their energies rightly in proving the wealth of, and in adding to the happiness and prosperity of, the country. The extent of territory over which white men accustomed to northern climates can live is so vast as to leave the question of elbow-room which so exercises the minds of British statesmen in respect of the area of the British Isles, for the consideration of very many generations yet to come. In the genial climate there are no months in the year when the land is snow-clad and the shores are ice-bound, stopping industry and production. The resources—agricultural, pastoral, and mineral—are already known to be great; but in its products

of every sort South Africa is now in the infant stage of its existence. The prosperity which it at present enjoys must go on increasing as a policy is made unalterable which will bestow on it the blessings of peace and immunity from dissensions between the various races occupying the land.



CHAPTER V
THE MARCH OF THE BRITISH INTO
MASHONALAND

THE ROUTE BY THE HEALTHY HIGHLANDS

By J. W. ELLERTON FRY, late of the Royal Observatory, Cape Town,
Lieutenant of the British South Africa Company's Expeditionary
Force.

ON April 27th, 1890, I left Kimberley and overtook the waggons containing the engine and searchlight at Macbeth's. We continued tracking through the heavy sand. Before leaving Kimberley I exchanged signals with the Royal Observatory in Cape Town to see that my chronometer was keeping its rate, and found it going most satisfactorily. The road for some considerable distance was very heavy, and we had to hitch on both spans of oxen to the waggons to pull them out of the sand. We reached Warrenton on April 29th; this is a small village on the banks of the Vaal. At Warrenton there were a number of people digging for diamonds on the river, but they did not meet with much success, although recently a good find was made. We crossed the Vaal pont without a hitch, and tracked on the same night till we reached Hobb's farm; the road still continued

Start from
Kimberley.

Taungs.

to be very heavy, and both spans of oxen had to be often put on the engine waggon to drag it out of the heavy sand. On May 3d we outspanned on the banks of the Hartz river near Taungs, the native town of Mankoroane. The Bechuanaland Government have a police force stationed here, and there is a strong force commanding the town.

Setlagoli.

On May 6th we reached Vryburg, which is the chief town of British Bechuanaland. It contains a considerable number of houses and a few well-built public offices, which are on a rise a few hundred yards from the town, and appear to be substantial buildings. There we had a heavy shower of rain, the first since leaving Kimberley. In this locality we found plenty of game,—in fact we supplied ourselves with game all along the road. On May 7th we broke the dissell-boom of the cart, but with the help of Elliott the electrician and the conductor we managed so to splice it as to enable us to go on without delay. We arrived at Setlagoli on May 10th, which is the name of a telegraph station, and near here a number of settlers are located.

Mafeking.

The roads still continued heavy and sandy, and water was scarce. On May 13th we arrived at Mafeking and went to the camp of the pioneer force, which was about three miles east of the village. I here again exchanged signals with the Observatory for time. When we returned to the village of Mafeking the waggons were loaded, and everything ready for our trekking into Mashonaland. On May 17th we broke camp and the trek began. Before leaving I went to

the chief commissioner with the Rev. Moffat to try and get a photograph of the old chief. This man played an important part in the late trouble with the Boers, and to save him and his tribe from destruction Sir Charles Warren with an expedition was sent into the country. Montesoia entertains no feeling of gratitude for his salvation. His people were starving; they were indeed on the point of extermination by Boers when British aid was sent them at their own urgent prayers. But Montesoia now says he cannot tell if he would have been better governed by the Boers than he is now, for he has never been governed by them. His people are now at peace: they are fat and well clothed. But gratitude to white men is difficult to inculcate in the native breast. The natives have a deadly fear of a camera. Even Montesoia, after all his contact with civilisation, regards the camera with fear, and he would not, notwithstanding the intercession of his old friends such as Mr. Moffat, let me "have a shot at him."

A typical
native chief.

On leaving Mafeking many people came out to see us, and all predicted that none of us would ever return. We continued our trek, water being very scarce, until we reached Asvogel, which is about seventy miles from Mafeking. This is a pretty spot, and immense quantities of Kaffir corn are grown here.

Fertility of
the land.

On the 22d we reached Ramoutsa on the Notwani river; the name of the chief is Makosie. This native town contains about 7000 inhabitants, and there are two or three stores kept by white men. Many of us here tried to get servants to accompany us, but natives

would not come, as they said we should all be killed. Crossing the Notwani river the waggon carrying the engine stuck in the bed of the river. This was our first serious trouble with the load, and delayed us some time. We reached another village the next day named Gh'bron, where we found water very scarce indeed. The nights here began to get very cold, and even frosty. On the 25th a large number of horses for the Bechuanaland Police passed us, and the following day we struck the Marico river, and all our difficulties for water were at an end. We travelled along the river, as our route lay in this direction, until we reached the Macloutsie, which is a lovely river thickly fringed with trees, whilst flowers grow in semi-tropical luxuriance. Any number of pheasants and guinea fowl afforded sport, and were very grateful additions to our commissariat. On May 28th we came to the junction of the Marico and Crocodile rivers, the two rivers forming an imposing stream. The bush here began to get dense, and occasionally a tent was torn off the waggons by overhanging branches. The following day we crossed the Notwani again, which here joins the Crocodile. At Ramoutsa, about thirty miles, we crossed a fine stream, but here was simply what in South Africa is quaintly called a dry river-bed. The water had mysteriously soaked away into the sand, or had found its way into the underground water arteries, which are believed by some to be a perfect natural water system from the lake regions to the southern plateau of Bechuanaland. Here we had a rumour corroborative of the promise made to us by

Semi-tropical
scenery.
Game.

A fine stream.

the natives all the way from Mafeking that we were to be eaten up by the warlike Matabele. Lobengula, we were told, was waiting for us with 7000 men on the Macloutsie river. The powers of imagination of residents in this land are very great. They have probably lived in such constant fear of being exterminated by the natives that every shadow of imagination frights them as if it were a reality. We reached what we christened Camp Cecil on June 1st, but only stayed here a short time, and hurried on to the camp on Macloutsie to join other members of the force. Here we gathered together all the instruments we required and got everything ready for observing, finding, luckily, none of the instruments were damaged. We had to shoot nine oxen for lung sickness, which sickness prevails in this part of the country.

Apprehensions respecting Lobengula.

On June 8th we reached the Lotsanie river, which runs into the Crocodile. We here found ruins of ancient buildings, of which I took a number of photographs and measurements. We waited here until some grain which had been bought overtook us, and had some good shooting with the crocodiles and hippopotami, of which there are now still a few remaining in the river. The scenery along the banks of the Crocodile is simply lovely; palms and wild dates growing luxuriantly; large trees with dark foliage intermingled with trees with bright green leaves, and other trees bearing a small red flower. In fact, with a clear blue sky and a bright sun, there was quite a blaze of colour. These ruins are mentioned by the Rev. Mackenzie in *Austral Africa*, but the situation

Ancient ruins.

of them is hardly correctly placed by him. About two years ago there was a heavy flood here, when the whole country was deluged for miles, through the Crocodile having overflowed its banks. This locality is a sort of paradise for snakes. They are numerous in variety, and in searching the ruins they were far too plentiful to be pleasant!

On June 11th we outspanned close to the spot where the pont was put across by the Boers under Grobelaar, who, it was reported, was shot by one of his own people by mistake. The country here begins to get more broken, and we pass away from the flat red sandy plains. We here came across the first baobab trees. To those who have seen them for the first time, with their elephant-skin-like bark and the tremendous stems sometimes over seventy feet in circumference, rising up like giants of the forest above the other trees, they are more grotesque than picturesque. We passed many kopjies, which showed traces of once having been inhabited by natives. The Zoutpansberg mountains are very prominently seen from here. The following day our road lay through immense date palms, the ground being very swampy. We crossed the Pakwe, but most of our waggons stuck in the sand, owing to the oxen being very tired; we put the drag ropes on to the waggons and the men pulled them out. The pioneer camp on the Macloutsie river was reached on January 14th. The Maptlaptluta camp was about twenty odd miles to the westward. We stayed here until June 26th, getting everything ready to cross the river and entering the disputed territory

Magnificent
trees and
swampy
ground.

claimed by Lobengula and Khama. We here practised forming laager, being inspected by General Metheuen. At this camp for the first time we got up steam on the engine and put the search-light in working order. We also improved our acquaintance with the Maxim and Gardner guns. A sail placed between two trees—unfortunate sails—was practised upon at night time by the aid of the electric light; mines were exploded, rockets were fired from tubes, and if any of the Matabele spies were lying about they must have had a good idea of the warm reception we were prepared to give them if they tried any nonsense with us. There were some Matabele in the camp as servants; they were probably spies; and they round their camp fires used in their peculiar manner of gesticulation and voluble oratory to relate their experience of the shriek of the rocket and the thunderous noise of the mines when they were exploded. These Matabele deserted before we got into Matabeleland proper, and no doubt edified the great chief with what they had seen and heard. It was as good as play to all these Matabele as the shower of bullets from the Maxim and the Gardner guns rained upon the sail and tore it to shreds. Quite complacent, almost as immovable as statues, these natives squatted on the ground, with their heads resting on their hands supported by their knees, watching what was going on as if it were unbecoming of their race to be alarmed or to appear too curious. But as the rain of lead cut the sail into shreds, even with all their immovability, they could not restrain short exclamations of surprise,—

Forming laager.

The exploding of mines. Warlike preparations.

Practice with Maxim and Gardner guns.

The Matabele and their stoicism.

and with the natives an exclamation is always accompanied with a theatrical gesture.

The only serious accident during expedition.

The only accident that happened during our expedition occurred here. One of the native drivers shot another and killed him on the spot. The two had been out shooting, and on their return one had foolishly left his gun loaded. The other, not knowing it, in a skylarking mood picked it up, and killed his friend.

On June 26th we broke camp and crossed the Macloutsie river. The country here begins to get more broken, and we crossed a number of dry streams, at one of which a waggon completely capsized and the Gardner gun also met with an accident; the pivot upon which it works broke off, but this did not affect the efficiency of the gun. We here began to get everything ready for attack, as we were now in the territory claimed by Lobengula. The next day we repaired the Gardner gun as well as we could, and made a very good job of it. We inspanned early the next morning and went on till we met the Administrator, Mr. Colquhoun, with Colonel Pennyfather, in command of the whole expedition, and Dr. Jamieson and Captain Selous. We here got up steam on the engine and worked the electric light before dark, and also before daylight in the morning. I received orders the following morning from the Colonel and Captain Selous to accompany them, and help in the selection of a site for the camp at the Tuli river. The road for some considerable distance was very rough indeed, and my horse showed such signs of fatigue as to become completely knocked up, and I had to remain behind.

The electric light.

The following day General Metheuen overtook us, and we had some good shooting at koodoo and other large game. We inspanned the next morning early and reached the Tuli river; the scouts preceded the column and all precaution was taken against a surprise. As soon as we reached the river every man was set to work to cut down the bush and to clear and cut space laager. The guns were taken upon a hill which commanded the whole country. Soon after we arrived we saw about twenty or thirty Matabeles crossing the river; they seemed very timid at first, but some of the officers went out to meet them. They were all fully armed with guns and assegais. When we brought them into the camp they wanted to know what we were doing in that country and why we came that way. They were well treated,—were given some meat and they then returned. What impression we had made on them we could not tell. It is always difficult to appreciate the thoughts of a native. He is mercurial and impulsive. He has been trained to have no will of his own. He is a sort of mental photographic machine doing duty for his chief. He has to reproduce for him pictures of everything he has seen, and to do it with complete fidelity. The memory is compelled to be trained, for they have not the art of writing. And in their talk, especially when they are seeking information, they indulge in metaphors. Thus when these messengers came in they asked, “The white man has come into our country. What has he lost?” That of course was a suggestion that the white man had no right there unless he had been

Matabele
scouts.

Native
diplomats.

What had the
white man
lost?

there before, and was entitled to ask for something which belonged to him.

The reveille sounded the next morning ; every man was turned out, everything got ready in case our right of way was disputed ; all superfluous luggage and articles were taken off the waggons and stored. Here we began our march into the land of the Matabele.

Football.

On July 5th a football match was got up between the A and B troops, and as there was no other ground available the Tuli river was chosen ; this was, however, very heavy with its sand, but it was the best that could be had. And here was played for the first time in this savage land the good old game of English football. The game must have been amongst the many surprises for the Matabeles. It took some days to make a drift (ford) across the river ; trees were cut down, and upon them and bags of sand the waggons crossed. This river is about four hundred or five hundred yards wide, and when the usual season rains fall carries a very large body of water. The waggons in crossing this river sank down to the axle in the heavy sand, and three or four spans of oxen were put on each waggon to drag them over it. The following day Captain Hoste of the B troop crossed the river and commenced cutting down trees to prepare a road for the column to follow. On July 10th we crossed the Tuli and outspanned about five hundred yards on the other bank. Colonel Pennyfather and about two hundred men of the British South African Police joined us and took the general command. On July 12th we

Difficulties in
river
crossing.

commenced the journey through Matabele country in earnest. The way for the first day was through dense bush with but little water. Laager was formed that same evening about five o'clock ; got up steam on the engine and worked the search-light for about ten minutes every two hours all through the night. About an hour before daylight all the men who had been sleeping under the waggons with their arms ready were called and ordered to lie on the waggons ready for the Matabele. We here heard that Captain Hoste had got on some considerable distance without being molested, and a despatch was sent to him to wait. The country now got more fertile, we travelling the whole time through dense Mupani bush with occasional large trees ; the ground is level, and occasionally a small hill one hundred or two hundred feet high arises from the plains. We crossed the S'chope river, and the following day tracked on to the Umzingwani river. The banks of the river are thickly fringed with trees, some being very large, and the ground is covered with thick rank grass and tall reeds eight or ten feet high. The river is about two hundred yards wide ; it is a sand river with but little water when we crossed. It may be well to mention here what is the difference between what are called dry rivers and sandy rivers. A dry river-bed is where the river "comes down," according to South African parlance, periodically in the wet season. A sandy river is where the water is always percolating, and the presence of water is proved by a heavy pressure on the sand such as the passing over of a heavily-laden

War alarms.

Dry rivers
and sandy
rivers.

waggon, or can be found by the digging for a foot or so by a thirsty traveller. On the east side of this river a hill arises about two hundred and fifty feet above the level of the ground. This hill had undoubtedly been inhabited by natives, as there were traces of kraals all around, but no doubt they had been cleared out by the Matabeles. We now came across spoors of elephants, and lions were heard.

From this river to the Umchabetsi is a distance of about nineteen miles, and the advance troop found no water. This was the only difficult bit we had to cross through want of water. From the Umchabetsi the column travelled in two parallel roads. This was done so as to facilitate the quick formation of a laager if necessary. The grass now began to get very thick, and at night it was burnt down all round the laager, so that an enemy could not approach under cover. On the 16th one of the B troop returned with a despatch from Captain Hoste, saying that the Banyai whom he had come in contact with had told them that the Matabele were making inquiries about us, and telling the Banyai that if they helped us then they would eat us all up and then annihilate them. The Banyai were in consequence in great fear, as they doubted our being able to hold our own against the Matabele, but at the same time they did not wish to be against us. So we went on. We got everything ready for attack on this day, and all men turned out under arms about 4 A.M., and the search-light as usual worked all around the camp. But no attack came.

B troop rejoined us here, and A troop, under Captain

Marching in
two parallel
columns.

Heney, started as advance guard. We trekked on with great carefulness. About mid-day on July 20th some spies were caught peering at us through the reeds of a small river. They were brought into the camp and questioned.

Here another opportunity was afforded of showing the Matabele how friendly were our intentions. The men had food given to them, and they were sent back to their people with kindly messages. Trees here began to get very thick, and we had much difficulty in getting our waggons over the rough road which had been made for us. The ground also was in many places very swampy. We reached Mount Tibis on July 21st, and here was the first native village our column arrived at. All the natives live on the top of the stony hill for fear of the Matabele, and up to it they drive all their cattle when they hear the Matabele are about. These Makalakas are a miserable-looking people. Perhaps they have become so through having been so hunted all their lives by the Matabele. From this point to the Buby river the country becomes broken. On either side of the road are immense masses of granite four hundred or five hundred feet in height. In crossing the Buby river the engine capsized, but we were fortunate enough to get it fixed up again without apparently much damage being done. Within the next three miles we crossed three large rivers. We reached Towla mountain the following day, and here Captain Heney sent back word that small parties of Matabele had attempted to stop the troop. Captain Heney told these men that they had better see

Kindly treatment of the Matabeles.

Broken country.

the Colonel, and offered to send an escort back with them, but they replied that they did not want an escort, and that they knew the country better than he did. They came into the camp the following day. Here again was repeated the question as to what the white men had lost that they had come into this country. They were a finer body of men than any we had seen before, and one was pointed out as being a very fine boy.

The English language amongst the Matabele.

Here we had an instance of the fact that the English language was not unknown to the Matabele. The fellow called out "boy"—the term used in respect of natives employed at the gold and diamond fields—to his companions, and our interpreter told us he denied being "a boy," and said he was a Matabele. Probably he wishes us to understand he might be "a boy" at Kimberley, but here his foot was on his native heath, and he was a Matabele, and equal if not superior to a white man.

Natives signalling.

We went on the following morning picking our way gingerly between hills thickly inhabited by Makalakas, who turned out in hundreds to see us. When we started we saw natives running up to the tops of some of the granite boulders and making fires, which were no doubt signals to the Matabele to let them know we were going on. On Sunday the 27th, after trekking about two hours, we found ourselves entirely surrounded by fire, the grass here being very high in all directions, in some places over our horses' heads. This firing of the grass looked very suspicious, and we had great difficulty in putting the fire out.

We did so by the old campaigner's plan of making fire fight fire. We set fire to the grass on either side of the road, and when the ground was sufficiently cleared we got through without any damage being done. That day I am sure we wished we had the Matabeles under the play of our Maxim gun. We now trekked to the Nuanetse, which is a lovely stream between high hills, carrying a large body of water and having immense boulders in the stream together with deep holes. It is one of the most picturesque rivers we had passed. We had to hitch on two or three spans to each waggon. The picket ropes were hitched to the front span, and with the aid of one hundred or two hundred men each waggon was drawn across the river. The country round here became more broken than that we had come through before, the bush dense, and the ground swampy. One or two waggons might travel over very nearly all the country with comparative ease, but a number of waggons such as we had of course cut up the ground. The following day we had to pass over a point in the hills which seemed a likely place for the Matabele to attack us. The hills we saw were thickly inhabited by Kaffirs, who were watching us. Still we passed peacefully on. The same evening two traders overtook us when we were in laager, and reported that an impi was following us, so we laid mines, got the guns ready for action, and took every precaution. But never a Matabele impi did we see. The following day we continued the track, now travelling through charming country, many streams skirted with trees of beautiful

Firing of the grass.

A picturesque river.

Natives swarm on the hillsides.

The expedition passes peacefully on its way.

foliage, fertile valleys largely cultivated, in which the natives grow large quantities of rice, mealies, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, etc. So we went on until we reached the Lundi river. From the Macloutsie river to this place the ground is comparatively level, the elevation being about two thousand to twenty-two hundred feet, but from this point we began to ascend rapidly until we reached Fort Victoria, which is about thirty-six hundred feet above sea-level. This river is about four hundred yards wide, and here again the waggons had to be pulled over by our men with ropes. We outspanned on the eastern banks of the river on August 3d, and here some good shooting was done, happily not Matabele, the Major and others being able to kill three hippopotami. We stayed here for a few days to give the oxen a rest, and to overhaul things generally. The Gardner gun had come to grief again, but a new spindle was made for the gun to work upon out of the axle of an ordinary waggon, a very creditable job being made of it. The expedition was well organised in every way, and "the handy man" so necessary for emergencies, which will arise no matter what care is taken, had not been overlooked. It is said in South Africa that if you have the right man he can with rheims splice up anything from a broken wheel to a set of false teeth. We left the Lundi river on August 6th and continued our trek over a broken country, the country being in fact so broken that for the first night during the expedition we were unable to form laager. Mr. Colbrandor here overtook us with a few letters.

He had come down from Gubulawayo with a letter from Lobengula telling us that we were to go back ; that if we did so we should not be molested, but that if we went on every one of us would be killed ; but four were to be taken alive to Gubulawayo, and there skinned alive, and their skins to be kept as an example to the white man that Lobengula was still the most powerful chief on earth. We, however, did not go back, but went on as quickly as we could and formed a very strong laager. The following day, after the scouts reported it was all clear, we went on cautiously. Those in the secret felt sure that Lobengula was simply acting. He was compelled to keep his people quiet, or they might have "gone for him." Indeed in our camp a letter was received from the brother of a white man at Gubulawayo saying that "Loben" was acting fair and square. He had talked to his leading men, the hot bloods especially, saying, "There are the white men. You can go and kill them if you like, but remember if you do that, for every hundred you kill a thousand will come from over the sea. Where is Cetewayo? and the end of it will be that you will be like the Zulus." And so we passed on. We came to Chibi's country. A Mashona chief with about twenty followers presented himself, and was in a great state of mind, as he did not know whether to help us or the Matabele. He seemingly, however, thought it wise to side with us. We still continued our track through very attractive country, and that evening and the next morning a number of Matabele came into our camp, sat down and clapped their hands, and said

Lobengula
tries a scare.

Attractive
country.

how glad they were to see us, telling us they had been sent down by the king to tell the Mashonas to treat us kindly and to sell and give us everything we wanted.

We thought this looked very suspicious, for we were in a suspicious mood. Still the march went on. At the Tokwane river the country became less broken and less bush. We passed native gardens constantly. There was no doubting the fertility of the region. Some of the drivers here heard that the impi would attack us that night or the following day, so we laid mines again and prepared for attack. The following morning, when taking up the wires that connected the mines with the battery, we found that the wire had been eaten through in many places, possibly by some animal, as we found traces of teeth in the gutta-percha covering. How this happened we did not know. If it had been necessary to fire a mine, the connection being incomplete, no explosion would have taken place. It may be worth while to mention this incident to guard others if they might have to follow in our footsteps. We after this incident laid our wires overhead.

Animals and electric wires.

The rumour was now current every morning that the Matabele were going to attack us. From this river it is no great distance to the Zimbabwe ruins. We went on until we came to the pass, which has since been called Providential Pass. This is supposed to be the only pass to the high plateaus in Mashonaland. It was generally supposed that if we should meet with resistance anywhere it would be

A dangerous pass.

here. It is idle to speculate upon what would have occurred had we been so attacked. The pass is very picturesque, ferns, flowers, and water everywhere.

On August 14th we got out of the pass, and for the first time since we left the Macloutsie river saw the open country. I shall never forget the sense of relief it was to us after travelling through the dense bush. It was from darkness into light. No kloof or cranny now for hidden foe : a fair square fight, if such a fight should come ; but if the Matabele did not elect to dispute our passage here, why should we expect they were going to dispute our passage anywhere ?

From darkness into light.

We now felt comparatively out of danger, as had the Matabele attacked us on the plains we could have mowed them down with the ease of a reaping machine through a field of corn—that is, of course, if the field of corn did not overtask the power of the reaping machine. Anyhow we had got through Providential Pass, and we were consequently elated.

Out of danger.

On August 15th I had the good fortune, with some other officers, to get permission to visit the ruins of Zimbabwe, which were situated about fourteen miles south-east of laager, which laager was in longitude $31^{\circ} 10'$, latitude $20^{\circ} 15'$. Where our laager was is now Fort Victoria. The ruins, it is said, are reached more easily from the Tokwe river at the foot of the Providential Pass. The scenery in this neighbourhood is magnificent—mountains thickly covered with bush and large trees, many of the trees with sweet-scented flowers. At the foot of the hills is gently undulating country, having numerous small streams

The ruins at Zimbabwe.

of clear water. In the distance the Zimbabwe hills stand out against the sky line, and even at some considerable distance the walls on the hillside were visible. As we approached we were observed by the Mashonas, who were working in the gardens below the hill. They seemed greatly astonished at our being on horseback, most of them never having seen horses before. The natives fled at our approach to the mountain fastnesses. As soon as we reached the foot of the hill we off-saddled and shouted to the natives to come down and guide us to the ruins, but they timidly held back. At last the chief's son and one or two of the head men were induced to approach us, and they gaining confidence, in time others appeared, with the result that a long consultation took place. At first they were unwilling to show the ruins to us, but seeing we were determined to find them ourselves, they offered to take us if we would go blindfolded. This we refused, and eventually, after making a present of a blanket to the chief's son, they took us round the hill, which has many huts built upon it. The hill is the spur of a low range. About half-way up the spur the hill is covered with immense granite boulders. Between these boulders walls appear, and in some places the walls are carried to a great height, with openings and traces of passages. There only appears to be one way to the top of this hill; the opposite sides are too steep. There is a gorge leading to the top on this side, and this has been built across half-way up with a stone wall, which rises perfectly perpendicular to a

The timidity
of the natives.

Immense
granite
boulders.

great height. At the foot of the hills are many remains of a second tier of walls and entrances through them. It appears as if the whole hill had been surrounded by these walls for defensive purposes. A photograph was taken from a point overlooking the gorge, showing the country beneath and a circular building. Upon descending to the plain after taking this photograph, our investigations seemed to indicate that great works of some kind had been carried on there at some early period. There were large holes, which may have been for mining or reservoirs for water. There are great heaps of stones carefully built up, and it seems as if cultivation had largely been carried on, judging from the amount of ground that appears to have been cleared systematically, and in a different way from that in which the Mashonas of the present day cultivate. This is also noticeable at several other places in the vicinity. At some little way round the hill one comes upon a bare mass of flat stone, which extends more or less for some considerable distance. This place is slightly above the plain, and for a very considerable distance is covered with ruins of walls, which have the appearance of at one time having been the walls of houses or other buildings, and although it is difficult to trace any systematic plan, there is sufficient to show that they are not the work of the natives who inhabit the country at the present day. A short distance from these tumbled-down walls is seen a large circular building, the inside of which is one mass of trees, the growth of years if not of centuries. There are not many trees at the foot of

Indications
of great
work.

Many ruins.

Dense under-
growth.

A massive
structure.

the hill, and the dense mass in the inside of this building speaks of long neglect. This building from the outside is a massive structure of wall rising to the height of about thirty feet; the thickness at the base is about fifteen feet, which tapers to about seven feet at the top. There are no openings of any kind visible except one on the east. There is a breach on the west side, which has evidently been caused by falling trees and the roots of trees upheaving the stones. On the eastern side are walls running at right angles for some considerable distance. They seem to enclose what may have been courtyards, and in this enclosed space the top of the wall of the circular building is ornamented with a scroll or frieze. The inside of the building, which is about eighty yards in diameter, is one mass of walls and passages, which run in circles from the main wall; and on the eastern side is a conical tower, rising a foot or so above the main wall. This tower is about the same thickness as the main wall, and is about six feet from it; it is approached by passages on either side; apparently there is also a way to it from the western side. This tower is quite solid. The labyrinthine interior is so overgrown with trees and shrubs that it is difficult to describe. The whole of the stone used for these walls, both here on the plain and on the hillsides, had been evenly cut out of granite and is perfectly dressed. They are laid in the most regular even courses without mortar or cement. The outside wall is in a very perfect state of preservation, but the inside walls have been broken

Ruins of a
tower.

down and destroyed by trees and undergrowth. We left the ruins regretting that we could not find out more about them, so as to trace back to the history of those who built them. But we were on the march. There was no time to loiter, for there was work ahead.

We reached Zimutu's kraal on August 21st, and here there were large quantities of rice, grain, pumpkins, and other food. The country now was fairly open, with an occasional clustering of short bush, together with fine undulating plains and running streams in every direction. We were now travelling on a ridge of rising ground. On the right hand the rivers run towards the Sabi river, and on the left hand towards the west and the north to the Zambesi. We continued to rise until we reached the heads of the Sebaque river, which has an elevation of about five thousand feet above the sea level. We had some difficulty in finding our way across the country, as it is very swampy, and the waggons continually stuck in the swamps. Now we came across numerous herds of buck of every description, and experienced very cold easterly winds, which continued for some few days. On September 4th we arrived at what is now known as Fort Charter, and a troop was here left to construct the fort. The Administrator, with Dr. Jamieson, Captain Selous, and a bodyguard, left here and went down towards the Manica country. I went on with the advance guard under the command of Captain Heney. On September 6th we reached the banks of

Fairly open
country.

Large
quantities of
game.

the Umfuli river, and after making a drift we crossed and waited for the column to come up. Captains Burnett and Nicholson and others, who had ridden a few miles ahead to find the best road, returned a day or two after they had left us on foot, four of their horses having been killed by lions. Between the Umfuli and the Hanyane rivers is the part selected for farms and for settlement, though many think it is not a desirable spot, owing to the number of swamps about. The country here is very beautiful, with very like English park scenery. The Hanyane was reached on September 9th, and near here we found numerous traces of villages which had been destroyed by the Matabele. Two or three men were missing here one evening, and to find them we sent up some large ship rockets. There were some Mashonas in our camp that evening quietly having their supper; nothing was said to them of what was going to happen, and we watched them to see if they showed any signs of astonishment when the rockets were fired. The rockets were fired, but the Mashonas never moved a muscle; they simply sat and looked at the direction the rocket took, and then looked at each other for some considerable time without saying a word. We moved on until September 12th, when we halted, and the Colonel decided to form a fort, which has since been called Fort Salisbury. This place lies close to the heads of the Macabusi river, which runs into the Hanyane; and here the fort was built, and here will be the seat of government.

Ruins of
villages.

Fort
Salisbury.

Disbandment
of the pioneer
force.

On September 30th the whole of the pioneer force

was disbanded, and the following day men were at work in all directions making their preparations to go to various parts of the country to prospect. I left Fort Salisbury on October 1st, having obtained a seat in a friend's waggon who was returning to the Transvaal. We got as far as the Tuli without any trouble with the natives. The water in the rivers we had crossed on our way up had considerably decreased, and the ground over which we travelled was much drier. The fort at Fort Charter was nearly completed, and comfortable huts had been built for the men. In due course we reached Fort Victoria, where every waggon coming into the country has to report itself. Huts and forts are nearly finished, and all seem comfortable. From this place we hurried to get through the Lundi river, as when once it gets up it may probably happen that it does not run down for some six months, and the rainy season was just commencing. Fortunately it was lower than when we crossed on our upward journey, but there was another dangerous river to get through, the Nuanetse, so no time was lost; but this we got through also without any trouble. These two rivers would be impassable, it is said, for waggons for six months in the year. From this point we felt that our trouble was over, as the other rivers we had to cross were nearly all sand rivers, and soon run off a rainfall. Tuli Fort is the strongest, and all the Matabele nation could never get near it. The fort is built on a hill about one hundred feet high, trenches are cut all round the hill, and the palisades prevent the natives

Maptlaplutla
camp.

from getting up, whilst the guns at different points command the whole country. I only remained here a few hours, as I was fortunate enough to get a wagon going to Palapwye at once. Maptlaplutla camp was reached in a few days; this camp, which is on the Macloutsie river, is in the disputed territory. There are a number of the Bechuanaland Border Police here, as well as some few companies of the British South Africa Company's Police.

Palapwye.

This has been made a very strong position. From this camp Palapwye, the chief town of Khama in Bechuanaland, was reached in about ten days. This town is near the Lotsani river, and is the only place worth having in the whole country. The town contains about 20,000 people, three stores, post and telegraph office, and near the town is the residence of the Rev. Hepburn, who has been the means of converting Khama. Khama is the absolute monarch of the country, but is guided in everything by Mr. Hepburn. The chief is a quiet inoffensive man, and does what he believes to be just and for the benefit of his people. The huts of the village are in clusters, and room has been left in many places so that the huts are not too close together. Of sanitary arrangements there are none. Dogs and other animals wade about the streams of water, which is only drinkable before the animals have paddled in it; after a storm of rain the stench from the village is disgusting. A post cart runs from here to Mafeking.

At Mafeking
again.

CHAPTER VI
EAST COAST OF AFRICA AT BEIRA,
PUNGWE, AND THE ZAMBESI

BEING NOTES FROM A DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

By NEVILLE H. DAVIS, late Surveyor and Hydrographer to
H.M. Queensland Government

AFTER my return from Queensland and New Guinea I was requested to proceed to East Africa with an expedition, which was composed of a geologist, a mining engineer, a prospector, and a cartographer, with the object of discovering if there was any mineral or other wealth in concessions granted by the Mozambique Company.

We left England for South Africa on the 20th of November 1889, and then proceeded by steamer to Natal, and from thence again by steamer to Chiloane, which is at the mouth of the Sabi, the steamers as we went up the coast getting smaller in tonnage. We arrived at Chiloane on the 28th of December 1889, where we landed, from which point our expedition practically started, and then it may fairly be said our troubles commenced.

Although we had gone out with an understanding

between London and Lisbon Companies acting jointly, the Portuguese officials did not facilitate our progress. After having got over in the usual way negotiations with the representative of Portugal, whose title is that of local governor, but who in Lisbon would be a sergeant of the army, we found that the rainy season had set in, and progress inland was not only dangerous, but impossible; dangerous because of the fever, impossible because of the swampy nature of the country which we should have to traverse. It must be remembered this was the first week in January. Within a fortnight after our landing we had our first experience of the terrible malarial fever of this coast.

In what is called in South Africa a kraal (and to those who have not travelled through native countries in South Africa the word will not convey its full meaning) three of our party were down at once with fever. A kraal is, in Kaffir idiom, a collection of huts surrounded by mud walls or palisading, in which human beings live. In the parts of South Africa where white men as the pioneers of civilisation have pushed their way inland, a kraal is where cattle, goats, and sheep are kept. The Kaffir kraal is not much more fit for human habitation than the cattle kraals of the Transvaal Boers. Chiloane is a settlement of small kraals; there is no real town here, native or otherwise.

We did manage to get a few natives to agree to accompany us into the interior, but it was a singular thing that instead of getting assistance from the Portuguese official, who represented the Government,

his mission seemed to be to stop the advance. In consequence of the delays caused by this Portuguese official it was necessary to send information to London, stating the obstacles which were placed in our way. Whilst this correspondence was going on I travelled up the coast to Quillimane, Sofala, and Mozambique, to get information from men on the coast as to the best ways of proceeding into the interior, and what probabilities there were of our striking those mineral regions of which so much had been said. I returned from Mozambique to Quillimane, and from thence to Chiloane, where I found our camp prostrate with fever. Two days after my return two of our party died within thirty hours of each other, and I was left alone for weeks with nothing to eat, not even flour, bread, or biscuits. During the whole of this time the leader of the expedition was in Natal, and after two months anxiously waiting, the head of the expedition returned to Chiloane, and then I was stricken by fever.

On the 6th of April 1890 I was shipped invalided on board of the *Dunkeld*, but the fever had so gripped me that my life was despaired of, and when the fever does so, even if you get a chance of getting away into fresh breezes and invigorating climes, it holds you in its grasp for a long while. For several weeks after my arrival in England the ague and the fever required all the attention of my doctors. Whilst on this coast we saw no gold or indications of gold anywhere. There was some show made of prospecting, but it was mere pottering about. Some specimens of gold were occasionally brought in by

natives, but I never met a white man who ever said he had found any.

We had the encouraging information from our guide and interpreter (William Heaviside), who was well acquainted with these parts, that our concession was of no good to us, for the Portuguese had no authority in the land or power over the natives; further, they were compelled to pay Gungunhana a yearly tribute to prevent him from coming down and wiping them out; and although Gungunhana has of late shifted his kraal considerably inland, the Portuguese still have to pay him tribute out of fear of him.

Beira. A few miles inland of Beira is a regular menagerie, consisting of buffaloes, bucks, tigers, antelopes, rhinosceri, hippopotami, and a few lions. The river Pungwe abounds in hippopotami and crocodiles. For a good few miles ascending the river, the sides of which are mud mangrove flats, and during the rainy season, which takes place during the months of February, March, and April, the country for miles around is completely inundated, and I would strongly advise the traveller to avoid any part of this coast north of Inhambane during the wet season, as the strongest man cannot protect himself from fever and ague. I have even known cases amongst the native tribes in the surrounding districts. The river Pungwe is navigable for some great distance for vessels of light draught. It must be remembered that this river comes down through mud flats. Even at Mozambique, when the tide is out, dhows cannot go

in where ships of considerable tonnage can when the tide is up. Vessels of light draught, say drawing between 5 and 6 feet of water, might go up the river from its mouth a distance of fifty miles. Taking the difference of time between the rise and fall of the tide, a calculation may be very easily made in this respect, and at fifty miles up the Pungwe it must be remembered there are mud banks on both sides, and as the configuration of the country becomes more decided the river shallows into a simple African stream. In the rainy season the amount of water which floods the branch channels of these muddy flats is enormous. The swampy land extends, according to the information which I have, all the way from Mapunda. Those who have seen this country will wonder how a railway is to be constructed, but in these days when engineering skill can do almost anything, of course a railway could be made; but as the floods create a pause in any forward movement for at least five months in the year, when the waters are coming down and the mud drying up, even with an enormously rich back country, to make the railway would be an enormous expense.

The river Pungwe navigable for vessels of light draught.

Muddy flats and the railway.

The rise and fall of the tide at the mouths of the various rivers on the east coast I calculate at 18 feet 6 inches. Very little is laid down on the charts of the most recent compilation in reference to flats and shallow waters.

Rise and fall of the tide.

For travellers and explorers going into the interior with the intention of doing scientific work it is simply an impossibility to fix any boundary lines, as the various native chiefs and tribes fix their own bound-

Hints for travellers and explorers.

aries, and are continually fighting amongst themselves, and taking therefore one another's territory. In my candid opinion the Portuguese nation have really no influence or power in that part of the interior which is marked out on the charts as in Portuguese possession, and when the traveller thinks he is under Portuguese protection through being compelled to purchase a passport he is labouring under a very great mistake, as the native chiefs care little or nothing about any of the Portuguese governors or their officials.

The residential ticket.

The Portuguese authorities everywhere on the coast endeavour to raise money from the traveller on every possible opportunity, and at some of their possessions one is compelled to purchase a "residential ticket," which is to show that you are permitted by the governor to remain a certain period at a particular place. On tobacco and rifles or guns of any description the Portuguese authorities levy outrageous duties. On the east coast the climate is without doubt totally unfit for European residence (except in the months of June, July, and August). Owing to the land being nearly on the sea level, and also the vast swamps that devastate the land at high tide, the stench of rotting vegetation can be easily compared with the small islands situated in the Java seas. The average temperature in summer is 90 degrees in the shade, and during the winter months 72 degrees. The rainfall in 1890 was very considerable, being no less than 47·36 (by rain-gauge). Rain generally follows a strong westerly breeze. It is a

How the Portuguese raise revenue.

The climate.

The temperature.

The rainfall.

remarkable thing that evidently sunstroke is not met with anywhere about the coast; the natives shave their heads and work throughout the day in the equatorial sun without any head-dress whatsoever.

Sofala is another Portuguese possession which they Sofala. have held for some three hundred years. It is situated half-way between Chiloane Island and the Aroanga district. It is composed of a very ancient dilapidated fort, with useless weather-beaten guns and a few Hindoo stores. All around this village is an enormous swamp, which extends for miles back. The Portuguese keep a few Goanese troops there, the majority of whom are convicts.

In my opinion, for travellers and explorers wishing to go into the interior the most profitable port of call would be Quillimane (another Portuguese settlement), Quillimane. which is situated on the north bank of the Zambesi river, navigable for vessels of light draught for a distance of some 330 miles from the sea to the first falls, 80 miles beyond Tette, and 240 miles beyond this by taking boats overland past the falls.

Respecting Tette I obtained the following information, but did not visit the locality myself. Tette. Beyond Tette the river is within 30 miles of high lands of the Banyai. The elevation for this distance is between 1200 and 1500 feet above sea level. Below this to the south are vast plateaus of Mashonaland, with an elevation of over 4000 feet, being very healthy and bracing. This is by far the most preferable route for any traveller during the winter months.

Tette and the surrounding country is said to be

extremely rich in gold, and it is up in this part of the "dark continent" that the native tribes would gladly give away quills of gold for pieces of Manchester cloths. So it is said, but perhaps the statement should be taken *cum grano salis*. There is telegraphic communication from Quillimane to some seventy miles up the river Zambesi, but it is somewhat neglected by the Portuguese officials, and delays are frequent. The principal traders and importers of eastern products on the east coast of Africa are "Banyans," who are a low type of Indian hawker from the various provinces in the interior of India. Some of these Banyans (or battieres) possess their own dhows, and are continually receiving large consignments of rice and mealies throughout the year, and these products they supply to all the surrounding native tribes.

The Banyans buy largely ivory, india-rubber, and pearls; these last-named are very small, and little value is placed on them. They are procured principally from Bazaruto, another Portuguese convict settlement about seventy miles south of the island of Chiloane.

Telegraph.

The nearest telegraph station to the Zambesi route is situated at Mozambique, which takes thirty hours by steamer to reach. The mail service used to be once a month to all these ports, but of late the Portuguese Government have taken the mail contract altogether out of Sir Donald Currie and Co.'s (Castle Line) hands. The Portuguese mail steamers are most irregular; their managers issue no time-table, and I have known

some of the steamers "expected daily" for six weeks at Chiloane.

The exact difference of time between the island of Chiloane and Greenwich mean time is 2 hours, 19 minutes, 30 seconds *fast*. Time.

The tsetse fly is to be found everywhere, and therefore travelling in the interior is generally on foot. Donkeys have been known to live a considerable time in the tsetse fly country, but horses very soon fall off. Tsetse fly.

The natives of the various tribes feed principally on rice and mealies, and travellers require to carry with them always a great quantity, as it very often occurs that they have to live solely on these products themselves for weeks together when game is not at hand. Food.

For travellers wishing to trade with the natives, to barter with beads yellow is their favourite colour, also fancy printed cloths, and the commonest of blue blankets. Trade.

Dialects are extremely numerous, and it requires a man of many years' experience in the interior to be able to converse freely in only one or two; and therefore it is a most essential rule to have at least one or two interpreters, also to obtain guides from one kraal to another. Dialects.

The rate of wages for interpreters is from 25s. to 30s. a month, and the usual rate of remuneration for ordinary carriers is about a pound sterling for a term of three calendar months and all their food provided. Rates of wages.

It is necessary also to state if the traveller engages Recruiting.

his slaves at the port of Inhambane, which is the best recruiting station, and then proceeds to Quillimane by steamer, he is compelled after their term of employment to pay their return passage; this is a Portuguese law, and it is also necessary to obtain passports for each individual Kaffir.

Porterage.

The Kaffirs as a rule carry when on the march about forty pounds in weight, on their heads principally, but there are some that can carry as much as seventy pounds dead weight. All packages and baggage should be made up as near as possible to these weights, otherwise, if the traveller imposes greater burdens, his carriers frequently leave him in the lurch and clear away at night time.

Charts.

The traveller who ventures in the interior must place no faith in any of the charts he may carry with him, as the majority published are only computed and compiled approximately, as I have previously mentioned herein.

Reptiles and insects.

Reptiles and insects of every description abound. In the low-lying country the mosquito and flying scorpion are most annoying. On the rivers the hippo fly exists, and although its bite is not in any way poisonous, it leaves a small aperture in the flesh from which blood flows freely for some time after. These flies live generally on the backs of hippopotami, and derive their name accordingly. On the plateaus and high stony regions none of these insects exist.

Water.

The water throughout the regions I am writing about is tasteless and injurious.

NOTES ON THE ISLAND OF CHILOANE

CHILOANE is an oval-shaped island situated $20^{\circ} 38'2$ latitude south, and $34^{\circ} 53'5$ longitude east, and therefore a few miles north of the Sabi river. On approaching this island it affords the traveller anything but a prepossessing appearance, being nothing more than a yellow sand-bank without undulations, and thickly surrounded with mangrove swamps and open patches of barren soil, but only in a few places grass and mixed weeds may be visible during the wet season. The area of this island is roughly computed at twelve miles long by six miles across. Patches of cocoa-nut trees thrive on the highest sand ridges, and also a little rice.

There are to be found several springs of fresh tasteless water, which help to keep the various villages fairly well supplied throughout the year.

The "cachoo" plant would grow abundantly on this island if the natives only gave sufficient time to cultivate the land; it at present grows wild. From this tropical plant the natives manufacture a hot and fiery beverage, resembling a very low class brandy.

The island is held by the Portuguese, and, like most of their possessions on the East African coast,

very little has been done to civilise the natives of the various surrounding tribes and districts.

The streets of the principal village, which is called Chiloane, are only a quarter of a chain wide, and no survey has ever been effected previous to the building of the different Government offices and domiciles.

The houses are constructed of mud with dried-grass roofs; the floors are composed of sun-dried mud; there are also holes left in the mud walls to serve as windows, and such an article as glass is altogether unknown. The proprietors of these portly mansions are principally Hindoos and Arabs, and in some cases, in the back grounds of these domiciles, there is to be found a cement square sunk about six inches in the earth, to serve as a kind of Moorish bath. The island is altogether devoid of animals of every description, and in the way of birds only a few specimens of wild canaries are occasionally seen.

The population of the island of Chiloane is estimated at about 3000, but it would be very hard to compute the exact number of residents, owing to the incessant passing in and out of the various wandering tribes to the interior.

The inhabitants are principally composed of Hindoos, Arabs, and Kaffirs of various tribes, three Europeans and a few Portuguese officials.

The defence of this island is kept up by a dilapidated ruin called a fort, situated on the left side of the custom-house, and forty black Goanese troopers (most of whom are convicts); and on ascending this defiant masterpiece of architectural magnificence the

traveller at once comes into contact with six weather-beaten guns on a sand ridge, composed also of broken bottles and pieces of the various wrecks that have taken place on the coast at different periods. Behind this so-called fort, a trifle to the south-east, is the residence of the Governor, where he transacts all the official business of this altogether useless and neglected possession.

Horses, cattle, or sheep cannot live on this island. A few donkeys have made the attempt, but only lingered out a miserable existence for a few weeks.

The first settlement on the island visible is called Singoon, which is situated at the north end; it is composed of a few native mud kraals owned by fishermen, who paddle about the Indian Ocean in calm weather in "dug-outs," which is a term used for a kind of canoe. This craft is only the trunk of a large hard wood tree, and hollowed out in the centre, the shell outside of which measures about an inch and a half in thickness, and about twelve to fourteen feet in length. Fish is very plentiful, but will not keep sweet for any while after being caught.

At Singoon there is a kind of pilot station, a small erection for a light, a branch custom-house, and a private residence owned by a Portuguese outlaw.

On leaving Singoon and rounding the east coast of the island of Chiloane, about half-way one passes a Moorish village called Inyacamba. In this village there are several springs of water, and a little on the east bank of this village are visible the remains of the old slave markets.

The mode of travelling about the island is by "massheelah," a kind of hammock or piece of canvas attached to a bamboo about twelve feet long, and which the natives carry with the greatest of ease and velocity.

At Chiloane there is a prison, and the Portuguese authorities capture the natives for the most trivial offences, when they require the services of a number of Kaffirs to carry out rough work. It is sometimes six months before a native is tried, and knows the reason why he has thus been placed under arrest; in most cases there is really no charge against the supposed offender, and after the work is completed he is again set at liberty. The Portuguese, therefore, are greatly disliked.

The rise and fall of the tide I calculate at 18 feet 6 inches, and at the north end of the island increases to 19 feet 6 inches. Very little is laid down on the charts of the most recent compilation in reference to flats and shoal water. No steamer of any draught, say 12 feet 6 inches, can proceed up the Sound within seven miles of the village of Chiloane.

The highest ground on the island of Chiloane is about 20 feet ($3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms) above sea level, but this particular part of the island is the main thoroughfare of the village, the remaining portion of the island being a succession of worthless mangrove swamps, and at spring-tides is one enormous sheet of water. There are to be found on the road to Inyacamba some gigantic specimens of trees, the botanical name of which I do not know. The natives make fishing nets

out of the fibre, and also use this fibre for holding together the beams in the kraals.

The climate is totally unsuited to Europeans. They might live here for a month or so about July. The land is just above sea level; the sea sweeps over it at every high tide, and the stench of rotten vegetation is abominable.

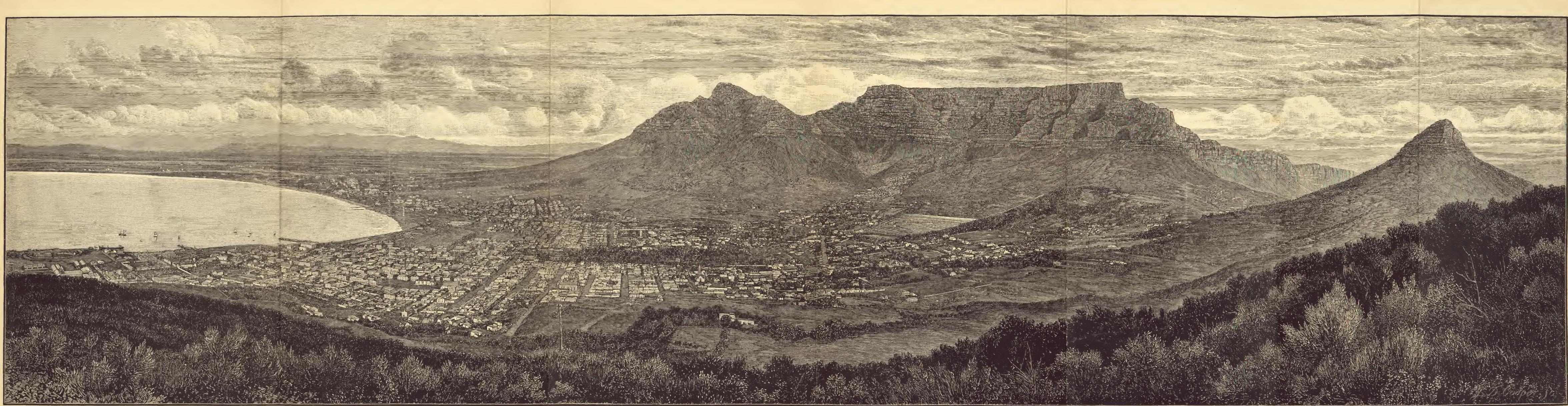
Provisions and eatables are obtainable on the island, the natives living principally on rice and mealies imported from India.

The soil is for the most part yellow sand, but I am of opinion that the "kauri" pine would grow freely. This wood is greatly prized by the American timber merchants, and my first experience in seeing this tree cultivated was on a very similar island called Fraser Island in the Pacific Ocean, where the soil and climate (except the very heavy rain that sets in during the wet season here) were much alike.

This island is located at the mouth of the Sabi river, which is navigable for a few miles only.

Chiloane is the nearest port for explorers and hunters to stop at before their departure for the Sofala, Gaza, or Manica districts. These districts, there is not the slightest doubt, according to reports, are very rich in minerals, and if it were not for the unfavourable climate and enormous swamps, which throw a most injurious odour in passing through the low land, which occupies some days, I am sure this part of East Africa would soon have a European settlement. After leaving the island of Chiloane for the interior, the traveller has to hire a small open

sailing boat to journey to a small Portuguese settlement called Beira, which is located at the mouth of the Pungwe river, and is therefore sixty-eight miles north of Chiloane. In fine weather and a fair wind this journey can be done in six hours, but on the other hand, I have known parties returning, owing to the wind entirely dropping.



CAPE TOWN—1891

APPENDIX

BRITISH ZAMBESIA

SUBJOINED are a few remarks on current events in South Central Africa, taken from a chapter contributed by me to Mr. Pearse Morrison's book on the Transvaal Goldfields and neighbouring districts.¹

South Africa affords a wide field for speculation, historically as well as financially. There is no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that, at the present time, the speculation is more financial than historical, but to those who are intimately acquainted with the country, the history of South Africa—especially its modern history—is one of the marvels of the world. We who know South Africa can remember how a few years back it was regarded as a country of doubtful resources, and the Cape Colony was spoken of as the Cinderella of all the Colonial possessions which had the proud privilege of being under the British flag. To-day we find South Africa, whether under the British flag or under the flappings of the flag, is engrossing the attention of statesmen and financiers throughout Europe. We may pass for our present purpose our thoughts from the history of South Africa, so as to endeavour to discern what its future appears likely to be to those who have served a long apprenticeship to the study of the question. Just now the newspapers of London, whatever their home politics may be,

¹ *The Transvaal, Barberton, Johannesburg and Back.* Pearse Morrison, London, 1889.

are delighted at the "new" departure by which the British Government has recalled the old traditions of English statescraft for the future prosperity of the Parent State.

The creation of British Zambesia is worthy of the traditions of the British Empire. It is an affirmation that the statesmen who govern the wide-spread empire on which the sun never sets, have not lost faith in the capacity of its traders to govern distant lands through those commercial instincts which have ranked the British people foremost amongst the nations of the earth. Those who have worked to the furtherance of the great British Zambesia scheme, which has been so well received amongst all political parties of Great Britain and Ireland, will watch with the deepest anxiety, and with most heartfelt hopefulness, for the good government of the vast territory which has been placed by Her Majesty under the corporate body which now exists under the name of the British South Africa Company, in virtue of Her Majesty's royal sign manual.

But in the desire, however intense it may be, for the success of the British South Africa Company, it would be unwise to lose sight of those factors which have made South Africa the rich and prosperous country which it now is.

A glance at the map will show that the Chartered Company holds the high plateaus of South Central Africa, spreading away from the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland to the lake regions, and the fertile portions of the semi-tropical latitudes of that region. It was Stanley who in 1886 sketched out and advocated, on the occasion of an address delivered at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the path of railway from the South through the healthy highlands to equatorial South Africa.

The great explorer, who may be expected back to this country early next year, will have the pleasure of learning that the remarks made by him introductory to the address he read on that occasion have borne good fruit. Whilst he has been working down from the Congo to the east coast of Africa, a movement in sympathy with his own has been going on from the South, and the powerful company which Sir

William Mackinnon represents may look forward to shaking hands, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa, with the movement from the South at no distant date. These grand enterprises, undertaken by different sets of financiers and philanthropists, should give to South Africa and to Equatorial Africa a confident hope in the development of the fertile tracts of land which we now know, from the gallantry of our explorers, exist there. We may safely give to those who have undertaken this noble mission our confidence that the work which they will do will be done well; for it is impossible to believe that men who have conceived so gigantic a task, and who could provide the machinery for putting in action the necessary movement for the accomplishment of their purpose, will not know how to lay the foundations for the carrying to the end what they desire.

In the practical work of the present hour we may take a glance at the Transvaal, which is being developed under most extraordinary circumstances, and under conditions which most men thought at one time would be impossible of being carried out, either to the good of that part of South Africa, or of those who went into it. But under what one may almost term the magic influence of gold, people diversified in very many ways are assimilating for the general welfare of the land in which they are living. I do not know that I could give a more concise view of my opinion of the South African situation than was expressed in a letter which I addressed, in accordance with a request from Colonel Howard Vincent, M.P., to him, and from which extracts have been printed in the English newspapers:—

LONDON, 17th October 1889.

MY DEAR COLONEL HOWARD VINCENT—I shall be exceedingly glad if I can possibly add to anything which has appeared in print respecting what you call the “New Development in South Africa.” The article in the *Times* of Tuesday last is an admirable exposition of that development, and to those who, like myself, are intimately acquainted with the

circumstances of South Africa, it is almost a surprise to find in an English newspaper an article which thoroughly and accurately deals with the South African situation.

It is quite true that "the body politic and corporate" of the new British South African Company is so constituted that it has all the elements of a nobler ambition than that of "making a pile." I think you will find that the Colonial party in South Africa will accept in good faith this new Company, because it knows that Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who has so ably, with the assistance which was rendered him, carried through this Company, is in sympathy with what I may call the Colonial sentiment. With Mr. Rhodes in South Africa directing the working of the Company, and with the names of the other Directors at this end, all those who have a desire to see the advancement of British interests untainted by Stock Exchange manœuvring may rest well assured. It is to the credit of Mr. Rhodes that in the development of the diamond mines he has established a community of native labour, where "the niggers" are well cared for, where the money they make is prevented from being squandered, so that when they go away from Kimberley back to their native locations they are able to do so improved, and not, as is too often the case, degraded by their contact with civilisation. I, therefore, take it that what Mr. Rhodes has done in Kimberley may be accepted as the spirit in which he will carry through this greater work in South Africa. It is also soothing to those who have seen the feverish and erratic movements in English statescraft in respect of South Africa to find something like a definite policy at last pronounced. The Directors of the British South African Company will carry out undoubtedly a policy which will be to the advantage and the prosperity of that Company. It will not be swayed from one side to the other by the inevitable changes which are consequent upon party government. The work of development will go on according to the opportunities which business men will avail themselves of, and there should be no sudden shocks prejudicial to the carrying out of the undertaking. It would

be a grand thing for the British Empire if the political parties of the United Kingdom could arrange a definite policy in respect of the Colonies, so that colonists may know exactly what the Mother State desires, and so that there should be no shifting from period to period, and ministry to ministry, of Colonial policy. In South Africa the problem has been made more difficult than in other colonies by the ever-shifting direction of affairs. The marvel is that South Africa is at the present time a loyal and integral portion of the British Empire; and in saying this I would not exclude the Free States of that country, although they have their own free forms of government. It is a common belief among those who pay any attention whatever to South African affairs on this side of the water, that President Paul Kruger is scheming for a new Holland in South Africa, and that President Reitz of the Orange Free State is his chief ally. I am perfectly sure that you will find a number, even of South Africans, entertain that conviction, but the fact really is, as far as my intelligence carries me, that both President Paul Kruger and President Reitz are endeavouring to make the States they govern prosperous.

President Kruger is a hard-headed South African, whose only desire is to govern his people according to the circumstances under which he came into power. He has suddenly found himself confronted with a great influx of population, and he is endeavouring to get for his State what he thinks is the best natural outlet from that State to the sea. That is an ambition which would occur to any head of a state, whether English, Dutch, French, or German, and no one can blame him for striving to carry out that intention.

President Reitz is not only a thorough South African, but he is a man of education—a student and an earnest politician. He has been all this during his political life, and he has never hidden what his views are. He at the present moment occupies the position as intermediary between Cape colonisation and what we may term the

forward movement; and he is doing his best to be the mediator between the new and the old interests of South Africa, so as to blend them in one common accord for the good of all the land. It would, therefore, in my opinion, be wise if Mr. Paul Kruger had every facility afforded him for reaching the seaboard. Whether at Natal or Delagoa Bay, or anywhere else, is no matter in the solution of the problem; he, on the other hand, should offer no obstacle to the carrying out of the railway from Kimberley to the North, or from Bloemfontein to Johannesburg, whilst Cape Ministers should be strong enough in their knowledge of statecraft to carry the Kimberley extension to Bechuanaland, whether Mr. Paul Kruger agrees to it or does not. The seat of government of the Cape Colony is Cape Town, and not Pretoria, and I am very much inclined to believe that if the facilities were afforded to Mr. Paul Kruger to get to the sea, he would not have any objection to the carrying of a railway along his western frontier, which would be so beneficial to farmers who live in that fertile portion of South Africa. The prosperity of a country depends upon its harbours, its rivers, and its railways, and the more harbours and the more rivers and the more railways it has, the greater must be its prosperity.

It has always seemed to me to be a mistake that there should be any friction between Portugal and England in respect of the development of Africa. Whatever the Portuguese may or may not have done, it is a fact that they were the bold adventurers who first doubled the Cape of Good Hope. They have been our staunch allies in the times gone by, and I feel sure they would still be so, if anything like encouragement were held out to them from the Government of Great Britain.

Briefly, therefore, I think that this "new development" is one which will give definitiveness to the work of commercially subduing the present barbaric territories of the South portion of the Dark Continent. I think that men like President Paul Kruger and President Reitz will feel that this work may be safely left in the hands of such men as

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, men who are thoroughly imbued with the Colonial sentiment. And, lastly, it would be a glad thing to those who have both the Colonial sentiment and the Imperial connection dear at heart, to know that the statesmen of England, whatever may be their differences over the domestic legislation of the Mother Country, had fixed upon a Colonial policy straightforward, clear, and definite, and placed beyond the inevitable disturbances which changes of ministry bring about, and in which Ministers are in nearly all cases ousted, not upon questions of Colonial policy, but upon questions of domestic legislation and continental interferences.

We may, I think, fairly assume that in this "new development," this what the *Times* calls "British Zambesia," the Government of the day is going back in some degree to the traditions of the past by which traders went out, supported by British Chivalry, to secure new territory for the welfare of, and colonisation by, the Mother Island. It is a well-worn axiom that history repeats itself, and in this "new development" we are simply repeating what was done in the days of old, and well done too, by the commercial pioneers of the Empire.—Yours very truly,

R. W. MURRAY.

Since the above letter to Col. Howard Vincent, M.P., C.B., was written, the gratifying intelligence has been received that the Government of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, which is now, and should remain as the paramount State in South Africa, has entered into an alliance with the British South Africa Company in respect to railway communication, so that, in the words of the Premier of the Cape Colony, the Company shall have the facility of reaching the field of its operations. There is probably no more startling instance of the rapid development of South Africa than the creation of this Company, and the immediate construction of a railway through a tract of territory which but a few months ago was generally thought to be for a long

period to come beyond the demands of railway communication. When the scheme was proposed a little more than a year ago, the answer to the author of that scheme was that such a railway might be within the consideration of financiers and statesmen in another twenty-five years, and to that the reply was given, the date probably was about twenty-five months. That prophecy has been verified by the fact that now arrangements are being made for the construction, as quickly as possible, of the railway from Kimberley northwards, for the erection of a line of telegraph to Shoshong, together with all the requisite provisions for the good government of the territory, with a due regard to what I may term vested interests, of which interests, of course, the native one is the most considerable. That this Chartered Company will turn the thoughts of the natives from living by the pursuits of war to the arts of peace, must be the mainspring of the action which has led to this new development.

R. W. M.

LONDON, *7th November* 1889.

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