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1899

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE papers comprised in these volumes were most of them given originally as lectures in the Sunday Afternoon Course at the South Place Institute, Finsbury, from 1895 to 1898, with the object of affording trustworthy information concerning the various colonies, settlements, and countries scattered over the world which go to form the whole known as "The British Empire." It was thought that a wider and deeper knowledge of the growth, present condition, and possibilities of each integral part of our Empire would tend to strengthen the sympathetic, material, and political ties which unite the colonies to the mother country.

The generous response to the invitation to lecture was very gratifying; travellers, natives, and those to whom had been given the onerous task of governing the various provinces of our Empire, vied with one another in their willingness to impart the special knowledge which they had acquired.

The lecturers were asked, when possible, to give a short account of the country prior to its incorporation, its colonial history, the effect of the British connection on the country and the natives, and the outlook for the future. To these topics were added the conditions for colonisation, of trade and commerce, the state and local government, and the laws of the country, espec-

ally where there was any great difference from those of the United Kingdom.

The task has demonstrated the many and various interests contained in this vast subject, and has far exceeded the original limit. It is, however, hoped that the wider public to which the articles now appeal will be as sympathetic as the original audiences.

WM. SHEOWRING,
Hon. Sec. Institute Committee.

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE,
FINSBURY, LONDON, E.C.

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INTRODUCTION

By J. SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D.

*(Secretary Royal Geographical Society, author of "Partition of Africa,"
Editor of "Statesman's Year Book," &c., &c.)*

I HAVE been asked to write an introduction to this volume of papers on various aspects of that most perplexing, and, in some respects, most interesting of Continents, Africa. The introduction must necessarily be brief. It will be seen from the names attached to the various papers that all of them are more or less authorities on the special subjects with which they deal, and the questions treated are such as must appeal to all who are interested in the development of Africa.

It is difficult now to realise the rapidity with which this recently quite unknown Continent has been explored, opened up, and partitioned. Only fifty years ago the interior was a complete blank from the Tropic of Cancer to beyond the Tropic of Capricorn. We were ignorant of the source of the Nile; the Congo may be said to have hardly existed on the maps; and we knew nothing of those great lakes and lofty mountains which form such characteristic features of the interior. But Livingstone had begun that work, which, after long years, partly as a result of his own travels and partly owing to the inspiration of his example, completely transformed the map of Africa, and filled it with features and peoples of striking interest. But not until Stanley made his immortal journey "Through the Dark Continent," did the Powers of Europe give serious attention to Africa as a field for industrial,

political, and commercial activity. The astute and far-sighted King of the Belgians deserves credit for being the first to realise the possibilities of Africa, and to initiate its partition in the modern sense. No doubt both France and England had been at work before, but in a hesitating and half-hearted way, especially so in the case of the latter, who "through craven fear of being great" missed many opportunities of annexing territories that have fallen into the hands of others. When Stanley in 1880 returned to the Congo as the agent of the King of the Belgians, the modern phase of partition may be said to have begun; though it was only after Germany entered the field in 1883 that the real scramble began, and by 1886 it may be said that the respective spheres of the Great European Powers' interests in Africa—England, France, Germany, and Italy, along with Belgium—were blocked out. The final partition has only been accomplished in 1899, by the last agreement between France and England, delimiting their respective spheres in the Sahara and Sudan and on the Niger. But that is only the end of the preliminary stage; the pieces are now all on the board, and the real game is only beginning. What the end will be who can say? So far as square mileage goes France so far has fared best; her sphere covers nearly a third of the whole Continent. England's share, even if Egypt and the Sudan are excluded, exceeds two millions of square miles, while Germany and Belgium claim about a million each.

What is the economical value of the different spheres it is not easy to estimate. So far as suitability for European settlement goes, the British sphere south of the Zambezi is the most promising; but apart from its gold, it is doubtful if its commercial value can be rated very high. On the other hand, Egypt, much of the Sudan, the Niger territories, the Congo, and considerable areas of British East Africa, are capable of

great development. The limits of that depend upon the establishment of rapid and cheap means of communication, and upon the possibility of white men being able to adapt themselves to the climatic conditions. In Algeria and Tunis, under proper guidance, France has a valuable commercial sphere, and much could be done with Morocco if the Power or Powers into whose hands it may fall know how to deal with it.

What are to be the relations of the white man with the native, and what will be the part of the latter in the development of the Continent whose destinies have been taken out of his hands? This is not the only racial question that has to be solved in the present and the future.

But the problems that have to be faced, now that Europe has taken Africa in hand, are innumerable and serious, and cannot be discussed here; some of them are ably dealt with in the papers which follow. Africa, it is proved, is not the hopeless Continent that it was considered to be from the time of the ancients till our own day. It may not compare with Europe, Asia, or America in native resources and in suitability for the activities of the higher races; but it has treasures of many kinds, and the time has come for exploiting these to the common good of humanity. The various contributions to this volume may help the reader to realise more clearly what Africa is, and what can be made of it.

“THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE”

BY THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID TENNANT, K.C.M.G.

*(Agent-General of the Cape Colony, late Speaker of Legislative
Assembly, Cape Colony)*

2 To reach India by sea was the great problem of geography in the fifteenth century. The solution of that problem led to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. The nations of antiquity had each fulfilled their dazzling mission, and had left behind them the records of their brilliant exploits. Notwithstanding all that they had accomplished, however, the spectator's horizon of the fifteenth century was still limited by the boundaries of the world as then known to the most learned and most powerful. But, towards the close of that century, the observer beheld and could not but recognise the deep significance of the constant passing and repassing of small vessels on the North-western African coast — hardy mariners venturing along the desert shores washed by the Atlantic, now gazing in despair on the currents deemed impassable, and now and again urged to renewed exertion, as some favouring circumstance of wind or tide encouraged their craft. The observer of that age little imagined that these tiny skiffs were guided by the earliest renewed impulse of European energy; and that the result of these ventures would tend to such vast benefit to the world at large. In 1486 the Portuguese enterprise under Bartholomew Diaz resulted in the discovery of the Cape (named by him the Cape of Storms), and in the planting of the Cross, the emblem of Christianity and civilisation, on the island of Santa Cruz in Algoa

Bay. On Diaz's return to Portugal he was hailed with joyous applause as the discoverer of the extremity of the African Continent. The desire of the Portuguese nation, now whetted for bolder ventures in the discovery of the passage to India, found in the king, John II., an admirable and talented exponent of the people's activity. In 1497, in the reign of Emmanuel, surnamed the Great, Vasco da Gama with four vessels touched and landed at two bays, now included in the Cape Colony's area: St. Helena Bay, about 100 miles north of Cape Town; and Mossel Bay, lying 200 miles south-east of the Cape of Good Hope.

This bold Portuguese explorer was the first European to hold intercourse with the native Hottentots of South Africa, whom he found a pleasure-loving people, given to playing on musical instruments and dancing, which seemed good after its fashion. Da Gama continued his journey eastwards, discovered Natal, and at last reached the goal of his people's hopes and ambition. The name of the Cape of Storms had by the king been changed to that of "Good Hope." India was reached. Da Gama secured the entry of his nation into the portals of glory and of wealth. Twelve years later, in 1510, Francisco d'Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy to India, on his return voyage to Lisbon, was, with sixty-five of his countrymen, slain by Hottentots on the shores of Table Bay, where his fleet touched en route to Portugal. Then South African soil received its baptism of European blood.

For upwards of a century and a half, or 154 years after Da Gama's visit, nothing was known of South Africa beyond the use Table Bay was put to as a port of call for provisions by ships engaged in the trade with India; these supplies being secured by barter from the natives. In 1652 the first settlement of the Cape was undertaken by the Dutch; and Anthony van Riebeck took possession of the country,

and was installed as its administrator. The occupation thus effected secured for the Dutch a port for the provisioning of the ships engaged in opening up the trade, and in securing the commerce of Batavia and its surrounding isles. A chartered company, styled the Dutch East India Company, watched over the interests of the Cape settlement, more for its own behoof than for that of the Dutch or European emigrants who were attracted thither in pursuit of wealth or betterment. The expansion of the settlement, at the extremity of the Continent, including the important harbours of Table Bay and Simon's Bay, received but little stimulus from a company whose main object was to further the Eastern trade by the victualling of their ships outward and homeward bound, thereby securing large and profitable returns to the shareholders of the company.

The rule of this company continued for a period of well-nigh a century and a half, and the settlement during that period underwent an extension, forced upon it by the aggressive and often-repeated attacks of the natives. Hottentots, Bushmen, and Kaffirs, each in turn, claimed the attention of the Dutch company and of the Government, as well as that of the exposed farming population who had migrated into the interior, driven thither by the arbitrary rule of the then existing Government.

From 1795 England temporarily occupied the Cape for a few years; and its reoccupation by the Dutch was agreed to in 1803.

The capture of the colony by England was effected in 1806; but it was not till 1814 that its cession was completed under the Treaty of Paris.

This then is a short history of the colony prior to its becoming a British possession.

Its success as a colony under the rule of Great Britain is proved by the development of its internal resources; the advancement of its people in all those

qualities which make for the growth of a loyal and contented colony; in the unbounded spirit of energy and perseverance which characterised the colonists in their struggle against native wars and aggression, cattle plagues and vegetable blights; and in the growth and expansion of its area to limits more than quadruple that which circumscribed it on its acquisition.

The early Government was under Downing Street rule; but in 1835 a Legislative Council was established by royal instructions. The proceedings of this body were open to the public, and it was composed of six officials and six nominees of the Crown.

It was in this same year that the emigration or "trek" of Dutch farmers, who entertained and fostered grievances against the British Government, commenced, which culminated eventually in the establishment of the two adjoining republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

I shall not enter into the causes which led to this "trek," or the proceedings which ensued therefrom. It would need many chapters to illustrate all that can be said on the subject, and this mention of the adjoining States arises incidentally because of its bearing on the history of the Cape Colony.

The Government of the colony, by a Council such as that before-mentioned, gave no satisfaction to Englishmen, whose love of self-government is always a paramount feature of their existence.

In 1849 an attempt by the Imperial Government to foist on the colony the position of a penal settlement, so as to relieve the mother country of her sentenced criminals, resulted in a bold and successful resistance by colonists against this threatened pollution, and induced them more strongly than ever to crave for release from the apron-strings of Downing Street.

The culmination of this desire was secured by the establishment in 1854 of Parliamentary institutions on

the English model, and by the introduction of responsible or party government in 1872.

I could, if time and space permitted, enlarge on the advancement of the colony in its educational sphere of operations, from the acquisition in 1814 to the present time. It is sufficient to say that the well-equipped colleges in four of the principal towns of the colony, and the existence of a university competent to award degrees, prove that during this century education, as an important element in any people's progress, has not been overlooked.

In material advance we have the existence of nearly 2000 miles of railways and upwards of 6600 miles of telegraphs, besides extensive harbour works, on which millions have been expended in the three principal ports of the colony.

The port of Table Bay can boast of docks and breakwater of a size unsurpassed in the Southern Ocean.

The revenue of the colony, which forty years ago was £491,525, is now £7,389,965. The varied industries, stimulated by private enterprise, including the De Beers Mines, and the arboricultural, agricultural, and viticultural efforts, expand in growth and importance each succeeding year.

The imports in 1857 amounted to £2,637,192, and those of 1897 to £17,931,887, whilst the exports—always the truest index of a people's advance—showed £1,988,406 in 1857 and £19,436,304 in 1897, this being exclusive of specie.

The shipping returns show a wonderful increase in the tonnage of vessels entered and cleared in the trade of the colony with the United Kingdom and British possessions; the total for 1893 was 538,139. In 1897 this amounted to 1,530,759, this being exclusive of the foreign trade.

The maintenance and equipment of a colonial army

of over 1000 men for the protection of the border and for the internal security of the colony (together with the aid to the Volunteer Corps, numbering upwards of 7000 men) costs £300,000 per annum, whilst a large force of police is secured at a considerable charge on the public funds.

The aid given by the colony towards coast defence and in the support of Imperial interests against foreign invasion has been continued for many years past, and has always been acknowledged as valuable, and as tending to bind more firmly the important relations of the mother country with the colony. The Act lately passed by the Colonial Parliament securing an annual contribution of £30,000 towards the Imperial navy (unfettered by any conditions) is a further assurance to the Imperial Government that our relations are of the closest character.

The electric tramways in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth yield excellent returns.

The diamond mining industry at Kimberley produces upwards of £4,500,000 a year, and the copper ores in the Namaqualand mines are of the richest kind, and yield a percentage of from 32 to 36.

The population of the colony, with its present area of nearly 277,000 square miles, amounts to upwards of 1,800,000; of these upwards of 400,000 are Europeans or whites.

These references to Cape trade and explorations do not embrace all that can be said on topics having such vast and important bearings on the future well-being of the colony. I can but hurriedly skim the surface, whilst omitting much that can be said on kindred subjects. Statistics and details are always tedious, both in writing and in speech, and I must thus content myself with only a general survey.

The subject of the franchise, however, craves some attention. The relations with the natives and their

treatment by the whites invariably form the topic of disputation and of acrimonious writing by people who hold the mistaken notion that harshness in the government of those natives forms a staple produce of Cape rule. Now I know of no better way of dispelling this illusion than by stating that every native (or coloured man)—if he possesses the low education test which is exacted of all, namely, of being able to read and write, and at the same time being the holder of a small money or property qualification—can, equally with the richest in the land, exercise the right of voting for a member of either House of Parliament. That many natives do attain to this excellency is evidenced by the keen canvassing for their votes which takes place at election time in those districts where the native element abounds. That no native can fail to secure this privilege, if so minded, is an admitted axiom. The larger proportion who neglect to qualify therefor, do so to their own detriment. But the fact of such neglect cannot affect the position of the whites, who must always be regarded as the dominant race. The laws of the colony create no distinction in regard to race or creed; on the contrary, in some portions of the country, where colonial law could not at present operate beneficially in the interests of the natives there, native law is exercised under proper restrictions till such time as the tribe becomes prepared for the reception of colonial law. The problem of raising the native to the standard of the European is indeed a complex one. Its solution cannot be hastened, nor is its attainment within measurable distance. No cut and dry scheme, propagated by zealous but misguided philanthropy, can ensure an impossibility. The present policy of firmness and justice, tempered with mercy, must continue to be maintained.

The change in the name of the Cape from that of “Storms” to that of “Spes bona” was a fortunate cir-

circumstance. The occurrences of the past have verified the augury.

The colonial arms and heraldic bearings display the Cape's faith in the hopeful destiny which has been assigned to her. The Cape has never faltered, though she has often experienced trying periods of adversity.

Her career, sometimes beclouded, has never fallen short of the honourable intentions of her guides and rulers. Her loyalty has always been nobly maintained.

Her resources have not yet reached their full development. Her climate has secured for her a high place as a resort for invalids, and her future is impregnated with the brilliant hues of "Good Hope."

RHODESIA

By CHARLES W. BOYD

THE subject on which I have been asked to write is Rhodesia; and in that enterprise I am invited, practically, to tread upon cinders. When I left England to see with my own eyes the country of which I had heard accounts so diverse and partisan, South Africa, or that part of it which is called Rhodesia, was a byword for more contradicting adjectives than I, at least, ever remember to have found collected upon any other topic of human interest. One heard a party vigorously proclaiming to the world that in Rhodesia was the true Eldorado of all our dreams—the land of promise, the land of gold, and of milk and honey without stint. On the other hand was that voluble faction which is never content when its members are not engaged in villifying the enterprise of their fellow-countrymen over sea; and who, it may be, without having ever seen the country, pronounced it off-hand to be a fraud, a snare, and a butt for intemperate epithets upon all possible occasions. Probably neither section retains its original vivacity, probably China and the East have turned men's attention elsewhere; but, in any case, here in England we can afford to be judicial. Let us know nothing here of factions. A plague, say I, on both their houses. If I held a brief for either side (I must say parenthetically), it would scarcely be worth my while to discuss the question. Once and for all, nothing that you and I can say or do will retard by a quarter of an instant the progress of Rhodesia. That

will go on in spite of us. For the first and last lesson which a visit of some months to Cape Colony and the vast territories beyond it has taught me, is that much as the people of the new country love us, the people of the old, in theory and in practice, proud as they are of this connection with Great Britain—more manifestly proud, I should say, than are any other of our colonists, speaking of England as home, though many of them have never visited these shores—they nevertheless care considerably less for our views on their political problems than they do for those of the man in the moon. The man in the moon and ourselves they regard as equally respectable and irrelevant. Indeed, if there is any distinction between “the pair” of us, that distinction is not held to be in our favour. The *Man* no doubt has his influence on the tides of the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean, as on those of the North Sea (or German Ocean), which, as the learned acutely remind us, washes a considerable part of these islands. But he has never done them any harm; he has withheld his fingers from their politics. Now the British Government, they tell us—and goodness knows, not without reason—has mismanaged their affairs from the first; and has only lately begun, under the great statesman who was first to see that for the Colonial Office we needed our very best, to take even an intelligent interest in them. It was Downing Street, they argue, which mishandled the Boers of Cape Colony until the Boers made their great trek and journeyed into the wilderness. It was the Government which, contrary to the advice of Sir George Grey, probably the wisest and most far-seeing man ever employed by an English Colonial Minister, made the gigantic error of dividing a country which might have remained indivisible, by the establishment first of an independent Orange Free State, and afterwards of the Transvaal Republic. It was Downing Street which brought us

into the Zulu war—so costly in life and money; and it was Downing Street which, by the carelessness of a recent Liberal Colonial Secretary, allowed Germany—and the Germans are commercially, as you know, our most deadly rivals—to snatch a gigantic tract of land in South-west Africa. It is not, therefore, to the English Government, nor consequently to English voters, that the South Africans look for the solution of their difficulties. Freedom to manage their own affairs they demand; but beyond that they do not seek to influence an English voter. Thus the reader need not fear that I seek to proselytise. That I have come to believe very strongly in the future of Rhodesia I avow at starting. I believe that, given a fair trial and that share of favourable accidents which fortune, or Providence alone, can determine, it will develop into one of the most valuable of all our colonies; I believe that its continued existence is an integral part of the existence of British South Africa, which in turn you know that all experts agree is essential to the existence of much of our shipping and of all our India; and, finally, its record—so I vote after seeing with my own eyes what has been done in the country—its short record is one of the most marvellous in the colonising history of a country whose colonising genius is the envy of all nations. I do not believe that any honest and intelligent man can visit the country and resist these conclusions. They have been expressed to me by friends of Little Englander bias who visited the country and are Little Englanders no longer. But they do not bind one to a belief in any Eldorado. There is only one objection to Eldorados—they don't exist. There is no royal road to the perfect country any more than to an acquaintance with Greek iambics save by labour; and Rhodesia, although we shall see that it starts with long odds in its favour, is not going to reach the limit of those heights which fate may have

in store for it in a single night by any means. We have not to do here with the gourd of the prophet Jonah.

And yet already how much has been done? One morning last November I stood on the site of the king's kraal at Buluwayo, where Government House now stands. There was the pretty, English-looking house of the commissioner, with the Union Jack overhead: all round were the marks of civilised settlement—houses nestling in young trees, a road set in an avenue of eucalyptus, which grows in that climate like our old friend the prophet's gourd aforesaid. It seemed that that peaceful friendly plain might have come to its conditions after twenty, thirty, fifty years of steady colonising. Yet just four years before that day, the 4th November, the troops of the Chartered Company entered Buluwayo. And a year before, just where I stood, Lobengula—whom Mr. H. M. Stanley of his long experience pronounces to have been as bloodthirsty a tyrant as any native king within his memory—used to sit and watch condemned prisoners tortured and slain. Possibly some of you remember Sir Harry Johnston's story of the king's tree and the king's beer. The king sits under the king's tree, and is in an ill-humour. Some one has drunk the king's beer. A prisoner accused of that crime is brought before him. The executioner stands by. Says the king: "You drank the king's beer. You have a nose; that smelt the king's beer. Your nose is guilty; let it be cut off." And the executioner cuts off the prisoner's nose. Then the king says: "You have lips; they tasted the king's beer. Let them be cut off." And the executioner cuts off his lips. Finally, "Your eyes (says the king) saw the king's beer; they are a temptation to you, my man. Cover over his eyes." And then—but I don't know that I care to go on with this story. It is enough if, by way of noting how things can make progress in a

new country under the right people, you understand that five years before, Lobengula, king of the Matabele, sat and judged his people with just such an ingenuity of torture; and then consider that on the day of which I speak Buluwayo was a city—in an early stage of building, no doubt, but nevertheless a city—with its police, its municipality, its hotels, its club, and its public library—all the essentials of civilisation; and that in that day the first railway train from Cape Town, 1600 miles away, ran into its corrugated iron station.

Now how did all this come about? What, in other words, is the history of Rhodesia? In the early years of the present century, when T'Chaka, the famous Zulu king, was evolving the Zulu people out of many small independent clans of pastoral savages—all of them were nearly allied to one another by race and language—there dwelt in the north-west of the country called Zululand a small tribe known as the Amandebele; this name, as we may learn from Mr. Selous, was afterwards corrupted into Matabele. These people at that time were governed by their hereditary chief Matshobane, the grandfather of Lobengula. Matshobane voluntarily submitted to T'Chaka, and sought admission into the Zulu nation for the sufficient reason that he preferred that his people should be absorbed rather than annihilated. After his death his son succeeded him, Mosilikatze, whom Mr. Theal, the famous South African historian, describes as "second only to T'Chaka as an exterminator of man." A traveller who saw Mosilikatze in 1836 describes him as closely shaven, dressed merely in a girdle of leopards' tails, the head-ring which is the mark of the Zulu, and three feathers depending from it. This was Mosilikatze, and he was too strong a man for T'Chaka to have under him.

Sent to exterminate an inferior tribe he cheerfully killed the men, women, and children as required of him,

but instead of sending in their cattle to headquarters he retained that booty. T'Chaka now gave orders for his death. Mosilikatze fled over the mountains with an army, fell on the Bafredi and others of the comparatively feeble tribes, and killed them off all but their best-looking girls and such of their men as he cared to keep as slaves. On he went, killing actually every human being he met; and when at length he had put a sufficient distance between himself and T'Chaka he erected kraals, and using these as a centre sent out armies to conquer the surrounding tribes, murdering and exterminating upon all sides. Huge tracts of country thus fell into his hands—tracts empty of human beings, for he had killed them all, and “with no other master,” as an old chief said later, “but Mosilikatze and the lions.” Nor was this enough. In 1837 he determined to kill all white men north of the Orange River. Unluckily the whites combined, and shot so many of his braves that Mosilikatze went over the Limpopo River to the far north and never returned. There he found more facile victims. In the country now known as Matabeleland he found lands comparatively rich and beautiful, inhabited by a variety of tribes. The first of those whom the Matabele encountered were the Makalakas, an intelligent people whose settlements extended from the Limpopo to the Zambesi. Intelligence and numbers notwithstanding, the Makalakas went the way of earlier opponents of the Matabele—in two words, they were wiped out. In 1873 Mr. Selous, the famous hunter, travelled over the whole country between the headwaters of the Nata and the Zambesi, and saw with his own eyes the sites of many hundreds of Makalakas and Mananza villages, whose inhabitants had been destroyed in former years by the Matabele; but in all that country, which had once been so thickly populated, he found no inhabitants whatever, with the exception of a few Mananzas, who had lately crossed from the northern bank

of the Zambesi. After blotting out the Makalakas, the Matabele made their way westward. Here they found the people now known as the Mashonas. These were in two divisions, the Belotsi and the Bangai. The first occupied the territory round about Zimbabwe, of whom survive those fragments the ruins of which come to us out of all the centuries of darkness; the Bangai lay to the north-east of the Belotsi; and both were annihilated. So much for an indication of Matabele prowess. Ever since those first expeditions the Matabele continued to be the terror of other tribes. Their area of desolation widened. All the bloodshed in the British South Africa Company's war and in the more recent rebellion was not comparable to that—I do not say of those early Matabele expeditions, but to the total slain during the four years that Mashonaland was occupied in the south-west part by the Matabele, and in the west by the Company. We have not space, even if we had an inclination, to continue the story of Matabele cruelty. But in the works of the missionaries, such as Mr. Mackenzie's interesting "Ten Years North of the Orange River," and in personal communication with such men as the Rev. C. D. Holm, for many years a missionary in Matabeleland, we may satisfy ourselves that no picture of Matabele warfare can be painted too bloody.

In Mr. Mackenzie's work I find the following:—

"Now the Betulowta old men, roused from their sleep of murder, and seeking to escape to the neighbouring hill, were received upon the spears of the Matabele who encircled the town. The aged women who bared their breasts to 'bespeak men's mercy,' instead of mercy received a spear. Even the harmless infants were put to death; 'for,' as a Matabele soldier explained to me, 'when their mothers died did we not also kill the infants.'" And even the Jesuit Fathers, who had overcome great obstacles everywhere, gave up the Matabele character as hopeless. This was the Matabele reputation

when, in 1890, the Pioneers, as they are called, went up to Mashonaland. A vast extent of tableland, lying between 4000 and 6000 feet above sea-level, had for years excited the interest and envy of students of the map of Africa, whether in South Africa or in Europe. Germany had her eye on it; the Transvaal Boers had their eye on it, and even prepared an expedition to seize it. Fortunately we had in Cape Colony a certain Mr. Cecil Rhodes who had made up his mind that this country—the hinterland, as it was called by the Boers—should belong to England. For years he had dreamt of this country, and talked and argued about its acquisition by Englishmen, until I have been assured by men who knew him in Kimberley that he was regarded as a harmless eccentric, the victim of one hobby. His continual argument was that whoever possessed the hinterland was the master of South Africa; and he pointed out that if Germany, say, or the Boers, should establish themselves at the back of Cape Colony, that colony would not be British for one week more than the German Emperor or the Boers' Government chose. We shall hear, as we have heard, very contrary opinions of Mr. Rhodes. I wish to express no opinion, but being asked, as I have said, merely to give evidence, I can say this, that I travelled from one end of South Africa to the other, and talked to all sorts of people, some of whom agreed with Mr. Rhodes and some of whom didn't, but who, one and all, agreed in believing that he had no personal ambition in his schemes, and was the mere walking embodiment of an ideal. You cannot understand until you have visited the country how one man may come to dominate a continent. We have no parallel here. Many of us have sworn by Mr. Gladstone. But in South Africa there is one man and one only. No eccentricity or pith that his enemies—and he has them—could urge against Mr. Rhodes may outweigh this. "There he is—our man," the South Africans tell

you; and if you ask why, they point to the north, to the Consolidated Diamond Fields, to the model village at Kimberley, where working men lead lives that are worth their living, and ask you when did any single statesman do as much.

Well, in 1884, Mr. Rhodes, now Deputy-Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, pointed out that the Boers, undeterred by certain treaties made with the chiefs of the country, were systematically invading Bechuanaland on their south-west frontier. In consequence of this Sir Charles Warren's expedition was sent into Bechuanaland. There was no opposition, and British influence was extended up to 22° south latitude, and South Bechuanaland formally became a Crown Colony. Blocked in the west, the Boers now thought of following the cue of their ancestors who had wrested the Transvaal from Mosilikatze, and of laying violent hands on Lobengula's territory north of the Crocodile River. In Mr. Scott Keltie's book—which book every one ought to read—there is published a remarkable letter received at that time by Sir Charles Warren, which casts sufficient light on the intentions of the Boers. "The Boers," says Sir Charles' correspondent, "are determined to get a footing in Matabeleland (their condition being so wretched in Mashonaland) by taking the Matabele on the flank and gradually acquiring their territory by conquest; from thence overspreading all the independent tribes to the west and south. I also have good proof that the Germans and Portuguese are working quietly but slowly to acquire as much of their lands and the Transvaal under their protectorate as occasion will allow of; and believe that they as well as the Boers and other nations are only waiting to hear what action the British Government will take to settle on their own. The natives all showed the greatest desire to be under British protection, chiefs as well as their subjects, and they hate and fear the Boers."

This letter is dated in 1885, and in 1882 the Boers had already sought to make Lobengula sign a treaty with them. Lobengula refused, yet in 1888 President Kruger endeavoured to make out that such a treaty had been signed. Meanwhile you mark that the writer speaks of the Germans and Portuguese as anxious to get Matabeleland.

Well, before the proposed Boer expedition could start north, Mr. Rhodes sent 500 pioneers northward to Mashonaland. We know how they did their work: through 460 miles of wilderness, and 250 of these covered with forest, a road was cut; and what is, I believe, actually without example in the history of pioneering, not a shot was fired in anger, not a man, woman, or child was molested. Of such stuff were the so-called "marauders" of South Africa compact. Mashonaland occupied, its capital was erected at Fort Salisbury. For one year after this occupation the Matabele left the Mashonas in peace. Then an aged chief was killed, the reason being that he had worked for white men. This was the first of many murders. Finally, Dr. Jameson (of whose qualities of head and heart I say nothing, because I have nothing to say which would not sound in South African ears an anti-climax, and whose name is enough), the administrator at Salisbury, gave Mr. Rhodes the notice that if Mashonaland was to be kept at all, Lobengula must be crushed. Then followed the Matabele war. Into the history of so recent a war, and the unhappy rebellion which followed it, I do not propose to enter. But I will say this: whether it is better Englishmen should stay at home and multiply and starve in a country already too small for them; or whether they ought rather to go abroad and open up fresh fields for the work of their hands and open up fresh markets for those who remain at home, is possibly an academic problem. But however you decide, there is at least no denying that if people are to colonise at

all, the genius of Great Britain is the essential genius of colonisation. Somehow those new countries which are colonised by our compatriots do contrive to prosper, and the others—well, the others don't. Have you ever compared the condition of other European colonies with that of our own? It is, perhaps, scarcely worth doing so, when every foreigner owns in his heart, and usually confesses in words, the fact of our supremacy, and when Germans, resolutely refusing to go to German colonies, fly into our own. And that Matabele war, if it was a good thing for us, was a better thing not only for this crushed and bullied Mashona but for the Matabele themselves. It is a better thing for the people of a native race to live under a rule which restrains its hands from cutting throats and doesn't let them cut one another's, than be slaves of a king who may butcher them at will. It is a better thing to work than to murder. And remember this when you have the morality of conquest, even for the best of motives, called in question—No race in this world has a perpetual right to territory which it abuses. All history, sacred and profane, whether you pursue its record in holy writ in the Book of Kings, or in the unholy Mr. Gibbon, is ringing the changes on this very platitude. The story of the world is but one huge commentary on the parable of the talents. And from the race or the individual which cumbers the ground, the ground must pass away.

And so Rhodesia is in our hands, and likely ever to remain so. What is the country like at present and what is its future? A few words of the impression one carries away from Buluwayo.

When you have got out of the train before the corrugated iron building which stands on the edge of the illimitable grey green veldt to mark where the great station of the future is to arise, there is one feature of Buluwayo which is making ready to seize

hold upon you. It is not, perhaps, the most important feature, but it is conspicuous enough to entitle it to a first place in any jotting of local impressions. It is what a logician might call the *differentia* of Buluwayo; put bluntly it comes to this, that you have arrived in a community of gentlemen. A stranger making his way about the brown streets, neat brick and corrugated iron buildings set down on red earth, and divided into alternate avenues and streets—"little New York," said a policeman complacently—a stranger pauses to ask himself if he dreams, or if the Household Brigade, the Bachelors' Club, and the Foreign Office have depleted themselves of their members, and sent them disguised in broad-brimmed hats and riding breeches to hold the capital of Matabeleland. Young men of the most eligible sort are everywhere. Some of them are manifestly youthful, others are well on in the thirties, there is even a sprinkling of men of years; but the mass of the population presents the same aspect of physical fitness, that indefinable something besides, which is perhaps not to be expressed save under the single head of "race." I confess I have nowhere seen a finer set of men, nor I must add a shrewder, nor yet a friendlier. One thing, perhaps, may account for the mature and seasoned look of even the youngest among these Rhodesians—their community has been put to as severe discipline as any in the empire. Within two years Buluwayo has withstood rinderpest, drought, war, and short commons, all of them concurrent. As for the quality of the fighting, a layman is not concerned with the precise degree of military skill which some civilians somehow displayed in the Matopos: that indeed has received the *imprimatur* of the proper authorities; but to visit the fighting ground, notably in the Matopos, and consider the numbers of those engaged on both sides, to hear the quite unconscious scraps of narrative of those who win them, or listen to the testimony of

such a witness as Dr. Edgar Strong, the chief surgeon in charge, is to realise that these were extraordinary conditions which may well have developed extraordinary qualities. There is only one tale of the bearing of the garrison. The very tradesman left his shop, paying some one to look after it for him, and took his place in the fight. One man got the V.C. the other day, and richly deserved it; but it is no hyperbolical assurance that practically every other man in such a garrison would have done the same by a wounded comrade. You may have your doubt about the origin of the war, and lean towards Sir Richard Martin's opinion, but there is no question of the way in which, being once begun, it was conducted. Here there is, perhaps, one explanation of the aspect which meets you everywhere, as thrilling an English community as you will see. The railway which is to do so much for Buluwayo will no doubt alter all this for the worse. Buluwayo will lose the look of a place exclusively English, and its flavour as of an English public school for adults. Even now it must not be supposed that it is a community all of a piece, or that where it is compact only one class or nationality is represented in it. For the moment, however, the impressions which it leaves are as I describe. Of one class and of one white nation only are you notably aware. You may buy things across a counter from an old Eton or Rugby or Fettes boy who will serve you with neatness and despatch, and a little later appear and smoke a cigarette with you in the "stoep" of the pretty and hospitable Buluwayo Club. If, on the other hand, you get into debt, the sheriff's officer who serves you with a writ is a young person of distinguished name and associations. These are two instances, in passing, of how men are prepared to work in this place. Whether they are working or only playing at it there is wonderful activity everywhere evident. Men are continually walking hurriedly to and fro, or cantering on ponies at the

curious hobbling canter of the country, as though busy with important interests. An early problem with me was to know what they all were at. Many of them, no doubt, are in the employ of the Government; others are engaged in the various mining speculations; a few, and I am glad to think this is an increasing body, are farming in a country where one English gentleman, at least, has contrived to make agriculture pay—so far by inoculation to defeat the rinderpest that he too only lost thirty-one of his cattle. The cases of the shopkeeper and the sheriff's officer may furnish a clue to the existence of many others. Existence in Buluwayo is, indeed, so far a difficulty. The railway will inevitably cheapen things, but when I was there just before its opening, one friend of mine told me that his breakfast, which he ate at a good restaurant each morning, cost him 9s. For this he was supplied with tea, ham and eggs, marmalade, and toast—the familiar and inexpensive morning meal of the Londoner. Altogether Buluwayo is no place for the fool adventurer. I may confess to having shared the common uneducated belief of people in London that I should find the wastrel here in abundance. Now, the wastrel is simply not to be seen. A percentage of young men there is whose future is doubtful, but the wonder is that they should be so few. From the mention of the unemployed gentleman to the survey of crime is a violent declension, but in this regard I may mention another feature of this remarkable mining town. If ne'er-do-weels of what are called the better classes are not in evidence, neither are the desperadoes usually imagined to be the ruck of a new town. The place is perfectly orderly. At night, not many miles out of the town, you might easily foregather with a lion, but in Buluwayo itself and its immediate environment you may wander about in perfect safety at any time, not even with a cudgel. The garrotter is not unknown at Cape Town, and people are occasionally "held up" at

Johannesburg. But in Buluwayo the garrotter, for the present at least, is not.

In company with a sergeant of police I made a round of the city in the early hours. When railways run you cannot keep out a certain very old profession, and the writers of some rather pessimistic notes published lately in one of the leading dailies remarked that a certain unlovely element was present in Buluwayo, but on inquiry this seemed even in the most squalid degree to be remarkably limited.

There are many small and well-reputed English towns which, on this score, have much less reason to boast. As for crime, my police-sergeant told me that was rare. He had once, he said, had his head broken going his rounds, but the assailant was from another State. He added that the Buluwayo police had lately been warned of the impending arrival of a well-known ruffian from Johannesburg. They were ready for him, he said quietly.

Indeed, all that one understands under the head of "police" seems to be admirably ordered in Buluwayo. I have mentioned the streets, built for the most part of corrugated iron, though the later houses in brick are wonderfully neat and tasteful. The shops on either side of the broad unpaved roads are some of them excellent, if it is but natural that things sold in them are dear. Churches abound; there is an English Church, a Roman Catholic, a Wesleyan—the latter with a particularly active and able man for its pastor. A synagogue will be built if necessary, says a Jewish acquaintance.

The library, of which Sir Alfred Milner laid the foundation stone, is excellent. Briefly, on all sides, the effect is simply of busy and prosperous development.

Of many visitors whom Buluwayo has surprised, no one seemed more impressed than the High Commis-

sioner. In laying the foundation stone of the library he prophesied the foundation of a rich university at Buluwayo to replace that other and easy one which a library is avowed to supply. Some one smiled in the crowd of spectators. Sir Alfred rebuked him for smiling. "He had seen enough," said the High Commissioner, "of the temper of this place to believe a university at Buluwayo to be a consummation neither fanciful nor impossible." The remark testified at least to a very strong belief in the quality of that local temper. In this, indeed, is to be the great source of hope for the future of Rhodesia. Of an industry as yet undeveloped it is impossible to speak with certainty, but here at least we touch solid ground. Nothing seems more probable than that Rhodesia will yield gold in paying quantities, and had some bulk with Captain Lawley, the Deputy-Administrator, over whose name we pause with respect. Though his duties are multifarious enough to necessitate most human accomplishments, Captain Lawley is not there to utter prophecy on the prospects of financial undertakings, and his administration is regarded as by no means the least remarkable success in the history of South Africa. But one remark he made impressed me. "All I know," he said, "is that men whom I trust, men I know to be gentlemen, just men, experts, and men who are not optimistic, tell me that the gold prospects are beyond doubt." When the prospects of an industry cannot be plainly set forth in detail, I should, even were I a Rhodesian, desire no better statement of their case than in those words of a notably shrewd and honourable man. Nor, indeed, do the best Rhodesians seem to wish for testimony more definite. I think the reader will agree with me that it is a good note in them that they do not seem even to wish to prejudice an independent observer. They bid you to wait a year until they show their output. Machinery has been brought by the railway to Bulu-

wayo and set in motion. By next October, they tell me with a quiet confidence which is infectious, that we shall see. It is the spirit everywhere that really matters.

And if the worst—so called—came to the worst, and gold were not produced in paying quantities in Rhodesia, that spirit which one has seen and admired in the young Rhodesians will still carry them through. Their country will produce salt, coal, wood, and tobacco; and the wood and coal, experts tell us, are inexhaustible.

As for the question of the treatment of the natives in Matabeleland, to deal with the entire native question of South Africa demands a paper all to itself. While I was in Buluwayo I had ample opportunity of observing the natives in the reserves. I have accompanied the chief native commissioner on one or two informal visits of inspection, besides the Induba given in presence of the guests of the festival. Mr. Taylor has a high reputation. No one, it is generally believed, knows the native so well, certainly in no one has the native more faith. I was present at the chief commissioner's first meeting with Gambo and other chiefs after his return from England. There was no mistaking the genuine pleasure at his approach reflected on each black face, and in the note of their salutation, "nkosi!" The native difficulties are here as considerable as they are almost everywhere in South Africa. The locations are some of them unhealthy and poor, yet it is not easy to see how they are to be drawn to that work which is the one salvation of such a people save by such indirect compulsion to better their condition. But Englishmen may be glad to know that in their chief superintendent and director they have a man whose qualities of heart and judgment are worthy his special knowledge.

But I am an unconscionable time speaking of Rhodesia: of its past and present enough! Of the

future—but only injudicious persons arrogate to themselves the privilege of sporting prophets. Still I must have written to little purpose indeed if I have not shown you that Rhodesia may look forward, like Australia, to advance; and with confidence and courage affront the never-ending flight of future days.

RHODESIA ¹

BY A RESIDENT (H. MARSHALL HOLE, B.A.)

Civil Commissioner and Magistrate, Salisbury)

FOR young men of good education, particularly for those who possess the advantages of a technical or professional training, Rhodesia offers prospects which are by no means to be despised; and hardly any time in its short history has presented more favourable opportunities for starting a career there than the present, when the horizon seems at last clear, when native troubles are fast becoming mere memories, the rinderpest scourge has worked itself out, and the railways are affording means of bringing into the country the machinery which is to practically test its golden possibilities.

Of those who leave the mother country to make their livelihood in our colonies, a very large proportion is composed of men who have passed through one of our large public schools, possibly also have completed a university course, and at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three find themselves ready to start in the world with what is called the "education of a gentleman," but without equipment for any particular calling in life. In such circumstances, they not unnaturally turn to the colonies, and especially to those which have been most recently opened up—for the idea of "getting in on the ground floor" has decided attractions to every young Englishman. But experience shows that pioneering, albeit a fascinating and adventurous

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pursuit, is not always a stepping-stone to a fortune, and it is more often the second-comers in a new country who are commercially successful, and who reap the reward for which the pioneers have striven, that others might pluck it. Rhodesia is now ready for the second-comers, and for their information these few remarks are intended.

Some of the class I have indicated above may have a notion of starting a farm. There is a good deal to be said in favour of this. Agriculture, it is true, is in Rhodesia still in its infancy, and much of what has been done has been of an experimental character; but many hundreds of farms have been pegged out, beacons, and surveyed, and on a good proportion of them useful work has been accomplished; while, to their credit be it spoken, it is the small farmers, with little or no capital, who have done the most genuine work, and who have been buying the experience which will now be cheaply obtained by others.

The great advantage of Rhodesia as an agricultural country is the facility with which irrigation can be carried on: the conformation of the land is undulating, and even the so-called "flats" are intersected in all directions by valleys, each of which possesses its water-course, so that by the simple expedient of throwing a dam across these valleys, water may be stored and led on to the adjacent fields as required. The soil is in all parts naturally fertile, but the farmer sometimes has great difficulty in reducing it to a proper state for cultivation, owing to the roots and growth which must be exterminated before the seed is sown. The strongest ploughs and the most careful harrowing are required for this work, otherwise the settler will have to face the annoyance and delay of broken ploughshares, and the disaster of a crop choked by tangle-grass and weeds. The crops to which farmers have hitherto most devoted themselves in Rhodesia are mealies (maize), and forage

(oat hay). These find a ready market at all times, as they form the staple food of horses. The next most popular crop is potatoes, which do well, are not liable to disease, and are in so great request that they sometimes fetch 1s. 6d., and seldom fall below 3d. per pound in the market. All kinds of English vegetables prosper with very little trouble, beyond careful watering in dry weather and weeding during the rains; but, for some unexplained reason, vegetable culture is left almost entirely to the coolies or Indians, who, despite their very primitive methods of irrigation and tillage, make immense profits thereby.

From a pastoral point of view, Mashonaland and Matabeleland are second to no district in South Africa. For many years large herds of excellent oxen were kept by Lobengula's tribes, while every little kraal in the eastern province had a score or more of beautiful sleek Mashona cattle. Now that the rinderpest has destroyed these, we shall have to rely on imported beasts for re-stocking the country, and fortunately it has been proved that imported animals do well, and are not more liable to disease than those native to the country. Many districts are equally suitable for sheep; and pigs, poultry, and other stock thrive and pay to keep.

The life of a farmer, however, is by no means free from care. His promising field of forage may be swept off in an hour by a swarm of locusts, just as it is ready for cutting; his herds are not unfrequently reduced by the depredations of lions, or by an outbreak of pleuropneumonia, and he has to endure constant annoyance from the idleness or desertion of his native labourers, who have an irritating way of suddenly disappearing, for no reason whatever, except that labour, for more than a week at a stretch, is distasteful to them. These trials demand the greatest patience and energy to overcome, and to deal successfully with his boys the farmer

will have to call into play all his tact and forbearance. To hit the happy mean between an excess of leniency and undue severity is difficult, and the most careful master will sometimes find his boys have deserted him in the hour of need.

Farms of about 3000 acres may be bought at from £250 to £2000, according to their situation as regards neighbouring towns, or the extent of cultivation done on them: and while the farmer will not derive much more than a bare subsistence for the first year or two, he may, by combining dairy farming and timber cutting with his more extensive operations, make both ends meet at any rate, and enhance the value of his land without being out of pocket. One with a small capital has, of course, a better chance of immediate profit, and such an one would do well to join some established and experienced man in partnership, or as a pupil, in order to learn something of the business before entering it finally.

The mistake made by a great many "new comers" when they arrive in Rhodesia, is that they expect to realise a fortune in a few months by speculation, or to find a great demand for non-professional or unskilled labour. This is no more the case in Rhodesia than in any other country. Good artisans, and professional men (especially mining engineers, architects, and surveyors) are, it is true, in constant demand, but the ordinary man with no more than an ordinary education must not be disappointed if he has to spend a year or two in "looking round," in some comparatively modest position, on a small salary, before his chance comes. By that time he will have learnt something about the country, will possibly have picked up a native language, or acquired some knowledge of gold mining or farming, which will give him the advantage over those who come after him.

I should be wrong, however, if I were to suggest that

Rhodesia does not offer many good chances. To young men with a few hundred pounds capital, there are excellent opportunities of turning it over rapidly in mercantile business in one of the towns, while even to those who have no means to fall back upon, sooner or later a chance of success will come. Men who have no advantage beyond a good constitution and a capacity for work may make an excellent start by joining the British South Africa Police. This force is distributed in small detachments throughout the country, but has nothing to do with the maintenance of law and order in towns, work which is performed by the municipal police. They are at times called upon to undertake trying duties, it may be in bad weather, and, with the utmost foresight on the part of those responsible, their duties may sometimes take them into remote districts where food supplies may be difficult to obtain; but short commons and long marches are incidents of all active military or quasi-military careers, and there are many points about the life of a British South Africa Police trooper which make it far from being unattractive to a young Englishman of the better middle class. He is well fed, well paid, and well housed; his uniform, horse, and accoutrements are provided for him; his fellow-troopers are men of decent education, and not rough clods or broken-down bar loafers, as some would have us believe, and he has a capital opportunity of acquiring *gratis* that local knowledge which is so necessary to any one who contemplates life in the colonies. There are frequent chances of promotion, and I can recall many instances of men who have attained commissions from the ranks, and at least two or three who have risen from troopers to be inspectors, with the local title and pay of majors. This, of course, implies exceptional qualifications, coupled perhaps with some distinction in the field, but it shows that the police offers an opening, which may be converted into a career by those who

stick to it, and may be used as a stepping-stone by those who are content to spend a year or two in the ranks while they "look round them."

The civil service of Rhodesia is another profession with promising openings and the prospect of pensions or gratuities on retirement. Here the chances are not so good as formerly; increasing competition has made promotion slower, and a first appointment difficult to obtain. But there is no doubt that the Rhodesian civil service possesses attractions and advantages which are enjoyed by very few others in the British colonies. Provision has been made for regular leave of absence, retiring pensions, and widows' pensions, for medical attendance at reduced fees in case of illness, and in many cases for quarters and other allowances. Besides this, the civil servants are treated with exceptional indulgence by the Chartered Company, and enjoy many little privileges and advantages, impossible to enumerate, which make their lot a very favoured one. Many individual civil servants of course think that their own salary should be on a more liberal scale, while they will tell you that Smith or Jones is shockingly overpaid, but I do not think that this form of discontent is peculiar to Rhodesian officials.

I believe that, at the office of the Chartered Company in London, a considerable portion of one clerk's time is occupied in answering applications for employment in the Company's civil service in Rhodesia. People in England find it hard to realise that when a vacancy occurs it generally has to be filled rapidly, and that in such cases it is the "man on the spot" who gets the appointment. This, of course, applies only to the ordinary clerkships. If vacancies occur in the higher branches, they are filled either by promotion, or, in exceptional cases, by the introduction of some highly qualified official from the neighbouring colonies of the Cape or Natal. But, for almost all first appointments,

preference is given to the man who makes personal application.

It requires a certain amount of determination to face the prospect of leaving England for an uncertainty in so far distant a country as Rhodesia, and it would be far more agreeable, no doubt, to know what one is going to; but to those who are hesitating and nervous about taking this risk I would say: By all means go, if you can manage to put together enough money to pay your passage, and to keep yourself for two or three months after your arrival. If you are not fortunate enough to get something to do at once, this will keep you in independence while you are looking for occupation, and getting acquainted with your surroundings; should you, however, be successful in getting a "billet" soon after your arrival, a small sum of money will make a good nest egg for future speculations. Take the first decent post that offers. No man with any good in him is ever debarred from better appointments by the fact of his having been engaged in humble employment at the outset. The only failures in Rhodesia are the "wasters" and "loose-ends" who would fail anywhere, and who look upon the colonies as happy hunting-grounds, where they may be well paid for doing nothing.

For all classes the rough days of mud huts and tents are now nearly over. Even farmers, and prospectors, and those whose vocations take them far out into the *veldt*, are beginning to realise that in order to keep in good health they must be well housed. Formerly men were too careless in this respect, and thought they could incur risks which would be foolhardy, even in England, and would have been inevitably attended by ague and other illnesses if practised in England. The consequence of this was that many of the pioneers acquired malarial fever and dysentery, which were at once attributed to the climate. A certain amount of exposure is of course inseparable from some occupations, as, for example, that

of a prospector, but the old hands now know that the more trouble they take to secure comfortable quarters and good food, and to avoid unnecessary chills, the longer will they enjoy immunity from malaria.

In the towns we have buildings of a very substantial type, built for the most part of brick. There are blocks of rooms which form bachelor "diggings" for single men, and small but comfortable suburban houses for families, while the railways on the east and west afford facilities for the importation of excellent furniture. Eight years ago it was so difficult to obtain furniture that every little packing case was carefully treasured, its nails drawn out and straightened, and its boards converted into tables, stools, and shelves. To-day it is no uncommon thing to find pianos and billiard-tables in private houses in Buluwayo, and even in Salisbury, which has not yet been reached by the railway, while the club-houses at both places are models of comfort and luxury. I do not wish to convey the idea that there is anything Belgravian about our mode of living; we do not transact our business in the tall hat and black coat of the city, nor do our clubs pretend to ape Pall Mall, but there is everywhere an attempt at solid comfort, which is the outcome of the idea that, in tropical climates, in order to *be* well, you must *live* well.

A word about the malarial fever and the climate. The high plateaux of Mashonaland and Matabeleland vary in altitude from about 3000 feet (the height of Umtali) to 5000 feet (Salisbury and Buluwayo). At this elevation the air is cool and pleasant almost throughout the year. Nothing approaching the heat of India is known to us, while in our bitterest weather the thermometer rarely falls below freezing-point. In certain districts the granite basins below the soil retain the surface moisture and form swamps. Here the decaying vegetation is apt to engender malaria towards the latter part of the rainy season. Malarial fever is

also found wherever the virgin soil has been first ploughed; it is, however, of a mild type, and does not appear to leave permanent after effects; moreover, it may be avoided by care. Towards the end of the rains, the greatest precautions should be taken to avoid chills or exposure; it is then, *i.e.*, in March, April, and May, that the germs are in the air, and any imprudence in habits or diet is likely to be followed by an attack of ague. Severe cases of fever, and particularly the "black-water" type, only appear in those whose constitutions have been worn out by hardships or exposure, or who have resided, even for a short period, in the unhealthy regions which lie between Rhodesia and the east coast, or in the immediate neighbourhood of swamps.

Rhodesia has suffered as much from extravagant laudation as from spiteful detraction. It is not, as some would have us believe, a land where a fortune may be made in a few months, or where gold may be had without the trouble of looking for it; neither, on the other hand, is it a barren tract of swamps, populated by a horde of brutal buccaneers, the dregs of Johannesburg, all engaged in a conspiracy with the Chartered Company to defraud the British public by misrepresentation of facts. There is gold in abundance, but it can only be won by hard work; and there are some blackguards, but not, I think, more in proportion than are to be found in other parts of the world. The community as a whole is composed of a combination of the very best class of Englishmen and colonials, who have deliberately chosen to adopt this land to live in. And to-day Rhodesia, still the youngest of our colonies, is fast emerging from the crawling stage of infancy. She has had more than her fair share of those disorders which are inherent to the childhood of nations, as to that of individuals; but with a vitality, rare in one so young, she has resisted and recovered from a series of afflictions which would have been disastrous to many an older

country less healthily constituted. The first decade of Rhodesia's existence will ever be remarkable for the self-sacrifice which has been exhibited by her pioneers in sticking to the country, despite innumerable hardships and reverses, and in laying down their lives in its service. While this spirit animates the British settler, the country has nothing to fear from outside attacks; for men who have faced the real troubles of war, pestilence, and famine, are not likely to be held back from their prize when it is within their grasp, by the muttering of a political party or of a financial ring.

RHODESIA

By W. E. L.

RHODESIA comprises the portion of South Africa north of British Bechuanaland, north and west of the Transvaal, and west of Portuguese East Africa, and extends northwards to Lake Tanganyika, German East Africa, and the Congo Free State, and on the west it is bounded by Portuguese West Africa and German South-west Africa.

Access to Rhodesia from Great Britain may be obtained by two routes, either—

(1) From London to Cape Town by boat, which takes seventeen to nineteen days, and thence to Buluwayo by the Bechuanaland Railway passing through Kimberley, the centre of the greatest diamond mining district in the world, Mafeking, and Tati, arriving at Buluwayo, the present terminus of the railway, four and a half days after leaving Cape Town; or—

(2) By boat to Beira, in Portuguese East Africa; by train from Beira to the railhead, and thence by road to Salisbury, to which the railway line has lately been completed.

Rhodesia has an area of about 750,000 square miles, and is divided into two portions by the river Zambesi, which flows through the country from west to east.

Southern Rhodesia, the smaller but the more developed of these portions, consists of two provinces, Mashonaland and Matabeleland.

Mashonaland was first exploited by a pioneer expedition of the British South Africa Company, organised by Mr. Frank Johnson, Major Heany, and Mr. H. J. Borrow, and led by Mr. F. C. Selous, the well-known hunter of big game. The expedition started from Bechuanaland in June 1890 with 500 men, and reached Mount Hampden, in Mashonaland, in September, having traversed a distance of 500 miles through a roadless unexplored country without losing a single man, or encountering any opposition. They founded near Mount Hampden, in the midst of a rich gold-bearing district, the fort of Salisbury, now the chief town of Mashonaland, also other forts at Tuli Drift, Charter, and Victoria. Near this latter place are the wonderful ruins of Zimbabwe, evidently having been built by a most highly civilised race.

Salisbury has now a population of over 2000, and boasts a racecourse, owned by the Mashonaland Turf Club, good hotels, daily and weekly papers, a public library, and various clubs for the entertainment of its inhabitants.

Matabeleland, having an area of 60,000 square miles, lies south-west of Mashonaland, between it and Bechuanaland. It takes its name from the Matabele, a warlike tribe who, settling in this district about 1837, for fifty years dominated the neighbouring tribes of the Zambesi district. In 1888 the reigning king, Lobengula, whose army consisted of 15,000 warriors, divided into regiments called "impi," each of which was commanded by an "induna," made a treaty giving us mining and trading rights in his country. In 1893, however, having made a raid upon the Mashonas engaged in working for the white settlers, two expeditions were sent against him, one from the south, consisting of the Bechuanaland Border Police assisted by King Khama with 1500 natives, and one from the north, consisting of 600 of the British South Africa Company's troops. On

the approach of these united forces Lobengula, with many of his chief warriors, fled from his capital Buluwayo, after having set it on fire. A small body of troops, led by Major Wilson, pursued, but were unfortunately surprised and destroyed on the banks of the Shangani River. Buluwayo was occupied on the 4th November 1893, and since then the administration of Matabeleland has been in the hands of the Chartered Company.

Buluwayo now possesses a population of 5000, a mayor and corporation, daily and weekly papers, and several public buildings, including banks, clubs, and a hospital built as a memorial to Major Wilson.

The rapid increase in value of land at Buluwayo may be shown by the fact that whilst in 1894 the average price of a town stand was £103, in 1897 it had advanced to £345. Now that by the opening of the railway, in November 1897, it is placed in direct communication with Cape Town, a still greater increase in value may be anticipated.

Physically, Southern Rhodesia consists of a high tableland, the Matoppo Mountains in Matabeleland and the Umvukwe Mountains in Mashonaland, forming a chain extending north and south through the eastern portion. Many streams flow from this range northwards into the Zambesi, and southwards into the Limpopo. The highest points of this range are in Manicaland, attaining an elevation of 7000 feet.

The soil is mostly very fertile, in Matabeleland alone 6000 square miles are suitable for cultivation without any artificial irrigation or other extensive preliminary work. In 1891 a commission of Cape Colony farmers visited the country, and reported favourably on the land from an agricultural standpoint. Monsieur Decle, a scientist sent out by the French Government, said: "I am the first traveller who has crossed Africa from the Cape to Uganda, and I must say the British

South Africa Company may certainly boast of possessing the pick of Central Africa on both sides of the Zambesi."

Teak forests cover 2000 square miles in North-west Matabeleland; and Mashonaland is very well timbered, mostly with trees of the *Acacia* family.

The native crops are rice, tobacco, cotton, and india-rubber. All European vegetables can be grown to perfection, especially cabbages, lettuces, beetroot, turnips, carrots, and onions. There were in 1897 over eighty market-gardens in the neighbourhood of Buluwayo, and for the half-year ending September 1897, the value of produce sold was £9630.

Fruit orchards are being planted, and nearly all fruit appears to flourish, especially grapes, figs, oranges, peaches, almonds, walnuts, lemons, bananas, quinces, apricots, pomegranates, and apples. All kinds of European cereals can be grown, and maize does well.

The average rainfall is 30 to 35 inches, 90 per cent. of which falls during the wet season—November to March.

The temperature rarely touches freezing point, except on the highlands round Salisbury and Fort Charter, and owing to the great elevation (4000 to 5000 feet) of most of the country, rarely exceeds 90° in the shade. In the low-lying Zambesi valley, however, it is very hot from December to March.

The whole country forms good pasture land, with the exception of about 5000 miles in the valleys of the Zambesi, Sanyati, and Umniati Rivers, where the presence of the dreaded tsetse-fly renders cattle-keeping an impossibility. This insect (*Glossinia morsitans*) is slightly larger than the common house-fly, of a brown colour, and emits a peculiar buzzing which is unmistakable after having once been heard. It attacks all animals, but whilst the result is almost invariably fatal in the case of the horse, ox, and dog, the mule, ass, and

antelope do not appear to be injuriously affected. The bite is also harmless to man. The quantity of poison necessary to cause death, and the time that elapses between the animal being bitten and its death varies, being influenced by external circumstances. In many cases several days pass before the animal bitten shows any symptoms of illness. After death the subcutaneous cellular tissue is found to be injected with minute air-bubbles.

The rinderpest in the early part of 1896 caused a terrible destruction of cattle in Rhodesia, in spite of the strict precautionary measures taken by the Company's officials; but new cattle are now being imported. It is estimated that in Mashonaland alone 40,000 cattle perished or were destroyed, and over £7000 was paid to the owners of uninfected cattle destroyed in endeavouring to stamp out the scourge. The loss of the oxen employed in transport service for some time seriously interrupted communication in many outlying districts, and thus caused a great advance in prices of food-stuffs, &c.

The mineral wealth of the country appears to be very great. The remains of old surface workings show that seekers for gold in early ages found their way here; indeed, many people think that here we have the Land of Ophir. The ruins of Zimbabwe, near Victoria, contain circular walls and a conical tower, and the discovery in other places of fragments of sculpture and pottery, judged by experts to be relics of Sabæan Arabs, seem to give some ground for this belief. There are in Matabeleland alone nearly 6000 square miles of gold-bearing formation, lying at an altitude of from 4000 to 5000 feet, and consisting chiefly of auriferous schists, slates, and granites, and coal measures. Some 156,000 mining claims were current on January 31, 1898, in Southern Rhodesia, in spite of the fact that the native rebellion in the early part of 1897 and the scarcity

of transport caused by the rinderpest had seriously retarded their working.

The reduction of transport rates, which will be caused by the extension of railway communication and the importation of machinery will, in all probability, enable some splendid results to be obtained.

There are also extensive coal areas, and iron, lead, copper, silver, plumbago, antimony, arsenic, and tin have been discovered.

The natives of Southern Rhodesia chiefly consist of four tribes, viz., the Matabele, the Makalakas in the south, the Banyai in the north-west, and the Mashonas in the north-east. Of these the Matabele are of Zulu descent, the others all of Bantu stock. These Bantu or Kaffir races are supposed by some to have originated from an admixture of the Arab and Negro races. They make, on the whole, good farm labourers, and are clever in native handicrafts.

A curious marriage custom, common through all South Africa amongst the natives, is that of "Lobola," by which, before the marriage takes place, the husband deposits with the bride's father a certain sum in money or goods for the support of the bride in case of his pre-decease. If, however, she should marry again the money returns to the husband's family. The amount paid rests with the bride's father or nearest relative, there being, however, a maximum limit. This custom, which no doubt is derived from the former purchase of wives, is now officially recognised by the Government.

North of the Zambesi, in Barotseland, a very interesting tribe, the Barotse or Marotse, are found. Their king, Lewanika, governs a country the size of Germany, two princesses—his sister and niece—and his son Litia being governors of provinces. The provinces are divided into districts, governed by chiefs, who in their turn command lesser chiefs—every Marotse being by virtue of birth a chief—the other tribes being their slaves. Even

a slave may own other slaves, or even a whole village, and apart from owing his chief fealty, and being unable to leave his part of the country without permission, is not often very much interfered with. By means of this fendal system the king governs this vast district, any command being in a very short time known throughout the country.

The king's eldest sister, having the title of Mokwai, theoretically shares the government.

Amongst the inferior tribes of Barotseland there was in vogue, until suppressed by Lewanika, the trial by ordeal for persons suspected of witchcraft. The arms of the suspected person were plunged into boiling water for some seconds, and if at the end of twenty-four hours it was found that the skin had come off he was declared guilty and burned alive. These tribes are very superstitious, attributing all misfortune to evil spirits which may take possession of a man, and can only be expelled by the burning of the person possessed.

Barotseland will, it is expected, become a great corn-producing district; and as the annual rainfall is fairly regular, will, when direct communication is established, be able to supply South Africa with grain during seasons of scarcity caused by drought.

Northern Rhodesia, which includes Barotseland, has yet been but little prospected. Coal, however, has been found on the shore of Lake Nyassa. On the higher lands coffee can be grown, and rice can be easily cultivated in the valleys. The fibre plant, which is very plentiful, is said to make a rope superior to the best manilla, and the india-rubber industry is being developed.

An Order in Council, entitled the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council 1898, which modifies the provisions of the Matabeleland Order in Council 1894, and in some measure bestows a new Constitution on Southern Rhodesia, was published on November 25, 1898. Under the provisions of this Order Administrators have been

appointed for Mashonaland and Matabeleland, the first-named being the Senior Administrator. The Crown is represented in Southern Rhodesia by a Resident Commissioner.

There will be an Executive Council consisting of the Resident Commissioner, the Administrators, and not less than four members appointed by the British South Africa Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State.

There will also be a Legislative Council composed of the Administrator or Administrators for the time being, the Resident Commissioner, and nine other members, of whom five are to be appointed by the Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State, and four elected by the Registered Voters, as directed by the Order in Council.

A Customs Clause in the New Order in Council provides that the duty on British goods imported into Southern Rhodesia shall not exceed the present Cape tariff.

There is a High Court of Justice, called the High Court of Southern Rhodesia, and a magistrate for each district. The code of laws is practically that of Cape Colony when the Matabeleland Order in Council was passed (July 18, 1894), except for some slight modifications made then by Order in Council, Proclamation, or Ordinance, and some few made since by Orders in Council and Proclamations of the High Commissioner under such Orders, by Ordinances of the Company, approved by the Secretary of State, and by Regulations of the Administrator in Council, approved by the High Commissioner; these last must be published in the *Gazette*, and may be disallowed within one year by the Company or the Secretary of State.

In civil cases between natives, native law and custom are consulted as far as possible by the magistrate, who can have a native assessor to advise him.

A Civil Commissioner is set over each district, and other Commissioners have charge of mines and the natives.

The Supreme Court of Cape Colony forms a court of appeal for civil cases in which the amount involved exceeds £100; the assent of the Cape Legislature must, however, first be obtained.

BECHUANALAND

BY SIR SIDNEY G. A. SHIPPARD

K.C.M.G., M.A., D.C.L., F.R.G.S.

(Of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law; formerly one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Cape of Good Hope; late Administrator and Chief Magistrate of British Bechuanaland, Deputy Commissioner and Resident Commissioner for the Bechuanaland Protectorate)

BEFORE the retrocession of the Transvaal in 1881, comparatively little was known of the country called by Europeans Bechuanaland. The hunting expeditions of Gordon Cumming, the missionary labours of Dr. Robert Moffat, and the travels of his son-in-law, David Livingstone, had familiarised the public with certain names of places, chiefs, and tribes, but, after all, popular ideas on the subject in England were somewhat vague; very few Europeans had ever visited the high plateau of Bechuanaland, and few cared to know more about it than that it was an immense territory stretching from the north of the Cape Colony to the valley of the Zambesi, between the Transvaal and what was somewhat erroneously called the Kalahari Desert; that it possesses an ideal climate; that it had been in earlier days a sort of hunter's paradise; and that it is somewhat sparsely inhabited by a mild and peaceable race of Bantu origin, who at one time were sorely harassed by the Matabele, a refugee Zulu tribe under Umseligazi.

At present the name Bechuanaland, broadly speaking, denotes the territory bounded on the north by the Zambesi and Chobe Rivers and the Portuguese dominions; on the east by the western limit of Matabeleland and

the South African Republic; on the south by the Cape Colony, as it was limited before the 16th November 1895; and on the west by the German Protectorate. Since the 16th November 1895, the former Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland has formed part of the Cape Colony.

The Bechuanaland Protectorate, in a narrower sense, only extended originally to the 22nd parallel of south latitude; while the territory of British Bechuanaland in its latest development was bounded on the north by the Nosop or Oup River, between its intersection by the 20th meridian east longitude (the German boundary) and its junction with the Molopo; thence by the Molopo to its junction with the Ramathlabana Spruit, and thence by the said Spruit to the frontier of the South African Republic; in other words, by what is now the northern boundary of the Cape Colony between the eastern limit of the German Protectorate and the Transvaal.

The area of British Bechuanaland was about 51,000 square miles. The area of the original protectorate was about 386,000 square miles. The northern portion of Bechuanaland is now included within the sphere of the British South Africa Company's operations. The whole of this vast area—including native reserves—is now British territory.

The climate of Bechuanaland is healthy save in the low valleys, on the banks of rivers, and in the swampy country in the north-west, where malarial fever is prevalent. The climate of what was formerly known as the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland, and of all the high plateau of the protectorate, may be described as exceptionally fine. The effect of the great heat in the daytime in summer is counteracted by the dryness of the atmosphere. The early mornings are delightful. The evenings and nights are cool and refreshing the whole year round. Even in winter there

is always a bright sun in the daytime, though between sunset and sunrise the cold is intense. The hoar-frost, however, soon disappears under the rays of the morning sun. The altitude of the country may be taken generally to vary from 4000 to 4500 feet above sea-level; that is to say, from 500 to 1000 feet above the summit of Table Mountain. The elevation, of course, accounts for the healthiness of the climate as well as for the extreme cold of the winter nights. If the luxuries and amusements of civilised life could be provided, Bechuanaland would be an ideal health-resort for persons suffering from pulmonary disease. The annual rainfall in Bechuanaland is about twenty-six inches—that is to say, about the same as the average rainfall in the valley of the Thames—but it is distributed very unequally. The year may be divided into a rainy season and a dry season. The rainy season is somewhat irregular, but generally lasts from November to April, during which period the rainfall is at times very great. The rain suddenly descends with such force that the low-lying country is speedily under water, but the marshy appearance does not last very long. The water soon makes its way to the river-beds down what may be called the bevelled edge of the great central plateau, till at length it rushes away to the sea with the rapidity of a mountain torrent. In winter, that is to say from May to September, most of the river-beds in Bechuanaland are more or less dry, but water can be readily procured by digging in the beds of the streams or by sinking wells in any part of the country. Generally speaking, good water may be obtained at a depth of from twenty to thirty feet. Much rain sinks into the more porous portions of the soil, and it is possible to trace under line formations the course of underground streams which burst forth at certain declivities. A well-known instance of this is the so-called fountain of Kuruman. Such fountains are of course generally chosen centres of native population.

In midsummer—that is to say from December to February—thunderstorms of great violence are very frequent. Hailstorms are less common, but very destructive. The hailstones attain a size and weight unknown in England. From August to November there are occasionally dust storms which, while they last, are far worse than any London fog. Venomous reptiles, such as cobras and puff-adders, are met with, though not very frequently. Flies in summer are a veritable plague. Mosquitoes are not unknown. Huge flying beetles occasionally hit one in the veld, and flying ants at times drop their wings in one's soup. The white ants, which do so much through formic acid to fertilise the sandy soil, often do great damage to human habitations, and the rapidity with which they destroy articles of clothing, leather, and woodwork is amazing. Fish moths consume one's books and papers. Spiders, tarantulas, and scorpions attain remarkable size and exhibit great vigour. The common domestic flea is at certain seasons particularly lively. In short, insect life generally is, to say the least, unpleasantly exuberant. The ravages of the immense swarms of walking and flying locusts, the comparative scarcity of water, the prevalence of horse-sickness during the rainy season, and, indeed, till frost sets in, lung-sickness among cattle, and the unsuitability of the veld for sheep-farming, are all serious obstacles at the outset of farming operations. But, after all, these prove in the long run to be minor drawbacks, however formidable they appear at first. Most of them disappear to a great extent in course of time, thanks to the patient perseverance and dogged determination of the Dutch farmers. The main point is that throughout the high plateau of Bechuanaland the climate, though sub-tropical, is dry, healthy, and bracing, and that European children thrive there. At a short depth below the surface there is abundance of water, available for irrigation by means of windmill

pumps. Clearing, cultivation, drainage, and, above all, fire, ultimately get the better of insect plagues. Even locusts may be successfully dealt with. Lung-sickness yields to careful inoculation. Horses become acclimatised, and there is reason to believe that, with due precautions, horse-sickness may in time disappear from Bechuanaland, as it has already disappeared from the Cape Colony. The "sweet veld," as it is called in Bechuanaland, as distinguished from the "sour veld" or brackish-flavoured grass of the Transvaal, is peculiarly suitable to cattle. As the rank over-rich grass is eaten down by the cattle, which it fattens so quickly, a finer kind of grass available for sheep springs up. Vast extents of the veld are annually set on fire by the natives, and occasionally even by European farmers, though the expediency of these prairie fires may be doubted. White ants may be got rid of in the neighbourhood of human habitations by carefully digging out the huge queen ants, by the use of paraffin, and by other means familiar to colonists. The planting of trees tends to increase fertility by conserving rain. Generally speaking, the soil of Bechuanaland is excellent, not only to the north of the Setlagoli River, but throughout the country. In short, all such obstacles and difficulties as confront the original settlers can and will be surmounted by dint of resolute industry, while in view of ulterior developments the key of Central Africa—as Bechuanaland has been aptly called—may be regarded as both politically and commercially one of the most valuable acquisitions of Greater Britain.

With regard to the history of Bechuanaland, the limits of this paper preclude my giving more than a very slight sketch, and perhaps I had better confine my remarks as far as possible to my personal experiences, and to a few salient facts within my own knowledge.

My first introduction to actual acquaintance with the affairs of Bechuanaland dates back to the year

1875, when I was acting as Attorney-General of the then Crown Colony of Griqualand West. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard (then Mr.) Southey, had for many years previously, while Colonial Secretary of the Cape Colony, sedulously cultivated friendly relations with the Bechuana chiefs, especially with Seehele, chief of the Bakwena of Kolobeng and Molepolole, Montsioa, chief of the Bora Tsile Barolong of Sehuba (afterwards of Mafeking), and Mankoroane, chief of the Batlapin of Taung. In 1875 I first made the acquaintance of Mankoroane and other chiefs who paid a visit to Lieutenant-Governor Southey, and were hospitably entertained at Kimberley. These friendly relations were not maintained by Major (afterwards Sir Owen) Lanyon, under whose administration war broke out with the natives both in Griqualand West and in Southern Bechuana-land. The attention of the German Government was even at that time directed to the possibility of undermining British influence in South Africa by Baron Ernst von Weber, whom I well remember as a claim-holder at Kimberley. This gentleman in his letters, which were subsequently published, suggested the advisability of cultivating ill-feeling between the English and the Dutch in the interests of the German Government.

The war in Southern Bechuana-land was brought to a successful termination at the end of the year 1878 by Sir Charles (then Colonel) Warren, who received the submission of the chiefs within the Molopo over a territory exceeding in extent 35,000 square miles, and transmitted petitions from the Barolong chiefs Montsioa of Sehuba and Moshette of Cunana and from the Batlaro chief Bareki, asking to be taken under Her Majesty's Government. Years before this I had clearly recognised the vital importance of extending the British dominions up to the Zambesi and beyond it.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes has often reminded me of a conversation he and I had in the Christ Church meadows

at Oxford in 1878, when we discussed and sketched out the whole plan of British advance in South and Central Africa, in the realisation of which he has since played so noble a part. The fruits of his labours will be a blessing to thousands yet unborn. His great work will be remembered with gratitude long after the attacks of his adversaries are forgotten.

In order to understand the magnitude of the interests involved in the retention of Bechuanaland by Her Majesty's Government, it is necessary to bear in mind certain facts. Towards the end of Sir Henry Barkly's term of office as High Commissioner, the late Lord Carnarvon conceived the design of effecting in South Africa a federation of states and colonies under the British flag similar to the Dominion of Canada. The idea in itself was a fine one, and it might perhaps have been successfully carried out had it been entrusted in the first instance to Sir Henry Barkly, who had introduced Responsible Government in the Cape Colony and secured popularity by his tact and courtesy. Unfortunately Lord Carnarvon preferred to confide the task to an unofficial emissary, the late Mr. Froude, a charming writer who knew a great deal about books, far less about men, and nothing at all about South Africa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The result was a fiasco, as any one personally acquainted with South Africa could have foretold. Notwithstanding this the Transvaal Republic was suddenly annexed to Her Majesty's dominions by the late Sir Theophilus Shepstone. The late Sir Bartle Frere was sent out to carry out the policy of federation, and shortly afterwards the Transvaal was placed under the disastrous administration of Sir Owen Lanyon. In January 1879 the news of the destruction of the greater part of the 24th regiment at Isandlana had a very bad effect on the natives throughout South Africa. Change of government in England destroyed all continuity of policy in South

Africa. Sir Bartle Frere was recalled, and the military disasters at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill, followed by the ill-advised surrender of the Transvaal, had the natural result of stimulating the activity of those who had so long been labouring in secret to undermine British power in South Africa and who had so successfully financed the Boer rising in the Transvaal.

Finding the British Government of the day and the Cape Responsible Government equally blind to imperial and colonial interests, Prince Bismarck suddenly annexed Great Namaqualand and Damaraland to the German Empire. This blow—which Lord Derby called “an unfriendly act”—seemed at last to awake John Bull from his long slumber over South African affairs. I well remember the effect of the news in the Cape Colony after the mischief was done. I had spoken very plainly about German designs in a lecture which I gave in Grahamstown. In the startling intelligence that the Germans had been allowed to “jump” the South-west coast of Africa, from the Portuguese boundary to the Orange River, I for one saw the realisation of the first part of their programme, which was to cut the English in South Africa off from all chance of northern development or expansion, with a view to ultimately squeezing the British Government out of South Africa. Their idea was to gain a predominant influence in the Transvaal, to secure Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and by means of concessions to be coaxed or wrung out of Lobengula, to elbow the Portuguese out of Mozambique, and from their base on the South-west coast to extend the German dominions across the continent, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Germany has long been resolved to absorb Holland, and thereby acquire the second richest colonial empire in the world; and South Africa, with its temperate climate and boundless mineral wealth, would be such a tempting addition, that perhaps we ought not to

blame our German rivals too much for coveting it. If the late Sir Bartle Frere could have had his way, the South-west territory, from Mossamedes to the Orange River, would have been annexed to Her Majesty's dominions long before any question of German occupation had arisen. It is one of the chief difficulties and misfortunes of those much-maligned Englishmen who devote their lives to the task of extending and consolidating the British Empire, that colonial affairs are settled by men who for the most part have had no personal knowledge or experience either of the lands or the men they rule, while they are themselves tied and bound by the chains of party government. Ministers are responsible to Parliament, which in turn is bound to carry out the mandate of the people. Hence the vital necessity for diffusing, as widely as possible, thoroughly sound knowledge of the actual condition and true interests of our vast empire. That the German project of annexing Bechuanaland in addition to Great Namaqualand and Damaraland was foiled, was in no small degree owing to the foresight and firmness of Mr. Cecil Rhodes; but due credit for the result should also be awarded to the late Lord Rosmead, who from the first fully recognised the importance of securing at least one trade route to the north, seeing that British trade was already blocked on the east and west. At the time of the annexation of the South-west territory by Germany, I was one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the Cape of Good Hope, and absorbed in legal work, when I was unexpectedly appointed British Commissioner in conjunction with the German Consul-General, Dr. Bieber, to investigate the claims of British subjects at Angra Pequena and elsewhere on the South-west coast. While engaged on this Commission I was enabled incidentally to gain an insight into the plans and objects of the Germans, who have never relinquished the hope of ultimately supplanting England

in South Africa. As regarded Bechuanaland, the position at that time was extremely critical. It would be tedious to repeat the oft-told tale of the establishment of the two so-called Republics of Stellaland and Gosehen by Transvaal filibusters, secretly encouraged and supported by President Kruger. Mr. Rhodes was fortunately appointed Deputy Commissioner, and was thus enabled to exercise in Bechuanaland all the powers of Her Majesty's High Commissioner. In this capacity, by means of a written agreement, concluded with the Transvaal filibusters at Losasa on September 8, 1884, he effected one of his masterly compromises. He promised, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, that the filibusters of Stellaland should have the farms they had taken from the natives on both sides, provided they acknowledged the British flag, and consented to come under Her Majesty's sway. He had no force to support him at the time, and nothing but his wits to trust to. By that clever move he checkmated President Kruger and his foreign advisers, and preserved for British South Africa the trade route to the north. Some time after this the military expedition sent out under Major-General Sir Charles Warren cleared Bechuanaland of filibusters without firing a shot. The native chiefs everywhere signified their willingness to accept the protection and recognise the paramount authority of Her Majesty, and the ground was thus prepared for a permanent settlement. Sir Charles Warren's expedition returned to England at about the same time that my work on the Anglo-German Commission was concluded—about September 1885—and the late Lord Rosmead, who had frequently consulted me in private on the whole question, did me the honour of asking me to undertake the task of establishing the first British Administration in Bechuanaland. For this purpose, as soon as I had drafted a code of laws based on the Tembuland Regulations and the general law of the

Cape Colony, a Land Commission was appointed, consisting of Mr. A. H. F. Duncan (formerly a naval officer), and Major Julian J. Levenson, R.E., C.M.G., with myself as president, and Lieut. Haynes, R.E., who was later on succeeded by Mr. A. Sedgwick Woolley, as secretary.

I shall never forget my first journey to Bechuanaland. The railway was only just completed between the Orange River and Kimberley, where I arrived on a trolley. From Kimberley to Barkly West I drove in comfort, but between Barkly West and Taung my secretary, Mr. A. J. Ashburnham, the Accountant-General, Mr G. M. Huntly, and I had to jog along a rough road, bumped up and down in a dilapidated old waggon, without any springs to speak of, and with a team of refractory, underfed animals driven by a good-humoured young Boer, of the filibuster type, somewhat given to boasting. My young friends took a delight in drawing him out, and the tales he told in his amusing broken English were quite of the *Munhausen* order. At Taung the chief Mankoroane was too drunk to come and greet me properly. I asked the magistrate to give him a piece of my mind. I had made stringent provisions in the laws and regulations of the territory against supplying liquor to natives, and the rule was rigidly enforced as long as I remained in Bechuanaland. From Taung I drove with Sir Frederiek (then Colonel) Carrington through Vryburg to Mafeking, where the old chief Montsioa came to welcome me with all his tribe. The English had saved him and his from total destruction at the hands of the Transvaal filibusters, and he was duly grateful and always loyal to Her Majesty. Much of my time was taken up at first in visiting various localities and making the acquaintance of minor chiefs. The High Commissioner paid a flying visit to Mafeking at great inconvenience to himself. After his departure we settled down in good earnest to the work before us, especially with regard to financial matters and the land question. The sittings of the

Land Commission, which began at Mafeking, were for a time interrupted by news of serious disaffection in the district of Vryburg, where the members of the former Stellaland Government were holding public meetings and openly inciting the Dutch farmers to take up arms against the British Government, on the ground that the Land Commission was about to repudiate Mr. Rhodes' agreement of the 8th September 1884. I felt that it was a crisis, and that not a moment was to be lost. Colonel Carrington, who commanded the Bechuanaland Border Police, was absent; but Sir Richard (then Major) Martin, who was second in command, gave me staunch support throughout. He and I started at once for Vryburg. On my arrival I wrote to one of the oldest and most influential of the Dutch farmers, explaining the policy and intentions of the Government in accordance with the Losasa agreement, and, through him, warning the other farmers not to believe the statements of designing agitators. I then summoned a general meeting of Dutch farmers, who attended in great numbers. In a long speech I explained to them the views of Her Majesty's Government and the objects of the Land Commission, and ended by asking them to trust me implicitly, and always to come to me directly if they had any grievance or complaint requiring, in their opinion, the attention of Government. They were silent and apparently distrustful at first; but at length they seemed won over, and gave the required promise. We parted good friends, and during the whole period of my tenure of office in Bechuanaland—that is to say, for ten years—they religiously kept their word; they never broke faith with me in anything; they assisted the Government in every way in their power; they did their utmost to promote education; they paid Government dues punctually and cheerfully, and in every respect proved themselves to be worthy and loyal subjects of Her Majesty. The relations which subsisted between them and the Gov-

ernment during my administration will always remain to my mind a gratifying proof of what can be done to secure the good-will of our Dutch fellow-subjects by the simple old-fashioned means of impartial justice and common courtesy.

There remained for me a far less pleasant duty, that of dealing with the sedition-mongers. I had the four leaders summarily arrested the same evening, and brought before me in an improvised court of justice held in a marquee on the site of Sir Charles Warren's former headquarters. Here, after hearing the case, I told them what I thought of their conduct, and bound them over in recognisances with substantial sureties to keep the peace for six months, with an alternative of imprisonment. They submitted at once, and found the required sureties, whereupon I released them the same evening. In reality their power for evil had vanished from the moment when I came to an understanding with the Dutch farmers. So ended a mischievous agitation which might have led to serious consequences. I shall always feel thankful that this and all other difficulties that arose during my administration passed over without bloodshed.

As soon as quiet was restored at Vryburg I returned to resume the sittings of the Land Commission at Mafeking, where all the claims of the filibusters of Goschen—as they called Montsioa's territory—were disallowed. At Vryburg the Land Commission, as in duty bound, allowed all the claims that had been guaranteed by Mr. Rhodes. The consequent loss of land to the Batlapin tribe was very great; but the natives had brought their losses on themselves through the agreements whereby they had secured European aid against the Korannas of Mamusa before British occupation. As regards the original Stellaland filibusters, I may add that in all cases they promptly sold their farms at a cheap rate to respectable Dutch farmers, who in many

eases resold later on at a greatly enhanced price to other farmers, by whom the country has been greatly improved. From Vryburg the Land Commission proceeded to Taung, where the members had to live in native huts, and where the claims proved to be most numerous and complicated. The work was extremely heavy while it lasted. Twenty thousand questions and answers were recorded before the final awards were given. The result was, that the Land Commission satisfied, as far as possible, the just claims of Europeans, and at the same time marked off inalienable reserves, which an eminent member of the London Missionary Society told me constituted the most generous provision ever made for natives in South Africa. I should add, however, that many Dutch farmers were indignant at seeing the large extent of the best-watered and most productive land in the country set apart for natives, who, they contended, would thus be encouraged in idle habits, instead of being compelled to work for their living like the vast majority of white men. Humanitarians in England are prone to condemn such views in unsparing terms; but I cannot help thinking that a few years' experience of life in South Africa might induce these kind-hearted and well-meaning gentlemen to judge others more leniently. With regard to cases of cruelty, there cannot be two opinions among men of right feeling anywhere; but in my opinion the average Englishman who has not lived in South Africa is too apt to look at the South African native question through the spectacles of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe—forgetting that the conditions of life in the Southern States of America before the civil war were totally different from those of British South Africa to-day. The Dutch farmer at the Cape cannot understand the English view of native questions, nor even our ideas about slavery. The Boer, who devoutly studies his Bible, notes that slavery was an institution recognised both in the Old and New

Testament. To question the supreme authority and universal application of Holy Writ in every question of daily life would seem to him like blasphemy. The emancipation of his slaves against his will appeared to him to be a tyrannical confiscation of private property. Quite apart from the question of slavery, he is unable to comprehend on what principle of justice or expediency vast numbers of natives should be allowed and encouraged, permanently and by inalienable right, to occupy extensive territories, to the total exclusion of white men, who have to work hard for their living, while the lazy able-bodied native man can lie on his back in his kraal, basking in the sun, drinking Kafir beer or dozing till his wives and concubines bring him the food which they have to prepare and cook after having tilled the ground and tended the stock that produce it. These are among the mysteries of English sentimentality that no Cape Dutch farmer can understand. For generations the Dutch pioneers have had a life and death struggle to hold their own among overwhelming hordes of savages, and those who have sufficient power of imagination to enable them to see things from the Boers' point of view can hardly wonder that to them the ideas and methods of the insular Englishman prove, to say the least, somewhat irritating. There is, of course, another side to the story, but the Boer fails to see it. Perhaps the best compromise yet devised is to be found in what is known at the Cape as the "Glen Grey Act," which imposes a tax on natives living in locations who fail to prove that they are working for a master for a certain part of their time.

I took an early opportunity of paying visits to old Gaseitsive, chief of the Bangwaketsi of Kanya; old Sechele, the Bakwena chief of Molepolole; Lenchwe, the Bakhata chief of Mochudi, and the well-known chief Khama of the Bamangwato, who then lived at Shoshong, whence he migrated to Palapye. Gaseitsive was a very

aged man, much beloved by his tribe. He was kind and hospitable, sending me sheep and pressing me to drink Kafir beer, which I promptly bestowed on his own thirsty followers. When some years later old Gaseitsive died, his people showed their love for him by sitting in a circle round his grave night after night during the period of mourning to prevent evil spirits or transformed witches from stealing his body. The Bangwaketsi had in many respects greatly benefited by the teachings of an excellent missionary—the Rev. J. Good, of the London Missionary Society—who had lived among them for a quarter of a century; but old superstitions among savage races are not easily eradicated.

Sechele was at one time the most powerful chief in Bechuanaland, but his people were much harassed and driven from Kolobeng by the Matabele under Umseli-gazi, before the latter proceeded to the country north of the Limpopo, and many circumstances had contributed to lessen the power of the Bakwena, among which may be mentioned the rise of the power of Khama. Sechele treated me with great hospitality, and himself brought me the traditional present of a fine ox, which I bestowed on the police, as refusing it was out of the question. Khama was, I need hardly say, most friendly from first to last. Space will not permit me to do more than mention my frequent journeys in the Protectorate for the settlement of native disputes or the trial of capital cases; my accompanying Lord Loch on his visit to the Macloutsi camp, a journey saddened by the death of the Master of Elphinstone, at Palla; my previous journey to Gordonia, on the Orange River, when that district was added to British Bechuanaland; or my visits to Kuruman, the Batlaros, Motitong, and other places familiar to readers of Dr. Moffat's travels. One's strange and sometimes droll experiences in such journeys would fill a volume.

From the time of my first arrival in 1885 I lost no

opportunity of urging on the High Commissioner in my private letters the vital importance to British interests of making a railway to the north through the level and easy plateau of Bechuanaland; but His Excellency, for financial reasons, turned a deaf ear to this until Mr. Rhodes undertook to make the line himself. I was, however, successful in getting a permanent line of telegraph, with iron poles, constructed to replace Sir Charles Warren's temporary military line, and also in getting a good central prison and an excellent cottage hospital built at Vryburg. The prison I only secured with infinite trouble and after a long correspondence. It was needed to replace the pestilential den bequeathed to us by the Stellaland government. The wretched prisoners in summer had to sleep in chains on the ground outside the cells, as they would have been stifled inside. I was repeatedly told that the British taxpayer could not be expected to pay for luxurious accommodation for prisoners in Bechuanaland; to which I could only reply that the Black Hole of Calcutta would not be a suitable place of detention for any human being under British rule. In the end I got all I asked for, and I must admit that, though the Treasury has unrivalled powers of grumbling, snubbing, and fault-finding, it is, for a really worthy object, most generous. No other Government in the world would have done for any colony the half or the quarter of what England gratuitously did for Bechuanaland, only to hand it over as a free gift to the responsible government of the Cape of Good Hope.

From my first arrival at Mafeking in 1885 I kept up a friendly correspondence with the Matabele chief, Lobengula, with a view to counteracting foreign intrigues, and ultimately securing his territory for England, in accordance with the plan decided on between Mr. Rhodes and myself in 1878. At the end of 1887 I went to Grahamstown to meet the High Commissioner, in the hope of persuading him

to sanction my concluding, through Mr. J. S. Moffat, who was at that time British Resident at Buluwayo, a treaty or convention binding Lobengula not to cede any portion of Matabeleland or Mashonaland to any Power or State but England. I used all my powers of persuasion, but failed to induce Lord Rosmead either to act on his own responsibility in the matter or to approach Her Majesty's Government on the subject. As a last resource I telegraphed to Mr. Rhodes, who was then busily engaged at Kimberley, to come down at once to Grahamstown and try the effect of his eloquence. He came, and by taking on himself all pecuniary responsibility, succeeded in obtaining the requisite sanction. I immediately sent instructions to Mr. Moffat to obtain, if possible, the assent of Lobengula and his principal indunas to the proposed treaty. In this Mr. Moffat succeeded, and from that moment British interests in the country between the Zambesi and the Limpopo were secured, and one of the main objects of the establishment of the Bechuanaland Protectorate was virtually attained.

In 1888 a Transvaal Boer named Grobler, on his way down from Buluwayo, in the course of a violent altercation with some of Khama's men whom he met between the Shashi and the Macloutsi, was accidentally shot in the leg with a Snider bullet by one of his own friends, who was trying to kill a native. Mr. Grobler died sixteen days later in the Transvaal from the effects of the wound. Khama was held morally responsible by the Boers, whose exasperation threatened serious consequences. Lord Rosmead, however, by great tact succeeded in inducing President Kruger to appoint General Joubert, with certain other officers, to meet me in my capacity as the High Commissioner's Deputy, in order to investigate and report on the unfortunate occurrence with a view to compensation. The inquiry was held on the right bank of the Limpopo, where

Khama, who distrusted the Boers, appeared with a very large force. The result was a peaceful settlement, as Her Majesty's Government agreed to give an annuity to Mr. Grobler's widow and to pay further compensation. I received, however, trustworthy intelligence that Mr. Frederick Grobler, the deceased's brother, was endeavouring to induce Lobengula to send an impi against Khama. Lobengula's answer, as repeated to me, was characteristic. He said: "Khama is my dog; if my dog had killed a Matabele, I should have known what to do; but since Khama has only killed a Transvaal Boer, it is for the Transvaal to protect its own subjects."

As I was so far on my way, it seemed to me desirable for me to pay a visit to Lobengula, in order to arrive at a good understanding with him and also to see what I could do towards securing his country for England. Leaving the greater part of my escort to guard certain fords on the Limpopo, in order to prevent collisions and minimise the risk of raids from the Transvaal into Khama's country, I proceeded with Major Goold Adams and sixteen troopers of the Bechuanaland Border Police to visit the Matabele chief. It was a slow and tedious journey. The oxen I had brought up to the Limpopo were footsore, but Khama lent me a span of very fine but untrained oxen. Alarming reports with regard to my real objects were spread by men from the Transvaal among the Matabele, to whom I was described as a wizard possessing miraculous powers for evil; and as a consequence we met with a good deal of opposition. At the Semokwe River we were surrounded and daily threatened by a large force of Matabele, who only awaited an order from Lobengula to attack us. We had nothing for it but to camp out, and send a letter by native messengers to Mr. Moffat to obtain, if possible, a safe-conduct from Lobengula. Our coloured servants concealed themselves in a neighbouring wood every

night, and all included we could only muster twenty-two rifles, with 120 rounds per man. We resolved, of course, to sell our lives as dearly as possible; but we were completely hemmed in, and the result of a conflict would have been a foregone conclusion. At length a messenger arrived with a safe-conduct, but in spite of it we were twice again confronted by hostile parties before we succeeded in pushing our way through to Ungusa River (beyond Buluwayo) where Lobengula was then staying. The men of the escort behaved with admirable coolness; the Matabele made many attempts to provoke them to begin a fight, but the demeanour of the troopers was imperturbable. When once we were at his kraal, Lobengula treated us with the utmost consideration. He sent all his indunas to greet me, and to bring me an ox chosen by himself. He was a fine-looking Zulu of stately and dignified deportment, punctiliously polite and courteous withal. My conferences with him were highly satisfactory. I gave him to understand that the concession seekers, of whose importunity he complained, were not in any way connected with, or authorised by, Her Majesty's Government. Shortly after I left he granted the concession on which the British South Africa Company subsequently obtained its charter.

On my return from Matabeleland I attended a meeting of all the chiefs of the Bechuanaland Protectorate at the water caves of Kopong. Mr. Moffat, who had followed me from Matabeleland, and some missionaries, were present. The results were most unsatisfactory. It was on this occasion that Sebele, the eldest son and successor of Sechele, proposed to the other chiefs that they should put me to death and declare their independence. I was warned of this by one of the missionaries, who added that the proposal had been negatived by Khama, who pointed out that I had come there in a friendly spirit, unarmed in the midst of two thousand armed natives, and in full reliance on their loyalty. He

added significantly to Sebele, whose lack of courage he well knew: "There are comparatively few of my people present, but we are well armed. My people have long wished to see how you Bakwena would behave under fire, and if you attempt to carry out your purpose we *shall* see." Sebele dropped the subject, and the next time I met him, which was shortly afterwards in his father's house at Molepolole, his manner to me was more than usually obsequious.

The effect of the British connection upon the country and its natives has been unmixed good. We found the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland a savage country only recently the scene of wars and tumults. After ten years of laborious and careful administration it was handed over to the Cape Colony a settled country as safe to travel in as any part of England. Towns had sprung up; a railway ran through it; the telegraph had been continued up through the protectorate; churches had been built; schools and hospitals established; trade had vastly increased. In short, the *Pax Britannica* had already done its almost magical work. The natives were, when I left, contented and prosperous. They deeply regretted the withdrawal of direct Imperial rule, and I had a very touching interview with poor old Montsioa and his headmen on the subject just before I left. He told me he and his people felt much fear. "Why," he said, "do they take you from us? I am old and we do not know the road, but where you go I and my people will go with you." I had to explain to the old man, as best I could, that it was impossible for me either to remain with them or to take them with me where I was going. It was a painful scene, and I was glad to get away.

The present position of the natives, and the outlook for the future is, I consider, satisfactory. The Cape Government treats natives well, and those who obey the laws have no cause for apprehension.

The chief want in South Africa is, in my opinion, increased European population. Vast tracts of land capable of high cultivation are uninhabited. The natives love to roam at will over immense territories, settling for a time in some favoured spot, and of course selecting all the best waters. In time it will probably become necessary to repeat to some extent in the Bechuanaland Protectorate the process by which the natives are restricted to certain localities, or only allowed to settle as labourers on farms granted to Europeans. The chief industry is agriculture, and the country is admirably adapted for breeding cattle. Maize and Kafir corn are everywhere produced in abundance. Fruit and vegetables can be cultivated to perfection. The exports for the Kimberley market consist chiefly of maize or "mealies," hides, cattle, and wood for burning. The country is generally level, and there are good roads in all directions. The postal system is excellent. The Standard Bank of South Africa, Limited, has branches at Vryburg and Mafeking. Much of the Kalahari is a fine and productive country, only requiring population and capital for its development. There has been much talk about gold in Bechuanaland; but in spite of the vicinity of gold mines in the Transvaal I have no reason to believe that gold in payable quantities is likely to be found near the surface in any part of Bechuanaland. Whether deep borings would be likely to produce satisfactory results I have no means of knowing. The country has never yet been properly prospected for minerals.

The laws throughout Bechuanaland are virtually those of the Cape Colony. Any attempt to explain such differences as exist between the Roman Dutch law and the law of England would far exceed my present limits.

In conclusion, I will only add that the story of the expansion of England through the acquisition and development of Bechuanaland and Rhodesia is one of

which all Englishmen may be justly proud. It is true that Bechuanaland was but the key; yet without that key the door could never have been opened. *Now* the possibilities seem boundless; but we must bear in mind that our very successes in colonial enterprise, our immense and still growing trade, and the enormous wealth produced by it, all tend to raise around us hosts of jealous rivals and enemies, and that we are bound always to keep both our army and navy in the highest state of efficiency.

I believe that the Anglo-Saxon race is still far from having reached the summit of the vast power it is destined to attain; but Englishmen of all classes, men of the Imperial race, should stand together shoulder to shoulder throughout the world; and in time, by God's blessing, we may hope to be enabled to extend the benefits of peace, justice, and mercy throughout all the dark places of the earth. If we advance in that spirit we need have no fear—

“ Nought shall make us rue
If England to itself do rest but true.”

THE TRANSVAAL, OLD AND NEW

BY W. Y. CAMPBELL, F.R.G.S.

(Late Vice-President, Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg)

THE TERRITORY

At present the Transvaal is just a little larger in area than Great Britain—say 75,000,000 acres. Fifty years ago there was no Transvaal. A small portion of what is now Transvaal was taken by force from the resident natives by a “Voertrekking” (Anglicè pioneering) expedition of Boers. The native owners were in part killed and in part driven into and formed what is now Matabeleland. The land so acquired was Goshen to the Voertrekking Boer, and others followed up from the south, and in turn more natives were dispossessed—at times by force, at others by stratagem, and the Transvaal grew till it began to trouble British areas in the east and west and north. In the east, thanks to Sir Arthur Havelock, the fairest part of Zululand was given *ex gratia* to the Boers, and later a portion of Swaziland; and at various times in the west the British boundaries were slowly but surely driven farther west till the British Government at last said NO emphatically through Sir Charles Warren and Cecil Rhodes, and in like way the Boer effort to trek and expand north was “damped” by the British Government. With these exceptions, the “Transvaal” has steadily grown by an equally steady policy of “grab and hold” till it became the large territory it is to-day. Three irruptions of Voertrekkers compassed all this. The Voertrekkers

came from the Cape Colony and were born British subjects, but who trekked north to free themselves from the bonds of restraint attaching to civilisation.

The first tract south seized was from King Umziligatse and cost a few Boer lives, the second tract east to Lydenburg and Dekaap sections cost only £150 and a piece of native treaty paper. The third portion cost England the Zulu War, *i.e.* thousands of lives and millions of treasure, and then was *ex gratia* handed over to the Boers by Sir Arthur Havelock!

In early Boer polity every Boer male was entitled to a "farm" with minimum of 6000 acres of the "Transvaal," and so the custom of 6000-acre farms came about and continued while Kaffir lands lasted.

To-day the Boer owned land is held by four parties:—

(a) Government or State lands.

(b) Land in trust for aborigines.

(c) Land privately owned by Boers.

(d) Land bought from Boers and privately owned by British colonists or landowners.

The first two classes are not worth discussing, and amount to little.

The Boers, under the license of taking as much as possible at no cost and sticking to it, soon became individual owners of enormous tracts of wild country where even beacons or boundaries were hardly worth discussing, and even under a purely Boer régime, land in the Transvaal (a mere few years back) was not worth more than from a farthing to a penny an acre—chiefly the former.

The advent of British folk and British gold and brains led to a change, and land by reason of British purchases became more valuable, and beacons and boundaries became necessities. The Boers steadily sold their best and surplus lands, and the British as steadily bought till the prices rose to 2s. 6d., then 5s., and in many cases 10s. and 20s. an acre for ordinary raw arable land.

To-day we have the following agrarian position in the Transvaal by areas and by values:—

<i>Areas.</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Boers' own land	65
British	35
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>
	100

But land is valuable not by area merely but by intrinsic value, and the Boers have sold much of their best land and taken British gold for it; and when we come to the figures in the Government Dues Office at Pretoria we have:—

<i>Value.</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Boers	33
British	67
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>
	100

The net deductions in the Dues Office are that the whole of the farms and private lands in the Transvaal under the mere Boer occupancy were valued by the outside world at £933,200, whereas to-day, by the addition of the British buyer and holder, they are now valued by the world at ten millions sterling.

(*N.B.*—In these figures all land occupied for mining or town sites is excluded.)

POPULATION

The Boer Government figures show the population of the Transvaal to be as follows:—

Boers	66,000
British and other whites	179,000

I think the estimate of Boers fairly correct, but I think their Government figures are wrong as regards

the British and white people other than Boers. I am more inclined to estimate the—

British and others at	100,000
Boers	60,000
	<hr/>
Total whites	160,000

But assuming the Boer Government figures are correct, we have the percentage of whites in the Transvaal working out thus:—

	Per Cent.
British and others	73
Boers	27
	<hr/>
	100

Of the above 73 per cent., fully 80 per cent. are born white British.

The foreign letters ratio in a state like the Transvaal, where a mixed white immigrant population has taken up its residence, is of interest, and we have the following figures:—

	Per Cent.
Britain	77.55
Germany	6.39
Russia (Jews)	5.47
United States	5.28
France	2.72
Holland	2.56
	<hr/>
	99.97

FINANCES

Here is the ascending scale of the past few years of Transvaal State Finance.

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
	£	£
1871-72	40,988	35,714
1876-77 ¹	62,762	64,504
1880 ²	174,068	144,942
1882	177,406	114,476
1883	143,323	184,343
1885	177,876	162,708
1886 ³	380,433	211,829
1887	668,435	721,073
1888	884,440	770,492
1889	1,577,445	1,226,155
1890	1,229,060	1,531,461
1891 ⁴	967,191	1,350,073
1892	1,255,829	1,188,765
1893	1,702,684	1,302,054
1894	2,247,728	1,734,728
1895	3,539,955	2,679,095
1896	4,532,194	4,765,056
1897	4,886,499	4,670,975

Thus before the advent of British gold-mining enterprise, the revenue was under £400,000, while after ten years of that enterprise, the revenue was £5,000,000, almost all of which was yielded by the gold industry. How the revenue is spent is roughly known and accounted for, but an ordinary third party business audit of the accounts of the Transvaal for the past ten years would probably show many millions sterling wrongly dealt with, and misappropriated or wasted.

¹ Owing to Boer petitions for annexation to England, State bankruptcy, and imminent general rising of natives, England annexed Transvaal.

² England having rehabilitated State finances, crushed all native rebellion at cost of English soldiers' lives, and restored peace and order to country, gave back the country to the malcontent section thereof.

³ Influx of British capital, brain, and sinew, to develop the gold industry of the Transvaal.

⁴ Full reaction from 1889 gold scrip "boom."

TAXATION

It is necessary to individualise all sources of revenue to ascertain the contributions and their percentages, and I find, after due scrutiny, the following in 1896:—

REVENUE		£	Per Cent.
From Blacks		150,000	= 3.070
„ Boers		363,904	= 7.447
„ British		4,372,595	= 89.483
		£4,886,499	= 100

Let us now see what becomes of the revenue, according to Boer official figures.

EXPENDITURE

General expenditure benefiting Boer and British alike	£1,183,273
Special expenditure non-British and wholly Boer	2,515,491
Total net expenditure	£3,628,754

Recasting these extraordinary figures we have—

	Give	Receive	Balance
Boers	£363,904	£2,515,491	£2,151,587 gain.
British	4,372,595	591,636	3,780,959 loss.

The figures read fantastic and put Pekin in the shade, and yet they are well inside the truth.

CIVIL SERVICE

In the pre-gold days, *i.e.* ten years ago, the civil service of the Transvaal was a happy cosmopolitan family, and Boers and English were equally employed

according merely to ability. The gold discoveries led to a rapid increase of office-holders, and the State Secretary, a Javanese of Hollander origin, laid down the perfectly natural policy for himself, and got Mr. Kruger to accept it, that the civil service should be recruited from Holland chiefly—English and Afrianders were steadily barred. Men of no account from Amsterdam were made schoolmasters, and well-certificated men from Cape Town were declared ineligible. The railways, the schools, the judiciary, and the Government offices were packed with young Hollanders, and Dr. Leyds skilfully intrenched himself behind this truly foreign ditch, and cut off all communication or chance of assimilation between the Boers and the British. The policy was bound in the long run to fail, but it has in the interim paralysed and delayed the proper expansion of the territory and the closer understanding of British and Boer, and it has directed the wealth wrung from British taxpayers to anti-British channels. The non-official Boers intensely hate the Hollanders, or rather have a supreme contempt for them, and but for Dr. Leyds having the power of Mr. Kruger behind him, the Boers would have incontinently sent the whole crowd over the border. This would have been a gross injustice, as many of the Hollanders are excellent citizens and civil servants—the evil is making a monopoly for them of the Government service. The evil is decreasing owing to the strong antipathy of the Boers, and more and more colonials, Britons, and Boers are gaining access to the State Civil Service, and Dr. Leyds has himself been shelved to Europe to try and be a Talleyrand there.

LAW

The law bases of the Transvaal are :—

The later Roman Civil Law, modified by the Holland Laws of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and

modified again by the local laws of the first half of this century of the Cape Colony, and finally modified by local Transvaal enactment to suit local conditions.

The Constitutional Law as prevalent from the earliest days in the fifties until the close of 1896 was, that the people were supreme law-makers, and provided that new laws, or alterations of moment, could not occur in the laws unless due notice was given to the people to allow them a veto chance. The judges in turn were supreme and independent law interpreters and administrators of justice.

In a state whose people are united, and whose government is of the people and for the people, and whose head is a constitutional head amenable to the *vox populi*, and not a mere autocrat, such a scheme works well; but in the Transvaal the scheme cannot work, for the state head was for personal and political reasons always exercising unconstitutional authority, and so came in conflict with the court which had tried to keep Mr. Kruger inside the constitution. The result was the High Court of Justice was abolished *in esse*, and a new court appointed of men who, it is understood, will not question or allow to be questioned any act of Mr. Kruger's. Of course the Act, Law 1 of 1897, was a gross infringement of the rights of the people, and in operation the law will come to grief, and Mr. Kruger himself will live to rue the day when, for mere personal pride and power, he took away the sanctity of the judges and made them mere executive registrars. Chief-Justice Kotze refused to bow to the Law 1 of 1897; to bow to it would have been to prostitute his oath of office, and he was dismissed summarily by Mr. Kruger. With him went the strong world-wide acknowledged strength of the Transvaal Bench; his integrity, super-added to his proven deep juridical knowledge, was a tower of strength to the Transvaal in the outer world.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

On this point I will but say that there is so far only one industry of world-wide moment in the Transvaal, and that is the gold-mining industry; the current yield is at the rate of seventeen and a half millions sterling per annum (£17,500,000). The growth of this unequalled in the world's history industry is well known to all, and on its growth and by its growth alone does the whole of South Africa live. The dreams of a Rhodes, the Cape to Cairo connection, the impending vast Britannie African heritage and dominion, all are solely practicable and possible owing to the Rand gold industry. Eliminate that industry, and the prospect of Africa would be poor indeed. From the Rand flows a monthly river of one and a half million golden sovereigns, vitalising African peoples, trades, and commerce, paying the interest on nearly all the South African railways, and paying the larger proportion of the costs of government in the Cape Colony, Orange Free State, and Natal, as well as Pretoria. The Titan that carries this weight of fate is the small British community of Johannesburg, a community some fifty thousand only in number, less than the population of insignificant English towns; and yet, despite the record they have made, despite the load they are carrying, and despite the immense value they are to the English-speaking race, no section of Britons have been so grossly betrayed, neglected, and left by the mother country as have been the British community of Johannesburg. Their rights, their arms, their liberties have alike been taken from them in turn, and the insult of pity has been the only visible interference of England on their behalf.

As and when good or honest government comes in the Transvaal, then only shall we see its huge latent industries taken in hand and developed. The soil and

climate are of exceptional value, and the country, when inhabited as it will be by millions of English-speaking whites, will sustain itself and export food stuff. It will supply the Indian Ocean trade with all its steam coal. It will provide all the coming great South Africa with its manufactures, whether of iron or of leather, and probably of cotton, and certainly of wool. The Transvaal is one of the richest sections of the earth—all it wants, for Boer and Briton alike, is good government—not a government of angels, but a simple modern government of white men by white men, where all law-abiding white men are equal and have equal rights; nothing more. Mr. Kruger has closed the gate on British immigration, but tens of thousands of my countrymen will yet found happy homes there.

NATIVES

There are many tribe remnants in the Transvaal. All are of Bantu origin, and speak dialects of the Bantu tongue. In number they total under 500,000. As a rule they live in the back country, and are in chronic strife with the Boers. True, just government of these blacks such as obtains in Natal does not obtain in the Transvaal, nor can England expect that it should or could.

As regards the natives generally in South Africa, England can now have little direct say. The true interest of the native in the Transvaal will be best furthered by enfranchising all reputable white men; this done the natives will have fair play, and that intricate problem known as South African native policy be left to a federated white South Africa to deal with. There is the same percentage of fair thinking and acting white men in South Africa among the Boers and British as there is in England, and they can, when freed and equal, manage their local affairs without aid. In the meantime the English cash so sacrificially given for

missions to the blacks, should for the future be devoted to the elevation of the masses and the amelioration of Hooliganism in the slums of the British Isles.

CONCLUSION

Just a final word of warning to prevent misconception. Those who have read what has gone before will doubtless say the blame is all with Kruger. Nothing of the kind. I have a fairly close personal knowledge of Mr. Kruger and his entourage, but though I have had to fight with and against him at many times and on many points, I never blame him for his policy. I have denounced it publicly in the Transvaal with the clearest frankness, as the most pernicious possible for his own fellow-countrymen, the Boers, and their children. That is quite true, and many of my Boer friends even realise it. But we may not forget that Mr. Kruger is the creation of the Colonial Office. He has all his life been the sport of the hundred and one different and opposing policies which have rung the changes in Downing Street towards poor South Africa. Mr. Chamberlain is not the first Colonial minister who has fulminated sound and smoke but to disappear. Mr. Kruger has been personally involved in British disputes with some sixteen successive British ministers. Mr. Kruger was born under the British flag and of British parents, and it was not so much the British tie or the British flag he and his have sought to keep at arms' length—it is merely civilisation and its laws, and limitations of exercise of arbitrary power, that he and his are at chronic feud with. If Russia or Germany were the paramount power in South Africa instead of England just now, there would be still Boer resistance.

Germany or Russia, on meeting with any Hofmeyr or Kruger nonsense or apparent opposition, would remind them that there was no foundation, actual or

possible, for pro-Boer views in South Africa in the year of grace 1898. South Africa was bought by the paramount power ninety years ago. It had been administered by the paramount power for ninety years. For every Boer pioneer who had lost his life in land-grabbing, over 100 soldiers of the paramount power had lost their lives in civilising the country; and for every £1 spent by Boer voortrekkers in search of loot and isolation the paramount power's home taxpayers had spent £10,000 in putting the country in order for immigration and expansion. Such are the facts. Russia or Germany would not only quote them but act on them; and 'tis strange that the people of England forget their own blood and treasure, and hunt for the odd drops of others.

Another fallacy is, that the Boers hate the English and love all other civilised nations. It happens to be labelled Anglophobia at present, but it is not. The Boer is a law or license rather to himself and against modern politics, with their limitation of individual arbitrariness. The difference, however, is that if Russia or Germany were paramount in South Africa, there would be no Kruger as he is, but there would be a very live, very loyal, and very useful Russian or German Kruger, and peace and progress all round. The Englishman of to-day knows chiefly of to-day; but if we could induce Mr. Kruger to write a book, "My life and games with sixteen British Ministers," we should all rise from the perusal with a contempt for our political methods and with a great admiration for Mr. Kruger, who, with so little real power other than bluff, has fooled so many ministers and powers, and almost made himself for a short time an international power. So far the grimly humorous side, but there is the pathetic and tragic side. Mr. Kruger's policy is wrong, cruelly so, for it finds 5 per cent. of the Boers enriched by it, and 95 per cent. of the Boers

who follow Mr. Kruger blindly, because of the adroit way their primitive prejudices are worked on, much worse off morally and financially than they were before the entry of the 1888-98 Kruger régime. The education of the Boer on sound lines to fit him to rise in the coming South Africa is nil, and the Boer of to-day, alike under Kruger in Pretoria and the Bond under Mr. Hofmeyr, is preparing himself and his posterity not to run neck and neck with the Briton in developing Africa, but to fall behind and take a gratuitously second or third place. I know the Boers well, and I appreciate their splendid natural qualities, but when we look ahead and weigh the operation of cause and effect in South Africa of the next fifty years, one feels that the Boers of the future will have no blessings for Messrs. Kruger and Hofmeyr. In the same way the Colonial Office and the people of England, who have stood by and allowed autocrats of the Hofmeyr and Kruger type to have safe passage in all their policy and conduct, despite the fact that it is to the injury of Boers, British, and civilisation, have much to answer for.

South Africa, thanks to the latent wealth of the Transvaal, has a bright future; reactionaries of the Hofmeyr and Kruger type are far beyond their zenith, and through all the betrayals of Downing Street, through all the cruel neglects of England, the new South Africa of Boer and Briton will rise in the coming century, and a polity will grow which will wonder why its forebears stood the nonsense they did. The transformation will take time, and it can only be quickened if England fulfils the promise made by Sir Jacobus de Wet, in the Queen's name, to British citizens from the Rand Club balcony, early in 1896. The abandonment of Britain in 1881 was atrocious, but that of January 1896 was even worse, and it and both have yet to be atoned for.

I have seen thirty-two years of South African life, ten

of them having been spent in the Transvaal. My knowledge of its resources and its peoples, its victims and its suffering, is close indeed, and its vista, despite all politics and autocrats, is imminent in the words of the Western poet:—

“I hear the tread of pioneers—
Of nations yet to be ;
The first low wash of human waves,
Where soon shall roll a sea.”

NATAL

BY F. REGINALD STATHAM

(Author of "South Africa as it is," late Editor of the "Free State Express," Bloemfontein)

NATAL has been called, and is still called, the "Garden Colony" of South Africa. That it deserves the name is made abundantly clear to any one who happens to reach it by sea from a Cape Colony port. The coast from East London is, for some seventy or eighty miles, as barren and desolate as it could be—dry-looking flats covered with brown grass, not a tree visible, and a broad margin of bright yellow sand towards which the ground swell ceaselessly runs. A little further, and the steamer is opposite the steep and rugged cliffs of Western Pondoland, with the mouth of the St. John's River showing like a notch between precipitous headlands. After that come the pasture-lands of Eastern Pondoland, with scanty traces of bush, and here and there a group of native kraals, looking like bee-hives arranged in a circle. The moment, however, the southern boundary of Natal is reached, at a point marked by what is known as the South Sand Bluff, the appearance of the country changes. Instead of arid levels, or grass-clad slopes, the country becomes a veritable garden, clothed for miles inland with semi-tropical bush, with here and there a glimpse of bright sugar-fields, occupying the spaces from which the bush has been cleared away.

Nor can it be said that in this country, where "every prospect pleases," man has lagged behind in his efforts to improve upon nature. It is impossible for the

stranger to land at Durban, and to make an acquaintance with the town, without at once recognising the enterprise and public spirit which have gone to make town and harbour what they are. Durban is often spoken of as the "most English town in South Africa." It is English in every respect but one—namely, that the long, straight, wide streets, with the cross streets intersecting them at right angles, essentially embody the Dutch idea. A healthy tradition of municipal pride has inspired successive generations of councillors with the desire to make the very best of their opportunities. As a result, every year sees some solid and well-considered improvement taken in hand and carried through—new suburbs (and such exquisite suburbs!) opened out, fresh sources of water-supply brought into use, additional means adopted for preserving proper sanitary conditions. To see such pains taken amid such beautiful surroundings does one's heart good. It has been determined that Durban shall be made healthy and attractive, and it becomes the business of every resident to make it healthy and attractive accordingly. As for the harbour, it would be impossible to speak in too high terms of the enterprise shown, for nearly twenty years past, in fitting it to be a first-class commercial centre. The very controversies that have arisen over the best means to be taken for the improvement of the harbour, only supply evidence of the interest taken in its improvement. The extent to which that improvement has been carried, may be gathered from the fact that whereas in 1878 the largest vessels that could get alongside the wharves were sailing vessels of from four to six hundred tons, in 1898 the wharves constantly afford accommodation to steamers whose tonnage ranges from two to five thousand.

It is safe to say that no colony possessed of equal resources has, during the space of forty or fifty years, made such remarkable progress as has been made by

Natal. It has been for the most part commercial progress. The prosperity of the colony has chiefly been based on the application of liberal fiscal principles to what was chiefly a transit trade with the interior. It has been the constant effort of the colony's leading public men for years past to promote this trade by the simplification of customs classification, and by the lowering of import duties. In Natal, it will be observed, as in most other British colonies, import duties were in the first instance established purely for revenue purposes, and only in one or two isolated instances have they ever assumed a protective character. The colony has never done very much in the way of production; even a large proportion of the returns under the head of "exports," consists of produce grown in the inland States, and sent down through Natal for shipment. There have been several causes of this shortcoming in respect of local production. Three may be mentioned: the smallness of the European population; the expense and uncertainty of agricultural enterprise; and the profits to be earned, prior to the completion of railway connection with the interior, from employing waggons and oxen in the transportation of merchandise. Why trouble about raising crops, when money could be so much more easily and certainly earned by conveying merchandise from the seaport or the railway terminus to towns in the interior? As regards farming on any extended scale, the irregularity of the seasons—irregularity, however, not nearly so marked as in some other parts of South Africa—and the liability to loss through drought or locusts, has rendered the employment of a large capital absolutely necessary. The labour problem, moreover, has been an awkward one to tackle. As regards the dimensions of the European population, when half of a European population of some 50,000 is located in the two principal towns, it is clear that there is not much left to carry on agricultural operations through-

out the colony generally. The most successful agriculturists are for the most part the descendants of the old Dutch settlers, who carry on sheep-farming in the districts lying nearest to the border of Zululand. As for market gardening, for the supply of the household wants of the colony, that has fallen almost entirely into the hands of the Indian population, who, originally imported into the colony because the natives worked too little, have since caused annoyance to Europeans by themselves working too much.

In a community so curiously constituted as that of Natal, the political and social conditions are necessarily peculiar. Fifty thousand Europeans, a considerable proportion of whom are the descendants of the original Dutch founders of the colony; 50,000 Indians, in the first instance imported for the benefit of the sugar-planters, and who have now become a grievance to the very people who insisted on importing them; half a million South African natives, for the most part of Zulu origin, living in a state of semi-savagery—a singular mixture, surely. Its singularity, moreover, becomes all the more marked when it is remembered that, since the colony became possessed of Responsible Government, the course of legislation and of administration has depended on the will of the majority of the 50,000 Europeans, neither Indians nor Zulus possessing votes. This is a position which, in the abstract, might seem to be in the highest degree dangerous. What havoc and misery, it might be argued, would arise if this minority of Europeans allowed some social prejudice to lead them to inflict injustice on the coloured majority! So it might be argued, no doubt. Practical experience, however, entirely dispels such a fear. In former days, when the Executive was dependent on instructions from the Colonial Office, no doubt startling suggestions in respect of native policy and administration were sometimes made by elective members of

the Legislature. Elective members had then no practical control over administration, and so were free from the sense of responsibility. Now, however, that elective members are responsible for the policy of the Government, their sense of responsibility compels them to be circumspect and prudent. Thus it comes about that native affairs are discussed in the Legislature with great considerateness, and that care is taken not only not to press too roughly upon native sensibilities, but to retain the intelligent good-will of leading native chiefs. As an illustration of the sense of responsibility created by the establishment of Responsible Government, reference may be made to the recent restoration to Zululand of Dini-zulu and other chiefs representative of the old "royal house" of Zululand. Had such a restoration been proposed by an executive dependent upon Downing Street, the colonists would have stood out resolutely against it, and practically rendered it impossible. Now that they themselves have control over native policy and the administration of Zululand, they accept the restoration reasonably and quietly, and make what will undoubtedly prove to be the best of it.

There are, moreover, other causes that tend to bring about this result. To begin with, the Zulus are a singularly governable race. There is not a touch of malice in their disposition. Occasionally they may get excited over social questions of their own, and may, under the excitement produced by the consumption of large quantities of beer of their own brewing, break each other's heads. They never fail, however, to pay up the heavy fines inflicted on them for this kind of Hibernian dissipation, and never dispute the authority of the magistrate by whom the fines are imposed. During the trying period of the Zulu War, under circumstances in the highest degree calculated to fan into flame any smouldering discontent, the loyalty and the general conduct of the Natal Zulus was admirable. Whether they could

have offered any tangible resistance to a Zulu invasion of the colony may be doubted; certainly the manner in which the "native levies" were organised and officered was not encouraging. But they never attempted any disturbance on their own account, and never gave the authorities any kind of anxiety. Nor was their conduct the result of fear. It was rather the result of a common-sense estimation of the facts of the situation. Beyond this, the Zulu is gifted with a marvellous capacity for appreciating a joke. The humorous side of any position strikes him at once. On the other hand, there is undoubtedly a very large element of good-nature in Natal politics where the European population is concerned. Politics in Natal are neither very wide nor very deep. There is a tendency to enormously exaggerate the importance of matters close at hand, and to regard the colony and its interests as if they constituted all there was in the world worth thinking about. Still, there is always present an element of great good-nature—good-nature which presents a striking contrast to the spirit prevailing in some other South African centres, particularly Cape Town. The influences of political revenge and political intrigue, which are oppressively noticeable in Cape Town, are entirely absent from the politics of Natal. Even if sharp differences occasionally arise, they do not produce any permanent ill-will, and are soon forgotten under the influence of personal reconciliations and mutual allowances. Why this good-nature should exist does not at once altogether appear. Small communities are so often quarrelsome. Possibly the climate—a climate which for the greater part of each year can only be called delicious—has something to do with it; possibly it is a result of some fortunate but unintentional selection in respect of the earlier settlers. However, there the characteristic is, and it is a characteristic which deserves a sincere acknowledgment.

While the native population is in such harmonious

touch with the European population generally, the coalition between the English and Dutch sections of that population is thorough and complete. Those who at the present day talk learnedly about bringing about a good understanding between English and Dutch, would talk perhaps less learnedly but far more wisely if they made practical acquaintance with the conditions of life in Natal. The good understanding is there, existing in its entirety; it has always been there; and it will continue to be there unless people mischievously disturb it from outside. Twice within the last twenty years, it is true, there has been a tendency, but a tendency only, towards misunderstanding. For example, in 1881, while the Transvaal war of independence was in progress, Dutch farmers in Natal were strongly in sympathy with the Transvaal Nationalists. Again, the same strong sympathy was apparent at the time of the Jameson raid. Both these, however, were instances in which the tendency to a difference of feeling between British and Dutch colonists was promoted by unnecessary and most mischievous action from outside. The good understanding that exists will be seen to be all the more remarkable when consideration is given to the different circumstances under which Dutch and British settlers came into the country. The original Dutch settlers were an offshoot from the great exodus of Dutch farmers from the Cape Colony. Headed by Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz, whose names remained embedded in the title—Pietermaritzburg—given to the capital, the Dutch settlers came overland, descending the stupendous slopes of the Drakensberg from the eastern edge of the plateau of the Free State, and founding the city which is still the seat of government. There are men who came thus into Natal living at this day; for example, Mr. Wolhuter, at the end of whose verandah in the capital is still to be seen the first peg driven in to mark a building site, or "erf." Having established their

republic in Natal, the old "voortrekkers" found themselves ousted by a British invasion that came round by sea—an invasion leading to a conflict whose events now form part of the romance of Natal history. Not a few of the original Dutch settlers retired into the Free State and Transvaal before the British invasion. But so completely was the irritation produced by the conflict forgotten that, in 1877, there were sitting almost side by side, in the Natal Legislature, the Dutch leader, Mr. van Breda, for whom a reward had been offered in 1842 by the British Government, and Mr. G. C. Cato, a leading English colonist, whom, in 1842, Mr. van Breda had taken prisoner and put in the stocks. As has been sometimes said, the grass grows very quickly in South Africa, if you only leave it alone.

There can be no doubt that the most difficult question for Natal at the present time has reference to the relations between the European population and the Indians. It was for the special benefit of the Natal sugar industry—an industry that rather labours along than flourishes—that Indian labour was first imported into Natal, an annual vote of £10,000 being agreed to by the Legislature. For a long time no complaint arose. As years went by, however, a good many Indians, whose period of indenture had expired, began to remain in the colony, occupying themselves chiefly in market gardening on a small scale. By degrees they took up the trade with the Zulu population, a trade consisting largely of such articles as blankets, beads, and knives. By cutting down prices and taking trouble to attract and please their customers, they gradually drew the trade away from Europeans, who had found it very profitable. Then they began to send to India for their relatives, while a considerable number of native Indian merchants arrived in Natal and went into business on a considerable scale. Thus the interests of several classes of Europeans were touched, and a demand began to be formulated for the

cessation of the Government grant for Indian immigration, and the compulsory return to India, as soon as their period of service had expired, of indentured Indians. This demand has naturally gathered more strength since the establishment of Responsible Government, under which the popular will acquires more authority. It is in the following of this demand that Indians living in Natal have, in spite of the remonstrances of the Indian Government, been denied the franchise, candidates for election to the Legislature having, even before this question was quite decided, made a virtue of declining the support of Indian voters. What has given the European population a considerable handle against the Indians is the fact that these latter have been proved to be the agents of an illieit liquor traffic with the Zulu population, most of whom are animated by a strong prejudice against their Indian fellow-subjects. How this question will finally be settled it is not at this moment quite easy to see. On the one hand, the European prejudice against any increase of the Indian population is so strong, that it has, on one occasion at least, threatened to lead to violence. On the other hand, the Indian Government keeps stirring up the Colonial Office on the subject. In all probability, however, the view held in the colony, no matter whether it is in the abstract just or unjust, will prevail.

From all that has been said, the impression will probably be gathered that, in spite of trifling weaknesses and shortcomings, the colonists of Natal deserve the reputation of a just-minded and enterprising people, bent on making the utmost of the resources at their disposal, and resolved to exercise a firm and equitable control over the native and other populations with whose destinies they are entrusted. What is much to be hoped is that, now the trunk line of railway to the interior is opened, and now that, in consequence, the old pursuit of "transport-riding" has been deprived of its oppor-

tunity and its profit, those who are in control of the land will begin to turn their attention more to genuine agricultural pursuits. The tea industry, which has found a home on the coast, is slowly but steadily growing. As a fruit-exporting country, too, Natal ought to have very few rivals. There is hardly any fruit that can be named that will not grow in some district or other of the colony. What seems to be wanted is a little more of that power of applying means to ends which has enabled American agricultural enterprise to be so successful. There seems to be a need of more centralisation, more economical methods in respect of packing, and so on. With a little common sense, care, and energy, methods which have been successful elsewhere ought to be successful in Natal. Meantime, there is every reason in the world why dwellers in Great Britain should take a warm interest in the fortunes and progress of the colony which can boast as its seaport the prettiest and most English town in South Africa.

THE HIGHLANDS OF NATAL

By EMILE M'MASTER

(of Hilton, Natal)

AMONGST all the masses which have appeared of late years in London papers and reviews on South African sensations, small place has been found to describe the results of the stupendous gold mines in stimulating, almost creating, those commoner but more grateful and beneficent sources of wealth which always in the long run prove the larger.

It falls to my lot to describe an aspect of life in South Africa, and a precise part of that country as to which little has been written and less said; and yet I think the only part altogether attractive to people of our language, in itself, and for non-mining pursuits. Lest, however, throughout I may appear partial in view, it seems desirable at once to quote headings and openings as to Natal which some recent writers have felt impelled to use—notes of admiration, however poignant, merely passing notes.

Mr. Poultenay Bigelow, a practised observer, wrote recently a series of articles, entitled "White Man's Africa," which, superbly illustrated by Mr. Caton Woodville, were for a year the most striking feature in *Harper's Magazine*. This is how his chapter on Natal begins, after one giving a terrible picture of the disorganisation, mismanagement, and malaria at Delagoa Bay:—

"Part IV.: Natal, a Colonial Paradise.—Natal is, of all British colonies, the one in which I would most willingly spend the declining years of my life. It has

more honest savagery, and more complete civilisation than any other part of South Africa. It is a magnificent monument to English courage and English capacity for administration."

The *Daily Telegraph* headed a very long article on Natal, on Dec. 29, 1897, thus:—

"The Land of Beauty: Society without Poverty: Life without Care."

And in Mr. Lincoln Tangye's book, "In New South Africa," he begins as to Natal:—

"Natal the South African Garden.—Natal is at once the garden of South Africa, and its most healthy and agreeable part. Only on the coast line, and in spots like Pietermaritzburg, is the heat intense; and, if a perfect English climate is to be found anywhere, it is surely in the mountains here."

In view of such intensely strong impressions of others, one may reasonably claim to be acquitted of optimism whilst endeavouring to analyse and explain how it is, and why it is, that headlines such as these are becoming habitual about Natal.

Before fastening on to her high plateaus, it seems necessary to make a few slight explanations as to the position of Natal generally. As compared with other divisions of South Africa, the three following broad characteristics may be justly claimed: First, her compactness and smallness; then, her high quality as to civilisation, as to natural products, and where high as to climate; and last, the paramount advantages of her position on the map.

With Zululand recently added Natal only just equals Ireland in area, is no more than one-tenth of the Cape Colony, than one-thirtieth of Rhodesia. Singularly small and compact for a complete self-governing colony, with two Houses of Parliament, and highly organised civil service, Natal is very much on the coast, and even her highest plateaus quite exceptionally command her port.

Sea carriage is always cheap, carriage by land, especially in Africa, dear; and the difference betwixt 50 miles from a port and 500 or more, as is the case in most of the Transvaal and Rhodesia, means no more and no less than the permanent impossibility of competing in any product save gold. If other things were equal, inland states cannot compete in anything save precious metals; but, further, the southern parts have great advantages in climate and in labour. Remoteness from a port has always been, and must remain, the greatest of Rhodesia's curses; while Natal has greatly fattened on her position for importing, and has equal and immeasurable advantages throughout the long future for expanding exports.

*While not exempt from some of the scourges which have visited South Africa in recent years, Natal has suffered much less than most of her neighbours. Rinderpest came only after long warning. The services of Professor Koch had previously been fully utilised, and the veterinary staff greatly augmented. In the result, if 40 per cent. of the horned cattle perished, it seems probable the remainder will advance 40 per cent. in value owing to heavier losses elsewhere.

Locusts paid two years ago their first serious visit for fifty years; but that turned out in the end a fair farmer's year, and the sugar crop, where they were at first thickest, was quite successfully protected. These insects thrive in dryness and heat, and Natal, with its copious summer rainfall, and keen frosts in winter in the higher parts, is not suited for any home to them.

Hail, again, often does damage, sometimes quickly repairing itself. But this mainly occurs in the drier parts back towards the Transvaal, which are less under contemplation in this paper; and it becomes slight against the fact that Natal, between reliable summer rains and mists, and copious perennial streams, is far the best watered part of South Africa, almost ideally so.

And the whole of these three—the main drawbacks—though recently galling, become of little significance looking over a cycle of years, and are not even for the time being commensurate with the advantages of immensely expanded local markets.

And now I shall first describe the climate and aspect of the high plateaus, then note a few leading social factors, and treat last of material resources.

Speaking at the banquet given in London two years ago, to celebrate the *completion* of the Natal line right into Johannesburg, Mr. Chamberlain said he felt confident that “dividends to make the mouth of an English director water” might be expected. Since the birth of Johannesburg this Government or public railway has been a very paying concern, indeed for the last five years phenomenally prosperous, and through its profits principally the Government has been able to greatly increase the handsome public buildings, and to run the country without any direct taxation whatever. Now the high terraces of Natal have been developed by the *old* part of this railway for twenty years. It was through them long before the goldfields added prosperity throughout—and the effect is very apparent in the mature air of comfort along this old part of the line.

Hitherto, I may say, Natal has been generally mistaken even among educated South Africans for a country mainly sub-tropical and low-lying, owing to the fact that previous to the Johannesburg connection the two large low-lying towns quite monopolised all the passing notice—the one, Durban, being on the sea, the other, Maritzburg, though 2200 feet above the sea, being sunk in an extremely deep hollow.

But as a matter of precise and vital fact, out of some sixty stations on the Natal main line, forty of them are beyond Maritzburg, just above which these highlands begin; and the average height of these forty stations is no less than 4200 feet, quite high enough at that com-

paratively temperate latitude to ensure a cool summer. Five stations stand over 5000 feet—one 5500. There is, as a fact, nothing in South Africa, being both on a wide scale and of importance, higher than the country two or three hours behind Maritzburg. At 111 miles by rail, and little more than half that direct, from the coast and port, a plateau averaging 5000 feet is reached; all of which amounts to this, that the high plateaus which are general all over South Africa, and on which its high climatic repute solely depend, lie in Natal at about *one quarter* the distance from the port which must anywhere else be travelled to reach them. The large, hot, lowland towns are only now beginning to have the wealth to appreciate this great fact at all adequately; and, as one might expect, these handy high plateaus are increasingly becoming the most hotelled, and the best served high part throughout South Africa.

Though sub-tropical in climate on the coast, where tea and sugar are making fair fortunes, Natal lies well outside the tropics; and quickly to give a picture of the climate at about 4500 feet, it is such that on an average on five days a week, during *every* month of the year, both winter and summer, afternoon tea may be taken under the orchard or other shade with a temperature of 60 to 70 degrees, and in a light, bright, and bracing air, something like our May. The winter and summer temperatures vary hardly at all as to the daytime, but the winter night is frosty. Contrast this with most of Canada, where a large part of the settlers' energy must go in preparing for and fighting six months of excessive cold, and two months of heat far in excess of the Natal highland summer.

Above Maritzburg our highlands commence, in fact the capital is among the highlands, only sunk far below them; it is the market town and business town, almost the daily town for the highlanders; so I must spare a short description. The public buildings, Houses of

Parliament, town hall, colonial offices, theatre, club, are more imposing than any town of 25,000 inhabitants at home could show, being built for expansion. It is a spread-out town of bright gardens, pretty homes, and level incomes, most of the houses representing £300 to £800 a year—a town altogether charming in aspect and to live in, but that the Dutch originally placed it sadly low. The heat of course does not at all approach that of India, the average temperature, $64\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, being the same as that of Rome. But the long summer in a saucer becomes punishing; removed a few miles away, 1600 feet above on to the plateau which frowns down, Maritzburg would approach the ideal.

Proceeding then north from there out of the handsome new station, the railway at once starts an enormous corkscrew ascent, the very stiffest on all the African railways. This great climb is one long panorama of varying beauties. While picturesque to a degree it is yet studded with one soft affluent view after another. Before the first station is reached, already leaving Maritzburg at a dizzy drop, the eye is caught by the bright and heavy timbered Botanic Gardens, round which cluster some country residences; each station has its fringing of private gardens in the style of the south of France—terraced, vine-trellised, with shady gardens.

Towards the summit the scene becomes even richer, for sheltered far below, amongst one of the many wooded coombes, or dongas, the two oldest nursery gardens in Natal lie side by side, nurseries whose business lies in nourishing the Transvaal as well, with fruits and flowers and trees. Shaded by tall avenues now very stately, and surrounded by natural forest, they hold a colouring—azaleas, camellias, roses, and all the gorgeous lily tribe—which I have never seen surpassed even in the south of France or at Madeira. The whole scene, though but forty or fifty years in the making, is mature enough to

represent a much longer development in this country—so fast do both nature and events move in Natal now.

After this hour's hard puffing and coiling, during which the capital has kept disappearing and reappearing, the fourth station, perched almost 2000 feet above Maritzburg and but little more than a rifle shot distant, marks the commencement of a wide and very fertile tableland averaging nearly 4000 feet high. It is a park-like country now heavilyavenued, and strikingly similar in form and colouring to parts of West Somerset,—those around the Quantocks and Porlock Vale, but in Natal the tops are fertile, unlike Exmoor. In both countries the rounded hillsides are clothed with a very dark green foliage, the grass is a brighter green, and the soil a deep reddish brown. Natal is generally called in South Africa "the garden colony," and this is becoming the most gardened portion. Along this part of the line good homesteads come frequently, with avenues, orchards, and clean, well-tilled fields hedged with acacia trees; occasionally also a handsome residence—not to mention villages and hotels around the stations every four or five miles.

Thirty miles of rail through this rich country, and the yet higher plateau—that at 5000 feet—is reached, grassy also, but with far fewer trees; it is flanked fifty miles to the west—which look like fifteen in that pellucid air—by the Drakensberg range, sheer precipitous walls, rising to between 10,000 and 11,000 feet high, stern and austere, by far the highest points in South Africa, and often, even at midsummer, snow-tipped. Hereabouts is, I think, the choicest stock-farming district in South Africa, and it is held by a progressive class of farmers, a good proportion of them well-born. It seems especially adapted for man, beast, or crop, of middle or northern European origin. The delicate texture of the herbage, the garden produce and the ferns, denotes a temperate and salubrious climate. Above 4000 feet the orange

begins to fail, at 4500 the peach; thereabouts the cherry and apple thrive, with such things as clover and turnips. The stately arum lily, which grows wild like our daisy in the Midlands, here gives place in the watered ravines to a riot of delicate maidenhair ferns. Here especially the air has commonly the result of inducing high spirits and a keen appetite. Amid such expanded views, ranging over a prospect of fifty miles, and in that clear, buoyant air, breezy and braeing, a gallop, say towards evening, in summer produces a sense of exhilaration to haunt the memory for long years. All the surroundings are wholesome and elevating to a degree.

The farmer quietly values the high air for his family and his stock, and pities the lowlander; the visitor discovers it "like champagne"; the doctor dubs it "highly aseptic"; while the Zulus were wont to carry their wounded high up into such hospitals of nature.

There is, in truth, quite a striking sense of cleanliness about the atmosphere. If the middle of the day is sometimes hot, it is never enervating, far from it. Taking the whole twenty-four hours, it is never warmer here than the English summer, and always more braeing; and the winter, though keenly frosty at night, has an invariably warm and sunny daytime, the dark winter days so frequent at home being quite unknown. In High Natal it is Swiss air and English summer scenery the whole year round. I write as one who chancées to be attached to the abused English climate, and who believes nothing, even in quite Southern Africa under 3000 feet, to be justly comparable; but at about 4500 feet, especially on a seaward slope, I believe Natal to be far preferable in climate to the majority of our race.

So much as to the aspect and climate of High Natal. Now such immaterial assets—health, coolness among hot climates, and charm and distinction of scenery—

tell only after some wealth has grown, and are but now commencing to operate. An appreciable number of the lowlanders are now wealthy enough to look to these handy highlands habitually in summer, and besides the numerous countrified hotels and boarding-houses, the summer *residence* is just coming into evidence. A very few have previously had duplicate houses in isolated spots; but recently, amongst others, one of the judges and the present Attorney-General secured their sites close to the same station, under an hour from Maritzburg, but nearly 2000 feet above. Their gardeners are already at work, and it is their intention to gradually build up highland summer residences. Several others are following such a lead. This highland movement, so easy as it here is, will surely grow in time into a Simla as it were close behind Calcutta, or an Ootacamund Sheer above Madras. It means complete and easy escape from the very real terrors of the long lowland summer, and I trust this movement will ultimately tend to keep some of the fortunes won in South Africa away from Park Lane. Further, I go the length of looking with confidence, it may be ten or more years hence, to the charm and climate of these convenient highlands, and the fair voyage and superb fleets thither, drawing hither some of the wealthy winter migrants, who now flock beyond the south of France, as far as Cairo.

To touch on two or three social elements, before finally dealing with material resources. Besides being the centre of government and of the professions, Maritzburg has always been a town with a very heavy garrison for its size, two or three regiments of the line, one of cavalry, some artillery and engineers. This does much to brighten social life, much that will last; and the Imperial Government is still adding and building barracks. There are always nearly one hundred officers quartered in Maritzburg, many taking private houses, a few with

their families; some marry and settle, getting magistrates' or other civil service posts. The effect of all this—artillery and cavalry always in evidence, military bands often attending races, cricket matches, and other functions—is exceedingly enlivening.

About *education*—there is a large Government grant per head, and the very fullest discussion over its disbursement. Besides several private schools, of which one is notably successful, there is a wonderful showing of handsome Government school buildings—too handsome perhaps. But that Natal can at least foster the highest attainments would appear in her claiming a recent senior wrangler, Mr. Bromwich, who went straight to Cambridge from education at a Natal school.

As to training of natives, the Government votes annually £10,000 for their improvement, and various religious bodies are busy over them. By far the most successful of these are the Trappist monks and sisters. Five-and-twenty years ago the first Trappist monastery was founded near Pinetown, 1000 feet above Durban—and since ever I have known Natal, that has been one of the show places. The Trappists are amongst the best flower gardeners in Europe, and excellent handicraftsmen. Their work is of a practical educational character, and they are more successful in imparting their handicrafts to the natives than any other body. I was astounded to find recently that they had increased even a few years ago to eleven mission stations in Natal, counting 420 monks and 230 sisters. One can picture what an educational force among the natives in a small and fruitful country such a body must mean for the future.

As to the value of the black man, I believe that the Zulu Kaffir, who in Natal counts ten to the white man's one, is, when fairly used, an absolutely incalculable boon. By general consent no pleasanter or more faithful servant can be desired, more wholesome in his

habits, smarter and more picturesque in his appearance, than a good Zulu. Both to the housewife and to the agriculturist that native—among all the motley black races of South Africa admittedly first in quality—is indispensable, and an invaluable factor in the comfort of the country.

It is true the black labour at this instant is not so well organised as it should be, and there is reasonable grumbling at it. But any intelligent grumbler, if asked where the country would now be standing without the black man, would confess nowhere.

All successful South African enterprises have been made by black labour. The Kimberley diamond mines are worked by one hundred blacks to one white man. The gold mines standing to-day, the most successful the world has ever seen, would not be worth touching without black labour. The Cape and Natal railways, thoroughly successful enterprises, were made and are maintained by black labour. As Sir Alfred Milner puts it, "The white man is the brain, the black man the sinew of South Africa," and Natal teems with the sinew. Later on the black labour and the nearness to Europe will prove weighty factors in exports from South Africa, competing with those from Australia; at present a shipping ring neutralises the advantage in position, but it is not in the nature of competition that 6000 miles can be made permanently to cost the freights of 12,000.

The cost of living, I should add, in Natal is somewhat less than at the Cape, owing to cheaper labour; it is little more than half of what is the case in the Transvaal, or one quarter of that prevailing in Rhodesia at present, owing to their far inland position; but nowhere in South African towns is living cheap.

The white population of Natal is doubling itself each ten years, and—pregnant social fact—90 per cent. of it is British, mostly Scotch. Here only in South

Africa proper the English tongue exclusively prevails. Elsewhere the Dutch still predominate in numbers, and Dutch is the note dominant in Courts and Parliament.

As to the material conditions: while discussing the stage some of the enterprises have arrived at, I would direct attention to the fact that there existed little or nothing of many of them ten years ago. Such progress is the result of gold in strengthening local markets.

During the last twenty years the farmers on these highlands have prospered generally in *two* ways. They have made money slowly but steadily from wool, stock-breeding, and from general farm produce, milk and butter, oats, maize, &c., for local requirements, enjoying three brilliant money-making spurts from, first, the early development of the Kimberley diamond mines, then from the Zulu war, and lastly from the stupendous gold mines directly to the north—far more than a spurt from that. But, *in addition*, they have been generally large holders of land—from 2000 to 12,000 acres as a rule. A fair estimate of the increase in value of such holdings during the last twenty years would put the average rise at, at least, four times what it was. This large increment of bare land-value merely—I do not speak of homestead or improvements—has sprung from an entirely *gratuitous* element of success. It is owing to the rapid progress of Natal and her immediate neighbours, a progress which will certainly be maintained for another generation. The neglect of centuries, coupled with the advances of science, in steam transport, and the economic treatment of masses of low grade gold ore, renders South Africa the more quickly progressive now. Handy land, say a few miles away from a highland station, is no more as yet than about £1 for the freehold per acre; and as it is all veldt, sweet, but not luxuriant pasture, and requires no clearing whatever to plough, it seems still far cheaper than any similarly opened up land elsewhere.

I think *the* leading feature in the present life of Natal is the immense activity in the matter of agricultural shows, societies, farmers' conferences, farmers' agencies, stud companies, and the like. Ten years ago the agricultural shows, amounting now to about twelve in number—two of surprising scope—were practically non-existent. The front of the very high plateau has been for some time feeding the two large towns, and the uses of creameries and so on are being appreciated in one or two rich country centres, now ripe for co-operative marketing. Especially good beef, mutton, and lamb have been sent down for the last five years the ten hours' journey to the port; butter for two years; milk and fruit are now coming, with the introduction of refrigerating cars. The dairy expert, a rather recent arrival, is closely listened to and is doing much good. English cocksfoot grass has lately been proved a thorough success on the high parts, and farmers are putting it in; it supplements a want in the veldt, taking stock through the dry winter. The immense attention given in the agricultural notes of the papers to manures, the incessant reports of analyses and results of various chemical manures which are in general use, and the amount taken up by advertisements of competing manures is another indication how far agriculture is removed now in Natal from the rough methods of ten years ago.

Certain evergreen trees grow with quite extraordinary facility and rapidity, especially on the high parts fronting seawards, which get a large amount of moisture during summer: they are the one shelter which stock require on the high land, and are equally grateful to human kind.

The extraordinary facility with which avenues of all sorts can be produced is always one of the pleasantest features of High Natal. The oak grows almost three times, the weeping willow quite four times as fast as in

England, and the graceful willow especially is much seen. The wholesome-smelling tribe of eucalypts grow from ten to twenty feet a year; and there are few homesteads in Natal ten years old which do not show around the house or fringing the paddocks specimens of these aromatic giants, 100 to 150 feet high. The orange, mandarin, and lemon are old friends to this part, besides the acacia, so productive in bark and timber (which one may see every May fringing the flower-beds by Park Lane as a baby). Quite recently the well-known firm of Messrs. Damnan of Portici, near Naples, have commenced systematically to introduce the olive and the karob bean into South Africa, two of the most remunerative trees in Southern Europe.

The business aspect, however, of this peculiar fertility in trees is only commencing to thoroughly demonstrate itself. Looking to the enormous amount of mining coming on—only beginning—in South-east Africa, and to the fact that the trains going through to Johannesburg and to the Natal coal-mines are always heavily freighted with timber all the way from Norway, its production around the railway will, one feels confident, assume very large dimensions here; for it is only these parts facing seawards—so as to get the mists—which are so singularly adapted at once for production and marketing. I believe there are ten trees in Natal to-day for every one there was seven or eight years ago.

Like tea and sugar, Natal fruits have lately been doing well in expanding South African markets. Some of the Natal fruits—notably the mandarin orange, are of very high quality. Most of the Castle and the Union boats have now cool chambers fitted up expressly for fruits. The Natal orange has been exported as yet but on a very slight scale, but a quotation from the London agent seems worth giving:—

Messrs. Gillespie & Sons of London wrote:—"Your

trial shipment of twenty-two cases of fruit per Union S.S. *Moor* duly arrived, and we have effected sales at prices which we consider eminently satisfactory. The mandarins were, without exception, the very finest lot ever seen in our market—the boxes containing only a hundred yesterday realising 1½d. each wholesale. This is, we believe, the highest price that has ever been obtained.” This mandarin is very large and a brilliant vermilion in complexion, making it a singularly effective table decoration.

Reversed seasons bring all such products at a time when there is no competition from Europe. Further, South Africa is the nearest important point in the world with reversed seasons to Europe, being directly underneath, whereas Australia is a further 6000 miles away to the east : and one knows the quantities in which butter and fruits have begun to arrive in the winter from Australia. For competitive export purposes—barks, fruits, and others to come—this comparative nearness will in the long run tell, and I have more reasons than I can here state to predict that in five or ten years it will be South Africa which is supplying Europe with choice fruits and vegetables in winter. One Natal firm informed me last March that they had imported in the three previous years 70,000 choice young trees—apples, pears, plums, peaches—all from America, for the high land ; and they are but one of several importers. Before the gold fields supplied strong local markets, there was nothing at all like this occurring, and its effect will not fully appear for years.

And here I come to a different element, large in the present, but which will become much more important in the future. Natal is riddled with good coal—especially the back part of these high lands near the line. Professor Crookes (of Röntgen rays fame) was reported in the papers to have expressed the opinion, lecturing at the Imperial Institute, that there is in

Natal more coal than there was in England before ever a bucket was raised.

However that may be, what is even more to the point, the railway is *already* fully occupied in carrying it down to the towns and shipping. Most of the ships of the six ocean lines to South Africa—four past the Cape, two now through the Suez Canal—which regularly make their terminus at Durban, are *already* using Natal coal, besides a number of intermittent steamers. The demand exceeds the substantial and increasing supply, and the coaling accommodation at the wharves is being greatly enlarged.

The *Times* correspondent in the Transvaal has just published his series of articles in a book entitled "South Africa of To-Day." In depicting the dazzling general wealth of the Transvaal, Captain Younghusband sees, to quote his own words, "a time when the great fleet of ocean-going steamers which run to India, Australia, China, and to South and East Africa, will cease to draw their principal coal supplies from England, and will take them instead from the Transvaal."

My short comment is:—

Natal is on the coast: the Transvaal is not. Every ocean line is already using Natal coal: none use Transvaal coal. The prediction as to filling all the Australian and Eastern steamers with coal from any part of South Africa—I suppose sending up to Aden—seems a considerable order. And one may venture to firmly counter-predict that Natal—Durban, and not Delagoa Bay (Portuguese, thoroughly malarious and disorganised)—will always remain as it now is, the main terminus of the fleets from all directions of the world to South Africa, for reasons of vastly superior organisation, of climate, and for coaling purposes.

Captain Younghusband further depicts, in the most glowing terms, the immediate prospects of a great iron industry in the Transvaal, first local, then for world-wide

export. I have only space here to claim that while both have the raw materials in abundance, and the local markets are exceptional, Natal has the premier position — on the coast, and cheaper labour.

Now once more I have to point out that no Natal coal was being used on the shipping a few years back; it had to be sent out for return voyages by slow and costly means.

I have but touched on some of the material resources; there are many others, some are in the forming, and there are others of the baser metals. It remains now but to give that more important induction for the future to which it all points.

Five-and-thirty years after California touched her zenith as a gold-producer, she was estimated on high authority to have grown literally one hundred times as rich in fruits, wheat, wine, and wool as ever she had been in gold.

The Witwaatersrand is, as we all know, not only the largest gold-producing centre the world has yet seen, but the most permanent, the most industrial, in itself the least speculative. In every branch of her revenue, and through most of her citizens, Natal has been already much enriched by the success of the Rand mines; and those mines have not as yet approached their zenith. Some of the mines are Natal-floated and partly Natal-owned; several have their head offices in Maritzburg. Still more, every non-speculating merchant, shipper, farmer has immensely profited by their indirect effects. By her geographical placing for importing, and later exporting, and by productiveness, Natal is peculiarly sensitive to those general effects springing out of such gold mines, which always ultimately prove the larger; and a like process, like influences, to those which have enriched California far more than her gold mines are clearly operating on Natal.

Her handsome port — healthy, well-managed, and

municipalised, is becoming the Liverpool of South Africa, and in the brilliant winter months its Brighton—the Transvaal people flocking down to bathe and yacht.

It is only in the beginning; the gold mines themselves, reliable experts agree, have yet at least to double their present yearly output of £16,000,000, until they reach, and probably surpass, the *whole world's* output of fifteen years ago. Already the Rand turns out *each month double* the *yearly* output of Ballarat, a great Australian centre; and it is certain that even such prodigies will be much increased and then maintained for thirty years; it is believed for more. What enterprises, what exports such a period will foster in Natal—uniquely rich in her position on the map, rich in her products of the soil and climate, and rich in many of the baser metals—one cannot foresee. But that seeds already deeply sown will flourish and expand is very sure; and it seems clear this gardened character of hers, so much already evidenced, will grow with the coming years, till Natal more nearly approaches the paradise Mr. Poulteney Bigelow already paints her.

And of this I myself feel well convinced, that there are fewer blanks in the lottery of success, and of happiness and health, in the future of High Natal than elsewhere in South Africa; and that especially is this the case for those of *our* race who mean to *settle*, to live and die and leave descendants there.

ZULULAND

By MISS COLENZO

(Author of "*The History of the Zulu War*")

ENGLAND must have a duty in South Africa, or else she has no right there; since, for us human beings, for nations as for individuals, our rights and our duties depend on one another, and cannot exist apart.

Now, Africa does not belong exclusively to the African, and the crowded citizens of Europe have treasures of invention and research to exchange for a share in broad acres, gold, and gems. But it must be share and share alike in the joint stock of good things. The African has an equal right with the European to them all. He is not a subordinate, but a partner in the business, whose rights must be only the more scrupulously respected, so long as, like a child, he is not yet able to appreciate or make use of some of them. And though, meanwhile, we may be tempted to ignore those rights, we may be very sure that in one way or another a law, above all human law, will enforce them against us when the time is ripe. As the dear old Friend, John Woolman, quaintly put it: "He who then founded the earth was the true proprietor of it, and so He still remains. Though He hath given it to the children of men, so that multitudes of people have had their sustenance from it while they continued here, yet He hath never alienated it, but His right is as good as at first."

The mere preponderance in numbers of the African in districts long under European rule shows acquiescence, on some ground or other, in that rule—shows

that at present it is not intolerable to him. But every day of contact with us alters his state of mind, enlarges his ideas. By merely using him we are imparting to him, whether he will or no, a share in that knowledge which is power for good or evil—in the use and manufacture of tools, of telegraphs and railways, in the use of the English language and of the Press. And, on the whole, the native African shows no sign of dying out.

Deteriorated he may become by contact with European vices. So much the worse for those who have to live with him, since, for better or worse, he increases and multiplies.

In Natal, now over fifty years a British colony, there are from 8 to 10 Africans for every European; in British Zululand there are 140 to 1; in the Transvaal, by a rough computation, there are 650,000 native Africans, and Uitlanders and Dutchmen put together do not come up to a quarter of that, by the most liberal calculation. That "European" minority in the Transvaal consists of the Dutchmen, called Boers (that is, farmers) and the Uitlanders (that is, foreigners), English, French, Germans, Americans, Australians, and Indians. It was in the name of these Uitlanders, a portion—the larger portion—of the "European" minority that the boastful declaration was published the other day:—

"We are the vast majority in this state. We own more than half the land, and at least nine-tenths of the property."

The people who wrote that certainly have no notion that Africa is for the African. They fall into the opposite mistake, and leave the African out of the calculation altogether, counting themselves the majority because they outnumber the Dutch, though when Dutch and Uitlanders are put together, the Africans are yet four times as many.

In the recent disturbances in the Transvaal the native African has been passive; yet he brought the

gold mines themselves very nearly to a standstill, merely by taking flight from the place where the civilised peoples seemed about to fly at one another's throats.

Those horrors have been averted, and all immediate danger of that sort is past; but it is only when you realise it, when you think of the thousands of non-combatants who were to be involved, women and children, and workers, white and black—of the inevitable and immediate consequences—that you can feel the full gravity of the plea of guilty which has been made at Pretoria by some of the leaders in that disturbance. All this is vividly before the eyes of the Dutchmen; they have lost lives on their own side to remember or forget. And, instead of being offended that President Kruger is not at present able to visit England, as we know he wished to do, we may be thankful that events, though otherwise unfortunate, have kept the wise old man at home, and the fate of these men in his control, instead of in possibly much less statesmanlike hands.

I must not linger over the Uitlanders, who have plenty of advocates, but will say in passing that the real grievance is one in which I can heartily sympathise, because I am one of that "vast majority," the larger half of the British nation, who share that grievance, one of the women who, even here in England, have no vote.

The people of whom I can best tell you are the Zulus. In a wide sense many African tribes are Zulus, as various European nations are of Celtic or of Teutonic origin. Such are the Matabele, but they left the Zulus proper nearly a century ago, and went off to the north, and the whole Transvaal now lies between them and their old home.

We have room here for one point only in the Zulu story, but that one forms a turning-point in the history

of South Africa, and you must be acquainted with it before you can judge aright of England's position towards the Dutch as well as towards the Zulus.

The main points of South African geography as now described on European maps are sufficiently familiar—a huge triangle, with its blunted apex pointed south. The only natural feature we need notice is the great chain of the Kahlamba or Drakensberg mountains, running parallel with the eastern coast, and shutting off from the rest of South Africa a strip, some 400 miles long, and from 100 to 200 miles wide, of what is well called garden country. Here in the apex lie the two self-governing British colonies. To the west the Cape, overgrown and unwieldy, we in Natal are apt to think; while the Cape retorts with pity for poor little Natal, squeezed in between the eastern mountains and the sea, for Natal is the southern portion of the garden country. Wedged in between the Cape Colony and the mountains is little Basutoland, the Switzerland of South Africa, and north of that, in the ever-widening triangle, lie the two Dutch States, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. Beyond them again is the region that I will call Charterland, shut off from the eastern coast by a long strip of Portuguese territory, while huge blocks of German and Portuguese territory shut off Charterland from the western coast.

At the beginning of this century England had no worldly interests in South Africa, no colonies, no settlements there. The only Europeans were a Dutch settlement at the Cape. Nearly a thousand miles away, upon the eastern coast, the dominion of the "grand old Zulu people" stretched far and wide over the garden country and beyond the mountains; while the graves of their earlier kings, for at any rate nine generations back, in the centre of their country, proved that they were not new comers, not mere wandering marauders, as it has sometimes been found convenient to describe them.

At the beginning of this century there was fighting in Europe, and one result of that fighting was that in 1815 the English took possession of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, and somewhat later, in 1837-8, rather than submit to English rule, numbers of the Dutch farmers left their homes at the Cape, came creeping with their long waggon trains over the eastern mountains, took part in a civil war then on foot amongst the Zulus, and, after much slaughter on both sides, settled on a part of the Zulu province now called Natal, claiming it from the Zulus in payment of their intervention.

One cause of the Dutch exodus from the Cape was the enforcement there of the Negro Emancipation Act. It is sometimes claimed that the fact that England then declared against the curse of slavery while the Dutch clung to it, establishes our title to superiority.

It must be borne in mind that England herself had but newly awakened to the shame of holding slaves, that till the passing of that Act she had practised the vice at least as freely as any of her neighbours. Moreover, the manner in which the Emancipation Act was enforced against the Dutch at the Cape was contrary to the spirit of justice in which the Act had been conceived, and quite unworthy of a dominant power. It was thought right to promise the Dutchmen compensation, and then—not to see the promise fully carried out.

The declaration that slavery under the British flag was at an end—that in future England would admit of no distinction among her subjects on account of colour—was, indeed, a great event, for by it our country acknowledged the duty laid on her by the new insight she had gained into the moral law; she recognised a fresh revelation from on high.

That England maintains these principles is indeed the very foundation of the position she still claims in Africa. What, then, does it mean when a highly placed colonial official declares publicly that he “prefers land

to niggers"; or when a prominent London paper, a partisan of the British South African Company, sets it forth deliberately that "the black man requires firm and masterly handling," having explained a few lines before that this includes "the use of the whip now and then"; and that "in the Chartered Company's territories . . . a little of the Dutch Afriander firmness has been found a wholesome tonic" for the said "black man," or "native servant." And the same paper, in the same article, passes lightly over the extermination of Australian blacks in Queensland and of Bushmen at the Cape, with the words, "in both cases the coloured man has been treated as vermin and exterminated. One cannot defend such acts, but in rough communities they will happen, even among men of our own blood."

Words such as these, so used, appear to me to be such evil signs of the present times, to indicate such a grievous fall from the high moral position which our country claims, that I cannot but call attention to them.

And now let us return to the exodus of the Dutchmen from the Cape in the year 1837. It was right, it was necessary that Great Britain should free all slaves under her jurisdiction, and, seeing that this was a new idea, and that the Dutchmen on whom she had enforced it had but newly become her subjects, without choice of their own, it was probably right to promise them compensation. Where we were wrong was in not seeing that promise fairly carried out.

Five years after the Dutch had established themselves among the Zulus in Natal, in 1843, the British Government followed them, and seized that country too, and many of the Dutchmen moved again, north-west this time, to fight with other tribes, and found what are still the two Dutch States, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. Some attempt was made to follow and subdue them even there, but in 1852 and

1854 Great Britain signed treaties recognising the independence of these two Dutch states.

Meanwhile the Zulus had welcomed our arrival in Natal, believing, as they said, that we were "a just people, with whom there would be no trouble." They agreed on a simple river boundary line between themselves and us, and for five-and-thirty years English and Zulus lived in absolute peace and security, separated only by the river, "easily fordable for the greater part of the year, and not too wide to talk across at any time."

That peace was broken by the crime which I have called the turning-point in our story.

Between the Zulus and their other neighbours, the Transvaal Dutch, no boundary was agreed on. The Zulus, while they had a voice in the matter, claimed as the dividing-line the watershed of the Drakensberg mountains, while the Dutch began gradually to elbow the Zulus away from the rich pasture-lands sloping eastward from those mountains, and spreading out right and left into the north and west of Zululand. In 1861, and through the fifteen following years, the Zulu chiefs sent to the English Governor, in Natal, no less than eighteen separate messages, all recorded in the Blue Books, asking advice and help from the British Government in dealing with these aggressions. They even begged that the English would "take a strip of country, to run in such a manner as to interpose in all its length between the Dutch and the Zulus, to be governed by the colony of Natal, if thought desirable," "that the British Government would thus establish itself between them and the Transvaal." That was in 1869.

Again, in 1875, "Cetshwayo desired us to urge upon the Governor of Natal to intervene, to save the destruction (that is the translation of our officials) of, perhaps, both countries, Zululand and the Transvaal. He requests us to state that he cannot, and will not, submit to be turned out of his own home. It may be that he

will be vanquished, but as he is not the aggressor, death will not be so hard to meet."

The man who spoke those words and acted up to them through all those years, was no "bloodthirsty aggressive despot," no "ruthless savage," no "irresponsible half-hearted barbarian," as diplomatists would have it believed.

In 1876, the English official report is that "messages from the Zulu king upon this subject are becoming more frequent and more urgent. This Government has always impressed upon Cetshwayo the importance of preserving the peace on his part, and of settling all questions of dispute by calm representation, and this advice Cetshwayo has always received in the spirit in which it has been given. I have no reason to doubt that he has been, and is, desirous to act according to it."

So wrote the Governor of Natal, yet for nearly two years longer, the Zulus—from 30,000 to 40,000 fighting men—were left to pray in vain for our friendly intervention to prevent a war with the Boers, which, they said, "we wish to avoid." They did avoid it, and at last in 1877, arbitration by England was offered, and three British officials were appointed to investigate the question of the Zulu north-west border. But the decision was procrastinated for yet another two years, during which occurred more than one case of raiding and disorder among the tribes occupying the disputed district—disorder which was subsequently charged against the Zulu king, though our officials had put a stop to his efforts to keep order there, forbidding him to interfere.

And then, at last, the British award declared that the land in dispute upon the north-west border "belonged of strict right to the Zulus." Such a decision not only gave them the land, it also established the right of the Zulu king and people to respectful consideration among civilised nations for patient forbearance under grievous provocation.

But, alas! British officials were then possessed by the idea that they could hurry on what they called the confederation of South Africa. The idea of confederation in itself is right, though in dealing with it two facts are too often lost sight of:—(1) Such an agreement implies that the different parties to it retain some degree of independence. When that ceases so does the confederation. (2) An agreement with one neighbour to the injury of another—though the two who agree should be white and the other black—is not a confederation—it is a conspiracy. In the natural meaning of the word, confederation should be an agreement between different states or individuals to be helpful, or at least not to thwart and injure one another. To strive for such a state of things was no more than our duty—the mere fulfilment of the responsibility to take charge of South Africa, which we had accepted before the eyes of the whole world, and with the consent of the other civilised peoples. For this, and nothing else, is the meaning of any recognition of our claim to be the dominant power there. South Africa is not our private property, nor is it the property of our dear mother country, however well we may succeed in finding room there for her swarming millions. No! nor is it the private property of any, or of all, of the civilised nations, whatever advantages civilisation may bring. We are quick enough to discover that it is not the private property of the African, but he has, at least, an equal right with the rest of mankind to fair-play, to justice in his own country. It is only if Great Britain stands for right and justice in South Africa that our title to dominion there is ample and secure; but that this is also our only title we have more than once had signal warning, by the way in which that dominion has threatened to slip from our grasp, when, on our side, we have signally broken trust. Of such a case I have now to tell.

For the confederation of South Africa the first thing needed was that the different peoples concerned should have reason to trust one another. Yet in April 1877, nine months before we offered arbitration on the Zulu-Transvaal border, and nearly two years before we declared by our award that the Zulus were in the right—in April 1877, our officials had taken possession of the Transvaal in England's name, annexing it to the British Empire, and thus for a third time upsetting the arrangements of the luckless Dutehmen. And with the country, it appeared, we took over all its quarrels, right or wrong. Thus, when Great Britain undertook to arbitrate, she had been for nearly a twelvemonth a party to the dispute; and when, at the end of another twelvemonth, her own Commissioners' award was published in favour of the Zulus, and against herself as representing the Transvaal, Great Britain, having utilised the long delay in military preparations, declared war on Zululand on frivolous pretences, got up for the occasion.

So we broke the long peace, and on the Natal bank of the boundary river the Zulu representatives received one morning the decision that their land claim was justified, and with it the same afternoon, an ultimatum declaring war from England unless the Zulus would consent within thirty days to disband their army, while ours was massing on both their frontiers. Other "conditions" there were as well, but this one made the whole impossible.

The first great battle in that Zulu war was that of Isandhlwana, which so many a home in England as well as in Zululand has sorrowful cause to remember. For ten days our invading armies worked their will in Zululand, meeting no army, yet burning the homes, killing the men, and sweeping off great herds of cattle. But on January 22, 1879, the Zulus were victorious on their own soil, and then, at Cetshwayo's bidding, stayed

their hand, and did not ravage Natal, which lay open and helpless at their mercy.

It is sometimes urged that the colony owed its safety at that time to the brave stand made by British troops at Rorke's Drift. What are the facts? At Rorke's Drift was a farmhouse used as a military post and hospital. It was some fourteen miles further along the river, on the Natal bank, and it was attacked by the Zulus at the close of the Isandhlwana battle, as forming part and parcel of the invading army. The defence was a successful one and a gallant one. Major Chard, who was in command, gained there the Victoria Cross, and the Zulu detachment lost heavily before retiring. Was that any reason for their sparing, as they did, some hundred miles of unprotected river border for the whole six weeks during which the invaders helplessly awaited reinforcements? And, if their object was to invade Natal, why did the Zulus spare the defenceless homesteads of white and black, and make straight for the one point close to their own border, where was a portion of the invading army? As one of our officials wrote at the time, it would have been "not easy for regular forces to intercept a body of thousands of naked savages, travelling by byways, forty miles in a night, living on plunder, overwhelming by numbers any post they surprise, and then dispersing as they came by bypaths to their own country not sixty miles off."

No doubt, if they had chosen, the Zulus might so have swept Natal. But just a week after the battle of Isandhlwana, two native waggon-drivers, fugitives from the English camp, told my father, in my hearing, how—as they fled for their lives upon that dreadful day, and could scarce stumble up the rocky bank of the stream into Natal, the Zulus after them in hot pursuit—they had heard a Zulu leader shout to his men, "Come back! the king has not said you are to cross! He is not invading. He is only defending the land of the Zulus!"

“And they went back, and so our lives were saved,” said the fugitives.

At Isandhlwana the British loss was heavy, including fully half an English regiment, the 24th. And so demoralised were the leading invaders by this terrible defeat that they retreated to Natal without waiting to bury their dead, or even to succour the wounded, if any such there were; and the one miserable comfort we had on this point lay in the knowledge that the Zulus, fighting, kill outright, for superstitious reasons, the one terrible stroke with which they accomplish this accounting for many stories of mutilation.

My father, when he realised that the Zulus were actually refraining from invading Natal, approached the English authorities, asking permission to go up with a party of such as might wish to go unarmed with him, to bury the dead. This must have caused a truce, and that could only have ended in the peace for which the Zulu king was even then eagerly praying. My father's request was refused, and the battlefield was left to keep its dreadful secrets for four months. The war was fought out to the bitter end, and the Zulu king, to whom we colonists may all be said to have owed our lives, was carried away a prisoner. We will return to his story presently.

I have now touched on one case, in which we, claiming to be the dominant power, the trustee for humanity in South Africa, have broken trust. The Zulu story is well known in Africa, and is not of a nature to lead any one to put faith in us. But how, before that, had we acted in annexing the Transvaal?

On this point I will give you my father's words, spoken from the pulpit during the Zulu war, on “the day appointed to be kept as a day of humiliation and prayer, in consequence of the great disaster at Isandhlwana.” By that observance my father told his people, “as we do believe in an Almighty Being, who searches the hearts and watches all the doings of the

sons of men . . . by this act of ours to-day we *challenge* Him to take account of us, we virtually swear 'so help us God, as we are sincere this day!'—and, if we are not sincere, we virtually pray that God's heavy judgment may fall on us, that 'in His mercy' He may suffer to come upon us, in some way or other, yet more serious calamities, and bring us to our senses by chastisement." Then, taking the prophet Micah's estimate of what the Lord requires of us, my father asked, "Have we been 'doing justly' in the past? What colonist doubts that what has led directly to this Zulu war, and thus to the late great disaster, has been the annexation of the Transvaal, by which, as the Dutch complain, 'we came by stealth, as a thief in the night,' and deprived them of their rights, and took possession of their land. We all know that, while the Secretary of State, on April 23, 1877, was saying in his place in the House of Lords that 'as to the supposed threat of annexing the Transvaal, the language of the Special Commissioner had been greatly exaggerated,' it had already been annexed on April 12, under authority issued months before by himself. No doubt he had been beguiled by the semblance of great unanimity of a general desire for annexation among the Transvaal people; whereas the expression of such a desire, we know, came chiefly from Englishmen, most of them recent arrivals in the land, and not from the great body of old Dutch residents." And, after giving further details, he added, "So we annexed the Transvaal, and that act brought with it as its Nemesis the Zulu difficulty, with respect to the territory disputed with the Boers."

Here too, then, we had broken trust in annexing the Transvaal. Great Britain's true prestige, the sacred inheritance left her by our fathers, consists in her being really a "just nation," as the Zulus thought—"the protector of liberty everywhere," as one of the Dutch protests put it. And we had humbled that prestige into

the dust by treachery and violence to white and black. Could such disaster be repaired? And would any price be too heavy which might redeem our honour? Further slaughter would only make things worse. The Dutch had fought in self-defence, and like the Zulus had gained a first success, but no one doubted that England would overpower them in the end, could she but harden her heart and continue in the wrong.

To do justice among others, without fear or favour, is hard enough, and it is doubly hard when we ourselves are the offenders. Yet this is what for once was done on our behalf. The anger of mortified pride was crushed down, the brute desire was repressed to take at least the vengeance ready to our hand; and we confessed before the world that we had done wrong, and gave back their country to the Dutch. By that act of justice on ourselves we became again a dominant power, with right to enforce justice upon others. And to that act, and to the belief that we stand by it honestly, we owe whatever of prestige, whatever influence for good, our representatives have been able to exert in the recent crisis in the Transvaal.

I wish that the continuation of the Zulu story contained as much of comfort. But I may not linger here even to set before you fairly the misery of the ten years following the war, during which the whole of the country has been gradually divided between the English and Dutch Governments.

Their king, who had trusted us, died broken-hearted, and at last his son, with the uncle who was his guardian, was sent as an exile to the island of St. Helena. In the Blue Books is recorded the opinion of the present Attorney-General of Natal, that what—instead of exile—these chiefs deserve, is to be “thanked in the Queen’s name for maintaining order amongst their people in the face of wanton and wicked persecution.” The persecution included the eviction, by order of the British officials,

of 4800 people, many of whom were driven to take refuge in Dutch territory. It was on my advice that these chiefs thereupon placed themselves voluntarily, for their people's sake, in the hands of the British authorities, claiming inquiry into the causes of the disturbance; instead of which they were exiled as rebels. Thus, again, English justice failed them. Yet they still treat me as a friend, and not a traitor. A twelvemonth ago, on my way to England upon their affairs, I visited these chiefs at St. Helena. They had then been promised in the Queen's name a speedy return to Zululand. This has not yet been carried out, but I trust that it will not be delayed much longer.¹ Meanwhile, a new Commissioner was sent to British Zululand in 1893, and under Sir Marshall Clarke a better state of things began for the Zulus who are left there. I have now touched upon both parts of what I called the turning-point in South African history.

(1) Our mean seizure of the Transvaal, redeemed by our restitution of it—an act worthy of a Christian nation.

(2) The entirely tragic ruin of Zululand at our hands.

The whole is a sufficient example—if we would be warned—of the evils of what is called “Imperialism,” or let us call it “Domineering.”

Since then Great Britain has committed another very serious breach of trust in Africa.

We have done wrong in laying the responsibilities of a government over vast tracts of Africa on the shoulders of a Chartered Company, a body utterly unfit for the position, because, as a company, their first duty is, not to the part of Africa placed under them, but to provide dividends for their shareholders.

We had no right to expect such a company to fulfil the duties of a position to which Great Britain herself attains as yet only by fits and starts, and which she

¹ The Zulu chiefs were finally liberated in December 1897.

holds on trial only, during good behaviour. One result has been the recent humiliating position in the Transvaal.

Another result is the bloodstained inheritance which the Company has procured for us by the wicked slaughter of the Matabele in 1893.

Save for one paper—*Truth*—you have heard but little of that story, unless perhaps that Chartered shares went up as our fellow-men went down like grass before the scythe, under the terrible machine guns which have never yet been seen at their deadly work in Europe. They are said to have produced among the Matabele “a mere jujube of black humanity.” I do not know the Matabele story from themselves, from having lived through it, as I do the Zulu one. And at present we are hearing the other side alone, unchecked, unquestioned. Yet from the very statements of their adversaries we may glean some slight idea of the Matabele case.

I was on my way home to Natal in August 1893, and in the newspapers which we got as we passed Cape Town I read how the Chartered Company was setting up a telegraph line in Mashonaland. They had previously got a concession for mining purposes in that part of his territory from the Matabele king, Lobengula, and one of these papers, the *Cape Times*, said that the laying of the telegraph was much hampered because the Mashona people would pilfer the wire, and that complaints as to this pilfering had been sent to the king. What followed? “Lobengula dreads attack,” wrote the High Commissioner at that time, so Lobengula sent an armed force to punish the thieves who were making the white man angry by stealing his wire, and then the Chartered Company who had led him to do so turned and massacred his people, and hunted him to death, on the plea of protecting the feeble and peaceful Mashonas. But the Company had not hesitated themselves to punish “impertinence”

following "the theft of a trader's goods," and neglect by the suspected person to appear "before sundown with an explanation," by "summary measures" against a single homestead. The "summary measures" meant the killing of "the chief, his son, and twenty-one other natives" by "shells from a seven-pounder bursting in amongst the huts," at daybreak, without notice. And the Company's administrator reported thereupon that "the relations between the white population and the natives were now in a most satisfactory state."

That happened in March 1892. In the following year the Company, on the plea of protecting the peaceful Mashonas, were raiding the Matabele, burning their huts, and seizing their cattle. In that year in those parts little corn would be grown.

In its annual report for the year ending a twelve-month ago, the Chartered Company speaks of a "deficient fall of rain during the wet season," and of "locusts which have been specially destructive about Salisbury." The British Consul at Beira mentions a breakdown in the waggon-transport for "three or four of the best months of the year (1895), in consequence of the destruction of the pasture by drought and locusts." The South African Bishop of Grahamstown, in a recent pastoral letter, speaks of "the very severe and prolonged drought, the plague of locusts, and the agricultural distress threatening, if, indeed, it is not already overwhelming, a large portion of our farming and native population." Natal merchants are stated to be ordering grain (Indian corn) largely from America, expecting the crops in Natal to fail. The Colonial Office has just sanctioned the spending of a sum of Zulu money on food in Zululand. From Riversdale, Cape Colony, come reports of the total destruction of crops by locusts.

The African native depends for food upon his annual harvest and his cattle. Khama, the chief who visited England last year, with the result that his people were

left outside the domain of the Chartered Company, sends the following message to the English people: "I shall never forget the kindness received in England. I send greetings. When I returned I found all my cattle dead, and all my crops eaten up by locusts. Famine stares my people in the face in a short time." The *Times* correspondent, who forwards this message, adds: "This is a true account, and the authorities ought to take steps for relief of some kind before long. Work for the natives on railway or water works . . . might be provided."

That is the state of things among Khama's people, who have not been recently torn up by the roots by a war. The Matabele, then, are still worse off. How has this situation been met by the Chartered Company, in whose hands we have assumed to place the fate of so many Africans? We learn from a missionary, who is all the better witness because he professes himself an admirer of the Company, that "at the end of last year the Company arranged to take 45 per cent. of all the cattle remaining in the country." The Secretary of State has explained to the House of Commons that the Company have done so under a law sanctioned before he took office, by which the Company are "acting as trustees for the natives, and providing them with cattle when required"; and he promises to inquire some day how that law has been carried out. Now, if ever, one would think, with famine staring the people in the face, was the time to provide cattle, not to take them away.

In the *Times* of April 22, 1895, appeared a statement that the Matabele had "moved down half their force to cut off the Chartered Company's cattle," some four miles out of Buluwayo. I believe that it is these cattle they have been trying for rather than the destruction of the town. If they had meant to destroy it they could have done so at the beginning of the disturbances. Then it was at their mercy. What fighting men there were in

the town were sent out in four different parties to bring in outlying settlers ; the " old forts taken down," because of the value to speculators of the land they stood on. And in the fighting we heard of near the town, at the end of April, it seems to me that they have merely accepted the challenge which the patrol or column from the town went out four or five miles to offer them.

But, you will say, they certainly killed many Europeans at the beginning of the disturbances. That is true, and you will not, I am sure, think that I treat lightly those sad deaths. But I look upon them as probably the acts of individuals, and apart from the main intention of the rising, which is said to include now "many natives from the west who took no part in the former war," as well as "the whole Matabele nation."

The missionary whom I have already quoted tells the following story: "Last August or September a white trader thought one of his boys (natives in service, of any age) intended to murder him. He had no proof of this, but he captured another boy, thrashed him almost to death, cut off one of his ears, and tied him to a cart-wheel." This case was brought to notice and punished; "but for one offence brought home," the missionary says, "perhaps half-a-dozen remain undiscovered." He suggests that such things as this have caused the rising. I think not; but they have very likely caused some of the separate murders. For such murders the main body of the natives need not be more responsible than are the shareholders of the Chartered Company for the outrages on natives—"needless brutalities," he calls them—mentioned by the missionary. Such murders are the almost inevitable accompaniment of a state of disturbance in a country; and the settlers' lives were risked, and have been sacrificed on this occasion, by those who deliberately risked the disturbance, in a manner which would have been incredible, had we

not recently seen yet more terrible consequences risked in the same way at Johannesburg.

And what then was the last straw causing the rising? To add to the distress there came a cattle-plague, which "became known" at Buluwayo at the beginning of March. The *Times* Cape Town correspondent said on April 17: "The insurrection is now attributed chiefly to the destruction of crops by locusts and of cattle by rinderpest." The cattle-plague in itself was not the cause. But in a vain attempt to check it whole herds were slaughtered. "Some thousands of cattle in a week," says one correspondent. Now, by African law and custom, to kill a man's cattle is an act of war upon him. I believe that this caused the rising, and I imagine that if any one whom they could trust could ask the Matabele now their meaning, they would say—"Rebellion! disturbance! We are not the disturbers. The white men began by attacking our cattle. We were suffering from drought and locusts, and they took half our cattle from us; still we were patient. Then disease broke out among the cattle we had left; and only when the white men took to killing them, the healthy as well as the sick, have we taken to the hills in desperation. We know very well that when our cattle are attacked, the next thing is our huts are burnt over our heads. To save our women and children from that danger we have taken them to the hills, to the caves and rocks, and are there to defend them. And see! our huts are burnt, or burning, right and left."

What is wanted to restore order there is shiploads of grain, instead of shiploads of soldiers, and a message in the Queen's name, asking what is wrong among the Matabele, who were made her people by her charter.

This is the time of year for the great English missionary meetings. Will any one at any of them speak for the Matabele? There are now in England two Bishops of Mashonaland, a diocese only created in 1891.

The first bishop acted as chaplain to the Chartered Company's forces through the first Matabele war. May we, perhaps, take his subsequent retirement on the ground of broken health, as a result of his experiences then? as a sort of silent protest against the treachery of the wire pilfering incident, and the butchery of the people whose bishop he should have been? But something more than silence is required, if, indeed, such a protest was intended.

The present Bishop of Mashonaland has spoken recently upon South African affairs. He is reported to have said that "Africa must take a foremost place in the empire, and that the Church should go hand-in-hand with its development." He explained his idea of the development of the empire by saying that it had been built up by such men as—"those whose recent doings in the Transvaal have caused many of us such infinite mortification." And the bishop's idea for the development of Africa seems to be to continue the scramble for it—"to get hold of the Valley of the Nile, and so dominate Egypt"; to "subjugate the black man."

How can a Church so planted take root among the remaining Matabele and Mashona people? How is it likely to influence the Europeans there? "The Zulu war," said the venerable missionary, Dr. Moffat, "put back the cause of missions in South Africa for fifty years." For the African knows the Zulu story and the Matabele story too. These stories, and many others, alas! are spreading far and wide, without waiting for the European to "develop" the country. And the African race is young and vigorous—and possesses that great quality of patience, which means strength, that power of making the best of the apparently inevitable, which is the one way to transform, to mould it to some better form.

The best that we can hope is that we may live such stories down; and this is the best that any European power now in Africa can hope, for alas! they have all followed the example we have set, of handling that vast

continent as though it existed for our private advantage, without regard to the African. "The scramble for Africa" is a phrase we have all heard. But if we Europeans are to live down the past among the millions of Africans, the rights of the African partner in the business must be respected as scrupulously as those of any European. And we are far from beginning to respect them. Witness our tempting the Egyptians, who, we say, cannot govern themselves, to join us in raiding the Soudan. And thereby tempting Italy—who should appreciate a stand for liberty—to continue her invasion of the brave Abyssinian. We accuse the Dutch of slavery, but an advocate of the Chartered Company lets out the fact that like methods of treating the native are practised in Charterland. We profess that to stop slavery was one reason for our raid on the Ashantis; but there are, it seems, at Zanzibar, some quarter of a million of negroes held as slaves under the British flag, whose liberation is deferred from year to year, by one British Cabinet after another. While we rightly claim to be keeping faith with the Transvaal Dutch, we congratulate Portugal on the destruction and exile of another native chief, to whom and to whose father we had promised friendship in 1882, receiving in token his elephant's tusks. The Anglo-Portuguese Convention professes to give England certain advantages at Delagoa Bay. Have we "preferred land to niggers" there?

What we call International Law ignores the existence of uncivilised races—they are without the pale. "The appreciation of their rights" (so says a recent textbook on the subject) "is left to the conscience of the State within whose recognised territorial sovereignty they are comprised"—that is to say, their rights are left to the conscience of a State which has already ignored and overridden those rights.

Here, nevertheless, is a recognition of a State conscience, with all that it involves. But what is the con-

science of our State about now? What is the meaning, the spirit of this "scramble for Africa," in whatever form it shows itself? As the lust for power—domineering—or the lust for gold in dividends—the Scylla of chartered companies, or the Charybdis of Imperialism—is the spirit of that scramble anything but the spirit of unbelief, the worship of the lower self, of the only devil which is real?

The taint is apparent everywhere. In the fever of speculation; in the hurried rush to waste the nation's store on engines of destruction—battleships; in the empty boast that in the last resort, brute force will be relied upon to hold the British Empire together. Why, empires held together by the sword have always perished by the sword, while, during the recent crisis in the Transvaal, the memory that we once did justice on ourselves has availed to protect innumerable British interests, while a threat would have set all South Africa in a blaze.

The taint appears, too, in the cynical assertion that every man has his price—which is not true; in the endowment of churches with lands of tricked and slaughtered men—what indeed must be the Deity whom such offerings could please!—and in the heartless, sickening silence of the churches through it all, while the ignorant natives perish, and our English lads are led astray, and their lives wasted in an evil cause.

Is it possible that there is One whom we have left out of our calculations? Even Him, the Lord of the spirits of all flesh, to whom the African belongs as well as the European. For "thus saith the Lord, let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth Me, that I am the Lord who exercise loving-kindness and judgment and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord."

BRITON, BOER, AND BLACK IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY PROFESSOR JAMES ALEX. LIEBMANN

F.R.HIST.S., F.R.S.L., F.R.G.S., M.P.S.

(*Royal Military College, Sandhurst; late Professor of Modern Languages
and Literature and Lecturer to the Army Class, Diocesan
College, University of the Cape of Good Hope*)

THERE are, perhaps, few parts of the world which at the present time are attracting more attention than South Africa.

There is, I think, no part of the world, being a portion of the British Empire, about which the average Englishman knows less than about South Africa.

Geography in English schools never was a strong subject. It is only within recent years that this study has been seriously taken up, and what need there is for a still further fostering let a few examples suffice to show.

The *Daily Graphic*, which at the commencement of 1896 had some wonderfully illustrated "fairy tales" in its special edition of the Jameson Raid, informed its readers last year that the mountain range in Basutoland was the watershed between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans! (*sic*).

The *Westminster Gazette* recently enlightened the British public with the following piece of news:—

"In South Africa there is a curious instance of a town being named from both the Christian name and surname of a governor—*Henrismith* was called from Sir *Henry* Smith, a popular early governor of Cape Colony."

It is needless to remark that both statements are false. There is no such town in South Africa. There never was a governor with such a name.

According to the *Daily Telegraph*, a jury of our sapient countrymen not long ago returned a verdict that a certain gallant officer died from wounds received during the advance on Benin, *South Africa*.

Another great London daily paper is credited with having given the startling intelligence (about the time of the discovery of the diamond fields) that it was the custom of the Cape Town nursemaids to wheel the perambulators of their little charges on Saturday afternoons along the banks of the Orange River to take the air. *N.B.*—The Orange River is about 600 miles from Cape Town.

There is a colonial story to the effect that, during the Boer war, the Admiralty ordered a gunboat to proceed from Simonstown round the east coast to shell Potchefstroom, which is about 340 miles inland and over 3000 feet above sea level.

Another equally illustrative tale is that in the early days, when there was a garrison at Fort Frederick, Port Elizabeth, a subaltern was severely reprimanded by the War Office for landing his drafts at Algoa Bay when he was ordered to go to Port Elizabeth.

I hope in this paper to be able to enlarge your knowledge of South Africa geographically, historically, and politically. And, as it is as well to stuff our terms with definitions, as "Leviathan" Hobbes remarked, let us to this end understand what we mean to-day by "South Africa." By this expression I wish to indicate that portion of the continent which extends from the Zambesi to L'Agulhas, from Cape Frio on the west to Cape Delgado on the east, a country containing three-quarters of a million of square miles, a land more than six times the size of the United Kingdom.

I divide my paper into two great portions: Facts and Opinions.

My statement of facts you cannot possibly controvert. My opinions, based upon a residence of twenty years, may not be in agreement with yours; but I claim for them your careful and studious consideration, as those of a man who has devoted no small portion of his time to the study of the subject.

I propose to deal first with South Africa of the past; to briefly pass in review the history of the various colonies, republics, and territories; to show you how they became, or ceased to be British; to draw a picture of the European inhabitants of to-day; to describe the natives; to show you how South Africans are governed; and finally, to indicate to you what, in my opinion, promises to be the future of the land of which it may truly be said, that there is "*semper aliquid novi.*"

FACTS

The passage round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered in 1486 by Bartholomew Diaz, a Portuguese navigator, six years prior to the important discovery of Columbus. No settlement of Europeans was made in that part of the globe until Jan van Riebeck, a surgeon of the Dutch East India Company (chartered in 1602), arrived in Table Bay, with about a hundred men, and firmly established himself. This happened in 1652. The settlement of the Cape was for many years merely a station for supplying fresh provisions and water to the ships of the Company, which regularly put into Table Bay for that purpose. It must be distinctly remembered that the Company had no idea of founding a colony in our sense of the term. Forts were built for the protection of the town and bay—the old castle, a pentagonal star-fort of neither use nor ornament, is still standing—and the frontiers of the possession were gradually extended; but its productive powers were materially increased when, after the revocation of

the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. in 1685, a large number of French Protestants (Huguenots), who had sought refuge in the Netherlands, were sent to South Africa. These exiles devoted their best energies to the cultivation of the vine and the mulberry, the making of wine, the distillation of brandy, the production of silk, and the development of agriculture and horticulture generally.

And here, at the very outset, I would ask you to pause and notice particularly the stern manner in which the Company dealt with the refugees; how, with an iron heel, they stamped out every vestige of national sentiment, yea, down to the very speaking of French, so that, when Le Vaillant visited the Cape a hundred years after their first arrival, he found only *one* old man who understood French, and he but imperfectly. By forbidding the *émigrés* first to address petitions to the Company in French, then by refusing them permission to worship in their own language, and finally by instituting a system of espionage in every household, they stamped out French root and branch, so much so that the Huguenots' descendants of the present day from the Zambesi to Agulhas, from Mossamedes to Delagoa Bay, are not only ignorant of their mother tongue, but cannot even pronounce their own names correctly. They have turned De Villiers into Filjee, Serrurier into Siljee—*et hoc genus omni*; and finally, they have adopted as their medium of speech a Babylonish *patois* compounded of Dutch, various English, Kaffir, Malay, French, and other terms, but which is absolutely incapable of expressing anything but the most rudimentary ideas of the bucolic speakers in an equally bucolic fashion.

The treatment the Huguenots received at the hands of the Company is the more remarkable, when we think how the inhabitants of the Low Countries themselves fought for political and religious freedom. Still more remarkable is it that the iron should have so entered

their constitution that at the present day your typical Boer, *pur sang*, calls himself a Dutchman. My friend, Sir Sidney Shippard, the late able administrator of British Bechuanaland, in a paper read during the past session before the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute, said: "They have thus been enabled to build around themselves in course of time a kind of Chinese wall, figuratively speaking, by continuing to use a non-descript mixture of Dutch, French, and divers other tongues forming a sort of *bueolie* dialect peculiar to themselves, with a ludicrously limited and insufficient vocabulary, hardly intelligible in Holland itself, devoid of literature, incapable of growth save by the admixture of *pigeon-English*, and in itself an insurmountable barrier against intellectual progress, expansion, or enlightenment of any kind. Had the English taken a leaf out of the Dutch book for once, and introduced—as could easily have been done at first—the compulsory teaching and use of the English language, and so supplanted the local dialect from the outset, in the same way that the Dutch had formerly crushed the French language out of South Africa, the ultimate benefit to all the descendants of the original settlers would have been incalculable."

For one hundred and forty-three years the Dutch East India Company unfortunately swayed the destinies of the inhabitants of Southern Africa. In 1795 a British naval and military force was sent to the colony, to occupy it in trust for the Stadtholder of Holland, who had fled to England on the outbreak of a war with France. Mr. Sluysken, the Company's governor, refused to hand over the colony to the British commander, whereupon General Craig, ordering his troops to advance, forced Sluysken to capitulate. England held the settlement till 1802, when, by the Treaty of Amiens, it was restored to the Batavian Republic. Four years later, war having again broken out in Europe, the

Cape was taken by the British for a second time, by a force under Sir David Baird (of Indian renown) and, its capture being confirmed by the Congress of Vienna, it has remained a British possession ever since.

At this period the population of the colony numbered nearly 75,000 inhabitants, of whom about one-third were of European descent. Since then, the history of Cape Colony has been virtually that of the Kaffir wars. One of the most important historical events was the arrival, in 1820, of four thousand British settlers, who were located in what are now known as the Albany and surrounding divisions. It would be difficult to over-estimate the influence for good exercised by these immigrants. After striving against almost insurmountable obstacles, failing crops, Kaffir incursions, floods, droughts, and a host of minor drawbacks, they gallantly overcame all impediments, and amongst their descendants are now to be found some of the foremost men in the colony.

The Slave Emancipation Act, passed in 1833, was one of the causes that led to a vast number of Boers leaving the colony. They professed to have been unfairly treated by the British Government in the matter of compensation; and other reasons for discontent intervening, they preferred to seek their fortunes in the wilderness to continuing British subjects. We shall hear of them later on.

A great bloodless victory was won by the colonists (1849) through the Anti-Convict Association, in a constitutional manner, against the intention of the Imperial Government to convert the colony into a penal settlement. Thanks to the energetic stand made in those days, the Cape has been spared the scourge of contamination necessarily resulting from the presence of ex-convicts in the midst of the population.

The great native rebellion in 1850-52 of the combined Kaffir tribes was an attempt to "drive the white man

into the sea." The defeat of the natives led to the extension of the colonial frontier.

In the last year of this war (1852), H.M.S. *Birkenhead* was wrecked off Danger Point, when nearly five hundred men lost their lives. This calamity will for ever be memorable, through the sublime heroism of Colonel Seton, his officers and men, their courage, devotion, discipline, and humanity.

On the close of the Crimean War, the disbanded British-German Legion arrived in the colony, and grants of land were made to the officers and men, and to some German agricultural labourers who soon followed, in the district around what is now King William's Town. The names Berlin, Potsdam, Charlottenburg, Frankfurt, Stutterheim, all tell us where our German cousins have located themselves under a southern sun.

The great need of quick and easy communication between the metropolis and the more distant towns led to the construction of the first railway. As the colony grew in wealth and importance, this line has been lengthened until it now reaches Mafeking, and other lines have been constructed from different ports.

The electric telegraph quickly followed, and its network now expands over the whole colony.

The discovery of diamonds in 1867 opened up a new country which, in 1880 annexed to Cape Colony, gave a great impetus to trade generally.

The Gealeka and Gaika wars of 1877 and 1878, in which the power of Kreli and Sandilli was broken and the latter killed, and the rebellion in Basutoland (caused by the attempt of the Colonial Government to disarm the natives), are, with the exception of the recent rising in the Langeberg, the last military enterprises which the colony has had to undertake. Peace on her borders and plenty within, have enabled her during the last ten years to make rapid strides in advance. The opening up of the interior, the prosperity of the neighbouring

States, the development of the resources of the colony itself in respect to mining, wool-growing, grain culture, the wine industry, fruit-growing, cattle and horse breeding, will all contribute to assist Cape Colony in worthily maintaining her position amongst the sisterhood of self-governing British possessions.

ORANGE FREE STATE

The story of the Orange Free State is essentially the history of the "*voortrekkers*," i.e. pioneers. These people, colonists of the Cape, dissatisfied with the losses which they maintained had been brought upon them by the Imperial Government in emancipating slaves, for the deprivation of whose services they were not adequately compensated, complaining also of the uncertainty of life and property caused by Kaffir incursions on the eastern frontier, determined to free themselves from the trammels of British rule, and, by plunging into the unknown wilderness, to seek pastures new, where they might live free and unmolested under their own form of institutions.

The leaders of the great wave of emigration, which was to make its influence felt beyond the Orange River, were Trichard, Maritz, and Retief. Once across the river, their trials began; Moselikatse, who met them near the Vaal River, fell upon several detached and utterly unprepared parties, and massacred them. The Boers took their revenge, and taught the wily savage a lesson, of which the memory lingered in the mind of his son, Lobengula of Matabeleland, until his downfall. They then returned to their headquarters up the Sand River, whence a portion of them went to Natal. Their adventures I shall deal with subsequently. These events occurred in 1837. Strengthened in numbers by the return of the most violent anti-English Boers from Natal, the *voortrekkers* commenced putting their

new house in order; but looking upon the natives as "hewers of wood and drawers of water," specially created by a benign Providence to supply their labour-market, and having been accustomed in the slave times to regard them as chattels, between whom and their masters "proper relations" must be maintained, they speedily came into conflict with the blacks.

A British Resident was then appointed at the capital, who was to be arbitrator in all disputes. Shortly after the arrival of Sir Harry Smith as Governor of Cape Colony, the Queen's authority was proclaimed over what is now the Free State. The farmers, under the leadership of Pretorius, determined to uphold their independence. A battle ensued at Boomplaats, where they were defeated by the British troops, led by the governor in person. Pretorius, with some adherents, fled across the Vaal, and subsequently founded the South African Republic. The country was then formed into a separate government, and known as the Orange River Sovereignty; but it was not long before the British Resident became entangled in the squabbles of native chieftains, and hostilities commenced. Though brought to a satisfactory conclusion, the territory—"a howling wilderness, inhabited only by wandering hordes of Bushmen and broken tribes of Bechuana and Kaffir refugees," such was the report of the British commissioner—was not considered worth the expenditure that it entailed; and on February 23, 1854, the "Sovereignty" was abandoned. An assembly of the people was then summoned, and a new government established, with Mr. Boshof as president of the newly formed republic.

The young State was soon obliged to enter upon military operations against the Basutos, and a commissioner, nominated by the British Government, by request, acted as arbitrator. Mr. M. W. Pretorius succeeded Mr. Boshof as president, followed by Sir John Brand, who, at his death—an event deeply deplored

throughout South Africa—was in turn succeeded in the presidential chair by Chief-Justice Reitz, who has in turn been followed by Judge Steyn.

Notwithstanding that a boundary had been defined and laid down, the natives refused to accept it. Another appeal to arms resulted; and the Basutos being defeated, a large strip of their country (the "Conquered Territory") was annexed to the Free State. A few years later war again broke out, when these inveterate enemies of the farmers, being completely overcome, appealed for help to the governor of the Cape, who in 1861, declared them British subjects. A boundary between Basutoland and the Orange Free State was then laid down.

The discovery of diamonds in what is now Kimberley, led to further diplomatic arrangements with the Imperial Government as regards the western boundary, Her Majesty's Government paying £90,000 to the Free State, and, "as an additional proof of good feeling and desire for the national prosperity, offered a further sum of £15,000 to encourage the construction of railways in that territory."

NATAL

Terra Natalis, the present colony of Natal, was discovered on Christmas Day 1497—hence its name—by Vasco da Gama. The Portuguese, however, made no use of the discovery. The Dutch East India Company once proposed to form a settlement, but the idea came to nothing. Two British officers, Lieutenants Farewell and King, in 1823, advocated a colonisation scheme, but the Cape Government refused to sanction the undertaking. The country has been a British possession since 1843; how it became so we shall now see. Like those of the neighbouring republics, Natal's first European inhabitants were immigrants

from the "Old Colony"; and the narrative of their sufferings, hardships, and bravery forms one of the most interesting chapters in colonial history. The causes that led to their expatriating themselves I have recounted in dealing with the Orange Free State. On crossing the Drakensberg mountains, they found the country under the sway of that terrible barbarian Dingaan, Chaka's brother, who, after lulling their suspicions, fell treacherously upon them, and massacred a party sent to arrange the terms on which they were to occupy the rolling pasture lands. Having succeeded beyond anticipation in this bloody stratagem, he attacked the Boer camps and butchered the immigrants indiscriminately, sparing neither old nor young. It was on occasions such as these that the heroic deeds of the little band of whites, of women and maidens as well as of mature men and stripling youths, glowed with a brightness that the lapse of years has been unable to dim. Chastened by misfortune, and grown wiser in the bitter school of practical experience, the farmers collected their forces, and advancing cautiously against the Zulus, defeated them in a terrific conflict, and slew 3000 of them. Subsequently Panda revolted against his brother, and formed an alliance with the immigrants, who made a final expedition and completely routed Dingaan's forces. Thereupon he fled, and was afterwards killed by a hostile tribe. Once masters of the country, the farmers settled down, and proceeded to establish a government. The news of the conflict between Europeans and natives coming to the notice of the Cape authorities, Governor Sir George Napier, not approving of the conduct of the immigrants, despatched a small force to Natal. The farmers construed into an abandonment of the territory by England the early withdrawal of these troops; but the action of the Boers again called for intervention on the part of the governor of the Cape, and a force under Captain Smith was sent to take possession of the country

in the name of Queen Victoria. The farmers attacked the little detachment, and the troops were obliged to act on the defensive. On the arrival of reinforcements, however, the enemy quickly dispersed, and on the 5th July 1842, the settlers submitted to the Queen's authority. A special commissioner was appointed to inquire into the land claims, and on the 12th May 1843, Natal was proclaimed British territory.

TRANSVAAL

I now come to the story of the Transvaal. After the battle of Boomplaats, Pretorius, who had declared himself "chief of the whole united emigrant force," crossed the Vaal River after his flight. He was there joined by many of his former adherents; but, jealous of one another, the state, which they had called "The South African Republic," was broken up into a number of petty republics—Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Utrecht. Eventually, under the care of their late President, M. W. Pretorius, the conflicting elements were united. President Pretorius, on being nominated to be officer, or chief magistrate of the neighbouring state, left the country in 1860. Unfortunately, immediately after his departure the new republic was given up to political disturbances, culminating in civil war. Resigning his office in the Free State, Pretorius once more returned to the South African Republic, over which he continued to preside till 1871, when the Rev. T. F. Burgers, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church of Cape Colony, was elected to the highest office in the state. Mr. Burgers was a scholar and a gentleman whose greatest misfortune it was that, as far as the Transvaal was concerned, he lived before his time.

While he was absent in Europe, the *Volksraad* declared war against Secocoeni, a Kaffir chief, and called out the burghers. The expedition ended in a

gigantic failure, the men refusing to take part in any further military operations, and avowing their intention of returning to their homes. Financial matters came to a crisis and the state was on the verge of bankruptcy, when the late Sir Theophilus Shepstone, special commissioner, annexed the country to the British Empire on 12th April 1877.

A great improvement speedily took place under British rule; credit was restored, money became plentiful, trade revived. But additional misfortune was in store for the Transvaal. Unhappily, the Imperial Government, in appointing Colonel Sir Owen Lanyon as administrator, selected an officer who never came in touch with the people. Many of the anti-British party began to raise a cry for freedom and independence. Gradually the cry grew louder and stronger, and eventually it was resolved to make an appeal to arms.

A provisional Boer Government was formed at Heidelberg; a triumvirate, consisting of Messrs. Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius was appointed; a general rising of the Boers throughout the land followed. The small detachments of British troops were besieged in their garrisons, and Pretoria was surrounded by a rebel force. The Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, Sir George P. Colley, marched at the head of a body of troops to relieve the beleaguered garrisons. He met the rebels and was defeated at Laing's Nek, the Ingogo River, and Amajuba Hill, where he himself was killed. Peace was soon afterwards made, and the Transvaal permitted to have complete management of its internal affairs, the suzerainty over the country being retained by Great Britain. In 1882 Mr. S. J. P. Kruger was chosen President of the Republic. A period of reaction then set in—trade was dead; property rapidly fell in value; credit was suspended. From 1882 to 1885 things went from bad to worse, when the discovery of the goldfields of Lydenburg, of the Kaap Vallei, and finally of Witwatersrand,

entirely changed the situation. The news gradually spread throughout South Africa, thence to Europe, and finally to the rest of the world. Immigrants flocked in numbers to the republic from all sides; capital was forthcoming; commerce not only revived, but advanced by bounds, and new towns arose. The South African Republic of to-day is enjoying a prosperity unknown in its previous annals.

Let me now refer to the native territories.

BRITISH BECHUANALAND

The country known until recently as British Bechuanaland was formed into a Crown Colony in 1886, the Union Jack having been hoisted in 1885. It is now a part of Cape Colony. This part of South Africa was annexed to the empire after a successful expedition commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Warren, undertaken with the object of "restoring law and order," and resisting encroachments of certain filibusters, notably from the Transvaal.

BASUTOLAND

is a country with a population numbering 130,000, who, perhaps, are the most intelligent members of the Kaffir race. They are both industrious and warlike. Their mountain fastnesses, to which they invariably retire during war, are almost inaccessible by nature, and the Basutos, by artfully constructed defences, have strengthened them still further. These people, after waging a tedious and disastrous war with the Free State, placed themselves in 1868 under British protection. In 1871 the country was annexed to Cape Colony, but a rebellion breaking out in 1880, consequent on the Colonial Government trying to enforce the disarmament of the natives, the Basutos sought the intervention of Lord Rosmead, then Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor and

High Commissioner, and in 1884 Basutoland was disannexed from Cape Colony, and placed under the direct administration of the Imperial Government. The representative of the latter in the territory is resident at Maseru, assisted by several magistrates stationed in the various districts into which the country is divided.

ZULULAND

The military despotism established by Chaka, king of the Zulus, fostered by Dingaan and perfected by Cetwayo, was broken up by the war of 1879, in which the fearful slaughter at Isandhlwana, the heroic defence of Rorke's Drift, the massacre at the Intombi River, the untimely death of the Prince Imperial of France, the relief of Etchowe, so resolutely held by Colonel Pearson, the battles of Zoblani, Kambula, the final rout at Ulundi, and the subsequent capture of the Zulu king were the principal events. After this campaign the country was divided into districts governed by various chiefs, but recently the whole has been annexed to the empire.

RHODESIA,

a land won for the empire by the foresight of Mr. Rhodes, stretches from the borders of the protectorate in the south to the Zambesi in the north, and is bounded on the east by the Portuguese and on the west by the German possessions.

The country was until recently a *terra incognita*, traversed by a few white men, principally missionaries and hunters. Livingstone passed through it on his first journey, during which he discovered the unrivalled Victoria Falls. Selous and Parker Gilmore, both mighty Nimrods, claim premier rank amongst the second class, and have by their writings contributed materially to the little that is generally known of this immense area,

covering about 360,000 square miles, and containing a population estimated at a quarter of a million souls.

PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS

Of the Portuguese possessions but little need be said. These countries were first visited by Vasco da Gama in 1498. Occasionally a Portuguese vessel touched at their shores, but very little was done in the way of permanent settlement till nearly a century later, when an expedition was sent into the interior to make treaties with the native chieftains and to acquire mining rights. The portion visited comprised the somewhat fabulous kingdom of Monomotopa, of which much was heard during the preliminaries of the late Anglo-Portuguese boundary arrangement. At the commencement of the present century expeditions are said to have crossed the continent, but the settlements are at present in a semi-moribund condition.

GERMAN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

How the Germans got into South Africa is told in a few words. Herr Lüderitz, a German, acquired some years ago certain concessions and established commercial relations in Namaqualand, about Angra Pequena. In 1884, the Cape Colony declining to accept the responsibility of protecting life and property in Namaqualand and Damaraland—which countries had been held to be more or less under British protection—Germany established a protectorate over the territory. A special commissioner has been appointed by the Emperor, and a small military force under an officer has been sent out from the Fatherland as a visible sign of German occupation. The protectorate has now been extended from the mouth of the Orange River to the limits of the Portuguese possessions (excepting the

Walvisch Bay territory). Inland it is contiguous to Cape Colony, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Rhodesia. By the recent Anglo-German agreement, a further portion has been added—the N'gamiland gnomon—which, abutting on the Zambesi, gives Germany an outlet along the main artery of Central Africa. Little or nothing has been done towards developing the country.

NATIVES

So much for the past history of South Africa: a few words now as to its original inhabitants.

HOTTENTOTS

The first aborigines that Van Riebeck met with were the Hottentots who inhabited the western portion of the colony. They are people of low stature, slightly built, and of a sickly, dirty-yellow colour. High cheek bones, small elongated eyes, flat noses, and wire-like hair growing in scattered patches are their chief physical characteristics. They possessed vast herds of cattle and sheep—the latter of a peculiar indigenous breed, with enormous fat tails—lived in kraals, and used bows and poisoned arrows as arms of offence. *Karosses* (tanned skins of sheep, or of animals slain in the chase) formed their only covering. As a distinct race their numbers are now few within the borders of Cape Colony. Like so many other native tribes, they have fallen victims to habits of intemperance, and are, at present, notorious for their laziness, filthiness, and immorality.

BUSHMEN

In close affinity with the Hottentots are the Bushmen, more diminutive than the former, and, as far as

the South African native is concerned, certainly the lowest in the scale of humanity.

The Bushman is found only in the western part of South Africa, in the Kalahari and in Damaraland. Like all small people, he is by nature vindictive and treacherous. He is the most expert, daring, and untiring hunter on the African continent, and follows the *spoor* (track) of game for miles with unerring certainty and undaunted perseverance and skill. With a gun he soon becomes a dead shot. In common with other native races he is in the habit of swallowing the poison of the most venomous serpents, and on that account claims immunity from the effects of snake-bites; but be that as it may, it is an established fact that a Bushman very rarely dies, or even suffers any temporary inconvenience, from the fangs of the most deadly reptiles in South Africa. He is learned, too, in the medicinal virtues of many herbs and plants, and his faculty of going without water for an almost incredible time has often caused much surprise to white hunters. He can extract poison from almost every plant and tree that he meets with in his wanderings. The arrows, frequently poisoned, which he shoots with such unerring aim, serve either to kill a human enemy, or to bring down an animal in the chase. His endurance and staying powers are most remarkable for so small a frame. These people have, as a rule, no settled habitations, but live in holes in the ground, or in caves in the mountains, the walls of many of which caves they have covered with curious drawings which show no little degree of skill and a good eye for colour.

KAFFIRS

By far the most interesting of all the natives are the Kaffirs. Standing intellectually infinitely higher than either Hottentots or Bushmen, they are divided into a large number of tribes. They are all members of the

great "Bantu" family, and from the Indian Ocean to the Congo the same language, with slight dialectic differences, may be said to be spoken. They vary considerably in colour, some being much darker than others. All are well-built, tall, handsome, athletic, proud; haughty and somewhat taciturn in their bearing towards strangers, warlike and fearless when in face of danger. Their heads are covered with thick, woolly hair, and their foreheads are high; their eyes are bright, and denote conscious dignity. *Karosses* and blankets form their usual covering, although they are very fond of dressing up in cast-off European clothing and gorgeous discarded military and other uniforms. Their arms of offence and defence include a bundle of stout sticks which they wield with great adroitness; *assegaïs* long and short; shields of various patterns and colours, and *knobkerries* (sticks with a knob at the end). They have a peculiar custom of besmearing themselves with red ochre and fat, using the latter, as they say, to make the skin supple, and to prevent the sun from burning it. Many of them rub a mixture of powdered wood ash and caustic calcined roots into their hair in order to keep it free from vermin. Outside European rule their government is despotic, the chief's will being law, although modified by the tribal councils. Many of their customs of great antiquity, and some evidently borrowed from Jewish and Mohammedan sources, are exceedingly odious to the white man, and some of their most cherished rites are of a repulsive and very degrading character, despite all the efforts of missionaries amongst them. They own large herds of cattle, in which their wealth almost entirely consists, and live principally upon mealies (maize), Kaffir corn (millet), and milk. Meat they seldom eat, but when they do, they gorge themselves in a disgusting manner, and require several hours' sleep to get rid of the effects of their debauch. They prepare an intoxicating drink

(*utywala*) from Kaffir corn. All Kaffirs are polygamists, wives being purchased for cattle, the number to be paid varying with the status and attractions of the bride, much in the same way, inversely, as the higher or lower rank of a penniless, but blue-blooded scion of nobility, secures an American heiress with a greater or less number of dollars.

The women wear ornaments of beads and bangles both for arms and legs, similar to those said to be worn by "smart" lady bicyclists of the present day round the ankles, which ornaments are often wrought into curious and ingenious patterns with iron, copper, and brass wire, and are much in vogue. Socially, the women occupy an inferior position. It is they who till the ground. The youth herd the cattle, while the men spend their time idling, smoking, snuffing, palavering, and occasionally hunting.

Of religion the Kaffirs have next to none. They have a sort of hazy idea of a "Great Chief," the "*Inkoos inkulu*," but they are fearfully superstitious, believing in ghosts, venerating snakes—which they say are inhabited by the spirits of their departed relations—and are completely under the control and dread of the "witch doctor." They are skilful in certain crafts; they are acquainted with the working of iron, make rough kinds of pottery, and plait basket work so deftly and closely, that the vessels used by them for carrying water, milk, and *imaas* (sour milk), are usually of this description, being woven from fine rushes, &c. Their huts are built of thin twigs covered with reeds, and in many cases plastered with clay.

"MALAYS"

In many of the towns of South Africa are to be found so-called "Malays," who are in some instances descendants of slaves imported from the East while the Cape was under Dutch rule; but the term is now almost

synonymous with Mussulman, and refers rather to creed than race. They are most numerous in Cape Town, where they figure as fishermen, dealers in vegetables and fruits, labourers, and workmen; but their ignorance, indifference, and neglect in matters of sanitation have always been sore thorns in the sides of the Government and municipal authorities.

Having thus briefly traced the history of the country, let me emphasise a few points. It is an unfortunate fact that in dealing with South Africa, the Imperial Government never seems to have been able to formulate a policy and to abide by it. It seems to have wavered between a policy of "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof" and the policy of the Little Englander.

This shilly-shallying stands out prominently not only in our dealings with the natives, but also with the neighbouring republics.

We wage a ruinous war on the eastern frontier of Cape Colony, and overcome our sable enemies. The Governor makes a treaty of peace with them, only to have it abrogated by the then Secretary of State, Lord Glenelg, who returns to the *status quo ante*, in order to see it, in turn, cast aside and the Governor's original policy followed.

We try and prevent our subjects crossing the Orange River (though it seems doubtful whether we had the right to do so), which river is laid down as the limit of British expansion. The colonists cross it, and establish a new home. We follow them, and hoist the "Jaek" in token of our having taken possession. A few years afterwards we haul down the ensign, and leave the farmers to work out their own salvation.

We make a treaty known as the Sand River convention, and profess to have nothing to do with anybody north of the Vaal River. Time passes, and we annex the Transvaal in the interests of peace and

the material welfare of South Africa, and declare, in the person of our present Commander-in-Chief, Lord Wolseley, that the sun will sooner change in its course than the standard cease to fly at Pretoria. We promise the people representative institutions and do not keep our promises; instead we send them a colonel of a West Indian regiment, who treats them like his nigger Tommy Atkinses—if as well. A portion of the population rises in rebellion. Small bodies of our troops are defeated. We send out reinforcements and Lord Roberts to command. When they arrive on the spot, our Prime Minister of the day suddenly discovers that to crush the rebellion would be an act of blood-guiltiness, and we retire ignominiously from the scene. No wonder a number of Englishmen in Pretoria held a solemn requiem, and committing the “Jaek” to mother earth, wrote “*Ichabod*” rather than “*Resurgam*” on the tombstone.

We are glad to avail ourselves of the services of the Swazis as allies in the Zulu war and the Secocoeni campaign. We promise them—as usual—all kinds and no end of things, and finally keep our word (?) by handing them over to the tender mercies of the Transvaal Boers.

At the time of the settlement of Australia, the Imperial Government was asked by France, I think, to how much of the island-continent Britain laid claim. To the whole of it, was the reply; and who shall say how much trouble this answer subsequently saved, or rather the carrying out of the policy which this answer indicated.

Would that, *ab initio*, we had painted all South Africa red and retained it.

Our Little Englander policy has resulted in the presence of the black, white, and red ensign on the West Coast, and what would we not give, to-day, to eliminate the German factor?

Let me now add a few remarks as to—

GOVERNMENT

Amongst the various colonies and states in South Africa, Cape Colony and Natal possess responsible governments. There are two Houses of Parliament, the Upper, or Legislative Council, and the Lower, or House of Assembly. Both bodies are elected by the people, the terms of the franchise being exceedingly liberal; but candidates for the Council must possess a certain amount of solid wealth, or of real property, in addition to other qualifications. The members of the Upper House, while so continuing, receive the courtesy title of "Honourable." In Cape Colony the members of the Lower House are paid a guinea a day for ninety days in the year, which accounts, in no small degree, for the presence of a large number of illiterates in the fine building at the foot of the Government Avenue. In addition they receive certain travelling expenses and a free pass on the railways of the colony, which latter privilege they share in common with the members of the Council. The Governor, who is also High Commissioner for South Africa, represents Her Majesty. Natal has a separate Lieutenant-Governor.

Basutoland is governed on behalf of the Queen by His Excellency the High Commissioner, under whom there is a Resident Administrator.

Rhodesia is administered by the Chartered Company, there being an Administrator and a Council of Advice.

The Orange Free State is an independent republic, governed by a President, who is assisted by a Parliament, called a *Volksraad*. The President is appointed for five years, and the Parliament selects all officers of the Executive Council.

The Transvaal entrusts its affairs to a President, elected for five years, and to a *Volksraad* of two Chambers, containing twenty-four and twenty members respectively, which meet annually at Pretoria.

OPINIONS

To describe to you the Boer character is no easy task, and this for various reasons. No two men see the same thing from the same point of view, or gauge the same character alike. Furthermore, particularly since the unfortunate events at the commencement of 1896, the cry of "Beware of stirring up race hatred" has been so persistently dinned into all ears, that to portray Boer character without fear or favour might give offence to certain gentlemen sitting in the big house at Westminster, who out-Boer the Boer, or be even considered a *lèse-majesté* at Pretoria.

In describing this man to you, you must remember a few points:—

1. That distances between villages and farms are enormous, and that, consequently, social intercourse is not easy.

2. That, in consequence of this, the question of educating farm children has been and is a difficult one.

3. That, as a natural result, the Boer is illiterate, and that hence follows, well—anything you please.

4. That the ideal of the Boer is that of the Patriarchs—to have innumerable flocks and herds and miles of ground on which to depasture them; a wife and a large family; to sit under the shade of his own fig-tree, and live purely for himself; to be as far away as possible from any neighbours; to be free from the payment of any taxes, and to have the right of executing summary punishment upon his native servants, whom, by the way, he certainly treats, as a rule, more consistently than other people do.

Whatever may have been his character originally, two traits stand out strongly at present:—

1. His idea of what is understood by Truth is best represented by the algebraic quantity known as x , and

2. That while in the British Colonies he does not

love, or even like us (though he prefers the devil he knows to the one he does not), in the Republics he cordially detests us.

If you will accept these two statements as axioms—and I think you may safely do so—you will have less difficulty than heretofore in understanding Boer character.

Yet do not for a moment imagine he is without his good points. The nature of the country demands it, and, consequently, he exercises the virtue of hospitality. I should not like to say that he does so because he knows that he will require it himself some day in return.

He is certainly temperate in the use of spirituous liquor, but cannot, by his greatest admirer, be termed industrious. His methods of farming are antiquated and ruinous. He is phlegmatic and apathetic. In his ignorance he declines to believe that scab in sheep is caused by vermin, and his peculiar religious upbringing induces him to consider the extermination of locusts as flying in the face of the Almighty, who sends this particular visitation, among numerous others, as a punishment for the sins of the people.

His ways of thinking are not our ways. The outside world does not trouble him. Telegraphs and newspapers interest him not. His intellectual horizon is very limited, much more so than that of his farm.

His morals are no better, and frequently much worse, than you would expect from people leading such isolated lives, though *he* would like *you* to believe him to be a very saint, and he has as much and perhaps even more “unctuous rectitude,” if possible, than the Pecksniffs of this right little, tight little island.

In matters spiritual he is completely under the thumb of his pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, who exercises a sway quite as autocratic and intolerant as that of the most powerful priest in the most illiterate portion of the Emerald Isle.

In Cape Colony, since the Boer war, he has been taken in hand by certain clever, wire-pulling politicians, and his political education, until then neglected, has been commenced. Prior to that time, he was satisfied to elect as his representative in Parliament, a respectable citizen whose position socially, professionally, or commercially left little to be desired, and who in most cases was a British subject, either home, or colonial born, or, if not, a colonist who, at least, was able to express himself in good English. The retrocession of the Transvaal has altered all that.

A political association known as the *Africander Bond* budded forth, ostensibly for the purpose of taking the Boer into political leading-strings and educating him up to his privileges as a freeborn subject. Judging the body by the actions and speeches of some of its prominent members, it is really an association hostile to British paramountcy, whose object was and is to form a great Dutch party with the ultimate intention of lowering the Union Jack and hoisting some bunting of their own to crown the edifice of Boer ignorance, superstition, and intolerance.

To this end attempts are being made to raise the Cape *patois* to the dignity of a language. Parliament has become a bi-lingual body, speaking English and Cape so-called Dutch; blue books, official papers, &c., are now printed in English and the language of the Netherlands, which latter, of course, the majority of the farmer members, for whose benefit the expense is incurred, can neither read, write, nor speak.

Colonists seeking employment in the Civil Service have to pass an examination in the Cape *patois* and in Dutch, neither of which they hardly ever use for correspondence purposes when in the service, and yet it has even been proposed that the Scriptures should be translated into this idiom of Bastards and Hottentots!

In the neighbouring republic, the Transvaal, a state

of things reigns supreme which cannot be surpassed by the most corrupt of South American republics. There the Boer shows his character in its most unpleasant features. Low, sordid, corrupt, his chief magistrate as well as his lowest official readily listens to "reasons that jingle," and like the gentleman in the "Mikado" is not averse to "insults." He calls his country a republic—it is so in name only. The majority of the population, representing the wealth and intelligence of the country—the Uitlanders—are refused almost every civil right, except the privilege of paying exorbitant taxes to swell an already overgorged treasury. Under this ideal (?) government, which is really a sixteenth century oligarchy flourishing at the end of the nineteenth, and is, certainly, not a land where

"A man may speak the thing he will,"

you have a press censorship as tyrannical as in Russia, a state supervision of telegrams, a veto on the right of public meeting, a most unjust education law, and an Executive browbeating the Justiciary; and, in order to accomplish so much, the Transvaal has closed its doors to its kinsmen in Cape Colony—for you must not forget that the oldest Transvaalers, from President Kruger downwards, are ex-Cape colonists, and quondam British subjects—and imported a bureaucracy of Hollanders to plait a whip wherewith to castigate her children.

On the Rand, at present, the Uitlanders are voiceless, voteless, and leaderless, whilst on the other hand, large quantities of arms have been introduced into the country, and the burghers, every one of them, trained in the use of these weapons. Fortifications have been raised at Johannesburg and Pretoria, to cow those who are putting money into the state's purse, and for this purpose the President has acquired the services of German military officers who will find congenial employment in thus dragooning defenceless citizens.

This is the state of affairs in the South African so-called Republic in this year of grace (1898), which, according to the Convention, granted equal rights to Briton and to Boer!

In Cape Colony, I am afraid that the average Englishman has been, until recently, too much intent on making money to bother himself very much about politics, which at their best are very much of the "parish pump" order. As a consequence, the colony has become the favourite habitat of the professional politician, who, following in the footsteps of the famous Vicar of Bray, cares not what king may reign (and he is quite ready, snake-like, to shed his political skin) so long as he retains his £1250 a year—the emolument of his office.

I am glad to think that a new era is dawning, and hope that, thanks to various political associations, a healthier and purer tone will reign in political circles; that principle will be placed before principal, and that whilst treating our Dutch fellow-colonists with that courtesy, sympathy, and justice which *we* ought to give, and *they* have the fullest right to demand, they are clearly to understand that willing, ready, and desirous as we all are to pull in the same boat towards a common Imperial goal, we call treason, treason; a rebel, a rebel: and that we shall treat both as such.

Now there is one remarkable feature that at once distinguishes the South African English colonist from his brother in the Australias.

I do not for one moment pretend to be able to furnish the reason for such being the case—I merely point out the difference, and leave the discovery of the cause to those who have travelled farther and seen more.

Throughout Australia the "new chum" very soon makes the colony his home. He looks upon the "old country" as a land to be revisited from time to time, the memory of which is to be cherished, and the traditions and history of which are to become some of the most

glorious inheritances of his children. Yet he feels that he has left his father's house and established a new home across the sea, which becomes dear to him and his. In South Africa, no matter where, the first, the last, the most absorbing thought is, "Make your fortune as fast as you can and get you hence."

This feeling will, however, die, and when we get a larger English population settled on the land, a very different state of affairs will obtain.

The native I have left to the last, though he is by no means the least important factor in the South African problem. He occupies a very different position to the native in Australia and in New Zealand, for while in both those countries the aborigines are slowly but surely diminishing in numbers, in South Africa they are equally surely increasing in an extraordinary degree. The Hottentots and Bushinen we may leave out of consideration, but the various Kaffir tribes cannot be set aside. Taking South Africa as a whole, you must look upon it as a black man's country, in which there are small settlements of Europeans.

What have we done, what are we going to do with the Kaffir? We have gone to work, and done almost everything that one could have wished we had done otherwise. We have wasted millions in converting him to a so-called Christianity; we have spent enormous sums in teaching him the three R's, and even something beyond; of our liberality we have given him a vote; and him, who was an utter barbarian yesterday, we have placed to-day on a pedestal at a height equal to our own. And what has been the result? We have spoiled a good man. 'Tis to be regretted that earnest men, leaders of public opinion and promoters of missions, cannot be weaned

"From reveries so airy, from the toil
Of dropping buckets into empty wells,
And growing old in drawing nothing up."

I am fully aware that I am treading on very delicate ground. I am quite cognisant of the fact that it is not a far cry to Exeter Hall. I realise that I shall doubtless raise a howl of execration from the dear, good ladies who spend their time in making, and embellishing with beautiful embroidery, flannel nether garments for the poor, benighted, naked blacks; but I appeal to the large population of South Africa, particularly the farming population, and I am confident that I shall be upheld in my statement, that a mission Kaffir is a Kaffir spoilt. Of course, looked at through a telescope at a distance of 6000 miles, the native, minus the *bouquet d'Afrique*, is a highly interesting being to you "gentlemen of England who live at home at ease," and still more so to the charming ladies above mentioned; but I have yet to learn what advantage the Kaffir reaps from the good, kind ladies' labours—seeing that even the native belles, notwithstanding the march of civilisation, and the *renommée* of Wörth and Louise, still affect only a slightly more extensive costume than that worn by the mother of all anterior to the Fall.

The farmer declines to employ him, for he knows he cannot rely on him. His own people shun him, for to them he is a renegade. In a large number of cases, it is with his so-called Christianity as it is with his clothing—a luxury, and its adoption depends greatly on the degree of latitude and longitude, the influence of European civilisation, or some other predisposing circumstance. But just as when nostalgia seizes him, and longing for the breath of the veldt and the freedom of that mighty expanse, he casts off boots and clothes, and takes to his blanket, or *kaross*, so, in his period of *Sturm und Drang*, he peels off the superficial veneer of missionary endeavour, and becomes a raw Kaffir pure and simple.

And with his women-folk it is even worse than with him, because they are ruined, body and soul.

We vote thousands annually in the Cape Parliament

for native education, and striving foolishly to do in a day, so to say, what it has taken us in Europe ages to accomplish, we succeed only in thoroughly unfitting him for his station in life, and consequently in increasing our already by no means small criminal community. Whilst the east and north seem anxious to adopt the far more sensible plan of teaching him the dignity of labour, and making him a useful farm-servant first, and perhaps, in centuries to come, commencing the rudiments of metaphysics instead of troubling him now with all that is abstruse therein—the Boer wine-farmer of the Western Province looks upon the native as a receptacle, evidently specially provided by Providence, into which to pour that body and soul destroying product of his manufacture, called Cape Smoke. What a terrible influence for evil this vile concoction is, you will more thoroughly understand when you hear that whilst a bottle of brandy can be purchased for about a shilling—and it is frequently adulterated with the most deleterious substances—a cup of tea costs half that amount. And to cap all, in Cape Colony there is no excise, because, forsooth, you cannot educate the Boer up to the point of understanding that it is the consumer who pays the tax.

Then, fittingly to consummate the work, we have given the nigger a vote. A native with a vote! The incongruity would be stupendously comical were it not so terribly real, because the whole training of the Kaffir, his whole manner of thinking, is such that he cannot understand such a thing as voting, or parliamentary government, or any government other than autocracy. In fact, to him right is might, and might is right. Besides, he is more clannish than the clanniest Scotchman, and to him, more than to the Russian *mudjik*, the great chief's will is law.

We have got to face the inevitable, to realise in our laws what we put into daily practice in the colony, viz.,

that there is an impassable gulf separating the black man from the white man, and that it is absurd as well as unjust to legislate alike for both. The European is the master, the native the servant. The Kaffir is a child, and should be treated as a child. Instead of so doing, we put everything we ought to keep out of a child's way within his reach, and when, figuratively speaking, he chips pieces off the legs of our mahogany dining-table, or sets fire to the lace curtains in our drawing-room, we fetch a policeman, bring the native before a magistrate, and punish him as though he were a full-grown European.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

And now to conclude. What may we reasonably aspire to in the future?

We must, in the first place, frankly admit our errors in the past, and profit by the experience gained to avoid the pitfalls of the future. We must promote good government within, and amicable relations between, the various states and colonies in South Africa. You can hardly expect a badly-governed state to cultivate amicable relations with a state governed on the principle of "by the people for the people." If there is to be a union, there must be a certain intercommunity between the various units of South African life. That country is a land without great natural boundaries. All the states are separated by artificial frontiers. There is railway communication between all the states, and it is impossible to separate them as you would this country and France, for instance. The good government which we must promote is merely good government on certain principles which are pre-acknowledged to be right and just throughout the civilised world, the first principle being: "The greatest good for the greatest number." In the next place we must oppose any attempt to limit

or destroy the supremacy of Great Britain in South Africa. We know exactly what British supremacy means in Cape Colony, Natal, and Rhodesia. No one can deny that there is some kind of supremacy of Great Britain over the Transvaal. It must be our duty to see that the existing supremacy is not levelled down any more.

We shall have no difficulty in inducing the colonial Dutchman to see how much freer, happier, and more prosperous he is under the enlightened sway of our beloved Queen than his brother beyond the boundary under the *régime* of the Boer so-called Republic, or under the Kaiser's harsh rule, which many of them experienced in Damaraland. On many a hard-fought field the colonists of both nationalities have freely shed their blood in the Queen's service, and there cemented a union which time will still further strengthen. By being

“To their faults a little blind,
To their virtues very kind,”

we may hope to be able to weld these divergent factors into one homogeneous whole, and through customs, post, and telegraph, legal and commercial unions arrive at the great union of hearts and hands—the federation of South Africa under the British flag. It may not be within the immediate future (though history is rapidly made in that country of *koppes* and *karroo*), but the much-to-be-desired end will come, and it is certainly worth working for.

The political centre of gravity cannot be shifted from Cape Town to Pretoria. The clock cannot be put back. “The genius of our race, its wonderful capacity for governing the most heterogeneous collection of peoples, the prestige gained through a general and, on the whole, well-deserved reputation for justice and humanity, the love of fair play so characteristic of Englishmen, will all tend to the same end.”

One of the greatest statesmen of the empire has given us in the north a rich and new country, capable of containing and supporting thousands of hard-working European settlers, brought it under the sway of an enlightened government, and thus put what we all hope and trust may be the keystone to the arch of the confederation of the states of South Africa—a dominion as glorious as that of Canada, extending from ocean to ocean, from L'Agulhas to the Zambesi.

And then, stretching our hands to our brethren across the mighty river, across the great lakes to Uganda, down the fertile waters of hoary-headed Nile, past Khartoum (Gordon's grave), past ancient Thebes and Cairo's high-built citadel to Alexandria's teeming mart, down to the almost tideless waters of the great inland sea, we will hail the Queen's Empire in Africa.

NATIVE RACES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THEIR POLITY

BY REV. JOHN MACKENZIE¹

(*Late Deputy-Commissioner for British Bechuanaland*)

“I am a man: I think nothing pertaining to man to be foreign to me”

THIS would seem to be an appropriate motto for a paper addressed to a London audience on the Native Races of South Africa and their Polity. In order to devote the whole of the time at my disposal to the work of giving information, I shall leave you to note for yourselves the resemblances, or contrasts, as between South African polity and that of other races of mankind.

I shall treat generally of the races inhabiting the country from the Cape of Good Hope to the Zambesi River. My remarks will, no doubt, apply to many tribes north of that river; but I wish only to speak at present of matters which have come under my own observation and knowledge in that part of Africa with which I am somewhat well acquainted.

Nor shall I dwell on what may be called the ancient history of this question, and ancient history as to South Africa does not, as you are aware, go very far back. Let me, however, give you at once a list of the tribes of whose polity we are to treat, arranged from the comparative philologist's point of view:—

¹ Mr. Mackenzie being out of England, the proofs of this article have been corrected by Mr. J. Davis Allen and Miss A. Werner. Points in which Mr. Allen differs from Mr. Mackenzie will be found in footnotes.

GARIEPINE PEOPLE.

Hottentots.
Korannas.
Namaquas.
Bushmen.

BANTU PEOPLE.

Kaffirs.	Makalakas.
Zulus.	Mashonas.
Basutos.	And all the tribes in the
Damaras.	Lakes Region of Cen-
Bechuanas.	tral Africa.

I. GARIEPINE PEOPLE

Speaking first of the Gariepines,¹ you will observe that the list is a short one, and it might probably be made shorter, as the first three names indicate tribes which are very closely allied to one another.

In olden time the Gariepines inhabited South and South-west Africa, and it was with them that early European voyagers, whether Portuguese, English, or Dutch, first came into contact. The early records of the Dutch East India Company's settlement at the Cape of Good Hope contains the story of their contact with Gariepines; and for more than a century after their settlement at the Cape the Europeans had very little intercourse with any other natives.

The Gariepines have, for Africans, a light complexion—they are probably lighter than the average Chinaman or Hindu, and as light or lighter than the native of the shores of the Mediterranean. Their eyes are also similar to those of the Tartar or Mongolian tribes. But what they have in common with other African natives is their woolly hair; for it is true now, as it was in the time of the early Greek writer, that while African sheep carry the hair on their backs African people carry the wool on their heads.

In their nomadic pastoral customs also the Gariepines are quite separate from the other natives of South Africa, and remind one, as do their features, of the Tartar or Mongolian peoples. Nothing, for instance,

¹ From Gariep, the Orange River, the banks of which were much frequented by this people.

could be more widely apart than the status of Gariepine women in relation to the cattle of the tribe, as compared with that of the women of the Bantu peoples in South Africa. In all the latter tribes a woman may not enter a cattle-pen while the cattle are in it; and if she did so, the enclosure would have become thereby polluted, and the priest or medicine-man would be sent for to purify the cattle-pen in question. Among the Gariepines, on the contrary, the "daughter" of the family—as among the Aryan peoples—is the "milkmaid" of the family; and I have observed the genuine surprise and perhaps admiration of young men in my employment when, in passing a Gariepine village, they beheld the ease with which a young Gariepine girl went out and met her cows coming home, and skilfully throwing a riem or rope over their horns brought them to the tree or pole where she afterwards milked them. Throughout the rest of South Africa everything connected with cattle is regarded by the Bantus as man's work.

The Gariepine languages being suffix-languages have no affinity with the native languages of the rest of South Africa. They possess, strange to say, a peculiarity of the Chinese language, namely, the change in the meaning of words—without any change in the spelling—from the tone or pitch at which the word is uttered. Thus a certain word in Koranna, if pronounced in a loud key, means *handkerchief*; the same word, three notes lower, means *the spot*; and four notes lower still, it stands for the adjective *dark*. Then, in Chinese, a certain word in the first tone means *to fly*; in the second tone, *to subsist*; in the third tone, *to swim*; and in the fourth tone, *to issue*. "Mind your pitch," or tone, is therefore a very suitable advice, whether speaking Chinese or Gariepine. But I do not wish to carry you farther in this direction than the few already ascertained facts warrant us: comparative philology is not at an advanced stage as to South African languages. But

this strange possession in common of the "tones" in their language becomes more interesting from the physical resemblance of Garielines to Mongolians or Chinese—a resemblance which was so striking to the early Dutch settlers at the Cape (many of whom were also familiar with Chinese people), that we find them calling Garieline people "Chinese."

In the Garieline languages there are several "clicks" or consonantal explosives. Only three of these have found their way into two of the Bantu languages—Zulu and Kaffir. Perhaps philologists may be able to justify the surmise that these Bantu people may have adopted these consonants after protracted contact with Garielines as neighbours; in the same way as I have heard Bechuanas use clicks in speaking Sechuana, although there is no click in that language; and I found that this custom or affectation was confined to a corner of Bechuanaland, the people of which had much intercourse with Korannas. The existence of schools and of some books in Sechuana will effectually prevent the spread of such a change in speaking the language; but in the absence of such deterrents, I see nothing to have done so, provided the chief and his headmen had adopted the new method and introduced it with the force of their influence and example at those public *pitshos* or assemblies of the tribe, which in olden time would seem to have supplied the tribe with a standard for the tribe's language or usage in speaking.

I am conversant only with the three clicks to which I have referred. One is already familiar to some of you as being what some drivers address to their horses, and in South Africa is usually represented by the English letter X. Another is also known to us in this country as an expression of surprise or concern; and is represented in Zulu and Kaffir books by the English letter C. The third click is totally unknown to us in this country, and is produced by the forcible and sudden withdrawal

of the tongue from a certain part of the roof of the mouth. It is represented by the letter Q. Although the two first clicks are known to some of us in this country, it is only as separate explosives, and not as component parts of words. Mxotsho, Cetywayo, Amaqeba are men's names in which the three different elicks occur.

I have included the Bushmen among the Gariepines; but a great deal has to be done by the comparative philologist before we can satisfactorily classify this very remarkable people. The recent discovery by Mr. Stanley in the region of the Congo of a diminutive people, will be regarded with very great interest by all who give attention to such subjects. If these "little people" had been discovered by a traveller familiar with South Africa, he would have felt inclined to call them Bushmen, if indeed the noble height of the forest trees did not forbid the name as not adequately describing the habitat of people who are probably closely akin to the "little people" of South Africa. There are still many of the latter extant; but before the Cape came into the hands of the English, the Bushman had only one fate if he was first seen by the European colonist—he was shot down. Quoting from an early traveller we find that as to their remarkable smallness the pigmies of Stanley have their counterpart in the "Bosjesmannen" (Bushes-men) of South Africa. In a Bushman kraal of some twenty-five huts, inhabited by perhaps 150 people, the tallest man measured by Sir John Barrow¹ in 1797 was 4 feet 9 inches in height; the tallest woman 4 feet 4 inches; and one woman, who had borne several children, was only 3 feet 9 inches in height. These South African pigmies have long been an object of great interest to ethnologists—especially in connection with the remarkable drawings in certain caves in the colony, which are ascribed to the Bushmen.

¹ "Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798," by John Barrow.

“For accuracy of outline,” says Barrow, “and correctness of the different parts, worse drawings have passed through the engraver’s hands.” What light will be thrown on these South African pigmies by the recent discovery by Stanley of pigmies in the region of his recent travels? Anything to relieve us of the perplexity at present surrounding the past life of a people most highly advanced in artistic power, in religious or superstitious feeling, and in knowledge of medical and other herbs and trees, and yet as to civilisation, living only on what Nature bestowed—her roots, her plants, the game of the open plain shot with the poisoned arrow, or caught by means of a pit or snare?

I have said that I am not to dwell on the past history of my question, and do not therefore pause to describe minutely the laws or customs of a Gariepine tribe or village. The great body of these people have long been living under the British Government in the Cape Colony. Thousands of them are now our fellow-citizens, and possessed of the franchise in the self-governing Cape Colony. They were certainly the most degraded of all South Africans at the beginning of the century. They now constitute part of a respectable labouring population. What arrested the rapid decay¹ of the Gariepine people? After careful inquiry, I believe it is to be ascribed in part to the fairness and justice of British administration which gave them a chance, but most of all to their own reception of Christianity, which effectually roused them from lethargy and degradation, and stimulated them to take advantage of what Christianity offered to them as members of the human family, and what the British Government offered to them as its subjects. There is only one service which I should to-day wish to render these people, to make them known to you in London under the name given to

¹ See appendix to “Ten Years North of the Orange River,” by John Mackenzie.

them by comparative philologists, of Gariepines, and not any more by tribal names which are now all but obsolete. There are some things you can't fight; and I think our associations with some of these tribal names belong to that category. We are interested in fellow-citizens whose features are like those of Mongolians, and who have risen from abject degradation under Christianity and the British Government, and who are now living useful and respectable lives. But I somewhat doubt if those feelings would outlive the shock of being told that we are speaking of Hottentots. As the people are now largely disconnected with the abject degradation of their forefathers, it seems to me only kind and civil to them to give prominence to their true scientific designation, Gariepines.

I have said that in the Cape Colony the natives, both Gariepines and Bantus, were recognised as citizens while the country was still a Crown Colony, and the franchise was conferred without reference to colour on all inhabitants possessed of certain qualifications. Some of the ablest and most cultivated members of the Cape Colony Parliament have been elected by native voters.¹

¹ We have the highest authority for saying that the Cape Colony Constitution has worked well as to internal affairs, and we cannot, therefore, regard without great suspicion such retrogressive efforts as were lately put forth in the Cape Legislature, which have had the practical result of disfranchising a considerable body of native voters. The ground for our suspicion is that this is only the first step in the programme of men who aim at reconstituting society in all South Africa, making the question of colour the only decisive test. Now it is evident that to separate on the question of colour a community so mixed as that now in South Africa, and thus to place them in two hostile camps—one having rights and the other having no rights—would be unwise, unjust, and pernicious, and certain to lead to future bloodshed on a huge scale. Law and justice, obedience and patriotism, have no reference to colour or race. It is impossible for a Power like Britain, governing as she does human beings in all parts of the world, and of all shades of colour, to take any notice of the question of the colour of its subjects; and it is of the highest importance to all parties concerned, that the well-thought-out Constitution granted by Great Britain to the Cape Colony in connection with that self-govern-

II. THE BANTU PEOPLE

We now come to describe the Bantu people, and to make some remarks on their polity. This large family is found from the south-east coast northward to the Lake regions recently made known to the civilised world.

Confining our remarks to those tribes living south of the Zambesi River, we find the Bantus are a shade darker in colour than the Gariepines, and as a rule better developed physically. Where the tribes are darkest is on the banks of the rivers and in well-watered districts in the interior. Where the Bantus are lightest is in the south and in the driest parts of the country. In the same way moist and hot regions would seem to lead to a plentiful crop of hair, which is lessened in arid regions.

The highest physical development of the Bantus is found among the Zulus and Kaffirs. The Basutos, Swazis, and Bechuanas would follow. The least-developed would be found among the poor Bakálahari, the remnants of tribes which, beaten by their enemies, fled into the Kalahari, where, as vassals, they pick up a precarious existence. But if the military tribes can present us with the finest men physically, I am sorry to have to add that they also afford us the pictures of the greatest degradation and incapacity, morally and intellectually. If you ask me where is to be found the least thought and the greatest bestiality, I should point you to the *letshaga* or common soldier of a military tribe. The Bushman who roams over the desert is a king in matters of the mind to this physical giant. I never

ment which it has now enjoyed for nearly twenty years, should not be altered in a direction opposed to the genius and the history of the British Empire. The Franchise and Ballot Act of 1890 is the measure referred to. Mr. J. Davis Allen is of opinion that its effect has not justified Mr. Mackenzie's forecast.

knew a Bushman who was not thoughtful and well-informed as to matters coming within his observation, and deeply impressed with the nearness of an unseen world, which he constantly appeals to and seeks to propitiate. The man who knows least and thinks least in all South Africa, is the stalwart common soldier in a military tribe. Living in native barracks, his thoughts revolve on bloodshed as his work — beef, beer, and brutishness as his pleasures.

Again calling in the aid of the comparative philologist, we find that the African is only one branch of the Bantu family of languages, the other being the Oceanic branch spoken by the Malays, the South Sea Islanders, including the Papuans. It is therefore true, although unexpected and perhaps startling, that from the philologist's point of view the Bantus in South Africa are more closely allied to South Sea Islanders than to Garielines who reside in their immediate neighbourhood in South Africa.

The most remarkable characteristic of this family of languages is, that the pronouns are originally borrowed from the derivative *prefixes* of the nouns; and the plural is formed not as a *suffix* but as a *prefix*, by change or by addition.

Mothu o tsile, a person has come.

Bathu ba tsile, persons have come.

Bathu ba baintle, people are beautiful.

Bathu ba ba tsileñg ba baintle.

People who have come are beautiful.

Setlare se se tala se seintle.

(The) tree which is green is beautiful.

This is the same as if it were correct for us to say in English:—

People *pe* come, for people have come.

People *pe pe* come *pe* pleasant, for people who have come are pleasant.

Government, *go go* good, for a Government which is good.

Government, *go go* good, *go* necessary.

A Government which is good is necessary.

While the Gariepine languages are harsh, abrupt, and abound with clicks, the Bantu languages are rich in vowel sounds. All words end in a vowel or in the ringing *ng*; and by the way, *ng* is a combination which may begin a word, as *Ngami*, the name of a lake; *nguka*, a doctor; *ngo-ngo-rega*, to grumble. This latter word, as you will recognise, is an instance of onomatopœia, of which other illustrations might be given. *Lela*, to weep; *keledi*, a tear; *lohaha*, a feather; *hoha*, to fly; *pheho*, the wind, will show you how soft this language is. *Tshwara*, to catch; *siana*, to run; *sekisa*, to condemn; *roga*, to curse, will show you that it also has forcefulness.

The Bantu people, when first met by Europeans, were in possession of some amount of what we understand under the term civilisation. Early travellers in Bechuanaland, for instance, were much impressed with the difference between them and the nomadic tribes of the south and south-west. The Bantus, as settled communities, were found living under a recognised system of government. There were not only flocks and herds, but agriculture, every household having its cornfields. There were workers in wood, smelters of iron and copper, and workers in these metals; while tanning of hides, and dressing and sewing together of furs, were skilfully done by almost every grown-up man in most of the Bantu tribes.

In order to accomplish our object in this paper, it will, I think, be most satisfactory for me to take you now to a Bechuana town, that we may rightly understand the internal affairs of such a community. We shall afterwards consider their inter-tribal relationships.

A BECHUANA TRIBE

You are all more or less acquainted with the easily erected, beehive-shaped huts of which a Bechuana town is composed. In Europe it is very long since the removal from one place to another of a tribe or clan has been possible. A European people when attacked may conquer or be conquered; but a third course, still possible in many parts of South Africa, has long been impossible in Europe. This course is for the tribe that fears it may in the end be worsted by its enemies to remove altogether from that locality, carrying with it all its families and all its property, and to plant itself in another part of the country, perhaps hundreds of miles from its former position. The removal of Msilikazi (Moselekatse) from the district of Natal, first to a part of what is now called the Transvaal, and afterwards to what we now know as Matabeleland, is an illustration, on a large scale, of this third course. The chief in question, in the first instance, fled from Tshaka, from whose service he had broken away; in the second instance, finding that the Transvaal was near enough for Tshaka to follow him, and that to the Zulu chief's attack there was added the opposition of the Boers or emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony, combined with an attack from a war-party of half-castes under Jan Bloem, Msilikazi collected his flocks and herds and people, and under the protection of his still powerful army, forced his way northwards into the country of the industrious Makalaka and Mashona. On a smaller scale this third course of change of residence has on several occasions in recent times taken place in Bechuanaland when a tribe or part of a tribe has suddenly taken its departure, and placed a great distance between it and its enemy. The tendency, of course, for those who are worsted is to hasten to less valuable parts of the unoccupied country; and so, as already observed, even the arid Kalahari has

obtained some vassal inhabitants from among the remnants of conquered Bechuana tribes.

In laying out a Bechuana town, the first thing is to ascertain where the chief's great courtyard with the adjoining public cattle-pen is to be placed. As soon as this is settled the remainder is simple. One headman says: "My place is always next the chief on this side;" another adds, "And mine is always next on that side," and so on till the whole town is laid out. It is thus as easy for Bechuana people to lay out their town, after the chief's courtyard has been "located," as it was for the twelve tribes of the escaped slaves of the Egyptians to arrange their encampment in Arabia as soon as the Tabernacle had found its central place.

It was the mark of a freeman to have a house in the Bechuana town; the vassals, whether subject Bechuanas or Bushmen, lived only in the open country. Bushmen, indeed, were not permitted to enter the town of their masters till after sunset.

This opens up the question of the component parts of society in a Bantu tribe. Vassalage formed an essential part of this society. In the case of the warlike tribes, the captive children were the property of the chief, and distributed by him. In this distribution, however, the captors were not forgotten. Thus the baggage-carriers of a Bantu war-party would be the young boys and youths taken captive in previous forays. After some years' service in this capacity, it was the custom for all the grown youths to lay their heads together, and on a day agreed on leave their masters and assemble at the chief's kraal, when they announced that they were now men, and demanded to be enrolled as a new regiment, and to be entrusted with some of the chief's cattle to herd and to defend. If the chief granted their request they were placed under the training of a skilful induna; a few cattle were set apart for them, and what was practically not a town but barracks for sol-

diers was put up for them, and they also received a name as a new regiment of the chief. We can imagine that the great ambition of those youngsters would be to go, or to be sent, on a war-party for the sake of pillage and outrage; and one of the objects of the young warrior's ambition to secure a captive who would carry his impedimenta, as he himself did for years for his late master. Neither as boy nor as man does the member of a military Bantu tribe know what personal freedom is, as understood by Englishmen.

Vassalage among the Bechuana had so entirely and essentially supplied the requirements of the tribe, that there was no word in their language for "servant," as we understand the word. And so in the Sechuana New Testament, the words which we have in English, "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ," become as in the original Greek, "Paul, the bond-servant of Jesus Christ." But Bechuana vassals were not without rights. I have known a case in which a vassal lodged with the chief of the town a complaint against his master of cruel treatment. In such cases it was in the power of the chief to remove the vassal entirely from that master and give him to some one else, or retain him for himself. In one single case I was aware that a vassal had been invited by a Bechuana chief to come from his village in the country and reside permanently in the town, and thus become a freeman and member of the council of the chief. This was the reward for special services rendered by this man to the chief. His children would, of course, be freemen also. Otherwise, the children of vassals are the servants of their masters and their masters' children, from early years, and grow up in their service. The Bushmen being, as we have seen, further removed from the Bantu people than the Bakalahari vassals, who are also Bantus as to race, do not serve Bantu masters so readily or with so much acceptance as do the Bakalahari; and their treatment has been

accordingly more harsh on the part of their masters and owners. It is worthy of notice that the chief Khame some time ago proclaimed that enforced servitude was abolished in his tribe. Some years ago, on revisiting his country, I was gratified to find that this remarkable man had so far overcome the prejudices of his own race against the Bushmen, that he had entrusted some of them with a flock of sheep and goats to herd for him, of which they seemed to me to be very careful and very proud.

Wherever, of course, British rule extends all slavery and all vassalage cease. You will not be surprised, however, to hear that such is the inertia and listlessness in which such people live, that many vassals are potentially free, who take no step to change their circumstances; just as in England, men were potentially free centuries before villeinage and local bondsmen became unknown.

The chieftainship of a Bantu tribe is hereditary. But while this is the theory which is most solemnly announced to the inquirer, he finds by-and-by, as he becomes better acquainted with the country and the secrets of its history, that in very many cases able and unscrupulous men have thrust aside the legal chief and reign in his stead. There is at present hardly a tribe in Bechuanaland in which there is not a man who is, behind his back, called "King of the Pumpkins," in derision at his having suffered a relative of inferior rank to rule over the men of the tribe.

Polygamy was practised by the Bantu people. In Bechuanaland, as a matter of fact, the great majority of men had only one wife. A plurality indicated a rise in a man's circumstances somewhat similar to what is indicated when it is announced in an English town that so-and-so has set up his carriage. When it is remembered that in every case, from the wives of the chief downwards, the women were the only cultivators of the

ground, we can understand how the system worked. But a good deal of unnecessary mystification has, as it appears to me, taken place when Englishmen have endeavoured to deal with native law in South Africa. The customs of the Bechuanas leave us in no doubt as to the standing of the various members of a chief or wealthy man's domestic establishment. As he adds to his wives, the man carefully gives to each woman her establishment as she arrives—houses, servants, cattle, sheep, and goats—according to his means. The woman and her offspring are thus provided for, during the man's lifetime. But his head wife's establishment, and his own mother's establishment, stand on an entirely different footing from the new establishments of these women, which are confined to the actual gifts of the chief. Everything not thus apportioned by the chief—everything that comes from any part of his country to the chief in his public capacity—goes to his mother's establishment, or after her decease to the establishment of his head-wife. To the children of this house belong all the possessions of the chief on his death, which have not been apportioned by him while alive. The eldest son of this house has been recognised as heir to the chieftainship from the time of his birth. Guided, then, by native teaching, English law ought to find only one "wife," in our sense, in this man's establishment. She and her children are his only legal heirs. The minor houses have been carefully provided for by him during his lifetime.

Without professing to have gone into questions connected with increase of population, one cannot help getting a more or less definite impression during a residence with the same tribe for many years, especially when, as medical attendant in cases of sickness, you come into contact with all members of the establishment, bond and free, young and old. My impression is distinctly that, while natives are increasing and not

“dying out” as elsewhere, Europeans in South Africa are increasing at a greater rate than are the coloured people.¹ And in a native town, so far as my observation has gone, polygamy did not always, or even usually, ensure for the man either a large family or numerous sons.

The polygamy of the chiefs was a necessity of the old system of things. First the daughter of one chief or headman was taken, and then the daughter of another, and another, in order to give several headmen a personal interest in the dynasty of the chief; and in order that the personal interest of the majority of these wives' fathers might counteract any treason or malice which might arise in the breast of one of their number. Nothing strikes strangers more than the graceful and gracious way in which these women are accustomed to address one another in their presence. “Sister,” “Child of my Mother,” “My Mother,” “My Queen,” and other terms of endearment are freely used. But there often exists, what the stranger cannot detect, a suppressed but intense hatred and jealousy which are carefully but guardedly communicated to their children, and which form the seeds of future insurrections, divisions in the tribe, and bloodshed, when the children have grown to be men and women.

The ceremony of circumcision was administered in every Bechuana tribe to boys between the ages say of nine and thirteen. It took place every three or four years, and included all boys of the above age. A corresponding ceremony took place in the case of girls. By these observances the child was supposed to be introduced to womanhood and to manhood. During the

¹ This opinion is certainly correct. Later statistics—those of India in particular—conclusively show that among the coloured races, prolificacy decreases *pari passu* with the diffusion of education and the adoption of European habits. The white races of northern Europe, and their offshoots over-sea, alone maintain the birth-rate, in face of a rising standard of comfort and education.—J. DAVIS ALLEN.

performance of the rites the novices were separated from their families, the boys leaving the town in charge of the old men appointed by the chief for this purpose. They were supposed to be indoctrinated into all the wisdom of the tribe by those teachers; and their fathers visited them, and applied freely to them the parental rod—indeed this beating on the back with supple wands was really regarded as an important part of this venerable ceremony in the case of Bechuana boys; and apparently the higher the rank the more severe the beating. Every Bechuana man could show the marks on his back of this harsh usage. “Don’t call me a boy,” a youngster would say to me in my early years out there; “I am a man, as you can see for yourself,” removing his mantle, and laying bare the numerous and indelible wounds left on his back. Both boys and girls, before the conclusion of the ceremony, received a regimental name. “Fleeter than Wind,” “The Terrifiers,” “The Bringers Down,” are some of the names of regiments which occur to my memory. A young son of the chief, or of a headman, would be captain of this new regiment. The women, as you will observe, as well as the men, were enrolled, usually under a daughter of the chief, and could take part, therefore, as a regiment in any public work which might be required of them. In Bechuanaland this was never much more than erecting and keeping in repair the council hut of the tribe, and perhaps the houses of the chief, with the annual digging of the great garden of the chief’s wife or mother. But we have here, no doubt, the root-idea of that enrolment of women which, in the west of Africa, would seem to have led to their employment in fighting along with the men of the tribe. Every Bechuana man, you will observe, was a member of a certain regiment, which was composed of men of his own age. “How old are you?” says the European. “To what regiment do you belong?” says the Bantu. When you name your regiment the

native questioner knows at once your standing, and the European learns within three years your probable age. Thus, although the polity of the Bechuanas contemplated peace and industry, it did not exclude self-defence and war. Every man was enrolled, and in time of war would at once take his orders from his own captain, all acting under the chief.

It would be impossible to describe the polity of the Bechuanas without very briefly referring to their religion or superstition, for these are necessarily interwoven; and it often happens that, as in the case of the town with which I was best acquainted, the chief was at once administrator, judge, commander-in-chief, and high-priest or medicine-man of the tribe. The Bechuanas were ancestor-worshippers, and believers in fetiches, charms, and spells. Their year was divided by a succession of observances to which great importance was attached. As you approached a town, and as you walked through it, your eye would meet on every hand with the signs of superstition, and of the efforts to ward off evil and procure good. Great was their belief in the power of certain charms for good and for evil; and priests were consulted, therefore, for evil as well as for good purposes. A man could buy medicine which, as long as he wore it, would keep him safe from wild beasts of the forest. But he or another man could also buy medicine which would secure that an enemy, when he went to hunt, would be killed by a lion or a buffalo. It is difficult for us to conceive the atmosphere of distrust and of fear in which these people live. But that this hoary superstition or religion found in so many parts of the world merits the latter name, as in some cases restraining from evil, I am able to show. An old chief was a refugee on my premises, within earshot, as it happened, of a young man under my tuition. It was night; and the old chief and his mother believed themselves unheard by those who were supposed to be asleep in the

adjoining room. The chief had been driven from the town; he had come to my house knowing he was safe there; and his mother was now tempting him to a certain course of action which might have the result of reversing their present evil fortunes. "No," said the old chief, "I can't do that; I could not answer to Kadi (a famous ancestor) for a deed such as that." Sekhome resisted his mother's evil counsel out of regard to the wishes and laws of a deceased ancestor, whom he expected to meet, and to whom he held himself responsible.

The property of the Bechuana people consisted in cattle, sheep, and goats, and in millet, maize, and other garden produce. All these became also articles of barter, but trading was more usually transacted in ivory, ostrich feathers, and the skins and furs of animals. Near the town a wide stretch of suitable garden ground is to be found, cultivated in the olden time by the women, but since the reception of Christianity, by the men, who now plough in a single day what it would have taken the women many weary days to till with the heavy and clumsy hoe. Further from the town, and usually near some fountain or river, are situated the cattle stations of the men of the town. Still further from the town are situated the hunting stations of the men of the tribe. The gardens must be near the town, and the people must live together in a town for the purposes of mutual protection and defence. The cattle posts must not be mixed up with the gardens on the one hand, and must not be too far afield on the other, so as to fall a prey to the enemy's depredations. The hunting stations depend, of course, on the movements of the game, which, as we are all aware, is becoming more and more scarce in all parts of South Africa.

A Bechuana man in the olden time had his garden or gardens tilled by his wives; his cattle post or posts, to which he himself gave his attention, and from which

at stated times his sons and servants sent to the town the thick sour milk in skin sacks, carried on the backs of oxen. At certain seasons of the year, and especially in times of scarcity of food, he could resort to his hunting station, where he would find his vassals ready to attend him in the hunt.

Perhaps nothing strikes us as so strange as the Bechuana ideas about land. The idea of buying land was entirely unknown to them. Land was as plentiful to them as air, and much more plentiful than water. Neither the site of the house in town, nor the garden, nor the cattle post, nor the hunting station, was ever bought. And yet it would be quite wrong to infer that the native holders of these properties had no right to them. They had a complete right to them, according to the customs of their tribe. The house had been placed by authority of the chief and headmen; and so had the choice of garden plots been sanctioned; and the same in the case of cattle posts and hunting stations. The man had no written title to these things, because writing was unknown to the tribe; he possessed the only title which was of any value in the circumstances under which it was given. I may say here, that I am sure that the requirements of all these tribesmen could be fully and justly met, and yet leave immense stretches of valuable country at the disposal of a strong central government, which would deal equal justice to men of every colour and every race. We have not to consider whether or not Europeans will enter a beautiful native country, the greater part of which they see is unoccupied. We know that Europeans will enter such a country; but it is for the British Government and the British people to decide whether they enter it as filibusters and desperadoes, or as peaceful colonists, under the control of the Imperial Government.

Since this was written, the Imperial Government, rightly or wrongly, but assuredly in accordance with

colonial sentiment, has relinquished its administrative function throughout the vast regions which stretch from Cape Town to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. Only Basutoland and Nyasaland are now administered from Downing Street. Khame's country (the Bechuana-land Protectorate) is a debatable ground between the Chartered Company and the Imperial Government, and for the present is administered by Khame himself, aided by an appointee of the High Commissioner.

Every native tribe knew well how far its territory extended from the central town. In paths radiating from that town they knew when the traveller would come to their last hunting station; where in times of peace their hunters met with the men of the next tribe. From each of these farthest points or meeting-places it would be easy to draw a line, which, from a European point of view, would be the boundary line of the tribal territory. The advance of white men, and the dissemination of white men's ideas, have led to more careful action by some of the Bechuana tribes as to boundary lines, and some neighbouring tribes have settled these matters, and raised beacon-marks to indicate their tribal boundaries, by mutual consent.

COMPARATIVE SKETCH OF BANTU POLITY

I daresay you will be surprised, and perhaps amazed, to learn that as great variety has obtained in Bantu polity and methods of government as are to be found on a grander scale on the Continent of Europe. We have just gone into some detail as to the internal affairs of a single tribe in one of the divisions of the Bantu people. Let us now take a wider view, and find out wherein the various Bantu tribes differ from one another in polity and intertribal relations.

Military Despotism

In South Africa we have had several illustrations of military despotism, with which Europe has been only too familiar. But all have now been swept away, except that of Gungunhama,¹ son of 'Mzila, who rules, but with a power already broken, in what we know as Gazaland. The most notable instance of this form of government was exhibited in the history of the Zulus under Tshaka, Mdigane, Mpande, and Cetywayo. Hardly less remarkable has been the history of those warlike Kaffir tribes—Amaxosa, Abatembu, &c.—inhabiting what used to be known as Kaffirland, and is now included in the Cape Colony.²

Limited Chieftainship

Let me now describe what we in England would regard as the highest form of government, as it appeared to Lobengula, himself a despot.

¹ Since (1896) deported by the Portuguese.—A.W.

² You have recently heard from Miss Colenso an account of the downfall of the military power of the Zulus. In no part of the world—in no single case in our recent intercourse with native tribes—have we more to regret than in the case of the Zulus and Zululand. We may rejoice, indeed, for the sake of the Zulu people, that the military despotism designed or developed by Tshaka has passed away; but we must all of us lament that British action and British inaction as to Zululand have been equally ill-timed and unworthy. Had Britain nothing to show in proof of love of righteousness and fair-dealing than her dealings with the Zulus, I am afraid that our position among the nations would be a low one indeed. The remnant of the Zulu people and of Zululand are now under British administration. It is to be hoped that by a righteous and firm government, adapted to the conditions of the people and calculated to lead them to useful and industrious habits, Britain may yet do something to wipe out the disgrace which undoubtedly attaches to our past attitude towards Zululand and the Zulu people.

[Pondoland also has been incorporated, while Zululand, Amatongaland, with the territories of Zambaan and 'Mbegaza, have been added to Natal. Swaziland, subject to certain reservations, has been made over to the Transvaal.—J. DAVIS ALLEN, 1898].

“Mackenzie,” said the late chief of the Matabele, during a visit which I paid to his country some years ago, “in a town of the Bechuanas, such as that of Khame, the chief and his brothers, or headmen, may be compared to a number of birds in a tree. One kind says *chwee-ee*; another says *chwee-ee*; and presently all the birds in the tree say *chwee-ee*,” that is, they have all a voice in the transaction of public business; “but here,” added the chief, holding up a single finger, “among the Matabele, there is only one voice heard, and that is the voice of the chief.”

But Lobengula’s description of the limited chieftainship in Bechuanaland, although given as a caricature, is correct. In every Bechuana town the chief is assisted in the government of the tribe by those who are called his “younger brothers,” which includes, with those who are his own brothers, the headmen whose “houses” are next to the chief’s own house in rank. A wise Bechuana chief acts along with his headmen, carrying them with him in his policy. They have frequent meetings, which are regarded as confidential. When a course of policy has been resolved on, a public *pitsho* or council is called of all the freemen of the tribe. Here there may be hours of oratory—each headman being well backed up by his own people. It rarely happens, however, that the course of action practically resolved on by chief and headmen in secret, is practically overturned by the speeches of the commoners in the public *pitsho*. But if the measure of the chief is opposed by an opinionative headman or headmen, the latter’s views are sure to be eloquently brought forward by one or other of his own people; and the ill effects of the proposed course are fully described; and examples are given, if possible, from the history of the tribe, in illustration of the views which are enforced. The difference therefore between an ordinary man among the Bechuanas and Basutos and an ordinary man (who

is always an enrolled soldier) among the warlike tribes, is very great indeed. The Bechuana man can influence his own headman, who is a member of the chief's council; and he himself has the right of free speech in the public councils of the tribe. The Matabele soldier has no voice in what is done by the chief; he goes or comes, like soldiers everywhere, at the word of command. Thus, when despotic power was overthrown, as in Zululand, its subjects were completely at a loss; while the past history of the Basutos or Bechuanas shows them qualified for managing their own local or town affairs.

Patriarchal Government

I have spoken of the conquering despot, lord of many chiefs and tribes which he has subdued; and we have heard concerning the Bechuana or Basuto chief, whose family has secured pre-eminence over other similar families in a tribe or nation, so that he is king or chief over the other headmen and over the whole tribe, which he governs with their advice and support. We come now to South African tribes, which have no such central chief as in the case of the Basutos or Bechuanas—only a number of sheiks or headmen, each one of whom is independent of all the others, with whom he never assembles in council for the consideration of the affairs common to their tribe as a whole. The Mashona, the Makalaka or Banyai, and the Damaras, furnish us with illustrations of this most elementary form of government. The Bushmen also live thus in families; but as vassals of the other tribes they are not to be reckoned with those who are members of independent tribes. I need hardly say that the tribes living thus, in a disconnected manner as to their internal affairs, have suffered very severely at the hands of their neighbours living under a more organised form

of government. Some years ago the Damaras were attacked by their more civilised neighbours the Koramas, who naturally were proceeding to take them family after family. A European trader succeeded in inducing the Damaras to place themselves under him; and through his instrumentality the Damaras were eventually able to hold their own. Since that time the Damaras would appear to have more or less clearly recognised the priority of one of their chiefs or headmen, Kamaherero; but this recognition of a central power in Damaraland is of comparatively recent date.

No such course was followed by the patriarchal Makalaka or Banyai, so far as I have been able to find out; and so they fell a comparatively easy prey to the warriors of the Matabele. This has been true also of the Mashona, the most industrious and skilful tribe in all South Africa. Infinitely superior to the Matabele in the arts of peace, their want of a central government left the Mashona completely at the mercy of the Matabele, when the latter attacked them. Growing their own cotton, and weaving their own blankets and shawls, the latter of which they had learned to dye blue, the Mashona are also first among all the tribes for their knowledge of agriculture, their skill in smelting metals, and especially for their superior work in iron implements, such as spears, hoes, axes, adzes, &c.

The Matabele could not make such spears, they could not make spears of any kind; but they could buy them or seize them from the Mashona, and then return armed with them as a war-party consisting of several regiments, and put the people of a small Mashona town to death—scizing their children and their cattle as booty to be brought to their chief. The neighbouring Mashona towns would take flight into inaccessible mountains and caves—not helping their neighbours, and not themselves to be helped when

their turn came. Alas, that such has been the fate of the most advanced of the South African tribes. The complete devotion of the Mashona to peaceful industry, and the entire absence of concentration, and of the military idea, even for intelligent self-defence, has led to the complete breaking up of the Makalaka and Banyai, and almost to the destruction of the Mashona. Let us hope that the advance of civilisation into their country may still save the remnants of this interesting people. Viewed from a distance, how hateful, how inhuman, is the polity whose avowed end is conquest and the destruction of neighbours! How beautiful—how worthy to survive—the simple patriarchal government, the root-idea of which took for granted peace and not war—friendliness and not emnity.

But do war and militarism cease to be hateful and inhuman when transferred to Europe? Wars of conquest in Europe, stripped of all the mere trappings of civilisation, are as hideous and as hateful as the devastating march of the South African war-party. We spare—we take prisoners; our doctors, our nurses, our ambulances deal tenderly with the poor shattered frame from which we have just all but blown the life; but essentially, when Europeans descend to the arbitrament of war, they find themselves on the same platform as Tshaka, or Msilikazi, or Lobengula.

Christianity makes us hold to hope, and believe that universal peace shall yet prevail; but in the present state in human history, the lesson to be derived from the experiences of our South African fellow-men would seem to teach us that the true and highest attitude for us to cherish, is to love peace and seek it, while always prepared for war. On a low platform this has been the policy of the foremost tribes in South Africa. On the highest platform this is the policy of the great American people, as it is emphatically of the people of these British Islands.

Wars of self-defence—wars for the protection of home and family—are always noble, and always ennobling to those who engage in them with pure hearts. In such a case a man fights for what is behind him, and for what is his own—not for what is before him and the property of another man. Such wars, alas, will be necessary as long as selfishness bears sway, and as despotism, and its necessary adjunct militarism, prevail in the world—as long as a single man can say, in Europe or in South Africa, in the presence of a huge standing army, and holding up his finger as did Lobengula, “No man except myself can speak with power here.”

NATIVES UNDER BRITISH RULE IN AFRICA

By R. H. FOX BOURNE

(Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society)

THE European "scramble for Africa," as it is called, entered on its present phase barely more than a dozen years ago. But it began at least four centuries earlier.

The Portuguese were first in the field, under the leadership of Prince Henry the Navigator; and so pleased was Pope Martin the Fifth with the ten black slaves caught and presented to him by Prince Henry in 1442, that he issued a bull conferring on Portugal rights of possession and sovereignty over the whole continent. The conversion of souls to Christianity was the pretended object of this pious grant, but encouragement of slavery was its chief effect, if not its real purpose. Under another papal bull a slave market was established in Lisbon, and thither, it was reckoned in 1537, some ten or twelve thousand African slaves were brought each year for sale and for transport to the West Indies.

The Portuguese monopoly was scarcely disputed until England—disputing and breaking down a like monopoly claimed by Spain over the continent and islands of America—became a competitor, and, before long, acquired a large part of the spoil. Sir John Hawkins, though not the earliest, was the most famous among the pioneers in this unholy traffic. In 1562 he visited the Sierra Leone coast, and there, according to the old chronicler, "partly by the sword, and partly by other means, got into his possession three hundred Negroes at the least, besides other merchandises which

that country yieldeth." Two years later he conducted a larger expedition to the same coast, and during two months—again to quote the chronicler—went "every day on shore to take the inhabitants, with burning and spoiling of their towns." The profits on this expedition amounted to 60 per cent. Queen Elizabeth was one of the partners in it, and she allowed Hawkins, in acknowledgment of his great services, to bear on his knight's shield the picture of a Negro, "in his proper colour, bound and captive." Of the trade thus inaugurated, however, it is said that Queen Elizabeth declared "it would be detestable, and would call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers."

The vengeance of heaven was long delayed. The West African slave trade flourished for more than two centuries and a half, in the course of which the number of luckless natives stolen from their homes for the supply of American and West Indian markets amounted, it has been estimated, to ten millions or more. Near the close of last century, when the trade was most vigorous, the average was about 100,000 a year. England's share in this trade, a third or more of the whole, was abandoned at the instigation of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others, in 1808, and the few straggling settlements that had been established on the West African coast in order to carry it on were, in consequence, well-nigh ruined. The curse of the slave trade has been upon them to this day.

Yet, of late, they have been growing, and growing rapidly. Though smaller in area, the countries now claimed as British possessions or spheres of influence in West Africa are more populous than those in South Africa or in East Africa.

"THE PARTITION OF AFRICA"

Half a century ago England owned in Africa only a few scattered forts on the West Coast, and, in the south,

but a small part of the present Cape Colony. Its possessions had considerably increased before the modern "scramble" received sanction and encouragement from the Conference of European Powers assembled at Berlin in 1884. But the subsequent increase has been far more rapid. In the "partition of Africa," which the Berlin Conference brought about, nearly a third of the entire continent, and more than a third of its population, have fallen to England's share. France has nearly another third, but, half of it being desert, with a smaller population. Most of the other third is divided between Germany, Portugal, and, as sovereign of the Congo Free State, the King of the Belgians. England's share, if we include Egypt and the Egyptian Soudan, comprises an area of more than three million square miles, five-and-twenty times as extensive as the United Kingdom itself, but with a native population reckoned to be not very much greater than that of our own islands, or somewhere between fifty and sixty millions.

It is of these fifty or sixty millions of African natives, nominally, though most of them are not yet actually, under British rule, that something has here to be said; and, as they are so widely distributed, and of such divers sorts as to include representatives of nearly all the native types, our survey must be a wide one.

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS

Of the blacks in Africa, roughly guessed at about one hundred and fifty millions, the actual aborigines, in the strict sense of the term, appear but to be a small fraction, or rather several disjointed fractions. There is not much in common, apart from their general stuntedness and backwardness in civilisation, between the Bushmen of South Africa, the Wambutti, the Akkas, and others with whom Mr. Stanley, Schweinfurth, and Wissmann made acquaintance in their wanderings across Central

Africa, and others in other parts of the continent about whom more or less vague information is given by numerous travellers. But all, it may be assumed, are descended from the earliest occupants of the land, driven more and more to seek safety in caves and forests from successive hordes of intruders.

A grade above the African aborigines of whom we know most, the Bushmen, though in some respects inferior to them, are the Hottentots, supposed to be a mixed breed between the Bushwomen and the Kaffirs who overran the southern parts of the continent long before Portuguese or Dutch or Englishmen appeared on the scene. We find similar mongrel communities in other parts of Africa. Indeed, of the hundreds of apparently distinct nationalities scattered over the huge continent, each with few or many characteristics of its own, and many of them strangely unlike one another, nearly all may be regarded as various blendings—influenced by climatic and other local conditions, as well as by divergences in origin and blending—between the primitive inhabitants and one or more of three great racial groups which successively established themselves in the continent, and gradually took possession of nearly the whole of it after centuries of struggling with one another, and under conditions that have caused the struggle to be fitfully continued—in some parts, at any rate—to this day.

THE NEGROES

Earliest of the three, beyond doubt, and probably indigenous to Africa, are the Negro populations, now chiefly found in the great Soudan region—comprising the savage tribes east of the Upper Nile, whom, perhaps for the first time, the Mahdi bound together by a sort of religious despotism; the diverse communities under French and English dominion on the West Coast; most of the kindred and rival communities distributed over

the basin of the Lower Niger, and others north of the Congo basin. Many are sunk in the lowest depths of barbarism, practising cannibalism and the most degraded forms of fetich worship, and they suffer still, as they have suffered for centuries, from the lack of cohesion which has rendered so many of them an easy prey to the bloodthirstiness and rapacity of the stronger among their own kin, as well as of outside assailants. It is from them especially that the slave markets have been supplied—till comparatively recent days in America and the West Indies—from time immemorial, and still, in other parts of Africa itself and in Asia.

THE HAMITES

To another extensive and diversified group of African natives ethnologists have given the somewhat confusing title of Hamites. As Fellaheen in Egypt, as Berbers in Algeria and Morocco, as Somalis, Gallas, Masai, &c., on the East Coast, all with more or less mixture of Negro blood, they appear to be descended from a stock which may have had its original home in the old Ethiopia of the Greeks, the Land of Kush of the Egyptian and Hebrew records. If they started from that base, they must have spread south as well as north, and all along the northern coast, driving most of the negroes they found there into more torrid regions, to be themselves overawed by later comers. Generally, but not always, of lighter complexion and comelier shape than the negro, the Hamite is sometimes his superior, sometimes his inferior, in physical and mental powers. You see him at his feeblest, perhaps, in the Egyptian fellah, at his strongest in the uncurbed Somali, though how much of the difference is due to mixture of race, how much to centuries of independence or centuries of oppression, it would be rash to guess.

THE SEMITES

To a third group of African natives the title of Semites, also misleading, has been given. Those who hold that all mankind has descended from Shem, Ham, and Japhet should regard the negroes as the true children of Ham. But, wherever they sprang from, the negro would seem most indigenous to the soil, the Hamite to have some Oriental traces or resemblances, and the Semite to be much more of an Oriental. The Phœnicians who built Carthage were clearly of Asiatic origin. So were the Arabs, who came much later. Whatever may have happened in prehistoric times, it is a matter of history that there were at least two great encroachments (called Semitic) into Africa, by way of the Mediterranean, and, yet more, of the Red Sea, each of which, in the course of generations, effected various and important revolutions, ethical as well as political, throughout more than the northern half of Africa. The first began long before the Christian era; the second long before the advent of Mohammed. But the most marked, far-reaching, and lasting effects of the second were due to the zeal and success with which, in the seventh and following centuries, the Moslem faith was forced on millions upon millions of African natives. Sword in hand, its apostles obtained mastery over nearly all the communities adjacent to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, as far as Morocco, whence, for a time, they even mastered Spain. They also penetrated far into the interior, and almost to the western shores of the continent, and, though there were vast patches of paganism that they could not touch, they built up in Negroland powerful empires which exist to this day. In some respects, perhaps in all but one, the Mohammedan influence has been beneficial. It has raised the people subjected to it from their barbarism, and has given them something like orderly government. Its

one great fault is that it has strengthened and developed the system of slavery, and has given a religious sanction to the slave trade, which, in spite of all that has been done to check it, is still a source of terrible misery and degradation to at least a third of the inhabitants of Africa.

It is usual, but not correct, to speak of these Moslemised Africans in the east and centre of the continent as Arabs. Though, in the course of five or six centuries, there must have been countless waves of immigration, the intruders can have been very few in comparison with the millions they conquered. They brought into Africa much besides their religion—their methods of trade and manufacture, some arts and some refinements—all of which materially affected the manners and customs, and in that way the temperaments, and even the physical characteristics, of the people; but very little Arab blood appears to have been infused into the native communities. Such racial changes as were caused by the settling of Asiatics in Africa must be attributed to migrations prior to the Mohammedan or even the Christian epoch.

THE BANTUS, OR NEGROIDS

Those earlier changes, however, were very considerable, and apparently much greater in the southern part of the continent than in the northern districts to which thus far reference has mainly been made. North of the Equator, roughly speaking, we find negroes of divers sorts, confusedly mixed up with people, less black, of so-called Hamite or Semite origin. South of the Equator, roughly speaking, we find a vast aggregate of communities, differing widely among themselves, but with physical and mental resemblances more marked than the differences, who are known as the Bantu or Negroid communities, and who, it is reasonable to assume, are a distinct and tolerably homogeneous modification of the

Negro type by a very thorough blending with the Hamitic type. You see them, perhaps, in their highest development, physical if not mental, in the Zulus, who, till it was broken up by Boer and English assailants, maintained a formidable empire south of the Zambesi. But closely allied to them are the inferior, or at any rate less warlike, communities bearing such names as Bechuana and Basuto, which formerly were more or less subject to Zulu rule. You see them also, in various stages of advancement or degradation, nearly all over South Central Africa, including the great Congo district, and as far north—that is, above the equatorial line—as the Cameroons, on the western side of the continent, and Uganda, towards the east. The nickname of Kaffir, still commonly given to the South African Bantus by Cape colonists and others, is significant. It is the same nickname as is given to the luckless dwellers in the Hindu Kush whom Great Britain has lately allowed the Amir of Afghanistan to ruthlessly subjugate. Kaffir means “infidel” or “unbeliever.” The Kaffirs of the Hindu Kush contrived till lately to hold their own against Moslem persecution in Central Asia. The Kaffirs of South Africa are part of the great Bantu race, or group of communities, now numbering perhaps some fifty millions or more, who, partly receding from, but never submitting to, Moslem persecution, maintained their independence until, in our own day, some have been already brought, and others are being now brought, as are most of the other natives of Africa, under British, French, German, and other European rule.

THE EXTENSION OF BRITISH RULE IN AFRICA

Whether this European rule is excusable or justifiable, whether nations calling themselves civilised have any good warrant for forcing what they call civilisation upon savage races, for seizing their lands and making

servants of them, is a question by itself. It is enough here to take facts as they are, and the initial fact to be noted is that, in the working out of projects and ambitions started long before, but enormously developed during the past twelve or fourteen years, Great Britain has established—in the judgment of Europe—a title to ownership of nearly a third of the habitable portions of Africa, and has made itself more or less responsible for the good government of these territories and their inhabitants. Not a tithe of the fifty, sixty, or more millions of natives thus nominally placed under British rule, have as yet been actually subjected to it; but they are all, in a sense, our fellow-subjects. All the millions who have not as yet been brought within the fold are liable to be interfered with, and controlled by, British adventurers and British officials, and to be benefited or injured thereby, as soon and as much as such interference and control may be deemed practicable or convenient. Within the past few years, up to the present moment, the process has been going on with startling rapidity, and everything tends to show that it will be continued with increasing energy in the course of the next few years and afterwards, until “our undeveloped estates” in Africa, to adopt Mr. Chamberlain’s phrase, have been developed and utilised to the satisfaction of those who lay claim to them.

This development cannot be satisfactory, even to those who look solely for their own and England’s profit from it, unless it is also profitable to the natives. There are only a few portions of Africa which can be colonised by white men as Australia or Canada are being colonised. At least four-fifths of the continent will never be healthy or attractive enough for the building up of such Newer Englands as are taking shape elsewhere, with or without extermination or banishment of the rightful owners of the soil. Africa, for the most part, must always be a black man’s continent. If white men are to get legiti-

mate and lasting profit out of it, it can only be by the black men's help. Selfishness or self-interest, therefore, if not humanity, should lead us to consider the black men's welfare no less than the whites', to see that in the establishment of British rule in Africa the natives benefit, and benefit to the utmost, from the civilisation, or whatever we call by that name, which we impose on them. What, and how much, have we hitherto done or attempted to do in that direction? And with what result? The question should be an interesting one, in any case. It is especially important and urgent, in view of the rapid extension of British dominion which is now in progress. Our successes or our failures in dealing with the comparatively small number of African natives with whom as yet we have been in contact, should supply us with lessons and warnings for our dealings with the much greater numbers whom, before long, we shall have to be proud of, or ashamed of, as our fellow-subjects.

The acknowledged British possessions, present and prospective, in Africa, form three large groups: in the west, in the south, in the east, and thence towards the centre of the continent. To these must be added Egypt and its assumed dependencies, for the control of which Great Britain has made itself more or less responsible.

OUR WEST AFRICAN FELLOW-SUBJECTS

Our earliest relations with African natives were, as has been noted, on the West Coast, which we scoured through two centuries and a half for slaves, for the most part bartering rum and gunpowder for those who could not be obtained without payment. Some effort was made to establish commerce of a less obnoxious sort in gold, ivory, palm-oil, and other commodities; but this was slight, always a mere adjunct of the slave trade,

and, apart from the labours of a few disheartened missionaries, nothing was done to set up wholesome rule, or to exert any improving influence on the natives. Such settlements as were made at the mouth of the Gambia and on the Gold Coast in and after 1618, were solely in the interest of the slave-dealers. At length, in 1787, a worthier experiment was started. A few philanthropists then obtained leave to acquire land in Sierra Leone, on which liberated or fugitive slaves from America and the West Indies might be settled; and from that small beginning slowly grew the dominion that now covers, on the map, territories exceeding 500,000 square miles in area. These now include, besides the premier colony of Sierra Leone, the little Gambia colony to the north, separated from it by French Senegambia; our larger Gold Coast colony to the east, separated from it by Liberia and another French colony; Lagos, yet farther east, with a German as well as another French colony intervening; and, five or six times as large as all the so-called colonies put together, our Niger territories, of which fragments near the sea coast are administered by the Crown as the Niger Coast Protectorate, and the vast interior, with part of the coast district, is under the rule of the Royal Niger Company.

Of the twenty or thirty million natives in this disjointed total of British West Africa, comparatively few, perhaps less than a million, can be said to be actually under British rule. Large districts have never yet been explored, and such slight European trade as is carried on with the interior passes almost entirely through native channels. But this is to be altered, as soon and as thoroughly as may be, by projects now on foot for improved road and river communications, railways, and other appliances.

At present a very lucrative European trade, and a tolerably efficient machinery of English government, have their bases in numerous Anglicised towns, many of them

large and prosperous, scattered along the sea coast. In these the great majority of the inhabitants are natives, adapting themselves as best they can to English institutions under the guidance of a few white officials, merchants, missionaries, and so forth: natives also being employed as subordinate officials, and free to attain any wealth, dignity, or influence they have capacity for as merchants, preachers, lawyers, or what not. It is considered by some honest friends of the West African natives, indeed, that there is too much imitation of English manners and customs among them. More clever young natives than useful work to their liking can be found for when they go back, perhaps, come to England every year to study law and science, and obtain high diplomas from Oxford or Cambridge, the Inns of Court, or the metropolitan hospitals; and the parents who can afford them these opportunities, by reason of their large profits in business, are more anxious to pose as Anglicised Negroes than as champions of Negro interests. This development, unparalleled in the United States, or, to a less extent, in the West Indies or any other of our colonial possessions, gives welcome evidence of the negro's fitness to compete successfully with European rivals; but it has its drawbacks. It marks more apparent than real progress in those who are sharers in it, and it weakens the patriotic sympathy that the prosperous few ought to show to the less fortunate multitude of their kinsfolk.

There is only an upper crust of refinement, or something like it, in the native populations of such ports as Freetown in Sierra Leone, Accra on the Gold Coast, and Lagos, the capital of the colony that bears the same name; and, on the whole, the narrow fringe of so-called civilisation on the coast is more or less in antagonism to the broader strip of half-governed, and too often ill-governed, country between it and the great interior, which is still scarcely within reach of the blessings, or

the curses, of civilisation. As a rule, the inhabitants of this middle strip, literally middlemen, are used and abused as such. Very little is done to benefit them. So long as they are serviceable and convenient, or necessary as intermediaries for the trade with the interior, which is nearly all that English exploiters of West Africa care about and are anxious to enlarge, they are humoured. So soon as they are found troublesome they are trampled on, and their savage ways, from which we have done little or nothing to convert them, are made excuses for the trampling. This, in brief, is the meaning and method of nearly every one of the dozens of "little wars" that we have been waging in West Africa for years past; and the faults and dangers of the process are glaringly exhibited in the troubles consequent on the attempts made in the present year (1898), to force what is called civilised rule on the savages in the Sierra Leone Protectorate.

It appears to be inevitable, and it may be desirable, that we should establish efficient control over all the millions of inhabitants in so much of West Africa as we lay claim to; that we should put an end to the base superstitions and cruel practices which are prevalent among them, to the polygamy, the domestic slavery and much else, in some districts the human sacrifices and cannibalism, which we object to; that we should induce them to supply us with the palm-oil, the rubber, and other commodities their country yields, and, by scientific cultivation, to greatly increase the quantity and variety of its produce; even that we should teach them to wear European clothing, and adopt European ways of living. If these objects, or any of them, are to be aimed at, however, surely the work ought to be done, and can only be really done, by humane methods. The negro, like other beings superior and inferior to him, is easily led by judicious kindness, and he is exceptionally eager and competent to profit by intercourse with men

more enlightened than he is. But he is not improved by bullying.

Nearly all the natives of West Africa with whom we are, or are likely to be, in contact are more or less of the strict Negro type. They differ widely among themselves, however, in physique and temperament. More than half of them have had Mohammedan training, and have thus made some progress in civilisation. Others, especially those on the south of the Niger, and near its mouths, are in the depths of savagery, and that savagery has been intensified by the slave-stealing and the slave-dealing which we long encouraged in them, and by the trade in gin and rum, in guns and gunpowder, which we still zealously carry on with them. It will be no easy task to draw these luckless fellow-subjects of ours out of the slough of degradation in which, partly through our fault, they are still floundering. Yet there is ample ground for believing that this can be done by wise and patient efforts, and all that is being so done will be for our own advantage no less than for theirs. Meanwhile there are others who can more easily be influenced and benefited. The great Hausa community far inland, intelligent, energetic, enlightened in many ways by Moslem teaching, is waiting for the further enlightenment we can give it if we choose. The great Yoruba community, nearer to the coast, to which many have emigrated from it, and there furnished some of the best examples of the really civilised negro, is yet more within our reach. And these do not stand alone. British West Africa may be a far more important portion of the British Empire than it now is, prosperous and progressive, if we retrieve the errors of the past and give its natives, the only people who can live and thrive in it, fair play and honest help towards working out their own salvation.

OUR FELLOW-SUBJECTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

There are important and essential differences in the relations between blacks and whites in West and in South Africa. A large part of South Africa is well adapted for the residence of Europeans, who, if the warm climate disinclines or to some extent unfits them for much bodily exertion, can there enjoy themselves and prosper if they have servants enough and to their liking. In West Africa, however roughly the few white residents may treat the few blacks in their employ, and in whatever contempt they may hold their black neighbours in general, it would not be possible for them, even if they wished, to make anything like slaves of them. The negro, whether governed and in a way controlled by white men or not, is, and must be, by force of numbers and for climatic reasons, practically master of the situation in West and Central Africa. In South Africa, as soon as white intruders appear in sufficient quantity, the Bantu, or Kaffir, though it would be inconvenient if it were possible to oust him altogether, can more easily be harried and made a bondsman. And that, to a large extent, has happened.

The founders of what is now Cape Colony were Dutch immigrants and French Protestant refugees, whose settlement grew slowly, through a century and a half, before it was taken possession of by Great Britain in 1806. These early settlers and their descendants, the Boers, showed no mercy to the natives, enslaving as many as they had use for and shooting down or driving off the rest. They had well-nigh exterminated the Bushmen and Hottentots with whom they first came in contact, and had had desperate encounters with the Kaffirs, on whom they next encroached, before the British supremacy began; and as soon as that supremacy became effective, and therefore obnoxious to them, they trekked northwards in large numbers, and, in building up their

Orange Free State and South African Republic, made further havoc of native interests. Things might have turned out no better if the English colonists in South Africa had had no Boer exemplars and pioneers; but two great evils resulted from the Boer policy which the English inherited, and only in part abandoned. One was the institution of slavery, which, formally abolished in 1834, has left its traces to this day in the pass laws and labour laws, the political and social disabilities, and other arbitrary and unjust restrictions, to which natives are still subjected in Cape Colony, and to some extent in Natal. The other evil was the setting up of a feud between whites and blacks, which furnished excuses for the long series of Kaffir wars that lasted till 1865, the Basuto, Zulu, and other wars that followed, and many dismal quarrels only less offensive than wars in that they were not attended by much fighting. None of these wars and quarrels were necessary. Without them British South Africa might, and doubtless would, have grown to its present dimensions—that is, into a dominion extending over an area of nearly half a million square miles, exclusive of the vast territories assigned to the British South Africa Company; and there can be no doubt that, had it always been governed in such wise and humane ways as a few of its administrators, notably Sir George Grey, showed to be easy, its superficial growth would have been attended with far more prosperity, both to its white and to its black population, than they now enjoy.

In Cape Colony and its dependencies, including British Bechuanaland, the latest addition to it, the proportion of blacks to whites is barely more than three to one. In Natal, including Zululand, which has lately been transferred to it, and which is chiefly peopled by natives of the same stock, the proportion is ten or more to one. In neither colony is there any such rivalry of natives with white men, as enterprising merchants, lawyers,

and the like, as we find in West Africa; this being rendered almost impossible by the intolerance of the dominant whites. But many of the natives are highly educated, and give proof of great intellectual capacity; and large numbers are employed as servants, artisans, labourers, and so forth in the towns, and yet more in the farms, mines, and factories scattered over the country districts. As hewers of wood, drawers of water, and drudges of all sorts, the natives, except where Indians are brought in to compete with them, are indispensable, and, being indispensable, perhaps they are only dealt with very harshly when their masters are exceptionally tyrannical. The great majority of the natives, however, live as much apart as they can from the white men. In Natal large districts are reserved for their exclusive residence, for the most part under "native law." In the eastern territories of Cape Colony they were till lately scarcely interfered with, in accordance with the pledges made to them when they accepted British "protection"; but these pledges have been gradually broken, and the avowed purpose of the Glen Grey Act of 1894, Mr. Cecil Rhodes's expedient for teaching them what he called "the dignity of labour," was to break up their time-honoured institutions and compel them to go to work in the Kimberley mines and elsewhere for such small wages as their masters chose to pay them. This Glen Grey Act was at first thought to be the nearest approach to a revival of slavery that reactionists at the Cape could venture to make in their efforts to undo the humane legislation which an earlier generation had adopted. But it was followed in 1897 by the indenturing, for five years, to Cape farmers in want of cheap and forced labour, of a large number of natives of British Bechuanaland who had been harried into a so-called "rebellion" by white men eager to have an excuse for depriving them of their lands.

That, on the whole, the natives of South Africa—

those who have not been killed in the numberless wars waged against them—have benefited by the British rule, which now includes all who are not under the Boer republics, or in the districts claimed by Portugal in the east and by Germany in the west, cannot be doubted; and we may reasonably expect that they will be far more benefited by it, as time goes on, if only the rule is just and generous. They welcome that rule themselves, for the most part, as an improvement on the state of things which existed before white men came amongst them, or which exists under German, Portuguese, and especially Boer supremacy; and they eagerly avail themselves of such opportunities of advancement as are offered to them. If they are to be really and adequately helped by intercourse with us, however, and if the growing intercourse is to be as advantageous to ourselves as we wish it to be, it must be discreet and honest. We must not forget that Africans have the first right to live and thrive in South Africa, and that we cannot live and thrive there without them.

There are increasing risks of the first, at any rate, of those two truths being ignored. The white population is growing rapidly in South Africa, especially where gold, diamonds, and other tempting commodities are to be found, but not so rapidly as the black population. Unless white men kill them off, or expel them in sufficient quantities, the natives, taught or constrained to be at peace with one another, now multiply as they never multiplied before. It is a common complaint of the white residents that the country is becoming too much crowded with blacks, and ways and means are being devised for overcoming the evil, as it is considered to be. This was one of the objects of Mr. Rhodes's Glen Grey Act, and of other measures recently adopted by him and his friends. Those natives are happiest who occupy districts like Basutoland and Northern Bechuanaland, best known

as Khama's country, which are fit for agricultural and pastoral pursuits, but which are not cursed with gold and diamonds; though even there they have only been saved from ruin by the intervention of home philanthropists. Basutoland, through thirty years despoiled by unscrupulous adventurers from the Orange State and the Cape, was started on its present career of prosperity in 1884 by being converted into a Crown colony, under an administrator of rare worth and talent, Sir Marshal Clarke, and endowed with what is practically Home Rule. It was only as an exceptional favour, and on account of his exceptional merits as a Christian and a teetotaller, that in 1895 Khama was successful in his appeal for leave to maintain similar Home Rule in Bechuanaland, and for protection from the rapacity of the British South Africa Company.

BRITISH RULE IN MATABELELAND

The proceedings of this Company, in and out of Matabeleland, involve questions that need not be here discussed. But they and their antecedents afford an object-lesson too important to be ignored. Half a century ago the people called Matabele were living in what is now the Transvaal. The Boer founders of the South African Republic, after much fighting, drove them across the Limpopo; whereupon they set up a military despotism over the Mashona, Makalaka, and other unwarlike natives between the Limpopo and the Zambesi. Their government was cruel; but it would not have been interfered with had not white men coveted the land, and the gold with which it was supposed to be well stored. Accordingly, a concession was obtained from Lobengula, which served as an excuse for planting settlements in the eastern and southern parts of the country, away from the homes of the Matabele. Then, in 1893, the managers of the Char-

tered Company picked a quarrel with Lobengula, and, having defeated and hunted him to death, declared themselves masters of the whole of Matabeleland. Such of the natives as did not retire to the hills and forests they allowed to live on amongst them, but on condition of their working for their new lords. Though the Company's seizure of the natives' cattle and the rinderpest that broke out may have mainly caused the rising of March 1896, it is certain that this system of forced labour, or "modified slavery," contributed to it. Tyrants themselves, the Matabele were not willing to be tyrannised over, and in 1896 they joined with their former slaves in a desperate and disastrous effort to regain their independence. Their failure and its immediate consequences we know; we have yet to see whether the white holders of their country have learnt wisdom by experience, and will deal humanely and fairly with the people they have conquered.

BRITISH RULE IN NYASALAND

In welcome contrast to the sort of British rule attempted in Matabeleland is that which has been set up in Nyasaland, on the other side of the Zambesi. For more than thirty years, ever since the time of Livingstone, British missionaries and traders had had dealings with the natives on and near the Shire Highlands, before 1891, when Mr. (now Sir Harry) Johnston was sent thither as Her Majesty's Commissioner to look after the newly-appointed protectorate of British Central Africa, with an area of about 400,000 square miles. Most of this territory is claimed as part of the South Africa Company's possessions, though very little has as yet been done to civilise it, or otherwise. Sir Harry Johnston showed good statesmanship in neither attempting nor pretending to do more than was within his power. His work in Nyasaland, the easternmost

portion of the huge district, absorbed all his energies up to the time when he was transferred to another part of South Africa. Nyasaland had long been infested by so-called Arab slave-raiders from the north. No sooner had Sir Harry Johnston established himself at Blantyre, the seat of his government, than the natives far and near began to appeal to him for protection from the slave-hunters. To the earlier applicants his answer was that, till he found himself strong enough to protect them in their own localities, those who wanted protection must come to reside under the shelter of Blantyre. Thus Blantyre has come to be surrounded by an industrious and grateful native population, working for and trading with the Europeans on fair terms. Meanwhile successive expeditions against, and encounters with, the slave-raiders resulted in what appears to be a complete overawing of these mischievous intruders, and in the setting up all over Nyasaland, wherever they were needed, of small forts and garrisons, round each of which, as at Blantyre, a grateful and industrious native population has settled down. In this way practically all Nyasaland has been pacified and helped on the road to prosperity. Its people, 800,000 or so, are brought within reach of genuine civilisation. Sir Harry Johnston's six years' work there, now less satisfactorily carried on by his successor, can only be regarded as an experiment. But it is a highly interesting and very gratifying—almost a unique—example of British rule over natives in Africa, in one of its most honourable and beneficent forms.

BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT AND EAST AFRICA

Nyasaland stretches up to Lake Tanganyika, which is near to the heart of Africa, and on the way to the regions east and north with which British enterprise,

though vigorous at present, has been concerned for a much shorter time than with South and West Africa. We have been custodians of Egypt since 1882, and before that date we began to have interests there and to the south, on the coast and in the interior, to look after. In Zanzibar, in particular, British influence was well established long before our control of it took formal shape in 1890, and before the Imperial British East Africa Company received its charter in 1888. Except in the Uganda and Zanzibar Protectorates, however, our authority over the million or more square miles of British East Africa, and its ten or twelve millions of inhabitants, is little more than nominal, and far less effective than our authority over Egypt and so much of the Soudan as we have been able to reconquer for it. Very slight reference to the interesting and momentous problems which confront us in this part of Africa may, therefore, be sufficient for our present review.

No one will deny that great advantages have resulted to the people of Egypt from the British occupation. It has freed them from the most galling of the yokes that weighed them down through centuries, has already greatly improved their lot, and has opened to them possibilities of much further improvement. If, moreover, the three years of successful campaigning, which has resulted in the conquest of Khartoum and the regions beyond it, are followed by wise and effective measures for orderly and benevolent administration of the districts hitherto given over to the oppression of the Mahdi and the Khalifa, even those who deprecate this crusading will have to join approval with their blame. Let us consider, however, what is the nature of the task that our Government has taken upon itself. It is the rescuing of nearly another million of square miles from savagery, and the controlling of at least another ten millions of savages, contact with whom will bring their would-be rulers into contact with other myriads, more or less akin to

them, widely scattered over vast and almost inaccessible regions, of which some are assigned by European arrangement to the Congo Free State, and others are within French and German as well as British spheres of influence. The task is stupendous; the risks attending it are enormous; and the hopes of substantial gain to the cause of civilisation resulting from it are extremely visionary.

The chief excuse and alleged justification for this and all such crusading is that it aims at stamping out the slave trade and other forms of savagery. If we are really anxious to do that, let us, at any rate, first take in hand the work especially incumbent upon us, as well as easiest of accomplishment. The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba are, in all but title, British possessions, within an hour's reach of London by telegraph and with British gunboats ready to bombard them at any time, and a large portion of the adjacent mainland is actually claimed as a British possession. Yet in Zanzibar and Pemba slavery is being but slowly and partially put an end to, and on the mainland we still allow the market to be supplied by a brisk slave trade carried on, with all its horrors, between the interior and the coast. This patent and wanton blot on the honour of our country ought surely to have been wiped out before we started on our crusading in the Soudan.

But no one can honestly assert that it is mainly for philanthropic reasons that the Government has undertaken the reconquest of the Soudan; and philanthropy, it is to be feared, has not much to do with the attempts that have been in progress since 1890 to secure in Uganda vantage ground for other conquests on the eastern side of Africa. British East Africa may some day be as substantial a portion of our empire as either British South Africa or British West Africa now is; but that day cannot be for some time yet, nor, if the almost constant fighting of which Uganda is the

centre is a criterion, can it be reached without appalling slaughter of natives. The policy of doing evil in the hope that good may come of it is more favoured by modern Christians than it was by the Founder of Christianity.

CONCLUSION

That policy has been too much pursued even by those who have really desired to benefit the natives of Africa by bringing them under British rule. Others, and the great majority, have made no pretence, or only the flimsiest pretence, of philanthropic intentions. Their motives, avowed or not, have been political aggrandisement, the opening out of new fields for trade or emigration, the making of money, the winning of fame, and anything else that has fitted in with their patriotic sentiments or their personal interests. This being so, it is almost surprising, and we may be glad, that the natives have fared as well as on the whole they have under the treatment to which they have been subjected. But they deserve better treatment than has, for the most part, been accorded to them, and all experience shows that the better the treatment the better is the result for those who have dealings with them or rule over them. The old proverb, "Honesty is the best policy," has wide meaning, and is invariably true. It tersely states the principle that ought always and zealously to be enforced in the continuance and expansion, in so far as expansion is desirable or unavoidable, of British rule over natives in Africa.

THE GOLD ERA IN SOUTH AFRICA¹

By W. BASIL WORSFOLD

(Author of "*The Principles of Criticism*," "*The Valley of Light*,"
"*South Africa*," &c.)

THERE are political movements which politicians do not initiate, revolutions accomplished without statesmen or captains. In these changes we look in vain for the deliberate and discriminating influence of a master mind, whether acting alone or in association with others. Neither war, nor diplomacy, nor capital can be justly said to play a chief part in the drama, although one or all of these may be subsequently called in to assist in its development. Yet both the importance of their results, and the swiftness of their progress, mark them off as something apart from the normal and, by comparison, staid advances achieved by a civilised community during a period of rest.

Among such movements, not the least significant and interesting are those effected by the agency of gold discovery. The middle of the century witnessed the development of the United States of America, and the birth of the Australias; to-day we almost hold our breath as we watch the startling results produced by this same potent influence in South Africa.

A brief reference to the past is necessary to enable us to view the events of the present in their true perspective.

In the year 1806 England assumed the administration of the settlement planted by the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope. The European

¹ Reprinted from the *Fortnightly Review*, by permission of Chapman & Hall.

population at this date consisted of some 25,000 persons, being the descendants of the original Dutch settlers reinforced by the Huguenot immigrants driven to the Cape by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The French element was rapidly absorbed into the Dutch stock, and the Africander or Franco-Dutch population thus created had spread themselves almost at will over the south-western corner of the continent of Africa, for they encountered no more formidable resistance than was presented by the yellow-skinned Hottentots and Bushmen. The scattered inhabitants of the Dutch colony were almost exclusively a pastoral people; moreover, they had been practically cut off from European civilisation for a century, and both the illiberal¹ administration of the Company, and the circumstances of their daily life, had caused them to become turbulent and degraded.

In 1820 five thousand British immigrants were located in the Albany district near the present town of Port Elizabeth; and this Albany settlement, as it was called, formed the basis of the predominantly English population of the eastern province of the Cape Colony. The Albany settlers, like the early settlers in New South Wales, were mainly occupied in the production of wool for the English market, but this was supplemented by the profits of a considerable trade with the Kaffirs.

Meanwhile the expansion of the colony eastwards brought the Europeans into serious collision with the restless masses of dark-skinned Bantu, who, for two centuries, had been crushing southwards between the Drakensberg and the Indian Ocean. The contact of the Europeans and the Bantu was the means of dissociating the Dutch from the English in a task which they should have unitedly accomplished—the colonisation of South Africa. In the endless border conflicts which ensued,

¹ "In all things political it was purely despotic; in all things commercial it was purely monopolist."—WATERMEYER.

differences of native policy, which had already existed, were heightened and intensified. The methods of the Africander were the methods of the brutal eighteenth century; the methods of the English were governed by the philanthropic opinions which accompanied a period of enlightenment when missions to the heathen were established throughout the world, and slavery was abolished throughout the empire. In this time of acute disagreement, a large section of the rural population, some thousands in numbers, withdrew beyond the limits of the Cape Colony. These migratory Boers, half-puritans, half-freebooters, exhibited a genuine heroism in their conflicts with the Zulus and the Matabele Zulus; and having extorted a recognition of their independence from the British Government, ultimately organised themselves in communities within the territories now known as the Transvaal and the Free State. By the creation of these Boer republics, respectively in 1852 and 1854, the solidarity of the Europeans in South Africa was lost. The partial separation of the two nationalities was doubly disastrous. In the first place, the original isolation and decivilisation of a large section of the Africander population was perpetuated; and in the second, the Europeans were weakened by disunion in the inevitable struggle with the warlike and prolific Bantu. Had the Europeans presented a united front, the wars by which the supremacy of the white over the coloured races has been at length established would have been less cruel, less revengeful, and less disastrous to both.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Boers remain to this day a pastoral people. The English colonists, also, found their chief¹ occupation during the thirty years which succeeded the Great Emigration (1835-38) in pastoral pursuits, adding to their original

¹ I say "chief," because the mining of one metal (copper) was commenced as early as 1852; and the annual value of the copper export reached the considerable figure of £100,000 in 1864.

sheep-farming the raising of ostriches and Angora goats. During this pastoral period the progress of the colonists was of that deliberate character which is typified by the ox-waggon, the national vehicle of South Africa. Population increased slowly, for there was little to attract, and a good deal to repel, emigrants from England. Nevertheless, roads were constructed, seaports grew up at Durban and at Port Elizabeth, tropical produce began to be raised in Natal. The wealth of the Cape Colony, represented chiefly by its flocks and herds, steadily increased, and, finally, at the close of the period, arrangements were made for introducing responsible government into the Cape Colony.

A decided impulse was given to the progress of South Africa for the first time by the absolutely fortuitous discovery of diamonds in 1867. Since that date diamonds to the value of eighty millions sterling have been raised. The establishment of the diamond industry at Kimberley was a pregnant event. An enterprising community was planted in the hitherto uninhabited desert which lay beyond the northern boundary of the Cape Colony. The non-intervention policy was perforce abandoned. On the one hand, England's interest in South Africa was awakened, on the other, the Cape Colony was enabled to initiate a railway system on the strength of the increased revenues which accrued from the introduction of capital and the consequent growth of population. That was the immediate effect; more remotely Kimberley is the mother alike of Johannesburg and Buluwayo.

Although the gold era of South Africa commenced less than ten years ago, the discovery of gold was an object naturally kept in view by colonists of the race which had found gold in California and Australia. Successive discoveries of gold were made and reported from a date as far back as 1854. An immediate result of the recognition of the independence of the Boers¹ was to

¹ By the Sand River Convention, 1852.

close the Transvaal to gold prospectors. The Boer leaders were afraid to endanger their newly-acquired independence by permitting discoveries which might lead to the introduction of a mining population. This prohibition was not withdrawn until 1867.¹ Prior to that date, therefore, the gold prospectors were driven to search north of the Limpopo, the northern boundary of the Boer country.

Here a curious contrast is presented. The discovery of diamonds was due to simple chance, and the motley crowd of diggers stumbled forthwith upon the mouths of the four volcanic pipes which contain the practically inexhaustible supply of diamondiferous earth at Kimberley. Both skill and effort were displayed in the search for gold, yet the Randt Basin more than once eluded the prospector's hammer.

The real merit of the discovery of the great gold-field belongs to two brothers, Messrs. H. W. and F. Struben, who for two years worked with dogged perseverance upon these desolate uplands, and who at last, by the aid of Kimberley capital, established beyond dispute the existence of payable gold deposits in this district. With the formal proclamation of the Witwatersrandt as a public gold-field in September 1886, the gold era in South Africa commenced in earnest.

As the phenomenal value of the Randt gold deposits was rapidly revealed, the thoughts of men naturally turned to those regions northward of the Limpopo, in which the earliest gold explorers had worked—regions which were shrewdly suspected to be a chief seat of the gold supply of King Solomon and of imperial Rome, the Ophir of antiquity, and the Monomotapa of the seventeenth century. In 1888, a concession to work minerals was obtained by certain adventurous Englishmen from Lobengula, the Matabele king, who had imposed his rule upon the peaceful Mashona. The

¹ After the discoveries of the German explorer, Mauch.

British South Africa Company was founded a year later to give effect to this concession, and the acquisition of the vast regions in South-Central Africa, which are now controlled by the Chartered Company, therefore forms a chief episode in the era of gold discovery. The Company obtained its charter in October 1889, and Mashonaland was occupied by the famous pioneer expedition in the following year, when, in the space of three months, a road 400 miles in length was cut through jungle and swamp, and a series of forts was erected and garrisoned by the Company's forces. After the Matabele war, which occupied the closing months of 1893, the prospecting and mining for gold was commenced in Matabeleland as well as Mashonaland, and at the present time Buluwayo, Lobengula's kraal, has become the chief centre of the industry. These operations were checked by the revolt of the Matabele and Mashona in 1896; but since that period gold-mining has been steadily progressing. The Buluwayo yield for December 1898 amounted to 6258 oz.; while that of the four last months—September to December—of the same year was 18,084 oz., of the value of about £70,000.

In addition to these two centres of gold-mining—the one already fully developed, and the other in process of initiation—there are other districts which contribute to the South African output of gold. In the Transvaal the Lydenburg and De Kaap fields—which in date of development precede the Randt—continue to afford considerable contributions, and the Klerksdorp and Potchefstroom fields have commenced to yield a handsome output.

As has been already mentioned, gold-mining was commenced on the Randt at the end of 1886. The output for 1887 was 34,867 oz., valued at £125,000. Since this date the output has grown year by year, and in 1898 it amounted to a total of 4,295,602 oz., valued at £15,250,000. To this Randt output must

be added that of the lesser Transvaal fields already mentioned.

The question of the permanency of the Randt output is one which is difficult to discuss in the short space at my disposal. I shall content myself, therefore, with giving an extract from Mr. Hamilton Smith's article in the *Times* of February 19, 1895. This article, it will be remembered, was written after Mr. Smith's *second* visit of inspection. He says:—

“In 1894 the value of the Randt gold bullion was £7,000,000, and this without any increase from the new deep level mines; these latter will become fairly productive in 1897, so for that year a produce of fully £10,000,000 can be fairly expected. Judging from present appearances, the maximum product of the Randt will be reached about the end of the present century, when it will probably exceed £12,500,000 per annum.”

It is significant to notice that this cautious estimate—I say “cautious,” because other experts gave more liberal figures—has already been exceeded by the output of 1898.

The character of the gold deposits in the Chartered Company's territory is stated in general terms in the report presented to the Company by Mr. J. A. Hammond,¹ under date November 5, 1894. It appears from this report, that (1) the ore deposits are “true fissure veins”; (2) veins of this class are “universally noted for their permanency,” but “permanency” does not “necessarily imply the occurrence of pay-shoots of commercial value”; (3) on the other hand, “it would be an anomaly in the history of gold-mining if, upon the hundreds of miles of mineralised veins, valuable ore-shoots should not be developed as the result of future work.”²

¹ Consulting engineer to gold-fields of South Africa Company. He was assisted by Dr. F. H. Hatch and Mr. J. A. Chalmers.

² B. S. & Co.'s Report B. (1895), p. 72.

The present contribution of South Africa to the annual gold supply of the world, which already amounts to sixteen millions in value, is therefore likely not only to be maintained, but to be largely increased in the immediate future.

In order to realise the significance of the South African gold supply, we must (1) compare the South African output with the outputs of other gold-producing countries; and (2) compare the world's present supply with that of former years. These comparisons are shown in the following tables¹:—

GOLD OUTPUT FOR 1894.		WORLD'S OUTPUT.	
	Value.		Average annual value.
United States . . .	£9,000,000	From 1700 to 1850 . . .	£2,000,000
Australasia . . .	£8,000,000	From 1850 to 1875 . . .	£25,000,000
South Africa . . .	£7,000,000	From 1875 to 1890 . . .	£20,000,000
Russia (1892) . . .	£4,000,000	For 1894 (one year only)	£36,500,000

And since this date (1894) the output of the Randt *alone* has risen to £15,250,000 in value.

It is obvious that if the production of gold has any influence upon commerce, this influence—the nature of which we need not stop to analyse—must be exerted by so large an accession to the annual supply available alike for currency and the arts.

It remains for me to indicate, as briefly as may be, the main effects produced by the development of gold-mining upon South Africa itself.

In measuring the advance of a new country we look naturally in the first place to the development of its public works. The establishment of the gold industry on the Randt has proved a most effective stimulus to railway construction in South Africa. To-day Johannesburg—built on land which in 1886 was part of an absolutely barren waste—is approached by three distinct

¹ Based upon Mr. Hamilton Smith's estimate, and upon Dr. Soetbeer's tables.

lines, which connect it directly with the four chief ports of South Africa—Delagoa Bay, Durban, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town. Of these lines, the earliest, which traverses the Free State from end to end, and links the Randt with the Cape Colony, was not opened until July 1892. The Pretoria-Delagoa Bay line was completed in the autumn of 1894; and the extension of the Randt railway to Charlestown, the connecting-point with the Natal line, was not effected until the following year. These, together with some subsidiary lines, represent a total of 1000 miles of railway constructed mainly under the stimulus of the gold industry in the Transvaal. To this total two considerable pieces of railway construction, accomplished in the interest of the gold industry in the Chartered Company's territories, must be added. Of these, the first extended the main trunk line of Africa from Kimberley successively to Vryburg and Mafeking, in 1890 and 1894, and then finally to Buluwayo in 1897, and the second, the Beira line, by securing a rapid passage through the "fly country" brought Salisbury into easy communication with the East Coast of Africa at the port so named. Taken together, they measure 930 miles. It should be added also that arrangements are already in progress for the extension of the trunk line from Buluwayo to Tanganyika—a distance of about 750 miles. This will form a new and important link in Mr. Rhodes's great scheme of connecting Cape Town with Cairo. There is every reason to believe that the Imperial Government will guarantee the construction of the first 250 miles, which will extend northwards as far as the Zambesi.

To have driven 1930 miles of railway in eight years is a remarkable achievement for a country in which the European population is still considerably under a million, and which has not hitherto been characterised by the rapidity of its progress.

The telegraph has advanced farther and more speedily than the railway. Here the chief gain has been in the vast regions northward of the Limpopo, opened up by the Chartered Company. The wires were carried from Mafeking to Victoria, in December 1891; they reached Salisbury, 819 miles beyond Mafeking, in February 1892; and to-day telegraphic communication has been established between Salisbury and Blantyre, in Nyasaland.

The population returns of South Africa, owing to the mixture of races and nationalities, are both confusing and unreliable. We shall gain a clearer idea of the advance achieved in this respect, if, instead of studying the general returns, we notice the transformation scenes effected by the force whose influence we are tracing. In 1886—only twelve years ago—the barren and monotonous aspect of the African veldt upon the Witwatersrandt was broken only by a group of huts. These desolate uplands were not even then without historic associations, for it was here that the flag of the republic was raised by the triumvirate on the 16th of December 1880—Dingaan's Day—in revolt against the Imperial Government. They have since been consecrated by the life-blood of Englishmen, who died, loyally disloyal, because they believed that "blood was thicker than water." To-day Johannesburg is the centre of a district which, according to an informal but reliable census recently taken, has a European population of 120,850 souls; while the crest of the ridge is crowned for thirty miles with pithead gears, batteries, and surface works. The second transformation is scarcely less striking. In November¹ 1893, Buluwayo was the chief kraal of Lobengula, chief of the savage Matabele. To-day it is a town, and the centre of a district with a European population of 5000 persons—a town with brick-built houses, with

¹ Buluwayo was occupied on the 4th November 1893 by the Chartered Company's forces.

newspapers issued in type, and a Chamber of Commerce.

And what of the Cape Colony and Natal? How have they fared?

The Cape Colony has emphatically fared well. A fertilising stream of travellers and emigrants, bound for the gold-fields, has passed through its chief towns, and this traffic has not only increased its revenues and its trade, but it has imparted a new vitality to its people. The effect upon Natal has not been uninterruptedly beneficial. The establishment of direct railway communication between Johannesburg and the Cape ports in July 1892, deprived Natal temporarily of the carrying trade to the Transvaal which it previously enjoyed. But now that direct railway communication has been established between Johannesburg and Durban, it will recover a part, at any rate, of the profits of this trade.

As to the general progress of South Africa during the period in question, a comprehensive measure is afforded by the returns of the exports and imports passing through Durban and the Cape ports.

Since the Delagoa Bay railway was not yet opened in 1893, the returns for this year include practically the whole external trade of South Africa. On this basis, then, the external trade of South Africa had advanced in value from 15.7 millions sterling, in 1886, to 27.9 millions sterling in 1893. Since then a further expansion has taken place, and the value of the last year's trade is probably not less than 46 millions sterling.¹

In conclusion, there is one important aspect of the subject which cannot be passed over at the present moment. I refer to the political effects which have followed the changes produced by the development of gold-mining in South Africa.

The establishment of a British population in Rho-

¹ The trade of the Cape Colony alone, for *the last nine months* of 1898, is stated to be as follows: imports, £12,400,608; exports, £18,104,531.

desia is an unmixed benefit. Incidentally it has freed the Mashona, an industrial people, from the yoke of the cruel Matabele. It provides a link whereby the colonies of South Africa may be united with the British possessions in the centre of the continent, and ultimately with Egypt. It strengthens the hands of those colonists in South Africa, who, whether Dutch or British, are on the side of progress. All this is so much clear gain, and the merit of the acquisition of these territories, in South-Central Africa, belongs unreservedly to Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

The influx of a predominantly British population into the Transvaal is a less simple matter. It has placed the Boer and his system at the bar of civilisation. It is not easy in a few words to convey an idea of the absolute unprogressiveness of the Boer theory of life, but something may be done by a concrete instance. In 1889 the Cape Government offered to construct and work at its own cost the railway now existing through the Free State to the Transvaal. The terms (forming part of the Customs Convention) were singularly advantageous to the Free State; yet, when the proposal came before the Raad, it was carried by only *one* vote. Is there any other European community in the world which would have assumed a like attitude under like circumstances?

The grievances of the Uitlanders are no longer obscure. The Uitlanders are subjected to the ignorance and caprice of what is probably the least intelligent European legislature in the world. Under this régime they suffer from a gross inequality of taxation, from fiscal arrangements which are so anomalous as to amount to a direct tax upon the gold industry, and from a local administration which is both faulty and inefficient, but which listens to no protests, however responsible may be the quarter from which they proceed.

But, whatever else may be the result of Dr. Jameson's ride, and the abortive revolt of Johannesburg, these startling events have, at least, secured the active intervention of the Colonial Office in the affairs of the Transvaal.

Twenty years ago, when the safety of the Europeans in South Africa was menaced by a general revolt of the dark-skinned races, England assumed the government of the Transvaal. The principle of this intervention is stated in a despatch written¹ by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach to Lord (then Sir Garnet) Wolseley: ". . . neither by the Sand River Convention, nor at any other time, did Her Majesty's Government surrender the right and duty of requiring that the Transvaal should be governed with a view to the common safety of the various European communities." To-day, not the common safety, but the common prosperity, of South Africa is threatened by the unreasonable attitude which the Boer Government has assumed towards the mining and commercial population within its borders.

This attitude is not only unreasonable, it is illegal, for it is contrary both to the letter and the spirit of the Convention of London. This Convention, which is a modification of the Convention of Pretoria (1881), gives the Boers the right of self-government upon certain terms, which are set out at length. It was never intended that the Transvaal should be closed against European emigrants, nor that such emigrants, when admitted, should be subjected to any political inequality or any commercial disadvantage. On the contrary, Article XIV. (which is identical with Article XXVI. of the Pretoria Convention) expressly provides for the contingency of immigration.²

¹ November 20, 1879.

² It runs :—"All persons other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South

Fate has decreed that the great centre of the gold industry should lie within the territory of the Boers; but the present prosperity and the future progress of South Africa as a whole is concerned in the fortunes of that industry. England therefore, as paramount power, has the right and the duty of requiring that the Transvaal shall be governed in such a manner as to promote, and not to check, the development of this chief source of the common prosperity. If Mr. Chamberlain will frankly recognise that duty, and fearlessly exercise that right, he will earn the gratitude alike of England and of South Africa.

African Republic; (b) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, shops, and premises; (c) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents they may think fit to employ; (d) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are, or may be, imposed upon citizens of the said Republic."

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

By MISS A. WERNER

(*Author of "The Captain of the Locusts"*)

BRITISH Central Africa, in theory, if we may believe the report of H.M. Commissioner, issued in 1894,¹ extends from the River Shire and Lake Nyasa to the borders of the Portuguese province of Angola. The western portion of this region, however, is not administered, and barely explored; and of the remainder—that lying east of the Kafue River—less than one-half constitutes the Protectorate, a short account of which I have undertaken to give. This Protectorate is bounded on the west by a line starting from the Songwe River, and running southward nearly parallel with Lake Nyasa, which, when on a level with the southern end of the lake, turns westward, and follows a somewhat irregular course between the Zambesi and Shire, and, roughly speaking, parallel with both. West of this line, the country is under the direct administration of the British South Africa Company, whose administrator, up to July 1, 1895, was Mr. (now Sir H. H.) Johnston, H.M. Commissioner for the Nyasaland Protectorate. Such a dual position—of responsibility, in one capacity, to the Imperial Government only, in the other to the Chartered Company—might well prove impossible in the long run; and, no doubt, it was on all accounts best that the spheres should be separated. Major Forbes then took over the administra-

¹ Africa, No. 6 (1894) [C.—7504].

tion of the Company's territories north of the Zambesi, as delegate for Dr. Jameson, of late unhappy notoriety.

It would not come within the limits of this paper to discuss the status of chartered companies in general; but I cannot help remarking that recent events seem to have proved them unsuited for the work of extending civilisation at the present day, whatever they may have been in the past. Of those whose rise we have watched since 1880, not one can be pronounced an unqualified success. The British East Africa Company is ingloriously extinct, having handed over its territory, with the responsibilities thereto appertaining, to the Imperial Government. The Congo State has proved, generally speaking, an engine of worse cruelty and oppression than those of the Arab slave-traders, from whom it professed to save the natives. The British South Africa Company is, we may say, on its trial; but two Matabele wars are not an encouraging result of its philanthropic efforts. Now, the latest Blue Books on British Central Africa [C. 8254, C. 9048] seem to show—as a writer in the *Spectator* some time ago pointed out—that a territory may prosper indifferent well without the aid of a chartered company. Personally, I may say, I think that—in spite of some mistakes—the administration has, on the whole, been honestly desirous of benefiting the natives, and doing equal justice to black and white alike.

Forty years ago, we may say, the region now called the Shire Highlands was utterly unknown to Europeans. There were vague rumours of a great lake called Maravi, which is marked on some old maps, but no white man had ever seen it. We now call it Nyasa, which is, perhaps, equally correct, being only the Yao word for water, while Maravi seems to be another name for the Chipetas, a people living some distance to the southwest, who may, very likely, have reached to the lake shore, in the days before they were harried by the

Angoni, and the Yao slave-raiders. The Portuguese, though they had been settled on the Zambesi for nearly three hundred years, had never ventured up the mouth of its tributary, the Shire. Report spoke of the Mang'anja, who inhabited its banks, as a ferocious and warlike race, skilled with the bow, and given to using poisoned arrows. At that time, before their tribal organisation had been broken up by the Yao invasion, the Mang'anja appear to have formed two or three confederations, each under a paramount chief called the Rondo, or Rundo; but, far from being the bloodthirsty savages dreaded by the Portuguese, they were a quiet and peaceable tribe, given to agriculture, growing maize, millet, and cotton, and skilled in smith's work, spinning, and weaving—their looms resembling those we see represented in the Egyptian wall-paintings. Their paramount chief, Mankokwe, lived on the eastern bank of the river, not far from the foot of the Tyolo hills.

Livingstone made his first journey up the Shire and discovered Lake Nyasa in 1859. Landing at the foot of the Murchison Cataracts, he entered the country now known as the Shire Highlands, was struck with its beauty and comparatively healthy climate, and thenceforward looked on it as a hopeful site for European colonisation. When he returned to this part in 1861, in company with Bishop Mackenzie, the aspect of affairs had changed. The Wa-Yao (Ajawa) had invaded the country from the north-east, probably driven from their homes by an invasion of the Magwangwara, a marauding tribe of Zulu origin. Magomero, near Lake Shirwa, was chosen as a mission station; but, owing partly to the unsettled state of the country, and partly to the unhealthiness of the climate, the mission was, after the deaths of Bishop Mackenzie and several others, ultimately withdrawn.

For the next dozen years or so, the condition of the country was a most wretched one. The Yaos never seem to have been knit together into a nation, like the

Zulus or the Basutos; but each chief, more or less, fought for his own hand, except when the attack of a common enemy forced them to unite among themselves for a time. And now, to other evils were added the horrors of the slave-trade.

These we cannot dwell on in detail; but we must point out that the first organised raids, with the purpose of kidnapping human beings for sale, which we definitely hear of as undertaken by the Yaos, appear to have been instigated by the Portuguese at Tete. This seems clear from the narratives both of Livingstone and Young. It has always been the custom of African tribes to enslave the captives taken in war; but, as a rule, apart from exceptional circumstances, the fate of those slaves is not a very hard one. It is only when *outsiders* desirous of acquiring slaves for their own profit, whether for plantation labour, or export trade, encourage kidnapping for that purpose, that the real horrors of the traffic come in. We ourselves, with other nations—more especially Spain—on the west coast, the Portuguese on the Zambesi and at Mozambique, and the Zanzibar Arabs on the east coast, have been at different times, perhaps, equally guilty. Various Yao chiefs, solicited by the “coastmen” on the one hand, and the Portuguese on the other, found slaving profitable, and stuck to it. These “coastmen,” hailing from Zanzibar, and other ports on the Indian Ocean, are wholly or partly of Arab descent, and, of course, professed Mohammedans, and have contracted most of the vices of “civilised” seaport towns. Their influence is almost uniformly bad, though some among them have been individuals of high character (as readers of Livingstone’s last journals will remember); and it is well to note that the Yao slaving chiefs of whom we hear so much in the Government reports—Makanjira, Zarafi, Kawinga, and others—usually have some trader established at or near their principal residence, and acting the part of confidential adviser.

There are, roughly speaking, five distinct areas in Central Africa, whence slaves are kidnapped for the coast. One extends along the Upper Congo (or Lualaba), comprising the Manyema country, and extending to, probably beyond, Stanley Falls. This is the hunting-ground of Tippo Tip and his associates, and—it is scarcely too much to add, though let us hope the statement has by this time become obsolete—of his Belgian allies. South of this is the district of Kasongo, where Tippo Tip has, or had a few years ago, another important trading centre; and a third preserve lies south of Tanganyika, whence the track runs down eastward to the port of Kilwa; a fourth is east of Lake Mweru, in the Katanga country (now claimed by the Belgians), and a fifth in that of the Babisa, due west from Nyasa—which might also be taken to include the Chipetas, somewhat farther south. From the Chipeta country, a road starts eastward, crossing the Shire above the Murchison Cataracts, and running north-east to Lindi, on the coast. Two other roads branch off from this one, one going to Ibo, the other to Quilimane. This last, I believe, is the road which passes at the back of Ndirande (a mountain a few miles from the Blantyre Mission). Some of the gangs passing along this road were freed on various occasions by the missionaries; and these people, being settled on the mission land, form the nucleus of the so-called Chipeta villages on the slope of Mount Nyambadwe. Mponda, living on the Upper Shire, at the head of Lake Malombe, has always had a bad name for slaving; and in 1894, I was assured by Angoni children, that the Machinga (Yaos of the Upper Shire) frequently drove people tied in forked slave-sticks (“gori”) along a road a little to the north of Ntumbi, where we then were. These gangs must have been smuggled across the Shire when a convenient opportunity occurred—Her Majesty’s gunboats being engaged elsewhere—and, if it proved difficult or dangerous

to send them down to the coast, were (I have been told) kept as field hands by some of the Yaos in the neighbourhood of Blantyre. These were mostly women, who, in case of inquiry on the part of the authorities, could be passed off as the wives of their masters—a contention difficult to disprove, and making interference a delicate task in a country where polygamy is not (and could not be, under the circumstances, without involving great injustice) prohibited by law.

There is now a chain of forts garrisoned by Sikh police, extending from Fort Anderson on the Portuguese border (beyond Mount Mlanje), to Fort Johnston at the southern extremity of the lake. Besides these, there are several on the lake-shores, and three gunboats are continually on the watch for dhows carrying cargoes of slaves across. These dhows, built on the lake by Arab shipwrights, are sometimes of great size.

We must now go back to the year 1863, or, in fact, somewhat further still, to Livingstone's first expedition across the African continent. It will be remembered that he started from Linyanti in November 1853, accompanied by a party of Makololo, for the west coast, and reached St. Paul de Loanda in May 1854. He then returned, reaching Tete, on the Zambesi, March 3, 1856. Here he left his followers, promising to return for them, and restore them to their own country when he should come back from England, where he arrived December 9, 1856. In 1858 he returned to Africa as Her Majesty's Consul for Quilimane, and commander of an expedition for exploring the Zambesi. He found the men, or as many as were left, some of them having died during the interval. When they saw him, they said, "The Tete people often taunted us by saying, 'Your Englishman will never return,' but we trusted you, and now we shall sleep." It proved, however, on further inquiry, that many of them, having formed new family ties, preferred remaining where they

were, while Livingstone accompanied the others up the Zambesi and back to Sekeletu's place.

Somehow or other, during the troublous years that followed 1863, these Makololo, being brave warriors, and shrewd, capable men, got themselves acknowledged as chiefs by the poor broken and harried tribes of the Shire, and formed a strong barrier against the invading Yaos. We should have liked to believe that this position of theirs was acquired in an entirely friendly and peaceable manner; but, unfortunately, it appears that Mankokwe, the former chief paramount, did not like it, and "put things on a war footing by bringing the Portuguese against them." Mankokwe, we are told (Livingstone's "Zambesi Expedition," p. 72), was a man "of an unhappy, suspicious disposition." The Makololo were afraid he would injure them by ferrying the Mazitu (Angoni) over the river. So they drove him from his village at the foot of Tyolo—not, it would seem, without European sanction; but the narrative in Young's "Search for Livingstone" is not very clear or explicit. It is to be supposed that Young could not help himself, and that, if he had not given the word, the Makololo would have "eaten up" Mankokwe all the same. And as regards the Makololo, we must not be too critical as to the methods employed in a state of society resembling that of England at the time of the Heptarchy. But this is anticipating on more points than one. What became of Mankokwe I have not been able to find out, but have been told that a son of his is, or was, some years ago living near Katunga's.

The Yaos, under their chiefs Kapeni, Manjombe, and some others, established themselves firmly in the Shire Highlands, the Mang'anja being either enslaved or driven into the remoter recesses of the hills; but, checked by the Makololo, they never gained a footing on the lower river. Ramakukane (also called Kasisi), the best known of the Makololo chiefs, proved a good friend to the white men in the early days of the Blantyre settlement. His

sons were educated at the mission school, and still occasionally send souvenirs, chiefly in the shape of lion skins and ivory ornaments, to their former teacher, now the wife of a planter near Blantyre. The only one of Livingstone's Makololo now surviving is, I believe, the old chief Masea, who has a large village on the west bank, near the foot of the Murchison Cataracts. He is a fine old man, of an imposing presence, and very proud of a silver-headed walking-stick sent to him by Lord Clarendon. He has sent a good many of his numerous sons to Blantyre for education; one of whom, after completing his school course, has married a mission pupil and settled there, working at the printing-press. It was this son, Thomas Mpeni by name, who received one of the first wires sent over the telegraph line between Chikwawa and Blantyre on its completion in 1894. (This is part of the line intended ultimately to connect "Cape Town and Cairo.") The message ran, "Your father wants to see you at once"; and the young man, in some anxiety of mind, took his stick and started off on a thirty-miles tramp, only to find that the old man was perfectly well and in no trouble, but had merely wished to test this invention of the "Azungu," and find out whether it was really able, as the operator asserted, to bring his son to him at a moment's notice. But he was somewhat disappointed at having to wait for Thomas's arrival till he had walked down, instead of seeing him fly back along the wire.¹

Livingstone did not again visit the Shire Highlands. On his last expedition he struck inland from the Rovuma to the south end of the lake, passing the village of the Yao chief Mataka, and crossing the Shire near Mponda's. In 1867 the late Lieutenant Young (who had accompanied Livingstone during part of the Zambesi Expe-

¹ Since this was written, the telegraph line has been completed as far as Lake Tanganyika. A railway from Katunga's to Matope has been surveyed, and is now, I believe, in course of construction.

dition), ascended the Shire in a steel boat called the *Search*, successfully transported in sections past the Cataracts, in order to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the report brought home by Livingstone's runaway *capitãõ*—the Johanna man Musa—that the explorer had been murdered by the Mazitu (of whom we shall have more to say presently). Inquiry at Marenga's and Mponda's proved the story to be quite unfounded, and the expedition, having so far accomplished its object, returned.

Young's experience, on this and a former occasion, led to his selection, in 1875, as the leader of an expedition organised to carry out Livingstone's views of colonisation in Africa. A steamer was to be launched on the lake, and a missionary settlement planted wherever a suitable site could be found. The undertaking originated in Scotland, the Established and the Free Churches joining their forces for the purpose, with an understanding that each was to select its own sphere of work so as not to interfere with the other. As a matter of fact, the Free Church was the first in the field by a few months, Dr. Stewart (now of Lovedale), being a member of the first party who settled at Livingstonia, Cape Maclear, a place which proved to be so unhealthy that the station had to be abandoned, and the missionaries removed to Bandawe, on the western shore of the lake. The *Ilala* was successfully transported past the Cataracts and launched on the upper river, where she may be said to be still plying, though so transformed by successive repairs of different parts that it is doubtful whether any of the original *Ilala* remains. In 1876 the second party arrived, and the site of Blantyre—named after Livingstone's birthplace on the Clyde—was laid out, by the late Henry Henderson, on one of the rolling ridges of the table-land, surrounded by craggy granite hills. The country is well watered, and covered either with long grass or with

bush—an open scrub containing few large trees. There was a considerable extent of this in the immediate neighbourhood of Blantyre as recently as three years ago; but the needs of a growing settlement have so reduced it that it is now difficult to procure firewood. The township of Blantyre is about thirty miles from Katunga's (or Port Blantyre) on the Shire, and forty from Matope, the crossing-place above the Cataracts.

The pioneer party consisted, besides Mr. Henderson, of a doctor and several artisans; the aim being, in the first place, rather colonisation and development of the country than direct religious teaching. Several of these men afterwards acquired land and planted coffee on their own account, among them three brothers, one of whom was the late John Buchanan, C.M.G. In 1878 the Rev. Duff Macdonald, the first minister, arrived, remaining in the country till 1881, when his resignation was brought about by some serious difficulties, chiefly connected with jurisdiction. The country was practically No Man's Land; the settlers (though some attempt seems to have been made to refer cases which could be decided by native customary law to the chief most concerned) had, practically, to take the law into their own hands, and did so, on at least one occasion, with undue severity. There was some talk of withdrawing the mission altogether; but, some changes having been made in the staff, the work was carried on again. Civil government was provided for by the appointment of a consul for Nyasaland.

The feuds between Yao and Mang'anja having now somewhat quieted down, a new trouble arose, in the shape of periodical Angoni raids.

The Angoni, also called Mazitu, or Mavitu, are an offshoot of the great Zulu nation. It appears that their ancestors revolted from Tshaka at the beginning of this century, and gradually fought their way northward, probably incorporating with themselves a great part of the

conquered tribes. The name Angoni is applied to a great number of people who are pure Mang'anja, as being vassals of the real Angoni. They have adopted a few Zulu words into their language, and learnt to use the shield and assagai, which, in the wars of the sixties, quite superseded the Mang'anja bow, and almost equally so the rubbishy firearms imported by traders. I do not propose to trace the wanderings of the Angoni, or the history of their raids. Constant referenees to them, under the name Mazitu (or Mavitu),¹ may be found in Livingstone's "Last Journals" and in Young's "Search for Livingstone," and "Mission to Nyasa."

But about 1880 or 1881, when the Yaos had begun to settle down peaceably, the Angoni (under their chief Chekusi) fell into the habit of making raids across the Shire every year when the crops were ripe. They carried off maize, goats, fowls, everything that was not "too hot or too heavy," and also all the women and children they could catch—many of whom are now permanently settled in the West Shire country. In 1885, however, the Rev. D. C. Scott, accompanied by Mrs. Scott and Dr. Peden, started on a visit to Chekusi's kraal, and opened up friendly relations with him. He proved willing to suspend the raids, and eager that white men should settle in his country. It was promised that teachers should be sent, but circumstances prevented the fulfilment of this promise for several years; and in the meantime stations had been opened at Livlezi and Gowa by the Free Church (Livingstonia) Mission, who, we may remark in passing, had previously succeeded in establishing themselves on a very friendly footing with the old chief Mombera, the overlord of the northern Angoni. In 1893, however (after the death of old Chekusi, and the accession of his son Chatantumba or Gomani, who,

¹ The Mang'anja on the east side of the lake pronounce *v* where the Blantyre and West Shire people sound *z*; thus the former say "vintu" (things), while the latter say "zintu."

by-the-bye, objected to the presence of the missionaries in the immediate neighbourhood of his kraal), a small out-station was established at Ntumbi, two days' journey from Chekusi's, under the charge of two ladies and a native teacher or two. The school thus begun has been carried on more or less successfully by a series of native teachers.

At the very time of the compilation of these notes, "the Angoni rising," as the papers called it, was taking place, and affording another example of official mismanagement, to use the mildest term. I am not concerned to defend poor Chatantumba, who was neither a Khama nor a Cetshwayo—in fact, not a model ruler judged by any standard; but I cannot convince myself that the administration took the best way of dealing with the difficulty—"rising" is a misnomer.

"It was no such thing" (I quote from an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1897), "but a piece of 'wild justice,' rather wildly executed by Chatantumba on his subjects. It was, in fact, a punitive raid, similar to one which, to my own knowledge, took place in April 1894, and for the reason presently to be stated, but more serious in character, since a large number of people were killed. One of the chief's followers told a missionary (whose house, right in the track of the raid, was left untouched), that Gomani did not wish to harm the white men, but he was angry with his people because they had gone to work for the white men at Blantyre, whereas they refused to build houses for him. One who knows the country may plausibly conjecture (taking this in connection with previous occurrences) that this, being interpreted, really means that some planter or planters had decoyed away a number of Angoni to settle beyond Shire, and that the chief resented this breach of discipline after his fashion. Human life is cheap in those parts, though perhaps not so cheap as it was among us in the days of the Heptarchy. When

the news of the raid reached the administration at Zomba, a force of Sikhs and native police under Captain Stewart was sent over; Chatantumba was taken prisoner, and, after some sort of a trial, found guilty of murder and hanged. The official report of these transactions has not yet been made public, and it is impossible to judge without knowing all the details; but one would be glad to know whether Chatantumba fully understood that his ancestral methods of discipline would not be allowed under British rule. It also seems as if there ought to have been some investigation into his reasons for the raid."¹

Returning from this digression, into which the An-
goni have tempted us, I may briefly remark that in 1888 occurred the war at Karonga's, when hundreds, if not thousands, of poor inoffensive Wankonde and Awanda were massacred by Mloza and other slave-dealers; and Captain Lugard, with the Messrs. Moir and some other agents of the African Lakes Company, made a gallant stand against the latter. Not long afterwards, the Portuguese, seeing that the country was now of some value, began to lay claim to the Shire Highlands; and negotiations were commenced, which ended in the proclamation of a British Protectorate, and the appointment of Mr. (now Sir H. H.) Johnston, then Consul for Mozambique, as H.M. Commissioner.²

I can, of necessity, give but a very imperfect sketch of this most interesting country. A very good idea of its physical features—though the photographs are mostly on too small a scale to do justice to the really beautiful scenery—may be gained from Sir Harry Johnston's recently published work on "British Central Africa," an interesting, though in some respects a disappointing work, which needs some corrections in matters of detail, and

¹ Since the above was written, two more "risings" have taken place and been put down.

² Since succeeded by Mr. Alfred Sharpe.

gives—we cannot help thinking—a somewhat one-sided view of native morality. This can scarcely be accepted without laying due stress on the fact that one of the strongest statements in the chapter on this subject is qualified by the parenthesis, “except, perhaps, the Anyasa.” Now the Anyasa (Mang’anja) form an important item in the population. It must also be remembered that the Yaos, to whom the Commissioner’s strictures chiefly apply, have been largely corrupted by the “coast men”; and perhaps it is not unfair to add that, much of his information being probably derived through Zanzibaris, became more highly coloured in process of transmission.

We have already alluded to the part taken by the African Lakes Company in developing the resources of this region—not, by-the-bye, without a good deal of unostentatious heroism of the kind that does not find its way into the newspapers. The Company has changed its name (and to a certain extent, I believe, its constitution), within the last few years, and has become somewhat ominously associated with the British South Africa Company. But it still has its headquarters at Mandala, where the two-storey brick house, and the old store—built originally to serve as a fort in case of need—have been gradually surrounded by other buildings. Here come the *ulendos* (caravans) bringing down the ivory discharged at Matope by the *Ilala* and *Domira*; here is the depôt which supplies the Company’s up-country stations with trade goods—calico and beads and the like—and all needful stores for the use of the European inmates. Here, too, is the “store,” where black and white alike can buy according to their means (and the prices, as a rule, are tolerably high)—pewter plates, and jam, and handkerchiefs, and straw hats, and stationery, and almost any article of every-day consumption.

It may be mentioned that the article most frequently demanded by natives of the passing traveller is “*sopo*”

or "*sabao*" (*i.e.* soap), an invention of which they show the most unqualified appreciation. Next to soap, needles seem most in demand. Personally, I may say, though I have never found the people backward in asking for these and other appliances of civilisation (of which, I think, they imagine we have our pockets full, whenever we walk abroad), I have never (with an unimportant exception) met with anything approaching to rudeness or even excessive importunity. On the contrary, they always took a refusal in the most good-natured way—though trying sometimes to set it aside by coaxing, and by delicate appeals on behalf of your own reputation, and desisting, at last, more in sorrow than in anger!

Mandala employs a large number of natives on the coffee plantations and in the garden—watered from the Mudi stream, where many kinds of vegetables and fruits are grown. Two bridges have been thrown across the Mudi, and across them two converging roads lead to the mission station—the older planted with a fine avenue of gum-trees, through the eastern end of which you get a beautiful vista of the red brick church, built in a curious mixture of architectural styles (the Byzantine predominating), but singularly effective. The church stands in the middle of a large open space, partly shaded by trees, on one side of which are the schools, workshops, and other buildings. The houses of the Europeans employed in the mission are neatly and solidly built of brick, with thatched roofs, and stand picturesquely amid the well-kept grounds. A number of trees—chiefly eucalyptus, cypresses, and arbor vitæ—have been planted, and do well, though most of them show the direction of the prevailing wind by a decided slant westward. A large garden, terraced down the western slope of the hill, produces vegetables in abundance, being watered through the dry season (April to October or November), and wheat has been successfully grown—but the locusts of the years 1894 and 1895 inflicted great injury

on both European and native cultivators. I may mention that no large swarm of locusts had been seen in the country, according to the older men—since “before the Yaos came down”—which must have been about 1860.

Before passing on to the work of the missions, and the industrial development of the country, it may be as well to say a few words about the races at present inhabiting it. First come the Mang'anja, as having been in possession when the Shire first became known to us. They range eastward as far as Mount Mlanje and northward, under the names of Anyanja and Anyasa (which simply mean “lake people” in Yao and Mang'anja respectively), at least as far as Likoma, on the eastern side of the lake, and probably (at one time or other, if not now) beyond it, to the North End. Westwards they extend beyond the Shire to the Kirk Mountains, and even beyond them—for the Chipetas or Maravi are so closely allied to them as to be practically the same race.¹ The tribes living on the Zambesi are likewise nearly related (if language be a test), at least as far as Tete. They are an amiable, gentle, somewhat yielding people, well skilled, as we have seen, in a primitive kind of agriculture and various industrial arts. Their staple crop is maize. The ground is broken up with heavy, short-handled hoes, at the beginning of the rains, the soil drawn into heaps, and a few grains sown on the top of each. In the intervening spaces, pumpkins, beans, or ground-nuts are sown. After the crops have been gathered in, the stubbles are burnt, towards the end of the dry season, in order to fertilise the ground. They go on cropping the same piece of ground year after year, till exhausted—then they allow it to lie fallow, and break up a new piece. In this way

¹ Livingstone says (“Zambesi Expedition,” p. 399), “the Maravi are only another tribe of Mang'anja;” and again (“Last Journals,” vol. i., p. 130), “the Chipeta are all only divisions of the great Mang'anja tribe.”

it is possible to judge whether a village has been long on the site where you find it, as, every time new ground is hoed, the gardens are farther off, and, in some cases, the cultivators have to walk two or three miles from their huts. By the time the distance has become inconveniently great, it is usually, for other reasons, desirable to shift the village—a practice which probably prevents many epidemics. The field-work is mostly done by the women—a circumstance not due (as some would have it), to the inherent depravity of the men, so much as to the fact that they are frequently absent from home—hunting, or on the warpath, or earning money as carriers, if not trading on their own account. When not engaged elsewhere, they appear quite ready to lend a hand. I remember seeing an honest couple planting their garden together in quite idyllic fashion. By the time that crop was ripe, a different kind of picture was on view. There was an alarm of war, and the women of the family were busy gathering in the grain, while the men patrolled the fields with bows and arrows, lest Mponda's Yaos should spring from some hiding-place and carry off their wives and daughters into slavery. Probably it is such a state of society which accounts for the traditional convention which assigns to the men such light and elegant occupations as basket-making, spinning, weaving, and sewing, while pottery, on the other hand, is women's work: it was felt to be only fair that they should take things easy while at home.

In addition to the crops already mentioned the Mang'anja grow mapira (or *sorghum*), a small kind of millet, cassava, yams, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and an almost endless variety of beans. Rice is cultivated in some of the low grounds near the river, and Lake Chilwa. The castor-oil plant grows like a weed round every village, and the oil is extracted from the seeds for household use. The culture of cotton, and the arts of spinning and weaving, may be said to have fallen

into comparative neglect since the cheaper and easier method of obtaining calico by working for Europeans came into vogue. An oil-seed (*chitowi*) is cultivated, and also, apparently, grows wild; and at least two kinds of fibre-plants are found in great abundance, from which excellent string is made. One is a hibiscus (*sonkwe*); the other, a shrub called by the natives *bwazi*, is, according to the late Rev. H. Waller, *Securidaca Longipedunculata*. The Mang'anja living on the river or the lake catch fish with rod and line, or in nets, or in large reed baskets made on the principle of a lobster-pot.

The Mang'anja, like most other people in this part of Africa, build round huts, with conical roofs. These huts are built of grass, which, in the cold (and dry) season is plastered with mud. Each family has its own small group of huts—with grain-stores, goat-pen (though sometimes the goats sleep with the family), and perhaps a pigeon-house—the whole surrounded by a tall reed fence to keep out wild animals. These groups are sometimes a considerable distance apart, so that a village covers a great extent of ground.

The Mang'anja are of a warm bronze colour ("black," I may say, is mostly only a comparative term when applied to Central Africans—I only saw one man who could, strictly speaking, be called black, and he, I was told, was a Soudanese)—and under favourable conditions tall and well-made, and sometimes really handsome. But the so-called Angoni, west of the Shire, being hard worked and poorly fed, are, though hardy and wiry, stunted in growth, or, if they happen to be tall, so painfully thin and slender as to suggest that they will double up and break. They have not, so far as I know, any distinctive tribal tattoo-marks, neither do they chip or file their front teeth, like so many tribes, but the ears are usually pierced for the insertion of ornaments—or of a snuff-box. The *pelele*, or lip-ring, so well known from the picture in Livingstone's "Zambesi Expedition,"

appears to be going out of fashion among the Mang'anja, and is now chiefly seen among the Yaos.

The Yaos, as I have already said, are the conquering race. They are not so quick or clever as the Mang'anja, but proud, independent, and stubborn. When once they have learnt a thing, they do not readily forget it, and when once gained over by kindness, they are most faithful and reliable. They impress one as having good stuff in them. Of course they have their faults—the baser sort are apt to degenerate into swaggering bullies—and the worst of the slaving chiefs have been Yaos. They are, in some ways, morally much worse than the Mang'anja; but this, as I believe, is really due to outside influence. The Yao is, as a rule, big and brawny; but there is nothing very special in his physique to distinguish him from his neighbours. Adult Yaos, however, may be known by their front teeth, which are clipped into points like those of a saw, while the women have two rows of minute cuts on either temple, as a distinguishing tribe-mark.

The Angoni Zulus are, like their congeners in the south, a fine, manly, warlike race. Dr. Elmslie says of Chekusi's people, "There are now no Ngoni among them, and their language is Nyanja" (*i.e.* Mang'anja), but I think this is too sweeping. Certainly, in 1894, I saw and talked with an old woman from Chekusi's kraal, who knew Zulu; and I was given to understand that the language was still spoken by some of the older headmen. However that may be, the people generally spoken of at Blantyre as Angoni are Mang'anja pure and simple—vassals (or so they were in my time) of Chatantumba and his brother Mandala. They came over in gangs during the winter, or dry season, to hire themselves out as plantation-hands or tenga-tenga men (carriers), returning in time to hoe their gardens at the beginning of the rains. They are cheery, patient, honest, hard-working fellows—I never met any one who had not

a good word for them; and, personally, I must say I always felt a strong liking for them. I believe that they had, on returning, to hand over a proportion of their calico to the chief; and I know that he occasionally came down upon them (as already referred to) for real or supposed delinquencies in rather a high-handed fashion. They were not allowed to keep cattle, and their sons, as they grew up, were liable to be summoned to the chief's kraal to assist in herding his. But, on the whole, I do not think they found this state of serfdom very oppressive. I may take this opportunity of saying a word about slavery—a most misleading term, if used without further explanation. I mean domestic slavery, as distinguished from the cruel system of buying or raiding for the market, which, it cannot be too often repeated, is (in our day at any rate) *always, either directly or indirectly, due to European or other outsiders*. With regard to domestic slavery, perhaps it will be the clearest illustration of my meaning, by saying that, among the Mang'anja families whom I personally know in the south of Angoniland (or more precisely, in the district marked on the maps of the protectorate as "West Shire")—there were a good many Yaos, who, I suppose, were technically slaves, since they had been brought back as captives in former raids; but there was nothing, so far as I could see, to mark their status. Perhaps the fact that I am quite uncertain about their numbers—or (except in the case of a few special individuals) who they were—may be of value negatively, as showing that the need for inquiry on the subject never suggested itself to us! One Yao woman I remember, who was the wife of a small village headman, and mother of several boys and girls, five of whom attended the station school, and made good progress. They were a fine, vigorous family, who struck one as possessing force of character as well as intelligence; there was no lack of affection towards their mother, nor did it appear

that her position was in any way considered an inferior one. I mention this particularly, because I feel sure there are many women in a similar position, whom it would be no kindness to try and "liberate," and because at least one attempt was made (two or three years ago) to raise money in England for "ransoming the Angoni slaves"—a proceeding, by-the-by, which would expose its well-meaning participants to the penalties of the law, the district where it was proposed to be carried out being within the British Protectorate, and the act of paying "ransom" tantamount to a recognition of slavery—which is illegal. The real evil—the tribal wars which supplied the captives, will be rendered impossible, let us hope, with the extension and consolidation of a settled government. I say, let us hope, because there is reason to fear that with all our boasted civilisation the maxim, *Divide et impera*, has not lost its hold over us, and that some of our statesmen have seen no harm in the policy of deliberately setting our "barbarous" subject races to exterminate each other! A tax of three shillings on each hut is now imposed in the Shire Highlands, if not throughout the Protectorate. According to the latest Blue Book, it is, in most cases, paid without the slightest difficulty,—so that, "even were the amount increased to six shillings no hardship would be felt" (Acting-Commissioner Manning). We should, however, like fuller details on this question. There were certainly difficulties connected with it when first levied in 1892 and 1893. According to Miss Mary Kingsley, the hut tax is the one form of impost which strikes the West African as an injustice, and which he cannot understand. Whether the East African feels the same about it, I have not been able to investigate.

It is impossible, within the limits of this paper, to deal fully with the question of missions, their work, and its results. It cannot, however, be entirely overlooked, being intimately connected with our subject, the new

protectorate being, originally, neither more or less than a missionary settlement. The question has many sides, and I do not think we are at all likely to arrive at the truth so long as we look upon "missions," as a whole, as a kind of abstraction, to be attacked or defended as the case may be. There are, no doubt, some people who think the most temperate criticism of missionary methods a symptom not merely of heterodoxy, but of a malignant hostility to religion and morals in general. But I may fairly presume that I am not addressing myself to such. The subject, then, is a wide and a complicated one, and any generalisations must necessarily be hasty and imperfect. A mission may realise good aims—comparatively well, or imperfectly, or not at all; or it may propose to itself mistaken aims, and realise them or not as the case may be. Now, many excellent and well-meaning people, of average, or less than average education, go out, year by year, in the honest belief that they are going to benefit the world by teaching to the natives of distant countries whatever theological technicalities they may have learned at their own church or chapel. One may say, I think, that in a great many cases it is tolerably certain they cannot succeed; and that, in a great many others, not much good is done by success. And this does not apply to any denomination in particular. Take the simplest address of a Salvation Army evangelist—a kind of preacher not particularly given to dogmatic theology—and if you analyse it, you will find it full of phrases and expressions which mean something, or, at any rate, suggest something to us, but which are really a kind of shorthand, the result of long processes of mental development which we—Europeans, Teutons, English—have gone through, and which, perhaps, no other people could have gone through exactly in the same way. Observe that this is quite apart from the question whether any of these particular ideas is in itself true or not; or, to

speak more accurately, approximates more or less closely to the truth. It is not difficult to see that, even if we can get, say in Mang'anja, or Yao, tolerable verbal equivalents for "full assurance," or "justification," or any one of those phrases which continually recur in sermons, and whose meaning we forget to inquire, because they are so familiar, we shall be not much better off than before. Natives have, as a rule, excellent verbal memories, and will pick up and retain, and even use with tolerable correctness, any number of such phrases, without clearly knowing what they mean by them. But what we want to do is, to get back to what lies behind the phrases, to try and realise afresh the thing—probably a very simple thing, which has presented itself in its own way to the childlike mind of the native—for which our ancestors found expression in words which we have made fetiches of. As an example of what I mean, I may quote a line or two from a hymn often sung at Blantyre. It is a version—a free enough version, on the whole—of the well-known "When mothers of Salem their children brought to Jesus"; and the lines in question are, literally translated—

"We pray that people, all tribes,
 May hear the good news, and throw away their [things]."

"Their own works" is probably what the translator intended to say; but as the possessive pronoun, in the Mang'anja version, has no noun following, it is difficult to say what may be the idea usually conveyed to the native mind. Even had the text been more explicit, the sequence of ideas is one that would scarcely be grasped without a previous "evangelical" training. With regard to such things as these, and to the well-meant addresses often delivered (with or without interpreters) by beginners in the language, the best thing one can hope is, that no ideas at all are conveyed! A white man arrives at a village, and begins to talk—what about, or whether

about anything in heaven or earth, they have no idea—but probably it is for his own amusement, and they are much too polite, as a rule, to interrupt him.

Another question, which would require a lengthy essay, if not a volume, for its discussion, is this: If direct religious instruction is attempted, of what kind shall it be? Are we to feed them on the husks of narrow traditional ideas which we ourselves have outgrown (the majority of people who go out, we must remember, have not outgrown them), or shall we enable them to arrive at once at the goal we have reached through so many painful and devious wanderings? Sometimes one wonders whether it may not be necessary for their mental and spiritual education (as it apparently has been for ours) that they should go through a phase of believing everything in the Bible to be literally true. My opportunities for observation have been too limited to allow me to generalise; but, personally, I may say that several native Christians I know in Natal, who had received their religious instruction under the late Bishop Colenso, struck me as sincere and honest people, who, to the best of their ability, lived up to the light that was in them, and did not appear to have lost either in reverence or simple, childlike faith from having been frankly told that the story of the Ark was an *inganekwane*, or, as we should say, a fairy tale.

But we must always remember that, however mistaken the teaching, *character* is sure to tell in the long run; honesty, kindness, and patience cannot be misunderstood; and an honest, whole-hearted missionary can hardly fail to teach a great many things, though he may fail to inculcate what he sets most store by.

It is only fair to say that the Blantyre Mission, with Scottish good sense, does not encourage indiscriminate evangelising, of the "Salvation Army" type. The real strength of its work lies in education. When you have taught people to read and accustomed their minds to

think for themselves, they will come to their own conclusions about many things, which—though crude, perhaps—will serve their turn better than any which you can supply them ready-made. And whatever opinions we may hold with regard to theology, there is very little scope for controversy in the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The course of instruction at the Blantyre boys' school (the girls' school, for one reason and another, had to contend with a variety of difficulties, and could scarcely be said to have had a fair show) seemed to me admirable, both thorough and practical. It was carried on by native teachers under the superintendence of a Scottish dominie, who had drilled his subordinates to a high degree of efficiency, and carefully kept them up to the mark by special instruction outside school hours. The elementary classes learn reading and writing in the vernacular, being afterwards promoted to English. The English numbers, by-the-bye, have to be learnt very early, as arithmetical operations in a language with no separate words for any numbers except 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 10 would soon come to a standstill. The numbers in Mang'anja (it may be of interest to observe) are as follows:—

U-modzi = One.

I-wiri = Two.

I-tatu = Three.

I-nai = Four.

I-sanu = Five.

I-sanu ndi umodzi = Five and one,

and so on up to Kumi, ten, after which we begin again, ten and one, &c., up to "ten and five, and one," and so on up to "two tens." The prefix (separated from the rest of the word by a hyphen in the above list) varies according to the noun agreeing with the number—thus "two" may be either a-wiri, i-wiri, or zi-wiri. The Bantu languages are inflected by means of prefixes, instead of (like the Aryan and Semitic) adding suffixes.

Both the Scottish missions in Central Africa make a

great point of industrial teaching, which, in fact, affords valuable training, physical and moral, and is an advantage to the natives themselves, which most of them are not slow to appreciate. Carpenters, brickmakers, bricklayers, printers, and others, have learnt their trades at Blantyre, and turned out fairly good, in some cases, I may say, very good workmen. This teaching is also, at present, a distinct benefit to white settlers in the country; but here I cannot help remarking that there is a danger of missions becoming (or being wanted to become) agencies for the supply of black labour to white employers. It is to be deplored when zealous advocates of missions urge it as a plea on their behalf that they "teach the natives to work"—for European masters, *bien entendu*. It is, no doubt, a good thing to teach altruism, but the preaching of an altruism by which we (or our friends and connections) are to benefit would come with a better grace from some other quarter.

There are many points which I might have developed more fully—notably the settlement of Indians in the Protectorate—which has been dealt with at some length by Sir Harry Johnston in his two Blue Books. But I have already exceeded the allotted limits, and must conclude by giving a list of books to which the reader is referred for fuller information.

- Livingstone's "Expedition to the Zambesi."
 John Buchanan's "The Shire Highlands."
 Young's "Mission to Nyasa."
 Young's "Search for Livingstone."
 L. Monteith Fotheringham's "Adventures in Nyasaland."
 G. F. Scott-Elliot's "A Naturalist in Mid-Africa."
 Sir H. H. Johnston's "British Central Africa."
 Sir H. H. Johnston's "Livingstone."
 Rev. Duff Macdonald's "Africana."
 Rev. H. Rowley's "Story of the Universities' Mission."
 Captain Lugard's "Rise of our East African Empire," vol. i.
 Parliamentary Papers:—Africa No. 5, 1892 [C. 6699].
 „ Africa No. 6, 1894 [C. 7504].
 „ Africa No. 5, 1896 [C. 8254].
 „ Africa No. 9, 1898 [C. 9048].

THE PROTECTORATE OF ZANZIBAR

BY THE REV. WALTER K. FIRMINER,

M.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.C.I.

(Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; sometime Priest-in-charge of the Cathedral, Zanzibar)

THE story of the East African coast, from the days of the mysterious builders of Zimbulwe to the quite recent partition of the Al-bu-said empire of the Zandy, has yet to be written. We cannot allow ourselves time to discuss the evidence of Sabæan-Hymeritic civilisation in Mashonaland, the problematic identification of various coast-towns with the topography of Ptolemy, or the nameless author of the *Periplus of Erythræan sea*. Even the history of the earliest known Mohammedan settlers is lost in obscurity. The internecine race struggles which veiled themselves under the outward seeming of a theological conflict between Shiah and Sunnis, drove at various dates immigrants from the Persian Gulf to the east coast of the Dark Continent. The story of the Emozoids is familiar, but it is by no means clear whether these colonists were in fact of Persian extraction or Celyite Arabs who had settled Nager.

During the Middle Ages, however, the Zandy—or land of the dark man—becomes more knowable. Edrisi, Massondi, Abulfredya, bring us to the sites of many still existing towns. Magodoshu, with its trade in cloth, tortoise-shell, and slaves; Mombasa, turbulent then as to-day; and Kilwa appear on the scene in the eleventh century. The adventurous Ibn Batontah, in the thir-

teenth century, visited these towns and has left us the record of his impressions. Kilwa, in ruins to-day, tells us the story of its greatness. In the Middle Ages, the Sultan of Kilwa had gained the control of the rich gold exports of Sofula. Cabal and Da Gama found there a magnificent stone-built city, with lovely gardens and rich mosques, whose encaustic tiles remain to this day still untouched: "Guemodo sedet sola civitas plena populo, facta est quasi vidua domina gentium!"

Neither must the story of the Portuguese occupation of the East Coast—a record of reckless bravery stained by purposeless violence and diabolical cruelty—detain us. Under the Portuguese domination, Kilun and Mombasa were ruined, the gold trade of Sofula disappeared, and the magnificent fortresses built to threaten and control the route to India remained, as a matter of fact, nought but hospitals for the fever-stricken demoralised Europeans.

During the closing years of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese sea power was dissipated by the adventurous English and Dutch seamen. The struggle for a European monopoly of the slave-trade had commenced. A new power also had arisen in the Mohammedan world—the powerful Yaa'rabuh house of Muscat. By 1698, it may be said that the coast from Guardafui to Delgado had finally passed from the Portuguese. For a century and a quarter the East African towns enjoyed a turbulent independence under the local sheiks who professed to rule in the name of the Sultan of Muscat. Zanzibar was as yet of little importance; the days of Melinde, the constant ally of Portugal, were numbered; Mombasa, governed by sheiks of the Maguri house, held an easy supremacy.

The Yaa'rabuh Imamate died out during the conflict of Muscat with Persia, and the rule passed to the Al-busaid family. Constant internal struggles prevented the new rulers from extending their empire by aught but

pitiful expeditions. At last in 1822, the Seyyid Said, relieved for a time of home anxieties by the recent blows inflicted on the Dahabbi power, found himself free to make East Africa his own, and so establish his throne at Zanzibar. From that time forward Zanzibar has been the key to East African civilisation. During the century, the surviving Maguri chiefs have been a source of constant trouble to the Sultans of Zanzibar and their European protectors. Mubarak, the "venerable" representative of his race, is at present resident in German East Africa, and, like the Seyyid Khalid, is doubtless regarded as a possible trump-card by his new patrons.

Seyyid Said died in 1856 at sea, off the Seychelles Islands. For a time the brothers Seyyid Thwaini and Seyyid Magid contested the right of succession, but in 1861, the matter having been referred to Lord Canning, Magid was confirmed in the throne of Zanzibar, while his brother was given Muscat. The Sultan of Zanzibar, at the same time, undertook to subsidise his brother of Muscat—a financial responsibility which ultimately fell on British shoulders. The importance of this fact was hardly done justice to at a later date, when Germany put forward her claim to take as much of the Sultan's domains as she pleased.

The first act which may in any way be said to have implicated Great Britain, was the part taken in 1822 by Captain Vidal, in protecting the Mazui chief of Mombasa against Seyyid Said. The latter had won a good title to English support by the obligation he had entered into with Captain Moresly to prevent the sale of slaves to Christian nations. Consequently Lord Liverpool's Government disavowed the protectorate which the naval authorities had established.

For many years to come the influence of England was unchallenged throughout the Sultan's domains. The nature of Arab rule does not require that central-

ised administration which European statesmen describe as effective possession. It was sufficient for a ruler like Seyyid Said that he got his "heshima"; that his agents were not interfered with by the smaller chiefs; that travellers bearing his passports were not molested. From Kilwa to Lamu, the Seyyid's authority was supreme; but north of Lamu, up to Magadoshu, there can be no doubt that the Mazui power enjoyed an independence which was anything but a source of delight to the ruler of Zanzibar.

During the years 1866-87, Zanzibar flourished under the consulate of Sir John Kirk. When Sir John, who had been a companion of Dr. Livingstone, arrived in the island, the slave-trade was a legitimate and most profitable undertaking. The export of slaves to Asia had, indeed, been prohibited, and in 1839, in confirming the treaty of 1839, Seyyid Said had declared that "the selling of males and females who are free is contrary to the Mohammedan religion." Seyyid Magid had also passed some measures of an apparently restrictive nature. Yet, despite all this, the hideous traffic, with all its attendant horrors, was in full swing. The year 1873 marks the beginning of really effective attempts to bring the system to a "natural death." Sir Bartle Frere was sent on a mission to the Seyyid Burghash (who had succeeded his brother Magid), and, despite the malign influence of the then French Consul, succeeded in making the Sultan feel that the slave-traffic with the mainland was to be doomed. There can be no doubt that Sir Bartle went beyond the bounds the Government were prepared to stand by; but nothing less cogent than Sir Bartle's instructions to the senior naval officer in Zanzibar waters would have succeeded. Since Sir Bartle Frere's mission, nothing so bold or so effective has ever been enterprised by England in East Africa. The measure prohibiting the import of slaves was followed up by a naval crusade against the sea traffic.

The work was dangerous and difficult, and often heroic. The crew of H.M.S. *London* deserve to be honourably remembered in this respect. We recommend the reader who desires more information on this peculiarly interesting subject to turn to Consul C. Smith's chapter on the slave-trade in Miss Anderson Morshead's "History of the Universities' Mission." Consul Smith and General Sir Lloyd Matthews were both at one time lieutenants on the old *London*.

It may be well to just briefly sketch the course of our subsequent action in regard to the suppression of the slave system. In 1889 Khalifa, who succeeded his brother Burghash, decreed that all slaves imported after November of that year were to be free, and that all children born of slave parents after January 1, 1890, were also free. Seyyid Ali, soon after his accession in 1890, at Sir Evan Smith's instigation, passed a most stringent measure forbidding all exchange or sale of slaves under heavy penalties, and according to slaves the right of purchasing their freedom "at a just and reasonable tariff." A fortnight later the Sultan was permitted to retract this last concession.

It is not hard to point out the weak spot in these measures. They were extracted from the unwilling hands of rulers in whose minds the slave system possesses the sanction of religion and immemorial custom. They never seriously intended their concessions to be more than the British authorities by their own personal exertions chose to make them. It has been argued by competent authorities that if the decree of Khalifa had been really carried out, the slave population would have been extinct by now, and that in 1890 only one slave in eleven would be legally held. As a matter of fact, the slave population in 1896 was as large as it ever was in the days of Burghash: a fact which, when the very low vitality of the slave is remembered, can only be accounted for on the assumption that the edicts of the

Sultans have been dead letters and the naval control inefficient.

In 1897 Lord Salisbury's Government induced the present Sultan to decree the abolition of the legal status of slavery. The decrees are hard to understand, although the local authorities seem content with their practical working. We will briefly summarise our criticism of the present law under the following heads:—

1. The professed scope of the measure to abolish the legal status of slavery. Lord Salisbury's instructions speak of "runaway slaves," and urge the appointment of police-pickets to keep the slaves on the *shambas*.

2. Zanzibar and Pemba are alone touched. Mombasa and the Sultan's coast domains are left untouched.

3. Nothing is done for female slaves.

4. In view of the fact that at the present date scarcely one slave in twenty is legally owned, compensation under the circumstances is simply a bribe to the Arabs to keep quiet.

5. The police-pickets would certainly deter the immigration of free-born natives from the mainland.

A great deal has been said in defence of "domestic slavery," but it has to be remembered—

1. That, owing to the extreme shortness of slave life, and the low productivity of the race, the "domestic" system cannot be maintained apart from the slave-traffic.

2. Domestic slavery (which is meant to include slaves on the plantation) is a really wasteful system. It leads to general idleness and utter lack of enterprise. Roads are not constructed, and wheeled vehicles are not introduced simply because slave-owners prefer sending in their slaves, &c., or slave porters.

3. The Arab slave-owner, in the majority of cases, is a "magnificent pauper." He has heavily mortgaged his estates to the British Indian traders, who, in return

for their clemency, are allowed the use of the slave labour.

4. The suppression of slavery would ruin the clove trade. To this it may be answered, the sooner Zanzibar substitutes a less precarious cultivation the better. Cloves are a drug in the market, and can only be made profitable by an artificial manipulation of the supply.

5. The "domestic system" is not necessarily cruel. It would not pay to ill-treat a good worker. This argument is highly *à priori*. Those who know the *shumbas* know that cruel treatment is by no means rare. Then, too, when the supply is large—some Arabs own enormous numbers—the individual goes for nothing. The present writer has in one day secured the freedom of seven women, "domestic slaves," who had been turned out by their masters simply because they were ill and helpless. A South African who has driven his stores over the veldt has been known to shoot his horses on completing the journey, because, like Nansen's two heroic dogs, they had become "useless." So with slaves who, for no fault of their own, are not good workers.

But while saying all this, it follows that upon the proper development of the island's resources, the healthiness of its labour is ultimately dependent. In this direction the Sultan's Government, under Sir Lloyd Matthews' guidance, have done wonders.

We must take up our history again at the point at which the European struggle for the partition of the Sultan's dominions commences. On November 12, 1884, Dr. Peters and Count Joachim Pfcil, disguised as mechanics bound for Liverpool, reached the East African capital, and started on a treaty-making tour amongst the chiefs on the neighbouring mainland. Not till 1885 did the English Government give expression to "a considerable uneasiness manifested in the English Press lest the Imperial Government should have intentions with

regard to that country (Zanzibar), which should be detrimental to the independence of the Sultan of Zanzibar and to the interests of the United Kingdom and of India." We have not time to detail the course of the diplomatic palaver which ensued on the communication of this expression of misapprehension. Lord Granville's Government were completely hoodwinked by the dexterity of Bismarck and Count Munster. On the 7th August a German fleet anchored off Zanzibar, and although the English Government were informed that the object of this show of power was merely to secure "a free transit of goods," the upshot was that Burghash found himself compelled either to consent to the cession of those parts of his domains which (broadly speaking) now constitute German East Africa, or else face an ugly alternative, which Commodore Paschen was too courteous to state in words to Burghash, and his master too prudent to inform Great Britain.

While Germany was thus coercing the Sultan into conceding a "free transit of goods," or the concession of the fairest portion of his dominions with reversing rights to a German Company, Great Britain, at the express request of Burghash, sanctioned a lease of the customs and administration of his mainland, from the Umbro River to Kipiri, to a corporation or association under the presidency of Sir William Mackinnon. Thus was formed the I.B.E.A. Company, which, despite the rough treatment it received throughout its stormy existence, has the honour of having won for the empire the land of the Nile springs. Having secured her own share, Germany, on conscientious grounds, insisted that Great Britain must wait for hers until an international delimitation of the Sultan's territory and the spheres of British and German influence had been effected. When this had been carried out, the English Government was permitted to grant a charter to their Company.

The German Company set about the exploitation of

their own domains in a most unfortunate style. In a few months the whole coast was up in arms, and the officials and traders were compelled to retire from the country; the only folk remaining being the members of the Universities' Mission, who had been working in the Mambura for years previous to the partition. On behalf of the German Company the English fleet established a blockade of the coast. In the end the "revolt" was put down by the skill and bravery of Von Weismann and his Soudanese.

In the meantime, while England was engaged in establishing the German Company, Dr. Karl Peters and other agents, filibusters, &c., were engaged in an attempt to outflank the English Company by treaties with the chiefs of Uganda, and more especially by taking a notorious rebel chief, Senibu of Witu, under their protection. I have not time to go into this painful but instructive history; let me refer you to Mr. Macdermott's volume, "The I.B.E.A.C." The German Government, in an official communication, gravely described the little lawless refugee-camp of Witu as a very centre of civilisation, and Fumo Bakhari as an enlightened statesman, emancipator of slaves, &c. Witu and the coast up to Biwa was declared a German Protectorate. Fumo soon turned out in his true colours. The unfortunate mechanics who had sought to avail themselves of the civilisation of Witu were murdered, and a *sauve qui peut* again was the order of the day. The result was an *English* punitive expedition. In 1890, therefore, Germany was not sorry to exchange the Witu Protectorate and her claims (such as they were) for Herzlogoland and certain rectifications of territory elsewhere in Africa. Witu was for a time administered as an independent state by the Sultan of Zanzibar, but two years ago a new Sultan was found in the person of a chief representing the old reigning house of Patta and Sui.

The next step was the lease of the northern towns

on the Somali coast to Italy; the slight skirmish with Portugal over Tureti Bay in the south, and the sale of rights over Mafia are only just worth mentioning. Ultimately Germany purchased all the remaining rights of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and created her share in the partition an Imperial Colony. She carries on her work with perseverance and success; and if the attempt at a railway from the coast to Kilimanjaro has not been very glorious, yet, thanks to the failure of the Briton at retail trade, even in Zanzibar itself the trade of Germany outstrips that of the United Kingdom.

We also have wound up our Company. In 1896, the I.B.E.A.C., which had always received more kicks than halfpence, suffered a final *coup de grâce*. Mombasa, a narrow ten-mile strip of coast-land, with the neighbouring islands, returned to the Sultan, while the rest of the Company's sphere is now parcelled out into British administrative provinces controlled by commissioners.

Perhaps before leaving this subject, it is just worth while to draw your attention to the connection between these things.

1. The German doctrine of the Hinterland.
2. The attempt to establish a North African Protectorate.
3. The land of the Nile springs.

It is only when we keep these three things before us that we can understand the significance of the struggle for the fertile lands of Witu.

Let me return to Zanzibar. The name, as you all know, denotes the whole island, as well as the capital town. The native always speaks of his land as Ungugor.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE ISLAND OF ZANZIBAR

After six months of somewhat monotonous sea-faring from Aden or Djibouti, it is pleasant one morn-

ing to go on deck and find the ship smoothly gliding over the peaceful waters along a coralline coast mantled with grass and foliage of brilliant tropical verdure. The island which is to be our destination lies between the 5th and 6th degrees of latitude south, and is about twenty-five miles from the mainland of the continent. In the evening, and especially before the rains, the mountains of German East Africa are clearly discernible from the Zanzibar coast; and it was said that on the occasion of the bombardment the noise of the cannonade was heard at Magila, some seventeen miles from the mainland coast. Nothing can be more beautiful than a Zanzibar evening, the sun setting in all its glories behind these purple hills. One peak towards the north always called to mind the mysterious hill in Dante's description of the last voyage of Ulysses:—

“Quando n'appave una montagna bruna,
Per la distanga, e parveno alla tanto,
Quanto veduta non n'avena alcuna.
Noi ci allegramo.”

To the geologist the island has its own wonderful tale to tell. Beneath the coralline structure lies a bed of stratified sandstone. “The madreporé structure,” writes Dr. James Christie, “is evidently based upon summits of an abrupt and sharp rising submarine range which, of course, must have been under the ocean level at some remote period. By the action of the gradually subsiding waters a coralline conglomerate has been formed. On the northern and eastern parts of the island the deposit is more scanty, merely filling up the interstices of the coral rag, leaving exposed the bare summits, and making traveling on foot extremely difficult. Where sufficient deposits have been left the soil is fertile and the crops early, the porous understructure carrying off superfluous rains, but still retaining moisture and heat. Zanzibar, like all other madreporé islands,

grows towards the leeward, and on that side the most fertilising deposits take place. Thus the barest and most infertile parts of the island are those exposed during the greater length of time to the influence of the long continuous south-west monsoon." This is the most probable way of accounting for the fact that whereas, with the exception of scattered barren wastes covered at the most with bush vegetation and spare grass, the whole of the northern districts of the western coast on which the capital town is founded, and the eastern face of the hilly ridge that runs through the centre of the island, are extremely fertile, the eastern side towards the Indian Ocean and the southern districts are little more than a long range of sharp coral rag, just covered over with low bush growth.

The greatest breadth of the island is from twenty-one to twenty-seven miles; its extreme length about fifty. The total area is probably about 400,000 acres. The question of temperature is an exceedingly practical one. It is the character, not the actual greatness of the heat that proves so trying. According to Dr. Robb, the mean temperature for five years was $80^{\circ} 3'$, and the average yearly range from highest maximum to the lowest minimum $17^{\circ} 3'$. The heat is damp and oppressive, but seldom intense save at the mid-day hours. From December to March the wind blows from the north, from June to October from the south. During June and July, after the greater rains, comes a season when occasionally the thermometer goes down to even 70° ; then one feels an unpleasant chilliness rather than a refreshing cool. Storms and high winds are exceedingly rare. The rains are due during the times when the wind is uncertain. Towards the end of March the "greater rains" may be expected, and in November the lesser. The violence of a tropical rain is proverbial. To be caught in it out in a Zanzibar street is an experi-

ence, not to say an adventure. Within a few minutes the wayfarer is hopelessly wet through. The streets run like rivers, and the only way to avoid walking in a muddy stream is to keep close in to the houses; but here one is subjected to further misery. The roofs have, as a very general rule, no water-courses to carry off the water, and consequently torrents descend on one's devoted head and shoulders. The natives, with but a loin-cloth, thoroughly enjoy themselves; some will take the opportunity of having an effective shower-bath. Little black children rush about in a state of nudity, splashing themselves and each other. Women set vessels in the way to catch the water, and so save the walk to the well later on. An after result of the rains, due to damp rising from the soil, is the fever. Yet I should imagine that the strain on the system during the hot season which follows the lesser rains in November has had a great deal more to do with the unhealthiness of the place than is imagined. After the constant oppression of the damp heat, irritation from prickly heat, and the poisoning of the blood by mosquito bites,¹ and possibly a disinclination to take sufficient exercise during such circumstances, the whole system is enfeebled, and one becomes an easy victim to the demon of the tropics—malarial fever.

THE INHABITANTS, RELIGION, &C.

In Zanzibar town all the known races of the world meet and mingle, Esquimaux and Australian aborigines perhaps excepted. Every type of the Bantu species—Massai, Barchi, Dadoe, Somali, Yao, Zyua, Wanyasa, Wagaramu, Watihu, are all represented. Every tribe of Arabia, every nationality from Europe, every race

¹ Cf. Major Ross's recent discoveries. He has proved that the mosquito is a champion fever-germ carrier.

from India and Persia, all are to be recognised in the characteristic dress. The sons of Jerusalem and Aberdeen prove not so exclusive as has been imagined. The Parsees have their burial-place in the *shambas*. The Germans and English have their clubs. The roofs of the city are gay with the flags of the Consuls—English, American, French, German, Italian, Portuguese. All religions too are represented: Buddhism finds its exponents in the Cingalese jewel merchants; Sikhism in the fine soldiery from India; the Sunni followers of Mohammed in the Gujerati merehants; the Shiah in the Arabs from Yemen; almost every other house in the native quarter bears the emblems of the devil-worship of the Bantu. Sunset is an imposing time. Precisely as the sun disappears the Sultan, the descendant of the priest-kings (the Imams) of Oman, steps on to the balcony, and amidst the boom of cannon and the braying of his Gouneso band, gives his blessing *urbi et orbi*, while from the steeples of the Roman and Anglican eathedrals peals the *Angelus*, and from every mosque the Muezzin calls his flock to prayer.

The mass of the population, however, are the Swahili, or Bantu coast tribe of Africans. Their dialeet is akin to that spoken throughout the eastern coast, and is in reality the *lingua franca* of tropieal Africa. The missionaries have made very considerable advance in the study of the native language, and the consul or merchant who finds himself bound to acquire the tongue can easily do so with the aid of Bishop Steere's "Handbook, Exercises, and Swahili Stories." Dictionaries have been compiled by Mr. Maddan and Père Saeleux.

In the interior parts of the island there is a tribe known as the Wahadinu, whose "Sultan," until but a few years ago, enjoyed an almost independent rule from his palaece at Dunga—a fertile spot surrounded by a sea of sharp-cutting coral rag. The history of this royal house requires investigation, and there is a great deal

of interest to be learned. The "black" Sultans of Dunga were most probably closely allied to the Sultans of Patta and Siu, who most probably came from Yemen in the days of the Nebhani supremacy in Southern Arabia, and who intermarried with the survivors of the earliest Asiatic settlers on the eastern coast. In dialect, religion, and character, the Wahadinu folk differ very considerably from the other black inhabitants of the island. A similar race to the Wahadinu is to be found in Pemba.

It is almost impossible to arrive at any reliable estimate of the population of the island. It probably does not exceed 200,000 even in the times when a favourable monsoon brings to the island the Somali herdsmen and Arab slave-agents from the north.

I have said that every faith is represented in the island, but Islam is of course professed by the Arab masters and by the great majority of the natives in the towns. In the case of the latter, Islam is very nominal, and is almost entirely eaten up by the aboriginal devil-worship with which it has never struggled. Islam, as a practical system, leaves the religious needs of those who by nature have the strongest sense of the religious necessity untouched. The women remain the prophets of the older cults. It is noticeable that the Arab has done little to spread his faith in Eastern Africa. In the golden days of Kilwu and Melinde the Arab was a merchant; when Portugal shut off Arabia from the gold-fields of Sofala, the Arab became a mere slave-dealer. It is only the pressure of the European that has sent him far into the interior on his terrible work of devastation. Unlike the Arab who stamped out of North Africa every vestige of Roman, Greek, or Visigothic civilisation,¹ the Arab in East Africa has never been a propagator of Islam. At first sight this seems strange, as the particular sect to which the rulers of

¹ Cf. Robertson, "Mohammedanism: Has it a Future?"

Museat belong is perhaps, from a theological point of view, the most bigoted and intolerant of all the rival forms of Mohammedianism. But their position as traders on the Persian Gulf, the need for giving protection to all kinds of merchants from Asia (even Armenians), tended to soften the orthodox zeal of Museat, and the struggle for life with the puritan ferocity of the Wahabbi still further tended to make the house of Seyyid Said conciliatory to those who could assure him the support of their rulers across the sea. For one reason or another, Zanzibar is not rendered picturesque by the religious tokens so familiar in Algeria or Egypt. The figures of fellahs praying by the side of the street are not to be seen, and the mosques are totally devoid of magnificence.

A fine cathedral, built by the skill of Bishop Steere, graces the site of the old slave-market. The Roman Catholic Cathedral is not yet completed. To Bishop Steere is also due the construction of the first road in the island, and the introduction of the first wheeled vehicle.

JUSTICE AND ADMINISTRATION

From what has already been said, it will be seen that Zanzibar, and the coast district governed by H.M. the Sultan's Government, are professedly Mohammedan countries. The subjects of the Sultan, therefore, are amenable to the civil law of Islam, save so far as the English protecting power has found it necessary to intervene on behalf either of her own interests or the liberty of the black races. It would be hard to define how far the pagan natives of Africa are regarded by their Arab masters as being capable of enjoying civil rights, and we are at a loss to know what our diplomats mean when they make public professions of the readiness of Great Britain to preserve and maintain the Mohammedan law in its entirety. Some years ago the

Seyyid Khalifa woke up one day from a fit of morose discontent with the limitations imposed on him by his powerful European friends, and announced at a public baraya his intention of ruling henceforth by Koranic law. The result was that a number of persons, who for some years had been awaiting their trial on a murder charge, were ordered to be decapitated in the midst of the crowded fruit-market. Scenes of repeated barbarity took place daily in the market, seemingly without the fact becoming known to the British Consul-General or the Admiral, whose flag-ship was in harbour at the time. The executioner was not familiar with his work, and his implements were inadequate. One after the other the unconvicted wretches were brought forward for their heads to be slowly sawn off, the last comers witnessing the agonies of the victims who preceded them. It is even reported that a harmless bystander was actually executed by error. The bodies were left unburied on the spot for the insects or the dogs to devour. It sounds incredible that in the very capital of East Africa such a scene could have occurred scarcely fifteen years ago.

The numerous colony of merchants from Bombay and Ceylon come, of course, under the Indian Code, which is administered by English Judges at Zanzibar and Mombasa. The servants of European residents also can claim Consular protection from the Sultan and his Cadis.

For the purpose of the legal *status* of slavery, commissioners have been appointed over Zanzibar and Pemba, and these officials are responsible to the Sultan's Government. It is impossible to give any further description of the Zanzibar administration which would be of any very definite character. The very wide powers wielded by General Sir Lloyd Matthews, for instance, defy analytical examination. As regards the Sultan's Government, of which he is Prime Minister, he might

truly say, *L'état, c'est moi*. He is, again, a British Commissioner by, we think, more than one appointment. He is also a British Consul, a General of the Sultan's army, and an experienced British naval officer. But all these offices and appointments are but outward signs of the General's real power. There is not an Arab or African who does not at once dread and respect the great Prime Minister of Zanzibar. His arbitration is freely sought, and almost universally accepted as final. For nearly a quarter of a century, Sir Lloyd has been at once the most powerful and popular ruler in Central Africa, and few have travelled in that land without having sought in vain for an end to the General's kindness. The powers and position of the Consul-General, who is also the supreme representative of the protecting Power, are also hard to delimit.

The efficiency of Zanzibar as a port is very largely due to the statesmanship of Sir Gerald Portal and the conscientious labours of Mr. C. T. Strickland. Under the consulate of Portal, the old five per cent. duty on imports was abolished, and Zanzibar declared a free port. At the same time, new storehouses and wharves were rapidly completed, and the Government, by compensation in this direction, by an improved collection of taxes and new sources of revenue, and by a widely extended system of registration and contracts, was placed in a position in which it might face the loss of revenue due to the abolition of its import dues.

The Government, however, has severely suffered by that peculiarly European type of philanthropy which asserts itself at very considerable cost to others. The expenditure involved in compensating the slave-owners for the loss of their so-called "property" was, we think, most unfairly thrown on the shoulders of the Sultan's Government. In view of the fact that, according to the decrees of successive Sultans, not one in every sixteen of the thousands of slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba

were legally held, the claim to compensation was somewhat thin in nature; but if the British statesmen were anxious to pay "hush money" to the turbulently disposed, they should have found the funds themselves, or left the task to the philanthropists who drove them to take action in the matter. Nothing will serve the interests of real slavery better than the bankruptcy of the Sultan's Government. Road-making must be abandoned, the European staff cut down, and things left in Arab hands. From Zanzibar we hear with regret that many public works are now being abandoned for want of funds—notably the embankment of the creek in the rear of the more important part of the town. To our thinking, the best form which our dislike of slavery could take would be a considerable subsidy, which would enable Sir Lloyd Matthews to continue his far-seeing scheme for so developing the resources of the island, as to make the economic conditions of the place inconsistent with so feeble and wasteful a labour-system as that of slavery.

Will Zanzibar cede to Mombasa her place of importance as the capital of East Africa? When Mombasa is connected by railway with Uganda, and some day Cairo, and perhaps even the Cape, Zanzibar may seem destined to dwindle into unimportance. But that day is perhaps further distant than we are willing to suppose; and even when it has come, the position of the island is such that she is necessary to the exigencies of our position in the Indian seas. It will take a long time for Arab and Indian commerce to sever itself from the traditional meeting-place of the two civilisations. It is surely enough to prophesy in our present state of information as to the possibilities of the island's resources.

The graceful cathedral, which covers the site of the world's last open slave-market, and which has centred its high altar where once stood the slaves' whipping-

post, is perhaps a worthy memorial of what Mr. Rudyard Kipling has named "the Englishman's Madness." And perhaps the French and English hospitals, with their respective staffs of volunteer nurses, are sufficient proof that our women equally share in the curious mental derangement of the sterner sex.

EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE

By HENRY STANLEY NEWMAN, J.P.

(Author of "*Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Zanzibar and Pemba*,"
&c.; Editor of "*The Friend*")

I LANDED in Mombasa on the 18th January 1897, in company with my friend Mr. Theodore Burtt. We had not passed a single vessel of much tonnage for days, and the long green line of dome palms, cocoa-nut palms, and mangoes that fringed the shore were a welcome sight after the monotony of the sea. Festoons of tropical creepers hung down over the coral rocks, and the ragged coral was honeycombed by the waves into a multitude of caves. A long line of shining white beach stretched along the coast, the surf beating against the low reefs that form a breakwater some half-mile from shore. Native boats of primitive fashion were out fishing in the smooth water, some made of leaves sewn together, others the trunk of the baobab tree hollowed out and cut to a point at the two ends, propelled by long poles pushed against the shallow bottom of the sea. Many of these boats have not a single nail or rivet in their structure, and toss about with or without sails. When the tide was high enough we floated through an opening in the coral reef into the harbour. The town of Mombasa, with a population of 25,000, is on the east of the island, another port, Kilindini, where vessels ride at anchor, lying to the west. Groups of Arab dhows line the harbour, no longer loaded with slaves, but in lieu of human merchandise groups of camels lie uncomfortably at the bottom of the dhows among women busy with their domestic opera-

tions. Woe to the Englishman whose transit across sea is in one of these Arab dhows.

An old Portuguese fort dominates the harbour, mounting the red flag of the Sultan of Zanzibar, but the Union Jack was run up as the English mail floated in, and the whole administration is English. The hospital and the German Consulate are near neighbours, and a succession of European bungalows are ranged along the cliff. A salute from the fort announced our arrival, and our ship was quickly boarded by a group of English residents, who greeted the arrivals from the home-land. We are four degrees south of the equator, and the natives evidently enjoy the heat. They are almost nude, and are clothed with an elegant bronze skin, sleek and shining, and much more appropriate than the pale complexion of the north. The Swahilis are a handsome chocolate colour, and are mostly of the Bantu stock rather than the negro. The pure negro is black, with woolly hair and thick lips. The Arab gentlemen, with loosely flowing dress, white turbans, coloured girdles, and short daggers, walk about as though they were the possessors of heaven and earth. The coolies and boatmen sing merrily at their work, and are more light-hearted than the Saxon. On landing we immediately found friends. For the sake of health and fresh air Europeans live upstairs. The first piece of advice given us was to go slowly, slowly. Things go slowly in Africa. No European city can parallel the ethnological types that crowd the irregular streets of Mombasa. The ladies decorate their ears with a life-long elongation of the lower lobe, in which is inserted an ugly ornament like an old twopenny piece. Others more pronounced insert a similar decoration into their lower lip, which makes the lip protrude horizontally. In the markets there is much noise for little gain, while the streets are christened with English names, and native policemen stand as the representatives of civilisation.

Passing through a beautiful and exceedingly fertile shamba called Mzizima, with groves of custard-apples, papaw, and cocoa-nuts, we were shown the exquisite leaf-insect feeding on the guava. Its lower wings had the bronzed edges of the old leaves, while its upper wings were the exact imitation of the dainty light-green leaves of the newly unfolded shoots. We afterwards found a still more extraordinary insect, looking just like bits of dry hay stuck together. In strolling through the shambas we saw in cultivation cinnamon, coffee, chillies, pine-apples, sugar, rice, tobacco, vanilla, annatto, nutmegs, pepper, indiarubber, the betel-vine, pomegranates, limes, citrons, and dates. A rocky path through prolific vegetation brought us down to the water's edge. Rough boats lay on the beach, but the native policeman who had charge of the ferry to the mainland was on his knees in the midst of his customers, reciting his Muslim prayers. We sat down and waited his leisure, and then pushed the ferry-boat down to the water's edge. It was only the trunk of a tree scooped out, without any keel. Five of us sat along the middle of the boat in a row to maintain its equilibrium, and struck out across the estuary. What our friends at home would have thought of our life insurance it is hard to say. The Moham-medan policeman cursed the natives vociferously as we proceeded, whereupon our guide gently reminded him that out of the same mouth should not proceed blessing and cursing. Freretown stands in the midst of magnificent mango avenues and palm trees. Hundreds of freed slaves are settled on the estate, and seem well fed and flourishing. The prodigality of nature in these lands makes life easy-going to people of little ambition. The harvest of the sea and the harvest of the land are abundant. The people cultivate their muhogo plots and grow other vegetables, flavouring their meal with the unsavoury dried shark which, in long slices, is a common item of traffic in the markets.

The islands along the coast have for hundreds of years governed the mainland, and are still the key of the position as far as administration and commerce are concerned. Islands control the destiny of empires. Why is England strong? What created Venice? Somewhat similar forces have made the islands of Lamu, Manda, Patta, and Mombasa the strategic points of East Africa. Milton mentions Mombasa and Malindi in "Paradise Lost." Europe had not then dreamed of the partition of Africa.

The Arabs fortified Patta and lived there as Oriental princes. The arrogant Sultan Simba entrenched himself and was strong. When compelled to fly from Patta, Manda became the Arab stronghold. The brave Gallas of Abyssinian stock, and the Swahilis of the coast, attacked them, and then Lamu became the Arab rendezvous.

In 1507 Tristan da Cunha had won supremacy for his brave Portuguese adventurers. Time after time the Arabs contested the control of the coast. Sometimes the one prevailed, sometimes the other.

The Portuguese fort at Mombasa was erected in 1594, and has still carved upon it the Christian symbol "I.H.S.," with the eagles of the Austro-Spanish dynasty which governed Portugal at that date.

Mombasa was taken and retaken, until in 1698 Sef-bin-Sultan El Yorabi, the Imam of Museat, finally secured it. Fifty years later, on a change of the Oman dynasty in Arabia, the resident Arab viceroy at Mombasa, Mahomed-bin-Othman El Mazrui, refused allegiance to Museat, and became an independent Sultan of the whole coast from the Ozi River to Pangani. Five Mazrui princes succeeded him, until in 1822 Seyyid Said-bin-Sultan, then Imam of Museat, determined to reconquer the old African possessions of Museat for himself, and having expelled Abdullah-bin-Ahmed from the island of Pemba, proceeded to attack the stronghold

of Mombasa. Suliewan-bin-Ali was at that juncture holding Mombasa, and appealed to the commander of the British man-of-war *Barracouta* for protection. This was effectual, and Lieutenant Reitz was appointed British Resident, and divided the revenue with the Mazrui chief Ali.

Two years later the British Government repudiated the Protectorate, and the Inam Seyyid Said obtained and maintained his position as Sultan, and starved to death the last Mazrui prince in a fortress in the Persian Gulf in 1837. The numerous sons of the clever and astute Seyyid Said rapidly succeeded one another as Sultans. Abdul Aziz, the surviving brother, resided in India, and regarded himself as the legitimate successor. Sir Bartle Frere asked him what was the law of succession in Muscat, and Abdul, glancing at his dagger, and moving the fingers of his right hand along its blade, replied concisely, "The law of the keenest edge." When Thwain was murdered in 1866 by his own son, the dagger fell out of his son's scabbard as he bowed in prayer over his father's dead body, and his uncle Turki was considered a coward for not at once seizing the dagger, and burying it in the heart of his nephew who had committed the crime. It was high time that other influences than the Arab rulers of Muscat should appear on the scene, and in 1887 the mainland was placed under the administration of the Imperial British East Africa Company. The British East Africa Company did much good work, but were embarrassed with restrictions, and found themselves in financial perplexity. The effort to mingle commerce and government in one administration proved burdensome, and in 1890 a Protectorate was proclaimed by England over those portions of territory on the mainland which formed the Zanzibar Sultanate. On the 1st July 1895 the East Africa Protectorate in its present form was constituted, the functions of the Company having ceased. The area of the Protectorate

is about 280,000 square miles, of which some 120,000 square miles may be considered as under effective control. The ten-mile strip along the coast continues nominally under the Sultan of Zanzibar, but is held by our Government on a lease perpetually renewable at the option of England, the sum of £17,000 being rendered annually to the Sultan. This strip, ten miles from high water mark, extends from the river Uмба to the south to the river Ozi on the north, including a series of islands between the Ozi and the Juba, as well as the mainland town of Kismayu with its ten miles radius. In Witu there is still a Sultan exercising limited functions in conjunction with an English resident.

The Protectorate is under the care of a Commissioner and Consul-General, Sir Arthur H. Hardinge. He is an able and courteous administrator, and has made the Arabs and the native races a special study.

Our southern boundary abuts on the German Protectorate, and runs from the mouth of the Uмба in a south-westerly direction, leaving the snowy peaks of Kilimanjaro, 19,200 feet high, under the protection of Germany. The boundary westward is Uganda. Our coast line runs north-east for 400 miles, and on arriving at the river Juba the boundary strikes almost due north along the irregular course of the river, alongside the Italian sphere of influence, until it reaches the undefined area which links the East Africa Protectorate with our administration in the Soudan. Much of the northern part of the East Africa Protectorate is not yet under effective control. This part is inhabited by the Gallas, a fine people addicted to a nomad pastoral life, and probably first cousins of the Abyssinians. They are a warlike race, of fair skin and handsome physique, observing monogamy, and allowing their women to mingle with them on terms of equality much more than other tribes. They are worthy of the fostering and sym-

pathetic regard of our Government if their friendship can be secured rather than their distrust, in the same way that Lord Lawrence won the confidence of the Sikhs in North India.

Besides Gallaland, there are for administrative purposes four well-defined provinces in the Protectorate—Seyyidieh, Ukamba, Tanaland, and Jubaland.

Behind the coast province of Seyyidieh lies Ukamba, extending as far as the Uganda Protectorate, much of the westerly portions of the province being exceedingly mountainous. Mount Kenia is 18,600 feet high, and the huge escarpments of the Albemarle range rise to a height of 14,000 feet. These mountains must always, to a large extent, divert the traffic with the interior, which will run to the south of them.

Tanaland lies to the east of Ukamba, and runs from the coast 250 miles inland, while to the north-east is Jubaland.

The commerce of East Africa has for generations been dependent on coasting vessels and inland portage. The caravan-route from Mombasa to Uganda has hitherto constituted the main artery of communication. Starting from Mombasa, the Great Mackinnon Road—developed by the Imperial British East Africa Company—runs through Mazeras, Durunna, the Taru desert, Ndi, Tsava, to Kibwezi, a distance of 185 miles. It is supplemented by a road running another 130 miles, from Kibwezi through Kikuyu to the Kedong River. From the Kedong River the Uganda Protectorate takes charge of the route, and carries it forward to the Victoria Nyanza. Near the coast, and for some distance inland, the presence of the tsetse-fly precludes animal transport with carts, bullocks and donkeys being attacked by the flies and lost. The wretched system of human portage has consequently too long prevailed. With the decrease of slave-raids, and the strict regulations against the slave-trade, the system of porters is, to some extent,

breaking down, and the cruel caravans of slaves carrying ivory tusks down to the coast are a thing of the past, as far as our Protectorate is concerned.

The portage at the present time to Uganda costs twenty-six rupees a load. The wage averages ten rupees a month, with four rupees for rations. A strong porter can carry as much as seventy pounds. Some of them are slaves, some are free men. The men are now less inclined to travel beyond certain well-defined limits. One set of men will not go beyond Kikuyu, another set will not go inland beyond Kibwezi.

Seeing that commerce is dependent on coasting vessels, it is not to the credit of England that there is no line whatever of English steamers running direct from Europe. The Germans have a direct line from Naples. The French have a well-appointed fleet of good passenger steamers running from Marseilles. The British India Company tranships its passengers and its freight at Aden. This is a serious drawback, and some first-class line of modern English steamers should serve East Africa. There is a considerable traffic between Mombasa and Bombay.

One of the most promising lines of future development is on the river Juba. The Government stern-wheeler runs up the river periodically to Gosha. Gosha is entirely inhabited by runaway slaves, who have escaped from the Somalis and from the ports to the north of the Juba, which are in the Italian sphere. These runaway slaves locate themselves along the banks of the river, some on the Italian side, others on our own. They belong to almost all the tribes of Eastern Central Africa. Some 12,000 reside on our side the river. Each village, or group of villages, is ruled by its own headman; and two powerful chiefs, Nasib Pondo and Songoro Mafula, rule the district, and are in direct relations with our Government officials. The institution of slavery is abandoned among them, and the people

are sufficiently vigorous to defend themselves from attack. Captain Dundas describes the valley of the Juba as very fertile, and says that the district of Gosha for eighty miles is "one long plantation of semsem, maize, millet, plantain, tobacco, and cotton." The river is about one hundred yards wide. Tall palms and luxuriant vegetation clothe its banks with beauty. Zebras and antelopes abound. The people are on excellent terms with the English. The stern-wheeler, on arriving at Gosha, picks up a number of men as free labourers. A dozen American axes from the ship's stores are handed out to them to chop wood for fuel. The natives turn out in crowds to cheer the steamer as it passes, and an independent people is rising up that will be an acquisition to any administration.

As Captain Lugard said years ago, "*The Pax Britannica*, which stops lawless raiding and constant intertribal war, will be the greatest blessing that Africa has known through the ages since the Flood." If we will add to this the vigorous fulfilment of the stipulations and intent of the Brussels Act of 1891 against the import of gunpowder and firearms, and the sale of brandy and rum to the native tribes, we are a long way towards the solution of the African problem.

With some exceptions in Ukamba and one or two other provinces, the slave-trade has practically ceased in British East Africa. Slave-raiding occasionally occurs in unsettled districts. For instance, the tribes of Wakamba and Wakikuyu have recently raided each other and run off with slaves and cattle, and the Sub-Commissioner at Machako's had to interfere and insist on restitution.

In a new country smuggling cannot be altogether prevented, but the Government makes a determined effort to prevent the importation of fresh slaves into the coast towns. Cases of cruelty are summarily dealt with when discovered. Sir Arthur Hardinge calculates

that in the settled parts of the country there are about 52,500 slaves.

Owing to the ease with which slaves can run away beyond the ten-mile strip, slavery has not been of a very rigorous type along the coast. The Arab masters live in the towns with their household slaves, while on an inland estate, or somewhere along the shore-line, they may have 200 or 300 slaves working for them under a native overseer, who is himself a slave. The Arab probably visits his estate twice a year to receive the produce. He receives much palaver and tamasha, and returns to town.

The chief grievance of the slave is when the Arab master snatches his daughters from him, and transfers them to his own harem. The overseer has a large house in the centre of the shamba; the slaves have their huts on the same property, with their garden for cultivation of muhogo and plantains, which the man and his wife cultivate on Thursdays and Fridays, or if on the shore, the man goes fishing. The tall grass and thick brushwood grow between the slave's hut and his neighbour's, and the man is left a good deal to his own devices as long as he works five days a week for his master. Sometimes his master provides him with a gun to defend himself from wild animals. It is the moral deterioration and degradation, and the violations of home sanctities that constitute the worst features of this unambitious slave life. But slavery is not a question of good or bad. The system itself is wrong, and by its results stands condemned. Every man and woman has an inherent right to liberty until convicted of crime. Slavery demoralises the master, and degrades the servant. Labour is honourable to all, but slavery dishonours labour. Our Government has promised, "at the earliest opportunity," to inaugurate a process of emancipation, and we await its fulfilment.

The Hindus are a much more important feature in

the commercial life of East Africa than is commonly recognised. They are the tradesmen of the east coast. They open their little shops, are industrious and economical. With long hours they persistently toil upwards. When they have accumulated rupees, they become money-lenders. The Arabs are the borrowers, and as conscientious Mohammedans refuse to pay interest, they sign an agreement representing themselves as owing half as much again as they actually receive. The Hindu bides his time, and becomes the owner of estates for which other men have laboured.

From a native standpoint there is probably no feature in our English administration which is more appreciated than the sense of justice and fairplay in the law-courts. Justice to eastern and tropical races is an incalculable boon. The Swahilis have a proverb that "an Englishman is a man who has righteousness." May we ever maintain the encomium. If the native needs us, we certainly need him in the development of the country. Miss Kingsley is perfectly right when she says that "our most valuable asset" in Africa is the African. It is useless to imagine that we can colonise Central Africa with the white man. The control of the tropics is one of the most crucial questions of the day, but the African lacks just that persistence of purpose and effort which is essential to success, and the Englishman soon becomes enervated in the climate. The disturbance resulting from the recent mutiny among the Soudanese troops under Major Macdonald is only temporary in its character. It had little or no connection with the rising among the native tribes in Uganda. Major Lugard was very successful in his sympathetic and firm control of the men under him in East Africa, and his testimony to the qualifications and capacity for development of the Bantu tribes which predominate in this Protectorate is very encouraging.

If we wish to see all these mixed races each bringing

forth fruit after its kind, there are few better object-lessons than the Mombasa-Victoria Railway running inland for Uganda. About 215 miles of the line are now completed, and the time-bill is an interesting production, prophetic of a great future. Half an anna per mile is the rate for third-class passengers. Second-class is six times as much, and first-class is twelve times as much as third. Sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, horses, and mules run in the same trains as passengers. A goat travels at the same rate as a third-class passenger, a donkey at the rate of a second-class passenger, and a horse at the price of a first-class passenger. The "up" train is the one that leaves the metropolis on the island of Mombasa, and crossing the estuary by the Macupa Bridge, travels to the higher inland levels. The "down" train is from the interior to the coast. The train leaves the coast each morning at half-past eight o'clock. The wooden bridge that was erected at first for temporary emergencies across the estuary has now been replaced by solid iron. The line is 3 feet 3 inches gauge, while the Nile Railway, "Cairo to the Cape," with which Mombasa is ultimately to be in correspondence, is 3 feet 6 inches in gauge. The Mombasa line runs through Mazeras to the Mackinnon Road, and beyond Kibwezi to the Mikindu River, where the present Railhead is located under the charge of a European traffic manager. The stations are much after the pattern we meet with in India, and the stationmasters are mostly Hindus. It is expected that the half-way station of Kikuyu will be reached this year. Rails have already been conveyed to the 237th mile. Great difficulties have been encountered on account of the lack of fresh water, but on the higher land now reached good water is much more abundant. The cruel tsetse-fly destroyed fifty mules in six months, and a still larger number of bullocks have been lost. Unfortunately twenty-two men have been carried off by lions, and many of the imported labourers

from India have died from malarial fever. Owing to the necessary restrictions consequent on the outbreak of plague in Bombay, it became difficult to obtain Indian coolies. But the natives of the Ukambani district, through which the line runs, are now engaging themselves in large numbers and are working satisfactorily. The experience gained is enabling the engineers to make much better progress than at first. Powerful traction engines are in advance of the line. These engines are fitted with winding apparatus to haul themselves up steep slopes, and then, as stationary engines, they can haul up loads of material in sections. The route originally mapped out across the great Eldoma Ravine has been wisely abandoned. The route now adopted runs over the Mau escarpment, striking some twenty-five miles south of Eldoma, and working along the Nyando Valley to the west of the Great Rift, going on direct to Ugowe Bay in South Kavirondo. By this new arrangement the railway does not go north of the equator at all, and it is estimated that the change of route will shorten the distance 100 or 105 miles, making the whole line considerably less than 600 miles, and presenting fewer engineering difficulties. The traffic returns are encouraging. Ivory, which for generations has been carried on the heads of slaves torn from their village homes by ruthless Arabs, is now coming down to the coast in railway trucks, while the cotton goods of Manchester, and the hardware of Birmingham and Sheffield, find their way up to the great lakes that are 3820 feet above the sea-level, hemmed in by mountain ranges. England has thus control not only of the Nile valley, but of the vast natural reservoir of the Victoria Nyanza and of the surrounding watersheds so wisely stored by a far-seeing Providence to sustain the millions of Egypt, Nubia, and the Soudan.

The survey we have taken is itself a forecast of good things to come. The administration of East Africa

has inaugurated justice in the law-courts and is establishing peace, it has hemmed in the slave-trade and slave-raiding, and has adopted measures the ultimate aim of which is to entirely abolish slavery. Our engineers are opening up communication with the interior which must immensely develop commerce. These are not isolated efforts, but are part of a far-reaching design for the redemption of a great continent from the darkness and inaptitude of millenniums. Africa is the arena for the business-like solution of some of the greatest ethical problems in the history of man. The discussion of these subjects in the present volume opens a wide outlook. By the right use of the material resources which lie to hand we are developing great spiritual affinities. In the solidarity of nations there is being gradually evolved a bond of brotherhood which shall girdle the world. In serving each other the nations enrich themselves. By the interchange of that which each people or tribe can contribute to the common stock, we are reaching out to the ethical ideal of a world-wide commonwealth of man.

UGANDA

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY COLVILLE,

K.C.M.G., C.B.

(*Late Acting Commissioner for Uganda, &c.*)

I MUST preface this paper with a warning that my remarks are chiefly based on observations made in 1893-94, and that in a new country like Uganda many of the conditions of life are certain to have changed in the period that has elapsed since then.

The Uganda Protectorate is divided politically into six portions, viz., Uganda proper, Usoga, Unyoro, Ankoli, Koki, and Kavirondo, but of these the first five are physically and ethnologically one, the countries being alike in their main characteristics, and inhabited by races speaking practically the same language and observing the same customs, although ruled by independent or semi-independent kings or chiefs, who, however, all pay tribute to the King of Uganda.

The inhabitants of Kavirondo, however, appear to belong to a wholly different stock, speaking a language not in any way allied to Luganda,¹ being of a more strongly-marked negro type, and in a far lower stage of mental development than the Waganda; and as this province has only been included in the protectorate for convenience of administration, I shall not make any further allusion to it, but confine my remarks to the other five, of which Uganda proper may generally be taken as a type.

¹ The language of Uganda is called by the inhabitants Luganda, the people Buganda, and the country Muganda; we generally use the Swaheli equivalents Kiganda, Waganda, Uganda.

Uganda is a country lying just north of the equator, bounded on the south by the Great Victoria Lake or Nyanza,¹ on the east by the Somerset or Victoria Nile, which connects the Victoria and Albert Lakes, on the north by the Kafu River, a tributary of the Somerset Nile, and which also partly forms the western boundary.

The physical features of the country are somewhat peculiar, the range of hills which forms the watershed being within a few miles of the lake shores, and falling abruptly to the north, with the result that nearly all the rivers rise almost on its southern boundary, run rapidly for a few miles, and then meander in a broad sluggish stream across the whole length of the country, finally finding their way into either the Kafu or the Somerset Nile.

In tropical Africa, where vegetation of all kinds springs up with marvellous rapidity, the result of this absence of current is that these rivers have become choked with a dense growth of papyrus, which not only renders them completely useless for purposes of navigation, but makes their passage a matter of considerable difficulty. Imagine a river from five to ten times as wide as the Thames at Richmond, from four to five feet deep, with a soft muddy bottom, and its whole surface packed close with a mass of triangular reeds about an inch thick, and growing about ten feet above the water, and some idea will be formed of the sort of obstacle which has to be forded on an average once in every day's march in Uganda.

There is little doubt that with proper appliances these reeds could be cleared away, and if they were, Uganda, from being one of the countries in which inland communication is most difficult, would become one of those in which it was most easy, as nearly all parts of it would then be accessible by water, the one exception being the Singo Highlands in the north-west.

¹ The local name for any large sheet of water.

The mention of this district reminds me that I ought, perhaps, to have stated earlier that Uganda is naturally divided into three regions, the slightly-elevated southern coast-line, with an elevation of about 4500 feet above the sea level, the great Bulamwazi plain in the north-east, with an elevation of about 4000 feet, and the Singo Highlands, with an average elevation of 6000 feet.

Of these regions the latter is, to my mind, the only one at all fitted for European colonisation, and even that has barely sufficient elevation to give a temperature in which a white man can do hard physical work without unduly exhausting himself. As this paper only purports to deal with Uganda, I shall trespass as little as possible into countries outside it, but while on the subject of possible fields for colonisation I should like to allude for a moment to the slopes of Mount Ruenzori, in the west, and the Mau plateau to the south-east. The latter is passed over on the way from the coast to Uganda, and combining a bracing climate with tropical sunshine, plentiful water supply, lovely park-like scenery, and an almost endless extent of unoccupied grazing land, struck me as I passed through it as an ideal place of residence for any one who wished to live a wild healthy life, subsisting on his gun or the product of his flocks and herds, though, as far as I could see, not one in which he would be likely to make a fortune.

On the slopes of Ruenzori the settler could choose any climate that suited him best, from the stifling heat of the plains to the perpetual Arctic summer near its summit; but I am afraid, as things stand at present, it is hardly accessible enough to come within the range of practical fields of colonisation.

Although I look upon Singo as the only part of Uganda in which a European could hope to work and bring up a family, the whole country is perfectly fit for a white man to live in under the conditions in which he lives in India, Ceylon, &c., &c. But it should be borne

in mind that, except in very rare cases, it would be useless for any one to attempt to do so without capital. The intending settler would have to go either as a trader or planter. If as the former, he would have to convey his goods some seven hundred miles inland from Zanzibar, which, even when the railway is completed, will be a costly matter; and if as the latter, he would require the wherewithal to pay his labourers. Labour is not dear in Uganda; but, on the other hand, the coinage is extremely bulky, being either ivory or calico,¹ and consequently he would have to take up as much "cloth," as it is locally called, as if he intended to start as a merchant.

The question then arises whether he could make it pay. That the soil and climate of Uganda will grow almost anything, I have little doubt. Coffee is indigenous, and I am told is reported by experts to be of excellent quality. Tea has been planted with success, and rice would undoubtedly grow well, but I confess that I have doubts myself whether any of these products are of sufficient value to bear the heavy price they would have to pay for transport. Another question is whether, if Europeans settled in Uganda in any numbers, there would be a sufficient supply of labour to meet their demands. The Waganda have a strong desire to obtain European goods, and will do a certain amount of work to that end; but there are not many of them, the total population certainly does not exceed 300,000 (I believe 200,000 is nearer the mark), mostly widely scattered, and a man who has only to reach up his hand to gather a bunch of bananas for his dinner, has no great incentive to work, and having secured the piece of cloth, or whatever it was that he yearned for, may not think it necessary to do another stroke for months, or perhaps years.

¹ The rupee has lately been introduced into Uganda, but I do not know how far it is yet accepted by the population.

Possibly the labour question may be eventually solved by the importation of "coolies" from India, but if so I think the country will have to be gradually prepared for them, by being made to grow some food on which they can live; at present the banana is the chief product and almost only article of food in the country. It is not used as we eat it, as a fruit, but unripe as a vegetable; it is boiled, fried, roasted, or made into wine, but never eaten raw, and I do not believe the coolie would thrive on it much better than the European does, and it certainly is not a success with him.

If, however, Uganda ever does become a field of emigration for the surplus population of India, I believe that the result will be the gradual crowding out of the Waganda. Easy-going, naturally indolent people such as they can never hope to compete with the industrious piecemeal-collecting Indian, and with the Waganda love of European luxuries, I fear he will soon fall a victim to the wiles of the money-lender who follows in the coolies' wake, and will gradually allow himself to be bound hand and foot by him.

Possibly I ought to have written this paper more methodically, and have begun with the history of the country, and then described it, its inhabitants, and its laws and customs, in proper order; but as we happen to be on the subject of the Waganda characteristics, I shall take the opportunity of saying something more about the people.

The government of Uganda is based on feudal principles, the head being the hereditary king, prior to our arrival absolutely despotic, and under him are the great hereditary chiefs of provinces, equally despotic with him within their own provinces, and having power of life and death over their subjects; under these again are lesser chiefs, ruling districts which are further subdivided, till we get to the chief of a small hamlet, who,

as far as the half-dozen huts which he governs is concerned, is as powerful a person as the king himself.

In case of war the army is assembled by the beating of the king's war-drum inside the palace, at the sound of which messengers are at once despatched to the headquarters of the great chiefs, whose drums are immediately beaten, and messengers sent off to the headquarters of the sub-chief, and so on to the various hamlets, each chief marching his men to the place of his superior, till the local army is collected at the place of the great chief, who then marches it to the place of concentration fixed on by the king.

Since our occupation of the country the power of the king and chiefs has been greatly limited, as far as the administration of justice is concerned, though in other respects we have interfered as little as possible with the feudal system, which is found to work very smoothly.

The Waganda were originally Pagans, but Mohammedan missionaries had been in the country for some time before the arrival of the first Europeans, and a considerable portion of the population then professed that faith. Then came Protestant missionaries, and shortly afterwards Roman Catholics, and as the Waganda are an imitative race, with a strong desire to adopt the habits and customs of the white man, both these sects made such progress, that by the time the country was occupied by the British East Africa Company, practically the whole population was either Christian or Mohammedan, and strongly imbued with the belief that the best thing to do with a member of another church was to cut his throat. But as the carrying of this belief into practice (although possibly based on sound theological principles) was not thought to be for the general good of the country, Captain (now Colonel) Lugard, the Company's Administrator, hit upon the device of portioning the different religions into districts, which

certainly had the effect which was intended, but I am afraid, by stopping much communication between them, has postponed the time when they will all live on friendly terms.

Except in the matter of religious belief the Waganda are a cheerful, easy-going people, always laughing, talking, or playing on a particularly painful musical instrument, unless they can get hold of a drum, when they beat that instead. In appearance they are slim and rather effeminate-looking, with good features and very small bones; they are, however, by no means wanting in courage, and will do a hard day's work when they are pushed to it. Unlike their neighbours, they are carefully clothed in a sort of plaid made of cloth beaten out of the pulpy bark of a species of fig-tree. Since the introduction of European goods, however, all the chiefs and many of the people wear tunics of white calico.

Their houses are extremely neat and comfortable. They are built of a framework of wood covered with bundles of a strong reed-like grass, which are then faced inside and out with a sort of mat made from the same grass, beautifully laced together with strips of bark. These houses are capitally suited to the climate, the thick walls and roof affording complete protection from the tropical sun, and at the same time letting in plenty of fresh air. They have, however, the disadvantage of being highly inflammable, and once alight are burnt out before one has time to get a bucket of water. To a Waganda, whose possessions consist of a few cooking pots and a bundle of bark-cloths, this is not a matter of much importance; with the help of his friends he can run up another in a few days. But to a European, who has had to lug up his little comforts for some hundred miles from the coast, this loss is a serious matter, and most white men now live in houses of either brick or mud.

The mention of the reeds of which these houses are built reminds me of one of the most striking features of the country, the extraordinary length and thickness of the grass. Parts of the country, especially in the east, are covered with dense forest, but the greater portion of it is clothed with this reed-like grass, each stem about the thickness of one's finger, and from twelve to fifteen feet high. Between the main centres, as, for instance, from the headquarters of the great chiefs to the capital, wide tracks have been cut through it, but off these main roads the path is just the width of a slim Waganda's shoulders, and I know of nothing more monotonous or tiring than having to walk for miles through this narrow alley, seeing only a few yards in front of one, and only a few inches to the right or left. When marching through an enemy's country, as was the case in Unyoro, the character of the monotony becomes somewhat changed, though hardly for the better, and consists then in a constant expectation (which is realised at short intervals) of being fired at by an unseen enemy. A naked savage has little difficulty in creeping like a snake to within a few feet of the path, taking a pot-shot at the troops passing along it, and then gliding off long before the heavily-encumbered soldier can break through to his hiding-place.

This inconveniently luxurious vegetation is partly due to the rich virgin soil, enriched by the decaying leaves, &c., of hundreds of years, and partly to the combination of a plentiful and regular rainfall with the warmth of an equatorial sun, which, passing twice yearly over the equator (*i.e.*, in June and December), gives two summers, while the vernal and autumnal equinoxes correspond to the winters of temperate climes. During the last two months of my stay in Uganda I received a large consignment of seeds, and planted, among other things, a number of European trees and shrubs. It will be interesting to learn how deciduous trees (all the

native trees are evergreen) will behave under these novel conditions. Will they shed their leaves and grow them again twice a year, or will they simply disregard the second winter and summer, or like their neighbours keep them on all the year round?

The climate of Uganda has been much abused, and on the face of it with some justice, for the percentage of officers who have either died or been invalided home has been remarkably high; but on the other hand mortality and sickness among the missionaries has been comparatively slight, and I believe this to be entirely due to the fact that while the duties of the one class compel them to be constantly exposed to the sun, those of the other are chiefly indoors. This may seem strange to Englishmen, accustomed to look upon an outdoor life as the healthy one, but those who have had to march all day under an equatorial sun for months together, know well enough how exhausting the rays of the life-giver can be when taken in too strong doses. It must not be supposed from the foregoing remarks that the climate is unpleasantly hot; the height of the country above the sea and the cool breezes from the lake, passing on their way over some 300 miles of water, give it an average temperature little in excess of that on a warm English summer day, while I can hardly remember a night during my stay there when a small wood fire was not agreeable; it is not, therefore, the heat of the air, but that of the actual rays of the sun which is so overpowering.

Of course a country in which there is so much water, impregnated with decaying vegetation, must be feverish, and few of us escaped touches of that malady; but I have little doubt that as the land is taken up for cultivation, and the sluggish rivers cleared for waterways, this will be greatly improved.

Perhaps the greatest curse of the country, though (if care be taken) a minor one, is the "jigger," a minute

insect, said originally to have been brought to the west coast of Africa from South America, and which has now managed to traverse half the continent, maiming whole populations on his way; for it is its habit to burrow under the nails (chiefly those of the toes) and there lay its eggs. The nest may be detected by a little black spot, and if it is extracted at once little harm is done; but if the eggs are allowed to hatch, a festering sore is sure to result, which may cripple the victim for weeks or months, for sores do not heal in the tropics as quickly as here. Europeans, unless extraordinarily neglectful, rarely suffer any serious consequences from these sores, but I have known several cases of natives losing a limb from a neglected jigger sore, and one in which the patient died owing to mortification setting in; while a man whom I had to try for murdering his wife admitted the crime, but pleaded justification on the score that she was so infested with jiggers that he could not stand her any longer. I have no wish to be a prophet of evil, but it seems to me very probable that the jigger will be the curse of Africa. Having made his way half across the continent, I can see no reason why he should not overrun the whole of it, unless science can find some way of stopping his progress.

Among the inhabitants of Uganda—although not natives of it—is a large body of persons on whom a great deal of abuse has been heaped of late, but who have nevertheless, in my opinion, been the saving of the country. I allude to the Soudanese, who lately mutinied and killed their European prisoners, Major Thruston and his companions. As to the rights and wrongs of the mutiny, or the reason which induced them to put to death an officer so thoroughly in sympathy with them as Major Thruston, I know nothing, but whatever their crimes or grievances may have been during the last few months, I have no hesitation in saying that it is to them (and consequently to Colonel Lugard, who

brought them into the country) that we owe our position in Uganda. But for their presence the partisans of the three rival Churches would have followed the example of the Kilkenny cats, and left the country at the mercy of its watchful and aggressive neighbour Kabarga, king of Unyoro; and had the country been in the possession of his armies, it would have been practically impossible for us to take it. Even now, with greatly improved means of communication, it would be extremely difficult to bring up sufficient troops and supplies to crush a formidable enemy, and in those days I doubt if it could have been done at all.

Without going into military details, it may be interesting to note that at that time a caravan going to Uganda had to make a three weeks' march through a country absolutely destitute of supplies for human beings, and as a porter cannot carry more than ten days' food besides his load, the number of men who could cross the district at a time was dependent on the number of donkeys that could be obtained at Kikuyu (the fort at the beginning of this march); but the number of these animals was limited, and I think I am correct in saying that 250 was the largest caravan that was ever taken across. Now, by the establishment of food depôts in this district, transport has been considerably facilitated, but in order to allow of any large force being marched across the foodless tract, many months' preparation would be necessary to fill up these depôts with supplies.

The fact of this district being foodless has often led people at home to describe it as a desert, but no name could be more inappropriate; it is a beautiful grass-covered country with running streams, and here and there a patch of woodland, but it happens to have no inhabitants, and consequently nothing is grown on it which men require.

I have somewhat digressed from our subject of the

Soudanese, but I must return to them for a moment to mention (as I suppose I ought to have done first) the ladies. These are very important people both as to quality and quantity. As fighters they are quite equal to their husbands and brothers, as white men have occasionally found to their cost, and as labourers they are far superior to them. The Soudanese man is a born soldier, and although he will do a hard day's work at a pinch, looks upon killing his enemies as the proper business of man, and consequently leaves such undignified occupations as digging, sowing, and reaping to his better halves. I use the word in the plural advisedly, for he is a very much married man, and, including women and children, a thousand Soudanese troops would probably mean an army of at least four thousand persons. Nor is this all, for besides his own family he has his slaves, or rather the people who were his slaves till they came under English laws.

And this brings me to a second race of strangers in Uganda, the Lendus.

When Emin Pasha left Wadelai with Mr. Stanley his Soudanese troops stayed behind; and left to their own devices, made war on the neighbouring tribe of Lendus, which they annexed in a body—men, women, and children, and even the king. When the Soudanese were invited to come into Uganda, the Lendus for some unexplained reason elected to come with them, and they being as much inclined to matrimony as their masters, it will be understood that Colonel Lugard marched back followed by a largish crowd.

Unlike the Soudanese, the Lendus are not born soldiers—quite the contrary—but are very good workers, and the consequence is that a rapidly increasing industrious population is growing up in Uganda, which I believe, if encouraged, will be of very great use to the protectorate. The Lendus are, I admit, a very low type of savage, and the missionaries do not like

them because they do not wear trousers (or petticoats, as the case may be), and they have the disadvantage of speaking a language which nobody can learn, and being incapable of learning any other themselves; but they can live on the food of the country, which I believe the coolie could not do, and for merely manual labour they are as good or better than anybody else.

In conclusion, I should have liked to say a few words about the class of man who would be likely to do best in Uganda; but on thinking it over, I do not see any opening at present for a member of any particular trade; the population, both black and white, is too small to support him. But I believe a really good all-round man might do well—a man who can build a house or mend a watch, put a new spring in a gun or patch a hole in a boat or a boot, would find plenty of employment; but whatever his other qualifications, he must have good health. A weak man could perhaps do nothing in Uganda as well as anywhere else, but he certainly could not work there, and I very much doubt if he could even get there.

WHAT ENGLAND HAS DONE FOR EGYPT

By ARTHUR NICHOLS

IN ancient days this land of marvels was the centre of civilisation. It was the great granary and seat of learning, and although fallen from its great estate to insignificance as a country, it is still of the highest importance politically. In it was mainly fought out the duel between France and England for Eastern and colonial empire. Napoleon thought that the possession of Egypt would give him the control of India and the far East.

Egypt is physically unique in being fed by one river, which yearly overflows and marvellously enriches the earth with the mud it deposits on its surface. Beyond the confines of the Nile valley, the country is a desert.

Egypt is full of all that is strange and amazing—the yearly spectacle of the rising of the Nile; its marvellous pyramids, monuments, temples, and tombs, which attract an ever-increasing crowd of people from all parts of the world. For ages the Egyptians have been spoiled. Various foreign dynasties and different religions have swept over them, yet the people retain their conservatism, and the peasant of to-day in his daily life is the same as the peasant of the Pharaohs. The opening of the Suez Canal placed the country pre-eminently on the highway of nations between the West and the East. As England's possessions and colonies beyond the Red Sea are of vital interest, and as her shipping is three-quarters of the world's (seventy-five per cent. of all the ships

passing through the Canal being British), it was of paramount importance to her that Egypt should not fall into anarchy or become a prey to some hostile power.

In the digging of the Canal the Egyptian Government spent some £16,000,000, and sacrificed thousands of lives. In the original concession granted to the French company forced labour of the peasantry was promised. It however involved such frightful hardship and loss of life, that the Khedive, Ismail, was obliged to put a stop to it, and had to compensate the company.

Egypt now has no share in that undertaking, having sold it to the British Government for £4,000,000. It is now worth five times that amount.

The country is a possession of Turkey, and pays an annual tribute of some £750,000. Though practically independent, the Khedive has sovereign rights within the country, with very little restriction from the Porte.

Foreigners in Egypt enjoyed very peculiar privileges, which of all the plagues were about the worst. They have been somewhat curtailed, but only after long, weary years of negotiation with the Powers. The treaties known as the "Capitulations," some of which date back to the fifteenth century, were at first concessions granted by the Sultans of Turkey to citizens of Christian states, to enable them to reside or trade in their dominions, and as a protection to the subjects of weak states from ill-usage.

As the power of Turkey has diminished, these concessions have augmented, but in no part of the Turkish dominions as in Egypt, where these privileges have become a crying abuse.

The most important privileges granted foreigners were, freedom from taxation, inviolability of domicile, and exemption from the jurisdiction of the courts.

It is quite easy to see what a swindlers' paradise Egypt became. A foreigner committing a crime can only

be tried by his consul, and the consuls of some states, to say the least, are very lax in the exercise of justice where their own countrymen are concerned. A Greek once said to the writer, "Oh! it would not matter to me if I killed you, for I should probably be let off, or at the worst I would only be sent to Greece for six months, and then I would come back again all right."

The Egyptian police cannot enter a foreigner's premises unless his consul is present, and in case of several criminals of different nationalities in the one house, each nationality has to be represented by its consul. Of course, the consul takes all the time he can to come, so as to give the criminal a chance of escaping or hiding his stolen goods.

The consequences of the abuse of the capitulations are the constant barriers to reform and progress which makes England's work so difficult. About sixty per cent. of the population belong to the agricultural class—the "fellahin." The peasantry are primitive and conservative in their habits, and hold tenaciously to their ancient traditions. They are a healthy race, good-tempered and tractable, and fairly intelligent, but, like all southern nations breathing a balmy atmosphere, they are not progressive. Centuries of oppression and tyranny have not crushed their cheerfulness. There is none of that abject misery of poverty to be seen in cold countries. There is no starvation amongst them. Food is cheap, and a peasant can live well on a piastre a day ($2\frac{1}{2}$ d.). Poverty has no hardship in that climate, for they can live out of doors all the year round. A single cotton garment is enough for clothing, and the merest hut sufficient protection. Their wants are few. Their condition, now freed from forced labour, injustice, crushing taxation, and usury, compares most favourably with the condition of our own peasantry, and is better than in most European countries. Some of their social habits are most

pleasing. The Egyptians are generous, and will always share their meal with the stranger and passer-by. They are sociable and fond of chatter, easily pleased and contented, and are extremely fond of a show. They are like children—will suddenly quarrel fiercely over nothing, and the stranger to their moods would feel quite sure that blood would flow, but as suddenly the row is over, and they are all laughing and joking again.

It shows how grossly the country was misgoverned that Arabi's insurrection was possible among so submissive a people.

The bulk of the population are Mohammedan, but not by nature fanatical. They are certainly prejudiced against Christians, and might be inflamed against them by the professional bigots.

One thing, by the way, is to be said in favour of Mohammedanism, that it has not been guilty of the awful iniquities and tortures of the Inquisition.

Under our protection there has been a revival of the Copts, or native Christians. They are the descendants of the ancient people, inhabitants of the country before the Arab invasion, and form about one-tenth of the population. They are easily distinguished, being lighter in colour, and resemble the portraits on the ancient monuments. The Copts are rather looked down upon by their Mohammedan countrymen, and are credited with being shrewder and not so honest as the Arab. They are a strong community in Upper Egypt, where they took refuge from the Arab invaders, and hold a large proportion of the land. They live mostly in the towns, are better educated than the majority, and are employed in trading, and a great number are in the Government service as accountants and clerks. The rottenness of the Government, and corruption of the officials before the occupation, were appalling; burden upon burden was imposed on the patient peasantry, until, to keep the tax-gatherer from the door, they were

forced into the jaws of the low Levantine money-lenders, who nearly completed their ruin.

In 1863, when Ismail Pasha came to the throne, the population was about six millions and the cultivated area about five million acres, and the debt was just a little over three millions, yet, in 1876, the debt had increased to eighty-nine millions. The taxation had mounted up in even a greater ratio. Ismail squandered millions in entertainments, in the building of gaudy palaces, and in concessions to favourites. During his reign the country swarmed with the lowest types of Greek, Jewish, and Syrian money-lenders and land-grabbers. They swindled Ismail, and bled the treasury and country generally. The officials, ill-paid, became corrupt, subservient to the rich and tyrannous to the poor, and accepted bribes from all. There was no regularity in the collection of taxes, and the fellah never knew what amount would be demanded by the tax-gatherer. The tax would in all probability be demanded at a time when he was least able to pay it, perhaps when his crops were growing. If he could not pay he was kurbashed, so, to save himself, was driven to accept the usurer's terms, which were about sixty per cent., and the loan would be estimated on the growing crops at probably less than half their value. The officials and usurers generally worked together, so that the interest on the loan and payment of taxes would be demanded at the same time. The peasant was therefore entirely at their mercy, and nothing was left for him but to give up his land and cattle. At the close of the American war, when the price of cotton fell, Ismail introduced the cultivation of sugar, and turned some of his big estates (which he had confiscated from the rightful owners) into plantations, and cultivated them by forced labour. Owing to mismanagement it resulted in failure. But of late years sugar has become a valuable crop.

Owing to the wasteful extravagance of the Govern-

ment, irrigation, which is essential to the life of Egypt, was allowed to fall into a state bordering on chaos, and especially so on the Delta. The canals, faultily constructed by natives or incapable engineers, introduced into the country under former Khedives, were allowed to silt up. Proper drainage was neglected, so much so that a large tract of country, about a million acres in the lower portion of the Delta adjoining the lakes, is now a salty swamp. In ancient days this was the noted wheat district. This area will no doubt in time be restored by English engineers. The wealthy landowners took the water when and how they liked, and the peasant got what remained, generally none at low Nile.

On the deposition of Ismail in June 1879, the Dual Control was established, Major Baring, now Lord Cromer, and De Blignières taking office as the two controllers. A commencement was then made to reduce the finances to something like order.

Egypt was in the unfortunate position that it could neither tax the foreigner residing in the country (who had grown wealthy and influential) nor resort to repudiation. European interests were too great to permit of Egypt repudiating her debts, and as the burden was already greater than the country could bear, Europe was forced to interfere. After years of negotiation an arrangement was arrived at in the Law of Liquidation of 1880, whereby terms of a composition were dictated by the Powers. The interest on the debt was reduced, but Egypt could not spend any money without the consent of Europe. The "Caisse de la Dette" was constituted in 1876, and is a board of representatives of the Great Powers. The Caisse acts as a receiver and controller of the finances of Egypt. The consent of the Powers has to be obtained before any measure for the relief of taxation, any expenditure in necessary irrigation works, or any loan raised for extraordinary needs, can be applied. The revenues of the state were divided into

two parts, one to the Caisse for the bondholders, the other to the Government for expenses of administration. But the Government is so restricted that if the Caisse Budget shows a deficit it has to make it good; but, on the other hand, it cannot draw on the Caisse surplus to make up its own deficit. The Caisse has been an obstruction in more than one instance—witness its refusal to grant half a million last year towards the expenses of the Soudan campaign, just at a time when a forward movement was imperative. England came to the rescue by advancing the sum, and has now generously made a gift of it to the Egyptian Government.

Although the work of reform had commenced before Arabi's insurrection, it had not sufficient time to benefit the masses. The misery caused by oppression was too much for the patient fellah, and he was ready for revolt. The agitation commenced in the army through the discontent caused by the preferment of Turkish officers over Egyptian. It soon swelled to a national movement, directed against the privileged foreigners, with an intense hatred for the Syrian and Levantine. The mass of the people thought that the time had come for the detested usurers to be swept into the sea, and their rallying cry was "Egypt for the Egyptians." There were massacres in Alexandria and Tanta, and the country was fast drifting into a state of complete anarchy. None of the Powers were willing to interfere; England looked to France for combined action. How we were left to quell the insurrection and restore order are matters of history. England, as having the largest stake in the country, was bound to interfere, and it was done promptly. The forts of Alexandria were bombarded, and Tel-el-Kebir quickly followed. England saved Egypt from anarchy, and all Europe from enormous losses in blood and treasure. After restoring the Khedive's authority, England's work only commenced, for only one course was open—to cut

at the root of the discontent by establishing a good government, by cutting out corruption, and by giving equal justice, and to educate the people to appreciate justice and order. A great deal has been done since 1882, but it will take generations to lift the people to a right appreciation of freedom. Added to the maze of difficulties besetting the noble English officials who direct and advise, has been the vacillating policy pursued regarding Egypt. The Europeans in Egypt were amazed at our not annexing the country, and would now instantly leave were we to retire. Some of the influential Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians have often declared that it would be disastrous if the English occupation ceased, and a petition was actually presented to Lord Dufferin in 1883, representing most of the influential and wealthy Europeans, praying that the English occupation might be permanent.

The reforms instituted by the English at the head of the different departments in the army, finance, public works, police, were at first not popular. The native officials found out that they could not squeeze. The upper classes, the pashas, mostly wealthy landowners, found they could not do as they pleased, but that the English inspectors of irrigation strictly regulated the water supply. They are finding out now that the loss of the privilege of taking the water when and how they liked, is more than compensated by the great improvement of the system of irrigation. The fellahin were also disappointed, as with the restoration of order the creditors flocked back and demanded capital and interest, which demands were enforced by the mixed tribunals, from which the fellahin had no escape. The fellah is happily every year in a better position to pay off his creditors. The foreigners were also grumbling at our supporting the natives against their grasping inclinations and jobbery, and at the stagnation of trade, quite forgetting that the country was too exhausted for a sudden revival.

The abolition of the *Corvée* was one of the most beneficent reforms—the work of clearing the canals of silt was annually performed by the forced labour of the peasantry. The loss suffered by the people in being taken from their homes, in most cases when their own fields required their care, and what the arbitrary compulsion of any number the Khedive chose to order out for his private benefit might cost the country, may be imagined. Looked at economically, and as a matter of finance, the loss to the Government was far greater than if the labour had been paid for. In 1889 the abolition was completed, although strenuously opposed by France for several years. At high Nile, where there is a probability of the flood breaking the banks, the villagers are liable to be called out; but then every one has a personal interest in saving them, and does not look on this sort of labour as a hardship, or in any other sudden emergency. The number of men called out for the *Corvée* in 1881 was 281,283; in 1897, 11,069 only for the special work of guarding the river banks.

Irrigation in Egypt has always been a difficult problem, for at one period of the year there is flood, and a considerable portion of the year water is scarce, and to equalise the distribution by holding up the surplus waters during the flood requires the skill of experienced engineers. A scheme of drainage is equally necessary to prevent the land becoming water-logged. The irrigation works in the Delta were faulty in the extreme; private interest had been allowed to rule in their construction, hence reckless waste of water in one place and scarcity in another. Drainage was overlooked, and the want of it was ruining large tracts of land. The whole system was a blunder. In 1883 and 1884 Anglo-Indian engineers were summoned to Egypt. Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff organised the service; the country was divided into five circles of irrigation, three in the

Delta, and two in Upper Egypt. The work was vigorously taken in hand, and, from the first, excellent results attended their efforts. Every year since 1883, some new district has been restored to fertility and land never cultivated before. Mehemet Ali, in 1833, in order to supply the canals of the Delta during the low Nile, commenced the building of a dam across the two branches of the Nile, about fourteen miles from Cairo, but after a year or so it was abandoned. In 1842 the French engineer, Mougel Bey, was called to take up the work again. The famous barrage consists of two bridges, each of sixty-one arches, one across the Rosetta and the other across the Damietta branches of the river. They are connected by a revetment wall, a thousand metres in length, which runs across the intervening peninsula, in the middle of which is the head of the Menusia Canal, the principal source of supply to the Delta. The arches of the bridges leave a free passage for the water when high, but are closable by means of iron gates when it is necessary to raise the level of the river, and enable the canals to receive their full supply. The barrage cost £E1,800,000, besides unpaid forced labour, and took nearly twenty years to build. But it was practically useless until Sir Colin Monerieff came to Egypt. In 1883 it was officially declared valueless. At low water in 1884 the English engineers made the first attempt at patching it up. It was a great success. As a consequence the cotton crop of 1884 was nearly half a million kantars above previous years (a kantar is about 100 lbs.). The work on the barrage was finished in 1891, and has been of immense advantage to the country by nearly doubling the production of the Delta.

The irrigation, both in the Delta and Upper Egypt, is now conducted on sound scientific principles, and there is equity in the distribution of water till scarcely any volume of the Nile escapes to the sea.

The following figures will show the extraordinary

advance in production, almost wholly produced by improved irrigation. In 1882 the cotton crop was 2,846,000 kantars; in 1896 5,879,000, more than double. For the same years the sugar crop was 26,687,000 kilos and 73,597,000 kilos respectively, nearly three times greater.

The great work, the new barrage at Assuan, which an English firm of engineers are now commencing, will, when completed, hold up an immense reservoir, and it is estimated that it will bring under cultivation a very large tract of country now practically desert, the production from which will almost equal the present totals of production of the whole of Egypt. The cost will be some two millions sterling. The work of the British irrigation engineers is happily appreciated, however great the prejudice may be against the British occupation. One thing is certain, that the British irrigation officers enjoy great popularity throughout the whole country. All classes have the greatest confidence in them. In remote country districts the inspector of the circle is trusted and appealed to in all sorts of troubles and disputes. A notable instance, which I take from Sir Alfred Milner's "England in Egypt," of this confidence occurred in 1888, a bad year, when the Nile flood was an exceptionally poor one. There was a large area in the province of Girga, threatened with a total failure of inundation. The canal feeding this district was running at too low a level for the water to be spread over the fields. The whole neighbourhood was in despair. One of the English inspectors, who happened to be on the spot, promptly determined to throw a dam across the canal. The canal was large, and although at a low level, the water was flowing at considerable velocity. Of course no preparations had been made, as the necessity was not contemplated. Labour was forthcoming in any quantity, for the people, who saw starvation in front of them, gladly joined in any work which offered them a chance of relief. The inspector brought his bed

on to the canal bank, and did not leave night or day till the work was finished. It succeeded—the dam resisted the current, and raised the water to the required level—the fields were flooded, and the people saved. The joy and gratitude of the people were unbounded. It was decided to offer thanksgiving in the chief mosque, and the Minister of Public Works, a native, attended; but the people also insisted that his subordinate, the Englishman, should be present, as they could not give thanks without the presence of the man who had wrought their deliverance. For the first time in history probably, an Englishman and a Christian was allowed and compelled by the natives to take part in a solemn function in a Mohammedan mosque.

Space is too short to even touch on the intricacies of the various administrations of justice—and too puzzling to any one but an expert. The criminal law already referred to regarding foreigners is still bad, but in civil law good results have obtained. The mixed tribunals were instituted in 1876. Previous to this, suits against foreigners were brought before their respective consular courts, with little chance of the native obtaining justice, and, on the contrary, no foreigner would bring a suit against a native in the native courts, but appeal to his Consul-General and make a diplomatic question of it to squeeze the Egyptian Government.

The new tribunals were created by the consent of all the Powers; they were made to try all cases in which the parties were of different nationalities. The composition of the tribunals was partly native, partly European. The honorary president of each court (courts of first instance and courts of appeal) was an Egyptian subject, but the vice-president, who was the acting member, was always a foreigner. The credit of the establishment of international justice for Egypt is due to Nubar Pasha. Great Britain supported this reform from the first, but France placed every obstruc-

tion in its way. Since the appointment of Sir John Scott as judicial adviser in 1890, there has been steady improvement in the native courts, and the standard of the judges has been raised. His report for 1897 states that the tribunals continue to improve every year. Crimes have greatly diminished, and their number has fallen from 1866 in 1896 to 1424 in 1897—whilst six years ago the annual total reached 2625. The report states that the promptitude with which judgments are given, and the direction and control of the public hearings, leaves nothing to be desired. Public confidence in the native tribunals increases every year.

There is a great contrast for the better between the Egyptian soldier of to-day and the soldier of ten years ago. In the earlier battles in the Soudan they ran like sheep from less than half their number of the dervishes. The new army, created by British officers, and composed of the same material, is a credit to the British generals who undertook the task of its creation, and all honour is due to Sir Evelyn Wood, Sir Francis Grenfell, and General Kitchener and the officers associated with them.

The fellah is not by instinct a fighting man, but he has qualities which, properly trained, go far to bring him up to a high state of efficiency. He is well-built, active, accustomed to hardship, and intelligent. Under good leadership and with confidence in his officers he is steady under fire and shows plenty of courage.

It is mainly a question of treatment. Formerly he was degraded and ill-used, kicked and cuffed about by his officers most cruelly. He was wretchedly paid, and very often that little was intercepted. The officers, with salaries constantly in arrear, recouped themselves by taking the money provided for the soldiers' food and clothing. The barracks were filthy, and the recruit never knew how long he might be compelled to serve. To escape the conscription parents often mutilated their

children, and conscripts were often led away from their villages in chains and under the blows of the kurbash. No wonder the soldiers had no pluck; all the manliness had been knocked out of them. This is all reversed—they are reasonably paid, well-fed, and looked after in sickness, and although discipline is strict, are kindly treated by their officers. The return of the soldier to his native village, with money in his pocket, healthy and well-clothed, has created an immense impression for good in the country.

The British officers having won the confidence of the men, it was comparatively easy to make them fit to assist the British troops in repelling the advances of the Mahdists, and in several engagements on the frontier in 1885, and ever since then, they have proved worthy of their training.

The Egyptian army has a large element of black troops, Soudanese; the first battalion was raised at Suakim in 1884. They are not natives of Egypt proper, but come from the Upper Nile, beyond Khartoum. They are slightly-built men, tall and narrow-shouldered, but wiry, and born fighters. They are big children, and under officers who know how to win their affection, are as devoted. They are fearless in battle, and the difficulty is to hold them in from charging too soon. At close quarters they have few equals. The British soldiers have a great affection for these light-hearted plucky fellows; they and the Highlanders being close friends. At the battle of Ginnis the Highlanders presented their black comrades, the 9th Soudanese, with a flag, which is very highly prized by the latter.

After the defeat of Hicks Pasha in 1883, Lord Cromer, the British representative, advised the abandonment of the Soudan, as Egypt was then too exhausted to make further attempt at reconquering the province, it being the wisest course to first set the Egyptian house in order. During the last few years, Egypt has

become strong enough to enter upon the campaigns against the Mahdists and has gradually made forward movements towards Khartoum. The recent advances have been under the generalship of the Sirdar, Sir Herbert Kitchener, and made in a very masterly manner; a railway has been laid as each post advanced, so that troops and materials could be easily concentrated. A very crushing blow was delivered at Atbara quite recently; over 4000 of the dervishes were killed. Preparations are now being pushed forward for an advance on Omdurman and Khartoum this autumn, where the Khalifa will make his last stand. Such a well-organised and strong combined force of British and Egyptian troops is now moving up that leaves no doubt of the result.

It will be an untold blessing to the inhabitants when the cruel barbarism and tyranny of the fierce Bagarra tribes is thoroughly broken and dispersed. It is estimated that one-half of the inhabitants have perished under the tyranny of Mahdism.

It has been said by "cranks" that we have no right there—but if for no other reason than to free the perishing inhabitants ruthlessly torn asunder, we have a right and just cause.

Already in the restored districts the inhabitants, only too glad to be let live without fear, have hailed our deliverance and are making the land smile again. Trade and industry are lifting their heads. With Khartoum in our hands the whole of the Soudan will be opened up to the arts of peace, its produce will swell the marts of Europe, and the requirements of the people will set more spindles running in Lancashire. There is another question and a most important one to consider—more, it is of vital necessity for the life of Egypt—that no foreign hostile civilised Power be allowed to hold the headwaters of the Nile. The Power holding the Upper Nile has Egypt in the hollow of the hand

by at any time being able to deflect the course of the river and turn Egypt into a howling desert in a season.

The Powers generally have recognised England's work in Egypt; but France has been spiteful, and although it is to her interest as well as ours that there should be good government and reform in Egypt, she has thrown the weight of her influence into the opposite scale. She has obstructed every measure for the benefit of the people; she obstructed the abolition of the *Corvée*, taxation of foreigners, and prevented monies being used which were sorely needed for public works. Scurrilous and libellous French papers are allowed a free hand to spread all sorts of abusive statements about the British occupation. In no other country in the world would a foreign Post-Office be allowed—yet France enjoys one, and would not give it up when all the other Powers withdrew their offices.

Any other Power occupying the same position as England does in Egypt, would have made its language the official instrument of intercourse. But no; the English language is “tabooed,” and French the official language with Arabic.

In spite of all the obstruction England's work is progressing. The purchasing power of the people is greater, the increased importation of wood for building purposes showing that the fellah is replacing to some extent his mud hut with a wooden house.

The great task of Egypt's restoration has been well placed in the hands of Lord Cromer, and the condition of Egypt to-day, compared with its condition when he became our representative, is proof enough of his splendid services. Our policy in Egypt is not a selfish one, but the “open door”—and wide open—all countries benefiting alike. It might very reasonably be thought that in the matter of Government contracts English firms should have the preference—but rather the re-

verse has been the case, for fear of showing any partiality to our own countrymen.

The following, taken from Sir Elwin Palmer's Egyptian Government Statistical Returns, 1881 to 1897, will be interesting. The population of Egypt has increased in fifteen years by 43 per cent.—it was 9,734,400 in 1897. Notwithstanding the increase of about 13 per cent. in the cultivated area paying taxes, the land tax is less by £E85,691 than in 1891. The annual tax on land since 1891 has been reduced by £E507,600, other direct taxes by £E223,000, and indirect taxes of £E186,000 have been abolished. The taxation per head of the population in 1881 was £1, 2s. 6d., in 1897 it was 17s. 6d., a reduction of 20 per cent. Two hundred and twelve miles of new railway have been opened, and there has been an enormous development of the railway and telegraph traffic. Large sums of money have been expended of late years on irrigation, *i.e.* reproductive works, 1700 kilometres of agricultural roads, 2512 kilometres of drains, 3054 kilometres of canals, and 575 kilometres of basin bank have been constructed in the provinces. Imports have increased by over £E2,600,000, while, notwithstanding the enormous fall in the price of cotton and sugar, there has only been a slight falling off in the value of the exports. The average price of cotton per kantar in 1881 was £E3.143 (=£3, 4s. 6d.), in 1897 £E1.734 (= £1, 15s. 7d.); the average price of sugar in 1881 per kilo was 0.021 (= 5d.), in 1897 0.008 (= 2d.). The amount of bonds outstanding on the market in 1881 was £98,376,660; in 1897 it was £98,035,780, notwithstanding £13,219,000 of fresh debt raised to cover extraordinary expenditure, and £3,400,000 increase of capital, due to conversion; the interest charge in 1881 was £E4,235,921, in 1897 it was £E3,908,684. The amount of debt per head of the population was in 1881 £14, 8s. 9d., to-day it is £10, os. 2d.

The market price of the 4 per cent. unified debt was

71 $\frac{3}{4}$ in 1881, to-day it is 108. Thus is England fulfilling the rallying cry of Arabi, "Egypt for the Egyptians."

This paper would be incomplete without briefly glancing at the events which have occurred during the last few months.

The campaign brought to its close by the brilliant victory by the Anglo-Egyptian army at Omdurman reflects the greatest credit on all concerned, and especially on Lord Kitchener, to whose distinguished ability it was mainly due.

A steady advance had been made after Atbara, and the 1st of September found our army in the vicinity of Omdurman. Early in the morning of Friday the 2nd the dervishes advanced to the attack, some 50,000 strong, in battle array of some three or four miles. About eight o'clock the British artillery opened fire, which was answered by the dervish riflemen, who, with unbounded courage, endeavoured to rush the British lines. Time after time their decimated ranks re-formed for the charge, but hurl themselves as they might the fire was too withering. Amidst heaps of dead the remaining leaders, with the boldest of their followers, closed round their banners and defied death.

One cannot help but admire the heroic bravery of these fierce warriors, although detesting their frightful barbarity.

One of the chief incidents of the battle was the gallant charge of the 21st Lancers into a dense mass of swordsmen.

By one o'clock the last remnants of the Khalifa's army were in full flight, and Omdurman had fallen. On the 4th the British and Egyptian flags were hoisted on the wall of the ruined palace at Khartoum amid the rejoicing populace.

An impressive and touching ceremony was afterwards held in memory of Gordon.

The impression produced in Cairo among all classes of Egyptians is a very excellent one, and has had a telling effect on the Anglophobe parties who were hoping that the Sirdar would meet defeat at the hands of the Khalifa. The victory has served to snuff out the scurrilous French-Egyptian journals.

In 1884 Omdurman, then a little village, was fortified by Gordon against the Mahdists, and capitulated to them in January 1885. After the destruction of Khartoum the Mahdi moved his headquarters there, when it rapidly increased to a city of some 400,000 inhabitants. It consists of a collection of mud and straw huts, with here and there a few substantial buildings, chief among which were the Mahdi's tomb and mosque.

After Omdurman the Sirdar pushed on to Fashoda, to again establish the authority of the Khedive. He there found the French flag flying, and Major Marchand in possession. At a conference he informed the Major that as Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian forces he must occupy Fashoda, and formally requested him to haul down the tricolor and retire. This Major Marchand refused to do without orders from his Government.

The Sirdar then hoisting the British and Egyptian flags, and leaving a sufficient garrison in the place, returned to Khartoum, in the meanwhile establishing a second post at Sobat, and left the question to be settled by diplomacy.

In 1865 the Egyptian Government stationed a garrison at Fashoda, and in 1873 Jussef Pasha was Governor. In 1876 the Shillock tribes revolted, but were quelled by Gessi, who was afterwards made Governor of the province of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. In 1883 Fashoda was evacuated when Khartoum was menaced by the Mahdists.

The Fashoda incident, which caused considerable tension between the English and French Governments,

was happily closed by the latter acknowledging the Egyptian right to the country, and withdrawing their forces.

The French had been warned by the British Government that any occupation of Fashoda or provinces formerly held by the Egyptian Government would be regarded as an unfriendly act. It was not until they realised that on this question the British would make no concession whatever, that they reluctantly withdrew from their false position.

The Sirdar was raised to the peerage, and his home visit was a triumphal progress, he being everywhere greeted with unbounded enthusiasm.

His noble thought, so well and generously responded to, to found an institution in Khartoum to the memory of Gordon, for the enlightenment and culture of the natives in the arts of peace, is the completest vengeance that Gordon would have desired on his enemies.

The Soudan is now administered by Lord Kitchener as Governor-General, with supreme authority, military and civil, and is divided into districts, each governed by an English officer. These districts include the whole of the Upper Nile valley to the Abyssinian and Uganda boundaries.

Now that the Soudan is settled, the great scheme of Mr. Rhodes for a railway from the Cape to Cairo is within measurable distance of completion. The line is at Buluwayo from the south, and nearing Khartoum from the north; there would remain some 3000 to 4000 miles yet to make.

Each mile of rail means a certain amount of civilising influence on the natives, and they will soon learn to appreciate the blessings of peaceful trade.

It seems no idle dream to picture flourishing Anglo-African cities on this great highway.

THE DISTRICT OF THE NIGER

BY THE REV. P. A. BENNETT

THE Niger has been during the last few months very prominently before the public, owing to our dispute with France about that part of it comprising the Yoruba Hinterland.

It is a matter for moderate congratulation that, owing to the energy and enterprise of the Royal Niger Company, one of our West African colonies has a hinterland which is secured to us by treaty with France. And while unable to wax enthusiastic over the settlement recently effected, we may, however, thankfully admit it closes a chapter of our colonial history which was one of constant and dangerous friction with a neighbouring power, whose friendship we have made great sacrifices to retain.

Sir George Goldie, in a very able article entitled "Britain's Priority on the Middle Niger," published in the April number of the *National Review*, discusses our claims to the region under dispute. Of these there can be no reasonable doubt to any one familiar with the facts of the case.

Any exact knowledge we possess of this part of Africa dates from the discoveries of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, who, by their discoveries of the Senegambia and Senegal, had thrown open the door of the Niger basin. Prester John and his fabulous wealth supplied the incentive to these bold adventurers; but beyond the founding of a few factories on

the coast at which a trade in gold-dust and slaves was carried on, nothing further was done.

Contemporaneously with the dwindling of the Portuguese into the background, the English came to the front. It was about this time that Hawkins made his first voyage to the West African coast, when he inaugurated that dreadful traffic in flesh and blood which has left such an indelible stain on British commerce. To these early adventurers the words Niger and Timbuktu were words to conjure with. Both were believed to be veritable El Dorados. To the imagination of the time one was pictured as flowing over golden sands, the other as almost paved with precious stones.

It was believed that the Senegal and Gambia constituted the Niger mouth, and that to ascend either river would bring the traveller to the source of so much wealth.

In the year 1618 the first Niger Company was formed, which was to explore the Gambia with the object of reaching the rich region of the Niger. Thompson, the first pioneer, started on this venture, but, in spite of his indomitable courage and resolution, failed to make headway against the combined hostility of the Portuguese and the deadly nature of the climate, and was eventually murdered by his own men. He was followed by Jobson, a man of like spirit, who succeeded in penetrating some distance, and was then obliged to retire owing to the falling river. Quarrels breaking out between the local merchants and the Company, the attempt collapsed. In 1720 the African Association was formed with a similar object, and Captain Stibbs was sent out in 1723, but he failed to reach Jobson's highest point, and as a commercial venture this enterprise was a failure.

We now come to a new and glorious era, that of modern African exploration, which was inaugurated by the African Association. Mungo Park, though not the first, was the most celebrated and successful of its

explorers. Several unsuccessful attempts were made from the north under the auspices of the Association, when Major Houghton, a man singularly qualified for the position, attempted it from the west, but, after penetrating a considerable distance, he was finally robbed and left to perish by the Moors.

Mungo Park, a young naval surgeon of ardent enthusiasm and deep religious convictions, was the next explorer sent out by the Association.

He started for Africa in May 1795. On arriving there he noticed that slaves were the principal articles of export. He describes later the horrors of the slave caravans, which he was compelled to witness. He also notes that, while Europe took chiefly slaves, she gave in return spirits and ammunition. His testimony, written, it must be admitted, from the standpoint of one who regarded the slave-trade as a necessity, did much to strengthen the abolition movement.

Mr. Thompson—no mean authority—writes, referring to the drink traffic, which has since increased by such leaps and bounds, and which bids fair, unless restricted or abolished, with improved means of communication, to work the same havoc in the interior that it has already wrought on the coast: "And now, when a new order of things was about to be instituted in the abolishing of the slave-trade, there commenced another hundred years of disgraceful commerce to complete the work of brutalising the West Coast negro, of blighting all elevating impulses, and suppressing all habits of industry. . . . But now Governments, companies, and private merchants alike are taking a higher view of their responsibilities."

Within the limited space of this short article we cannot attempt to describe Mungo Park's different journeys. On his return to England after his first expedition, on which he discovered the Niger, the publication of his travels was received with the greatest

enthusiasm. The story of his last journey and tragic end, just when success seemed within his grasp, is familiar to all. But to Mungo Park must ever belong the credit of having solved the difficult question of the Niger's course, although the brothers Lander completed the work by discovering its outlet into the Atlantic.

The late Mr. Joseph Thompson, to whose book, "Mungo Park and the Niger," I am mainly indebted for the contents of this article, thus describes him: "But for actual hardships undergone, for dangers faced and difficulties overcome, together with an exhibition of the virtues which make a man great in the rude battle of life, Mungo Park stands without a rival."

Two abortive expeditions followed that of Mungo Park, when in 1821 another was sent from the north, under Major Denham and Lieutenant Clapperton. So successful was this expedition, that Clapperton actually reached Sokoto, and for the first time the veil of the Soudan was drawn aside.

A second expedition, led by Clapperton, started in 1825 from the West Coast, but the leader died at Sokoto. His servant, Richard Lander, returned with his journals, and offered to complete the task begun by his late master, and, accompanied by his brother, returned again to the West Coast. On 20th September 1830, they started their momentous voyage down the Niger, in no light spirit of adventure, as the following extracts from their journal will show. Before starting, the Landers "humbly thanked the Almighty for past deliverances, and fervently prayed that He would always be with us, and crown our enterprise with success."

After an adventurous voyage, they succeeded on the 24th of November 1830 in reaching the Atlantic. How devoutly must they have thanked God, as the music of the surf and the fresh sea-breezes convinced them that the mystery of the Niger was solved at last and its

portals thrown wide open to the world, never again to be closed.

From this brief sketch it will be seen that the Niger has been discovered entirely by British enterprise, and is consecrated to this country by the heroic lives and tragic deaths of not a few of her explorers.

The new era of commercial development opened with MacGregor Laird's expedition in steamers specially constructed for the work. This new venture, although attaining valuable geographical results, and carried through with splendid energy and self-sacrifice, was attended with great loss of life, including that of Lander, and failed to accomplish any commercial results. Although trade was its primary object, it "hoped also to aid in suppressing the slave-trade, in introducing true religion, civilisation, and humanising influences among natives whose barbarism had hitherto been only heightened by European connection."

This was followed by the Government expedition of 1841, which was accompanied by Dr. Schön and Mr. Crowther, two missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, who wished to ascertain what openings for missionary work might exist on the Niger. Mr. Crowther, himself an African, afterwards became the founder of the Niger Mission and its first bishop.

This expedition was attended by great loss of life, and could not go very far up ere the river began to fall, owing to the advent of the dry season. A second expedition, which proved much more successful, soon followed. "With this trip practically closes our Government participation in the work of opening up the Niger. Henceforth all such work was left to private enterprise, Government remaining aloof, disposed neither to encourage nor discourage, but clearly satisfied that nothing of importance could be made of a partially navigable river, flowing through a country of seemingly no great

commercial capabilities, and with a climate which made colonisation out of the question."

(The words written in 1890 are no longer true, we are thankful to say, but a refreshing change has come over the Colonial Office with the advent of the present Colonial Secretary, who seems determined to repair, as far as possible, the mischief of past neglect, and to preserve the remaining fragments of our West African possessions from further absorption.)

MacGregor Laird again entered the Niger in 1852, this time not to leave it until he had laid the permanent foundation of British commercial influence. Hulks were stationed at various points for trade, and ere long a profitable commercial trade was the result.

But though the Europeans thus increased in number, trade rivalries prevented any common action in the face of difficulties created by the attack of the trading tribes of the lower Niger. They felt that the monopoly was slipping from them into the hands of the white man. Consequently, incessant attacks took place upon the ships and stations of the different traders. So keen was the competition, and so precarious the returns under this system, that all recognised that something must be done.

Mr. G. Goldie Taubman was the man who succeeded in combining these various interests into that of the United African Company in the year 1879. This new policy resulted in larger projects, with reduced cost of administration, and the possibility of treating with the natives on equal terms. But envious eyes were turned on this prosperous condition of affairs by our Gallic rivals. This resulted in two French companies entering the field, with the sympathy and approval of eminent French politicians. The United African Company, whose shares had not hitherto been offered for public subscription, now placed them upon the market, and appealed for £1,000,000. Thus provided with the sinews of war,

after a brief and keen struggle, they swept French commerce from the river, but not before great havoc had been done by the increase of the gin-traffic, and further anarchy among the native tribes.

This venture brought home to the United African Company the precarious nature of their tenure, and the subsequent endeavours of a patriotic German, Herr Stägel, to acquire for the Fatherland the upper reaches of the river, made them still more alive to the fact. It was clear that if their present position was to be maintained, a charter must be secured. To this end Mr. Joseph Thompson was sent up the river to forestall any possible rivals by concluding treaties with the Moslem potentates of that region.

Starting on his mission in March 1885, he succeeded in accomplishing it by concluding treaties with the Emirs of Sokoto and Gando, practically placing their two empires under a British Protectorate. On returning down river Mr. Thompson met the German expedition bound on the same quest, toiling up the river, all unconscious of the fact that they were just *too late*.

A charter was then granted to the United African Company, under the title of the Royal Niger Company. There can be no doubt that the fact that the Niger to-day is a British possession is due to one man, Sir George Taubman Goldie, ably seconded as he has been by the Royal Niger Company's staff.

They have made honest efforts to restrict the gin-traffic, which will for ever redound to their credit. Whether a Chartered Company is the best form of government at the present stage, is a question upon which there may be legitimate difference of opinion.

Personally, I should think that now that they have pioneered the way, the more settled form of Imperial administration, and the bringing the country under the control of law and order, would best be discharged by Queen's officers who are not responsible to shareholders

for this necessarily costly process, which must be undertaken ere the resources of the country can be exploited, and the people raised from barbarism and heathenism to Christianity and civilisation.

On the other hand, any scheme for bringing the Niger territories under direct Imperial control should recognise the great services of the Royal Niger Company in the past, and deal with their just claim for compensation in a fair and generous spirit.

The Niger will never be a place where fortunes are easily made, or one which can be colonised by Europeans. On the other hand, there is no reason why—if not unduly weighted with European officials—it should not pay, and become a prosperous colony. The initial expense of bringing this about would be great, but the return would be certain. Of its mineral wealth little is yet known; silver mines are known to exist in the Benue, and have been worked by the Royal Niger Company. But as the country is opened up, and mining enterprise can be protected from attacks of the natives, gold and other valuable minerals will probably be discovered.

OUR WEST AFRICAN COLONIES¹

BY SIR W. H. QUAYLE-JONES

(Late Chief-Justice, Sierra Leone)

THE portion of the empire with which I am about to deal is our four West African colonies only, viz. (to take them in their order on the map), the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos. Of these I can speak from personal knowledge and official experience, while I have neither visited, nor had any official connection with, the Niger Coast Protectorate, formerly called the Oil Rivers Protectorate, or the territories administered by the Royal Niger Company.

These four colonies, at the time of the Ashantee war of 1874, were collectively known as the West African Settlements, being under a supreme governor (who was also the local Governor of Sierra Leone), and as it was at this time that our West African colonies were first brought prominently to the notice of the general public at home, I find that very many people are under the impression that the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos form a compact block of country as do Essex, Middlesex, Kent, and Surrey, whereas, in point of fact, Sierra Leone is some five hundred miles' sea voyage from the Gambia, the Gold Coast over eight hundred miles distant from Sierra Leone, and Lagos some three hundred miles from the Gold Coast. At the same time the native inhabitants of these colonies vary

¹ This paper was not written with a view to publication, but consists merely of notes compiled for a popular lecture in the year 1896, since which date many changes have taken place in West Africa.

as much in their dispositions, physique, manners, and customs, as do the inhabitants of the various nations of the European Continent. How general the ignorance has been on this subject may be judged from the following story, which I cannot vouch for, but have no reason to doubt.

At some period anterior to 1874, when a detachment of West Indian troops was stationed at Bathurst, the capital of the Gambia, with headquarters at Freetown, Sierra Leone, it became necessary for a mounted officer to proceed from one to the other, and he of course did so by sea, the intervening country, to say nothing of the actual distance to be traversed, being inhabited by savage tribes and almost entirely unexplored. But when the charge for his passage-money came before the War Office, a query was sent out to Sierra Leone to ask why this officer had not travelled on horseback, as he was in receipt of forage allowance.

Whether true or no, the story is typical of what may well have happened. I hope, therefore, it will not be considered a waste of time if I endeavour to impress upon my readers before proceeding further with my subject, that these four colonies are widely separated from one another, not only physically but in many other ways also. At the same time, much that holds good of one part of West Africa is applicable to the whole of our West African colonies.

West Africa was discovered by the Portuguese in 1447—or perhaps I should say rediscovered—for there are signs of Phœnician trade to be found even on the Gold Coast in the shape of beads, called by the natives argrey beads, which are believed by them to grow in the ground, and for some specimens of which they will pay two and three times their weight in gold, while some people believe that Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast is the Ophir of King Solomon. Be this as it may, our knowledge of the country does not go back beyond

its discovery by the Portuguese in the middle of the fifteenth century.

In the earliest times of which we have records, European intercourse with West Africa seems to have been of mutual benefit, and confined to trading operations, but soon the discovery of America and the West Indies led to the horrors of the slave-trade and the middle passage, in which, to our disgrace be it said, England was pre-eminent.

Odd as it may sound to modern ears, in its inception this nefarious traffic in human beings was, I believe, the means of saving many lives; for the persons sold into slavery in the first instance, were such as would otherwise have been executed, either as criminals or prisoners of war. This state of affairs was, however, of short duration, for once it was found that prisoners of war were a valuable commodity, wars were started for the express purpose of obtaining prisoners to be sold into slavery, with the results which we all deplore, and shall reap the effect of for many years to come, in spite of all the efforts we have been, and are, making to counteract our former action.

During this period covered by the era of the slave-trade, the Portuguese were not only ousted from the Gold Coast by the Dutch, but trading centres were established there by the English, Danes, Brandenburgers, and French; these latter being established at Assinie on the west of the present Gold Coast Colony, while the Portuguese still maintained their footing at Whydah and elsewhere.

It was in 1588 that our Queen Elizabeth, being then at war with Spain and Portugal, gave a charter to a British company to trade with the Gambia, and in 1618 an effort to do this was made, but was unsuccessful. In this same year, however, some English merchants built a fort at a place called Cormantyne, on the Gold Coast, of which the ruins still remain, and from that time to

the present our connection with West Africa has been continuous.

The first English company to trade with the Gold Coast was chartered in 1662, which was succeeded in 1672 by the Royal African Company, which not only enlarged and strengthened Cape Coast Castle, but built forts at other places in what is now the Gold Coast Colony. At about this time also, viz., in 1686, a fort was built by the English upon a rocky island at the Gambia, our first effective lodgment in that part of West Africa; so, although the charter to trade to the Gambia was granted more than seventy years before that to trade upon the Gold Coast, the latter is the earlier settlement by some sixty years at least.

The Royal African Company was succeeded in 1750 by "The African Company of Merchants," which was constituted by Act of Parliament, with liberty to trade and form establishments on the West Coast of Africa, from 20 degrees north to 20 degrees south latitude. That is, almost from Cape Blanco on the north to Walfisch Bay on the south, a much greater portion of the African coast-line than we now understand by the West Coast of Africa, which may be roughly taken, in ordinary parlance, to include that portion of the coast of Africa that lies between Cape Verde on the north and the Congo on the south—the remaining portions of the Atlantic coast being denominated north-west and south-west respectively.

Sierra Leone, or the Mountains of the Lion, probably so named by the Portuguese on account of the contour of the hills which form the peninsula of Sierra Leone as seen when approached from the north bearing a striking resemblance to a couchant lion. Some people, however, incline to the belief that it was on account of the mountains being infested by lions. It lies, as we have seen, between Gambia and the Gold Coast, and although visited by Sir John Hawkins, there were trading stations

there and slave factories prior to that date, and it may be said to have first become identified with England when the peninsula was ceded to us in 1787 by the native chiefs. From that date it was used as an asylum for the many destitute Africans then in England; these being shortly added to by a considerable number of Africans brought from Nova Scotia and the West Indies; and eventually increased by the African slaves taken from slavers captured by our warships on the West Coast of Africa. Sierra Leone thus became a colony in a sense that none of the other West African colonies are, at any rate so far as the peninsula and its immediate neighbourhood is concerned.

This settlement of Sierra Leone by Africans from England and elsewhere, was the outcome of the efforts of Granville Sharp, Clarkson, Wilberforce, and other friends of the negro race, who founded the Sierra Leone Company in 1787, with the object of establishing in Africa, under a civilised government, the homeless negroes in England. With this end in view, the Company was invested with certain powers of government by the English Parliament, and acquired lands at Sierra Leone from the native chiefs upon which to form a settlement.

The result of this action was the founding of what is now known as Freetown, Sierra Leone, under the auspices of the Sierra Leone Company, which, unlike the Royal African and other companies which were then trading to West Africa, was based upon philanthropic principles, rather than started with a view to pecuniary profit.

In the first instance negroes from England were sent out. These were soon after followed by negroes from Nova Scotia, who had been settled there after the close of the American War of Independence, but naturally did not thrive in a climate quite unsuited to the race. These, in their turn, were added to by certain West

Indian negroes, known as Maroons, whom it had been intended to settle in Nova Scotia, but were brought to Sierra Leone instead.

These three classes constituted the original settlers in Sierra Leone, and had, it will be understood, been living in civilised English communities before their arrival there, viz., in England, North America, or the West Indies.

Sierra Leone, in 1807 or 1808, became a Crown Colony, and we having at last severed our connection as a nation with the slave trade, the population of Sierra Leone was from this time, until the extinction of the trade in slaves from West Africa to America and the West Indies, largely augmented by negroes rescued from slave ships captured by British cruisers—the number so settled in Sierra Leone, between the years 1819 and 1838, being given by Bishop Ingham¹ at 48,359 persons.

These rescued slaves, it must always be remembered in taking note of the advance in civilisation made by the descendants of the Sierra Leone colonists, are all known by the generic term of Sierra Leone Creoles, to distinguish them from the aboriginal inhabitants and *their* descendants. Unlike the three classes before mentioned, the aborigines had no previous knowledge of civilisation or of the English language, and were collected from all parts of Africa with no common bonds of union, other than the misfortune of having been sold into slavery and the fortune of having been rescued from it. Indeed, of such diverse peoples was this crowd of rescued slaves composed, that it is said that at one time as many as sixty different languages were to be heard in the streets of Freetown.

¹ "Sierra Leone, after One Hundred Years," an interesting book to which I would refer any persons who desire an account of the early days of Sierra Leone under the Company, and its present outlook as a Christian centre.

Sierra Leone having thus become a Crown Colony, the Gambia, which up to this time (1807) had had no regular political institutions, was placed under the government of Sierra Leone and was annexed to it in 1841, but entirely separated from it and made a distinct colony in 1888.

The settlements on the Gold Coast, now the Gold Coast Colony, were in 1821 transferred to the Crown and likewise placed under the government of Sierra Leone, from which it was finally separated in 1874 under the title of the Gold Coast Colony. During this period the Dutch, Danish, and other settlements there were acquired by Great Britain, so that in 1874 it was the only European Power having settlements in that portion of the West Coast of Africa known as the Gold Coast Colony.

In the meantime Lagos, the last of our West African colonies, was in 1861 permanently occupied by Great Britain, and from that time until 1874, like the Gold Coast and the Gambia, it formed one of the West African settlements under the Governor of Sierra Leone. It then was placed under the newly constituted colony of the Gold Coast, from which it was finally separated in 1886, when it was constituted into the colony of Lagos.

Although Lagos, unlike the other West African settlements, was never subject to the rule of British companies, mercantile or philanthropic, prior to its being brought under the immediate control of the Crown, yet it was a centre of British trade, and the place of residence of a British Consul, prior to its occupation in 1861 as a portion of the British Empire.

Having thus briefly traced the political history of our West African colonies from their beginnings as trading centres to the present time when they form four independent colonies, we will next proceed to consider

the effect our connection has had upon them and their native population.

In the earliest times of our connection with West Africa, we confined ourselves exclusively to trading and maintaining our footing in the various forts established for the protection of our trading centres, leaving the natives to their own devices, or sometimes paying dues to the native chiefs for permission to trade and keep establishments on their shores.

Later on, as we became more firmly established and the natives of the interior of the Gold Coast—notably the Ashantees—inspired by cupidity, attacked the coast tribes, we became embroiled in native disturbances, and as a natural result of this came to exercise a certain amount of control over the members of those tribes we had assisted by our arms.

To regularise this position the British Parliament passed Acts authorising the British sovereign in West Africa, amongst other places, to provide by Order in Council for the establishment of courts to exercise jurisdiction, whether obtained by grant, usage, sufferance, or custom, outside British territory; and it is by virtue of these Acts of Parliament that most of our jurisdiction in West Africa is exercised.

Indeed, we shall not be very far out if we take it that the origin of such jurisdiction is to be traced almost entirely to our having been allowed by the natives to assume it, and it was thus obtained by sufferance in the first instance, and has been gradually extended until it has become absolute.

Has our connection been to the benefit of the native?

Looking at the question broadly, although we have committed many mistakes in the past, and individual instances may be picked out where we have inflicted injustice, we may undoubtedly answer this question in the affirmative.

We will not here take into account what has been

done by missionary effort alone, for this has no necessary connection with the empire as such, but only deal with it where it has received assistance from the local governments, as in the matter of education.

Some of the benefits which we have conferred on the natives are as follows:—

We have put an end to the inter-tribal wars on the Gold Coast, and saved innumerable lives by so doing. We have, I think I may say, although only quite lately, succeeded in doing likewise at Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and, so far as I can judge, may hope in the near future to pacify the interior at Lagos.

What this signifies no one who has not experienced the results of savage warfare can imagine.

For myself, I have seen something of the misery entailed by these little plundering wars in the interior of Sierra Leone. Villages deserted and in ruins, the roadside strewn with bleaching skeletons, such inhabitants as were left fearful to cultivate their crops, residing in the forest, half-starved, and living on such roots and grain as grew wild, presenting a spectacle too pitiful for description. I say nothing of the fate of such persons as may have been taken prisoners and carried away into slavery, many of them to die on their road into the far interior.

This, which I saw with my own eyes only a few years ago, was not the result of an inter-tribal war even, but the effect of raids committed by a band of robbers having their headquarters at Tambi, which was dispersed by our troops in the Tambi expedition of 1892.

If, therefore, our connection with our West African colonies had done no more than relieve large tracts of country from the danger of inter-tribal and plundering wars, we should still be justified in saying our presence as a ruling power in West Africa is a benefit to its inhabitants.

But we have done more than this, we have put a stop to vast numbers of human sacrifices.

On the Gold Coast, until we put an end to them, no chief, nor even any one of importance, died, but persons were sacrificed to keep him company in another world; these, in the case of a powerful chief, numbering hundreds. Such sacrifices as these no longer take place on the Gold Coast, and now will be stopped in Ashantee, where they still linger to a certain extent.

As yet, I do not think that we can say with certainty that all human sacrifice has ceased within our sphere of influence in West Africa, any more than we can say that, as a result of our rule, murders have ceased to be committed for other reasons than those that actuate sacrificial murder; but they are few and far between, and when detected, are punished as murders.

For example, about 1885 I prosecuted to conviction on the Gold Coast in a case of human sacrifice, where a boy had been privately sacrificed by the chief men of a town to the smallpox god, with the idea of saving their town from smallpox, which was at the time raging in its neighbourhood.

Again, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, the so-called cannibalism, of which you may have seen accounts in the papers recently, is in reality a form of human sacrifice, the eating of portions of the victim being a religious ceremony only.

Still keeping to the saving of human life, whereas amongst native populations outside the sphere of our active jurisdiction the death penalty is inflicted for most trifling crimes, or even to satisfy the vengeance or cupidity of the chiefs, where we have assumed jurisdiction, even if the people are left largely to manage their own affairs, we reserve to ourselves the right of life and death, and by this means alone hundreds of lives must have been saved.

Again, on the Gold Coast, many lives must have

been saved through the prohibition of various customs which, apparently harmless in themselves, rarely took place without the shedding of human blood and loss of life.

As an instance, let us take the annual deer-hunt at Winnebah, on the Gold Coast.

In the town of Winnebah the male population was divided into two companies, and on a certain day it was customary for each of these companies to go into the country to catch a deer, and the one which succeeded in doing so first was counted the victor. This sounds harmless enough, and so thought a governor fresh to West Africa, who, after its suppression for some years, was asked to allow its revival, and acceded to the request in all innocence and good faith.

Little, however, did that governor know what he was doing.

The deer-hunt took place, and the victors returned in triumph to the town, to be greeted by their women-kind with plaudits on their victory. Not so the vanquished; they, on the contrary, were met not only by jeers from the women-folk of their opponents, but were taunted by their own female belongings as no men and cowards, with the deplorable result that they fell upon the victors. A fight then ensued between the two factions, in which numbers were killed, to be followed by a trial of the ringleaders and further deaths on the scaffold.

Another matter in which our presence in West Africa has been an undoubted benefit to the inhabitants, has been in preventing oppression and injustice through the action of our law-courts.

Time will not admit of my going into this subject at length, so I will only point out that their beneficial action on the Gold Coast and Lagos has been twofold. On the one hand, they have been open to such as chose to resort to them for redress, and the litigants in them have known that they were sure of getting a hearing and

justice to the best of the ability of those who administered justice in them without fear or favour; while, on the other hand, the mere fact of the Queen's courts being in existence, of itself made justice less uncertain in the native tribunals, to which many cases were taken in the first instance. For the judges of these courts, being dependent on the amount of business before them, and knowing that if they allowed themselves to be bribed or otherwise influenced, the matter might be taken to the Queen's court and their partiality discovered, they of necessity became less corrupt than the majority of them had formerly been.

In Sierra Leone and the Gambia the courts of law have not been such factors in promoting the welfare of the aboriginal population; for the simple reason that, unlike those on the Gold Coast and Lagos, they have not been constituted with a view to dealing with the litigation of the aborigines, but for the administration of justice amongst the settlers in the peninsula, &c., on the basis of English law. Disputes amongst the natives, which on the Gold Coast would have come before the courts and been decided according to native law, were in Sierra Leone, when of sufficient importance, dealt with by the governor, assisted by a department for native affairs. At least this was the case until recently, but now that we have committed ourselves to more active intervention in the affairs of the country adjoining the peninsula of Sierra Leone, if it has not yet been done, it will shortly become necessary to formulate some scheme under which justice can be assured to the inhabitants generally.

Now, although I have said that the action of our courts on the Gold Coast has been beneficial, I by no means consider their constitution the best imaginable even for that part of West Africa, and confidently hope that, benefiting by our experience there, a more perfect and simple form of obtaining justice amongst the

aborigines may be found at Sierra Leone, the basis of which should, I think, be the native courts at present in existence.

In addition to such benefits as the foregoing, by which life and property have been rendered more secure, with the consequent advance in the material prosperity of the natives subject to our control, much has been and is being done by the local governments with a view to the improvement of the various West African colonies and their native populations.

In all of our West African colonies, public hospitals are maintained at the public expense, in which treatment is given free to the poorer classes, and natives are trained by the medical officers as dispensers and assistants.

In both of these branches of work the hospitals have proved a great blessing to the native population.

With regard to treatment, many people suffering from diseases which were considered incurable by the native doctors (who combine a wonderful knowledge of medicinal plants with much absurd mummery), have been cured in our hospitals who would otherwise have succumbed to their diseases, or have only existed in a miserable condition of health.

While of the natives trained in the hospitals, some have entered as students at English and Continental medical schools, and become qualified medical practitioners, and returning to their homes in West Africa, have brought the benefits of medical science to places otherwise inaccessible to it; and others have in the West African hospitals learnt enough of medical science, although unqualified by any recognised degree, to be used as quasi medical practitioners, and placed in charge of out-stations under the control of the medical authorities, in which they do much good, for they treat slight ailments on the spot, and in serious cases, when sending the sufferers to a hospital, know

what ought not or ought to be done in the meantime.

In all our West African colonies the Government assists in education by grants in aid of approved elementary schools, and in some cases has also established such schools entirely at the public cost.

These schools have doubtless been of great benefit, inasmuch as they have been the means of enabling many natives to raise themselves in a manner otherwise impossible, while general efficiency is also increased by the spread of education.

In the case of individuals, however, these schools have not proved altogether a blessing in the past. The reason is, I believe, this: The negro is only too eager to advance, and in West Africa his notion of advancement is to approximate his position as nearly as possible to that of the European. Now the Europeans he has been brought in contact with are almost entirely of the clerical class, viz., Government officials, merchants, missionaries, and Government or mercantile clerks. Hence, once a boy can read, write, and cast accounts, his ambition, in most cases, is to become a clerk and dress as a gentleman; and having never learnt to use his hands, is good for nothing else.

As a result, there are more clerks than there are places for, and those who cannot get employment become a curse to the country. At the best they are ne'er-do-wells, living on their relatives, and making a little money by letter-writing or casual employment; while some utilise their education by going into the interior, and there making mischief amongst the illiterate aborigines, and even go so far as to pose as Government messengers, in which guise they levy contributions on the inhabitants, thus bringing the Government itself into disrepute.

The remedy for this evil, of course, is not to jump to the conclusion that it is bad for the West African to teach him reading, writing, and arithmetic, but to teach

him that these arts are good and useful in themselves, while there is nothing derogatory in manual labour.

Of late years I am glad to say steps have been taken to correct the evil which has arisen from education being so much confined to mere book-learning.

On the Gold Coast and at Lagos for some years past now, botanical stations have been established, in which not only are suitable plants propagated and distributed for cultivation by the natives, but youths are practically taught the best modes of cultivation and of preparing the produce for home and foreign markets. At Sierra Leone nothing of this kind was in existence while I was there, but preparations had commenced for the establishment of a botanic station before I left, and it is now an accomplished fact.

In all the West African colonies considerable head grants have been offered to any approved schools in which manual training was taught for a certain portion of each day, and I believe that advantage has been taken of these offers of assistance by schools on the Gold Coast and at Lagos.

At Sierra Leone, until recently, no such school was in existence, as in spite of generous offers of help on the part of the Government nothing was done.

Some two or three years ago, however, Dr. Ingham, the then bishop of Sierra Leone, made, with the assistance of some friends in England, a commencement by establishing in connection with the cathedral school at Freetown an industrial class, in which the boys were taught carpentering, &c., under the supervision of an English mechanic. Out of this small beginning has sprung an industrial and technical school, towards the maintenance of which the Government makes a considerable grant. This school is a great advance upon anything I know of in our West African colonies, and if properly managed should prove an incalculable boon to the inhabitants.

In addition to elementary schools Sierra Leone, thanks to the efforts of the Church Missionary Society, possesses a grammar school which has lately celebrated its jubilee, and a more advanced educational establishment, viz., Fourah Bay College, which is affiliated to the University of Durham, and at which the scholars can obtain some of the Durham degrees without having to leave the colony, while the Wesleyans also have a high school for boys corresponding to the C.M.S. grammar school.

The higher education of girls is not forgotten either, this being provided for by the Annie Walsh school of the C.M.S., the R.C. convent school of the Sisters of St. Joseph, and the Wesleyan Female Institute. Similar schools also exist in the other West African colonies.

From the foregoing the reader will, I think, be led to the conclusion that our presence in West Africa has been of advantage to its inhabitants in the immediate past, and that we may hope that it will prove of even greater advantage in the future now that peace and security have been established on a firmer basis, permitting more time and attention to be devoted to advancement.

We will now turn our attention for a short time to the separate colonies.

The Gambia I know very little of from personal experience, although I was at one time officially connected with it as Chief-Justice of the West African settlements.

The colony consists of the river Gambia and a narrow strip on either bank for some hundreds of miles inland, with a larger tract of country (British Combe) at its mouth, together with several islands; on the principal of which, situated only a short distance up the river, named St. Mary's, is built the capital, Bathurst.

The entire population of the colony in 1893 was estimated at under 15,000; of these hardly any are

Europeans, but of the black population a certain number are also strangers to the country, being emigrants from Sierra Leone, who have gone to the Gambia as traders, clerks, mechanics, &c. The aboriginal population consists mainly of Jolloffs, and are agriculturists for the most part.

The colony is entirely surrounded by French possessions, and the bulk of its export trade, consisting almost entirely of the ground-nut or pea-nut, is with Marseilles, where the oil extracted from these nuts is largely used as a substitute for olive oil.

The river Gambia is a magnificent waterway, navigable for some 250 miles inland by vessels of considerable size. The trade of the colony has increased of recent years, after having decreased from 1882 to 1892. Moreover, the colony costs us nothing to maintain, and is a customer for British merchandise to a certain extent. Up to quite recently, however, we have done practically nothing for the aboriginal inhabitants or the development of the country.

SIERRA LEONE

You will bear in mind what I have already said as to the origin of this colony by the settlement of alien Africans in the peninsula of Sierra Leone at the end of the last century under the auspices of the Sierra Leone Company, and of its being taken over by the Crown in 1807.

When I arrived in Sierra Leone in 1887, this was the state of affairs. There was the colony consisting of territory which had been ceded to us at various times, which, in theory, was governed by the same laws as were in force in the peninsula of Sierra Leone itself; but, so far as a large portion of it was concerned, we left the aboriginal population almost entirely alone, except that the Governor of Sierra Leone exercised a kind of patri-

archal supervision over them and did what he could to keep the peace. Also, from time to time, the jurisdiction of the supreme court was invoked in criminal cases of an aggravated character. The rest of the colony, mainly inhabited by Sierra Leone creoles, was more strictly ruled and dealt with under the ordinary laws of the colony, passed with reference to the state of affairs previously existing in it, and without regard to the necessities of the large area inhabited by the aborigines, lately recognised as forming a portion of the colony.

In addition we had treaties of friendship with the inhabitants of the surrounding countries, under which we had freedom of trade with their inhabitants, disputes between these and the subjects of the British Crown being decided by the Governor of Sierra Leone.

These countries did not form a portion of a protectorate under the British Crown, such as we find on the Gold Coast and at Lagos, although the Governor of Sierra Leone by his influence was able to exercise a certain amount of supervision over them, and to mediate between the various tribes when local differences arose; while the chiefs, in an indefinable kind of way, considered themselves as the children of our Queen.

As I have said, however, our treaties were of friendship only, and the French have taken advantage of this to acquire large tracts of territory in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, which formerly looked upon England as a kind of supreme head.

The state of affairs at present is that our sphere of influence at Sierra Leone is much less than it would have been had it been able to develop naturally, and is now practically confined to the portion of Africa contained within the following limits: the Great Searcies on the north, the Upper Niger on the east and south, and the republic of Liberia on the south, with the Atlantic as the western boundary; while Futih Jallon

and the other countries to the north of the Scarcies, and all the country to the east of the Niger with which we were formerly in friendly relations, and from which much trade came down to Freetown, have fallen within the sphere of French influence.

What the ultimate outcome will be it is impossible to foretell, but when the commercial policy of the French is taken into consideration, it will not be prudent for us to calculate on the inhabitants of its sphere of influence as future customers. If we are wise, we shall devote our energies to the development of the territories within our sphere of influence, instead of bemoaning ourselves over the markets which are beyond our borders.

This I believe is being done. We have already, with the concurrence of the chiefs, stationed detachments of native police under European officers in various parts of the country within our sphere of influence, to keep the peace and put a stop to slave-raiding so far as is possible with the resources at the command of the colony.

Arrangements are now coming into operation under which a greater amount of control will be exercised over the native authorities, with the object of assuring, as far as possible, the impartial administration of justice and the abolition of oppressive laws, without undue interference with the manners and customs of the natives. Moreover, a railway has been commenced in the colony, which, if it proves successful, will do much to promote the prosperity of the country through which it passes, and enable produce to be brought to market which, under the present system of portage by human labour, it does not pay to bring down to the coast.¹

¹ At present the only transport consists of water-carriage where available, produce from the interior being brought down on people's heads, a very expensive mode of locomotion. Roads there are none, but with the advent of a railway it is to be hoped that the present paths will develop into cart tracks, and that bullocks, which thrive in West Africa, may be utilised to transport produce and so feed the railways, and thus open up country at present uncultivated.

The inhabitants of this territory are composed of various tribes, the bulk of whom are either pagans or Mohammedans, but here and there are to be found little groups of Sierra Leone creoles, who profess the Christian religion and are for the most part traders.

Until recently this territory has been subject to small local wars which have denuded it of population, and rendered agriculture so precarious an occupation that it is not surprising that progress in development has been slow, for in many places no one felt assured of reaping the fruits of his labours.

With the stoppage of local wars and the assurance to all of obtaining the fruits of their labours, it is to be hoped that not only will the aborigines increase, and cultivate in their native fashion much land at present waste, but that the Sierra Leone creole will turn his attention more largely to agricultural pursuits. He might even introduce into the interior countries, not only improved methods of cultivation, but the cultivation of other articles of produce, such as coffee and cocoa, for which the climate is suitable, and of which plantations already exist in the colony. This would benefit not only themselves, but also the inhabitants of the countries they settle in, where at present the cultivation is most primitive, and little is grown beyond rice, maize, ground-nuts, sweet potatoes, and beniseed, although the country is suitable for the growth of almost every kind of tropical produce.

This, however, is in the future, and will depend very largely upon the success of the efforts now being made to ensure good government in the countries within our sphere of influence; no easy task when the intermingling of pagans, Mohammedans, and Christians, with their mutual jealousies and diverse customs, is taken into consideration.

Freetown, Sierra Leone, is built a few miles up the Roquette River, and is a town of over thirty thousand

inhabitants, of whom only some one hundred and fifty are Europeans. The negro inhabitants are of three classes—the Sierra Leone creole, the origin of whom I have already described, nearly all of whom profess Christianity in some form, and are more or less educated. Secondly, aborigines from the surrounding countries, some of whom have settled permanently in the place, while others only come there to trade or for the sake of employment, and ultimately return to their homes. These are for the most part Mohammedans or pagans, mainly uneducated, and often speaking no English. Thirdly, a settlement of Kroomen, who are mainly employed upon the ships trading to the West Coast of Africa, and form a colony of their own much as the Jews do in East London. On the other hand, the first class and those of the second class who remain and become Christians, amalgamate and intermarry after a time.

Freetown has recently been granted a municipality, consisting in part of members nominated by the governor, the rest of the council being elected by popular suffrage, and it will be most interesting to watch the progress of this commencement of self-government amongst West Africans under English auspices.

Freetown possesses a good natural harbour, and has of recent years been made a coaling station for our navy, and fortified as such. On this account it is of great importance to us, altogether apart from its value as a trading centre, and a base from which, it is hoped, the benefits of civilisation may be brought to the various peoples of West Africa. This can only be done through the medium of civilised Africans brought up in Sierra Leone, for European agency alone, on account of the unhealthiness of the climate of West Africa for Europeans, cannot hope to accomplish much.

Space will not admit of my entering into the question of the future of the Sierra Leone creole in West Africa,

for it is a large one, and by no means easy to deal with. The Sierra Leone creole has been much abused by some and excessively belauded by others. He has many good qualities and some bad ones. I hope and believe that he is increasing the number of the former and decreasing the latter; but be this as it may, let us always remember that he is the work of our hands—that he is what he has been made by England, and upon us rests the responsibility.

That the Sierra Leone creole must exercise a great influence upon his brethren throughout West Africa will be apparent to all when I tell you that he is to be found all over the West Coast as a trader, as a missionary, as a clerk, as a mechanic, and wherever he is to be found he asserts himself to the full, and rejoices to be called the Black Englishman.

From the ranks of the Sierra Leone creole, came Bishop Crowther, Surgeon-Majors Horton and Davies, together with others too numerous to mention, who have deserved well of their country, and done good work in their respective spheres of labour. I must not omit to mention Sir Samuel Lewis, C.M.G., the first Mayor of Freetown, who, in addition to being a sound lawyer and successful in his profession, is also devoted to the advancement of his people. He has spent much time and money in the planting of coffee, with the object of inducing his compatriots to take to agricultural pursuits, instead of devoting themselves almost entirely to a trade. The latter proceeding he was shrewd enough to see could but prove disastrous in the end, as no country can live on sale and barter alone if productive industry is neglected.

The export trade of Sierra Leone consists chiefly of palm-oil and palm-kernels, but beniseed, cocoa-nuts, ginger, ground-nuts, india-rubber, gum-copal, hides, beeswax, kola-nuts, and coffee are also exported, the latter in increasing quantities, while ground-nuts, which

at one time were largely exported, have to a great extent ceased to be grown since they have been obtainable from India at cheaper rates than were paid for the West African nuts.

The Sierra Leone River, although seven miles wide at Freetown, and of such depth there that the largest men-of-war can lie in it at no great distance from the shore, is not navigable above the port by any but shallow-draft vessels, and by them for no great distance, so that it does not constitute such an important waterway as its size near the mouth would lead one to expect.

Leaving Sierra Leone, we come to the Gold Coast colony. Strictly speaking, the Gold Coast colony consists of Her Majesty's forts and settlements on the Gold Coast. What exactly these consist of it would be hard to define, and although I was for nearly five years the legal adviser to the Government of that colony, I should not like to attempt the task. Of many places I could say for certain that they did form a portion of the colony, but of others I could not say whether they did so or not. This indefiniteness as to what is strictly the Gold Coast colony is fortunately of not much practical importance; for what is not colony is protectorate, and what is not protectorate is colony. Inasmuch as the Colonial Legislature has been authorised to legislate for the protectorate, the laws apply as a rule to both alike. For all practicable purposes the Gold Coast colony may be taken to include the protectorate, and to comprise the coast line from about 2° W. to $1^{\circ} 10'$ E. of Greenwich, viz., from near Half Assinee on the west to Bay Beach on the east, and to extend inland for some fifty miles on the average, having an estimated area of some forty thousand square miles. This will include the protectorate proper, but not the kingdom of Ashantee, and other countries included in our sphere of influence by agreement with other European nations, the exact position of which at the present time I do not know.

The Gold Coast adjoins on the west French territory extending from its westward boundary to the eastern boundary of Liberia, and on the east the German colony of Togoland.

The population of the colony and protectorate has been estimated at 1,500,000, including 150 Europeans. Of the non-European population the greater portion are indigenous and pagans, and comprise various peoples, including the Fantees about Cape Coast Castle, the Aeerahs about Aeerah, the Annonahs about Quittah, and many other tribes too numerous to mention, whose laws and customs are more or less alike. As a rule polygamy is general, and property descends not from father to children but to the children of his sister by the same mother.

Concessions for gold-mining, for timber-cutting and other purposes, covering large tracts of country on the Gold Coast, have from time to time been obtained from various chiefs and other persons, who may or may not have had the power to grant them, probably in only too many cases they had no such right. In most cases very little has been paid for such concessions in the first instance, while the people who have invested in the companies formed to work them, have paid heavily for the rights they were supposed to give, often to find they had got nothing of value.

This state of affairs did not tend to promote the advancement of the colony, but steps are now being taken to enable it to be opened up and properly developed, which, considering its natural resources, should prove of mutual benefit to it and the mother country.

As an instance of the productiveness of the West Coast of Africa it may be mentioned that a Government officer, when stationed in the neighbourhood of Tarquah in Wassaw on the Gold Coast, grew three crops of maize in the course of one year, while I myself, at Bumban, at the back of Sierra Leone, saw fields of rice

in various states of growth, from the just sown field, to fields ripe for the harvest, on the same day and within a few miles of each other.

The main export from the Gold Coast consists of palm-oil, which reaches over 4,000,000 gallons per annum, valued at nearly £250,000; but the export of india-rubber, which was only about 7000 lbs. in 1882, had increased to over 3,000,000 lbs. in 1894 and nearly equalled the palm-oil in value. A considerable trade is done also in timber, of which one kind, known as African mahogany, is now being introduced into the United States of America, where it fetches a high price under the name of vermilion.

The Gold Coast is more thickly populated than the country about Sierra Leone, and is rich in gold, timber, rubber, palm-nuts and other natural products, in addition to possessing a fertile soil capable of producing all kinds of tropical produce.

Here, as at Sierra Leone, nearly all transport is portage by human labour; but here, as there, steps are being taken for the introduction of railways.

The coast of the colony varies; in some parts the hills come down to the sea, from which they rise in bold headlands, covered with primeval forest for the most part, while in others it is low and marshy; but no matter which, the whole is beaten by heavy surf and is harbourless throughout. This is a great drawback to the colony, for everything has to be taken to and fro from the slips to the shore and *vice versâ* in open boats, which is an expensive as well as a dangerous proceeding; at times, indeed, it is impossible to work at all on account of the surf. This is a disadvantage that must, I fear, be borne with at present on account of the enormous expense it would be to make a harbour at any place in the colony, without any prospect of adequate return in the near future; but there are places on the coast where an artificial harbour could be built, and no doubt but this will come in time.

Lagos, the newest of our West African colonies, is one of the most prosperous so far as trading is concerned.

The colony takes its name from the island and town of Lagos, which is situate in a lagoon about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the sea. It has a population of 32,500, while the entire population of the colony and protectorate (some 15,000 square miles in extent) has been estimated at 2,000,000, of whom some 200 are of European birth. The anchorage inside the lagoon at the town is good, and vessels of a considerable draught can lie at the piers; but there is a bad bar at the entrance of the harbour, with a shifting channel, so that the passage in and out can only be undertaken with safety by steamers of shallow draft, into which the cargo is transhipped.

Attempts have been made, and are still being made, to render the entrance to the Lagos lagoon suitable for the passage of the ships trading to Europe, and if successful they should be most beneficial to the trade of the colony.

To the west the colony and protectorate of Lagos adjoins the French possessions of Port Nove and Dahomey, while on the east it reaches to the Niger Coast Protectorate, which is under the control of our Foreign Office.

The protectorate of Lagos comprises the kingdoms of Pokra, Okedon, Ilaro, Addo, Iabessa, Awosi, Jebu Remo, Mahin, Ogbo, and Jakri, and its sphere of influence extends to the fourth parallel of north latitude, embracing the whole of Yoruba.

The inhabitants of the Yoruba country are agriculturists, and those who have visited the interior state that the bulk of the country is in an advanced state of cultivation.

At the time I was in Lagos the interior countries were suffering from internal wars, which obstructed the course of trade, and eventually resulted in the Jebu expedition of 1892. Since that date, until recently, the

country has been open to trade; but according to the latest accounts from West Africa, troubles have again broken out in the Ilorin country, resulting in the closing of the roads, to the hindrance of trade. I am not acquainted with the origin of these present disturbances, and so will not attempt to dogmatise with regard to them, but simply express the hope that no punitive expedition may be undertaken, unless absolutely necessary in the interests of the other native populations who look to us for protection and guidance.

Palm-oil and palm-kernels are the staple export of Lagos, the former to the value of over £250,000, and the latter of nearly £500,000, having been exported in 1893. These products are brought down to Lagos in canoes for the most part, although a considerable portion has to be carried for various distances on the human head.

Here, as in Sierra Leone and on the Gold Coast, railways are in projection, and should prove a great factor in the opening up of the interior when once they are in active operation.

All four of our West African colonies are what are known as Crown Colonies, and are ruled by governors, appointed by the Crown, and removable at pleasure, who are assisted by executive and legislative councils, the members of which consist of certain high Government officials, who are *ex-officio* members, and of others, who are appointed personally by the Crown, sometimes for a limited time only, but generally during pleasure.

The executive council is a purely consultative body, the governor being supposed to consult it in all important matters affecting the welfare of the colony, and is bound to consult it with regard to certain matters before taking action, one of which latter is where a person has been condemned to death. But in all cases, whether the governor has acted on his own motion or in accordance with an express regulation in consulting the council, it rests with him to decide after considering the advice re-

ceived. Should, however, the governor disagree with the advice of the council, he has to communicate his reasons to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The legislative council, of which the governor is the president, is, as its name implies, the legislative body, and makes the laws of the colony, known as ordinances. These come into operation upon being assented to by the governor in Her Majesty's name ; but all such ordinances are subject to disallowance by Her Majesty, and on such disallowance being made known, cease to have effect.

Her Majesty has also in the West African colonies powers reserved to her to legislate for them by means of Orders in Council, made at home without reference to the local legislature, but this power has been rarely if ever exercised.

The procedure in the various legislative councils is regulated by standing orders made by the governor, and approximates to that of the House of Commons here.

Questions are decided by the majority of votes, the governor, who presides, voting with the other members, and in case of an equality of votes, having a second or casting vote. The votes of the members are not unfettered, for when so required the *ex-officio* members have to give their votes in accordance with the directions of the governor, or to resign not their seats only but also the offices by virtue of which they sit in the council.

The members of council, other than the *ex-officio* members, have greater freedom, but are expected to give a general support to the Government, although they may oppose its policy on particular issues from time to time.

The legislative council, although competent to make laws for the colony, has not this power unfettered like our Parliament. It is forbidden to pass, amongst other matters, any law giving differential treatment in the matter of trade or commerce ; and by his instructions

the governor is bound to reserve his assent to certain laws until he has obtained sanction from home to assent to them.

In each of the colonies there is a supreme court, with a jurisdiction equivalent to that of the High Court of Justice in England, both civil and criminal, from the decision of which there is an ultimate appeal to the Privy Council in England. This, in the case of Sierra Leone, is direct from the decision of the supreme court, but in the other colonies after a prior appeal. In the case of the Gold Coast and Lagos this appeal is to the appeal courts of these colonies, which, although distinct courts, are in each case composed of judges of the supreme courts of the two colonies. In the case of the Gambia the appeal is to the supreme court at Sierra Leone.

In all four colonies civil causes are tried by the presiding judge without the assistance of a jury, but in criminal matters trial by jury is the rule. Some cases, however, are under certain circumstances tried by the judge with the aid of assessors. In addition to the supreme courts, there are courts of inferior jurisdiction presided over by paid officials, generally lawyers, which deal, roughly speaking, with the class of cases decided at home at petty sessions or in the county courts, but in some cases having more, and in others less power than is possessed by these tribunals. There are also coroners' courts.

The police are natives, and consist of two classes, one civilian for the prevention of ordinary crimes, and the other of a quasi-military character, whose functions are to preserve order amongst various tribes, keep open the roads leading to the interior, defend our frontiers, and assist our troops in the event of necessity arising for so doing.

Both these classes of police are officered by Europeans with native assistants, of which latter a certain propor-

tion have been trained in England under police or military supervision, as the case requires.

The civil police are not, I must confess, ideal policemen, but they have much improved of recent years, and I see no reason why in time they should not become good and efficient guardians of the peace.

The armed constabulary are better fitted for the work they have to do than the civil police are for their own work, but this is only to be expected, when it is borne in mind that what may be called the civil police were formerly an armed force, and trained rather to the use of arms than in the duties more properly appertaining to a police-constable.

In ordinary times no imperial troops are now quartered in West Africa elsewhere than at Freetown, Sierra Leone, which, as I have said, is fortified as a coaling station.¹

The garrison of Freetown consists of one of the two battalions of the West Indian regiment, the rank and file of which consists of negroes of magnificent physique, recruited partly in the West Indies, and partly in Africa. Their attractive Zouave uniform will be familiar to those who saw their band at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886.

There is also the Sierra Leone company of the Royal Artillery, recruited locally, with a few officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Royal Engineers and Artillery, Europeans, together with a detachment of Fortress Engineers, who are West Indian negroes. In addition to this permanent garrison, there are two batteries of artillery assigned to Sierra Leone stationed in England, but ready to be despatched at the first alarm of war.

That our West African colonies as a whole are increasing in commercial prosperity is an undoubted fact, although it is complained that the good times formerly

¹ Since this was written, garrisons of West Indian troops have been re-established on the Gold Coast and at Lagos.

experienced by English houses with large establishments on the West Coast of Africa have departed, and that trade is not what it was.

That this is so can well be believed, for while before the days of steamers and telegraphs a large capital and expensive buildings were necessary to enable the merchant to provide for the wants of his customers, there could be little competition, and high prices were naturally charged. But now there are telegraphs and steamers, by means of which fresh supplies of goods can be easily obtained as required, a much smaller capital is required to be locked up than was formerly the case, so that not only is competition much keener than it was amongst European traders to the West Coast of Africa, but large numbers of native traders, who under the old régime were compelled to obtain their goods from the European houses on the spot, now deal direct with the manufacturer at home or on the Continent.

The climate of West Africa is too well known in an unfavourable manner to necessitate dwelling upon its unhealthiness. Unhealthy it is for Europeans, and such it will continue to be, but it is not so bad as it is painted, even on the coast line, while the interior uplands are comparatively healthy. Still it is not a country in which hard manual labour can be undertaken by Europeans, although with careful living and occasional changes to a more bracing climate, Europeans can remain in West Africa for many years without permanent injury to their health.

This being so, we must not expect to find in our West African colonies an outlet for any large number of our surplus population, but rather an opening for our manufacturers, and a source from which to draw the raw material required for these.

However, as the country is opened up and new industries are started, there should be openings for skilled European labour, to be used in the work of

supervising native labour to a larger extent than is at present the case.

The object of the foregoing description has been to give some idea of what our West African colonies are and what we are doing in them, not only for our own benefit, but also for the benefit of their native populations. It is hoped that this sketch will have succeeded in interesting some at least, enabling them to more clearly understand such news as may from time to time appear in the newspapers regarding these possessions.

LIFE IN WEST AFRICA

BY MISS MARY KINGSLEY

(*Author of "Travels in West Africa" and "West African Studies"*)

WEST Africa seems a world apart, a world little known of in detail outside Liverpool. I find it is, with my poor powers, almost impossible to bring home to people who have not visited it what West Africa is really like, for it is such a strange mixture of savagery with little patches of civilisation on it here and there in the coast region. A light-hearted joyousness and a grim-despair life luxuriant surrounds you, and yet you feel that at any moment, day or night, you have but to stretch out your hand and you could lay it on the clammy skin of King Death himself.

The natives there will tell you of a god that walks the forest-path at night, who has one side of him rotting and putrefying, the other sound and healthy, and that if you meet him in the narrow place and must needs touch him as you pass by, it all depends on which side you touch whether you see the dawn again or no. I almost feel this is the spirit of West Africa itself, for there is no one thing there that is all good, or all bad; and this in itself is another reason why the region is so difficult to speak of. It presents to the observer a mass of problems, and you cannot take any one of them and deal with it as a thing apart, because of the dire way things are interlocked in Africa. The particular problem which I devote myself to is, I feel sure, the most trying

of all, in the way it goes and gets itself involved with others which are pretty nearly as bad as itself. It is the study of the native, his religion, laws, manners, customs, culture, conditions, &c., and it drags me into the consideration of all sorts of subjects I would, if personally consulted on the point, have nothing to do with.

I will now try and explain a few points regarding this native problem, then suggest what I believe to be a method for its solution, and then warn you of the difficulties you will personally meet with if you attempt to pursue the method I recommend.

The thing that cannot fail to strike you as to West Africa is the strange forgetfulness of Europeans regarding both it and the lessons it has taught them already, since it was re-discovered in the fifteenth century. I say re-discovered, because West Africa and its natives were known of by Herodotus, and were traded with by Carthaginians some centuries before the Christian era; there were Carthaginian colonies there before the Romans planted their colonies in Britain, and we have record of a Persian nobleman visiting West Africa long before the time when our ancestors came from Denmark to make England what she is. But, for practical considerations, we may take Prince Henry the Navigator, of Portugal, son of the English princess Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, as the real discoverer of West Africa for modern Europe; some early French traders are claimed to have been there before his emissaries, but, if they were, they kept their information for their own use.

Since the first expedition Prince Henry sent, that is to say, since 1435, there has been constant direct intercourse, both missionary and commercial, between Europeans and West Africans. It has waxed and waned, but it has always been going on, though not in a high sense of the word progressing. The common explana-

tion of this want of progress in culture of the West African under white influence, the attempt to explain why tropical Africa should be to-day so different from what Australia is—Australia that was not discovered until the eighteenth century—is that it is to the blame of the climate and the natives, and the way those natives have been treated by white races, and in the main this common opinion is right. Regarding the climate of West Africa, I have no hesitation in saying that it is a very deadly one for Europeans. This may seem a mere truism, but every now and again a dangerous nuisance of a person arises in England who says it is not so, leastways that it is no worse than India, and that men who die there have mainly got themselves to blame. People who say these things ought to go to West Africa and be buried there, I don't mind whether it is in a cemetery or in a swamp, but *somewhere*, because these foolish statements not only cost men who believe in them their lives, but detract from the hard-earned sympathy and honour due to the soldier, missionary, trader, and governmental official who work for faith and country in the West African regions. We have, moreover, no just ground for carrying on the hope that has been expressed so long—I found it the other day, in a book published in 1628, just as it is written to-day—that the climate will improve for white men. The average death-rate to-day, even if very little allowance is made for the influence of quinine and the better food-supply afforded by tinned foods, is very little less than it was in the seventeenth century, and if you consider the fact that the white population there in those days was undoubtedly greater than it is now, I fear the death-rate is rising, and it seems, though this has not been perhaps sufficiently tested yet, that the thing that was expected to be the salvation of white life there—drains—are not going to do much good.

Next we will take the native as a hindrance to improvement. In my opinion he is the greatest hindrance of all. I hardly dare express this opinion, for fear of being gone for by some of his more enthusiastic admirers; but as I am known to be an admirer of him myself, I will say it and take the consequences, for it seems to me that if the monogenity of the human race is granted, and had the African been that way disposed, there was nothing to have prevented his forming a great powerful culture state of his own before white aid or hindrance came. He flourishes in his climate; physically taken as a whole he is splendid; his country is fertile, rich in minerals from gold to coal, and well watered by a set of rivers which, also taken as a whole, you cannot surpass in the whole world. Mind, I do not say that it might have been expected he would turn out a European in form or civilisation, because we will allow his climate is too warm; but if it had been in him, there is no outside hindrance that would have prevented him rising to the level in culture of the Asiatic, as the little boys would say, all out of his own head. I daresay you wonder why I am always repeating those Germanic sounding words culture and culture level, but I am forced to do this to guard myself, for I do not say or believe that the African is inferior to the Asiatic, or to any of the other forms of coloured races; indeed, I regard him as quite their equal, and in the main their superior. This, however, is a thorny subject which I will avoid, for, after all, it all depends on what you regard as the criterion of perfection in a race, and I have had it pointed out to me that my criterion in this matter would barely do credit to a cave man of the neolithic period; all I ask for in a race is courage, honour, a fine physical development, and an ability to make Nature its slave instead of being hers. In the three first of these the African can hold his own with the Asiatic; in the matter of Nature there is the excuse to be made for him that

she is not a tyrant that he need battle with, but a nurse to him, and his arrangements with her give him as much comfort as those of other races—I think, on the whole, more; a swish mud native-built house is far more pleasant to live in than a corrugated iron one, although I am bound to confess I regard the African as an imbecile about roofs. He will make them in some districts of mud plastered on plaited stieks, flat, in the Moorish manner; they are nice enough in the dry season, though they are insidiously preparing afflictions for the wet, by cracking in the sun. When the first showers come they leak like lobster-pots, and on the arrival of the first big tornado, the chances are they come bodily in on you, accompanied by what seems like a belated section of Noah's flood. In other districts he still has his mud walls, but puts on a roof made of palm-thatch, picturesque in a way, and wonderfully dry as long as it stops on during a tornado; frequently it is not long, and away goes the roof with the tornado wind, and in comes the tornado rain, without, however, having in this case heavy chunks of roof mixed with it. Still it's a nuisance, and even during the dry season with no tornado about, a mat roof is too full of reptiles, insects, and rats to be a comfort. But if you want to know what an African roof can be, you must go where they make them of grass, like they do in Kaeongo; they are, I assure you, not half so pleasant for the human being under them as they are for the scorpions, serpents, centipedes, spiders, and rats that live in them in a perpetual state of glorious war with each other; the line of retreat always being apparently into the house, usually in the form of the pursued letting go all, as Brer Rabbit says, and coming kerblam on to you or the bed or table if such things be present, failing these the floor; and when that African equivalent to the spring cleaning charwoman comes, the driver ant, all the inhabitants of the roof come down in a sort of rain, and

you and they leave the house with all possible rapidity by the one and only door; which, as the drivers usually time their arrival for a wet dark night, is inconvenient. The grass roofs are usually used with grass walls, and in between the grass wall region, that is to say, the Kaongo and the swish, that is to say, from Senegal to the Oil Rivers region, you get houses of every range of neatness made with palm-mat walls, and the simple bark hut of the Fan and their allied tribes; but I fear I have said harsh things about the builders of all of them one time and another in spite of their good points.

Then again take the African's canoe: a comparative ethnologist would call it a dug-out, and class it as low in type. When you first have to get into one it strikes you as insecure, and insecure it is if you neither know how to use it or sit in it. Moreover, you at first object to sitting in the lot of dirty water that it contains, but you soon get over this, philosophically recognising that the chances are you will soon be out of it into cleaner water, and after that you may not require a canoe again, what with sharks or crocodiles, &c., and the chances of simple drowning. Yet that canoe is also full of good points, and when you get used to it, you see you can go through surf in it that you could not in a white man's boat, and that on rivers and swamps you can go in it where you could go in no other craft; while for comfort, when outside circumstances are reasonable, there is no form of boat half so pleasant; the rapid, gliding motion of a well-paddled canoe is something more than comfort, it is a keen physical pleasure. This is the case with many other things in what we may call the domestic culture of the African; yet there is, I fancy, no one who would say the African, judged by other nations, has reached a high point among the races of the world. They have a sort of literature—a set of keen-witted proverbs, showing an insight into human nature in its lower forms that is wonderfully true; they have

immense quantities of stories, riddles, and songs, things that are a fascinating little world in themselves, yet again in a low form, none of these rising to a grasp of great motives or noble enthusiasm. Their language has no writing, yet that language, if it had been allowed to develop unhindered, would have evolved one which would have put, in point of difficulty, the grass writing of the Mongolians into the shade, for it is a thing of three parts; underlying every word in it there is a strange figurative thought form, and it is composed in itself of two parts, one part only uttered by the tongue, the other part expressed by gesture. I have seen members of that wild cannibal tribe, the Fan, catch words from my lips with their hands regarding price to be paid for a thing, throw them to the ground and stamp on them, without uttering a syllable with their mouths; yet the whole of that action was a mass of words: and I have seen the silent oath of those who are under the Isyogo secret society, easily put in English words, as, Blast my arm if I don't tell the truth, and I have had spoken decisions that I have been asked to give in palavers when those decisions have been regarded as bad law, brought back to me in men's hands and laid at my feet, so that I might take those words up and look at them again, and I have swept away and swept away those parts that I knew was good law, and then waited, and having no answer have swept away again until the time came when the flaw in my law was reached; then came a burst of explanation and argument on the point—the whole of this is language in a broad sense of the word. Their religion, weird and curious as it seems to you at first, horrible as its results appear to you to the end, is a carefully, cleverly argued out conception of the status of Man in Nature. Their law is a law of Justice; I will not say without Mercy, because it has in it what *we* regard as Mercy, what they regard, and I am bound to say I regard too, as merely a part

of Justice, that if any one does a thing against the law in ignorance that is not culpable ignorance, he or she cannot be punished therefor; but the administration of the law is such that much evil can thrive under it. Nevertheless, remember that in those great regions under fetich rule there are no unemployed, no paupers, no hospitals, workhouses, or prisons, and the African chief keeps order therein. Every man and woman's property is a thing that cannot be interfered with without due reason being given; the criminal, the idle, the sick, have all to be dealt with by the African chiefs, and they are treated in a way whereof African society is content, and herein lies much that would explain the failure of the African to rise above his present culture level. I have so often looked at them and thought, "Now I understand why Faust was to be handed over to Mephistopheles the moment he was content and satisfied with life; for what are you, Africans, strong, kindly at heart, keen-witted as you are, but the prey of the ruling races of the world?"

It would not be pleasant for me to say fully why I see why this has been, and why I see that this will be for long to come; I should have to say hard things of both white and black. But briefly I will say that I consider the African fails in enthusiasm, in power of combination, and in that restless desire for wealth and conquest, not conquest over the next-door tribe only, but conquest over the very powers of Nature themselves that characterise our race. He looks at things white men do, not with that awe usually credited to him; he thinks our things are queer, possibly dangerous, not necessarily desirable in every case, he soon gets used to them, and learns how to manage them, but he does not bother his head to make himself some like them; his imitation of white men's way is founded on a feeling that white men are big men, and he would like to be a big man too in a way, but it is a feeling more akin to vanity

than akin to emulation; that it has not been a sound ground to build on has been amply shown by the effects of the treatment of Africans by the white man, a subject I will next briefly mention by saying I think we may safely assume both sides have been to blame. There are two things that the white is most virulently abused for by moralists, the slave trade and the liquor traffic, while the most common forms of criticism on the black is that he is an indolent brute, a fiendish savage or a child—irresponsible, ungrateful, lying, thievish, and so on, are thrown in on top as remarks by the way on his character.

I have not the space now, even had I the inclination, to sketch and criticise the actions of the white races in the matter of the slave trade and so on, but I beg you to remember the slave trade is not the sum total of white action on the African. Think of the thousands of noble-minded men and women who since 1490 have gone and lived and died in Africa, in the cause of the evangelisation of the African. Call these missionaries what you may—you have no right to deny that their constant aim has been the elevation of the African. Look back at the effects of similar efforts made by Christianity on the Teutonic tribes of Europe, and you see its success—then look at the history of the Roman Catholic mission to Congo, a mission that for 200 years held those Africans completely in its arms, and look at the Congo native to-day in the regions that mission ruled. The mission attempt to elevate the African mass seems like unto cutting a path through a bit of African forest; you can cut a very nice tidy path there, and as long as you are there to keep it clear it's all a path need be, but leave it and it goes for bush. Nothing could have exceeded the willingness with which the Congoese welcomed the missionaries in the fifteenth century, nothing could have exceeded the attention they gave them and their teachings for many years. Yet when those Africans saw that

the path they were making was not the easy path to earthly glory and prosperity they thought it was going to be, they let it go for bush. Take instances which you can find anywhere in Africa to-day of the children in mission schools being regarded as satisfactory by the pastors, and listen to the constant complaint, that as soon as they are educated and have grown up, they do not utilise the instruction that has been given them in joining in the work of the mission, for the sake of their fellow-countrymen, but go away and take up with trade.

Now, after this dismal disquisition, you may say, then it is no use our troubling further about improving the African: but this simple way out is not available; for one reason, the African has been demonstrated to be alterable in large masses, not by European means it is true, but by Mohammedan, and there is little doubt that from the point of view of culture elevation the alteration effected by the Mohanmedans is an improvement. Then you may say, leave the African to the Mohammedan; but again you are not allowed to do *this*, for you have enormous African populations to deal with in the interests of empire and commerce, who have never been in touch with Mohammedanism, and humanly speaking will not be—such as the South African natives, and they must be what is called improved. Somehow or another their culture *must* be altered, so that they can assist in the development of the vast resources of their country; truly you will say they are used now, but who can regard the labour system of South Africa or the Congo Free State as a state of affairs either permanent or any credit to any one concerned. In other regions, heavily populated by powerful Africans hanging about doing nothing beyond what they have done for thousands of years, foreign labour from India is being imported—a thing which I am certain will only end in bringing in another problem for white men in Africa; and we have got enough, for

while the white government is preventing the killing off the native population to a state which the native food production will support, *without* increasing the food production for the natives, and this can mean only a series of Mansion House funds for famines in Africa in the future; but as this is not a thing that will happen in West Africa from the importation of foreign labour, because the climate there kills the imported off, irrespective of colour, therefore if the West African does not alter and take to industry and so on, if ever his country falls truly under white control, and his population increases beyond his food supply, he will have to stagnate for a period and then tidy things up with some war, which will kill off the excess, and meanwhile white affairs will not prosper. It may be said, why should we wish to make white affairs prosper? Well, there are several reasons. You know what the West African is when left to himself: I like him, but still states of affairs like Coomassie and Benin and Dahomey necessarily attract humane attention and have to be put a stop to. Then for another reason the great riches of the country attract traders and so on; so leaving the African alone is not within the sphere of practical politics at all, therefore something must be done, and I wish to ask European civilisation if it is content to go on on the old lines, making a series of amateur empirical experiments at making him work, or rocking a cradle for him under the delusion that he is an interesting infant, as it has been doing these four hundred years?

If the African were a flighty-minded fiend, a lazy brute, or a child, the methods now in force, and that have been in force all these years, would have succeeded. In spite of all the noble and devoted lives laid down, in spite of all the blood and money, they have not. That he is not a fiend the African has shown by his treatment of Livingstone, Thompson, Barth, and a hundred others, least amongst whom am I; that he is not a child

he has shown clearly to those who have traded with him, and by the individual Africans who have risen to a higher culture level under European and Asiatic education. I am aware that the educated African is said to invariably go fantree, as it is called up here, and this picturesque and thrilling conduct of the educated African is supported by a few instances. But I need hardly assure you it is not the invariable custom; and there have been in the past and there are now living dozens of Europeanised Africans in West Africa, ministers, lawyers, and doctors, who would no more want to take off their store clothing and go cannibalising and howling about the bush than you would. Nevertheless, the African who turns into a Europeanised man is the exception that proves the rule, and whose isolated conduct misleads the white man, inducing him to go on on this old line, dazzled by the performance of one in a hundred thousand; we seem blind to the inertia of the great mass, that great mass that we have to deal with to-day in a state practically unaltered by the white work of four hundred years' duration.

Now I have said I would give a suggestion for the solution of this problem, and I humbly give it—it is, understand the nature of the African. If any of you want to make a great piece of machinery, or build a bridge, or a house, you succeed in your endeavour primarily from a knowledge of the nature of the materials you employ, and so you may succeed in dealing with the African if you will clear your mind of all prejudice, and study what is the nature of man. Take him at his lowest. To my mind he is the most magnificent mass of labour material in the world, and he is, taken as a whole, one of the most generous, kindly, good-tempered races of men on earth; intellectually he is at any rate shrewd, and, strange to say, possessed of an immense wealth of practical common sense. Surely *that* is good stuff to go on, surely some-

thing ought to be done with it more economically and more humanely than is being done; but alas! you have got to understand him first, and the calm dot and carry one scientific observation of that African is not easy work. It is the work for the doing of which I go to West Africa, where I can get the native, between the Niger and the Congo, uninfluenced by European or Mohammedan culture, because the climate there is mainly composed of malaria, other disease microbes, and mosquitoes, so white men have in the main avoided it or died there; Mohammedans apparently don't mind these things, but the Mohammedan, at any rate in Africa, requires a sandy soil; give the hardy races of North Africa any amount of difficulty and danger you like, but as long as they have plenty of sand, and the chance of perishing now and again for want of water, they will flourish. In the region between the Niger and the Congo all of the sand seems dedicated by nature to the formation of banks in the rivers wherewith to impede navigation and form convenient lounges for crocodiles, and where there is more water about in rivers, swamps, and lakes than any sane man would wish for, without taking into consideration the terrific rainfall, and the constantly saturated state of the atmosphere, which makes you feel during the wet seasons—there are two a year in the equatorial regions—as if you were inside a warm poultice. Nevertheless, with all these disadvantages, that region between the Niger and the Congo is the ethnologist's paradise, and there the ethnologist who wants to study the nature of the African, unmixed with Semitic influences either Christian or Mohammedan, must go; for north of it there is Mohammedanised Lagos, beyond that the Slave, Gold, Ivory, and Grain Coasts that have had on them a stream of European influence since the fifteenth century. Behind these is the Sahara regions soaked in Mohammedanism. South of this forest belt region, between the Niger and the Congo, is the

remains of the old kingdom of Congo, that for two hundred years was under the dominion—a dominion that did enormous good directly and indirectly—of the Roman Catholic Mission, and there you find strange fossilised fragments of their teachings in the native religion and legends to this day, though their great rule was terminated in the seventeenth century. The nature of the African thought-form in the region, therefore, between the Niger and the Congo, is the thing I have devoted my time to, recognising that with him his religion—his conception of the status of Man in Nature, is the ruling thing of his life and action; for whether he be altered by outside influence or no, the African can never say, “Oh, one must be practical, you know! That’s all right from a religious point of view, but one must be practical.” To be practical, to get on in this world, the African must be right from his religious point of view all the time, therefore to understand him you must understand that religious point of view to its very root, and go and study it in an unadulterated form.

The thing is worth taking up alike for humane as well as scientific reasons; though it is difficult, one has no right to dwell on its danger. No one need go out to West Africa without knowing the chances are they go out there to stay, and even if they should go out in ignorance, on landing they will be enlightened, and can take the next boat home. I remember on my first landing at a place where there are three small factories only, but which I had seen marked large on a map, asking a resident white if this was all the settlement. “Oh no,” said he, “this is only the porter’s lodge, I’ll show you the settlement,” and he took me to the cemetery; that cemetery justified the large lettering on the map. But settlements, even with the best of cemetery accommodation, are not the ethnologist’s place; he must go right away into the fastnesses of the forest, sit and gossip

at village fires, become the confidential friend of witch doctors and old ladies, and he must go alone, without an armed expedition which will wall him off from the residential African. This sort of life he can comparatively easily lead, if he will learn the trade details of the locality sufficiently to enable him to pass as a trader; in the wildest districts he is reasonable to the African mind if he appears in this guise, and he is safer than he has any right to expect to be under the circumstances, and the amount of information he can pick up is immense, only, alas! that information is not arranged in a manner suitable for use in schools. Nevertheless, it is worth having. In past days, when Africa was left to the Europeans out there and the natives, the collection of ethnological information had merely a scientific and philosophic interest; now it has a greater one, for now European governments are undertaking to legislate domestically for the African from European offices. They cannot do this thing successfully unless they have in their possession a full knowledge of the nature of the people they are legislating for; without this, let their intentions be of the best, they will waste a grievous mass of blood and money, and fail in the end.

MAURITIUS

BY THE HON. MR. JUSTICE CONDÉ WILLIAMS,
OF MAURITIUS

LET us take the map of Africa, and glance from west to east across that vast continent, the home of so much darkness in the past, and even in the present, but surely a land of vast possibilities and of hope for the future. Lying in the Indian Ocean, not far away from the eastern side of the great Dark Continent, are two islands—one, of the greatest, and one, of the smallest, of the world's most important isles. The large one is Madagascar, the small one on its right is Mauritius. Both names commence with the same letter of the alphabet, and both names contain nearly the same number of letters; for, allow me here, on the threshold of my subject, to point out that it is a mistake, though a common one, and indulged in by leading newspapers and by very intelligent people, to speak of the smaller island as "THE" Mauritius. It was christened just 300 years ago by a Dutch admiral, who named it "*Mauritius*" in honour of his prince, *Maurice* of Nassau. When the French succeeded the Dutch, they turned the Dutch "Mauritius" into the French "L'île Maurice" or "the island of Mauritius," just as they would call our Isle of Wight "L'île de Wight," "*the island of Wight.*" But, while we do not speak of our home island as *the* Wight, we yet translate L'île Maurice as *the* Mauritius, instead of "*the island* Mauritius," or "*Mauritius*" for short. We do not talk about "*the*" England, or "*the*" Ireland, nor ought we to speak of "*the*" Mauritius. "*Mauritius*"

the island was first christened by the Dutch admiral Van Neck. MAURITIUS, it is to-day.

This small speck upon the bosom of the Indian Ocean has little enough in common with its big neighbour, Madagascar. The great African island, with its vast 225,000 miles of area, has scarcely more than ten inhabitants to each square mile; while little Mauritius has some 525 inhabitants to each of its 700 square miles of area. So that you can hardly wonder that the overcrowded Mauritius creoles have ever looked upon the huge undeveloped Madagascar as a land of promise for themselves, and have freely emigrated there; and have striven to establish themselves as sugar-growers and wood merchants, and traders generally, in Tamatave, the great scaport of Madagascar, and in other towns along the coast. England, as far as in her lay, has endeavoured to look after these wandering British subjects (for of course *all* the creoles of Mauritius *are* British subjects). England has a consul at Antananarivo, the capital, situated high up in the interior, and a vice-consul at Tamatave, the commercial capital on the coast. Up to very recently, the Supreme Court of Mauritius held concurrent jurisdiction with the British Consular Court at Tamatave, in all matters relating to British subjects resident in the great African island. But, since the French occupied Madagascar (though indeed they have only very *partially* occupied it, and don't seem exactly to know what to do with it, or how to manage it, now they have got it), the British Consular Court has been extinguished altogether; and the Mauritian creole takes his chance with the French emigrant in the French law courts established at Tamatave and at Antananarivo.

The island of Mauritius was originally discovered 400 years ago by the Portuguese. But the Dutch were the first to assume control over it, a century later; and, again after the lapse of little more than a century, the

French took possession of it, first on behalf of the French East India Company, and afterwards on that of the crown of France. Yet another hundred years, and in 1810 an English expedition was fitted out against it, because, in our constant fighting with France, we found the island a centre of petty maritime hostilities against our interests in the East. Before the English expedition, the island capitulated; and its possession was confirmed to England by the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Thus the little island, during its four centuries of known history, may be said to have had four masters—the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English. Of the Portuguese, Mauritius retains no trace. The name of a mountain, and an old creeper-covered fort in a beautiful bay in the south-east district, form the sole remaining traces of the Dutch occupation. But the century of French rule left an indelible mark upon this beautiful isle of the sea. Not only did French emigrants bring capital to it from the mother country of France, but also from the French possessions in India, then much more important and prosperous than they are to-day; indeed, at one time the capital of French East India was transferred from Pondicherry in India to Mauritius; and even now the traveller, upon landing at Port Louis, the Mauritian capital, is confronted by the fine stone statue of Monsieur Mahé de La Bourdonnais, who, as governor of the French East Indian possessions, had his seat of government in Mauritius for ten years in the middle of last century. During that period there was born at Havre, in France, a man who did more than any one else to arouse in the civilised world a sentimental interest in the island which is the subject of this paper. Bernardin de St. Pierre, born in 1737, went to Mauritius when thirty years of age as an engineer officer in the French service, and the chief literary fruit of his stay there was the publication of the elegant story of “Paul and Virginia,” translated into many languages, and charming alike old and young

by the pathos of its incidents and the purity of its diction. It is the love story of two children born in the island, of French parents, separated by a cruel fate, and reunited only in the agony of a terrible shipwreck, in which the maiden perishes. It is a romance based upon a thin substratum of fact. For, although sightseers landing in Mauritius may be pointed out the reputed graves of Paul and Virginia in the island, no such personages ever really existed; and Bernardin de St. Pierre's sad story has its only basis in the shipwreck of a large French sailing ship on the north-east coast of the island during his stay there—a shipwreck of which one victim was a beautiful and accomplished girl belonging to one of the island families, who was returning from France after completing her education there.

Let us return from fiction to fact. Mauritius is an island in the Indian Ocean, surrounded by coral reefs, and of volcanic formation, thirty-six miles long, and twenty-eight miles wide in its broadest part. As one approaches its shores and its capital, Port Louis, situated upon its principal and rather narrow natural harbour of the north-west, one sees the forts, the Government buildings, the houses, overtopped by the tower of the Roman Catholic cathedral and the spire of the Protestant cathedral, all backed by the lower green slopes and the higher rocky fantastic peaks of noble mountains, chief among them the *Pouce* ("thumb"), so called because its summit is shaped like a thumb turned upwards; and the *Pieter Botte*, a lofty mountain-pyramid, with an inverted cone like a peg-top perched upon its topmost pinnacle. Behind these mountain ranges are plains covered for the most part with fields of sugar-cane, for sugar is the staple production, and will probably henceforward be always the staple export of Mauritius. Time was when indigo, coffee, maize, yams, and even spices were among the exported products of the island; but

indigo and coffee have wholly disappeared, and sugar has taken their place; supplemented by vanilla, a small quantity of which is grown by peasant proprietors in one particular quarter, and by fibre, principally aloe fibre, which alone is suitable for cultivation in those districts of Mauritius which have been rendered too dry and arid for the cultivation of anything else.

I say "*which have been RENDERED too dry and arid,*" advisedly; for there *was* a time, shortly after the English occupation of the island, when there arose a mania for cutting down the virgin forest of the interior of Mauritius, in order to plant sugar canes in its place. Now, it is a serious matter to cut down forest trees for the mere purpose of replacing them by ground crops, as our neighbours in Jersey are likely to find out, if they continue laying the axe to the roots of their apple and pear trees, in order to grow potatoes. Nature has a way of resenting an undue interference with her processes. In Mauritius, this general cutting down of virgin forest may have been said to have converted a healthy island into an unhealthy one, and a productive into a dry and fever-haunted sea-board. For cutting down the trees has fatally interfered with the natural rain water supply of the island. Forest trees and their roots are great conservators and distributors of the water supply that falls from heaven, and that to abolish these trees on an extensive scale is to check this heaven-sent rain water supply, poor Mauritius discovered to her cost. As a consequence of this policy, large areas of the lower lands near the sea coast have in course of time been deprived of their natural irrigation, and, in the absence of the expensive artificial irrigation which the agricultural proprietors cannot afford, many estates have gone quite out of cultivation, and the feathery sugar cane has given place to the cactus and the aloe, plants which thrive without water, but which give only very scanty and uncertain results in fibre to replace the loss of sugar. Sugar, how-

ever, remains the staple of the colony, and a very excellent sugar is made in Mauritius, and finds its way, not so much to far distant England, as to India and South Africa. Australia was once a good customer to Mauritius for sugar, but Australia is every year, in an increasing degree, growing and manufacturing sugar for herself. As to us at home in England, *we* have learnt to prefer European beet-root sugar, which we get dirt cheap at the expense of the French and the Germans, rather than the cane sugar of our East and West Indian possessions. When a wave of sanity sweeps over Europe, and the French and German housewives get tired of paying dearly for their sugar in order that we may get it cheaply, and the sugar bounties of the Continent are abolished, we shall no doubt be good customers once again to our own colonial fellow-subjects who are sugar growers in British Guiana, the West Indian Islands, and Mauritius. Sweet-shops will not, perhaps, be quite so plentiful then in our streets as they are to-day (to the detriment of the teeth of the rising generation), but the sugar that we consume will be wholesomer and purer, though it may be a fraction dearer than its beet-root substitute is now. It is a significant fact, for which I am indebted to the "Pure Sugar Association" of Derby, and of which I regret that I did not make use when I read a paper on the future of our sugar-producing colonies before the Royal Colonial Institute last January, that bees, which ought to be fairly good judges, will have nothing to say to beet-root sugar for winter food, when they can procure as an alternative the sugar of the cane. Before leaving the subject of agricultural production in Mauritius, I ought to add that both private effort and Government enterprise are doing their best to perfect the production and manufacture of sugar, and to encourage new species of cultivation. Government has established an agronomic station, where experiments are made in the cultivation of various kinds of sugar

cane, and in the growth of sugar cane from seed. Private enterprise, encouraged by Government, has successfully attempted the manufacture of sugar by the new method of "diffusion," or extraction of saccharine matter from the sliced cane by chemical process, as an improvement upon the old and rather clumsy and wasteful process of crushing the juice out of the entire cane by means of rollers. Government has started a large tea plantation, and has very successfully inaugurated the growth and manufacture of tea in a suitable district of the colony. And, with some small encouragement from Government, there is little doubt that tobacco might be grown with profit in Mauritius; and that the fibre interest might be greatly improved by the introduction of the "sisal" fibre plant, which has proved so lucrative a cultivation in the Bahamas. Moreover, there are still large tracts of virgin forest in the island, which, if properly dealt with, might prove a source of revenue to the colony.

These surviving tracts of virgin forest clothe the summits and valleys of the most picturesque district—the south-western district—of Mauritius. It is impossible to exaggerate the beauty of the forest-clothed ravines there, known as the Black River Gorges. Here, and in such of the uncultivated parts of the island generally as afford good cover, a fine breed of deer are still to be found in abundance, despite all the depredations of Indian and creole poachers; and a "chasse," or deer-shooting *battue*, is one of the favourite forms of amusement offered to chance visitors to the island by such planter princes of Mauritius as are still to be found there. These creole gentlemen are generally of French extraction, and are not infrequently scions of families of old nobility in France.

And this leads us from the subject of production to that of population in Mauritius. At the present time the island contains about 375,000 people, and it is probably no

exaggeration to say that three-fourths of this number consists of Indians and Indo-Mauritians—that is to say, of coolie labourers directly imported from India, or of their progeny born in Mauritius. For the Indian labourer or coolie has entirely supplanted, for the work of the cane field, the African slave of old times. More than that, the Indian has elected to remain in the island when his period of contract service has expired; and he is acquiring by rapid degrees an advancing status in Mauritius, not only as a free labourer, but also as a peasant proprietor upon his own account, or a “*ryot*,” as he would be termed in India itself; cultivating, in his freehold acre, or half acre, or more, either sugar canes (which he sells by weight to the planters), or maize, or vegetables. Apart from the Indians, the bulk of the *creole* population, of African origin, with more or less admixture of white blood, supplies the *artisan* class of the colony; but never works in the fields, or undertakes any agricultural labour, other perhaps than the cultivation of vanilla in one particular district of the island. Yet this creole class, of more or less mixed blood, forms the large bulk of such population as remains to Mauritius after the Indians are excluded. From its ranks are furnished not only the artisans, the tradesmen, the higher estate employés, and the clerks to be found in offices, Government and otherwise, but its members rise to eminence in the public service, and in the professions, as of medicine and of law; and hold their own in these callings with their fellow-islanders of pure white blood, and with imported Europeans.

There is most happily less prejudice against the touch of “*colour*”—the “*dash of the tar-brush*,” as it is vulgarly called—in Mauritius, than in the West Indian Islands, the smallness and the isolation of Mauritius tending towards the breaking down of such conventional and artificial barriers, and to the uniting of the island-born population under the one comprehensive title of

“Mauritians.” To pursue our classification, however, the 145,000 of general, other than Indian, inhabitants, embodies, in addition to creoles of colour, white creoles of pure French, or English, or insular blood, to be found among the higher, and frequently among the lower ranks of planters, Government servants, and professional men; and an appreciable sprinkling of enterprising Chinese, who, strange to say, have ousted the creoles from all the general shops to be found upon the sugar estates. Moreover, there are, of course, a certain number of imported military, clergy, officials, and merchants from Europe and England.

So the population of this little island of Mauritius is a very heterogeneous population, the Indians vastly preponderating. But even the Indians are of various races and dialects; and you will readily understand that there exists an absolute necessity in so polyglot a community for some means of communication for ordinary purposes which can be employed by creoles, Chinese, Indians of various races, Singalese, Arabs, French, and English alike. This common means of intercommunication is furnished by the simple and easy dialect known as the “*Mauritian creole*” *patois*. This is a very primitive language, based upon old French, but easy to learn, because very independent of numbers and cases, genders and tenses; the pronunciation of it, like its grammar, is childishly simple, quaint, and singular. It is astonishing with what readiness even the Chinaman picks up this *patois*, while Indians drop their various dialects in its favour as a means of communicating their ideas, readily acquired and accessible to everybody. And to such an extent is it popular and attainable, that the Indian born in Mauritius of the second generation very often forgets his Malabar tongue, and speaks nothing else but “creole” for the remainder of his days. To give some idea of the language, “*un cheval*” in French, pronounced “*un seval*” in creole, is a horse, but, while

two horses are "*deux chevaux*" in French, they are still "*deux*" or rather "*day*" "*seval*" in creole. "Moi" is universally used instead of "je" for "I," just as an English child in baby talk says "me do it" instead of "I do it"; similarly, the Jamaica negro on the other side of the world from Mauritius, uses "me" for "I." In Mauritian creole, "n'a pas" is the universal form of negation, and stands either for simple *no*, or for *can't* or *won't*, or *shan't* or *don't*, in all cases and in both numbers. The English "*Master, I can't do it,*" is in Jamaica "Marsa, me doan't able fe do it, sah." In French it would be "*Monsieur, je ne peux pas le faire,*" and in Mauritian creole "*Misié, moi n'a pas capable faire.*" Perhaps, as a good illustration of Mauritian patois, I may quote the cradle song of the island, to which in Mauritius many generations of baby creoles have been sung to sleep:—

“Moi passé la rivière Tanié
 Moi ti voy' un granmaman ;
 Moi li di qui li faire la
 Li dire moi la pêche cabaud :
 Voy, voy, mes enfants,
 Faut travail pour voir son pain !

Do, do, petit baba !
 Do, do, petit baba !
 Si tu n'a pas dodo,
 Chat marron va nana vous !”

Translation of Creole Cradle Song.

“I was passing the river 'Tananier,'
 I saw there an old woman ;
 I asked what she was doing there—
 She told me she was fishing for sprats.
 See, my children, one must work in order to live ?

Go to sleep, little baby !
 If you don't go to sleep,
 A wild cat will come and eat you.”

It may be added that many creole phrases and proverbs betray some sense of humour. The mournful hearse, too frequently seen in the streets of unhealthy Port Louis, goes by the vulgar creole name of "*calèche granpapa*," or the old man's coach; and there is much shrewdness in such a proverb as this, "*Rode ouvrage, prie bon Dieu n'a pas gagner*"—i.e., "The man who loafs about looking for work, prays the good God not to send him any."

It will be gathered from all that I have said that Mauritius is not a colony that holds out any inducements to the English emigrant. Already it is overpopulated, and its creole sons are seeking an outlet in Madagascar, as we have seen, and might find still wider outlets in Australia, or in English South Africa, or even in India, if they would take greater pains to familiarise themselves with the English language. Port Louis, the capital, though always intensely hot, was once a healthy place, and its spacious and elegant villas (most of them destroyed in the terrible hurricane of 1892) contained a gay and fashionable population in the days when the English humorist, Theodore Hook, went out by royal favour to the island to fill a post for which he was eminently unfitted; and, in the pursuit of pleasure, left the keys of the treasury to a creole subordinate, who improved the shining hour, and brought himself and his master to grief and disgrace. Port Louis was gay and healthy then, but fever gradually invaded it, and drove the resident population of the upper class higher and higher up the hills, till it reached the summit elevation of Curepipe, 1800 feet above the sea-level. Here are the English barracks, and here, in a comparatively pleasant and salubrious atmosphere, the "upper ten" of local society live in creeper-covered and verandah'd villas, going in and out to Port Louis daily by an excellent Government railway service.

Life in Mauritius is in many respects pleasant, par-

ticularly if you can pass your nights in the cool atmosphere of the upland regions. Moreover, although the island is, of course, in the tropics, it is free from many of those tropical pests which seriously embitter existence in other parts of the East, and in the West India Islands. Mosquitoes, of course, are common to all hot countries. But "ticks," little adhesive insects which cling in myriads to your clothes and to your legs if you walk through grass in many parts of the West Indies, are not in evidence in Mauritius. And Mauritius knows not the terrible "jigger," or *chigo* flea of Jamaica, which, although it is so small that you can scarcely see it with the naked eye, will make its way through your boot and sock to your foot, burrow under your big toe nail, and deposit its offspring there! Then Mauritius has no snakes, or at all events no poisonous ones; and even its centipedes and scorpions are retiring and diminutive. In other ways, though, Nature is not so kind to the little island. The hurricane season there is supposed to last from the middle of October to the middle of April, but up to April 1892 there had been no severe hurricane for twelve years, and the inhabitants had begun to hope that the limited zone of the Indian Ocean in which these disturbances take place had moved away from Mauritius altogether. It was a vain hope. On the 29th of April, 1892, a frightful cyclone burst over the island, ruining all the crops, destroying a third of the buildings of Port Louis, and killing thousands of people. Had it not been for the excellent measures of the Government and for the generosity of outside helpers, and chiefly of the people of England, who subscribed £30,000 for the relief of the distressed, the island could scarcely have held up its head after this awful catastrophe. The governor, writing to Downing Street about it, and wishing to bring home to English people the terrible extent of the calamity, mentioned as a fact that it had left every tree in the island leafless. I am thankful to say that my

family and I were not in the island at the time, but to give you an idea of a personal experience, let me give you the pathetic account written by a *native* Indian clergyman in Port Louis.

The Rev. D. G. David writes:—"I cannot conclude this report without mentioning an event of sad personal interest which occurred during this year. It was the loss of four of my eldest children, aged seventeen, fifteen, thirteen, and eleven years respectively, on the day of the hurricane. On the morning of the 29th April, 1892, my wife, children, and myself were at the morning service in the church, when it was blowing gently. The wind gradually grew stronger, with heavy rain, till about 1 P.M. it had obtained its full pitch. At that time we were shut up in the parsonage, and the children were playing and chatting without fear. Towards 2 P.M. it was very calm when we got out, and were wandering in the Mission Compound, curious to know what had passed. All of a sudden the wind changed to *another* direction, and was blowing at its zenith, breaking and crushing all that could not withstand it; and we all were again shut up in a room. Then*the force of the wind caused the church to fall on the house, which was very near, and buried us alive, and crushed our furniture and things and rendered me senseless till 4.30 P.M. I managed then to get off all the stones that had fallen on me, but found nothing of my children and my wife, as they were buried under the roof of the house, and lime and stones of the church wall, which had fallen upon them. As my hands and legs were wounded and bruised, I could not either assist my poor family to get out or get assistance from others. In this state I left my family and crept to the gate to find any one for getting assistance. In this interval a creole came near the gate, and I begged him hard to assist me, but the man declined, saying that his wife and children were in the same plight, and he was seeking men to assist *him*.

No sooner had he said so, and he had hardly made two steps, when a piece of tin severed his head from his body and he fell dead before me. After a few minutes an Indian came by the gate, and I cried out begging him to assist us; he also declined, saying he was only running to fetch people to assist some of *his* relatives and friends. No sooner had he said these words than a piece of plank struck him with such violence that he fell bleeding and soon died. When I had seen what had already happened before me, I myself fell senseless for more than half-an-hour.

“No sooner had I recovered than I crawled very slowly, till I reached the cathedral gate, when a large branch of a tree fell instantly before me, and during the interval of another half-an-hour, I fell senseless on the road, and then two police constables who came by found me lying on the road, and took me to the door of the cathedral, which was in part damaged and filled with water, and left me on the floor for another half-an-hour senseless. When I returned to my senses, I recollected that my wife and children were still under the ruins, threatened by death. Later on, I got into the cathedral and found some men. I begged them earnestly to go and assist in rescuing my unfortunate family, but they declined, because they were afraid to go out. Then it was about eight o'clock, and was very dark. As I was wet and shivering, I had to throw away all my clothes, and put on a surplice which was then hanging on a nail in the vestry. When I was lying down in the vestry senseless, at about one o'clock in the night, I heard a voice say, that my wife and two of my youngest children were brought alive to the cathedral building, and that the three eldest children were found dead. One of the two remaining ones died of his injuries a week later in the Government hospital. All four were buried by the Government, but we do not know where.”

Perhaps the best safeguard against the effects of hurricanes consists in full and adequate meteorological observations, so that due warning may be given of their approach. Since the hurricane of 1892, Mauritius has become connected with Seychelles and Zanzibar and the rest of the world by submarine telegraph cable; and when the system is completed, and Madagascar and Réunion are brought into it, the approach of cyclones will be more readily foretold; for these circular storms arise, travel, and ultimately disperse themselves in the Indian Ocean, following a regular course, which may be determined by a knowledge of prevailing winds and air currents. As it is, all that is possible is done to follow the course of prevailing winds and the fall of the barometer, and so to forecast the probable track of a cyclone by what may be called dead reckoning. Warnings, based upon this method of observation, are wired from the meteorological station to all the telegraph offices of the island when there are signs of an approaching cyclone, and hourly messages are sent to these different stations, until the whirlwind—for that is the nature of a cyclone—passes to the right or the left of the island in the Indian Ocean, and so the danger is for the time averted.

It remains to take a brief glance at the government and the laws of Mauritius, and at the effect of the British connection upon the island.

It is a Crown-governed colony, but one possessing at the present moment a more liberal representative element than has been accorded by the English Government to any other of the Crown Colonies. The Governor is assisted by an Executive Council of five members who are officials, and two who are elected, and by a Council of Government of twenty-seven members, eight being officials, nine nominated by the Governor, and ten popularly elected—two of them by the town of Port Louis, the capital, and one apiece by the eight electoral

country districts of the island. One-third of the nominated members must be persons not holding any public office. Members are not paid. They may speak either in French or English. The franchise qualification is ownership of immovables worth R.300 (about £17), or movables worth R.3000 (about £175); or payment of rent of R.25 monthly, or license duty of R.200 annually, or receipt of a salary of R.50 monthly. The present sterling value of the rupee is not more than one shilling and threepence. It will thus be seen that the representative element in the constitution is a liberal one, and the franchise low. So liberal, and so low, indeed, that the prevailing mass, the Indian labourers, through their most increasingly prosperous class, the Indian peasant proprietors, might, if they were politically ambitious, under proper generalship, very soon swamp all the elective seats at the Council of Government.

When Mauritius capitulated to the British forces in 1810, the "laws, customs, and religion" of the island were secured to its inhabitants. The *laws* were, of course, those of France, and the law of France is still administered in all the courts of the colony, modified by local ordinances framed since the capitulation. However suited French law, with its endless formalities in matters of succession, partition, and registration, may have been to Mauritius of the past or present, there can be no question about the fact that it is utterly unfitted, and would be found unnecessarily vexatious, to a community of Indian peasant proprietors, should Mauritius ever enter upon that social phase; and that, in such an event, the law would have to be altered. At present, it seems to suffice for the people; and is excellent for the notaries, barristers, and attorneys—in other words, lawyers generally—the most flourishing professional class of the island.

The religion of the large proportion of the creole inhabitants was, and is, Roman Catholic; and the Roman Catholic bishop and priests receive a concurrent

endowment along with the Protestant, and even the Presbyterian, clergy. The French language is generally used by the upper creole classes; and in the Council of Government speeches may be made in either French or English, just as in the Cape Colony the House may be addressed either in English or in Dutch. English rule has for nearly a century given to the colony security, peace, and as great a measure of prosperity as the introduction of English capital and of a good deal of English energy might be expected to effect under the hard conditions which have of late years attended the cultivation of the sugar cane and manufacture of cane sugar. Yet it would be, I think, too much to say that English rule is, as a matter of sentiment, really *popular* amongst the French creole population of the island. Darwin, the naturalist, who visited Mauritius in 1836, says of it: "Although the French residents must have largely profited by the increased prosperity of their island, yet the English Government is far from popular." Things have doubtless improved since then as regards our reputation with the creoles, partly through the reform effected under Governor Hennessy, who induced the home government to admit a popularly elected element into the legislative council. Nevertheless, the attitude of the creole mind towards England is still not inaptly portrayed by the common creole triplet—

"Français ne peux,
Anglais ne veux,
Mauricien suis!"

And very proud the Mauritian is of his island; and in many respects justly proud of it.

Politics run high in the creole, as distinguished from the Indian, community, and, since the day when a measure of self-government was introduced into the constitution, they have tended to run still higher. There are seven daily papers published in the French language in

Port Louis, and each may be said to represent some varying shade of public opinion, or some particular class interest. In a small and mixed community, dominated numerically by a vastly prevailing lower class of aliens, it is a question whether *Crown* government, pure and simple, does not offer better guarantees for general peace, harmony, and liberty, than would self-government, with all its arousing of party feeling, and with its risks of resulting in the undue preponderance of one particular section in the body politic, and of thus degenerating into despotism by local clique or class. There are, very naturally, ardent spirits, able and patriotic men, in the creole ranks of Mauritius, who, not content with the popularly-elected element which has been already engrafted upon Crown government in the island, desire absolute *self*-government for Mauritius. Yet this might prove a doubtful boon, even from their own point of view; because, if the enormous Indian majority, who up to now have seemed indifferent to island politics, were once to claim or to exercise their vote, it would swamp the creole vote entirely. And the change which the more advanced creoles now desire might thus only hasten a consummation which they dread, viz., the conversion of the island of Mauritius into a mere Indian community, an offshoot ultimately, like Aden or Perim, of the central government of British India.

It is impossible for any one who knows and loves, as I do, this beautiful and interesting island, "Pearl of the Indian Main," and "fairer Malta of the Tropic Sea," as Victor Hugo called it, to view with equanimity such an effacement of Mauritius as would consist in its total absorption into the vast government system of India. The history of the island is so interesting, her land is so picturesque, her creole population so generous in sentiment, so hospitable, and so true to their love of their beautiful island home, that the notion of Mauritius as a mere Indian appanage of British India is unpleasant and

even painful. Rather would the well-wisher of Mauritius echo the sentiment of the Ode composed for the opening of her General Exhibition in 1884, a composition which may perhaps be allowed to furnish a fitting conclusion to the present paper.

“ Pearl of the Indian Main !
 Thou fairer Malta of the Tropic Sea !
 Though to a strange harp tuned, accept one strain
 Of votive praise to thee !

Not thine, 'neath brazen skies
 The arid waste, the treeless desert land
 Where the parch'd traveller sighs, and vainly sighs,
 For glimpse of distant strand.

Thine are the swelling plain—
 The mountain monument's uplifted head—
 The green expanse of waving sugar cane—
 The torrent's rocky bed.

And kindly hearts are thine,
 And patriot instincts, broadly to embrace
 Thy children in one sympathy divine,
 Heedless of creed or race.

Thus greet we thee to-day,
 When, in one temple for the moment stored,
 Varied and rich the treasures we display
 From Nature's hand outpoured.

These, but not these alone,
 For Art her list of honour doth unroll,
 Claiming our sons by fealty her own
 In culture and in soul.

O blest and favour'd land !
 Of all, long sought, alone the ' Happy Isle !'
 On whom, twice crown'd to-day, on either hand
 Both Art and Nature smile—

Long may thy sons rejoice
 In broad'ning freedom, and in wid'ning light !
 In ' list'ning senates' long upraise the voice
 For justice and for right !

Nor lose we heed to-day
Of all who loved thee, from the years gone by
To now—from Mahé de La Bourdonnais
To John Pope Hennessy—

Who, not for power, or pelf,
Or place, or party, strained the despot's thrall,
Who sought thy welfare only for itself
By justice done to all.

Honoured their names shall be !
On thee, may Heaven its choicest blessings rain,
Thou fairer Malta of the Tropic Sea !
Pearl of the Indian Main !”

APPENDIX

AFRICA

The Cape of Good Hope. A self-governing colony. The Executive power is in the hands of the Governor, who is advised by an Executive Council. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, and by virtue of his office is Commander-in-Chief of the military forces; he is also High Commissioner for South Africa, and has supreme authority over Basutoland. The Executive Council is formed of the five or six Cabinet Ministers of the colony, who must be members of the Legislative Council or House of Assembly. The Ministers can speak in either House, but they can vote only in the House to which they have been duly elected. The Upper or Legislative Council consists of twenty-three members elected for seven years, and the House of Assembly of seventy-nine members elected for five years, both elections by ballot. The colony is divided into seventy-seven divisions, and its dependencies into twenty-nine districts. In each district there is a Civil Commissioner, who is generally Resident Magistrate. There are ninety-two Municipalities, each governed by a Mayor or Chairman, and eighty Village Management Boards. The electoral qualification is ability to write, British nationality, or twelve months' residence prior to registration. Members of Parliament are paid one guinea a day and travelling expenses. Speeches may be made in English or Dutch. The law is modified Roman-Dutch Law. There is no State Church; ninety-five per cent. of the population are Protestants. There is a grant in aid of education; but it is not compulsory, and only about one-fourth of the inhabitants can read or write. There were one hundred and seven Public Libraries in 1897. The railways are mostly owned by the State, and the private

lines are also nearly all worked by the Government. The Transkeian Territories are grouped under two Chief Magistrates, and subject to the Native Territories Penal Code.

Griqualand West was settled about 1833 by the Griquas or "Baastards," a tribe of Dutch-Hottentot half-breeds. When diamonds were discovered in 1867 there was a rush from all sides, and in 1872 the Griqua chief, Waterboer, was induced to cede his authority, and the province was annexed to Cape Colony, but with independent jurisdiction. In 1881 it became an integral part of Cape Colony. Capital, Kimberley.

Transkeian Territories, sometimes called Kaffraria, is divided from Cape Colony by the Kei River. It consists of a number of small Kaffir tribal territories, which, since 1876, have bit by bit been annexed to Cape Colony. They are ruled by Resident Magistrates, under the direct control of the Government of the colony.

Griqualand East comprises Noman's Land, the Gatberg, and St. John's River territory, under eight subordinate magistrates.

Tembuland comprises Tembuland proper, Emigrant Tam-bukiland, and Bomvanaland, under ten magistrates.

Transkei comprises Fingoland, Idutywa Reserve, and Galkaland, under six magistrates.

Walfish Bay, an isolated port on the coast of Damaraland, is administered by a resident magistrate.

Pondoland, the part which remained independent until 1886-7, came under British influence in consequence of the raids upon Xesibes, a tribe under British protection, and it remained a Protectorate until 1894, when it became an integral part of Cape Colony.

British Bechuanaland. In 1885 the territories south of Molopo River and of the Ramathlabana Spruit were declared to be British territory under the name of British Bechuanaland, and a commission was issued to the Governor of the Cape to be its Governor, with power to legislate by proclamation. It was annexed to Cape Colony in 1895.

1486 Diaz, a Portuguese, landed in Algoa Bay.

1591 British ships at Cape.

1602 Dutch ships at Cape.

1620 Two English East India Commanders took possession of Cape.

- 1652 The Dutch founded Cape Town.
 1671 A nominal purchase of land from Hottentots.
 1689-90 Three hundred French Huguenots arrive at Cape.
 1795 The Prince of Orange being in exile, British take possession.
 1803 Peace of Amiens restores it to Holland.
 1806 Recaptured by British force.
 1814 Cape, with the Dutch colonies in South America, ceded to British Crown for £6,000,000.
 1820 Introduction of British settlers.
 1834 First Kaffir war.
 1836 Trekking of Dutch commences, which ends in the founding of Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Natal.
 1844 Natal annexed to Cape.
 1846 Second Kaffir war and extension of boundary to Kei River.
 1849 Cape declared a penal station, but colony refuse to receive convicts.
 1850 Third Kaffir war.
 1853 Introduction of representative government.
 1856 Natal made an independent colony.
 1856 Two thousand men of German Legion, and 2000 agricultural labourers from North Germany arrive.
 1865 British Kaffraria incorporated.
 1867 Diamonds discovered.
 1871 Basutoland added to Cape.
 1871 Griqualand West proclaimed a colony.
 1872 Introduction of responsible government in Cape Colony.
 1874 Ichaboe and Penguin islands annexed.
 1876 Fingoland, Idutywa Reserve, and Noman's Land annexed.
 1877-78 Gaika and Gealika rebellion.
 1878 Walfish Bay proclaimed a British possession.
 1879-81 Basuto war.
 1880 Griqualand West incorporated with Cape.
 1883 Separation of Basutoland from Cape.
 1884 Basutoland made an independent colony.
 1884 Port St. John annexed.
 1884 Establishment of German Protectorate on West coast to North of Orange River.
 1885 Incorporation of all Transkei, except part of Pondoland, with Cape.
 1894 Annexation of Pondoland.
 1895 Annexation of British Bechuanaland.

Basutoland, an inland colony, was annexed to Cape Colony in 1871, but placed under the direct control of the Crown in 1884. It is now governed by a Resident Commissioner, under the High Commissioner for South Africa. It is divided into seven districts, and subdivided into wards, presided over by

hereditary chiefs allied to the Mosesh family. Laws are made by proclamation of the High Commissioner, and administered by native chiefs. Appeals are heard by Assistant Commissioner, the ultimate Court of Appeal being the High Commissioner. A Pitso or National Assembly is held once a year to discuss and explain matters of common interest. Passports are required by the natives, also licences to trade. Spirituous liquors are forbidden. European settlement prohibited. Admitted to Customs Union. There is a grant-in-aid for education.

Bechuanaland Protectorate. The three principal tribes are ruled by three chiefs—Khama, Sebele, and Bathoen—under a Resident Commissioner acting for the High Commissioner. The High Commissioner has power of making laws by proclamation.

Rhodesia is administered by the British South Africa Company, incorporated by Royal Charter Oct. 29, 1889. The High Commissioner for South Africa has direct authority, but leaves the general administration to the Company. The authorities and powers in regard to the administration of Southern Rhodesia are defined by three instruments—the Charter, the South African Order in Council 1891, the Matabeleland Order in Council 1894. The three principal methods of legislation are—Proclamation, Ordinance, Regulation. Proclamations are promulgated by the High Commissioner; Ordinances are framed and passed by the Board of Directors in London, and require the approval of the Secretary of State before becoming law; Regulations give the Administrator, with the concurrence of the Council, power to make, alter, and repeal Regulations. A Regulation after promulgation can be disallowed by a Secretary of State or by the Company within one year. The Company's Administrator is assisted by an Executive Council, consisting of the Resident Commissioner, appointed by the Crown, and not less than four members appointed by the Company, with the approval of the Secretary of State, and by a Legislative Council, consisting of the Administrator as president, the Resident Commissioner, and five nominees of the Company approved by Secretary of State, and four members elected by the registered voters. The duration of each Council is three years.

The laws in force at the Cape up to 1891 are in force in Rhodesia, as far as circumstances permit. The river Zambesi divides the country into Northern and Southern Rhodesia; the latter consists of Mashonaland and Matabeleland.

Northern Rhodesia, of which very little is known, is governed by an Administrator, whose headquarters are at Blantyre. He is assisted by Collectors and Assistants. By arrangement with the Imperial Government, the police work is undertaken by the armed force of the British Central Africa Protectorate.

Natal derives its name from its discovery on Christmas Day, 1497, by Vasco de Gama. The country was occupied solely by natives until 1824, when a small party of Englishmen established themselves where Durban now stands. The Boers attempted to set up an independent government at Pietermaritzburg, but the Governor of the Cape in 1843 proclaimed it British, and annexed it to Cape Colony. In 1856 it was erected into a separate colony, with representative institutions, and in 1893 acquired responsible government. The Government consists of a Governor, appointed by the Crown, a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly. The former consists of eleven members, nominated by the Governor in Council, part of whom retire every five years. The latter consists of thirty-seven members, elected by popular vote. Both members of Council and Assembly are unpaid, but travelling expenses are allowed. The franchise has a property qualification. The Executive is the Governor and Executive Council, consisting of the Ministers for the time being, who can sit and speak in both Houses, but vote only in the House to which they have been duly elected. The Law is modified Roman-Dutch Law. There are about nine natives to one white. £10,000 is spent annually for welfare of natives. Education is free, but not compulsory. The province of Zululand was annexed to Natal, Dec. 31, 1897, and is now administered as an integral part of the colony of Natal. The chief town is Eshowe. The Amaputaland Protectorate, created in Nov. 1897, was annexed to Zululand on Dec. 27, 1897, and now forms the Maputa District of the province.

British Central Africa Protectorate, formerly called Nyassaland, was proclaimed a British Protectorate in 1891, and is administered by the Imperial Government through the Foreign Office. The Protectorate contains nineteen administrative stations.

British East Africa. In 1877 the Sultan of Zanzibar offered, through Mr. Mackinnon, a concession of the whole of the Zanzibar coast-line to Great Britain, which the English Government did not look upon favourably. Between 1880-85 the German Government obtained a footing on the mainland, and the Sultan recognised their protectorate over Usagura and Witu. In 1888 the Imperial British East Africa Company acquired the right to administer the coast from Umba to Kipini for fifty years, paying an annual tribute to the Sultan. In 1890 the Sultan recognised the protectorate of Great Britain over the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. In the same year an Anglo-German agreement was signed, an arrangement with Italy in 1891, and one with the Congo Free State in 1894. In 1893 the Company retired from Uganda, which was taken over by the Imperial Government in 1895. A British Protectorate was acquired over the coast at Zanzibar, Witu, and Uganda, and the land lying between. For administrative purposes it was divided into the East African and Uganda Protectorates.

Zanzibar. The Sultan's authority extends over Zanzibar and Pemba. In 1890 the Sultan accepted the Protectorate of Great Britain. In October 1891 a regular Government was formed for Zanzibar, with L. Matthews as Prime Minister. All accounts are kept in English and Arabic, and are always open for inspection. Zanzibar was declared a free port in 1892. Justice is administered by Kazis, with an appeal to the Sultan. The British Agent tries all British subjects.

British East Africa Protectorate is placed under the control of a Commissioner and Consul-General, who is also British Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar. It is divided for administrative purposes into four provinces, each under a Sub-commissioner:—(1) Coast Province (Sezyidich), capital Mombassa; (2) Ukamba, capital Machakos; (3) Tura-land

(including Witu), capital Lamu ; (4) Juba-land, capital Kismayu.

Uganda is administered by a Commissioner, but the infant son of King Mwanga nominally reigns in Uganda proper. Regular criminal courts have been established, and there is a kind of native parliament.

British Somaliland. The Somali coast from Lahadu, west of Zaila, to Bandai Ziyada, became a British Protectorate in 1884. It is administered by a Political Agent and Consul. By arrangement with Italy in 1894, and Abyssinia in 1897, the limits were defined. It is placed under the Foreign Office.

Socotra. This island came under British protection in 1876 by treaty with the Sultan.

Mauritius was discovered by the Portuguese in 1507, but the first settlement was made by the Dutch in 1598, who named it after their Stadtholder, Count Maurice of Nassau, and was abandoned in 1712. The French came in 1715, and in 1721 formally took possession on behalf of the French East India Company, and in 1767 on behalf of the Crown of France. Its name was then changed to Isle de France. The British took it in 1810. The French language and laws are still preserved. Government: There is a Governor, aided by an Executive Council of five officials and two elected members, and a Legislative Council of twenty-seven members, of whom eight are *ex-officio*, nine nominated by Governor, and ten elected by the various districts into which the island is divided. Education is conducted either by Government or Grant Schools; the former are wholly supported by the State, and the latter partially so. The dependencies are—

The Seychelles, discovered by the Portuguese; occupied by the French in 1742; captured by the British in 1794; and assigned to Great Britain in 1814. They are governed by an Administrator and Executive and Legislative Council.

Rodrigues is administered by a Magistrate.

There are other small dependencies, mostly coral islands.

*Gambia.*¹ The dependency dates from 1816, when Bri-

¹ Gambia was discovered by the Portuguese. In 1588 Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to merchants of Exeter to trade with Gambia,

tish traders were forced to leave the Senegal. It was originally called Bathurst. It occupies both banks of the river Gambia for a distance of 250 miles. According to the agreement with France of 1891, it consists of a strip of land six miles wide on either side of the river. Gambia has been a separate Crown Colony since 1888. It has a Governor, an Executive and a Legislative Council.

*Sierra Leone.*¹ Discovered by Pedro de Cintra in 1461 or 1462. In 1561 John Hawkins carried off negroes from here to the West Indies. Sierra Leone was the first place where Englishmen took part in the slave trade, and here also England took her first steps towards the abolition of slavery. It was first settled by liberated slaves, who were sent there by English philanthropists. The Sierra Leone Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1791. Its chief object was stated to be "the introduction of civilisation into Africa." Zachary Macaulay (father of Lord Macaulay) did much to establish the colony on a trade footing. In 1821 it became a Crown Colony. It is governed by an Executive and Legislative Council. By the concessions made to France in the agreements of 1889 and 1891, the extension of the British sphere to the Niger and to the great interior plateau has been rendered impossible. The Mohammedan, Christian, and Pagan religions are all represented in this colony. There are few roads and no railways in the colony, and slavery still exists in the adjacent territories.

*The Gold Coast.*² Its name is not a misnomer. Large quantities of gold still come from there. In 1844 an agreement called the Bond was signed by the Fantee chiefs, in

and in 1618 a Company was formed; this and a succeeding company failed. In 1724, and until its abolition, the slave trade was the staple traffic.

¹ It was ceded to Great Britain in 1787 by the native chiefs.

² The Gold Coast was discovered by France in the fourteenth century, and in 1366 a Company was formed at Rouen to trade with West Africa. In 1672 an English Company was formed called the Royal African Company, which was succeeded in 1750 by the African Company of Merchants. This Company received an annual subsidy for the loss caused through the abolition of the slave trade. In 1821 the Company was dissolved, and the Government took over the colony.

which they formally recognised our authority. In 1874, after the Ashantee war, an Order in Council was passed which defined the powers exercised by the British Crown, and delegated to the Legislature of the Gold Coast Colony whatever powers the Crown possessed. Slave dealing and slavery were abolished throughout the protected territories. The Gold Coast is a Crown Colony, the government consisting of a Governor, an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. The chief towns are: Axim, the port for the gold-mines of Wassau. Elmina, the oldest station on the coast, a stronghold of the Portuguese, and afterwards of the Dutch. Cape Coast Castle, the old English capital, is only eight miles to the east of Elmina. The military police is composed of the Mohammedan Houssas.

Lagos. The Yorubas from the mainland first settled in the small island of Iddo, and then went over to Lagos to farm and cultivate the ground, and Lagos became a kingdom of the Yorubas. The slave trade flourished here considerably from 1815 to 1851, when the English interfered and put it down. In 1861 King Docemo ceded the port and island and territories of Lagos to Great Britain, and received a pension. When first annexed it was constituted a separate colony. In 1874 it was incorporated with the Gold Coast. In 1886 it became again a separate Crown Colony, with an Executive and a Legislative Council. Education is carried on by grants in aid from the Government, and there are about thirty schools in the colony.

The Niger Protectorate. On the 18th October 1887 the Foreign Office announced that the "British Protectorate of the Niger District comprises the territories between Lagos and the right bank of the mouth of the Rio del Rey." It further comprises all territories in the basin of the Niger and its affluents, subject to the government of the Royal Niger Company, according to the Charter of the Company dated 10th July 1886. The agreement with France of 1890 makes the northern boundary a line drawn from Say on the Niger to Barruwa on Lake Chad, leaving to the British Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the kingdom of Sokoto. This has been modified by another agreement arrived at in 1898. The

eastern boundary, as far as the Benue River, is provisionally fixed by agreements with Germany in 1885, 1886, 1890, and 1893. Most of the Delta forms the Niger Coast Protectorate. Part of the Delta and most of the interior, with the Lower Niger and Benue Rivers and affluents, are under the control of the Royal Niger Company, subject to freedom of navigation for merchant ships of all nations, as laid down at the International Berlin Conference of 1885.

The Royal Niger Company and its Territories. This is essentially a continental Company, *i.e.* the sphere of its operations is in the interior, thus differing from the other West African Colonies, which are chiefly concerned with the coast and adjacent country. The Niger Territories consist of three sections—the Delta, low-lying and unhealthy; the country between the head of the Delta and Idda, a lowland country; and the country north of Idda, which is mountainous and salubrious. In these Territories are included great Mohammedan States, such as Sokoto, Gundu, and Bornu, and the Pagan negro kingdom of Borgu. It is due to the enterprise of the Company that the great basin of the Lower Niger has been secured to Great Britain. The Territory was governed by the Royal Niger Company until 1899 under a Charter issued in 1886. The foundation dates from 1882, and was effected by means of about 300 treaties with native states and tribes. Since then 200 further treaties have been made, which have completely filled up the gaps. In 1899 the Imperial Government took over the Territories, paying £865,000 to the Company, whose energies will now be restricted to trading in the district.

The Niger Coast Protectorate. This was formerly the Oil Rivers Protectorate. It is the outcome of a series of treaties made in 1884 by Consul Hewett in consequence of German extension in the Cameroons. The Oil Rivers were known to English merchants of the sixteenth century. The district contains many rivers and creeks, on which trading stations are situated, the most important being Brass, Bonny, Opobo, and Old Calabar. This latter is the most important in the Protectorate. In the interior are native cities, the strongholds of barbarism and fetish worship. Benin was such a

city, which in 1897 was included with the Protectorate. Government: The Oil Rivers Protectorate was constituted a local jurisdiction by the Africa Order in Council of 1889. In 1891 the government was entrusted to an Imperial Commissioner and Consul-General (who take instructions from Foreign Office), with administrative and judicial powers, and power of imposing taxation. There are two military posts, and two more about to be established. There are eleven native Councils, consisting of native chiefs, who sit at regular intervals and try cases; there are also fifteen minor native courts. The schools receive Government grants. There is no uniform currency or system of weights and measures.

South African Republic. The Transvaal or South African Republic is shut in on all sides by British territory, except on the south, where it is bounded by the Orange Free State, and on the north-east, where it is closed in by Portuguese territory. It was founded in 1840 by Boers who left Cape Colony in 1835 for Natal, but who left that colony on its annexation by the British Crown. Its independence was recognised by the British Government in 1852; but it was annexed in 1879, when the Boers revolted, and in 1881 their freedom was restored, the control and management of external affairs being reserved by her Majesty as suzerain. By the Convention of 1884 these terms were modified, and the British Government was to be represented by a Diplomatic Agent, but the control of foreign relations was retained and the suzerainty clause was not annulled. In the view of the British Government this clause remains in force, though the Boers maintain that it was superseded, and that there is therefore now no suzerainty. The legislative power is vested in a First Volksraad elected by first-class burghers, and a Second Volksraad of no actual power, elected by the second-class burghers. There are twenty-seven members in each chamber, and both are elected for four years. Members must be thirty years of age, and Protestants. First-class burghers are white males resident in the Republic before 1876 or who have taken any active part in any war in defence of the State, and the children over sixteen years of age of such parents. The naturalised aliens and their children enjoy the restricted

privilege of second-class burghers, while the bulk of the white population are without political rights. Naturalisation can be obtained after two years' residence and registration on books of Field-cornet, oath of allegiance, and payment of £2. The Executive is vested in the President, elected for five years, assisted by a Council of four official members (the State Secretary, the Commandant-General, the Superintendent of Natives, and Minute Keeper), and two non-official members. The President and Commandant-General are elected by the first-class burghers only, the District Commandant and Field-cornet by first and second class burghers. The State Secretary, Superintendent of Natives, and Minute Keeper and Secretary, and the two non-official members, are elected by the first Volksraad.

Egypt. The administration of Egypt is carried on by native Ministers, subject to the ruling of the Khedive. From 1879 to 1883 two Controllers-General appointed by France and England had considerable power in the direction of the affairs of the country. In 1882, in consequence of a rebellion, England intervened and restored the authority of the Khedive. In this intervention France did not join, and on Jan. 18, 1883, the Khedive signed a decree abolishing the dual control. In place of the joint control the Khedive appointed an English Financial Adviser, without whose concurrence no financial decision can be taken. The Financial Adviser has a right to a seat in the Council of Ministers, but he is not an executive officer. On May 1, 1883, an organic law was promulgated by the Khedive creating a number of representative institutions, including a Legislative Council, General Assembly, and Provisional Board. The Legislative Council consists of thirty members, of whom fourteen are nominated by the Government. Of these fifteen reside in Cairo, and receive an allowance of £90 for carriage expenses, the fifteen from the provinces receiving £250. The Council meets once a month to examine the Budget, &c. The General Assembly consists of the Legislative Council, six Ministers, and forty-six members popularly elected. It has no legislative function, but no new, direct, personal, or land tax can be imposed without its consent. It is summoned at least once every two years. The members

when convoked receive an eight days' allowance of £1 a day, with travelling expenses.

Since 1887 an Ottoman High Commissioner has resided at Cairo. Egypt is administratively divided into six governorships and fourteen provinces.

Egyptian Soudan. A Convention between the British and Egyptian Governments, Jan. 19, 1899, provides for the administration of the territory south of the twenty-second parallel of latitude by a Governor-General, appointed by Egypt with the assent of Great Britain. The British and Egyptian flags shall be used together. Laws are made by proclamation. The Soudan has been divided into four first-class districts and three second-class, and six Military Governors have been appointed.¹

EUROPEAN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN AFRICA.

	Square Miles.	Population.
British Africa . . .	2,516,780	40,100,880
Egypt and Soudan . . .	1,000,000	20,000,000
Transvaal	119,139	1,094,156
French	3,288,034	30,358,800
German	930,700	11,200,000
Belgian (Congo F. State)	900,000	30,000,000
Portuguese	792,040	8,197,790
Spanish	243,877	136,000
Italian	188,500	850,000
Independent	1,055,000	19,000,000

¹ The Cape to Cairo Railway is expected to be completed in 1909. The length will be about 6600 miles (700 of which will be through German territory). Some 3000 miles have already been built. The cost is estimated at about £25,000,000.

Niger C	34 ...	...	Old Calabar	15,000	Niger Coast
Niger C	...	..	Akassa	...	Niger Company
South A or T	2,000	11,552	Pretoria Business Centre. Johannesburg	10,000 102,078	South African Republic, or Transvaal
Egypt ia, al, 3	2,087,38	228,000	Cairo	570,062	Egypt
Soudan	...	...	Khartum	...	Soudan

* Ru

BRITISH EMPIRE IN AFRICA, 1897-98

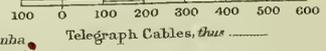
	Area.	Population in 1891.	Population in 1898.		Army.	Volunteers.	Debt.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Tonnage of Vessels Entered and Cleared.		Exports.			Imports.			Railways.	Telegraph.	Scholars.	Capital.	Population.		
	Square Miles.	Total.	White.	Total.						Total.	British.	Total.	To United Kingdom.	To Colonies.	Total.	From United Kingdom.	From Colonies.	Miles.	Miles.					
Cape of Good Hope	277,151	1,527,224	376,987	2,143,100	2,926	7,007	£ 27,282,405	£ 7,389,966	£ 6,851,986	12,853,405	12,137,192	£ 21,660,210	£ 21,239,560	£ 80,208	£ 17,997,789	£ 12,904,946	£ 835,952	2,835	6,609	132,020	Capetown	83,898 with suburbs	Cape of Good Hope	
Basutoland	10,293	218,902	578	250,000	240	...	...	46,555	44,797	...	...	132,030	...	...	100,280	...	...	...	15	8,458	Maseru	862	Basutoland
Bechuanaland Protec- torate	386,200	...	500	100,500	187	...	...	47,551	88,448	...	...	...	...	...	70,000	...	...	586	1,856	...	Palapye	15,000	Bechuanaland Protec- torate
Rhodesia	750,000	...	10,000	1,100,000	1,436	109	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,086	...	...	Salisbury	1,800	Rhodesia
Natal, with Zululand	35,089	692,349	50,241	828,459	5,000	1,534	7,744,008	2,213,074	1,624,998	2,494,463	2,132,035	1,621,932	1,114,698	60,372	6,001,969	4,184,467	292,491	487	960	19,222	Pietermaritz- burg	24,595	Natal, with Zululand	
British Central Africa	42,217	...	300	845,000	1,200	...	...	24,538	65,715	...	...	27,437	...	...	86,428	...	...	...	...	...	Blantyre	6,000	British Central Africa
British East Africa—																								British East Africa—
Zanzibar and Pemba	1,020	...	150	300,000	...	...	...	...	...	271,942	...	1,189,668	162,422	...	1,399,078	159,894	...	...	...	...	Zanzibar	30,000	Zanzibar and Pemba
B. E. A. Protectorate	750,000	...	...	2,500,000	...	...	...	32,670	134,346	...	...	78,135	...	...	261,706	...	...	...	260	...	Mombasa	24,000	B. E. A. Protectorate
Uganda	90,000	...	...	300,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16,315	...	...	14,800	...	...	200	...	...	Unyoro	...	Uganda
British Somaliland	68,000	...	...	50,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	346,231	...	...	325,278	...	...	...	...	...	Berbera	30,000	British Somaliland
Socotra	1,382	...	...	4,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Tamarida	...	Socotra
Mauritius*	705	371,655	...	377,856	1,214	...	1,237,448	533,114	575,120	667,391	439,834	1,897,254	30,173	1,540,073	1,833,922	443,350	973,571	105	135	19,287	Port Louis	55,645	Mauritius	
Seychelles	79	16,440	...	18,639	...	...	20,000	19,744	17,166	...	...	100,243	...	...	74,827	...	...	...	...	2,332	Port Victoria	...	Seychelles
Rodrigues	85	2,068	...	2,772	...	...	...	534	1,567	...	...	8,512	...	...	6,417	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Rodrigues
Gambia	69	13,057	...	14,266	100	...	...	39,415	27,059	258,398	164,939	165,894	35,235	1,469	176,327	97,181	25,149	...	...	883	Bathurst	6,239	Gambia
Protectorate	2,700	50,000	Protectorate
Sierra Leone	3,000	74,835	224	126,835	524	...	{ 25,000 (recently paid off) }	106,008	111,678	1,084,745	835,538	400,748	188,945	28,888	457,390	377,508	6,097	...	2,927	11,000	Freetown	30,000	Sierra Leone	
Protectorate	24,000	250,000	Protectorate
Gold Coast	39,060	1,473,882	200	1,500,000	1,886	...	...	237,857	406,369	1,158,027	714,814	857,793	581,904	35,498	910,540	610,967	60,458	...	665	10,480	Accra	16,276	Gold Coast
Lagos	1,239	85,607	200	100,000	1,226	...	...	177,421	182,669	718,303	533,883	810,975	400,114	60,632	770,510	574,938	28,582	...	252	3,494	Lagos	32,500	Lagos
Protectorate	20,070	...	200	3,000,000	Protectorate
Niger Coast Protectorate	4,000	...	...	3,000,000	1,800	...	...	112,441	128,411	...	345,316	785,605	546,467	...	655,978	563,291	...	...	...	...	Old Calabar	15,000	Niger Coast Protectorate
Niger Company	350,000	...	...	30,000,000	...	...	...	110,756	...	...	...	405,935	...	...	159,989	...	...	...	...	...	Akassa	...	Niger Company
South African Republic, or Transvaal	119,139	...	345,397	1,094,156	{ 400 26,299 (liable for service) }	...	2,673,690	4,480,218	4,394,066	21,515,000	17,012,000	...	774	2,000	11,552	Pretoria Business Centre. Johannesburg	10,000 102,078	South African Republic, or Transvaal	
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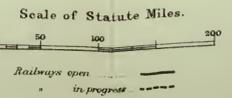
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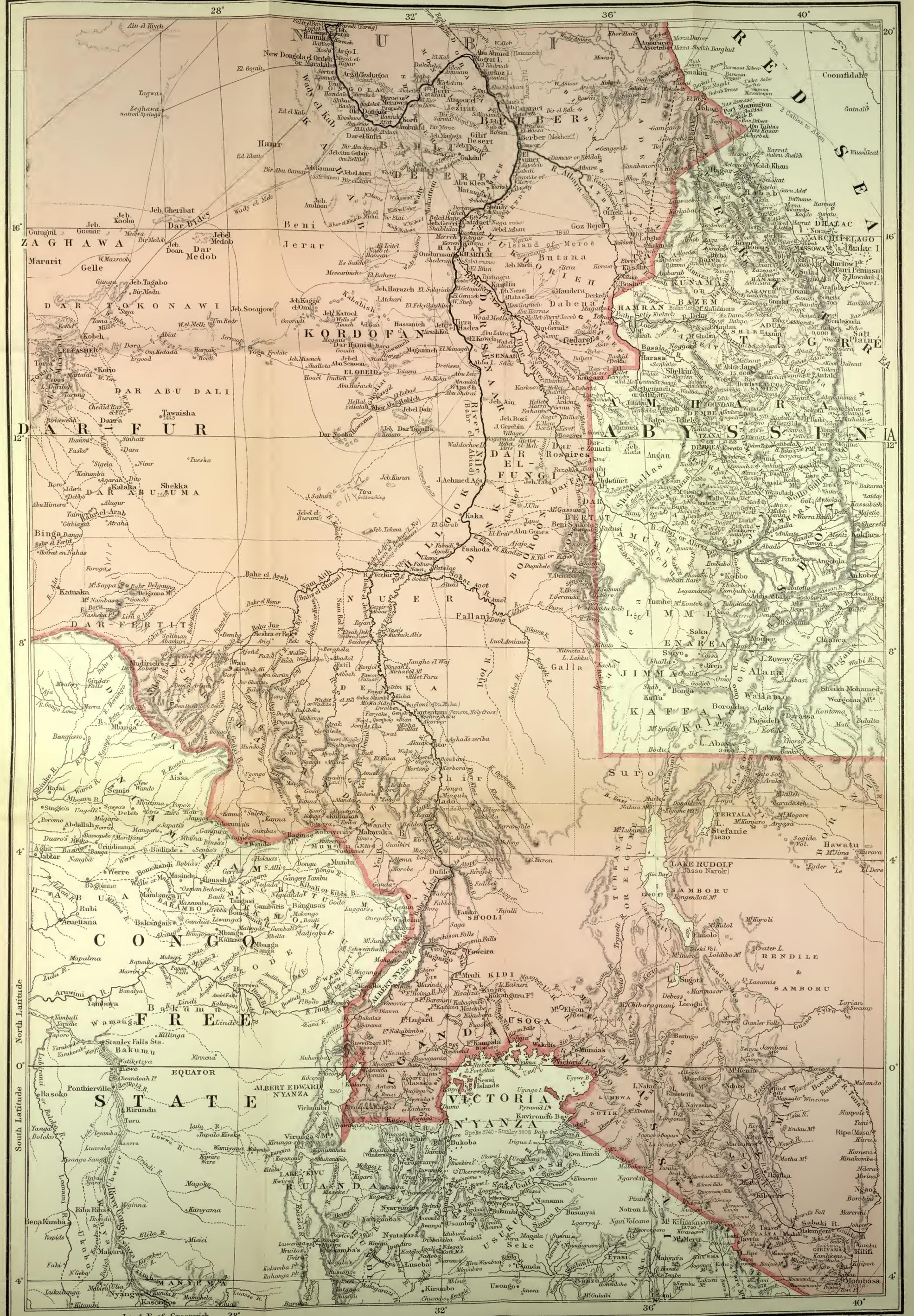
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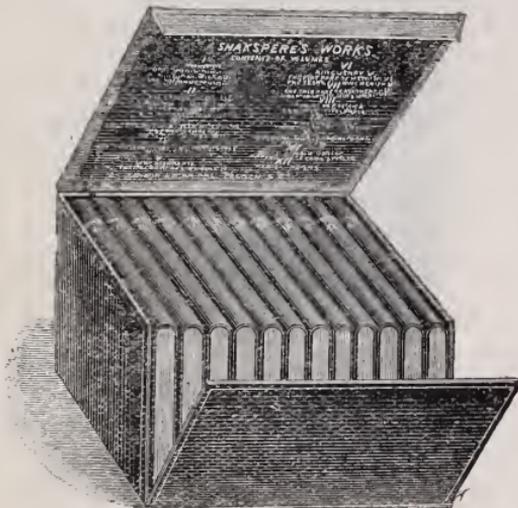
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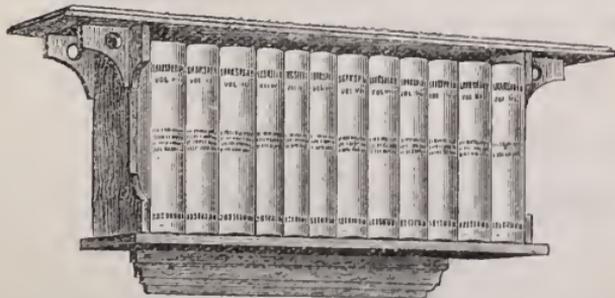
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