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45 GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH,
17th November 1893.

THE RISE

OF

OUR EAST AFRICAN EMPIRE

EARLY EFFORTS IN NYASALAND AND UGANDA

BY

CAPTAIN F. D. LUGARD, D.S.O.

HON. F.R.G.S.; DIPLOM. F.R.S.G.S.

WITH 130 ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS UNDER THE PERSONAL SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE AUTHOR

ALSO 14 SPECIALLY PREPARED MAPS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCXCIII

Dedicated

TO

MY UNCLE,

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GENERAL SIR EDWARD LUGARD, G.C.B.

WHOSE EXAMPLE AND CHARACTER

IT HAS BEEN MY GREATEST AMBITION

TO EMULATE.

INTRODUCTION.

UGANDA and East Africa have recently excited such a widespread interest, that I venture to hope my humble attempt to record the story of past endeavours, and my earnest effort to throw some light upon the questions which remain for solution regarding their future administration and capabilities, will meet with the approval of those who have shown so strong an interest in their fate.

Her Majesty's Government have lately sent a Commission of Inquiry to Uganda; and I hope that the account contained in these pages of the series of events which led to the political situation which Sir Gerald Portal was sent to examine, may be read with some interest in conjunction with his report. At the present time, moreover, when we have already declared a protectorate over Nyasaland and Zanzibar, and it is not beyond the bounds of probability that East Africa and Uganda may before long share the same advantages, the various problems which present themselves for solution in these infant empires in East Africa de-

mand our most serious attention. Since there is no specialist attached to the mission who can furnish an authoritative report on the capabilities of the soil and climate for various agricultural products of commercial value—on the animal fodder, &c.—I venture to hope that my own observations—albeit not those of an expert—may under the circumstances be of some use.

My aim, therefore, in these volumes, has been not so much to set forth a narrative of personal adventure, sport, and travel—a species of writing with which the public has been regaled by those who have far more to tell than I—but rather to place before thinking men subjects of more serious concern, both to ourselves in our dealings with Africa and to the subject races for whose welfare we have made ourselves responsible.

The rapid increase of population, the closing of the hitherto available outlets for emigration and for industrial extension, as well as of the markets for our goods, and the sources of supply of our needs, indicate that the time is not far distant when the teeming populations of Europe will turn to the fertile highlands of Africa to seek new fields for expansion. It is possible, therefore, that British Central and British East Africa may be the embryo empires of an epoch already dawning—empires which, in the zenith of their growth and development, may rival those mighty dependencies which are now the pride of the Anglo-Saxon race. It behoves us, then, to take heed to the small beginnings of these great things, and in laying the foundations, to ensure that the greatness of the structure shall not suffer from lack of realisation on our part in the present.

There are many who have seemed to look on Africa as merely a field for romance and adventure — as a great blank continent on which explorers or adventurers were free to write their own names in capital letters. With the last decade of the nineteenth century I trust that a new era has dawned for the African, and a new conception of our duties with regard to him has dawned upon ourselves. If these pages shall make it clearer what those duties are, and if the suggestions (which I offer with diffidence) shall to some extent be found feasible and worthy of acceptance, my aim in writing these volumes will be accomplished and my ambition fulfilled.

I well know, of course, that the views which I have expressed may be open to dissent. I have had, however, the privilege for many years of enjoying the friendship of Sir John Kirk, than whom no living man knows more of these matters, and of the Rev. H. Waller, and others who have devoted their time and attention to African affairs. I have, so far as time has permitted me, endeavoured to collate the opinions of well-known writers, such as Gordon, Livingstone, Speke, Grant, Baker, and more modern travellers, and, where possible, I have quoted my authority. Above all, I have had the great advantage of going into these questions myself on the spot, and hearing the views of others in Africa itself.

I would plead for the indulgence due to the first literary attempt of one whose life has been more full of action than of leisure. This must stand as my apology for defects of style and lack of literary merit. Those who have lived year after year in the surroundings of

civilisation can hardly appreciate, perhaps, the effect of a total exclusion from all sources of literature. For some sixteen years my life has been a series of wanderings on service in the field, in various parts of India and in Africa, far from libraries, and often even from periodical literature.

Nor have I the presumption to suppose that a book which has extended to the length of the present volumes will be read consecutively through from cover to cover, except by a very few. I hope, however, that with the assistance of the index, upon which special care has been bestowed, those who are interested in any one of the various problems to which I have alluded (commerce, labour, transport, administration, slave-trade, missions, &c.) will be able with little trouble to refer to such portions of the book as may have a special interest for them. Others who may be concerned in the religious controversy which has arisen regarding the treatment of the sects in Uganda, or in the narrative of travel, the war against the slavers in Nyasaland, or in sport, the domestication of the African elephant, &c., will, I trust, find something of interest on each of these subjects in the following pages, and pardon the inclusion of matter outside the sphere of their own individual sympathy.

In the mere narrative of travel, I have endeavoured not so much to describe the ethnological characteristics or the social peculiarities of the peoples of Africa—I have even omitted the chapter on the customs and traditions of the Waganda and neighbouring countries,—for these have been again and again exhaustively described by such writers as Burton, Livingstone,

Schweinfurth, Junker, Speke, and many others: I have rather attempted, with perhaps indifferent success, to present a view of Africa and its people, and of the life of the European in that country, which will convey a distinct conception to the reader, and enable him to conjure up a mental picture of daily life in Africa, and the round of daily work or travel. For it has often seemed to me that travellers have been so engrossed with the stirring events in which they have borne a part, that they have given prominence to these, to the exclusion of the petty and daily incident; and that, writing long after the conclusion of their travels, when such daily routine had become familiarised to their minds by constant habit, they have presupposed an elementary knowledge of the nature and features of the country and its people, and of the modes and *initia* of travel, which the average reader does not possess—or possessing, cannot with certainty adapt to the special part of the country of which he may be reading. For this reason I have purposely quoted freely from my diary, that the first impressions of the moment may be photographed in my pages.

A word as to the spelling of African names. I have adopted, for the most part, the Swahili prefix, since this language is a type of the Bantu tongues, and has been called the *lingua franca* of Africa. In the Swahili vocabulary the name of a country begins with *U*, of an individual with *M*, of individuals (plural) with *Wa-*, of a language with *Ki-*, thus:—

Uganda,	country.	*Mganda*,	an individual.	*Waganda*,	the people	*Kiganda*,	the language
Usoga,	"	*Msoga*,	"	*Wasoga*,	"	*Kisoga*,	"
Uhamba,	"	*Mhamba*,	"	*Wahamba*,	"	*Ki-hamba*,	"

These prefixes are locally changed, and this causes confusion. Thus in the language of Uganda, the country is called Buganda, Busoga, Buddu. The people, Baganda, Bahuma, Basoga. The language, Luganda, &c. So again in Nyasaland the plural *W* is dropped, and Wankondé becomes 'Ankondé, Atonga, Angoni, &c.; as also the singular *M*, and one speaks of a 'Nkondé man, an Atonga, &c. In some cases it has been necessary to defer to these variations, where names have become well known through the writings of others (as Buddu, Wankondé, &c.) I may add that *r* and *l* are completely interchangeable in the Bantu languages, so that the natives will use the forms Ingleza, Ingreza, Ankoli, Ankori, in the same breath, without apparently any perception of a difference in sound.

Two or three African words, being of very constant use and expressive, have been admitted. Thus *mirandu* of Nyasaland, and *shauri* of East Africa—the former Chinyanja, the latter Swahili—mean a conference, a discussion, a palaver, or a council. The former comes to mean a "quarrel" as the result of an argument, and so the threat "I'll have a mirandu if you do not do so," is the exact equivalent of "I shall have something to say to you if," &c. A *shamba* is a plantation, and means also cultivation generally. In Uganda it is used as the equivalent of *byalo*, and may mean an estate from the size of a garden to a large district containing very many smaller *byalo* or *shambas*. A *safari* is a caravan. *Askari* are an intermediate rank below the headmen, but above the porters; they carry no loads, and are available for special duties.

Askari also means a soldier — among the Sudanese, *askar*. *Aitham* (Sudanese, viz. Arabic), the widows and belongings of a dead man.

The maps have been specially prepared by Mr E. G. Ravenstein, from all available sources, and he has most kindly embodied in them much information not otherwise obtainable. Probably no man in England is better acquainted with every detail of East African geography than Mr Ravenstein, who has made it a special study, and the reader may therefore rely on these maps as being more exactly accurate and more "up to date" than any which have yet been published. Mr Stanley, Dr Stuhlmann, and other great explorers, have, I believe, placed their charts at his disposal at various times, and as cartographer to the Imperial British East African Company he has had access to the numerous local maps made by *employés* of the Company: his opportunities and his knowledge are therefore unique. Moreover, he has had similar information at his disposal with regard to Nyasaland and the intermediate district, and I therefore feel that by obtaining his services for the compilation of my maps the very best possible results have been ensured.

Of my own route from the coast to the farthest point of my travels in East Africa, I prepared a road chart, on the scale of four miles to the inch, upon which I inserted copious notes of the soil, vegetation, &c. These have, of course, been utilised by Mr Ravenstein, and the area to the west of the Nile, up to Ruwenzori and the frontiers of the Congo State, has been reduced to twelve miles to the inch, and reproduced as a facsimile of my chart by the Intelligence

Department War Office under my own supervision; and they, by the kindness of Colonel Trotter, have supplied Messrs Stanford with transfers for the production of the map in this volume. Captain Williams, R.A., has kindly inserted upon it the divisions of the various provinces of Uganda, according to his idea of their delimitation, and in conjunction with the notes made by myself. He has also sketched in the Sessé group of islands in the Victoria Lake.

The illustrations have been undertaken by my sister-in-law, Mrs E. J. Lugard, by Mr G. D. Rowlandson, and by Messrs Ross and Hare of my regiment. They have been produced from a vast number of photographs and drawings, for which I am indebted to Bishop Tucker, C.M.S., Mr F. C. Smith, C.M.S., Captain Pringle, R.E. (of the Railway Survey), and many other friends. Each artist has taken the most infinite pains in the production of the pictures—often redrawing the picture several times—under my personal supervision, until every detail corresponded as exactly as possible with the actual scene as I remember it. For their untiring patience, and their willingness to sacrifice time and labour and even "artistic effect" to my desire for accuracy, I owe them my hearty thanks.

13 Bury Street, St James',
London, *October* 1893

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Πόλλα μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι . . . ὅτι φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς δ' ἐπαινοῦσιν αὑτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι . . . κἂν μὲν . . . εὐλαβουμένου τοῦτο μὴ λεγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δίξω . . . ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκαῖ. θήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. —DEMOSTHENES, περὶ στεφάνου, β'.

I am at a disadvantage in many ways. It is human nature that we all listen gladly when any one is abused or accused, but are impatient of any one praising himself. If to avoid this I refrain from speaking of what I have done, I shall seem to be unable to rebut the accusations ; but if I enter upon an account of my actions and policy, I shall be compelled to speak repeatedly about myself. —DEMOSTHENES, *De Corona*.

THE RISE OF
OUR EAST AFRICAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

Feb. 7th April 7th, 1888.

START FOR AFRICA—ARRIVE AT QUILIMANE.

Return from Burma—Health impaired Necessity for active work—Go on half-pay—Arrive at Naples My services refused by Italians—Life on board—Extraordinary kindness—Arrive at Italian camp—No prospect of service—General Baldissera Portal's mission—Italian soldiers—Their equipment—Arrive at Aden—Embark for Zanzibar—Scheme of elephant-hunting, and future employment—German emigrants—Zanzibar—General Mathews—The Baghdad—Sail for Quilimane—Portuguese and slavery—O'Neill—The fighting at Karonga's—An insolent native—Gold prospectors and their methods—The Dunkeld—Arrive at Quilimane—Doubts about the Karonga war.

In August 1887 I returned from the Burma campaign, in which heavy work and a bad climate had shattered my health. Unwilling, by going on sick-leave, to be again an absentee from my regiment—from which I had been already separated while serving in the Sudan and Burma campaigns unseconded, whereby my absence involved extra duty on the others—I effected an exchange to the battalion at home, and reached England

in September 1887. The few weeks' leave, which was all that was granted me, after many continuous years in the East,—including two campaigns of nearly a year each, in perhaps the worst climates in the world,—had not sufficed to restore my health, when I found myself again under orders for foreign service, and embarked with my regiment for Gibraltar on Dec. 22d.

Finding myself unfit to discharge purely routine duties satisfactorily, I applied to be placed on temporary half-pay, and this course was permitted to me on the recommendation of a medical board. The question then was, What should I do? What I felt I needed was active hard work—rather than rest—in order to recover from the strain. So with fifty sovereigns in my belt, and with practically no outfit at all except my favourite little ·450 rifle,—which had done me service already in many countries, for some years,—I got on board the first passing ship, as a second-class passenger, and sailed I knew not whither. It was a strange experience, beginning life all over again, as it seemed, with only an old rifle, paid for—in the absence of funds—by shooting a man-eating tiger with a reward on his head!

We got to Naples, to which port the ship was bound. I had done my utmost before leaving England to obtain permission to join the Italians, then fighting against the Abyssinians, and smarting from their recent reverse at Dogali. I had failed, and was told the thing was impossible. So having come to Italy, I now took the night train to Rome, and once more offered my services, pleading the five medals and decorations which I already wore (including the D.S.O., then recently instituted) as my only claim for consideration.

They would have none of me, and told me that I should be arrested as a spy immediately on my arrival

in Abyssinia; that the only "foreigner" there, was the 'Times' correspondent, and even he had only won permission after eight days of negotiation, backed by a letter from her Majesty's Government and the 'Times' influence. I returned by the night mail, and found my ship on the point of sailing. Embarking, I went in her as far as Suez. I led here a very curious life, a chapter indeed in itself; but I am not writing an autobiography, and must pass on. My sovereigns were running down, and I was driven to strange shifts and expedients. By-and-by a ship came in bound for Massowa, and laden with timber. In the exigency of the diminishing resources, I took this time a deck passage, and slept at haphazard among the timber. The necessities of the case drove me for my morning bath to the forecastle and a bucket of water among the sailors, and for my meal of broken victuals with the Italian cook, to the cook's galley alongside the engines,—in the Red Sea! where the heat was such as would try a black stoker.

"Adversity finds us strange bedfellows," and in a somewhat varied experience it has struck me as most wonderful what an amount of human kindness and genuine true-heartedness comes to the surface under such circumstances, hidden often under the roughest exteriors. My diary bears witness to this again and again, —how always in my extremity I met nothing but generosity, how every one on all occasions treated me with a singular kindness, which, in my lonely position, made me often feel almost foolishly grateful. A fine stalwart fellow—an Italian who spoke some English, the boatswain of the crew—had become my friend. Rough he was, but he treated me with a respect to which my position laid no claim. I saw him but seldom, but though I was herded with Arab coolies and Italian roughs, he saw through my disguise, and told me he knew I was

a *gentilhomme*, and did all he could to make my way easy. His story he confided to me, and, poor fellow, it was a sad one indeed. Impulsive but sincere, he surprised me one evening by suddenly saying, with a fervid imprecation, "I do *anything* for YOU. You want shirt, I give you my own shirt off my back [seizing it in his hand], because you have good heart," and he turned abruptly away to hide his emotion. I suffered much from sleeplessness, and the well-meant sympathy of this good-hearted fellow touched me deeply. It was not a

LIFE ON BOARD.

voyage de luxe, as would appear from the only descriptive passage I can find in my diary. "At last, at 8.30, I made up my bed. The very coolies on board have a mattress of sorts, or a *guddi* (quilted mat). I have only a rug, and the iron ledge on which I sleep has some nuts in it, which are uncomfortable, and a pipe sticks out behind my head, and again at my knees, so I have only about 4 ft. of length and *one* of breadth, and my legs have to hang over, but it is cleaner than

the deck" In another passage I find a description of the process of washing my own clothes, an art I now essayed for the first time! But I will not detail the incidents of the voyage, vivid though they are in my memory. We arrived at Massowa on Feb. 25th.

My resolve had been to join the Italian expedition; and, denied in my attempts hitherto, I had come here in pursuance of my original plan. Landing in the evening at Massowa, I went to a *café*, and learnt that there was a railway as far as Dogali, and that the Italian advanced camp lay at Saati beyond. I managed to pick up a Somal who, hailing from Aden, had acquired a knowledge of Hindustani, and promising him a liberal reward (which I could ill afford), I secured his services. We mounted a train, and presently an Italian official came and demanded our passports. I affected a crass ignorance. He gesticulated in various languages, and I responded in English or Hindustani, volubly assuring him it was all right in a language he did not understand, and ignoring his earnest efforts to induce me to comprehend that he wanted a passport. I was as courteous as possible—in Hindustani—but as stupid as a mule, and failed to perceive that I must immediately get out or produce the desired document. The train began to move. The exasperated official, finding himself in a dilemma, gave me up as hopeless, but there was no mistaking his meaning that he would oust the Somal at any rate. I told the latter (in Hindustani) to "hang on"; the official tried to pull him out; I expostulated, as though my feelings were much hurt. The train moved faster and faster, till the official was compelled to drop off; and I expect it was just as well that I did not understand his language, and so could not gather the tenor of his observations, but I guessed them!

We reached Dogali, and started our night walk by

the light of a nearly full moon, along the broad road made by the Italian troops, passing in some manner various sentries. From time to time we found temporary sheds by the roadside, where all kinds of impossible and particoloured drinks were sold. At one of these we stopped, and the Somal explained to me that a small boy, who knew some Italian, and spoke Arabic (as did the Somal), lived here, and that if we could secure him, we might get through the sentries; otherwise it would go hard with us. The night was intensely hot, and I invested in some cheap drink, and opened negotiations with the *café*-keeper. They were eventually successful, and we started now with the boy attached. It had become night long since, and the road was lonely, except for an occasional soldier, and he seldom sober. What the precise danger was I am not aware—whether from hostile natives or the fear of an Italian sentry shooting us; for, of course, we knew no countersign, or even the ordinary pass-word. Anyway, it began to be obvious that the boy was in a desperate fright, and even the stout Somal began to show signs of wishing he wasn't there. So I amused myself by telling him stories of heroic deeds of my own, of campaigns and battles, and of tigers and bears, till I had demonstrated that there surely never was so brave or so wonderful a man as myself. All this he detailed in Arabic to the open-eyed boy, till they both fancied that with such a Baron Munchausen in their company we might survive after all; and they did not bolt, as I had feared they might.

We succeeded, I don't quite know how, and, passing all sentries, I eventually found myself at the tent of the English correspondent of the 'Times,' in a very bedraggled and travel-stained gear. His astonishment was great, but he received me courteously, and I was presently introduced to General Baldisera, command-

ing the brigade, and his staff. They offered me refreshments. I had eaten nothing since daybreak, and not much then; and I could have eaten, I thought, a whole leg of mutton! At all events, I did not leave much of the thin slice of Italian sausage and the poached egg which their hospitality provided. Nothing could exceed their courtesy, and I had a long and most agreeable conversation. General Baldisera, both from his face and from his refined and courteous manner, reminded me much of my *quondam* chief, Sir Martin Dillon.

Mr (now Sir Gerald) Portal had just completed his mission to the King of Abyssinia, of which the Italian officers freely expressed their disapproval. Operations, they said, had been interrupted the previous cold weather. They had sweltered through the deadly heat and the unhealthy climate the whole hot weather, in the confident assurance of a brisk campaign in the cold season, and an advance into Abyssinia, to take vengeance for the massacre of Dogali. But now British diplomacy had interfered. The winter had all but passed, and as fighting was not to take place until the result of Mr Portal's embassy was known, it was now too late to begin although it had failed. Meanwhile the troops were being invalided by shiploads, and there were 1000 men in hospital at that time; they could not invalid them fast enough. All the force was to retire in three weeks, after completing a permanent fort, and only the Corps d'Afrique would remain. Bitterly they resented it,—"English officers," they courteously said, "we welcome and love; but English diplomacy we *detest.*" Such was the Italian view of the English mission.

I offered my services, but was told that I must see the General Commanding-in-Chief (General Mazaro) on the subject, though I was welcome to stay as long

as I liked in the meantime. All next day I thought the matter over. I was assured there was not the slightest possibility of active service. I offered to scout independently towards the enemy. I was told this service was most efficiently done by the Italian cavalry, and was eagerly sought after as an alternative to *ennui*. I offered my services in any capacity to the 'Times' correspondent, on condition that I should engage in any action. But I saw that the prospects were not encouraging, and the life would be the reverse of that constant hard work and action which I sought —with intense heat and swarms of flies thrown in. So I reluctantly abandoned the undertaking which I had used such efforts to engage in, and returned to Massowa—this time with a passport from General Baldisera, and a riding-mule which Mr Vizetelly kindly lent me. He had, moreover, most generously offered to allow me to share his tent if I remained. Long after, in Uganda, I heard the story of these adventures from a group of Somals, who learnt them from my guide, and their astonishment was great to find that *I* was that "self-willed Englishman."

The thing that struck me most in this trip to the Italian outposts was the extraordinary capacity of the Italian soldier for field-work. The whole of the railway, which in some places had involved very heavy embankments, necessitating the carriage of enormous quantities of earth and stone, had been made entirely by the soldiers. The country was one endless series of interminable small hills, yet every height of importance was crowned with a strong masonry fort, with larger ones at Mikullu and Otumlo, and a very strong masonry wall frequently ran along the crest-line and down the side of the slope. The Italian soldier worked in the great heat with apparently the utmost goodwill, and most effectively; nor could I help contrasting in

my mind—much to their disadvantage—the capacity of our own soldiers in this respect.

I recalled the long months in Afghanistan, where I had so often superintended working-parties at road-making, and levelling of forts, &c,—work of a far lighter nature than this, executed in a climate where the bitter cold (the ground was frozen and covered with snow) made work a pleasure, to say nothing of the stimulus of extra "working pay." Yet the results were almost *nil*, and no interest was taken in the task. In the Sudan we dare not even attempt to get our soldiers to construct field-works. Special corps of engineers undertook even the smallest redoubts, and gangs of the idlest of navvies, paid at extraordinary rates, and fed and pampered, and generally drunk, were imported by Messrs Lucas & Aird to begin the construction of the Suakim-Berber railway, through a country offering far fewer natural difficulties than this. There is something wrong in our system, when a contrast so painfully to our disadvantage as this can be drawn between our soldiers and those of Italy, in a matter of such great moment and significance. The Italian soldier works willingly and contentedly, and requires very little supervision. Discipline is very strict, yet there exists what seems to an English officer an almost extraordinary familiarity between the officers and men.

The country as far as Mikullu consists of low undulating sterile hills, very wild and desolate. Thence onwards (inland) the hills are much higher and wilder —of black igneous rock. The vegetation at first consists of scrub acacia and a few kinds of cacti; but as the hills become bolder, the trees also are larger, and in the *khors* or water-courses is some fair-sized timber. An Italian officer, who was a keen sportsman, and had been here three years and done much scouting, said that

antelope, gazelle, a very large pheasant, and a bustard were to be got, also a kind of small wild cattle.[1] These last greatly excited my curiosity, and I was inclined to be sceptical about them; but I was assured by every one that they had been seen, though rarely, and were very wild. I wish it had been possible for me to shoot one of these animals; but I was told there were none to be found now in the vicinity. There were also wild boar, and innumerable sand-grouse.

As far as I could judge, the Italian field-equipment seemed very complete. The electric search-lights played at the base; a captive balloon was used for scouting; the commissariat and other departments, I was told, worked admirably, while in smaller details I noticed that their means of water-carriage (flat zinc cylinders and wooden kegs) were the same as were used by us at Suakim. They had but one—a very rough and temporary—field telegraph, from which I inferred that there was less aimless multiplication of messages between the front and the base than, unfortunately, prevails in our service, monopolising the time of so large a staff of valuable men in transmitting useless messages to satisfy the claims of red-tapeism. I regretted I had no opportunity of seeing their system of transport gear (in which department I had much experience), but I noticed that such horses as I saw were weedy-looking brutes, and the mules were all of the large European class. I passed on my way back a large number of graves, apparently of some age, and was told that they were those of English soldiers, forgotten and unknown,—I suppose men who died in Lord Napier's Abyssinian expedition.

On arrival at Massowa, I again embarked on board the Pandora, which was still unlading timber, and putting away my suit of white uniform, my sword, and

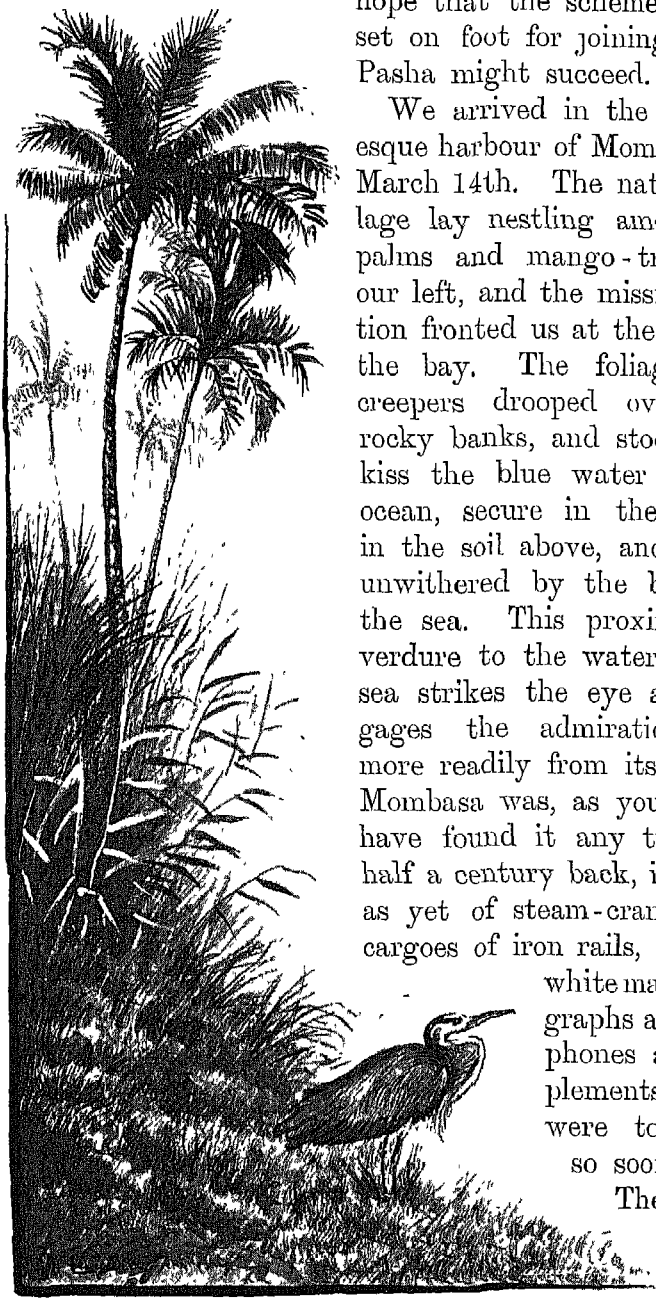
[1] Probably the *Bos galla*.

my identity as an English officer, I returned once more to my quarters among the cargo, and my meals in the cook's galley. We arrived at Aden on March 1st. It had never been my idea to permanently join the Italians. My hope was, that I might embark in some useful undertaking in Africa, if possible in connection with the suppression of the slave-trade. With this object in view I had written to Sir John Kirk, and to Mr Holmwood, at that time acting Consul-General at Zanzibar. I had intended, if I found there was any hope whatever of seeing any active service with the Italian army, to join them while awaiting replies to these letters, and the confirmation of my recommendation to be placed on half-pay. I had also an idea of joining Emin Pasha in his province; and the steps I took to accomplish this would not improbably have succeeded in taking me thither (in which case I should have arrived when Mr Stanley was there), had not subsequent events called me elsewhere. Now, however, that my hopes had failed in regard to the Italian expedition, and the letters I expected not having arrived, I was once more without plans or resources, while the sovereigns in my belt had dwindled very perceptibly.

In this dilemma I thought over various schemes, and had nearly embarked on an Arab dhow, when the arrival of the British India boat, bound for Zanzibar, induced me to alter my intention, and take a second-class passage (for European deck-passengers were not allowed) to that place. On board I found Colonel (now Sir Charles) Euan-Smith and his wife, Mr Berkeley (lately assistant Commissioner with Sir G. Portal in Uganda), and other passengers. Between myself, however, as a second-class passenger, and them, there was of course but little communication. I requested an interview with Colonel Euan-Smith, and told him of my desire to

take part in some useful work in Africa. At his wish I wrote to the Colonel of my regiment to ask him to state that the reason of my leaving my regiment was in no way detrimental to my character. His reply reached me long after the purpose for which I asked it had ceased to exist, but the terms in which he spoke of me, for the years he had known me, I shall always recall with pride and pleasure.

Colonel Euan-Smith told me of the projected formation of the "East African Association" (now the Imperial British East African Company), and promised to use his efforts to obtain for me such employment in their service as would suit me. This, however, was in the future, and I wanted immediate active work. I now heard from a passenger on board that a Company (called the African Lakes Company) existed on the Lake Nyasa, and that they would supply heavy rifles and all requisites for elephant-hunting, if they were convinced that the applicant was likely to make a successful elephant-hunter. The Company had the right to buy all the ivory shot at a reduced rate, and made a very handsome profit, while the hunter took a share of the proceeds. This scheme seemed to suit me admirably, as a temporary means of employing my time and of recruiting my health, and would give me the excitement and the active hard life I had come to seek. I could thus await the replies to the letters which I expected—and the formation of the Company on the East Coast, in whose service (through the kind offices of Sir John Kirk and Colonel Euan-Smith) I hoped to be able to engage in some useful and responsible work. A long experience of big-game shooting, and some knowledge of rifles and of jungle life, together with the "cast-iron" constitution I was supposed to have, would, I felt sure, stand me in good stead now. Should all these plans prove abortive, I had still the



hope that the scheme I had set on foot for joining Emin Pasha might succeed.

We arrived in the picturesque harbour of Mombasa on March 14th. The native village lay nestling among its palms and mango-trees on our left, and the mission station fronted us at the end of the bay. The foliage and creepers drooped over the rocky banks, and stooped to kiss the blue water of the ocean, secure in their hold in the soil above, and hence unwithered by the brine of the sea. This proximity of verdure to the water of the sea strikes the eye and engages the admiration the more readily from its rarity. Mombasa was, as you might have found it any time for half a century back, innocent as yet of steam-cranes, and cargoes of iron rails, and the white man's telegraphs and telephones and implements which were to follow so soon.

Thence we steamed on to

Zanzibar. We had several German emigrants on board, of a class who appeared to me the most ill suited for the life they proposed to engage in that it is possible to conceive. Apparently without money or any capital whatever, without any natural aptitude either of intelligence or of experience, unacclimatised, and of poor physique, they had rushed out to try their fortunes as planters. I inquired how they fared, and was told that very frequently they collapsed at once, and relied on their Consul to find the passage-money to send them back to Europe! Few, however, apparently live to return; for my informant, an officer of the ship, who had been long on this coast, said that it was remarkable that though they brought out very many, it was very rarely that they took any back, yet he did not know of any settled down and doing well in Africa. "They die like flies," he briefly remarked. Their presence must have been very embarrassing to the German officials, and the disposal of them a difficult problem.

In Zanzibar I had the pleasure of meeting "General" Mathews, the commander of the Sultan's army. He had been a naval officer on board H.M.S. London, and had spent some years in cruising for slaves on this coast. When the London was paid out of commission in 1883, he took service under the Sultan, and raised, drilled, and equipped an "army" for him, which, I believe, consists of some 1000 regulars, about 5000 irregulars, with another possible 5000 to be raised on the mainland. The appearance of these Zanzibari soldiers was decidedly clean and smart. "Running amok," General Mathews told me, was, however, so frequent, that only officers were allowed to retain their ammunition. Like every one, without exception, who has visited East Africa, I was treated with much courtesy by General Mathews, and I experienced also the greatest kindness and hospitality from Mr Sutton.

Before I sailed, Colonel Euan-Smith inquired of me whether I really wished to find an opening for service in Africa, or meant to devote myself to elephant-hunting. I replied that I engaged in this hunting merely to find occupation while I was waiting; that it was entirely subsidiary, and I would at once leave it (as soon as any temporary engagement I might form expired) to undertake any useful work which might offer. On this understanding he most kindly promised to do his best to forward my desires.

We stayed in Zanzibar about a week, and then re-embarking on March 22d in the Baghdad, I proceeded on my way to Mozambique. I offer no description of the town or island of Zanzibar, because every writer of African travel has considered them to be a natural preface, and the reader is therefore probably familiar with their outlines. The Baghdad was a *terrible* ship. rats and cockroaches swarmed to such an unprecedented extent that they must have added appreciably to the weight of cargo the vile old boat carried. The second-class accommodation was execrable. One morning when bathing I flung my sponge at a rat which had the audacity to sit on the edge of my bath, and killed it. That night almost the entire tops of my boots, and the binding of a book I was reading, were eaten by rats, while my hat and socks were almost destroyed by cockroaches. I was gravely told by the Goanese "steward" that this was because I had killed a rat, and that it was an invariable rule that, if one were killed, his comrades took vengeance,—apparently they had an understanding also with the cockroaches on the subject! These old boats have long since been replaced by new vessels

I find in my diary an incident recorded on our voyage towards Mozambique which may be worth quoting: "A long string of (apparently) slaves in charge of a Por-

tuguese soldier, all tied together, have just come on board (viz., at one of the small seaports). The first officer refused to take them unless untied, since, if an English man-o'-war found them bound in this fashion on board the Baghdad, she would be treated as a slaver! But it makes little difference whether tied or loose, since if they attempted escape they would, I suppose, be shot down by the soldier who mounted guard over them with a rifle. Of course he swore they were 'prisoners.' I am told that these Portuguese are inveterate slavers. They make a rule that no one is allowed inside the gates of their forts without a 'pass.' Then after disregarding the rule for a period, they suddenly close the gates, and capture all those who are there without 'passes' - go through a form of trial, perhaps—and consider them as 'prisoners,' and draft them off to some other port to serve as soldiers. I am told this is their sole way of recruiting their native army. Thus our English ships actually become the medium of carrying slaves for the Portuguese; for how can they be refused as passengers, or the question of their being prisoners inquired into, by the ship's officers, whose hands are only too full of work in port with their cargo and with other passengers? I think no man—negro or European—whether freeman or slave, should be allowed to be kept as a prisoner on board a British ship on the high seas, except under the warrant of a competent British authority, nor do I think that without it detention is legal." I cannot vouch for the statement contained in this extract—I only noted it down when told me as a well-known fact, on the spot; and I have little doubt but that it is true in substance.

I continue the extract, in order to show the views on slavery with which I started on my travels to Africa—views in the main which I still continue to hold to-day.

"Slavery is laughed at here by every one; they say

family ties are very lax, and the slaves do not care to be freed. This is a different question altogether, and I believe it is true; but as long as we keep men-o'-war cruising about to stop the slave-trade, the methods of the Portuguese which I have described need investigation and remedy. As regards the root of the question, whether slavery *is* the evil it is represented, my opinion is that the liberation of men who are once brought down from the interior is of minor importance. They cannot return, and if they did, would find everything lost and ruined. We must go to the root of the evil, and crush the traders. Doubtless the difficulties of exporting slaves have hampered the trade, so our work is good, but the *best* work will be the operations inland, *where they are captured.* Liberating them on the coast or at sea is useless *to the slaves,* and only indirectly good as involving loss to the traders and throwing obstacles in their way, while the grave matter of the disposal of these liberated and starving men then remains, and this is one of the difficult questions of the day here."

Calling at the various ports on our way—at Kilwa, Lindi, Ibo, &c —we eventually reached Mozambique. Here I said farewell, and not unwillingly, to the Baghdad, which returned to Zanzibar, while I embarked on the Castle Line boat Dunkeld. We stayed several days in Mozambique, and I had time to form not merely the acquaintance of, but a warm friendship with, the Consul, Mr O'Neill (late R.N., and an old shipmate of General Mathews on the London), and his wife. Mr O'Neill ranks high in the roll of those who have been original explorers of Africa and have left their mark behind them. But his work has been of that quiet unostentatious character which is satisfied with good results and seeks no notoriety. He accomplished several journeys from the Mozambique coast to the Nyasa and Shirwa lakes, through country till then unexplored, and finally,

with infinite pains, by means of several thousand observations, he absolutely fixed the position of Blantyre (which has been accepted as a secondary meridian), so that future explorers may here in the very heart of Africa adjust their chronometers, and start on further exploration with their instruments corrected.

O'Neill told me of the fighting which had recently been taking place at Karonga's, to the north of Lake Nyasa, from whence he had just returned, and of which events he could truly say, *quorum pars magna fui:* how that a body of slave-raiders had gratuitously attacked a small British station, after ravaging and laying waste the country; how a gallant defence had been made; and how even now an expedition was being prepared to prosecute the war. He added, "You would be a godsend to them." Here, I thought, is the very opportunity I have sought, of taking part in a good cause against the slave-raiders, "in the place itself where the slaves are captured." However, though eager to lend my services, I felt that it would be impossible for me to do so, unless the fighting was fully justified in my own view. I therefore questioned Mr O'Neill as to the *origin* of these troubles, and the mode in which the fighting had been conducted, whether any provocation had been given to the slave-raiders before they attacked, and what was the attitude of the Mission and of the Consular authorities. His replies completely satisfied me, and I determined to proceed at once with all haste and offer my services.

Mozambique is an extremely picturesque island, and the harbour is very beautiful. On the point of the island stands an old Portuguese fort, dating back to the sixteenth century, and said, but erroneously, to be built of stone brought all the way from Portugal. The town is singularly clean, the pavements are of concrete, and the streets lined with avenues of gold-mohur,

banian, and other fine and beautiful trees. The houses are mostly coloured with a pale tint, which takes off the glare which so distresses the eye when looking on the white coral-houses of the coast-towns from Suakim southwards. The soldiers are neatly dressed in a uniform of brown holland, with forage-cap and long sword-bayonet, and look clean and smart. A band-stand faces the long pier, which runs out to the sea to form a landing-jetty.

On March 31st I said good-bye to O'Neill, and embarked on board the Dunkeld, where again I met with the very greatest kindness from Captain Broadfoot, who insisted on my transferring to the after-part of the ship. Before leaving Mozambique an unfortunate incident occurred. An Indian Mohammedan trader had brought some goods on board for shipment. The officer of the vessel had been working for many hours in the heat transferring cargo, and had sat down for a few minutes to rest. The trader demanded in an insolent manner that he should immediately rise and attend to him. He declined, and the native then made some gross remarks in Hindustani, which I understood, but the officer did not. Extremely indignant at such an affront, I asked him if he could tamely submit to be thus insulted by a native? He replied that if he resented it, he would be "run in" and would lose his ship; that the Portuguese authorities encouraged such action, and were absolutely sure to take the part of the native against an Englishman, and the British India Company would hear no excuses. I, however, had no ship to lose, and I cared not for the Portuguese authorities. I therefore told the Buniah, in Hindustani, that had he used one-half the insolence to me that I had heard him use towards the ship's officer, he would have had cause to regret it. Thereupon he included me. Not liking to strike a native with my fist, I gave him a heavy

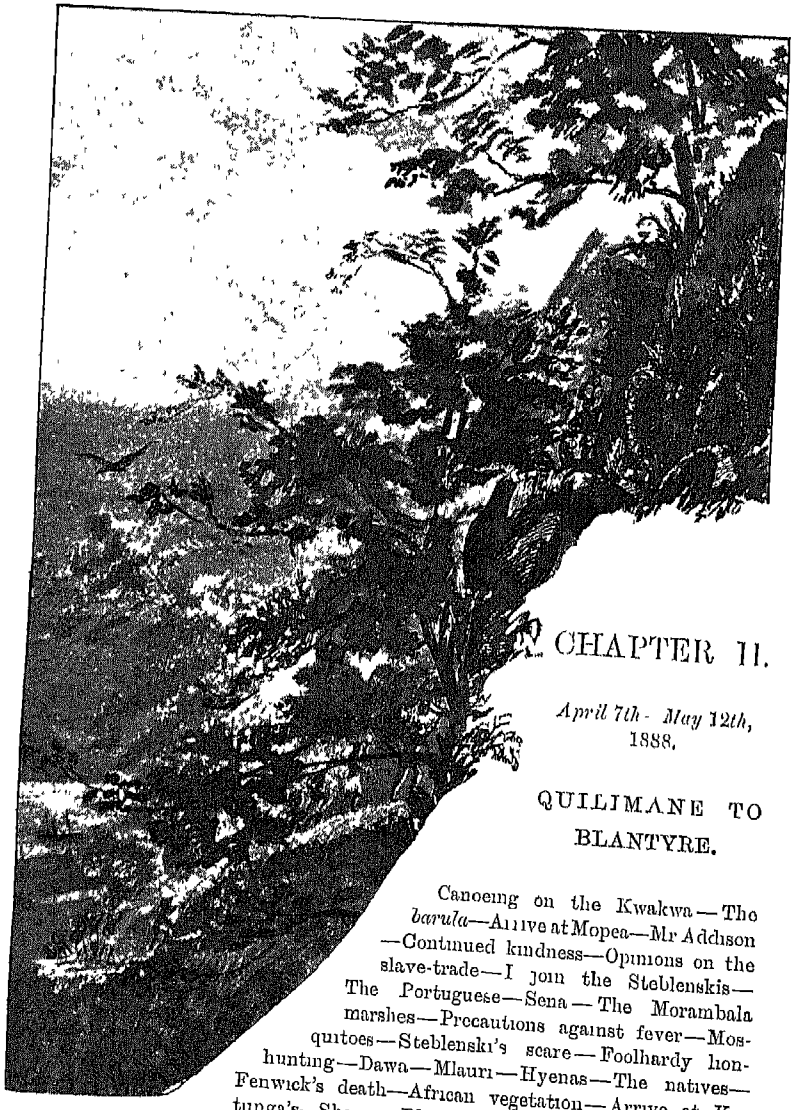
box on the ear. He seemed inclined to show fight, for he was a strong-built man, but received another similar cuff, which effectually silenced him, but unfortunately broke a bone in my hand, spraining also my thumb and wrist against his cast-iron head. This caused me very great pain subsequently, and my hand became perfectly useless, nor did I regain the full use of it for a month or more.

On board the Dunkeld I met for the first time a South African "gold-prospector." He had travelled repeatedly, he said, across Africa, south of the Zambesi, generally with not more than half-a-dozen men. He told me success in African travel depended entirely on prompt and resolute action. He begged me to remember his words—"On the first signs of insolence," he said, "or even of familiarity, kick them under the jaw (when sitting) or in the stomach. In worse cases shoot, and shoot straight, *at once*. Your life in Africa depends on such prompt measures!" He told me of strange adventures,—of a mutiny he had thus quelled; of lion-shooting; and of the mode of gold-prospecting, and the formation of companies. I can imagine that there may be times when prompt and decisive action is necessary; but more pernicious advice than his, given to an intending traveller as a general rule of action, I cannot conceive. The dodges he described as used by fraudulent gold-seekers were some of them very clever, such as blowing a small charge of gold-dust out of a gun into the crevices of a rock, and then accidentally "discovering" it, in the presence of others, with the particles of gold adhering so closely as to appear embedded in the quartz. His stories of the means used to prevent native labourers from secreting diamonds on the workings, were no less quaint and interesting, but on his methods and advice I placed my own valuation.

He told me, however, some details which more nearly

affected myself. The African Lakes Company, he said, had enlisted a number of desperadoes from the gold-fields to fight at Karonga's. They had a number of grievances, and fancied they had been grossly deceived, and were probably already in a state of mutiny. He added that he should not be at all surprised to hear that they had turned upon the Company, and captured and looted its chief station, Mandala! No epithet he could find was too bad for this African Lakes Company. As these mercenaries had come up in the Dunkeld (disembarking at Quilimane), and he had been with them during the voyage, and most of what he said was borne out by the officers of the ship, I began to think that I should not have a bed of roses in my new undertaking.

On April 5th we arrived at Quilimane, and I disembarked for good. Investing almost the whole of my remaining cash in some necessaries for the journey, I prepared to start inland at once. My route lay up the Kwakwa river (which flows more or less parallel to the Zambesi) as far as Mopea, some five days' journey. In Quilimane I heard much to the same effect as I had heard on board the Dunkeld. The Company appeared to be in very bad odour. In spite of my belief in O'Neill I began to feel uneasy, and I determined only to accept the passage offered to me (by the Company's agent) as far as Mopea, and then to be guided by events In case I found that there was any truth in these reports, I could then cut myself adrift entirely at any moment by merely refunding my passage-money for this short distance. I made a friend in Quilimane, who gave me invaluable assistance in making my few necessary purchases, &c.; and with as light a kit as I suppose almost any man ever started on so long a journey, I embarked on my new undertaking.



ASCENDING THE SHIRÉ PLATEAU.

CHAPTER II.

April 7th - May 12th, 1888.

QUILIMANE TO BLANTYRE.

Canoeing on the Kwakwa—The *barula*—Arrive at Mopea—Mr Addison—Continued kindness—Opinions on the slave-trade—I join the Steblenskis—The Portuguese—Sena—The Morambala marshes—Precautions against fever—Mosquitoes—Steblenski's scare—Foolhardy hon-hunting—Dawa—Mlauri—Hyenas—The natives—Fenwick's death—African vegetation—Arrive at Katunga's—Sharpe—Blantyre—Views of missions regarding the war—My letter to the Consul—Causes and objects of fighting—Asked to take command—The Missions appeal to the Consul—The Consul's reply—All parties reconciled.

IT was at 10 P.M. on the 7th April that I started by starlight with the turn of the tide on my journey up the Kwakwa river. Mr Stevenson (African Lakes

Company), who had shown me much kindness, came to see me off. I had no servant, though my right hand was still useless, and no interpreter, though not a soul in the boat knew a word of English. I, however, felt glad that the long period of inactivity and uncertainty (two full months had elapsed since I left Gibraltar) was now at an end, and my restlessness found a relief in my very difficulties.

The boatmen dashed their paddles in the water, keeping time to the refrain of a chorus, and we started off in the night. I travelled in a small open boat, over the stern of which a few sticks and grass formed an awning to keep off the sun, which was very fierce by day. The Patrão (headman of the crew) steered, another with a punting-pole stood in the bows, and three paddlers occupied each side, each one being also provided with a punting-pole. Mr O'Neill, with kind forethought, had insisted on giving me a small canoe mosquito-net (which has stood by me in my wanderings up till now), and a small *guddi* or mattress. The former was invaluable, for the mosquitoes were in clouds, and very fierce I found also that the boat was infested with noxious insects of another class! We anchored at 1 A.M., and were off again early next day.

Each day, till we reached Mopea (the end of our Kwakwa journey), saw the same routine. The boatmen paddled or punted, chanting their musical refrain; the Patrão singing the solo, which would be taken up and repeated by the whole crew, while he sang a sort of guttural second. These refrains consisted of a sentence repeated over and over again, and the air was constantly changed, and very musical. When fresh, the men would beat a vigorous time to the rhythm with the strokes of their paddles; when tired, the paddles were merely dipped to the cadence, and only each alternate dip was a vigorous stroke.

All along the Kwakwa the scenery was lovely, for the banks are fringed with fine trees which droop down into the water, and are festooned with masses of mauve convolvulus and other creepers, which shut out all view of the flat country beyond, for at this time the water was low, and I noticed flood-marks as much as 12 ft. above, on the branches of the trees. In one spot where I took my morning bath, I recollect a palm growing some 12 ft. out in the river, whilst a dense roof of creepers connected it with the vegetation on the bank and formed a natural arbour. A number of very beautiful kingfishers and gay-coloured reed-sparrows gave life to the scene; while innumerable cormorants, bitterns, storks, and other water birds, watched eternally for their prey in the water. King of them all, the great fish-eagle (*Haliaëtus vocifer*) sat aloft on some withered branch, uttering from time to time his weird note, more typical of African solitudes and more striking to the ear than even the lion's roar. My morning bath was perhaps attended by some risk, for the river was said to swarm with crocodiles, and the natives feared to enter the water.

It was hot by day, and several varieties of the *barula* or hippo-fly lent their efforts to enliven the *ennui*. The bite of this large fly is excessively sharp, and his proboscis makes an incision like the stab of a small penknife, from which the blood flows freely. As soon as the sun goes down the *barula* ceases to torment, but it is replaced by myriads on myriads of mosquitoes, so that I was driven to eat my evening meal in my small mosquito-net, and even with the utmost precautions I would generally find thirty or forty blood-swollen mosquitoes inside the net in the morning. This evening meal consisted of a little rice, and a portion of one of the tough and tasteless fowls of the country, several of which I had brought with me. Having no cook, one of the

boatmen prepared it in the roughest possible manner. These natives have voracious appetites, every chicken-bone that I left was crunched up and eaten, any kind of bird (such as cormorants and bitterns) was eagerly devoured, often in a state of absolute putrefaction. I had a few cigars, and the stumps of these were much prized, albeit less than an inch long. When so short as to be impossible to hold between the lips, they placed them between their teeth (the lighted end being inwards), and closing their mouths altogether, smoked them in this extraordinary fashion!

They are a happy, careless people, and I noticed that whatever any individual got, he invariably shared among the others, often leaving none at all for himself: if it was a lump of sugar, or a chicken-bone, it would be broken up and divided; if a cigar-end, each would smoke it in turn,—and this was done with no assumption of generosity, but as a matter of course. In spite of the *barula* fly, mosquitoes, and heat, it was pleasant to lounge in the boat, and lazily listen to the boatmen's chorus, while hour by hour we passed through ever new glimpses of lovely scenery.

One day we met a large barge coming down the river, in charge of an Indian in Portuguese uniform, and with him a lot of natives He had been so long in Africa that he remembered but little of Hindustani; his original language, moreover, being probably Gujerati. "I asked him how he liked the Portuguese service. He replied, '*Sirkar hai*' (It is the Government), and from his tone I guessed his meaning, and said, 'Ah! you cannot speak disloyally?' To which he assented emphatically—a thoroughly *Indian* answer! I asked him if the natives in the boat were *really* prisoners or slaves. Lowering his voice, he replied they were *slaves!*" Thus I passed on, spending my time in reading, writing the diary, and occasionally shooting birds of sorts for the men, and

thoroughly enjoying the beauty of the river. The sunrise and the sunset were beautiful beyond description, and I watched the changing tints grow more and more lovely till they faded away.

On the 11th we arrived, late in the evening, at Mopea, where I was most hospitably received by Mr Addison, the managing director of an Opium Company, which owned some 500 acres of land here, prepared and irrigated for the cultivation of the poppy. I spent the most pleasant of evenings in his company, talking of books and of classical literature, themes which already seemed to me to belong to some other and bygone life. His kindness knew no bounds, and he insisted on my taking from his admirable library more books than I knew how to carry. It is impossible for me to convey to the reader the impression which such kindness and hospitality makes on a lonely stranger. Books are not to be procured round the corner in Central Africa, and Mr Addison, I could see, valued his as only a well-read man cut off from civilisation can.

But so it always was, wherever I went. At Massowa, at Aden, at Suez, at Zanzibar, at Mozambique, on board the ships I had sailed on, everywhere I met with a kindness which touched me more than I could say. It was not merely that natural courtesy and hospitality which might possibly be expected towards a fellow-countryman far from home. It was far more than this; nor was it only from my own countrymen, for already I had experienced it at the hands of the poor German bookseller at Suez, the boatswain of the Italian boat, the Pole at Quilimane, Mr Mackonochie at Aden, Mr Sutton at Zanzibar, and now again here this English gentleman at Mopea, not one of whom knew aught of me, or ever expected to see my face again. Often indeed I thought that if no other thing resulted from my wanderings, I should be a richer man all my life for having proved

how much goodness and unselfishness there is in human nature.

We discussed the question of African slavery—the subject which now had a paramount interest for me. I found that here, as elsewhere, the reaction brought about by the contrast between the facts as they are, and as they are represented at home, had produced its natural revulsion of feeling. But I held to my own view, that though much well-meaning bunkum is undoubtedly talked at home, nevertheless, as I say in my diary, "every little well-directed effort tells, and a man on the spot who is in earnest is of more use than a dozen committees at home, and I hope to do my best in a small way." I learnt much from Mr Addison and Mr Henderson (who had made the heroic defence against the Messangane tribe, when all the Portuguese fled). They told me of the enormous power of the slave-trading "Arabs" on Nyasa and South Tanganyika: that individuals among them could put 5000 guns in the field—guns purchased from the British and Portuguese, and even, to a small extent, from this very African Lakes Company who were now fighting them; and that a combination among them would mean the extermination of the Europeans in those parts, and of the London missions on Tanganyika.

Consideration of the problem has brought two things home to me. 1st, That our horror-stricken outcries in Europe against the unspeakable atrocities of the "Arab" slave-raider ill become us when we look back at the history of the past, and recall the fact that for two and a half centuries we ourselves stained our hands with this traffic, and pocketed the gold which was the price of human blood. We have thus a duty of expiation to perform towards the African. 2d, That in our efforts to perform this duty, we must recollect how the African has been wedded to slavery through centuries on cen-

turies, so that it has become the product, as it were, of the blood-stained soil of the land. It has been said that, if you freed three slaves to-day, two of them (given the opportunity) would sell the third to-morrow.[1] The nature of the African, moreover, is not of that stamp which chafes at the yoke, like the nations of Teutonic blood. Let us accept all this, and clear the ground of all high-coloured nonsense—of "kingly hearts" beating in the bosoms of slaves, and so forth; and taking the African as he is—as centuries of wrongs have made him—apply ourselves to raise him to a higher level. I will not, however, here digress on this question, and will merely beg my reader to peruse the separate chapters I have devoted to this most important subject.

Next day I marched across from the Kwakwa to the Zambesi, some four miles, and met the brothers Stoblenski, to whom I had a letter of introduction. They pressed me to join them, as they were on the point of starting up-river; and finding I should in no way inconvenience them, I accepted their kindness, and abandoned my intention of proceeding by the African Lakes Company's steamer, being unwilling to be pledged to the latter until I had verified or disproved the disparaging statements about them, and the doubts of the *bona-fides* of the war, which here again I heard from several sources. I therefore merely sent on a letter to the manager to say I was coming, and joined the Polish brothers.

The Zambesi is an immensely broad river (here about 1000 yards), with a strong current, low banks, and a changing bed. There were at this time two steamers of the African Lakes Company upon it. The country is covered with rank grass, and there is no timber. We arrived at Shamo, where my friends lived, next day,

[1] "Experience," says Dr Laws, "amply confirms this"

having been entertained *en route* by the head of a Dutch house, where after-dinner songs were sung in twelve different languages.

As we approached our destination towards sunset on 13th April, an exquisite new moon was visible in the glory of the fading sunset—a crescent of hope, I thought, for my future. "It was a *lovely* sight: the huge expanse of the Zambesi, the beautiful verdure of grass and trees, the hills overtopping each other close in front, and tinted with the colours of the sunset, the sun dipping beneath the waters of the river, and above its tints the lovely new moon in the blue sky, contrasting with the glowing colours beneath—her reflection just visible in a path of light in the rippling water to our feet—while all around was silence, but for the rhythm of the boatmen's chant, and the regular dip of their paddles"

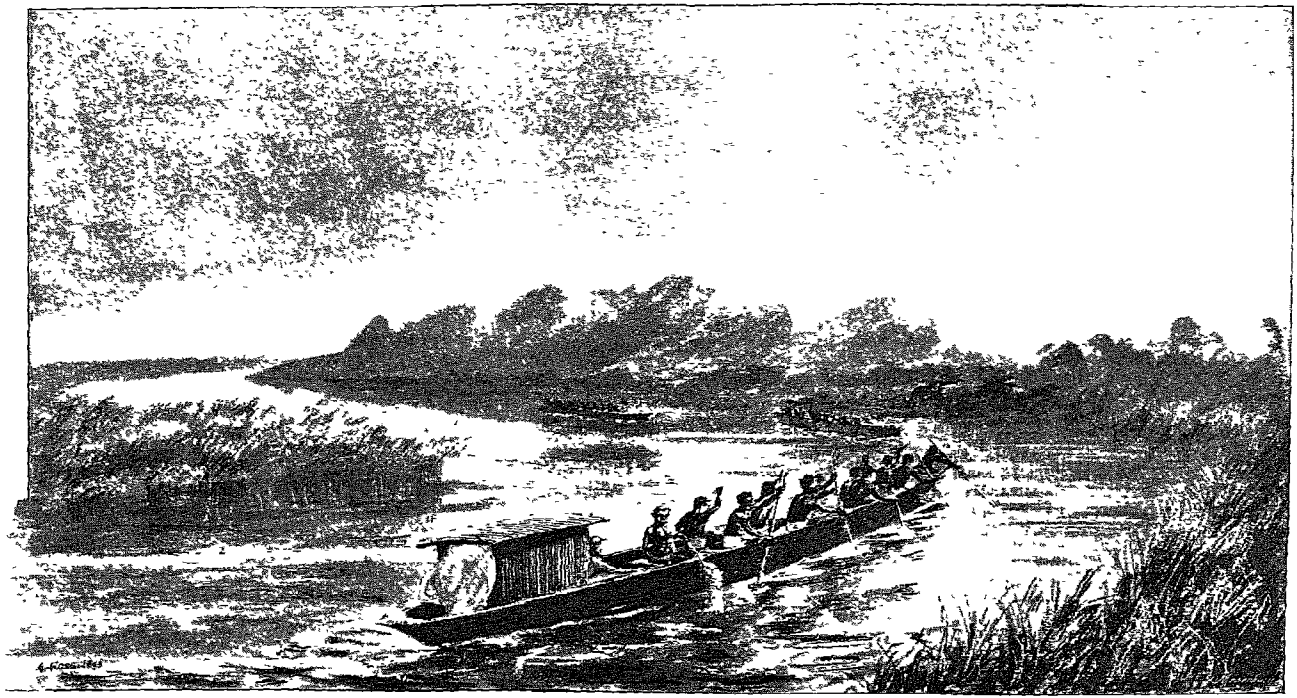
I stayed ten days at Shamo, while the younger Steblenski prepared his effects for the onward journey, and the kindness and hospitality with which these Polish gentlemen, of high birth but exiled from their country for political reasons, treated me, literally knew no bounds. I had a special liking for the elder, Mr Casimir Steblenski, and we made an expedition together through the narrow channel, which runs from the Shiré to the Zambesi above the junction of the rivers, to the Portuguese headquarters at Sena. It was deplorable to note the harm which had been done to the natives of these countries by the wholesale import and sale of ardent spirits, and of guns and powder, and the pernicious influence of that worst of European productions, the Portuguese half-caste.[1] The country is mapped

[1] Mr J. Thomson, travelling west of Nyasa in September 1890, found that the district was ravaged by them, and states that Kabwiré was compelled to place himself under the protection of an *Arab* trader, "in order to defend himself against the bloody slave-raids of a half-caste Portuguese"!

out into *prazos*, or estates. Our host, a young Dutchman, informed me that his *prazo* was rented from the Portuguese, and to recoup himself a poll-tax was levied on the natives of $2 per head, which, he said, would amount to double the rent, if fully collected. He described to me the dodges used by the wretched people to escape this imposition, for which, as far as I could see, they received no equivalent of any sort; for neither were they protected from their enemies, nor was the country opened up by roads, bridges, railways, or any other works. He told me he pursued them into the swamps and wilderness to collect the tax. Meanwhile a brisk trade was carried on in ground-nuts, rubber, bees-wax, and other products, in exchange for coloured cloths, spirits, guns and powder. This one *prazo*, I was told, was twice as large as the Netherlands! Its ruler, our host, was twenty-three years old!

Senhor (Colonel) de Lima, Government inspector of the *prazos*, joined us for some distance, and was the first real Portuguese *gentleman* I had met, for, unfortunately, the representatives of that nation in these distant dependencies are not as a rule gentlemen. In fact, Quilimane was originally a convict settlement, and, I suppose, the existing half-castes are the descendants of these individuals, "who left their country for their country's good," but certainly, I think, *not* for Africa's. I heard very much, in particular, of Don Miguel Antonio,

"This Matakenya has depopulated an enormous tract of country in the Loangwa valley, making Zumbo his headquarters." Arrived at Mkwemba, "we were once more in the pestiferous sphere of influence of the slave-raiding Portuguese half-caste, who has spread death and desolation over many thousand miles of the Zambesi basin." They are called the Shakundas. Later, Mr Thomson was compelled to alter his course, since they had made the country a depopulated wilderness. Kabwiré is some 220 miles north-east of Zumbo; Mkwemba 200 miles north-west. Hence, even supposing their raids to extend no farther than these points, we have an equilateral triangle (with its apex at Zumbo), with sides 200 miles long, devastated by them — *Vide* Mr Thomson's paper, Geographical Journal, vol. i. pp. 103, 112.



CANOEING ON THE SHIRÉ RIVER

a half-caste or Goanese, and his cruelties, and absolute indifference to human life; his name has of late become notorious from his collision with the South African Company. I had met the man at Mozambique. The perennial war, waged, I believe, since early in the 60's, with Bonga was still the leading topic. I called on the Jesuit Mission, which dates back for an enormous series of years, probably as long as the Portuguese have been in Sena, some 300 years, and I was received with great courtesy by the Fathers.[1]

It was with regret that I parted from my kind host the elder Steblenski, when his brother and I started up-river on the 24th. I had made several alternative plans, as I had now many misgivings that the campaign, in which I had looked forward to taking a part, was not such as I could honourably engage in, but I postponed any definite decision until I should have seen Mr Scott (the head of the Blantyre Mission), of whom all spoke well, and the acting Consul.

Once more in an open boat we ascended the river, entering the great Morambala and Elephant marshes. Here the banks were level with the river, and an endless expanse of marsh, covered with a bottomless mass of

[1] For an examination of the effects of Portuguese domination in East Africa, *vide* 'Tropical Africa,' Professor Drummond, p 209. The writer summarises his indictment thus: "They have done nothing for the people since the day they set foot in Africa. They have never discouraged, but rather connived at, the slave-trade. Livingstone himself took the Governor of Tete's servant red-handed at the head of a large slave-gang. They have been at perpetual feud with the native tribes. They have taught them to drink. Their missions have failed. Their colonisation is not even a name." This judgment is a very sweeping one, for the writer was but a short time in Africa, and passed rapidly through Portuguese territory. On the West Coast they have done much more (while we have done but little), and more recently they have shown some signs of activity and enterprise in East Africa also.

So also Mr Rankin (Scottish Geographical Magazine, vol. ix. p. 226), who has travelled in their territory, says that "the convicts and semi-convicts, who form the mass of their colonists, are opposed to all reform, as are the petty officials." *Vide* also 'Zambesi Basin,' pp. 241 *et seq.*

matted vegetation, extended for miles on every side. It was the haunt of elephants, who were being shot down by endless parties of natives, and other hunters from every quarter. These marshes are very malarious, especially, as now, *when drying up* after the rains, at the beginning of the hot weather, and I suffered from several attacks of very heavy fever, mainly however, I think, caused by our somewhat erratic mode of life. A long residence in India has made me conversant with every kind of fever; that most deadly of all forms, "Peshawur fever,"—the symptoms and effects of which closely resemble cholera,—clung to me for a year in Afghanistan, and nearly cost me my life. Sudan fever, Burma fever, Denghi fever, ordinary malarial fever, have victimised me at various times, and taught me certain common-sense precautions in tropical countries, which may be of value to intending travellers.

1. Avoid all unnecessary exposure to the sun, when not in active exercise. When the skin is moist from perspiration, the rays of the sun have not the same power for ill. More harm is done by standing in the sun, or running out of the tent for a few minutes in the sun with no hat or only a small cap, than by any number of hours' walking in the hottest hours of the day. For this reason I believe that, when walking, thirst should be freely quenched with water (or *very* weak tea), since the moisture thus imbibed simply goes to replace the waste from perspiration, and keeps the skin (especially of the head) in a moist condition, which renders it almost proof against the sun. When in hard exercise, it does not matter greatly about the quality and purity of the water one drinks; but when leading a sedentary life, stagnant or impure water should be boiled before being used. Removing the hat (to adjust it) in the sun, is a folly I see daily perpetrated. It does not take an hour's exposure to effect a sunstroke! If it is necessary to

remove the hat, even momentarily, it should be done under the shade of a thick tree.

2. It is essential in tropical countries to protect the stomach, liver, and spleen. This should be done by wearing a thick *cummerbund* of flannel (I always used a strip of blanket). The thin "cholera belts" sold in England are useless. I recommend that this *cummerbund* be worn outside the underclothing, so that if a long delay before changing is unavoidable, after the clothes have become wet with perspiration—owing, for instance, to a return to camp after dark, when the night chills and dew have replaced the fierce sun, or a long row home in a boat, or a bivouac with no change of clothes in the forest—the *cummerbund* is still dry, and can be taken off and put on next the skin (under the wet clothes), and all fear of a chill is avoided. It is from a chill of these organs, I believe, that most of the fever, dysentery, diarrhœa, and cholera which occur in the tropics are induced; and I doubtless owe my extraordinary exemption from these diseases in Africa, as much to the observance of these simple precautions, as to a very tough and wiry constitution.

3. Never stir abroad until you have had a substantial meal. Practice will enable the traveller to accommodate himself to this *régime*. However early I march, I always eat a meat breakfast first, even if it be at 4 or 5 A.M., as it often has been. Exposure to the sun on an empty stomach is *certain* to induce fever. It was this, as I well knew, which gave me fever now, for my comrade Mr Steblenski was very erratic about his meals, and we sometimes did not breakfast till 12 or 2 P.M.; and as I was, as it were, a guest, I could not unduly press for an observance of my own *régime*, the more so that from early morning till about 2 P.M. I was in constant expectation that we were about to land

and cook our meal, as he assured me. The result was immediate fever.

4. I believe in the efficacy of many camp-fires lighted in a circle, when camped in a very unhealthy spot, to dispel the malarious night vapours; also, in the smoking of tobacco; and in a mosquito-net, to shut out, to some extent, the night dews and air. Unfortunately, in swamp-land fuel is generally difficult to procure, and fires are, therefore, often hard to keep up. The necessity of immediately changing damp clothes on return to camp, and suchlike common-sense rules, are too obvious to need reiteration.

If one feels "cheap," with the irritability, lack of energy, and other symptoms so admirably described by Professor Drummond,[1] a dose of quinine (say 5 grains) should be taken *early* in the morning, and again later in the day, on an empty stomach, with an energetic walk to induce a violent perspiration. When fever actually comes on, turn in and pile on every blanket, waterproof-sheet, sail-cloth, sacking-bag, and available covering, and *sweat it out.* It is a violent but most effectual remedy. Remain under this covering —not allowing the neck or hands (and hardly even the face) to be exposed—for upwards of an hour, whatever the heat of the latitude may be. You will rise several pounds lighter in weight possibly, and "as weak as a rat," but your fever will be gone, and with due precaution you may avoid its return. As soon as the fever goes, take quinine in small doses two or three times a-day on an empty stomach, for three or four days.

The Zambesi mosquitoes are a visitation from purgatory! At Shamo we ate our evening meal surrounded by small fires of green grass, &c, to make a thick smoke, and if the breeze were not sufficient to blow this towards

[1] Tropical Africa, Prof. Drummond, p 42.

us, and envelop us in it, a native was told off to fan it in the direction of our table. This green-wood smoke is very trying to the eyes, and as it is difficult to regulate it properly, one is continually suffering, either from the attacks of myriads of mosquitoes (which bite with ease through the stoutest cloth or woollen socks), or from a plethora of smoke which causes the tears to stream from one's eyes. My old plan of eating my food inside my mosquito-net was hardly more successful, for they swarmed outside it in a dense cloud, and found means of ingress, however carefully the net was tucked in under me, and if I put out my hand to take in a plate, &c., a whole covey would come in with it, which had to be laboriously killed off one by one. The discomfort, too, of eating in a recumbent position in a small boat is great. These mosquitoes (like the flies at Suakim) had no care for their lives, and would not fly away when they had settled. Probably the *ennui* in the Morambala marshes had rendered them indifferent to the charms of life. I have noticed that during a residence in the tropics one undoubtedly becomes inoculated to the venom, not only of the mosquito, but of other noxious insects, or the attenuation of the blood reduces the irritation that one feels when newly out from Europe.

Our journey up the Shiré was of the same class as that up the Kwakwa. Sedentary life in an open boat, a long mid-day rest for the men to cook, a bivouac by night on some small island, where we could find a few square yards of dry ground to make our camp; an early start next morning, and a repetition of the day before. Incidents were few. My companion had a mania for setting the grass on fire, which his native *sobriquet* embodied, and one evening, when engaged in this task, he trod on a puff-adder—that most deadly of snakes. It did not move, and not recognising what it was, he stooped and picked it up, as it lay stiffly

coiled. Seeing then by the dim light what he had in his hand, he dropped it hastily, and it made off into the grass. He now noticed a suspicious-looking scratch on his arm, of which he had not been previously aware, and was convinced it was a bite from the venomous reptile. The wound began to throb and smart, whether naturally or because of the intense concentration of thought which he fixed upon it—in confirmation of Bulwer Lytton's assertion in 'A Strange Story'—it is impossible to say. I was in high fever in the boat, so he told me nothing of it, but sat by the fire with the natives, awaiting the result (which he anticipated would be death) with stolid pluck! After waiting in vain till the small hours of the morning, he saw his fears were groundless and turned in.

I remember just such an incident in India, when a friend was skinning a cobra. I had hardly given vent to a warning to be careful with his knife, when cutting through the poison-fang—for a scratch from it would be the same thing as a bite from the snake—when his knife slipped and cut his hand in the very act, and after sucking the wound, we similarly sat in grim silence, awaiting the *dénoûment*, but our fears were happily disappointed.

Emerging from the marshes, and leaving the great mountain of Morambala (4000 ft.) behind us, after a week's sojourn in these inhospitable swamps, we came out into the higher and drier country beyond, where game was plentiful. Steblenski went ashore to shoot—he would meet the boat in the evening at camp, but I was too weak, from fever and my drastic remedies, to attempt it. He came upon four lions, who were sitting over the carcass of an antelope, in very dense high grass. They would not move, and growled angrily. On arrival, he told me of this; and with some difficulty, by offering a reward, and assuring them that I did not want them

to come a yard farther with me than they cared to, I got some of our men to return with me and show me the spot. Arrived, I left them at a distance, where they clambered on an ant-hill to see the fun, and I advanced alone into the thick patch of grass (6 to 8 ft. high), where the lions were supposed to be, with my trusty little ·450 rifle. I felt it to be a case of *vestigia nulla retrorsum* ' and had they been there, it is of course extremely improbable that I should have come out alive. I am deaf in one ear, and was therefore unable to distinguish the direction from which a premonitory sound might come (even supposing I heard it), and eyesight was useless where the dense grass obscured everything.

Such foolhardy actions are in no sense plucky, and, in my case at any rate, it was prompted by mere recklessness. There is, however, a curious shrinking from death in an unknown and probably cruel form. The intense, absorbing excitement of the moment, when one is face to face with death, and every nerve is strained, and the attention concentrated, banishes for the moment every other thought, however dominant. I believe, if a gladiator had entered the arena, in the old days in Rome, intent on mere suicide, every preconceived intention would vanish when he found himself face to face with death in the form of a growling and excited lion, and the mere animal instinct of self-preservation, from destruction in a mode so repugnant to those instincts, would impel him to use every means to protect himself, to the oblivion of all his previous intentions.

I searched every square yard of the ground, but the lions had left, scared by some burning grass Steblenski had fired. They were close by, however, for the buck they had killed was almost warm, and one of the men actually saw one of them. I found his footsteps over

the ashes of the grass just burnt, and followed them into a similar dense patch of reeds and grass, but again without success. We returned with the water-buck the lions had killed, and a small antelope I had shot, and the men were in great glee at the prospect of unlimited meat. The lion, unlike the tiger (who invariably begins at the buttock), first eats the ears of his prey, and then, I think, usually attacks the entrails.

Little surprise at my somewhat eccentric actions was evinced by the natives, for they implicitly believe in *dawa* (charms) against danger. Each form of danger must, however, have its particular *dawa*. Seeing me, apparently without fear (though such, indeed, was anything but the case), face four lions under circumstances where escape was impossible (since the burning grass around and my intrusion at their meal would ensure a charge), they merely assumed that I had taken a *dawa* against lions, of such potency that I was invulnerable to them, and had therefore nothing to fear! But I heard long afterwards, when passing here homeward bound, that this episode had earned me the *sobriquet* of "the man who tries to catch lions alive in his hands," and I was remembered in connection with it. The Makololo chiefs, however, despise these superstitions, and say that their *dawa* in war or sport consists in a brave heart.

These Makololo are the remnants of the followers whom Livingstone brought from near the sources of the Zambesi, and left here. Of a far braver race than the Manganja (who inhabit these countries), they soon became chiefs, and subdued the surrounding tribes. Some five of them are head chiefs, of whom Ramakukan (Kasisi) and Mlauri were the most influential. They have always been most friendly to Europeans, especially to the British; and old Mlauri loves to chat of Livingstone in a broken English, which was absolutely unintelligible to me, though Steblenski understood it! In the recent

troubles with Portugal on the Shiré, Mlauri declared for us; and I greatly regret that, in spite of his continued loyalty for thirty years, his country has been handed over to the Portuguese, whose yoke he detests, and to whom he says he will never submit. It was with indignation that I read, long after I had left this country, of the wanton attack by Major Serpa Pinto (in 1889) on these brave people, and of the wholesale slaughter inflicted on them by quick-firing guns.

Mlauri is a great sportsman, and claims the "ground tusk"—viz., the one towards the ground when the elephant falls—from all men, black or white, who shoot in his country, as a mark of his sovereignty; and I think that this is a fair game-law. Water-buck abound in this country, but there are few other antelope The river literally swarms with monstrous crocodiles, which in the scarcity of other prey become very dangerous to the natives, of whom they kill many, especially women when they come to draw water. Hippo abound, and the old bulls are sometimes dangerous, and charge boats passing up-river, sinking them and precipitating the occupants among the crocodiles in the river. We escaped any such misfortune here, though later in the Upper Shiré we were charged. On that occasion I shot the ill-tempered brute.

There are numbers of hyenas, and I was told that they have a very nasty trick of biting the *face* off a sleeping man, which made me chary of detaching myself far from my men at night. The natives obviate this danger, and, at the same time, get rid of the mosquitoes, by sleeping in a *fumba*. This is a mat bag 6 ft. square. Getting in at the open side, the occupant wriggles to the far side, and then taking a turn over (mat and all), effectually closes the entrance by lying on it. Sometimes two or more boys will occupy the same *fumba*, and why they are not stifled is a mystery. One night

a boy had a dream that he was attacked by a leopard, and his piercing yells from inside his *fumba* awoke the camp. The leopard (which he had seized) turned out to be his "stable companion" in the *fumba*!

The men of these tribes are magnificent in physique. The women are mostly ugly, except Portuguese half-castes, and make themselves intensely hideous by wearing the *pelele*, a wooden disc inserted in a slit made in the upper lip, and which is continually stretched and enlarged till it measures sometimes an inch and a half or more in diameter, and protrudes in a ghastly way at right angles to the face below the nose. The younger women, however, rarely wear this. Both sexes are decently clothed, and the younger women usually cover their breasts. Both men and women join in the constant dance, and the happiness of these people is quite phenomenal. Nothing seems to distress them for long, and ties of love and affection sit lightly upon them Their intellects are not strong enough to enable them to suffer acutely from the *anticipation* of evil, nor to *realise* danger till it is actually before them. Hence they live a careless, happy life, laughing incessantly all day, dancing all night; supremely happy, if meat is abundant; able to endure hunger like the beasts of the field, if food is not to be got; plucky, because believing themselves invulnerable by reason of their *dawa*; undisturbed by hopes or fears of a hereafter; rarely subject to those ills that flesh is heir to —headaches, toothaches, and their kindred woes—by reason of their strong animal physique. Such are the Manganja, and with some minor alterations in detail, such is the typical savage of Africa.

My companion had a fancy for strange company, and a Rajpoot Hindu convict, with a Portuguese half-caste whom he had begged out of prison, had joined our *cortége!* It was droll to watch him in their

company fishing with a hook 5 in. long by 2½ broad, —he never caught anything. The scenery again became lovely. The banks wooded with beautiful trees, hills in every perspective—some quite close and others distant—and no longer a forest of grass so high as to hide every house and tree. Such is the landscape as we paddle up the river to the chorus of the boatmen's song, a light breeze blowing (in the morning), and the sun not too hot,—lounging in a boat fanned by the breeze, the glorious blue sky overhead with its billows of white clouds, fever past, the splitting headache gone, and everything around "clapping its hands for joy."

We passed the mouth of the Ruo (now the Portuguese boundary), opposite to which stood Chipitula's hut, a ruined monument of a sad and a terrible tragedy. Fenwick, an Englishman, so the story goes, had bought some goods in Quilimane with ivory for this chief. Chipitula accused him of having kept back a portion. Possibly both were excited by drink; words ran high; Chipitula called Fenwick some insulting name. The latter drew his revolver, shot the chief dead, and rushing to the river-bank, seized a canoe and got across to an island full of reeds. The tribe rose, but dared not approach, as Fenwick was known to be a dead shot, but they kept watch. In the evening the wretched man crawled forth to drink, and a volley was poured into him. His body was dismembered and cut to pieces, and the way to Blantyre was closed by the excited tribes. Such is one of many almost forgotten African tragedies.

After a short stay at Mlauri's, we went on to Katunga's, the end of our river journey for the present, and distant some 220 miles from the coast. I had tried a little shooting, but the country is very close indeed, and covered with either "elephant grass"

(*matete*), or the spike-leaved reed (*mabanga*), both of which grow from 8 to 15 ft. high, and are so dense as to be absolutely impenetrable. Tracks of elephant, hippo, and buffalo intersect the bush in every direction, but these are rather tunnels than paths. The dense vegetation unites above, some 4 ft. from the ground, and progress is wearisome when one has to proceed in a stooping posture or on all-fours. Without such a path or tunnel, it is only possible to struggle along at a foot-pace with immense exertion, by pressing down the vegetation and clambering *over* it. These high reeds and grasses are full also of a creeper which we call in India "cowatch," having a bean covered with a lovely velvet coating, exactly resembling "old-gold" coloured plush. The microscopic spines on this bean adhere to the flesh, and set up an intense, almost maddening irritation. The mosquitoes, too, in the thick vegetation, are *very* bad, even by day. In other places is the *mabonda*, a marsh plant which covers the Morambala swamps It forms a mass of springy but bottomless roots and stalks, over which it is possible to walk, but the foot is continually slipping deep down and getting inextricably caught among the tough stalks. In such country it is almost impossible to shoot game, as it is invisible, however plentiful.

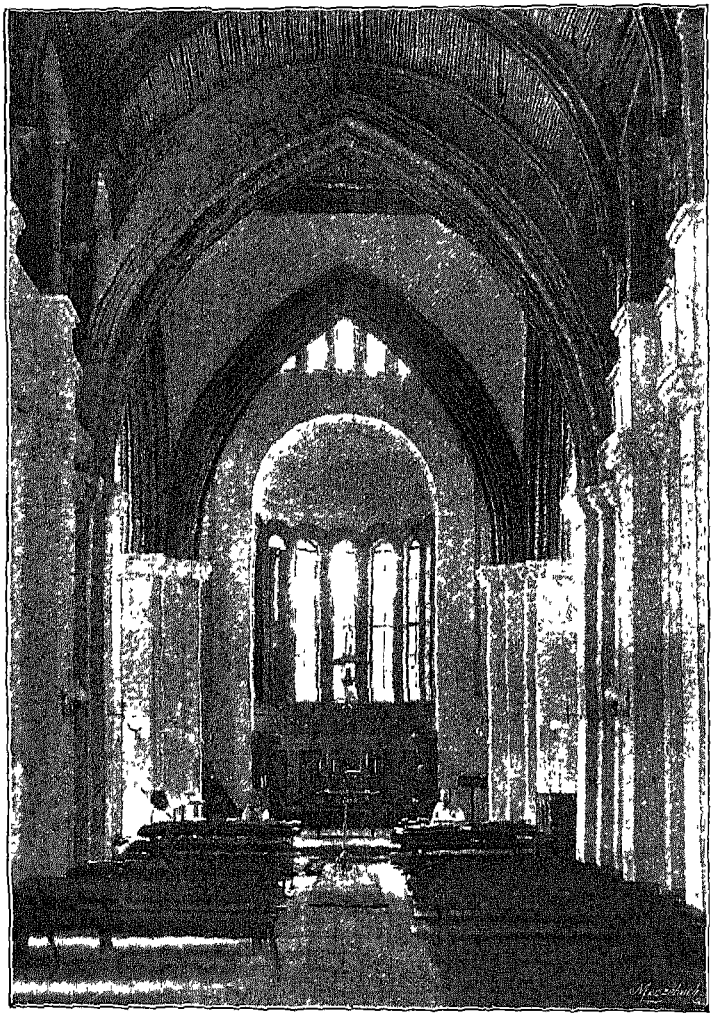
At Katunga's the Company's steamer overtook us, and by it came Mr Sharpe (now Vice-Consul in British Nyasaland). He told me the full story of the fighting at Karonga's (in which he had borne a share), its causes and results. His views were almost identical with Mr O'Neill's, and he looked on the fighting as absolutely necessary to save the missions on Nyasa from annihilation. For, if Karonga's were abandoned, he deemed it a certainty that there would be a general combination of the hostile "Arab" elements, and that they would kill all Europeans, and open a new great

slave-route. The Consul (Mr Hawes), he said, had approved and joined in the fighting, and only opposed its continuation at the moment, because the force was inadequate. Sharpe considered that the force now assembled was sufficient. He himself would join the expedition, if under a leader he approved, but would under no circumstances, he said, fight under existing arrangements.

I was relieved to hear these views from one whose whole demeanour proclaimed him at once a thorough gentleman, and a practical, shrewd, common-sense man; for, of late, after hearing contrary reports from a score of different sources, I had been compelled to place some credence in them, and was even (as I admit in my diary) "ashamed" of my anxiety to join the expedition, and had almost given up my intention of doing so. Saying a cordial good-bye for the present to Steblenski, I walked half-way to Blantyre on May the 11th with Sharpe and Burton (a friend of his, who had engaged for the expedition on the same terms as the men from Natal). We climbed the very steep gradients, which led us up to the plateau of the Shiré highlands,—slept where we could under a tree, and ate what we could get (purchased with Sharpe's pocket-handkerchief), and next day arrived at Blantyre and Mandala. The former is the name of the Mission of the Established Church of Scotland, the latter of the Lakes Company's station. The two estates are divided by the Mudzi stream.

Blantyre is a charming spot in the heart of the Shiré highlands. It consists of a series of houses in the form of a rectangle, most admirably built of sun-dried bricks, with sawn-wood joists, and very neat thatches. The foundations of the houses are raised some four or five steps above the surrounding ground, and the broad verandahs are paved with burnt bricks. The interior of the square is a very prettily laid-out garden, irrigated

by water-channels brought from a distant brook. One side of the rectangle is open, and on this side was



BLANTYRE CHURCH (INTERIOR)

the site now occupied by the magnificent brick church designed and built by the Rev. Clement Scott.[1] Be-

[1] Regarding the construction of this church see chapter XVIII (Labour).

yond is his large and well-built house, and beyond that again the house of Dr Bowie, of whose recent death I heard with sorrow. Mandala consists of a fine house, in which lived Messrs John and Fred Moir—the joint-managers of the African Lakes Company—and their wives There is also a store, and several cottages occupied by the *employés* of the Company.

On arrival I called on Mr Moir, who offered me command of the expedition then on the point of starting for the north end of the Lake Nyasa, and expressed a strong desire that I would accept it. I called also on Mr Scott, and we discussed the subject of the war, and I learnt from him and others the story of the fighting, and the grounds on which they supported its continuation. He told me that the missions had had some misgivings as to the conduct of the expedition, but that if I consented to go in command, they would give me their entire support. I thereupon wrote to the acting Consul, Mr Buchanan, who lived at Zomba, some little distance off, requesting his concurrence and sanction In my letters I gave a detail of all I had heard concerning the war—its origin and the necessity of continuing it—so as to draw from him an expression of his views, in case they should differ from what I had heard, or the facts should be other than what I had stated, and I requested his official opinion as to whether I ought to join the expedition.

The situation described in these letters was as follows · The Slavers had attacked a British station unprovoked ; reprisals had been attempted, and in these Consul Hawes of the Nyasa district, as well as Consul O'Neill, had taken a part. A council was then convened, and a promise was made, and subsequently given in writing to those who were left at Mwini-Wanda, of relief and support ; a definite number of men, arms, and ammunition being specified, with the apparent object of driving the

Arabs out of their stockades, the garrison being left to hold the district and to retain the confidence of the natives, till the expedition arrived. No force equivalent to that specified had as yet been sent. Of this council both Consuls were approving members. Subsequently negotiations had been undertaken by the acting Consul himself without success; and finally, the war had been reopened by Mr F. Moir. Several men had again been left to represent the British, at the north of the lake; their position was precarious, and they had only volunteered to stay on the understanding that reinforcements should be sent up as soon as possible. It was the unanimous opinion of both the Free Church and Established Church Missions, and of other European residents, that the fighting was absolutely necessary, and a meeting had been held at Blantyre (which the acting Consul attended, and whose decision he apparently endorsed), at which this conclusion was arrived at on the following grounds:—

1. Unless a decisive blow was inflicted on these Slavers, the missions on both shores of Nyasa, and also those of the London Missionary Society near Tanganyika, would be in a most precarious condition, and it appeared more than probable that they would be attacked and destroyed; and in such a case even the mission and consulate at Blantyre would be in danger.

2. The quarrel at present was confined to a very small section, under an Arab named Mlozi, and many influential Arabs had expressed their disapproval of his action, and dissociated themselves from him. If the war was now prosecuted, it was held to be probable that the quarrel would be isolated; but by an exhibition of weakness or vacillation it was feared that many Slavers, who had hitherto held aloof, would join Mlozi, considering him the victor, and so a general combination would be formed too powerful to be opposed.

3. In such a case the whole of the west of the lake would fall under the domination of the "Arabs," and a new and most important slave-route would be opened.

4. That friendly tribes through whose assistance the lives of the garrison at Karonga's had been saved, would be abandoned to the mercy of the Slavers, to be massacred and sold into slavery.

5. That already the effect of the temporary success of the Slavers had been to engender in the tribes friendly to them a most marked and unprecedented spirit of aggression and hostility to Europeans, so that recently the acting Consul himself had been the victim of a gross outrage when visiting a neighbouring chief in a purely official capacity

The immediate object of the fighting was to defend the station of Karonga's, to achieve which result it was necessary to oust the Slavers from the stockades they had built close by. The Lakes Company could not afford to maintain a strong permanent garrison there, and hence, unless a decisive blow was now struck, they must evacuate that station (for it would be impossible to leave an inadequate garrison, exposed to the vengeance of the Slavers), in which case the Stevenson Road would be abandoned, and the deplorable results I have tabulated would be brought about. The destruction of these stockades of the Slavers had formed the object of Consul Hawes' attack, and the basis of the acting Consul's subsequent negotiations. It was therefore a question of fighting or at once withdrawing from Karonga's, and had to be regarded solely from that point of view; nor was there time to refer the question to England for decision, for immediate action one way or the other was imperative. News of these events had already reached England, but no decided expression of approval or dissent from the policy hitherto followed

had been expressed by her Majesty's Government, who, in reply to a question in the House, had merely answered that these districts were beyond her Majesty's dominions.

I added that I considered it my duty to join the expedition under such circumstances, and requested the Consul's official sanction. This synopsis of the situation was given in these letters, not only, as I have said, in order to ascertain Mr Buchanan's views, but also that when forwarded to England with his official despatches, they might be explanatory of the causes and objects of the fighting, and the reasons which had prompted me to take part in it. Mr Hawes, the Consul, before leaving the country, had instructed Mr Buchanan to take no active steps, but await orders from home. Feeling himself bound by these instructions (though the situation had much altered since Mr Hawes left), Mr Buchanan was at first unwilling to call upon me to lend my services. He was also justly indignant at never having been informed of the projected expedition, and that his sanction and his opinion had not been asked until my arrival. He came to Blantyre, and we had much conversation on the subject, and several meetings of residents were held at Mr Scott's house. The members of the Blantyre Mission and two of the Livingstonia Mission who happened to be present, thereupon addressed to him through myself the following letter :—

"BLANTYRE, *May* 17, 1888.

"SIR,—The present condition of affairs seems to us, members of the British community here, to be most serious; and in the presence of Captain Lugard, who has expressed himself willing to take command of the expedition at present formed by the Lakes Company, if called upon to do so, it seems to us that an opportunity presents itself of keeping the expedition on the same lines as those on which the missionaries at Blantyre a short time ago gave their countenance to the action formerly proposed, and of lifting the whole expedition into the sympathy and moral

support of the whole community. We therefore desire to express hereby our whole-hearted concurrence in the call which has been addressed to Captain Lugard by the Lakes Company, and to record our thanks to him for what is self-sacrifice for a national duty.—We are, your obedient servants,

DAVID CLEMENT SCOTT, B.D., *Ordained Min., Blantyre.*
DAVID KERR CROSS, M.B., C.M., } *Ordained Min.,*
GEORGE HENRY, M.A., M.B., C.M., } *Livingstonia Mission*
JOHN BOWIE, M.B., C.M."

(And three other names.)

In reply I received the following letter:—

From Acting Consul, Nyasa District, to Capt. F. D. Lugard, D.S.O.

"MUDIE, *May* 18, 1888.

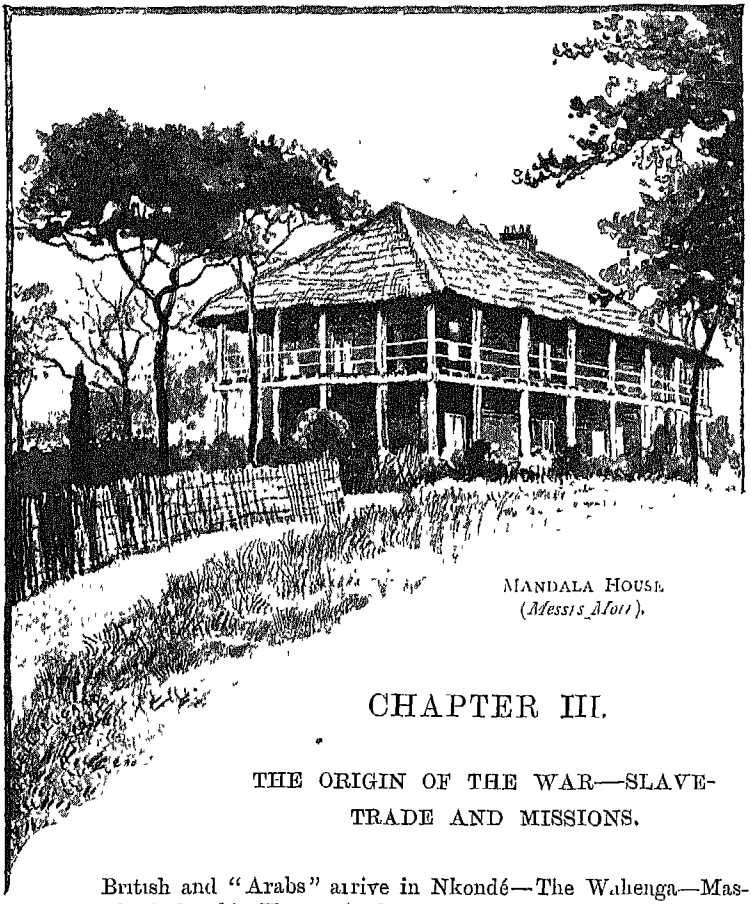
"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of May 12th, also your letter in continuation of the same, dated May 16th, with copy of letter, dated May 17th, signed by the leading members of the Blantyre Mission, giving their whole-hearted concurrence in the call which has been addressed to you by the African Lakes Company.

"2. Pending further instructions from the Foreign Office, I reserve the discussion of your letter till a future period. It is my duty to inform you that her Majesty's Government will not be held responsible for this expedition. I express my strong, hearty approval of your going as commander of the expedition, provided you undertake to observe the following conditions: 1st, That you bear in mind that the expedition is having the support of the English community here, and my approval, purely as a defensive measure—viz., defending a . . . [original damaged and illegible] 2d, That you will confine your operations to the so-called 'Arab' chiefs Mlozi, Kopa-Kopa, and Msalema, and their allies, who were engaged in the attack on Karonga's, the station of the African Lakes Company, and endeavour by all means in your power to confine the scope of the war 3d, That in procuring native allies from the Wa-mwamba and other tribes at the north of the lake, you will be particularly careful to observe the German sphere of influence, as shown on the most authentic maps, to prevent complications in that quarter.—I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"JOHN BUCHANAN, *Her Majesty's Acting Consul, Nyasa.*"

I pressed Mr Buchanan to come himself with us, but he said his large plantations of coffee at this season required his whole care, and he could not neglect them. I therefore promised to supply him with full official reports of all that took place, that he might be able to report fully, as Consul, to the Foreign Office. This I did, in three lengthy reports detailing events during the next year.

I had found much division at Blantyre on my arrival. The missions, the Consul, and the Company, each individually thought the war unavoidable and necessary, but for various reasons there was a lack of accord, and of confidence in the Company's expedition. My first task was to remedy this, and the result was not achieved without great difficulty. Mr Buchanan did not at first desire to accept the responsibility of officially sanctioning my going, but in the last resort I would have gone, even without such approval, and at the risk of my commission — so serious did the crisis seem to me. A complete accord *was*, however, effected, and we left Blantyre with the most cordial good-wishes of *all* parties, and the prayers of the missions for our success.



MANDALA HOUSE.
(*Messrs Moir*).

CHAPTER III.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WAR—SLAVE-TRADE AND MISSIONS.

British and "Arabs" arrive in Nkondé—The Wahenga—Massacre of Wankondé—Karonga's threatened—O'Neill arrives—Besieged—North-enders to the rescue—Karonga's abandoned—Consul Hawes arrives—Attack on Mlozi—Divergent views at Blantyre—Mr F. Moir's attack—Buchanan's negotiations—The Nyasa "Consul"—Reason of appointment—Powers—Results of slave-trade squadron—Life at Blantyre—Arrive at Matopé—Members of the expedition—Dr Cross—Value of Medical missions—Industrial missions—Schools for children—Administrative missions—Missionary qualifications—Mr Sharpe.

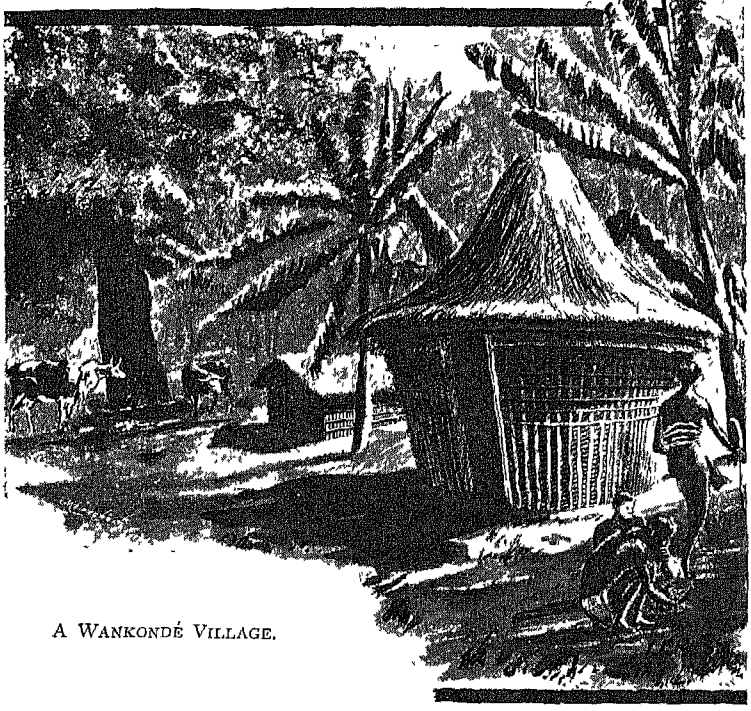
THE story of the origin of the war was as follows: Some six years prior to the time of which I write, the African Lakes Company had founded a small trading

station at Karonga's, towards the north-west end of the Lake Nyasa. About the same time a small party of slave-traders settled in Mpata and built their villages seven miles from Karonga's on a very important site, which commanded the road to Tanganyika by controlling both the ferry of the river and a pass. They had few followers, and settled here by the permission of the local tribe, the Wankondé—a peaceable agricultural people, who were also rich in cattle. For some time all went well. Soon the Slavers made excuses for putting an enclosure round their village, on the plea of the fear of lions, &c. This gradually grew into a stockade.

The Nkondé valley was a singularly peaceful spot, shut in by ranges of high hills from the warlike tribes around. It was extensively cultivated by the industrious people, and the far-reaching banana groves were kept in scrupulous order. The Wankondé are very clean in their habits, and their huts are the neatest and most wonderfully built of any I have seen in Africa, excepting only the houses of the king and chiefs in Uganda. Settled among the Wankondé were an alien tribe, named the Wahenga. These people had fled before the powerful and dreaded (Zulu) tribe of the Angoni, and had claimed and received the hospitality of the Wankondé, who allowed them to live among them. Though inferior in numbers, they were superior in fighting capacity to their hosts. With these people the Slavers now began to intrigue. The Wankondé were armed with nothing but spears. The Wahenga had the guns of their allies, who promised them the land if they would assist them to drive out and enslave the Wankondé. They readily agreed, and fire and sword was carried from village to village. The men were shot down, and the women and children carried off into slavery, to be sold for fresh supplies of guns

and powder, wherewith to enable the Slavers to make still more extended raids

The British *employé* of the Lakes Company at Karonga's, Mr L. Monteith, who has since written a book on the incidents of this war,[1] an ex-foreman from a ship-building yard in Glasgow, was a man of strong character, actuated by high principles, and he had a very great influence with the tribes around. He



A WANKONDÉ VILLAGE.

had been on most friendly terms for years with the "Arabs," who sold their ivory to him, and, I regret to say, sometimes received powder in exchange for it. Even Kabunda, a very powerful chief at the south of the Tanganyika lake, who could, it was said, put several

[1] Adventures in Nyasaland.

thousand guns in the field, and who acknowledged the rule of Tippoo Tib, sent down consignments of ivory to Karonga's under a lieutenant named Ramathan, a Beluch. Monteith expostulated at the wholesale destruction inflicted on the Wankondé by the Slavers, but he could do no more Karonga's consisted of a few mud-houses, with a garrison of some sixty "station-boys" (native *employés*), and there was no stockade or defence, and no force to oppose to an enemy.

At length these barbarities culminated in an act of singular brutality. The Wankondé who had fled were decoyed by promises of peace and friendship to a place near an arm of the lake called the Kambwé Lagoon. The banks of this bay were fringed with dense reeds, now dry in the hot weather; its shallow water swarmed with crocodiles. The wretched Wankondé were treacherously attacked, and volley after volley was fired into the dense crowds of men, women, and children, who had fled to conceal themselves in the reeds. To these the Slavers set fire, and gave the wretched people the option of rushing into the bay to be devoured by the crocodiles, or of being roasted alive, or of coming out to be shot down wholesale, or captured and enslaved, while their assailants climbed the trees to watch the butchery, and fire with more advantage on the terrified masses among the reeds.

The Slavers now having overrun the whole country up to the very gate of Karonga's, their leader, Mlozi, proclaimed himself Sultan of Nkondé, and demanded acquiescence and the payment of a tribute from Monteith. This the latter refused. The "Arabs" now daily began to throw off any disguise of friendship for the white men, and to use insulting words, and even openly threatened that the turn of Karonga's was soon to come Monteith's companion, Mr Nicoll, was away on business, so he sent to Mr Bain of the Free Church

MASSACRE OF THE WANKONDÉ.

Mission at Mwini-Wanda (on the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau), begging him to come and advise him. Mr Bain at once came, and Mr Nicoll also arrived about this time. The steamer of the Company, the Ilala, had just come up to Karonga's. By her Monteith sent word down the lake of his critical position, and, meanwhile, steps were taken to endeavour to construct some defence. The Slavers affected to take this as a challenge, and resented it. A large payment, however, was due to Ramathan (who seems to have been the main instigator of the war) for ivory sold by him to Monteith. Possibly he thought that, if Karonga's was attacked, the store might be fired, and he would lose both his ivory and its payment, or that in the general loot he would come short of his fair share. However that may be, the Slavers contented themselves with insults, which daily grew more pronounced, but the actual attack was postponed.

The little Ilala steamed fast southwards. At Livingstonia, at the south of the lake, she found Mr O'Neill, Consul of Mozambique, who, with his wife and brother-in-law, the Rev. Lawrence Scott, had come for a holiday trip to Nyasa, botanising, &c. Mrs O'Neill was at the moment at Blantyre. O'Neill, hearing of the critical condition at the north end, determined on his own responsibility to take the steamer back; and sending letters to inform the manager, Mr Moir, of the state of affairs and of his action, he prepared with Mr Scott to return at once and offer his services. Mr Sharpe was at that time engaged in elephant-shooting for ivory in the neighbourhood. He also immediately volunteered to go, and brought with him all his guns and heavy ammunition. At Karonga's there was very little ammunition indeed, and the steamer brought practically none, except this. Their arrival was a great relief to the three men at Karonga's, Mr Bain saying that they

had come "just in the nick of time." And so it appeared. Payment was made to Ramathan by Mr O'Neill's advice—for he now practically assumed command—and shortly afterwards the Slavers, with all their allies, came down to attack. A hasty defence was run up, consisting of bales of cloth piled on top of each other, and a ditch was dug inside to give more shelter. In rear was the shore of the lake. Inside this rough defence, or camped on the beach, there were, I believe, some 1500 Wankondé refugees. The garrison consisted of six white men and some sixty natives, with but little ammunition.

At the extreme north end of the lake was another section of the Wankondé tribe. These people were more warlike than their tribesmen around Karonga's, and in infinitely greater numbers. They were under three great chiefs, and were armed only with spears, but were brave in war. They had long been on the most friendly terms with Monteith. As soon as the Slavers showed unmistakable signs that they were about to commence hostilities, O'Neill despatched Nicoll to try and obtain assistance from these "north-enders." He proceeded along the lake shore and passed the Wahenga village of Kanyoh, whose inhabitants were already turning out for the attack, but taken, probably, completely by surprise at seeing him, they did not molest him.

Meanwhile the attack on Karonga's began. The force of the Slavers surrounded it in front and on the flanks; in rear was the lake. The enemy built platforms in the trees, so as to look down into the stockade and fire into it. The garrison replied by deepening their ditch around their bales, and digging holes and trenches in the sand for the refugee Wankondé to screen themselves in. Constant desultory firing went on day and night; but the Slavers, apparently, had such

fear of the white men, or such confidence in being able to starve them out, that they did not attempt to rush the puny defence. Meanwhile, only the best shots—O'Neill and Sharpe—were allowed to fire, so as to save the ammunition; and these two marksmen picked off a number of men who exposed themselves for a moment, and created so wholesome a fear among the enemy that they dared not come to close quarters. The old store and other buildings were outside the defence, and from inside this and behind it the "Arabs" poured a harassing fire. On one occasion the enemy crowded into it to escape rain, and Sharpe fired point-blank at the heavy wooden door with an elephant rifle and heavy charge. That shot was said to have killed six men! They streamed out, and eventually one of the natives of the garrison succeeded, under a heavy fire, in going out and setting fire to the thatch, and thus got rid of it.

The ammunition now began to give out, and the end seemed near. Just as all were becoming convinced that nothing could now save them, Nicoll appeared with 5000 Wankondé from the north end of the lake. The Slavers and their allies fled to their stockades, without waiting to fight, and Karonga's was relieved. Unfortunately, instead of advancing at the moment to drive the slave-traders out of the country, a slight delay took place, and the Wankondé began at once to disperse. It was impossible for the brave garrison to remain behind with no ammunition, and the "station-boys," who had behaved so well throughout, declined to do so. So O'Neill and his five comrades set fire to the stores, and left for the north, where they took up their abode in some wretched hovels, near the frontiers of the country of their allies, the "north-end Wankondé" (*Wa-mwamba*).

Meanwhile, the steamer had taken down the news to Blantyre and Mandala of the critical position of the Karonga garrison Consul Hawes, Mr Moir, and several

others hastened to the rescue. They arrived to find Karonga's burnt to the ground (for the Slavers had come back after it was evacuated, and destroyed what remained of it), but the garrison were safe at the Songwe river. O'Neill was down with severe fever. The aid of the "north-enders" was again called in, and Consul Hawes led an attack against Mlozi and his allies. Their stockades were at this time mere fences, and the prestige of the white men was still so high that the Slavers dared not face them in fight. The Wankondé in their thousands swarmed into the slave-traders' village, and drove back its inhabitants. Ramathan was shot in the ankle, and speared. But these naked savages had come for loot only. Each man seized an ox, or a cow, or a captive, and started off in a bee-line for home The "Arabs" had only been driven to the back of their village, and as the Wankondé dispersed, they gained courage and again came forward. The white men had little ammunition, and this was almost exhausted. They drove the enemy back, but were forced to retire themselves, and hence the total result of the attack was, that the Slavers lost a great deal of property, but remained in possession of their villages. In this attack Mr Sharpe received a slight wound in the heel, and Mr Moir got a bullet through the fleshy part of his leg.

The white men now left for Mandala, it being arranged that a big expedition should be equipped, with adequate arms and ammunition, to return and oust the Slavers. Consul Hawes said that, if such an expedition, with adequate men and resources, were organised, it would have his support. Mr Moir undertook to form it by the end of April, but meantime promised to hasten back with all speed in fourteen days with food and ammunition. On this understanding Messrs Monteith and Nicoll, with Dr Cross (who had been compelled to

fly from his mission-station at Chirenji, where he was the colleague of Mr Bain), undertook to remain, and so give confidence to the natives, and show that the white men had not run away and left for good. They were without stores, or necessities of any kind. The steamer left on Jan. 5th, 1888.

On arrival at Blantyre an unfortunate difference of opinion arose. Consul Hawes thought nothing should be done until a fully equipped expedition could start; that to attempt anything further with inadequate resources would only lead to disaster, or a loss of prestige. Consul O'Neill held that they were bound by their solemn pledges to those left behind in a most precarious position; that, since it would take several months to get the expedition together, they ought, in the meantime, to send up what assistance and supplies they could, and so redeem their promise. He was ready himself to return with any such reinforcements So far as I understand, the opinion of all—the Company, the missions, and others—was with O'Neill. Mr Hawes at this juncture availed himself of a period of leave which had been granted to him, and left the country for England. Mr O'Neill, feeling himself in a most delicate position, being out of his own consular jurisdiction, and in that of another man whose views did not agree with his own, saw no option left him but to return to Mozambique. Mr Buchanan, who had formerly been attached to the Blantyre Mission, was appointed acting Consul, and he understood from Mr Hawes that he was to do nothing, pending arrival of instructions from home.

Meanwhile, close on ten weeks had been lost before Mr F. Moir, having collected a considerable quantity of guns and ammunition, and with six white men and reinforcements of natives, was ready to go back to Karonga's, and take the necessaries and stores promised to Monteith and the others. This was, of course, in

pursuance of the views held by Mr O'Neill and the other European residents in Nyasaland, and was in anticipation of the large expedition which was to follow. This temporary relief, owing to these causes and also to other inexplicable delays *en route* (Mr Lindsay being sent off to look for gold, &c.), did not arrive till March 3d, though it had been positively promised by Jan. 19th, and in the meantime Dr Cross, Monteith, and Nicoll had led a life of extreme hardship and danger. Mr Buchanan shortly afterwards arrived, and endeavoured in his consular capacity to bring about peace. The Slavers agreed to evacuate their positions, but afterwards declined to carry out this undertaking. He then gave up the fruitless negotiation and returned to Zomba.

Meanwhile, Mr F. Moir's force had been recruited to the number of about 500 natives (270 guns), with eight Europeans. He determined to conclude the war without waiting for the big expedition, thinking his force equal to the task. They returned from the north end of the lake, and rebuilt the stockade at Karonga's. Mlozi and his party had made no adequate preparations; their stockades were not so strongly fortified as they subsequently became. A friendly Arab, Majid, endeavoured to secure peace; but the British fancied themselves absolutely sure of success, and they were eager to fight and take vengeance on the slave-traders for the past. An indemnity in ivory was demanded, which I believe was more than Mlozi had it in his power to pay: so they prepared to fight it out.

Mr F. Moir, by an ingenious device of firing darts out of a large-bore rifle, with lighted bark-cloth attached, succeeded in setting fire to the village. He showed much personal courage himself, but received a bullet which shattered his right arm. From the terrible nature of the wound, it was surmised that it

must have been a wild shot from a breechloader of one of his own men. This sad *contretemps* completed the failure of the attack, and the British force retired. The Slavers, emboldened, came out of their stockades and made a counter-attack on the retreating force, but were repulsed. Mr F. Moir returned to Mandala at the end of April, leaving six men behind to hold Karonga's. The Slavers now seeing that the white men meant to prosecute the war on these terms, began to fortify themselves by building formidable stockades, and laying down thorns, &c. The loss of prestige we had recently suffered by the failure of the late attack had, moreover, given them a great increase of confidence

Such was the series of events which had happened prior to my own arrival in the country. At the time I reached Blantyre (May 12th), Mr F. Moir had just been brought back wounded, and the larger expedition was on the point of starting. Mr Buchanan represented the consular authority, and the steps I took to obtain his concurrence and support I have already described.

I have spoken a good deal of the "British Consul," and it may have struck my reader as strange that here, in a country in which her Majesty's Government expressly repudiated any responsibility (see p. 48), there should be a "Consul." His appointment denoted the last phase of our slave-trade policy. I would once more beg my reader to turn to the chapters on the slave-trade, without a perusal of which it would hardly be possible to thoroughly realise the position which I now found in Nyasaland.

In 1883 H.M.S. London, the most important vessel of the slave-trade squadron, which was equipped with an effective "mosquito fleet," was paid out of commission. Those best informed state that this was interpreted by the slave-traders as an indication of the wane of our interest in the suppression, and was immediately

followed by a marked recrudescence of the slave-trade. The area in Nyasaland devastated between 1883 and 1887-88 was stated by them to be not less than 1000 × 400 miles. Public feeling in England, however, strongly supported the efforts to suppress this traffic, and in place of the London the three Vice-Consulates on the coast, and the Consulate on Nyasa, were established.

The appointment of a Consul to the Nyasa district, admittedly the headquarters of the slave-raiders, marked the first faint inception of the idea that a mere coast supervision was inadequate, and the results achieved disproportionate to the outlay. It was, however, an abortive and ill-matured plan. For her Majesty's agent was styled a "Consul," yet he was accredited to no local authority. His position was, therefore, anomalous and unparalleled. He had no legal standing and no jurisdiction. Ostensibly he was accredited to the "native chiefs," but these chiefs had not accepted his appointment, nor indeed were there any native chiefs in the district in which his headquarters were situated. The nearest chiefs were those engaged most actively in the slave-trade, and were styled "Arabs," since they aped the manners and proclivities of the coast traders. Even as regards European settlers the "Consul" was without jurisdiction. The district was "No-man's Land," and the missionaries, who had established settlements there, were free to consider themselves independent of the Consul.

At Blantyre a colony had grown up around the mission station in a country previously uninhabited. The Consul had no *legal* right to interfere with the mission administration, or with their right to make their own statutes, enforce punishments, delegate authority, or hold lands acquired by treaty. The colony consisted largely, if not entirely, of fugitive slaves from the neighbouring tribes. Difficulties, of course, arose with these tribes,

which were dealt with, I believe, solely by the head of the mission. The Consul was, moreover, without any adequate force to maintain what authority he might claim, or even to defend the consulate should it be attacked in any tribal raid. More than once the Zomba residency was threatened. On one occasion when her Majesty's acting Consul went to pay a visit to a neighbouring "native chief," in a purely official capacity, he was seized, stripped, and bound, his servant was killed, and he himself narrowly escaped with his life, and had to pay a ransom in cloth, and paint "to paint the slave-dhows" as a writer graphically expressed it.[1] This insult remained wholly unavenged.

Such was the position of her Majesty's so-called Consul, one of the equivalents for the abolition of the London. He had been ordered to furnish reports on matters concerning the slave-trade, but I never heard that they effected any purpose of greater utility than to fill the Foreign Office pigeon-holes, or provide its clerks with a little desultory reading of an extra-routine class. Meanwhile, more expensive and less useful ships took the place of the London.

To summarise the results of our "slave-trade policy" at this period. The supervision of the coast, although useful in the beginning, had been admitted as now inadequate, and costly in a degree disproportionate to the results achieved. Even the far more complete blockade on the West Coast was computed by the officers engaged to have been effective only to the extent of five per cent of the exported slaves.[2] Moreover, the new departure of constituting an inland consulate in an unappropriated country was both unsound in theory and useless in practice.

The result of my contemplation of these measures

[1] Rev H Waller, Some African Entanglements, p. 4

[2] H. E. O'Neill, R.N, Mozambique Slave-trade, &c., p. 17.

was to confirm me in my views that the money expended on the suppression of the slave-trade was not applied to the best advantage, that the only effective means was to attack the evil nearer its source, and apply a portion of the money, now spent solely on the coast, to a scheme which should have this object in view. In joining an expedition to fight against the slave-raiders in their own headquarters, I felt myself to be on the path which should lead me to verify by fuller experience the theories I had already formed. Of these I will speak later.

My week at Blantyre had been most pleasantly spent, in spite of the constant work and thought necessary to the task in hand. I was the guest of Mr Moir, manager of the Lakes Company, and I spent most of my time at the house of the Rev. Clement Scott, head of the Blantyre Mission. Here in the heart of Central Africa one was suddenly translated into the surroundings of home civilisation. Mrs Scott's drawing-room, full of pretty knick-knacks, of pictures and books, and English furniture, might have contrasted not unfavourably with a sitting-room in Edinburgh; the snow-white table-cloths, and the flowers which brightened her dining-table, made it hard to realise that this was life in Africa! The same usages of home life made the charm of Dr Bowie's house. Both he and Mr Scott were "reading men," and after the months I had spent herding with sailors and third class passengers on board ship, and with rough though kind and hospitable friends in Africa, the intellectual treat of interesting conversations, and the discussion of the various problems of Africa, was a contrast and a pleasure it is hard to describe.

Mr J. Moir, Dr Cross, and myself started on May 18th to overtake the others, who had already gone. All difficulties had been smoothed. Those left behind

cordially and unanimously wished us well, while the members of the expedition itself were all animated by good feeling, and were confident of success. Moir had two horses, and we rode as far as the Lunzu river—fourteen miles. Beyond this the tsetse-fly prohibited the use of horses. Our destination was Matopé, on the river Shiré above the rapids, where all the white men, and the stores and provisions, were awaiting us, with the little steamer which was to convey us to the north of the lake

The descent to Matopé from the highlands of Blantyre is gradual, unlike that towards the lower Shiré, which we had ascended to reach the plateau. Moreover, the elevation of the Shiré at Matopé, above the Murchison Falls, is, of course, much greater than at Katunga's, where navigation from the sea ceases. The difference is close on 1000 feet. The first portion (which we rode) to the Lunzu is for the most part through sparse jungle-forest. The trees are not thickly grown, there is little or no jungle undergrowth, and the timber is very small, few trees being more than six inches in the diameter of the bole. All the forest on the Shiré highlands has the appearance of being young, and of comparatively recent growth. There are singularly few birds, and no game. The scenery is lovely, with continual glimpses of blue hills in the distance crowned with forest.

Arriving at the Lunzu at sunset, we had a mouthful of food, and sending back the horses, proceeded on foot. Tracks of all kinds of game become more and more frequent, and the vegetation of the hills gives place to that of the plains High "elephant-grass" shuts out everything from view, and where the path passes through this growth, one's attention is concentrated in pushing aside the heavy stalks, which lean across and obliterate the path, and tower many feet above

one's head. By 11 P.M. we reached a gigantic baobab tree, where arrangements had been made for a cup of tea, and thence we pushed on to Matopé, which we reached at 1 A.M. at night, drenched to the skin by the heavy dew on the dense grass and bushes: we had left Blantyre at 1 P M. The months I had spent on board, and in canoe and boat work, had made me somewhat out of condition for walking—which a new pair of badly fitting boots did not improve—and I arrived with my feet in a literally raw and bleeding state. The distance accomplished was fourteen miles on horseback and twenty-two on foot.

Here we found fourteen white men awaiting us, of whom seven had been engaged in South Africa for the fighting One of the latter, Binns, who had come to the Cape in the hopes of getting an appointment in the police—a man with a good deal of confidence in the muscular power of his own right arm—I found a most useful and loyal man; but, as the representative of the grievances against the Lakes Company, he had previously been looked upon as a difficult man to deal with. Another—by name Wilson—was a troublesome factor, and inclined to be quarrelsome, as later events will show. He said he had been a medical student, and many other things. Two others had been gold prospectors: Pigott, an Australian, was an oldish man, and looked on his employment in a fighting expedition as a grievance; Rolfe, the younger, was a handy carpenter, a keen sportsman, and had long led the careless, wild life of the South African gold-fields. Auld was an old soldier, who had served through many of the South African wars as a non-commissioned officer in the higher grades, and as an old campaigner he was one of the very few who understood what discipline meant, and was content from

the first to obey orders implicitly. Jones, another old soldier, was a quiet retiring man, of whom no one heard or saw anything; while Mr Raw, also of much South African experience, and a particularly smart and useful man, completed the number. Burton, a gentleman who had held an appointment on the Congo for three years, was a capital but a somewhat easy-going fellow

The *employés* of the Company who were enrolled in the expedition included the manager, Mr John Moir. He was a man whom it was impossible not to like. I have rarely met any one who showed such an absolute disregard of danger. It seemed to me that he lacked the sense of personal fear, and was unable to realise the existence of danger. It was different from pluck, it amounted to a physical characteristic. Unselfish to a degree, he would invariably contrive to leave his own personal comfort entirely out of consideration, and not till the last-joined and most junior of those present was accommodated, would he think either of his food or his place to lie down. His character was one of the most extraordinary I have ever met with in my life; for with all these admirable characteristics, he seemed to blend most of their opposites, and acting on the impulse of the moment, he would lose sight of previous promises,—a trait which caused us many difficulties later. The other "Company's men" were Smith, Moore, Stewart, Nisbet, and Watson.

In addition, there were three volunteers. These were Dr Kerr Cross, of the Livingstonia (Free Church) Mission (minister and surgeon), for whose services as a non-combatant medical officer I later applied officially to Dr Laws, the head of the mission Dr Cross's station was at Mwini-Wanda (or Chirenji), on the plateau between Nyasa and Tanganyika. On the outbreak of

hostilities between the Slavers and the British, his station was threatened by roving bands of the enemy, and he was compelled to fly, at the time when his colleague, the Rev. A. J. Bain, with his five comrades, under O'Neill, had made their gallant defence of Karonga's. He joined them after their evacuation, in their camp on the Songwé, just beyond the district devastated by Mlozi He had been present when Consul Hawes arrived to lead the counter-attack on the Slavers' stockade, and when that gentleman and the others with him returned to Blantyre, he had volunteered, with Monteith and Nicoll, to remain in the country till the more powerful expedition should arrive. Mr F Moir came, as I have already narrated, and Dr Cross was again present at the attack on Msalema's stockade. He nursed Mr F Moir when his arm was shattered, and the bone split, by a bullet in that action. Finding his patient in a precarious state, he deemed it necessary that he should at once be sent back to Blantyre, and himself accompanied him thither, till he could place him in the hands of Dr Bowie. It was there I met him, and he again volunteered his services as minister and surgeon, which I gratefully accepted with Dr Laws' concurrence. My later story will show how much I owe personally to Dr Cross. He is one of those missionaries whom I heartily appreciate, and though I do *not* indiscrimin-

Dr D Kerr Cross

ately admire all missionaries, I am free to say that, among such of the Scotch missionaries as I met in Nyasaland, there was not a single one whom I did not esteem. I have nothing but praise both of their methods and their work.

A word as to missions in Africa. Beyond doubt I think the most useful missions are the Medical and the Industrial, in the initial stages of savage development. A combination of the two is, in my opinion, an ideal mission. Such is the work of the Scotch Free Church on Lake Nyasa The medical missionary begins work with every advantage. Throughout Africa the ideas of the cure of the body and of the soul are closely allied. The "medicine man" is credited, not only with a knowledge of the simples and drugs which may avert or cure disease, but owing to the superstitions of the people, he is also supposed to have a knowledge of the charms and *dawa* which will invoke the aid of the Deity or appease His wrath, and of the witchcraft and magic (*ulu*) by which success in war, immunity from danger, or a supply of rain may be obtained. As the skill of the European in medicine asserts its superiority over the crude methods of the medicine man, so does he in proportion gain an influence in his teaching of the great truths of Christianity. He teaches the savage where knowledge and art cease, how far natural remedies produce their effects, independent of charms or supernatural agencies, and where divine power overrules all human efforts. Such demonstration from a medicine man, whose skill they cannot fail to recognise as superior to their own, has naturally more weight than any mere preaching. A mere preacher is discounted, and his zeal is not understood. The medical missionary, moreover, gains an admission to the houses and homes of the natives by virtue of his art, which would not be so readily accorded to another. He becomes their

adviser and referee, and his counsels are substituted for the magic and witchcraft which retard development.[1]

The value of the Industrial mission, on the other hand, depends, of course, largely on the nature of the tribes among whom it is located. Its value can hardly be over-estimated among such people as the Waganda, both on account of their natural aptitude and their eager desire to learn. But even the less advanced and more primitive tribes may be equally benefited, if not only mechanical and artisan work, such as the carpenter's and blacksmith's craft, but also the simpler expedients of agriculture are taught. The sinking of wells, the system of irrigation, the introduction and planting of useful trees, the use of manure, and of domestic animals for agricultural purposes, the improvement of his implements by the introduction of the primitive Indian plough, &c.,—all of these, while improving the status of the native, will render his land more productive, and hence, by increasing his surplus products, will enable him to purchase from the trader the cloth which shall add to his decency, and the implements and household utensils which shall produce greater results for his labour and greater comforts in his social life.

Of the success of such missions we have examples which prove these contentions not to be merely theoretical. The Lovedale Mission in South Africa, founded and developed by Dr Stewart, who has recently started a similar mission in East Africa, is a striking example of success; and so, I hear, is the Bagamoyo Mission on the coast (opposite Zanzibar), established by the "Black Fathers." As I have already said, these methods are also largely followed by the Free Church of Scotland Mission on Nyasa, under that most practical

[1] "Medical treatment is the best of all methods for winning the affections of the natives of Africa."—Wilson, Uganda, &c., vol. i. p. 247

and ideal missionary, Dr Laws. I strongly advocated the establishment of such a mission in Uganda, than which, as I have said, no country in Africa offers greater promise of success. Though I have myself a great respect for mission work, and appreciate the noble devotion of the men who engage in it (both Protestant and R. Catholic), I have seen the terrible evils brought about by the inculcation of purely sectarian doctrine, involving bitter religious rivalries and jealousies, and ending at last in a deplorable war between nominally Christian sects. To me, as an outsider, it appears a matter of great regret that a people so eager for knowledge, and so anxious to improve themselves, had not rather been led to a higher plane by the methods of an industrial mission. This, while teaching simple religious truths, might perhaps have limited rivalry to a legitimate competition in mechanical and agricultural skill, without exciting jealousies, founded solely on sectarian differences between the two great Churches of the Christian faith.

In my view, moreover, instruction (religious or secular) is largely wasted upon adults, who are wedded to custom and prejudice. It is the rising generation who should be educated to a higher plane, by the establishment of schools for children. They, in turn, will send their children for instruction; and so a progressive advancement is instituted, which may produce really great results. I see, in a recent letter, that Dr Laws supports this view, and appositely quotes the parallel of the Israelites after their exodus from Egypt, who were detained for forty years in the desert, until the generation who had been slaves in Egypt had passed away.[1] The extensive schools at his mission at Bandawi were evidence of the practical application of his views. These schools were literally thronged with thousands of children, and chiefs of neighbouring tribes were eagerly

[1] *Vide* also Life of Mackay, p 459.

offering to erect schools in their own villages at their own cost.

The Established Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre was (if I may so call it) an administrative mission It was started under a wholly different set of conditions. The site of the mission, instead of being in a densely populated country, like the Free Church mission-stations, was in a district largely depopulated. Around the mission grew up a population chiefly consisting of fugitive slaves. This initial mistake led to serious difficulties later, and I believe the resentment of the tribes from whom these slaves had run away was eventually disarmed only by the payment of ransom-money by the mission. Thus the missions became the administrators and lawgivers of the native community which grew up around them. Just as the mission houses and plantations were themselves an object-lesson to the natives of Africa, so the little colony became itself a model. The spotless clothes of the children, the neatness, and order, and discipline enforced, were like nothing I have ever seen elsewhere in Africa. The children in the schools were boarders; native chiefs from surrounding tribes sent their sons to live in Blantyre, and be taught in the schools; neighbouring chiefs came to the white man of Blantyre, as arbitrator in disputes; his intervention on more than one occasion prevented war. The great coffee-plantations and buildings of the missions, the Lakes Company, and Messrs Buchanan, were the means of instituting on a large scale the experiment of free labour in Africa, and natives came from great distances, even from the warlike Angoni tribe, to engage themselves for regular wages (see chap. xviii)

An administrative mission can, of course, only be founded in a country not under the ægis of any European Power. Under such circumstances, a mission

may be justified in undertaking to some extent administrative functions, pending the absorption of the country under European protection, especially where no central native authority exists, and there is no cohesion to repel the attacks of slave-traders, or the tyranny of the dominant tribe. This is, of course, more especially the case when the community has grown up in a previously unpopulated country, as at Blantyre. But when a secular administration is established, it appears to me that the missions should resign entirely into the hands of the authorised executive Government all functions pertaining to administration.

Such were the Scotch missions on Nyasa[1]—eminently practical in their inception, and, so far as an outsider can judge, admirably adapted in their methods to the needs of the natives, and each of them types, in their different ways, of what a mission in Africa should be.

I offer no comments on the operations of the Universities Mission, for their headquarters were at Likoma Island on the lake, and all their stations were along the eastern shore, and therefore distant from the route I traversed.

One word as regards missionaries themselves. The essential point in dealing with Africans is to establish a respect for the European. Upon this—the prestige of the white man — depends his influence, often his very existence, in Africa. If he shows by his surroundings, and by his assumption of superiority, that he is far above the native, he will be respected, and his influence will be proportionate to the superiority he assumes and bears out by his higher accomplishments and mode of life. In my opinion—at any rate with reference to Africa—it is the greatest possible

[1] All this is more than endorsed by Mr Thomson, who visited Blantyre in 1890, and speaks "in superlatives" of the astounding work that missionaries, traders, and planters have accomplished there—Geog Journal, vol. i. p. 101 It is also recognised by Major Wissmann

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mistake to suppose that a European can acquire a greater influence by adopting the mode of life of the natives. In effect, it is to lower himself to their plane, instead of elevating them to his. The sacrifice involved is wholly unappreciated, and the motive would be held by the savage to be poverty and lack of social status in his own country. The whole influence of the European in Africa is gained by this assertion of a superiority which commands the respect and excites the emulation of the savage. To forego this vantage-ground is to lose influence for good. I may add, that the loss of prestige consequent on what I should term the humiliation of the European affects not merely the missionary himself, but is subversive of all efforts for secular administration, and may even invite insult, which may lead to disaster and bloodshed. To maintain it a missionary must, above all things, be a gentleman, for no one is more quick to recognise a real gentleman than the African savage He must at all times assert himself, and repel an insolent familiarity, which is a thing entirely apart from friendship born of respect and affection. His dwelling-house should be as superior to those of the natives as he is himself superior to them. And this, while adding to his prestige and influence, will simultaneously promote his own health and energy, and so save money spent on invalidings to England, and replacements due to sickness or death. In these respects the Scotch missions in Nyasaland have shown a most useful example.

I am convinced that the indiscriminate application of such precepts as those contained in the words to "turn the other cheek also to the smiter," and to be "the servant of all men," is to wholly misunderstand and misapply the teaching of Christ. The African holds the position of a late-born child in the family of nations, and must as yet be schooled in the discipline of the nursery. He is neither the intelligent ideal crying out

for instruction, and capable of appreciating the subtle beauties of Christian forbearance and self-sacrifice, which some well-meaning missionary literature would lead us to suppose; nor yet, on the other hand, is he universally a rampant cannibal, predestined by Providence to the yoke of the slave, and fitted for nothing better, as I have elsewhere seen him depicted. I hold rather with Longfellow's beautiful lines—

> "In all ages
> Every human heart is human;
> That in even savage bosoms
> There are longings, yearnings, strivings
> For the good they comprehend not.
> That the feeble hands and helpless,
> Groping blindly in the darkness,
> Touch God's right hand in that darkness."[1]

That is to say, that there is in him, like the rest of us, both good and bad, and that the innate good is capable of being developed by culture. My allusion to our missionary volunteer, Dr Kerr Cross, has led me into a long digression! In offering his services, he not only voluntarily undertook to face danger and hardships of an exceptional kind, but risked the great probability of misrepresentation and condemnation at home for joining a fighting expedition; and this, to him, was of still greater moment.

The other volunteer (besides myself) was Mr Sharpe, who had formerly been resident in Fiji. He had come to Nyasaland in order to shoot elephants and trade in ivory, and with these objects he had made an arrangement for mutual profit with the Lakes Company. Mr Sharpe is now Vice-Consul under the present Government administration, and a better man it would be hard to find. He spoke the language—Chinyanja—and had very great influence with the natives, who appreciated his firm and decisive methods and his

[1] Longfellow, The Song of Hiawatha

fearless pluck. In this expedition he had little heart, for although he had borne a leading part (as I have narrated) in the previous stirring events at Karonga's, he now professed himself sick of the mismanagement of the whole thing, and disgusted by the disregard of numerous promises to himself, made only to be broken. Throughout the time I spent in Nyasaland we were always friends, and from him I learnt much about African life; while our mutual devotion to sport formed a bond between us.

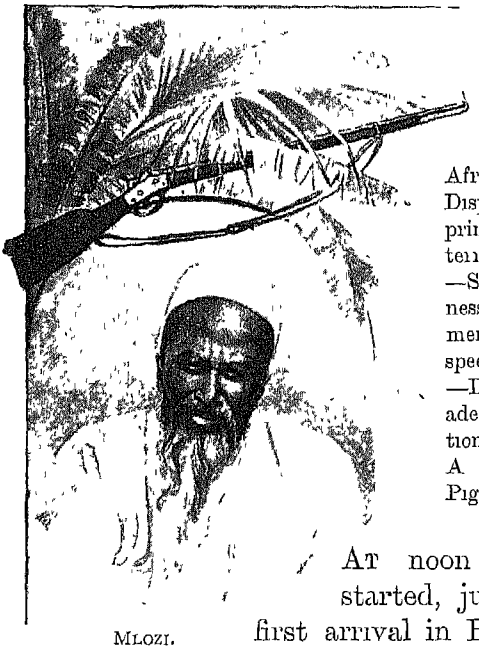
As regards myself, I of course received no remuneration of any kind whatever, and I bought and paid for any such necessaries as I required, excepting only the food, which I shared with the other members of the expedition. My broken hand was now much better, and I was rapidly regaining the use of it.

Such was the European portion of the expedition assembled at Matopé on May 19th, 1888. The little steamer — the Ilala — which was to carry us up the Shiré and the lake was about 65 ft. in length, and her carrying capacity some three tons. The hold was full of the powder, rifles, ammunition, and necessary supplies we were conveying to Karonga's. There was little room for personal effects even had we possessed any, but of such things there were practically none. Every available foot of space, both in the hold and on deck, was occupied with the wood fuel for the steamer. We numbered eighteen white men, including the engineer of the steamer. In addition were several native servants and others, and the native crew of the steamer, there was therefore hardly standing-room on board. The Ilala was originally brought out in 1875 by Mr E. D. Young, R.N., one of Dr Livingstone's staff. He launched the first steamer that ever touched lake water in Africa, and assisted in founding the Scotch missions at Blantyre.

CHAPTER IV.

BLANTYRE TO KARONGA'S

Start from Matopé—Up the Shiré in the Ilala—Scenery at Livingstonia—Description of Nyasa—Arrive at Bandawi—Dr Laws—Enlist Atonga—Mr Bain—The Angoni—Tyranny of the dominant tribes—Pursue a hostile caravan—Seize rice at Bvua—Arrive at Karonga's—Description of Slavers—An ideal to the African—A dreaded power—Disposal of slaves—Slaves not primarily for transport—The term "Arab"—Send for Mirambo—State of Karonga's—Carelessness about powder—Improvements—Good feeling—My little speech—A night reconnaissance—Description of Slavers' stockades—Misjudge their construction—Monteith won't budge—A narrow escape—Sickness—Pigott's death.



MLOZI.

AT noon on May 19th we started, just a week since my first arrival in Blantyre. Little time had been lost. We steamed up the Shiré, passing much lovely scenery on our way, and stopped from time to time at villages to take in wood, which the natives cut and placed ready on the river's

bank, the price (in calico) being a fixed and understood ratio. At night, as there was absolutely no space to lie down, some of us went ashore, and I shared Sharpe's little tent with himself and Burton, while the grunting and bellowing of the hippos, within a few yards of us, would have made sleep impossible to less tired men.

So we steamed along. The day passed in conversation, and in making various arrangements for the conduct of the expedition, while we watched the changes of river scenery. The huge crocodiles basking on the sand-banks disappeared in the river with a swirl and a splash as the steamer approached, and the schools of hippo, leading their somnolent life in the shallows of the river, raised their monstrous heads to gaze at us as we passed. These animals are much dreaded by boats and canoes; the bulls often charge such small craft and sink them, when the danger from crocodiles is great. But our heavily laden steamer could afford to ignore them; and though one did charge us, he probably damaged his head on the sharp keel of the Ilala much more than he hurt the vessel. The country along the banks of the Upper Shiré is much infested by lions, and at times I went ashore and succeeded in shooting some of the game which abounds. Besides buffalo, water-buck, mpallah, and many other kinds of antelope, guinea-fowl and other game-birds are to be met with. The country is for the most part wooded; but the forest is of small trees, with no dense undergrowth, and frequently breaks into open country, studded with bush and jungle. We passed through the shallow lake of Pamalombi, past the villages of the "Arab" slaver Mponda, at the exit of the Shiré from the lake, crossed the "bar" (for the sand appears to be silting up as though to impede, ere long, the free passage from the lake into the

LAKE NYASA BY MOONLIGHT (LIVINGSTONIA BAY)

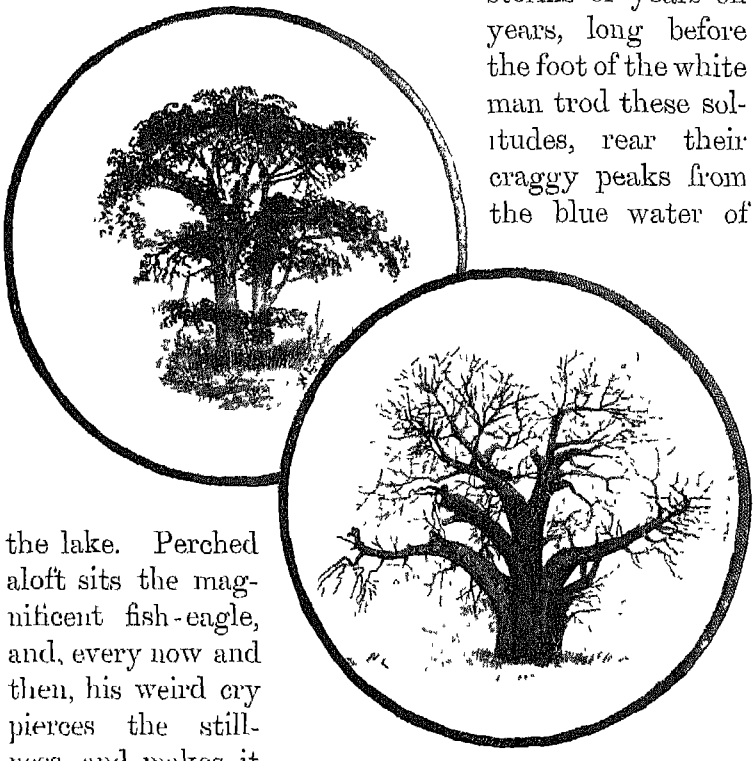
Upper Shiré [1]), and at 10 P M. on the 21st we steamed by moonlight into Livingstonia, the deserted station of the Free Church Mission, at the southern extremity of Lake Nyasa.

This station had been found very unhealthy, and it was therefore decided to abandon it in favour of Bandawi (now the mission headquarters), which is situated about half-way up the lake (S. lat. 12°). The substantial sun-dried brick houses, with glazed windows, and casements fitted with a joiner's skill; the neat thatches, the ceilings, and floor mattings of split *banga* reeds, the gardens planted with orange, and lime, and other trees,—all gave evidence of the thoroughness with which the Scotch missions had, as usual, planted the outward signs of civilisation here; while the native school (still continued with success under a native teacher) showed that the results of their teaching were no more ephemeral than their buildings and their gardens. There was a deserted air about the whole place, because, owing to the war, the Ilala had been too much engaged to bring up the whole of the furniture and books, &c., of the missions, which still remained *in statu quo*.

Here we found two other members of the expedition—Kauffmann and Hooper—both from Natal, who had been sent on ahead with a large consignment of stores and arms. These stores we put in the Herga, —a large steel boat presented by the Harrow boys to Mr Cotterill, a former visitor on the lake,—which was kindly placed at our disposal by the Free Church Mission. She was made fast to the Ilala, to be taken in tow to Karonga's.

[1] Recent letters bring the information that the gunboat now on the lake has found a channel with a minimum depth of 6 ft.—Times, 30th Sept 1893

Livingstonia is a lovely spot. The lake is here so clear that the bottom is visible in comparatively deep water, and the many-coloured fishes glide about among the rocks and pebbles like gold-fish in a glass globe. Fairy islands, covered with trees, are studded in the foreground; and giant boulders, which have weathered the storms of years on years, long before the foot of the white man trod these solitudes, rear their craggy peaks from the blue water of the lake. Perched aloft sits the magnificent fish-eagle, and, every now and then, his weird cry pierces the stillness, and makes it felt. King-fishers of many kinds, and cormorants, and divers, wait patiently at their chosen posts, till, like a flash, they dart into the water to seize their prey, and returning to their posts, all is once more motionless and still. The waves lap gently on the yellow sand, which glistens with crystals of white quartz and yellow mica The deserted mission-houses bear witness to the life and energy that



A Baobab Tree.

have gone, and emphasise the contrast of to-day; while behind them rises a giant mass of rock, crowned with euphorbia and silent cactus growth, which offers no leaf to the gentle breeze, to detract, by the motion and the rustle of vegetable life, from the stillness of the scene. Hard on the left towers a gigantic baobab, that strange tree which possesses no twigs, and rarely leaves, and looks like some vegetable remnant of a pre-Adamite age, when giant reptiles and huge saurians roamed on lands where man was not. Such feelings seem to fill one's mind, though, in the work and thought of the day, their presence is hardly acknowledged.

But, when the bustle of the day's work is over, one has time to yield to their influence. The sun sinks in magnificent splendour on the other side of the bay, and the purple islands stand out in the glorious colours of the dying day, which mingle and change as they fade and grow dim. The fleecy clouds take new shapes, producing a thousand beauties of colour and of form, as they reflect the unspeakable glory of the sunset tints.

One feels as though the hour were sacred, too solemn and beautiful to be spent except in solitude, away from the duties and the trivialities of the day; as though this were a sign in the sky, sent at the close of each day direct from the Deity, to remind us of all that is most beautiful, and furthest from the round of daily work and commonplace thoughts, and so to touch in our inmost souls those chords which vibrate to the higher sensibilities of our nature, and fill us with

> "A feeling of longing and sadness,
> Which is almost akin to pain,
> And resembles sorrow only
> As the mist resembles rain."

And so we sit absorbed, and the moon rises over the broad expanse of the lake with a new beauty, and the ripples

on the water reflect her light—"in one long path of glory, leading on into the infinite of ideas."[1] Memories throng around us, till one's manhood and resolution speak, and tell us it is time to forego, lest we become the slaves of memory. But one is better for that hour alone with nature, and more capable of ignoring the little rubs and frictions and pettinesses of life. . . .

At Livingstonia I made out lists of all articles (stores and necessaries) which were to be got in readiness for the return of the Ilala; for most of my suggestions (made before I finally accepted command) had been unfortunately forgotten, and the cargo of supplies we carried consisted of a most extraordinary selection, in which wholly unnecessary articles largely predominated over ordinary necessaries. We steamed from Livingstonia till 3 A.M. on our voyage up the lake, and as we now numbered twenty white men, besides natives, on board, the crush was very great. I slept stretched on the jib-boom, while around me on the roof of the little cabin lay my comrades, packed like sardines. We stopped at Bānā to wood once more, and I found many beautiful flowers in the open, park-like jungle on shore, while the tracks in every direction showed that game abounded. The scenery along the lake is very, very beautiful. The wooded shores on the west slope down to the water's edge, and the open jungle looks at a distance like heavy forest, with its thousand tints of foliage, while picturesque islands stud the bosom of the lake. On the east runs a range of hills, whose blue outline is sharply defined against the sky. Excellent grass affords unlimited pasture for the game, and it is rarely that reeds or water-growth shut in the margin of the lake, which, for the most part, consists of a narrow sandy beach fringed with the verdure of forest and veldt.

It is a curious thing that, though the Rukuru, the

[1] Lytton, A Strange Story.

Songwé, and other rivers which pour their turbid streams into the lake, carry down large quantities of vegetable refuse—trunks of trees, water-plants, reeds, &c.—one, nevertheless, sees no floating wood, or any such *débris* on the waters of the lake, nor yet is there any cast up on its shores. As a rule, a narrow line of fresh-water sea-weed alone marks the farthest limits of the waves. The water under analysis has been found to be singularly pure and wholesome.

DR LAWS.

Late in the evening, on the 24th, we arrived at Bandawi, and I met Dr and Mrs Laws of the Free Church Mission, and shared their generous hospitality. Dr Laws is a remarkable man, and his well-worn library, including literature on a very wide range of subjects, evidenced the extent of his reading. To his careful observation is due much of the accurate knowledge we have, both of the lake and of the mainland. He warmly supported the objects and aims of the expedition, and consented to Dr Cross accompanying us as non-combatant medical officer. It was here that we were to enlist our native allies, and we had much discussion on the comparative merits of the Angoni and Atonga. Eventually, mainly on the advice of Dr Laws, I decided on the latter, and left Sharpe to enlist them, and march overland with his

force to join us later at Karonga's. Every one had unlimited confidence in Sharpe. If he undertook a thing, it was immediately considered as tantamount to accomplishment; yet we were here within an ace of losing his valuable services, for he considered that a promise made to him by the Company had been set aside. Eventually all was put right, and he undertook the enlistment of the men, for whose equipment we left a hundred guns and adequate ammunition.

I gave him full instructions, and he cordially promised to endeavour on the march to organise the men into batches of some forty or fifty, under the best men, and to teach them roughly how to hold and fire their guns. He would also purchase and bring up as much food as possible, and special precautions were noted against desertion on the march, scouting in case of meeting the Slavers or Angoni, and intimation to be given when he neared Karonga's.

At Bandawi also I met Mr Bain, whose sad death was recently announced. Here is my note about him, quoted from my diary of the time; and further knowledge of him only strengthened my first impressions: "He is a first-rate fellow, a strong, sensible man without any hyper-pious nonsense about him. I am told he is most patient, and kind to the natives, and has great influence with them. If only more men of the strong-willed, sensible type came out, instead of the 'turn-the-other-cheek-also' stamp, missionary enterprise would succeed much better, for the first essential to a negro is to have a strong *respect* for the white man." He was eager to accompany us, and I was anxious for him to do so; but I could invent no good reason why, as a missionary, he should, and as his services could ill be spared, Dr Laws (quite rightly I think) forbade it. We had at this time four men down with fever, and others also were occasionally ill—an awkward state of things in the

crush on the Ilala. I myself retained my health and energy, and my tough constitution, and acclimatisation to malaria, helped me to defy the fever which attacked the others in succession, in spite of my recent breakdown.

On the 26th we arrived in Ruarwi Bay, where, like the lake-dwellers in our own islands in bygone days, the wretched inhabitants had erected refuges on piles, far out in the lake, to which they retired by night for fear of the Angoni. Such huts as there were on shore were perched on inaccessible crags among the hills, which here skirted the lake.

AN ANGONI.

These Angoni[1] were the terror and curse of all this country. Swooping down by night in their fantastic garb of war, with the unearthly yells, grunts, and groans with which they accompany their attack, they would fall upon villages and loot everything,—sheep, goats, fowls, and crops. Sometimes they would carry off captives of war. At other times they seem possessed with a lust for carnage only, and kill

[1] The Angoni are an offshoot of the Zulu tribe, who crossed the Zambesi northwards in two migrations. They were settled in four sections under four different chiefs: (1) Mombera, near Bandawi; (2) Chiweri, west of Leopard Bay, (3) Mpeseni, farther south-west,—these all belonged to the first migration, (4) Chikusi, south-west of Nyasa.—Dr Laws.

man, woman, and child, without distinction, leaving not a living soul behind on the scene of their brutal attack. These awful bursts of savage slaughter, combined with their character for invincible courage, the appalling sounds they utter, and the garb they wear in war, have struck such terror into the surrounding tribes that resistance is rarely offered to an Angoni raid. When the dread cry is raised that the Angoni are coming, a blind panic seizes the helpless villagers, and each thinks only of flight and concealment, unless, as more often happens, the surprise is complete by night, and there is no time for escape.

Even now, in our "British Central African Protectorate," not in the far interior, but on the very shores of the lake—our highway of communication—these raids are still taking place, as witness the following account lately received (March 25th, 1893) from one of the garrison at Karonga's:—

"Last Friday night, 18th November, the Angoni came down to the lake shore in great numbers, and attacked the village of Kayuni. They entered the village silently, and each warrior took up his position at the door of a hut, and ordered the inmates to come forth. Every man and boy was speared as he emerged, and every woman was captured. News of this disaster soon reached the three white men stationed at Karonga's in the employ of the Lakes Company. One of their number set out immediately with fifty guns to recapture the women, who, to the number of 200 or 300, were being carried off. In the afternoon they met the Angoni and opened fire. Taken by surprise, the raiders made off, but, not being able to carry both the booty and the women, they began immediately to spear the latter. A horrible scene then ensued. In half an hour they were beaten off and the women rescued. I was at the scene of the disaster three days after, and counted forty-seven wounded. The others had either died or been carried off by friends. One man had fifteen spear-wounds, a child of two years had seven. What impressed me most was the number of young girls and children (even on the breast) who were speared. The poor creatures were afraid to

go to their village, and were living in the reeds lining the lake shore. As far as can be ascertained, the following is the list of dead Men, 29, women, about 100; girls, 32; boys, 16, Angoni, about 30."

Surely people in England will presently begin to realise that the Arab slave-raider is not the only curse of Africa, but is rivalled, as I have elsewhere said, by the awful and intolerable tyranny of the dominant tribe. It is from this tyranny, no less than from the slaver, that our administration, and the dawn of an era of law and order, is to deliver the more peaceable and industrious agricultural tribes of Africa. Each district has its own dominant tribe, which lives its day, and gives place to another: in Nyasaland the Angoni, in British East Africa the Masai. Here is a description (one of many) of the last returned traveller from Africa (Commander Dundas, R.N.), relative to the doings of the Masai:—

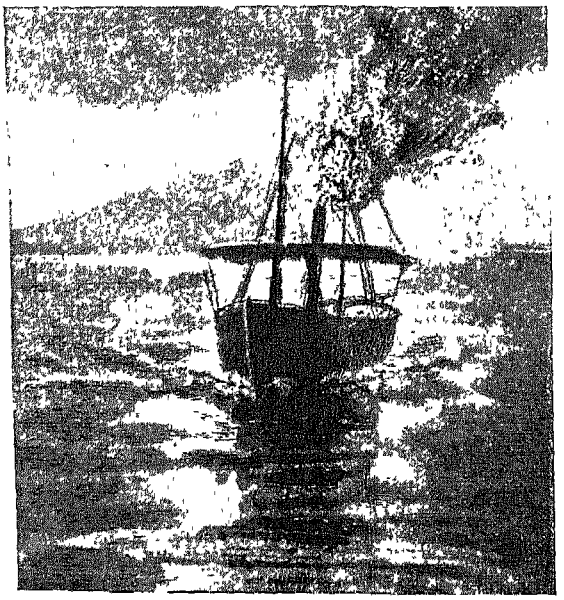
"On our return through the Mbé country, a most harrowing sight presented itself: what only a few days before were prosperous villages, standing amid fields of grain, were now smoking ruins; bodies of old men, women, and children, half-burnt, lay in all directions; here and there might be seen a few solitary individuals, sitting with their heads buried in their hands, hardly noticing the passing caravan, and apparently in the lowest depths of misery and despair. On questioning several of these unhappy beings, I was informed that the Masai had unexpectedly arrived one morning at dawn, spearing and burning all before them, and carrying off some 250 women, and large herds of cattle. Only a few of the unfortunate people had escaped by flying to the mountains"[1]

And so again with the Somals, and the Suks, and others.

At Ruarwi Bay I went ashore to have room to stretch myself at length, and spent the night under a spreading tree, having no tent. Next day we arrived

[1] Scottish Geog Magazine, March 1893.

at Deep Bay, late at night. This place merits a word of description. The lake narrows here to some fifteen miles only in breadth, and hence large sea-going canoes are able to make the passage across when the weather is calm. This ferry renders Deep Bay a point of great strategic importance, as the subsequent history of the expedition will show. We heard that an *olendo* (caravan) had just crossed, laden with arms and powder,



STEAMING BY NIGHT ON THE ILALA.

from the East Coast Arabs, for our antagonist Mlozi. I therefore made a plan to surprise and capture it, and having arranged that the steamer should take us as far as a headland, and there remain out of sight, I lay down for a few minutes' rest. Unfortunately, the plan was misunderstood and bungled, and the caravan seeing the showers of bright sparks which rained from the steamer's funnel in the darkness of the night, broke up and escaped.

We landed and scoured the bush, charging with great *élan* into a deserted village, and altogether accomplishing a ridiculous night's folly. There was, however, some excitement, as the path lay among the densest reeds, and we were continually being told we were close on the Arab encampment, so that, at each turn of the path, we were in a pleasing uncertainty as to whether we might be greeted with a volley. Moir and Kauffmann showed great dash, and I had much difficulty in restraining them, till the former, being very short-sighted, fell into a big hole or ravine. Had he been any one else than John Moir, he would assuredly have broken his neck. Eventually, I sent back every one to the steamer, but Moir remained. Some natives told us that the village of a close relation of Mlozi's was hard by; and we two, in a fit of extra folly, started to inspect it. Moir was carried away by his impetuous and fearless disposition, and as I verily believe he would have gone alone had I refused, I accompanied him, and insisted on leading the way, on the grounds that he, as a married man, had no right to run unnecessary risks! After several miles, by which time we had completely lost the steamer and our comrades, we came on the village (Bvua), and the amount of cultivation around showed it to be a very big one It was now early morning. The "Arabs," supposing, I presume, that we were but the advance of a large war-party, fled, leaving their pots cooking on the fire, which we, with inimitable effrontery, appropriated. As these were close allies of Mlozi's, I set fire to the houses, and having signalled to the steamer, we secured a very large quantity of rice, which was invaluable to us at Karonga's. A shot or two was fired at us from a distance, and it is strange that the Slavers did not attack us, while Moir and I sat waiting for the steamer. The stowing of this rice on board delayed us most of the morning, and we

did not arrive at Karonga's till the evening of the 28th May.

On arrival I found six more *employés* of the Lakes Company. Monteith was the senior, and had been in charge of the station for six years. He had never left his post, and had been through the siege and subsequent attacks. His assistant, Mr Nicoll, had also been here from the beginning. He was a man of strong religious feeling and of high principle, and had originally belonged to the missions. His *rôle* with Monteith was mainly one of self-effacement. I found him a most willing and loyal man; but he did not pull well with the men from Natal, and their differences subsequently gave me great trouble. Lindsay, an ex-planter from India, was a very plucky, good fellow, and my diary describes him as "energetic, and as hard in constitution as Monteith, always working, and never sick, with a good head on his shoulders." A fourth was Mr Bell, a civil engineer; the others were Messrs Morrison and Peebles.

A word as to who and what were these Slavers, against whom our little campaign was directed. I shall distinguish in a subsequent chapter between the two main divisions of slavery — the domestic institution, and the acquisition of raw slaves to meet the demand at the coast. This demand is met by slave-trading or slave-raiding. Of the latter I will say a few words here, in order to explain to my readers the character and methods of our present antagonists. I have already told of the incidents which led up to the fighting at Karonga's, and the story is a typical instance of the *modus operandi*. At first, a slave-trader comes as a friend, and settles down in the country by the permission and with the goodwill of the natives. He calls himself a Mzungu (white man), and the deference he exacts from his followers invests him with the appearance of being in reality a great chief. His dress,

and his guns and powder, his calico and his goods, cause the savage chiefs around to look on him as the representative of an unknown power—and, indeed, in all these respects his prestige is founded on precisely the same basis as that of European settlers. He is on terms of familiarity with his chief men, who eat with him, and with whom he discusses his plans. His language, Swahili, is soon acquired by his followers, whose native tongue is probably closely allied to it. His friends, the surrounding chiefs, are treated hospitably by him, and buy his cloth with their ivory. There is not so great a gulf between him and them as there is between the African and the European; and so it happens that he soon becomes a *beau ideal* to the savage. They imitate his dress, assume his name in lieu of their own; they covet his guns and powder, and are impressed with his absolute power over his slaves.

He begins by a little slave-trading, perhaps. Savage chiefs can easily procure men, women, and children, and for these he offers cloth or even arms in exchange. Soon he collects sufficient to send a slave convoy to a colleague on the way to the coast, and in return he gets consignments of arms and goods. Meanwhile, he has made himself acquainted with all tribal quarrels, for unfortunately (and almost of necessity where there is no paramount central authority) every tribe is at chronic feud with its neighbours. He espouses one side, and to that alone he sells arms. By-and-by a bargain is struck, and he joins his allies to make war on a neighbouring tribe, who have done him no wrong. His guns and his superior intelligence are irresistible. His share of the booty consists of the captives, and perhaps a *largesse* of ivory as well, and on return from the foray his village is full of slaves ready for export.

He has now become, not merely the *beau idéal*, but a dreaded power in the land, whose friendship must

be won at all hazards by presents of women and ivory. Chiefs are eager to be in alliance with him, and he has no difficulty in recruiting his band of "Ruga-ruga," whom he will arm with guns and despatch to raid for slaves. To be enlisted in this body becomes the ambition of the young bloods Our slaver need no longer command his forays in person; his "Ruga-ruga" are his dogs of war, ripe for carnage, revelling in blood. What can any individual chief of a petty tribe do now? The slaver's foot is on his neck, he must yield to his every demand. Such were the methods by which Mlozi became "Sultan of Nkondé." The modes of the Congo slave-raiders appear identical, as I saw on the banks of the Semliki (see vol. ii. p. 177). They have powerful centres (described by Mr Stanley) at Ugarrowa, Ipoto, &c., and from thence they send parties of their trained Manyuema to occupy fresh posts, far afield. They collect ivory, as *hongo* (blackmail), from all surrounding districts, and slaves, whenever they want them, by raids on the neighbouring tribes, establishing their influence and power by the means I have described.

Mlozi sent his slaves to Kapandansaru and the East Coast Arabs. The Manyuema at Ruwenzori sent theirs to their chief Kilongalonga at Ipoto towards the West Coast. The middle-man collects large gangs from various quarters, and in turn passes them on to a dealer at the coast. Each makes a handsome profit. At the coast the bulk are, probably, got rid of to owners of plantations along the seaboard, and a small residuum are smuggled to Zanzibar and Pemba (running the gauntlet of our cruisers), where the high price fetched will cover the losses and risks of the transaction. From the more southern ports the export takes place direct to Madagascar,[1] and even to more distant destinations.

[1] Various writers (including Mr Johnston and Bishop Smythies, the latter of whom, in a letter to the 'Times,' makes a strong and definite

The idea used to be prevalent that the slaves were only obtained in order to transport ivory from the interior to the coast, and writers with little knowledge of their subject have thus wholly misled the public. Professor Drummond in his widely read book[1] even goes so far as to advocate the extinction of the African elephant, in order that the *raison d'être* of the slave-trade may cease! From what I have written it will be evident that slaves are acquired for their own value, and any conveyance of ivory by them is a mere accidental advantage. This is strongly enforced by Commander Cameron,[2] and supported by the railway survey from their inquiries, and on this point, which directly affected the value of the railway, their accounts bear exceptional weight.[3] Many other writers state the same thing.

A final word as to who are these "Arab" slavers in the interior. I know no more misleading term than this word "Arab." The Bedouins of the Sahara, the true Arabs, a high-bred race of great courage, and often of statuesque beauty; the Sudanese black tribes (the "Fuzzies," as they were known to us in the '85 campaign), from whom the Mahdist troops were recruited; the natives of Arabia, of whom there may be a very inappreciable few in East Africa; the conquering race from Muscat in the Persian Gulf, which subdued Zanzibar and the East Coast, and founded the present dynasty; the mongrel, woolly-headed slaver in the interior, whose mother was some poor slave-girl, and whose sire may have been fortieth cousin to a

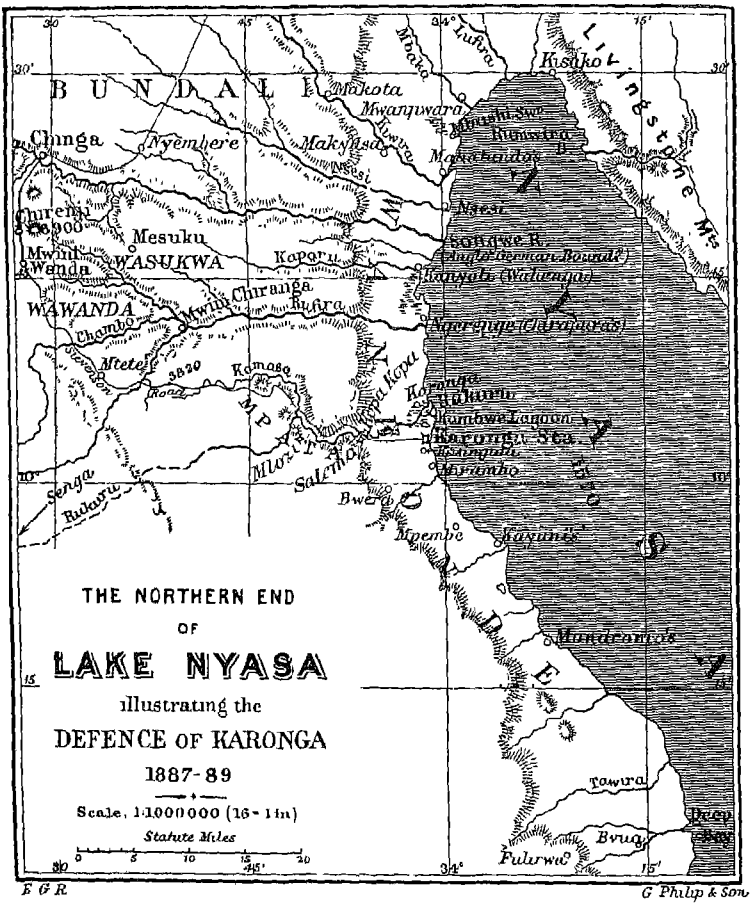
charge) agree in stating that a great export of slaves takes place to Madagascar, and that the dhows employed in this traffic constantly fly the French flag, and gain immunity from search thereby. The reply given in the House of Commons on March 9th, 1893, regarding the reason of the immunity from search in Madagascar waters was incorrect.

[1] Tropical Africa, pp 20, 21

[2] Manchester Guardian, Aug 17th, 1888

[3] Report, pp. 96, 100.

Muscat Arab,—all are alike called "Arabs," yet they differ as much among themselves as they individually do from the "street arab" of London. The term "Arab," therefore, in East Africa, should rightly be applied



only to the pure-bred descendants of the invaders from Muscat.

The coast population are termed Swahilis. Some description of their language and origin will be found in chapter vii. Many of them have some admixture

of Arab blood. These Swahilis form the majority of the slave-raiders resident in the interior, and, of course, they ape the dress and standing of the Arabs. There are also many of the latter, often bad characters whose return to the coast is prohibited, either because they have been outlawed for some crime, or are defaulters who cannot pay the large loans they have contracted from Indian merchants. Salim bin Nasur of the Senga country; Mlozi, the head of the faction with whom we were fighting; Kapandansaru, and many others on the East Coast, were Arabs. Ramathan, the deputy of Kabunda of Tanganyika, was a Beluch; for a number of Beluchis had come over in the train of the Muscat conquerors. Kopa-Kopa and Msalema, Mlozi's two colleagues, were ordinary Swahilis, undistinguishable in features from natives, but calling themselves (like all their crew) "Wazungu," or white men.

To return to Karonga's. A fresh difficulty, regarding promises made and broken, awaited me on arrival. It appeared that there was an Arab called Mirambo, who, with another named Majid, formed a curious exception to this gang of slave-raiders. I was told he did no slave-raiding,—that he even purposed freeing his own slaves on his return to the coast. He strongly disapproved of Mlozi's conduct, and had sent two messengers to expostulate. As they never returned, it was supposed they had been murdered Mirambo was incensed, and told Monteith that, if the war was renewed, he would join the white men against Mlozi. He lived on the other side of the lake, and a promise had been made to send the steamer for him; but she was now pledged to return for Sharpe's goods. I solved the difficulty by sending her with both steel-boats in tow. As the wind blew constantly from the east, the boats would have no difficulty in returning, though the sails had been carelessly left behind. The steamer having dropped

the boats on the East Coast, was to proceed on her way south, in fulfilment of the promise to Sharpe. Nicoll was sent on this mission, and as the north-east coast was already at this time claimed as German territory (though no German had ever been there), I gave him most careful instructions regarding his action.

Karonga's—the trading station of the Lakes Company—was a very small stockade, made of upright poles two or three deep, and about 12 ft. long, forming an irregular enclosure open to the lake in rear. Inside, it was a mass of filthy native huts, built wherever the fancy of the occupant could find space: there was no passage or gangway, and huddled up among these native huts were those of the white men. Every hut had its fire, at which the natives cooked their food, and the wind blew the sparks and flames in every direction. Dry grass and drier thatches of the houses were on every side! How the place had escaped being burnt to the ground in a week was a miracle. Yet, inside this small enclosure was the store containing a great quantity of bales of goods (for payment to the natives as wages and for food-purchase), and, here in Central Africa, of great value; and—yet more extraordinary—here, in the very midst of these open fires, and huts of reeds and dry grass, were many hundreds of pounds of powder, protected only by common wooden kegs, which often leaked, so that absolutely loose powder lay about! Had this taken fire, not a fragment of a white man would have been found within some distance of Karonga's.

The carelessness as regards powder was really phenomenal. On our voyage up, the hold of the Ilala was nearly filled with kegs of powder—enough to have blown the vessel across the lake. Yet, as the hatch had fallen overboard, the hold lay open (except for a rough tarpaulin, which was frequently withdrawn and not replaced), and showers of sparks, and small pieces

of glowing charcoal, rained down in ceaseless profusion from the funnel of the steamer, owing to her fuel being wood: I even found one of the men, coiled up in the hold among the powder-kegs, smoking his pipe placidly! On another occasion, I saw the hold emptied to get at something below, and the powder-kegs stacked alongside the little stove on board, where they were actually heated by its fire! The kegs in store were some of them open and many broken, yet the storeman had always been accustomed, as I found, to sit among them and smoke. So the danger to life was not limited to Arab bullets!

I immediately began the construction of a small fireproof magazine, outside but close to the stockade, and I turned out all the natives except a small guard, and so got the place into a somewhat more sanitary condition. We managed to find shelter for all the Europeans (except at first for Kauffmann and myself), and I planned several new houses for their accommodation. I also laid out a zeriba for the native fighting-men, at a little distance from ours, and constructed a table in the shape of a hollow square, with an awning of dry grass supported on a frame over it. These tasks occupied our whole time, and, by working very hard myself, I succeeded in infusing a considerable amount of zeal among the men. The rumours I had heard, that those from Natal would decline to do any manual work, had no foundation, for all worked energetically and willingly.

Before many days there was a complete revolution in the appearance of Karonga's. Two large houses, forming two sides of a hollow square facing the lake, accommodated most of the men, and the third side consisted of three tents. The rough stockade was strengthened, the guns overhauled and repaired, and neatly arranged with all ammunition and powder in the new, sun-dried brick magazine. Many sanitary

arrangements were instituted, and things began to look a little "ship-shape." Meanwhile, a roster of duties was established, in which we all took our turn. Three white men relieved each other on watch during the night, and went round the outlying sentries. Orders for alarm-posts, in case of sudden attack, were carefully drawn up, so that on my giving the signal by a pistol-shot every man knew exactly where to go, and which part of the stockade was under his immediate charge, while a detachment was told off to proceed at once to similar posts in the native zeriba. A daily "detail-book" was established, in which I wrote the duties for the ensuing day, and any notices and orders.

The Ilala had gone back, and, while engaged in this daily work, we awaited Sharpe's arrival with the natives from Bandawi, who were to form the bulk of our fighting force. A thorough good feeling existed, notwithstanding that the two sections of the European community were of somewhat incongruous types. The African Lakes Company had been originally started as a lay mission society, to transport goods for the missions. Its *employés* were bound by the terms of their agreement to preach to the natives, and conduct schools, &c., in such time as they could spare from their duties as traders and mechanics: there was, therefore, among them a very strong religious element. The men from Natal and the gold-fields were not remarkable for any such tendency, and their language was often forcible, to a degree that offended the ears of the others; but they were, for the most part (with, perhaps, only two exceptions), a right good lot. All deferred absolutely to myself, and it required very little concession on either side to produce an excellent *camaraderie*, more especially seeing that, before many days were past, we expected to be fighting shoulder to shoulder together, and none of us knew who would return.

To promote this harmony, I said a few words to my comrades one evening, though anything like "speechifying" is a duty I dread, and would prefer to shirk. I pointed out that our little campaign had four main objects to achieve—viz., to suppress slave-raiding; to save the Wankondé, who had helped us; to save the missions from extinction; and to vindicate British honour: that, in face of a common danger, and in the hope of succeeding in a cause so worthy, we must give and take, and tolerate each other's foibles, for we could not afford to quarrel, when we did not know whether we might not shortly be standing by the grave of the man with whom we had differed on some petty triviality. I added, that my own position of command was held entirely on sufferance, and at their own desire, and I asked for a promise that all would loyally obey me, since it rested in each one's power to make my position a pleasant or an intolerable one. This promise they gave me heartily and unanimously.

I had my bar of medal ribbons with me, for I had brought it in case I joined the Italians at Massowa. I wore it on this occasion for the first time since the decorations had been won, calculating on its effect as a mere factor to secure an influence among strangers, till we should have had time to know each other better. The five ribbons were evidence of experience already gained in several campaigns, and this was a lever not without its value to me in gaining an ascendancy over the men I had to deal with. My position demanded that I should use every means in my power to secure this end, since in a few days they were to be led by me in action, and I considered absolute confidence in their leader to be a necessity for success. So I endeavoured by example, and by personally accepting the roughest and the hardest portion, to secure this trust and confidence: that I succeeded was proved to me by

subsequent events, and I am prouder of this than of anything else in a somewhat varied life.

I made certain rules for the distribution of any windfall in the event of success, and gained certain little concessions from Mr Moir in regard to the terms of enlistment of the Natal men: these petty matters disposed of, cordiality was completely established. Binns was much looked up to by the Natal men,—his muscular manhood commanded respect, and as he was devoted to me, he became a most useful ally; while Mr John Moir's self-negation and extraordinary unselfishness shamed all into contentment.

On June the 1st I went out to make a reconnaissance of the Slavers' stockades, taking with me Monteith and five picked natives. We started at midnight, by the light of a half-moon much obscured by clouds. The stockades were seven miles from Karonga's, along the so-called "Stevenson Road." The track was completely overgrown with high elephant-grass, through which we forced our way; indeed, so entirely was even the pathway obliterated, that it was difficult to follow it. Mosquitoes and spear-grass added to the disagreeables, and my feet were yet raw from the walk to Matopé.

Arrived at Msalema's,—the smaller stockade,—I found that it was at most 150 by 100 yds. The high grass was cleared away some 500 yds. in front, and the ground strewed with the dry stalks, which crackled like sheets of corrugated iron if one trod on them in the silence of night. In the centre of the front face was a lofty watch-tower, which commanded a view of the country, and from which the sharp-shooters would endeavour to pick off the Europeans. I had been told there were covered pits in front, with bamboo stakes at the bottom; and it was mainly to see if any such impediment to an advance existed that I resolved to go forward alone and inspect the ground. The sentries

kept up an occasional shouting, and my slight deafness was a serious disadvantage, since it would prevent my detecting any whisper, or other indication that I was seen, and it was too dark to rely on one's eyesight.

I extract from my diary the description of the results of my investigations (written at the time), to show that I did my best, before attacking, to ascertain fully the nature of our task: "When I got within about 10 yds., I found that on this (left) face there was a sheer drop of 10 or 12 ft. The stockade was built to the edge of it, and it towered over me in the moonlight. So I determined to go round the corner, and up to the front face, ascending the steep slope. This was very difficult work, as the dry stalks were everywhere, and a false step would, probably, have given the alarm: the green stuff, too, was very dense, and knee-deep. Feeling for pits, I got slowly up, and though I did not like the idea that a fellow might be watching me, and only waiting till I almost touched the muzzle of his gun before he fired it off, I was resolved to go on, and I did so. It is curious how our animal instincts rebel against risk to our lives! Here was I . . . in a regular funk of the unseen danger, with every nerve strained to tension, taking as great care as though my life were of extraordinary value! But facing danger unseen in the dark is perhaps the hardest form of facing it. And besides, what about Monteith if I was hit?

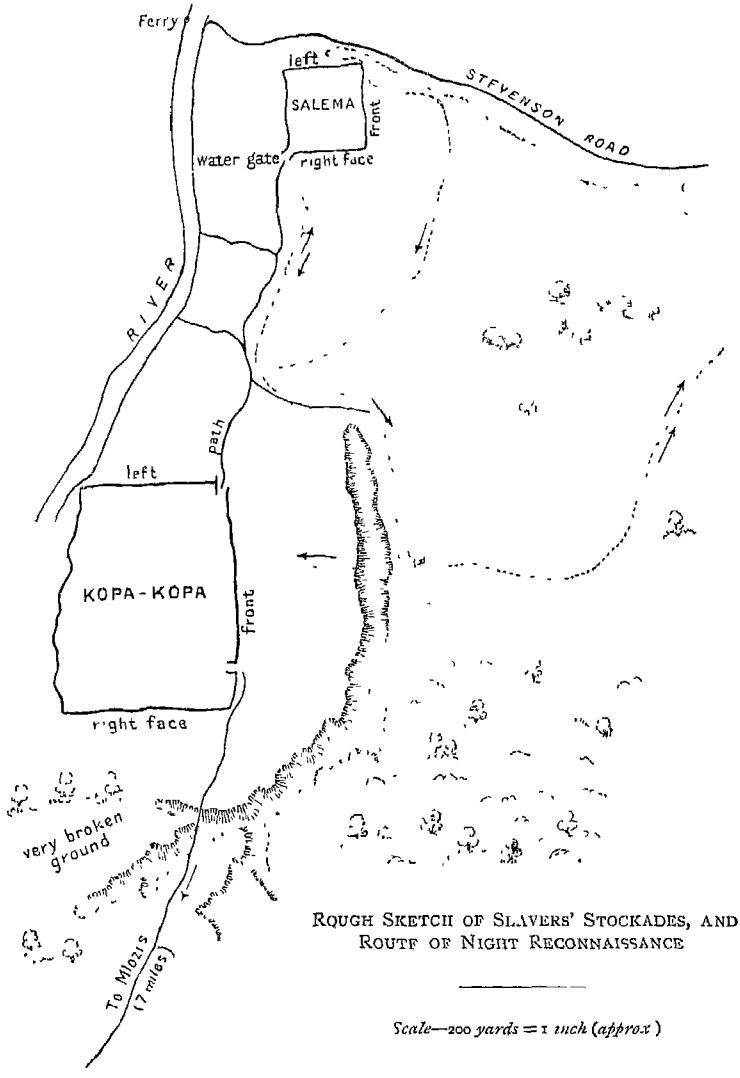
"I went on till I touched the logs of the stockade with my short spear. I saw that there was no ditch on this side; that there was mud thrown up against it from the inside, about 3 ft. high; that the logs were very high, with thorns among them; that the slope up to the stockade was steep, and entirely commanded by the fire from the defenders; that there was no appearance at all of pits, and that the huge "look-out tower" was close to me on my left When already cautiously returning,

a loud shout went up from the stockade. I hurried to Monteith, and we sat in the high stuff out of sight. There was a lot of shouting and chanting of songs, and soon it died away, and we knew that they were only changing sentries, and that we were not discovered. I then again went up to the stockade, to make sure that the steep drop on the left face extended all along its length.

"We now returned as we had come, and went on parallel to the front of Msalema's, towards Kopa-Kopa's. I inspected the 'pit' into which Monteith had fallen on a previous reconnaissance, and which had given rise to the belief in the pits and stakes. It was a mere natural fissure in the ground, and I do not now think there are any pits at all When abreast of Kopa-Kopa's we struck a large well-beaten path leading from Msalema's. I went alone along this path some distance towards Msalema's (right face). After getting close to the stockade I turned to my left to see how far in rear the river was. I was a long way from Monteith and the natives, and a little apprehensive of losing them in the darkness and among the number of paths about.

"One of the Atonga now came to recall me in haste, for, near to where Monteith was sitting waiting, there was a sentry singing at the top of his voice. We could not make out much of his chant, but Monteith had heard him say, "I have seen the Mzungu" (white man), and he thought, of course, he was giving the alarm. Owing to this wakeful sentry, whom we could not localise, I could not see much of the left face of Kopa-Kopa's (towards Msalema's), nor could I find out all the details I wished regarding this side of the stockade, which was, however, of minor importance. The river was near us, and appeared to run some 100 yards in rear of Msalema's, and quite close to Kopa-Kopa's. Proceeding along the front of Kopa-Kopa's, we found a

deep ravine running apparently nearly parallel to and about 400 yards from the stockade. The country here



ROUGH SKETCH OF SLAVERS' STOCKADES, AND ROUTE OF NIGHT RECONNAISSANCE

Scale—200 *yards* = 1 *inch* (*approx*.)

was completely void of grass or scrub, but covered with isolated trees and stumps, and very level. *The stockade is apparently built on a high rising bank, which is so*

regular and so steep that it looks artificial.[1] I did not go very close, as Monteith had begged me not to be away many minutes, for the dawn was near breaking.

"On my return we agreed to get into a tree and await the break of day, see the stockades from the tree by a good light, and then go home. We went back a little, found a tree, and got up. I had been *most* anxious to examine the *right* face of Kopa-Kopa's, since on that side, if possible, must be the attack; but the approach of dawn made it impossible. Kopa-Kopa's appeared to be an enormous place, well stockaded, and with three or four towers. As I was proposing to get down, a man appeared in front of the stockade; he did not see us, but a second one *did*, and stopped and pointed us out. For some time they seemed unable to believe their eyes. We, however, stood watching them, for Monteith would not move, but stood there saying he would not let them think he was running away! Presently the man from the fort shouted that he saw us. Our men replied that the speaker was a Mhenga, and that he was a fool to throw in his lot with the Slavers, whom the white men would kill. He replied that *they* were fools for sticking to us, and that we were afraid—else why did we sit at the lake, and not come and fight? I urged Monteith to come on, as the stockades were now alarmed; and we slowly and deliberately marched off, with many pauses. As we went across the open a great party streamed out of Msalema's, headed by a man in white, and stood looking at us. Our men began to dance the most grotesque war-dances with the most extraordinary attitudes, and to jeer the enemy, and

[1] This eventually proved to be a mud-wall; but in the dim light I had supposed it to be an embankment, and therefore assumed it would not be continuous on the far side (on which we attacked): it was this misconception which nullified our attack. It was the object of the subsequent futile reconnaissance to ascertain fully the nature of this farther side.

tell them to come out and fight, we had more men behind, and would kill them all! &c.

"A good deal of this went on on both sides, and then the Slavers, exasperated at our slow retreat, and the derisive dance of the natives, rushed into the stockade to fetch their guns. They opened fire on us at about 300 or 400 yards, and ran down towards our front, as though to cut us off. Nothing could have been easier, for the continuation of our path lay as near to them as to us, and all around was impenetrable grass, in which we could not possibly go a yard. Things to me looked exceedingly critical. Monteith, however, apparently knew these fellows better. The fire was kept up very strongly by them, and was very straight, one bullet cutting through the grass with a swish about 18 inches in front of my nose. A hair's-breadth difference in sighting and it would have killed us *both* at a shot! They now pressed closer on us behind, and we dropped a man to fire a shot from a knoll and check them. As we crested each rising ground the fire became brisk, but not till we had left them well behind us (instead of on our flanks, and, indeed, almost *ahead* of us) did I reply with a shot. Hitherto we had walked on at a regular pace. Some of them had run down into the jungle, and were firing at about 700 or 800 yards, when I turned to fire a return shot. Behind them in the open, out of real range, was a big cluster of men, among whom I could distinguish the white shirt. I guessed the distance to be 1000 yards, put up that sight, and fired with a Martini (from the shoulder, standing) at that range! Apparently it was a wonderfully lucky shot, for a few seconds after firing there was a great stampede in all directions of the knot of men I had fired at. We fired, in all, about half-a-dozen rounds in reply to all theirs. Going through a delicate place we looked out for an ambush, in case any men had run

round by another path and got in front of us; but nothing occurred, and we got back at about 8.30 A.M., very hungry."

I worked incessantly all day, and for three nights had practically had no sleep. One night I was flooded by a storm, for I lay on the ground (there being as yet no hut for me), and woke to find myself in several inches of water, which I spent most of the rest of the night in baling out, in bare feet and driving rain. The next night was entirely spent in this reconnaissance, and I had never lain down at all. On the third there was a night alarm,—some scouts from the Slavers being surprised and fired on. The day following was Sunday, and I at last had some much-needed rest. The climate and the hardships incidental to the life had already told very heavily on the others. Monteith was covered with boils. When Sharpe arrived he had, we found, been daily prostrated with fever In fact, every single man, except myself and two others, had been knocked over, while some two-thirds were constantly sick. Even Kauffmann could not stand the test of working with me in the magazine, where the hot sun on the newly constructed mud-roof and walls made the interior full of steamy air, like a hothouse, and he too broke down. Pigott, the old Australian gold prospector, got worse and worse, and on the 9th he died. I read a service over him (he was a R. Catholic)—a duty I had often had to perform in cholera-camp in India—and we buried him under the old baobab tree on the shores of Nyasa.

A NATIVE OF NKONDÉ.

CHAPTER V.

THE ATTACK ON THE SLAVERS—LIFE AT KARONGA'S.

Sharpe arrives—An important capture—Preparations for war—The refugees—We forbid capture of women—Night-march—Checked at the stockade—I am put out of action—Lost in the bush—Rolfe and Jones wounded—A curious wound—A wonderful recovery—Monteith in command—Alternative plans of action—Critical position from sickness of garrison—I receive extraordinary kindness—Ilala arrives—All want to go—My condition—A terrible accident—A mutiny imminent—Guerilla warfare—A weary life—Expedition to Deep Bay—Rats and snakes—I resume work, but collapse—Ilala returns—Nearly swamped—Cross

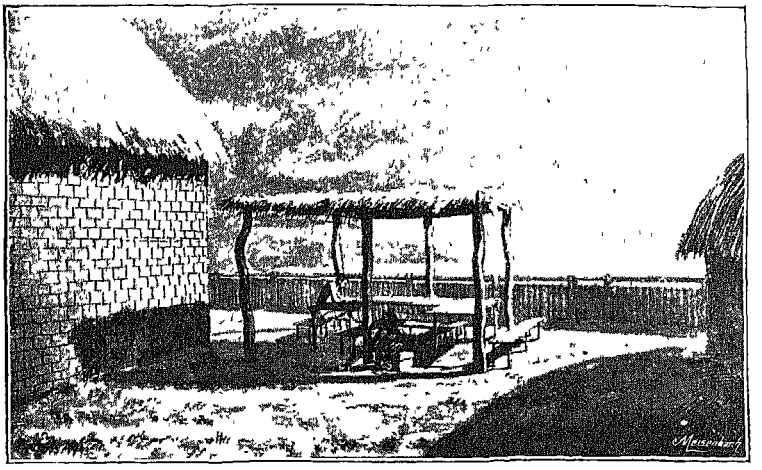
and I leave—Arrive at Blantyre—Slave-trade scheme—Return to Karonga's—I join Sharpe at north end—A projected duel—Arrival of the Sultan's envoy—Negotiations—The Ilala again—Disheartening news—I go to Deep Bay.

On the 6th (June) Sharpe arrived with 190 Atonga. This made our total of Atonga about 220. Of the Ajawa tribe we had some 50, as well as 50 wild Mambwé from the Tanganyika plateau. Altogether we had some 300 natives; and of these, roughly speaking, about one-third were armed with breechloaders, one-third with muzzle-loaders, and the remaining third were unarmed. While proceeding, Sharpe had fallen in with a caravan from Mlozi at Deep Bay, on its way to procure arms and powder from the Arabs on the east of the lake, and taking down slaves in exchange. He attacked it, and re-captured three slave girls, who were being sent for this purpose. A wretched little slave boy, being in a "gori-stick" and unable to run away, was accidentally shot by our own men. Much of his chest and arm was blown away, but under the care of Dr Cross he made a wonderful recovery, and the poor little skeleton gradually put on flesh and led a happy life in our stockade. Two of the girls, being Wankondé, I restored to their friends; the third, an Atonga, joined her own tribe.

But the most important capture was Muntu-Mwema ("the good man"!), leader of the caravan, and a brother or close relative of Kopa-Kopa — Mlozi's lieutenant. There was quite a clamour that he should be hung on the spot; but I declined to sanction this in hot blood on native evidence only, and by sunset next day (the time I had named for his trial) not a voice demanded his death. Personally, I had no intention of executing him, for I foresaw he might be of use. I chained him to a central post under the awning in "the white man's square," that he

might realise what he had inflicted on so many human beings before, and in deference to the strength of the feeling of anger against him, which I could not afford to ignore entirely; but I clothed him and made him fairly comfortable, and ultimately used him as our guide when we made our attack.

Up to the time of Sharpe's arrival, we had been building the huts and zeriba for the natives, and were engaged in a score of other tasks. At last we had both the white and the black men housed, a good fireproof



A Slaver in Captivity

magazine, the stockade in a clean and sanitary state, and the arms and ammunition sorted and distributed. I now devoted my attention to more immediate preparations for fighting. The Atonga were divided into five parties, under Sharpe, Lindsay, Peebles, Smith, and Nicoll. Monteith took the Mambwé, Moir the Ajawa, and Morrison a batch of casuals. All of these company commanders could speak the language, and with each company were associated two other Europeans. Bell assisted the doctor, and two others would

remain with Morrison's batch to guard Karonga's. Bullets for the muzzleloaders were being cast in great quantities; and hand-grenades, made out of jam-tins, fired by a fuze, and rammed with quartz pebbles and clay from an ant-hill, were found to succeed well. The best invention, however, was in connection with some solid brass steamer tubing. This we cut into lengths of about a foot, and filled with powder, nails, rivets, &c., and rammed tight, lighting by fuse. The explosive force of these was enormous. A great part of our ammunition consisted of sporting cartridges, but I would not allow any explosive bullets to be taken into action against human enemies. Each day a rough drill was carried out, mainly with a view to teaching these raw savages how to hold and point a gun—aiming was of course beyond them—and how to advance in something like line, their usual method being to crowd into a dense mass when advancing to charge.

The Mambwé men were the wildest of savages, almost or completely naked, with the most fantastic head-dresses, a favourite one being a strip of skin cut from the mane of a zebra and tied round the head, so that the long hair stood out like a halo round the skull. The Atonga were headed by Dzenji, a gigantic savage, son of the great Atonga chief; he and his brothers were among the bravest natives I have ever met. I was most anxious to avoid a single day's delay which could possibly be helped, for the sickness among the white men was getting daily more serious, and I felt that, unless I at once took advantage of the enthusiasm and *morale* of both Europeans and natives, I should lose the right moment, and with it half the chance of success. For this reason I determined on an immediate attack; though, had I had disciplined troops and officers to deal with, I should have preferred a more accurate

knowledge of the enemy's position, and a more matured and careful plan.

Along the shore of the lake, extending for perhaps two miles from our stockade, was the long bivouac encampment of Wankondé refugees—the survivors from the raids of the Slavers. These were the people who had lately inhabited the Nkondé valley, a stretch of country some 24 × 6 miles, which had then been a garden of fertility and prosperous villages, but was now a jungle of dense grass and blackened ruins. The self-sown grain mingled with the jungle growth on what were once their fields, and such of the banana groves as remained, choked with rank vegetation, yielded only a semi-wild fruit. On such precarious means of subsistence, eked out by borrowing from their friends at the north of the lake, these wretched people lived. I had forbidden them to accompany us in the attack, knowing that, if these hordes came too, I could preserve no kind of discipline, and could not prevent atrocities in case of success; also, that all my men would rush to the loot, to secure it from the Wankondé, and so I should lose all chance of really ousting the Slavers, and following up any success we gained.

I had a most important *mirandu* (council) on this subject with the leaders of the Atonga. I determined to prevent the carrying off of women, both on moral grounds, and because I knew it would be subversive of all control and discipline; but Sharpe and Monteith, though warmly in accord with my views, pronounced the thing impossible. To attempt to upset so radical a custom of native warfare would lead, they said, to certain mutiny. On the excuse of examining the rifles, I disarmed the Atonga, and made my attempt. I pointed out that they were *paid* levies, who must obey our orders, not free-lances led to war by us for their own gain; that all loot would be equally divided,

except guns captured in individual combat, and men stopping to loot would be shot, that they could neither feed women captured nor convey them to Bandawi; that the women were mostly Wankondé, and only by promising to restore them could I restrain this tribe from following us, and if they did so and attempted to plunder, they would be fired on; and lastly, I would not, I said, allow the capture of women, whether they liked it or not. By skilfully playing on their feelings, we succeeded in our object; nor shall I readily forget that council, held at night in a native hut by the light of a solitary candle—Sharpe, Monteith, and I—and the wild enthusiasm and war-cries of the Atonga chiefs, as they talked of the coming battle, and hugged each other in the frenzy of their excitement.

Nicoll meanwhile had returned. He had been unsuccessful in finding the friendly Arabs, Mirambo and Majid. I think, in the present difficulties in Nyasaland, much might be effected by utilising these two loyal and intelligent chiefs. Mr Moir had proceeded to the north end of the lake with the steel boat, and brought a supply of food for the natives, sufficient for about three weeks. I had attempted a second reconnaissance with Sharpe and Lindsay, to inspect the right face of Kopa-Kopa's, on which I had determined to deliver the main attack; but it was not very successful, and both my companions suffered from illness, in consequence of the fatigue and exposure. I now determined to march out on the night of June 15th, and I issued to each fighting man of the natives a band of bright-coloured cloth, about two inches broad, to be tied on his head, so that in any confusion or *mêlée* we might know friends from foes. The exact day of attack had been kept absolutely secret till the morning on which we started.

At 10 P.M. we marched out, company by company;

in all about seventeen combatant white men. Dr Cross and Bell were to halt about 1000 yds. in rear at the "hospital tree," and were provided with stretchers, water, medical appliances, &c. The natives numbered nearly 300 Each company had spare men carrying axes, a keg of powder, and some of the tubular and other projectiles, under the immediate eye of the commander. A full plan of the attack, with a diagram showing position of each company, had been circulated Muntu-Mwema guided us, being told that instant death was the penalty for any attempt at treachery, and an Atonga with a sharp spear was beside him to carry it out. He had been well treated, and fed from our own table, and professed great gratitude for our mercy, which he could not but contrast with the fate which any one of us would have met with if we had fallen into Mlozi's hands. We reached the hospital tree at 2 A.M., and from thence made a long circuit in the jungle. With infinite difficulty, in the darkness of night, I aligned each company in its place round two faces of the larger (Kopa-Kopa's) stockade, at about 200 yds. distance from it. As each took up its position the men were ordered to sit down; and such is the extraordinary inability of the savage to realise danger which is not actually face to face with him, that every single man was asleep the next moment! My clothes and hands were much torn by the dense thorn-bushes in the darkness, and it was just dawn before all was ready, and I returned to my post. Smith, with his company, had been sent towards Mlozi's stockade (distant some seven miles from these two) to drive back any attempt at reinforcement from that quarter.

As the first streak of dawn appeared, we advanced to within 50 yds., and I then raised a cheer and led the charge. The ground was full of ravines, which we could not properly see, and these checked our rush.

Clambering down and up again, we gained the stockade, only to find that what we had taken to be a bank was a solid mud-wall, some six feet high, and perforated with minute loop-holes! Above the wall rose the poles of the stockade, some 14 ft. high, intertwined with thorns. As I had been led to expect, the large majority of the natives shirked the charge, and remained behind. The description of the next ten minutes, as far as I saw it, I quote from my diary: "It was still too dark to see anything distinctly, but flashes of flame in the wall showed us that it was loop-holed, and manned on the other side by the Slavers, who had been sleeping on their posts with their guns beside them. I asked Sharpe where were his axes, powder-keg, &c.; but the men carrying these were not to the front, and apparently no other company had kept sight of theirs either. (Had we been able to insert the tubular explosives in the loop-holes, it is possible we might have blown down the wall and effected a breach.) There was a very heavy fire kept up through these invisible loop-holes; every now and then a flash in front of one showed that another step forward would have resulted in a ball through one's body. Passing a loop-hole a gun was discharged full in my face, almost knocking me down, and the smoke of the gunpowder nearly choked me. I suppose there was either no bullet, or else it must have passed in front of me.

"It was difficult to know what to do I thought the only way was to go straight over; so I shouted to every one to clamber over, and began to do so myself. I had laid hold of a thorn bough to pull myself up by, when a shot struck me, and I fell in a heap in a sitting position, feeling the stinging, burning sensation of a wound at the base of my chest,—both arms being completely paralysed, or rather having fallen useless by my side. I thought I was shot through the body,

THE FIRST ATTACK ON KOPA-KOPAS

and of course mortally wounded. Had I reached the top of the stockade-work, I should have had my head riddled with bullets as soon as it appeared above the mud-wall, and have been instantly killed. I fear that, even had I got over, none of the natives would have followed. . . . I said to Sharpe that I had 'got it.' He asked me 'where,' in great distress. I said, 'Right through the stomach,—both arms are paralysed.'[1] I added that, as I was done for, and could be of no more use, I would go towards the hospital tree; but of course I never expected to reach it.

"Sharpe showed much emotion, and would not hear of allowing me to go away alone, and it was only when I begged him to take command in my place, and asked it 'as a last request,' and said I was all right, and quite able to get to the doctor, that he consented. He recalled the men from the stockade, and rallied them in a deep nullah about eighty yards off. I begged him to see it through, and not give in if possible. I then went off to the rear, as the fire was very heavy where we were standing." I so well remember that scene! Dear old Sharpe felt several bullets whizz close past his head, and instinctively turned up his coat-collar and pulled down the brim of his broad felt hat, as though to ward off driving rain! So little did he pause to recollect how different from mere rain was the hail of bullets, in his solicitude for me I urged him to get under cover, as he was still unwounded, whereas it would not matter (I thought) how many more bullets hit me.

"After shouting for some time, I got my native servant Mahéa, and we started off to the hospital tree. We forced our way without a path, on and on through

[1] I thought the bullet had grazed the spine, causing this paralysis! for I was quite unaware that I was shot through the arms. The absurdity of this mistake is sufficiently obvious on calm consideration; but at such a moment it can be understood that any hypothesis was possible to account for my inability to move either arm.

thick jungle and long spear-grass and thorns, and at last got into very broken country, where I had to cross steep ravines, and could not protect my face from the boughs of trees or long grass, both arms being useless. I had lost a great deal of blood, and a parching thirst set in; but there was no water nor living object, and my fellow appeared to have quite lost his way. I was at first very much astonished at being so strong on my legs, and expected every moment to collapse; but finding I did not do so, and looking at my arms, I could see that I had been shot through both of them. I now guessed that the wound in the chest was a graze, and that, therefore, I was probably *not* mortally wounded. But it was too late to turn back, for already we were lost in the bush, and I was much exhausted; so I could only regret the misconception which had caused me to leave, and to ask Sharpe to take command. After walking thus for, I suppose, two or more hours, we at length struck the road about a mile below the hospital tree. Mahéa ran on to get me some water, . . . while I walked up and down. Firing still continued in the distance, and I began to fear the ammunition would run out completely"

I sat down till Mahéa returned with water, and I then started off to walk to Karonga's (seven miles). I was in a sorry plight, for I had dropped my cap, and the sun was fiercely hot on my bare head. I continued to bleed heavily, and began to find the distance to Karonga's more than my strength could manage. A native whom we met wearing a scarlet "Tam o' Shanter" woollen cap, transferred it to my head, and I had already covered about half the distance to Karonga's, when I found the dizziness was becoming so great that I had to pause frequently to pull myself together, and I was right glad when the doctor and others came by with a spare stretcher. Ague, arising from loss of blood and

my saturated clothes, added to my troubles by shaking the fractured bone in my arm, and it was not till 3 P.M. that we arrived at Karonga's, which we had left the previous evening I tried to cheer them all; but I fear it was a poor attempt, for a sudden faintness seized me, and I had to collapse and lie down. My clothes were cut off me, and I turned in, having been on my legs for some thirty-three hours consecutively, at the hardest conceivable work, both mental and physical.

Finding the stockade quite impregnable, the force withdrew in an orderly manner, after Smith had rejoined with his company. I found that two other Europeans were wounded. Jones, who was still alive, was shot through the centre of the head, and Rolfe had a scalp-wound over the right eye. The bullet had passed out. Several had had their hats knocked off by shots at close quarters, and there were many very narrow escapes. Of the natives, five were killed and nine wounded. Of the latter, several died later. The British behaved with the utmost gallantry, and I can only explain the small number of casualties on the assumption that the Slavers, in their hurry, fired off their guns without putting in bullets. Poor Jones's state threw a gloom over us all; he never recovered consciousness, and, a week later, we laid him beside Pigott, under the old baobab tree. Rolfe's condition was very critical too; but he made a wonderful recovery, and though the brain was exposed by the shot, he developed a most extraordinary and really unnatural appetite in a day or two, and was to be seen roaming about as cheery as possible, with his head tied up in a bath-towel.

As to myself, I found I had received a very singular wound. The muzzle of the gun must have been placed a few inches from my body, for the coarse grains of "trade powder" had entered the right arm (which had

been bared to the elbow) like a charge of shot, and could not be dislodged, while two big lumps of wadding were extracted from the wound. The bullet had entered the elbow-joint (which fortunately escaped fracture, or I should have lost my arm), had struck the main artery, but pushed it aside without cutting it,—or I must inevitably have bled to death; it then struck my chest, apparently in a direct line for the heart, but, glancing off a rib, passed along under the skin, and came out at the top of my breast-pocket, making a long, tearing flesh-wound in its exit. Then it struck the wrist of my left hand, carrying into the wound a portion of some letters which were in my breast-pocket. It "pulverised" the main bone of this arm, cutting also a minor artery. This latter wound is—even now in 1893—still open, and pieces of bone still come away, though it is five years since I was hit.

It was a curious coincidence that the previous evening we had been talking about wounds, and I had then lightly said that a fatal wound was preferable to mutilation, and I would sooner lose my life than my right arm. Cross, like an enthusiastic surgeon, began to explain the wonderful surgical operations lately performed by Dr M'Ewan of Edinburgh, and added that modern surgery could almost certainly repair a wounded arm more or less effectively. "There is only one spot," he added, "where a bullet would be disastrous." I bared my arm, and he laid his finger on the centre of the elbow-joint. "If hit there," he said, "we *must* amputate, or excise the elbow-joint." On the precise spot on which he laid his finger I received the bullet next day!

Next morning Dr Cross was able to attend to his patients, white and black. My turn came, and I was laid out as if for a *post-mortem*. There was no second doctor to help, but Cross pluckily decided to give

chloroform himself with Moir's assistance, and he dressed and bandaged the wounds. Later, when I became conscious, it was an anxious moment while I awaited his reply as to whether I should lose both arms! He reassured me respecting the right arm, and in my relief at that news, I hardly cared if I lost the left. He was doubtful of that one, but hoped for the best: a less skilful surgeon would probably have amputated it. I believe that the wonderful recovery of the use of the left arm is a medical curiosity, seeing that the bullet tore through all the tendons and sinews of the wrist, and shattered the bone. I have the complete use of the hand, fingers and wrist, though, of course, there is little strength in the arm. I was as weak as an infant from loss of blood, and lost all sense of taste, and besides, the drain on my strength from the sloughing from six bullet-holes was very great.

Next day, 17th, I called a meeting of all the Europeans, and told them that nothing could have exceeded the pluck they had shown, and that we had been baffled only by the impossible; that I had never seen a hotter ten minutes, even in "MacNeil's zeriba," and I urged them not to be discouraged. Indeed, by Mr Nicoll's account, we were within an ace of success, for the stockade had, he said, caught fire where he was, and, if our side had not received a check by my being disabled, he was confident we should have carried it. I advised the strengthening of our stockade, in case of a counter-attack by the Slavers at the full moon, and said I thought that, without disciplined troops, the stockades were impracticable unless we got a cannon, and I advised that this should be immediately procured. Mr Moir undertook to get one from England, and Mr Raw said he knew of one in South Africa which had been surreptitiously imported in a recent war, and which he could obtain very cheaply. He offered to bring this

to Karonga's in four months, accepting all risks incidental to smuggling it through Portuguese territory; for, at this time, the Portuguese were claiming the control of the Zambesi, and were placing very great difficulties in the way of our obtaining the necessary ammunition to defend our lives. I added that the shock of the wounds received the day before had so prostrated me, that I felt hardly equal to the responsibility and incessant work of command, and I therefore deputed Monteith to executive control, though he would consult me on any important step.

Next day Dr Cross broke down entirely with fever, and became delirious; so Rolfe and I and the wounded natives had now to depend on Mr Bell, who had been through an ambulance class, and knew something of bandaging. He was a civil engineer, and a very good fellow indeed. For my own part, I found that the treatment of wounds is not a pleasant operation, especially the syringing with Condy's fluid! The small part of the ulna (at the wrist) was intact, but its support to the hand was almost *nil*, and the arm and hand had to be supported at exactly the same level while the dressing was being done. The hand that held them for me sometimes trembled with fever, and this involved much pain.

The very day after I appointed Monteith to replace me a difficulty occurred with one of the men, and I therefore found it necessary to resume command (20th). I reorganised the alarm-stations, called a second meeting of my comrades, and asked them to decide on our plan of operations. Two courses recommended themselves to me: first, to adopt a guerilla warfare, sending out war-parties and harassing the slavers, cutting off their supplies, &c., while we awaited the gun; or, secondly, to again adopt a bold course, and build a small stockade close to theirs (within gunshot), and so render their

position untenable, by commanding the gates of their stockades. I said that, as I was myself unable to actively take part in either scheme (both arms being rigid in splints), I would offer no opinion on their comparative merits, lest I should seem to urge others into a danger I could not share The former plan was unanimously agreed to.

Things at this time became somewhat critical. Sharpe had left us the day after the attack (16th) to go elephant-shooting; Jones died on the 22d; Dr Cross, Lindsay, and Moir were very ill; Rolfe and myself badly wounded; Bell had also gone sick, so there was no one to dress wounds, and every one else in the stockade, except Binns, was ill off and on. Smith had resigned, and awaited the steamer to leave the country. Monteith, fortunately, was fairly well, and the entire control of the natives—food-issue and superintendence, &c.—was in his hands. He was a man of untiring energy and of high principle, but of quick temper, which had earned him among the natives the name of "Thunder and Lightning." I therefore had to use great tact in dealing with him; but he was invaluable, and I greatly liked and respected him, and, so far as I could, I left to him the entire management of the natives. Such was the condition of affairs on July 1st, when the Hala arrived.

The kindness I experienced from my comrades touched me greatly Kauffmann and Bell, who shared my hut, left on some excuse, and took shelter where they could, lest they should disturb my brief snatches of sleep by night The house was of reeds and grass; one end had never been completed, and there was no door; the howling wind rushed through, and a candle could not be lighted in the hut,—I found this gap was repaired without my orders; the cook-house close by, with its chattering natives and swarms of flies, was removed

elsewhere, that I might not be disturbed. As so often in my diary, I find my gratitude expressed in its silent pages: "It is thus that every one shows me kindness, and makes even rough times to have their bright side in memory of such universal kindness."

It was well that I had acquired an influence, for the coming of the Ilala was a signal for trouble. Almost every one clamoured to go. Sharpe went to shoot farther south, and so was no longer within call in case of emergency. Moir and Raw went to get the cannon. Lindsay was too ill to stay. Bell exchanged with Wilson of the steamer. He was a great loss, as Dr Cross still remained very ill, with fever, dysentery, and symptoms of jaundice. Morrison and Smith also left; so our numbers were very greatly reduced, and with great difficulty I retained the others. The fact was, that while I was ill much friction had occurred; nor was this to be wondered at, for most of the men suffered off and on from fever, than which nothing produces more proneness to irritability. Some of the Natal men had even talked of making a raft and going, if denied a passage in the steamer; serious quarrels were of daily occurrence, and the anxiety and worry of them told heavily on me in my shattered state. Matters also were critical as regards myself; but I saw that if I went, not a single man would remain. All the Natal men declined to obey Monteith, and my going would, I feared, be the signal for a universal exodus. Monteith, Nicoll, Auld, and one or two others, who were not clamouring to go, would be unable to stay by themselves, and so our repulse at the Slavers' stockade would be followed by flight. British prestige would be gone for ever, and the whole of the imperative reasons for which Karonga's had been held for near a year in the face of extraordinary difficulties and hardships would be lost.

No man with the spirit even of a cur could accept such an alternative, and I said that, of course, I would stay. My generous comrades expostulated. Sharpe told me I should get a stiff arm for life; all urged me to go. The impulsive Kauffmann came to tell me that they had agreed to swear to me that, if I went they would pull together in my absence and have no more quarrels. Binns and others gave up the raft idea, and swore they would not leave me. I had had a rough time, which had told even on my iron constitution, and this evidence of the real feeling for me on the part of my comrades touched me deeply. All day, and generally all night, I sat in a chair for a month on end and more; for spinal weakness from loss of blood, or rheumatism caused by the draughts, or some such thing, rendered a lying-down position intolerably painful. My arms were rigid; I could not feed myself, or even brush a mosquito or fly from my face! I was too weak to stand, and as I could wear no clothes, and had only a trade blanket thrown around me, I got continual bouts of fever and ague, which were very painful to the shattered arm, and made one weak and "down on one's luck"; while the long days and nights, with little sleep, gave time for many depressing thoughts. Added to this were the worries of the constant difficulties and quarrels, and the anticipation of a night attack by the Slavers —when (in case of temporary reverse) I could not rise from my chair, or raise a finger to defend my life. All these causes told against my health.

As I write, I feel continually how egotistic my narrative is, and at times am tempted to destroy the MSS.; but this is the innate difficulty of telling a "personal story." If I have interested my reader, and helped him to realise African life, and to appreciate some of the difficulties through which success has

been achieved, I shall have gained my object,—and this I cannot do by generalisation. It is the "personal story" which holds the attention, and so I give my own individual experiences, and trust my reader will be lenient, and not condemn me as a self-satisfied egotist because my story is of I, I, I.[1]

The Ilala left on the 4th, taking in tow the steel boat, crowded with natives, many being sick and wounded. There was also a war-party on board, which I was sending down to Deep Bay to hold the ferry there. A sad accident occurred on this occasion. Each man wore round his neck a little bag containing the powder, bullets, &c., for his rifle. The sparks from the steamer showered into the boat, and alighted on one of these, when instantaneously there was an explosion, the powder on each one of the closely packed natives catching fire. The men plunged into the lake. A high sea was running. The boat was cast adrift, for probably Moir and the rest did not appreciate the seriousness of the mishap, and the Ilala steamed away with much of our reserve ammunition and rifles on board, and many of our able fighting men (sent down for the Deep Bay expedition). Eventually the boat with great difficulty reached Karonga's, and a most frightful sight met our eyes. Sixteen men were badly burnt. Some died soon after in agonies; others presented the most ghastly appearance, the skin scorched off their faces, and chests, and backs: the worst cases were half flayed.

Both Wilson and Kauffmann, who were in the boat, and all the natives, were in a highly excited state, in which Monteith and others joined. They fancied they had been ruthlessly deserted by the Ilala, and that the white men on board were running away, and would

[1] *Vide* quotation facing page 1—ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. — Demosthenes, περὶ στεφάνου, β'.

not pause for a moment to see to their safety, or tow them inshore out of the heavy sea. Again I had to face what almost amounted to a mutiny. The Atonga said they would leave us *en masse*, and march overland, with their arms, to Bandawi. I had very great difficulty in pacifying them, but at last succeeded. Meanwhile, these poor mutilated men had no doctor to attend them, for Cross was now dangerously ill and, generally, delirious; while I was myself unable to stand, and so could not personally superintend them at this crisis. We got a little oil from the Wankondé to put on the burns, but even this soon ran out. We thought of sending for Dr Laws, but doubted his being able to come. Dr Cross was opposed to this also; and as it would involve the absence for a long time of the steel boat, on which depended our communication with the north end, and our food-supplies for the natives, the idea was abandoned.

The days passed by somewhat wearily. Malarial winds from the south-east had continued to blow violently all day, since the middle of June, and prostrated everybody. One after another the white men broke down and were dangerously ill, but each pulled through; though, in several cases, we had almost given up hope. Binns alone did not succumb. It was with difficulty we could keep up our nightly watch. On July 14th, just a month since I was wounded, I managed, for the first time, to put on some clothes, and come out of my house for a few minutes into the fresh air; but my right arm was still rigid, and fixed at an angle, and my left was, of course, unhealed.

I re-formed the natives into three large companies, now that most of the old commanders had gone, and sent out war-parties daily, to search for food, or attack any bands of the Slavers On one of these occasions, Dzenji, the chief of the Atonga, defeated a party of the

enemy, killing several, and capturing seven of their women slaves. I offered these their liberty; but they preferred any fate to returning to the Slavers, and, since they had been captured as children and their tribe destroyed, they had neither home nor relatives, and nowhere else to go to. They preferred to join our native village, when assured that we would not eat them, as they had been led to expect. I had much trouble with the Atonga respecting my right to free them, had they desired to go; for during my illness they had apparently become somewhat independent. This report, that Europeans are cannibals, has been carried through Central Africa by the Arabs and Slavers to prejudice the natives against us, and is very widely spread. When coming up country I had discovered, on one occasion, that even my own men, seeing me eat some American tinned beef, thought that it was potted man—its red colour being strange to them—and that I had brought it to satisfy my craving for human flesh, since, for some reason, I did not wish to openly indulge my tastes by cooking one of the onlookers!

I sent at this time (July 17th) a new expedition to Deep Bay, under Monteith, Kauffmann, and Binns. It was entirely successful, and several big canoes, in which the slaves are conveyed across the lake, were captured. A considerable amount of loot was taken, mostly cloth, and the equitable distribution of this among the fighting men engaged in this expedition had an excellent effect, and I had no difficulty on this occasion in freeing the women captives (Wahenga).

Dzenji behaved with great gallantry. He landed on the island, which was full of the enemy, with only two followers, and shot dead a chief who was about to kill him. His fearless courage, together with the sight of the canoes following full of armed men, caused a panic, and the Slavers fled to their canoes. The island—the key to the

ferry, and a point of very great importance—remained in our hands. The objects of the expedition, as given in my written orders, were to reassure the friendly natives (on whom the steamer depended for fuel), to oust the Slavers, and secure command of the ferry. I also gave the most emphatic orders, verbally and in writing, that bloodshed was to be avoided, as far as possible, by every means.

Other parties were sent in every direction, so that the country was dominated by us, and the Slavers dare not meet us in the open. Of these minor expeditions the most important was under Nicoll, who marched along the shore to the north end of the lake, to clear the road of the enemy. For they had been accustomed to lie in wait in the thick reeds, and shoot down the Wankondé on their way to the north for food.

The hot weather was now (end of July) upon us, and we fired the grass so as to destroy the cover for the enemy. We had long been troubled with a perfect plague of rats, and the burning of the grass made them worse than ever, for as all the villages had been burnt, these vermin were starving, and flocked into our stockade They simply swarmed, running over one all night, and playing about my chair as I sat there hour by hour. They were followed by the snakes which prey upon them — cobras and puff-adders — of which we killed great numbers. Auld found one of the former in his bed, and we had some near escapes on more than one occasion. The natives make most ingenious traps for rats; but any such process was too slow, and on the days of food-issue to the natives, the store was cleared out, and natives, armed with sticks, killed them. As many as several hundred were thus destroyed in a morning.

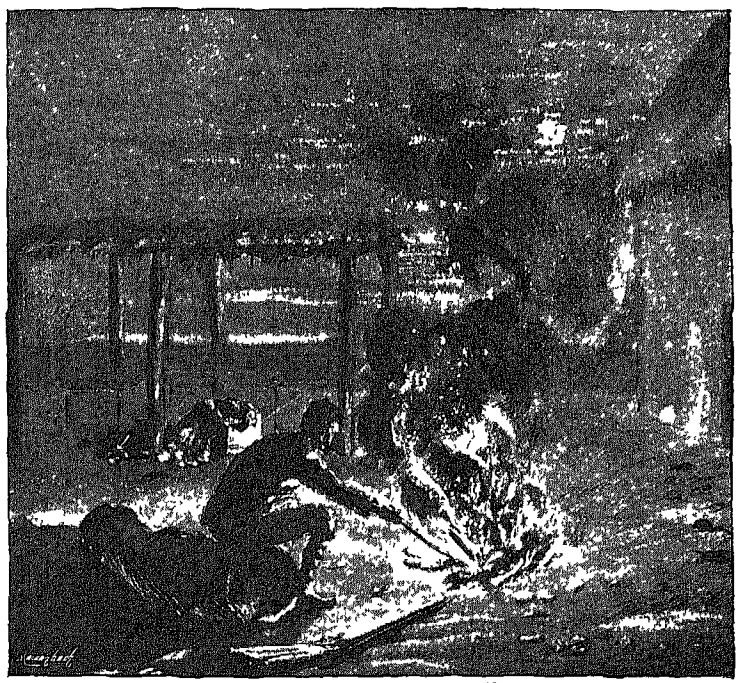
In consequence of a serious quarrel among the men, and of a still more serious difficulty with Monteith, I de-

termined, towards the end of July, to resume the entire direction of affairs, and again to take my turn at night-watches; but in my first attempt the stumbling along the rough paths in the dark so jolted my wounded arm as to cause me intense pain, and a relapse, which confined me again to my hut. The paper (from the letters in my pocket), which had been carried into the wound, set up fresh inflammation, and, having made its way along the arm, had to be extracted lower down.

The Ilala again arrived, and brought up Messrs Bain and Murray. They desired Dr Cross, who was now convalescent, to accompany them in order to select a new mission station. He thought it his duty to go, but said that my wounds were in so very critical a state that he *could* not leave me without attendance. I was willing to defer to his orders, since I owed him a debt which I could never repay; and he thereupon ordered me to proceed south, where I could be attended to. He would accompany me to Bandawi, and hand me over to the care of Dr Laws. The steamer would there load up with food, and return to Karonga's. My comrades as before pressed me to comply.

On Aug. 5th, late at night, we put off in the little boat for the Ilala, which was lying about half a mile from shore, for the bay was shallow. It was pitch-dark, and a very high sea was running. The Ilala showed no light, and when we had got far out we found that the boat, which was greatly overladen, was rapidly filling with water from a leak, and we could not bale it out as fast as it came in. Burton had come with us to lift me on the Ilala, as my arms were still useless. The position was critical; for if we attempted to turn round to make for shore, the chances were that a big wave would strike the little boat broadside, and fill and swamp her. Burton, with quiet pluck, took off his coat and boots and prepared for the worst without a word. My

arms being useless, I could not have swum a yard. By great good fortune we got the boat round, and just succeeded in reaching the shore as she sank. I was drenched through, but could not change, as that was a work of several hours to me; so I sat by the watch-fire with Bain, and we chatted for a long time. It was the last



NIGHT-WATCH AT KARONGA'S.

time I saw him alive; the charm of his manner and conversation remains vividly in my memory.

Next day we left, and duly arrived at Bandawé, where Dr and Mrs Laws treated me with a kindness which was almost embarrassing. My left arm was daily dressed with the utmost care and gentleness; while the rest from responsibility and anxiety, and the pleasure of conversing with so well-read and practical a man as Dr

Laws, made the time pass quickly, till the Ilala returned some three weeks later, and took me on to Blantyre. The splint on my left arm was so arranged for this ten days' voyage, that I could change the bandages without removing it from the upper side of my arm and hand; but when it came to be unfastened by Dr Bowie, I found the joints of my fingers were absolutely inflexible, and the whole arm rigid. Dr Bowie was more than kind; he spared no trouble, and was constant in his attention to my wounds; and so, between his house and Mr Scott's, whose guest I was, I spent the most peaceful and the pleasantest days I had known for two years—since I started for Burma in October 1886. While here, I received a letter from the Imperial British East Africa Company (then in process of formation at Mombasa), offering me command of the expedition which was about to start into the interior to explore the country, and to look for Stanley and Emin Pasha. I was compelled to decline it, for I could not desert my present task.

At Blantyre I employed myself in drawing up a scheme for the suppression of the slave-trade in Nyasaland, to which I devoted myself for the next four weeks incessantly. The outline of this scheme I will sketch in the chapters on the slave-trade.

After a month's rest at Blantyre I started back again to Karonga's, and arrived there on Oct. 24th, 1888. I found a good deal of disagreement among the Europeans, and some very serious accusations were brought to me regarding certain matters connected with the natives. Binns, who alone had hitherto retained his health, had broken down, and had been seriously ill. War parties had scoured the country, with the result that the Slavers were reported to be in a serious plight, and dared not show themselves out of their stockades. Meanwhile, it was said that the long-expected cannon would arrive

in January, and that the Sultan of Zanzibar was sending up an envoy to order the Slavers to desist from war, and to give in.

Finding that in the interim I could be of little use at Karonga's, and that for some reasons it would perhaps be better if I were not there, I went on Nov. 7th to the north-west end of the lake to join Sharpe and his colleague (a new arrival named Austin) to try and shoot. I found, however, that my arms were incapable of holding an 8-bore rifle, and the attempt to fire one proved disastrous.

The country of the Wankondé at the north of Nyasa in which we were, has now been ceded to Germany. I greatly regret this, for these tribes had always been very closely associated with us, and it was largely to protect them from the vengeance of the Slavers that we struggled on for so long at Karonga's. They owned enormous herds of cattle, and it is sad to hear that the great cattle plague which has devastated East Africa has at last reached them, and their cattle—their sole wealth—are dying by thousands. For a few inches of the commonest calico, milk by the quart or gallon could be bought; eggs and fowls, and even goats and cattle, were excessively cheap. The villages are very large, and nestled for mile after mile among groves of bananas. The huts are beautifully and very ornamentally built, and are scrupulously clean; even the banana groves are swept clean around the villages. The soil is very rich. Like the Waganda, these Wankondé, though possessing great herds of cattle, are largely agricultural, and live mainly on bananas, roots, and grain. Food is excessively cheap. The people (who from their word of salutation are often called "Sokilis") are very friendly; but their familiarity is sometimes rather trying—as when a savage, out of pure goodwill, wanted to take my pipe out of my mouth to have his turn at a smoke,

or when visitors insisted on my sharing their snuff. However, I defeated these by giving them white pepper as the white man's equivalent! Great crowds turned out to see and accompany me, with dances and songs and musical pipes.

The country is densely populated. The men go naked, and the women also save for a few inches of bark cloth. Armed only with spears, from their numbers and bravery they had hitherto held their own against Angoni or Awemba raiders; but we knew they would not stand against the cunning and the guns of the Slavers. For between their three great chiefs there already existed a bitter jealousy; and the "Arabs," according to their custom, would only need to foster this feeling, and to combine with one or other against their neighbours. Thus they would inaugurate a civil war, which would destroy this fine race, and leave them a prey to their insidious enemy. I stayed here, making daily excursions after game, for three weeks. We were constantly following the trail of elephants, but did not shoot any, my bag being limited to several buffalo, water-buck, &c. The buffalo gave me many exciting moments, but I have no space for the narration of shooting incidents in this chapter. On one occasion I was only just in time to stop a fight between my Atonga and Mambwé followers, and only succeeded in doing so by seizing a spear myself and smashing it over the ringleader. On another, when in a canoe on the lake, a very heavy squall nearly finished our careers in "a watery grave"! For the rains were now (middle November) setting in, and appalling storms of thunder, lightning, and drenching rain were of daily occurrence, and often flooded our tents by night; with them came clouds of mosquitoes. Meanwhile I was in constant communication with Karonga's, and ready to go back there at a moment's notice.

Wilson and Kauffmann came up to the north end

to purchase food, and I got a peremptory letter saying both were very ill, and begging me to come to them. I went, and we returned to Karonga's together (on Nov. 28th), for I heard that the Sultan's envoy Ali bin Surur had arrived. In the boat on our way back a serious difference occurred between Wilson and Kauffmann, and shortly after we arrived at Karonga's, Monteith came running to me in great excitement to say that they were quarrelling, and about to fight a duel. I found both with loaded pistols —Wilson's at full cock. I took away their arms; told them that I considered it a disgraceful thing for two Europeans to thus demean themselves before natives; that the story of such doings would of course reach the Slavers, and convey to them the impression that we were all at loggerheads, and give them a great access of confidence. I decided that both should leave the stockade. Kauffmann I ordered to Dr Cross's mission station at Mwini-Wanda, where his broken health might be recruited in the hills; and Wilson to Deep Bay, where he would have the companionship of Nicoll, who held our station on the island there. Kauffmann, who was little I think to blame in the matter, instantly agreed, and placed himself unreservedly in my hands. He said that he had been grossly insulted by Wilson, and compelled to retaliate in self-defence. Wilson demurred; I gave him twenty-four hours to decide if he would obey orders. All the white men were loyal to me, and said they would see my orders executed, even were force required, and the stalwart Binns, as usual, was eager to prove his sincerity. Next day we put Wilson in a canoe and started him off, without listening to argument.

During my absence great progress had been made with my plan for the stockade. A solid, burnt-brick, front wall, loop-holed and surrounded by a broad fosse, took

the place of the crooked poles which harboured snakes, vermin, and filth : the side walls were of sun-dried brick.

Ali Surur, the envoy, was a man of great importance in his own estimation. He was a mere Swahili, and it was much to be regretted that a man of such inferior standing had been sent by the Consul to treat with pure Arabs like Mlozi and Salim bin Nasur, who of course despised him, and probably doubted if such an envoy had really come from the Sultan of Zanzibar. He said that he had the Sultan's orders to compel absolute submission on the part of the Slavers ; that, if ordered to do so, they should pay an indemnity for the war, and bring all their arms and throw them into the lake. He ridiculed the idea of their demurring to listen to the Sultan's orders: I said I hoped he was right, but I doubted it. I added that I had no wish to impose humiliating or impossible terms. I demanded no indemnity, and sought no seizure of arms. From the first I had said that Mlozi and Co. must remove from Mpata, where they commanded the road to Tanganyika, and where their presence had become impossible in such close proximity to Karonga's and to the Nkondé valley, after the events of the war and their devastation of the Wankondé villages. For neither would caravans dare to march through the Mpata pass, lest there should be treachery from the Slavers ; nor, on the other hand, could I induce the natives to resume occupation of their villages and lands close to the Slavers' stockades, after their recent experiences. Ali Surur insisted that if *that* was all I demanded I might regard it as *un fait accompli*; and indeed he seemed almost disappointed that I would ask no more stringent terms, that he might display his power and authority. I further pledged my honour that, if the Slavers evacuated, I would absolutely refrain from any attack upon them during their march out, and that from the moment

negotiations began I would cease from war, and call in my war parties, &c.

He went on his first embassy on Dec. 2d. About this time Nicoll returned from Deep Bay, leaving Wilson to himself. Since he was reported ill, I determined to go down there myself to look after him and the garrison, while the envoy prosecuted his *mirandu* with the Slavers The rains were now in full force, and very heavy storms and squalls were experienced on the lake. I slept ashore at night, only to find in the morning that my canoe had gone down in a squall (in shallow water) with my pet rifle inside and its ammunition. It took me a long time to dry everything and repair damages. Shortly after arriving at Deep Bay the steamer reached us from the south, and I returned in her to Karonga's, having only been at the island two or three days,—which I spent alternately in hunting and in nursing Wilson.

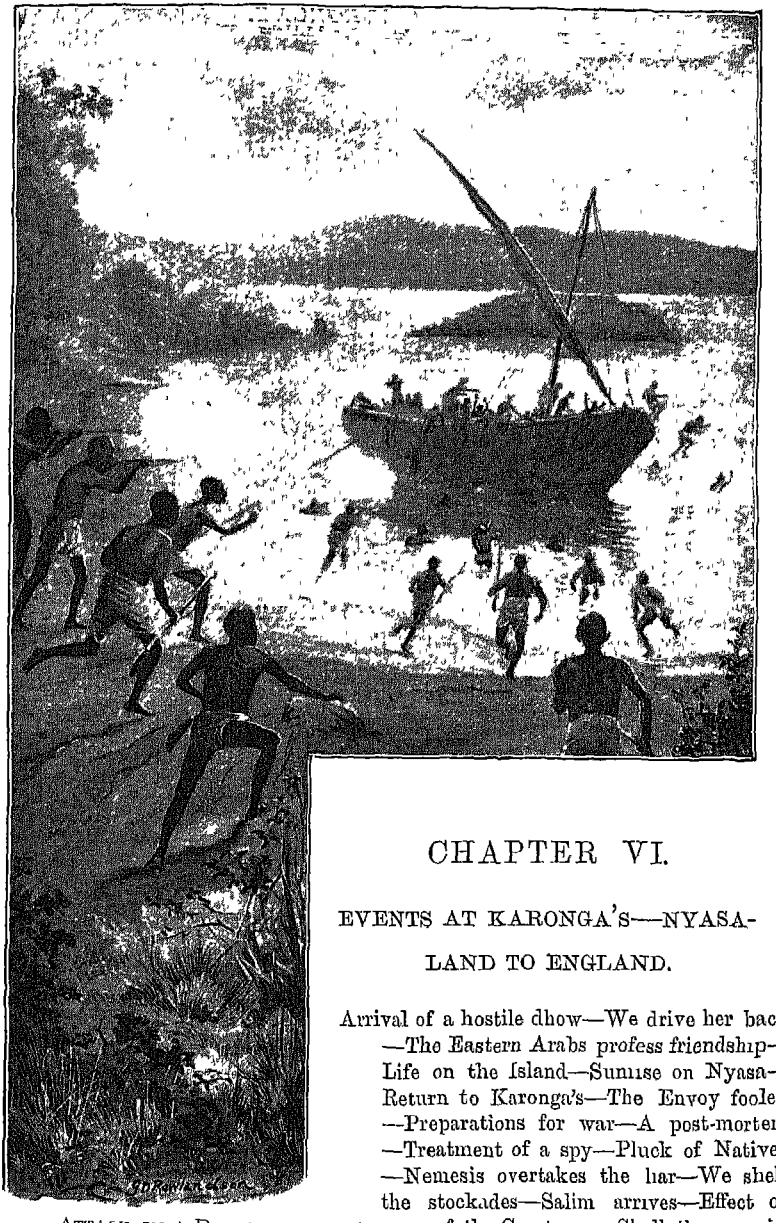
Once more I found that all were eager to leave the war. The truth was, that all were greatly disheartened by the non-arrival of the expected cannon, and I find the following note in my diary:

"The white men are quite disheartened by broken promises and the scarcity of food. All the onus and responsibility is thrown on me, while others remain at Mandala. Yet what can I do? I am pretty well played out, but if I went, how could I expect the half-dozen sick survivors to stay on at Karonga's? and if *they* went, and we gave in utterly, the results would be disastrous indeed. Mlozi and the Senga Arabs would build and occupy impregnable stockades on all the north-western shores. Kapandansaru and the Arabs from the east of the lake would occupy Deep Bay ferry, and heaven knows how they could ever be got out again. The Angoni would probably come down on Bandawé, and it would go very hard with the Mission. Lake Nyasa would be lost to us—we should simply be kicked

out by the Arabs. God, who defends the right, prevent this! . . . only half a dozen white men, and those *all* sick, and many of them disheartened, and wanting to go; natives we can't rely on, and discontented to boot; bad guns, bad ammunition, no bayonets, no entrenching tools, and so vast an area to guard, and so powerful an enemy. It is an uphill task!"

Thus at times it seemed as though the odds against success were almost too great, and I felt myself so much pulled down by the strain and life, that I often thought it was time a new commander, full of fresh enthusiasm and health, should come to take my place. Our rifles were of so poor a class that my time was continually occupied in repairing them; the ammunition (being mere paper cartridges) often would not go into the chamber; and I had been urgently asking for tools, &c., during eight months.

The steamer was sent to bring food from the north, and Dr Cross came back to us in her. She then again went south, taking down Wilson and four others, including Binns, who, as I said, had at last broken down. I returned in her to Deep Bay to take charge of the garrison there, while the envoy prosecuted his negotiations with Mlozi. The Slavers delayed on the plea that they had sent for Salim bin Nasur and the Senga Arabs, and could decide nothing till they arrived.



ATTACK ON A DHOW.

CHAPTER VI.

EVENTS AT KARONGA'S—NYASA-LAND TO ENGLAND.

Arrival of a hostile dhow—We drive her back—The Eastern Arabs *profess friendship*—Life on the Island—Sunrise on Nyasa—Return to Karonga's—The Envoy fooled—Preparations for war—A post-mortem—Treatment of a spy—Pluck of Natives—Nemesis overtakes the liar—We shell the stockades—Salim arrives—Effect of news of the Coast war—Shell them again—I decide to leave—Reasons, and object of my mission—My last night at *Karonga's*—Arrive Blantyre—Discussions—Start for the Coast—Arrive Zanzibar—My request to the Consul—Arrive in England—Efforts for Karonga's—Portugal's aggres-

sion precipitates crisis—Subsequent events at Karonga's—Mr Johnston's mission—His treaty with Mlozi—Nyasaland made a protectorate—Johnston appointed commissioner—His action—Capt. Maguire's success—His death—Reverses—Mlozi ignores the treaty—Position in northern Nyasaland—Gunboats demanded—They arrive—Mr Johnston's difficulties—His successes.

I LIVED on the little island at Deep Bay, and spent my time in shooting on the mainland. On Dec. 23d, the day after the steamer had gone, messengers came running after me when I was roaming about with my rifle, to say that the enemy were upon us. I hastened back, not knowing whether my camp had been captured. I found on arrival that a large Arab dhow was lying to, out at sea, waiting for night to approach the shore. There was no doubt that she was hostile, for, had she been friendly, they would undoubtedly have sent messengers ahead to announce their arrival. Moreover, the native chief Mandovi now informed us that he had news that the Slavers thought there was now no European here, and intended to bring war, and re-occupy the island—ousting and killing the native garrison. Their arrival immediately the steamer was out of the way was a further confirmation. So I prepared to receive them.

I posted sentries at the various points where a landing could be effected, but the night was pitch dark, and the rain came down in torrents. The men were paralysed with cold and wet, and would do nothing but coil themselves up and sleep. As more even than our own lives depended on the result of the watch we kept, I threatened to blow out the brains of any man I found asleep on his post, and arming myself with a portentous club, I went from post to post. About 2 A.M. a faint moon showed, and the rain ceased. The dhow got under weigh, and I lined the beach in readiness. I had twenty-five Atonga with some eighteen rounds apiece only, so I armed five others (servants, &c.) with my sporting rifles.

Behind each great rocky boulder crouched a man, ready to resist the landing of the Slavers on the island. However, they passed us, and made for the lake shore, where a sandy bay offered a landing-place. From the mainland jutted out a long promontory a mile or so in length, and some 500 yards from the point of this cape was our island. Seizing our canoes we paddled rapidly across, and ran along the cape, through the dense forest and tall grass which covered it, to reach the little bay at its base, for which point the dhow was making.

Arrived on the spot, we found the dhow was still a good way off. I aligned the men behind bushes, and we awaited the event. The dhow anchored, and the crew got out in the shallow water, and began unlading her. It was hard to judge of her exact situation in the faint moonlight. When once I heard the anchor chain let go, I was convinced she must be close inshore, knowing that a dhow would only anchor in shoal water. I therefore advanced to attack. Firing as we went, we rushed into the lake, and I found to my disgust, when I had already got up to my chest in water, that a very deep channel separated us from the dhow, which otherwise I had hoped to capture by a charge. Undoubtedly the Slavers had been ignorant of this (as they were unlading to carry their cargo of arms ashore), and had accidentally anchored on a sandbank, which proved their salvation.

On this occasion, owing to the small numbers of my force, I had, as I have said, brought my sporting rifles into requisition. The heavy 3-oz. bullets of the elephant rifle riddled the dhow, while my little ·450, in my own hands, tore up the boarding with its express bullets. The enemy were panicstricken at first, but presently returned the fire briskly. Afraid of exhausting my few rounds of ammunition, I drew off my men. They were eager to pursue the dhow in canoes, so we sent for them. But the plucky fellows implored me not to come, saying

that, if the canoe were upset when boarding the dhow, I should be drowned with my wounded arms, while they could swim like fish, carrying their rifles out of water Of course I would not assent to this, and stripping off my dripping clothes I entered the canoe in bathing drawers only, among my naked men. It was a droll way of spending Christmas (for this was Christmas Eve), and surely the day dawning on Lake Nyasa had never opened on a picture more quaint. Sitting in the bottom of a canoe half full of water were a row of naked savages and a naked white man!

Flashes of smoke from the disabled dhow marked the shots they continued to fire at us. Small craft as she was, viewed from our cockle-shell in the trough of the waves, she towered aloft like an ocean vessel above a shore boat. As we neared her, the firing became so heavy that the natives, finding there was more opposition remaining than they anticipated, no longer showed any eagerness for coming to close quarters, and I myself looked on the attempt merely as suicidal. We therefore left her to struggle back across the lake, and we heard later, that she only just arrived —the holes of the bullets being plugged with cloth—to sink in the port, and though afterwards hauled up was very badly damaged. Twelve were killed and six more fatally wounded and dying; among the dead was the "White" Arab in command (Kapandansaru's brother). There were, I heard, thirty-five fighting men on board. Such was the story which some of Mandovi's men, who were present in the crowd on the shore when she returned, brought to us.

In spite of our all-night work, my men began the most frantic war-dancing on return, and their excitement grew almost to madness. Sleep was out of the question, so I went off hunting on the mainland. A prisoner was brought to me in the evening by the natives, a Swahili,

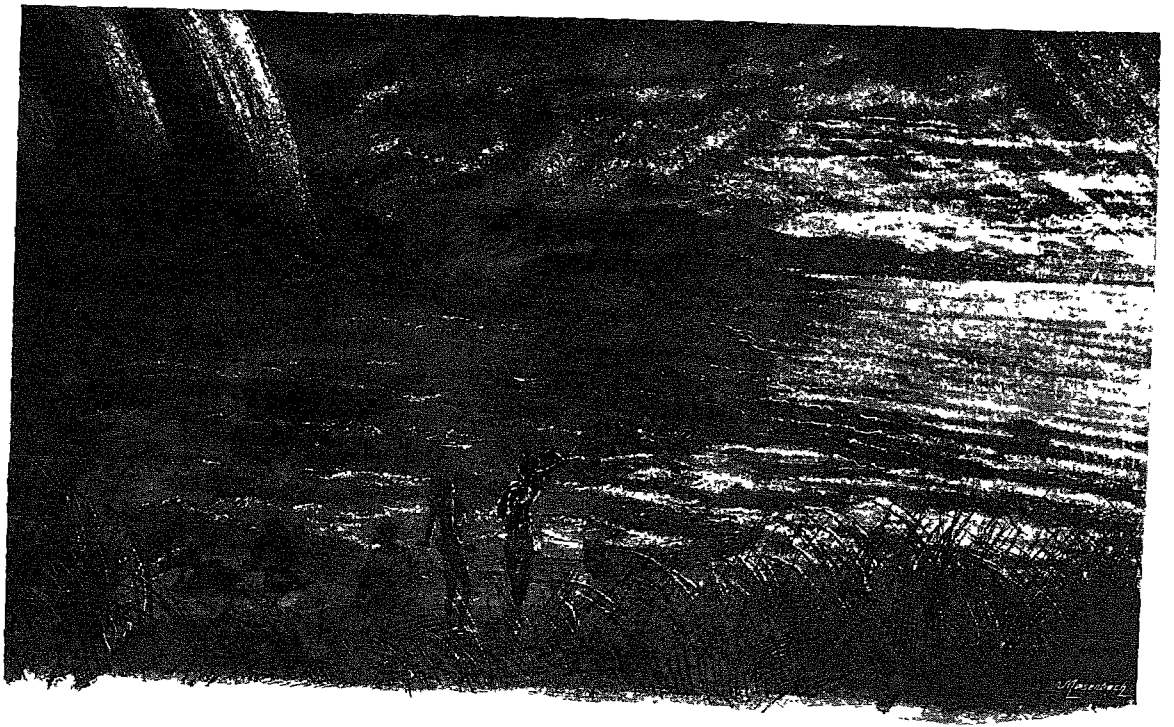
who had swum ashore from the dhow in the panic. They were on the point of killing him, but thought I would like to have the pleasure of executing him myself, and so brought him, most painfully and cruelly bound, and stark naked, to me for disposal. I undid his bonds, and told him that I would send him back safely to the east coast of the lake with letters, and that I had no vindictiveness against mere subordinates like him, for he had but obeyed his chief's orders. By day he was free, though I warned him that any attempt to escape, by swimming to the mainland, would mean instant death—and I meant it. I had gained a fictitious reputation with my rifle by shooting a vulture on the top of a distant tree, and this stood me in good stead, for, repeated and exaggerated by the natives, it led my friend to abandon any thoughts he might have had of flight. By night I put him in a slave-stick, as I could not afford to keep up a night guard on his especial behalf.

He was eventually sent back in safety with letters from myself (which I had sent to Karonga's to be written in Arabic-Swahili) together with others from the Sultan's Envoy. I said that I had no quarrel with the Arabs on the east of the lake, and I desired none, but that if they brought war I should fight, and that I would allow no consignments of arms or powder to Mlozi and my enemies. In reply, I received letters assuring me of friendship; denying that the dhow had come with war (since, however, Mandovi's men had seen a small cannon taken out of her this is absurd), and protesting that in future there should be peace between us. The prisoner was received as one who had come back from the dead, and, I believe, his account of the good treatment he had received, and the story he told of our reasons for fighting, went far towards preventing the Eastern Arabs from declaring against us. We continued to exchange friendly messages for a long time after this, and the

messengers came without fear, having absolute trust in our good faith, and the inviolability of our word. So ended the incident with these people.

I remained at Deep Bay,—having got a little ammunition from Karonga's—and at first I daily expected reprisals from the Arabs on the east of the lake. They had, however, no other dhow to take the place of this, which was now *hors de combat*, and the satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations relieved me from anxiety on this score. Meanwhile I continued to hunt daily, and shot various game—eland, zebra, &c., to feed my men. It was a rough life that I led, sometimes not returning to my island till long after night had fallen, and then generally drenched to the skin. The shooting was, however, deprived of some of its attraction, as I did not know whether at any moment I might run into an ambuscade or raiding party of the enemy, and be hunted in my turn! Latterly, I was seriously warned by the native chiefs, who said the Slavers knew my custom, and would lie in wait for and murder me. I got to know my men more intimately in such a mode of life than I could otherwise have done. Their faults lay on the surface, and when once they found I would not be fooled, and my orders must be obeyed, I had little difficulty with them. So ready and willing and cheery are they, that it is impossible to live with them and not like them. One especially, I remember, whom I named "Barkis," because he was always "willing,"—a name he was extremely proud of, and I daresay retains to this day!

I did not long continue my solitary existence at Deep Bay, for after some ten days I got news that the Envoy had returned, and I found it necessary to go back to Karonga's, on Jan. 2d, leaving a garrison at Deep Bay. I started in the afternoon, and pushed on during the night, but it was excessively dark, with no moon or stars, and owing to the drenching rain and heavy swell



SUNRISE ON THE LAKE

on the lake—which occasionally washed over the canoe —I spent a wet and poor night. Towards morning we pulled ashore, and I sat, drenched and shivering, waiting for daylight I vividly recollect that day-dawn (among many such memories), for it was one of the loveliest I have ever seen. One forgot the discomforts of dripping clothes and an empty stomach in the glorious beauty of the scene.

Gradually, in the east, behind the lofty mountains which border the lake, a faint blush began to light up the sky across the water. Behind me, in the west, the dense storm clouds had banked themselves in black masses, and against their dark outline shone a rainbow, —most vivid and bright in its colouring—reflected from the sun below the horizon, as yet invisible to us. As the "grey light" grew stronger, and the glorious colours of the sunrise tinted the clouds, their colouring and their marvellous beauty were reflected in the still waters of the lake. The black clouds behind borrowed the silver and the golden lining from the eastern sky, and the rainbow showed two perfect arcs, and a portion of a third. Such a scene is rare,—a rainbow before the sun has risen,—a line of mountains blending their rugged and picturesque outlines with the eastern clouds around the rising sun, —a vast, still lake, fringed with beautiful trees and verdure,—fairy islands crowned with forest lying sleeping on its bosom,—and all the silence and the mystery of the unknown ages, during which day by day the sun has risen on this scene of beauty, while "the world" of history knew nothing of these solitudes, and the passions of men, unbridled and lawless, carried death and desolation over peaceful areas, to satisfy savage greed or lust.

On arrival at Karonga's I found Monteith very ill, and also Mr Crawshay (who had come up by the last steamer to join us). Three others were also ill, off and on. The Envoy returned on the 6th with bad news. Mlozi

and Co. had fooled him with promises of compliance for now over a month. During all this time, at his earnest entreaty, we had refrained from any act of aggression. The Slavers had previously been in great straits for food there, were rumours that their Wahenga allies were deserting them (rumours which had led me to take steps to open communications with the latter), and by their cunning they had obtained a respite for over a month, in which to procure supplies, &c. They now took a different tone, and talked in a haughty way of evacuating after fifty days. I replied they must begin *at once*. That if I saw they were in process of going I would not be in haste, but if they did not begin, war should be reopened the day the steamer arrived. The Envoy returned to them, and henceforward his motives and actions did not appear to me to be quite so *bonâ fide*, and I began to fear there was some collusion going on between him and Mlozi. At first he said he would not go again, but on the arrival of a messenger he suddenly became most eager to do so. The fact is (as I have said) the man was not at all the class of person who should have been sent. He was a Swahili—viz., a coast African—a class looked down upon as inferiors by the "White" Arabs. Had the Consul at Zanzibar insisted on a high-class Arab being sent, who would have commanded the respect of Mlozi and Salim bin Nasur, our difficulties might have been satisfactorily settled, for I believe it would have taken no very great amount of pressure to induce Mlozi to go, for he had suffered very heavily by the war, and there was great hunger in his camp. At this time I was myself prostrated with fever.

On Jan. 16th the steamer arrived, bringing the long-expected cannon—a 7-lb. B.L. screw gun. There was one new arrival, Mr Kydd—Mr Moir and the others remained at Mandala. Mlozi, who the day before had sent a second message to say he would not go for fifty

days, now (according to the Envoy) had sworn an oath to go on the 31st—the new moon. I demanded a hostage, or that he should destroy part of his stockade, so as to prove his *bona fides*. Meanwhile I repaired our stockade, put the gun together, and began a drill with it, superintended by Mr Crawshay. We had now some seven white men (besides Dr Cross and myself), of whom five were ill. The natives numbered about 250, and I divided them into three companies, each about seventy strong, and a gun-party of forty. I also began to prepare a road for the gun towards the enemies' stockades. The Slavers were reported to be looting food in every direction, and their poorest slaves were starving; some of these we captured, and fed well, and took care of. The Envoy implored delay, and as I was still unready, I assented; but the new moon, on Jan. 31st, came and went, and there was no sign of their going. The Arabs on the east of the lake continued to send peaceful messages.

But the white men had now little heart in the war, and many were wavering; the Atonga, our bravest natives, were despondent, in spite of the gun, and the Mambwé men were utterly demoralised by a disease which broke out among them and carried off many. They supposed it to be witchcraft, and I feared they would desert *en masse* if more deaths occurred. So I had a big *mirandu*, and proposed that the doctor should cut open the last man who had died, and ascertain exactly the cause of death. To our surprise we carried our point, and six men were deputed to watch the operation. This, I suppose, was the first *post mortem* in Central Africa,—it was certainly the first (and the last) I have ever attended, and I have no wish to see another! The disease was a violent inflammation of the lower bowel, and this ascertained, the doctor was more fortunate in his treatment of the invalids. We buried the man, and

most of the Europeans attended the funeral. "One man made a funeral oration over, or rather *to*, the corpse in the grave, the while slowly sprinkling burnt oofa (flour) into the head of the grave. He said, I believe, that the dead man had come a long way from his home to die here; he hoped he would have rest and peace, although so far from home; that the white men had done their best for him, but his fate was to die, &c. They also oiled the body, and fired some shots over the grave" (diary).

After this the Mambwé men ceased to talk of witchcraft, and the fear of their desertion passed away. I strongly suspected the disease to have arisen from something administered by emissaries from the Slavers, for I found that there were many women in our native camp who had come from them. They managed to have spies in our camp continually, for it was well known that our methods were not the same as their own. No man dare go to spy in their stockades, for death with torture would certainly have been his fate if discovered. I caught one undoubted spy in Karonga's, a Mhenga who was known and recognised as having been among those who fought against us at Deep Bay. He was at a loss when asked his business, and said he had come for "medicine against hyenas." I told him I knew him to be a spy, that my methods were not the methods of the Slavers, and I did not mind people looking at our fort. I then showed him round, and explained how impregnable were our defences, and introduced him to the cannon, and showed him a shell and explained its action. He was much pleased, and very loquacious. I then asked if he had got all the information he wanted, and he said "yes." I added I would now give him the "medicine for hyenas." Selecting Makui, a young Nkondé giant, whose house this very man had pillaged, as executioner, I tied the Mhenga up,

and Makui thrashed him till he could stand no more; I then gave him five minutes to "clear," after which I said I would shoot him if in sight. Disabled though he was by the severe flogging, he was over the horizon in about three minutes! The Wankondé chiefs, who all knew this man well as a ringleader of the worst of the Wahenga in alliance with Mlozi, had accompanied us round the stockade, and seeing my courtesy to the spy had been astounded and disgusted at the inexplicable methods of the white man. When they saw the *dénouement*, and the sarcasm of the thing dawned upon them, their uncontrollable mirth was very ludicrous. They literally fell into each others arms and shrieked with laughter, and danced with joy. I had to haul off Makui by force, or he would have flogged the man to death.

These Wankondé at times showed great pluck in their own way. Though they would not face the stockades and the fire of the Slavers, on two occasions it transpired that a single individual had gone by night, and, digging under the enemy's stockade, had pulled out one or two poles, under the very noses of their sentries, and, squeezing through, had abstracted a cow from inside and driven it off! They value life very lightly indeed, and regard a cow as of more value than a man;—a naked black man in the darkness of night is, moreover, as slippery as a snake to deal with. If the alarm be given he vanishes in the darkness into the dense grass, and is gone. Even if seen, he may pass himself off at the moment as "one of the crowd." Still, the act showed wonderful pluck and daring.

The two tribes who formed our native force were continually falling out, and gave us some trouble occasionally. On one occasion the Nemesis which overtakes the liar was illustrated in a way which I would recommend to those who delight in stories to point a moral for the "young idea." An Atonga and a Mambwé man quar-

relled, and the latter was, undoubtedly, solely to blame. The Atonga got his opponent down on his back, and handled him roughly. The Mambwé shouted to a small boy of his to get his gun out of his hut and shoot the Atonga. The small boy obeyed orders,—got the gun, and firing point blank, at a distance of two or three feet, at the Atonga, as he rolled on the ground with the Mambwé, missed his object, and shot straight into the open mouth of his friend the Mambwé, who was busy shouting with his jaws wide open! The shot carried away a tooth, and took it through the man's cheek, inflicting no other damage. After careful inquiry, I found the facts to be as I have stated, and administered a little further correction to the man who had already had a bullet and a tooth through his cheek. So the "good boy" scored, and the "naughty boy" did not, in spite of Mark Twain's dictum. However, to return to the history of events.

We completed the road for the gun, and selected a knoll about 900 yards from Msalema's, and 1400 from Kopa-Kopa's, which commanded the stockades. Meanwhile the Envoy had taken up his quarters with Mlozi, and the tone of his letters now bordered on the insolent. I had deferred attack while our preparations were being made, and more especially on account of the sickness of the garrison, both British and natives, and it was not till the 20th (Feb.) that we started for our assault,—more than a month after the arrival of the steamer, the date on which I had declared the truce at an end. I had thus given the Slavers every possible chance of fulfilling their oath to evacuate, but it had now become obvious that all this delay, of close on three months, had been solely a treacherous means of gaining time to gather supplies, and they now defied us again, apparently the Envoy had identified himself with them. Sharpe happened to come from the north end on the

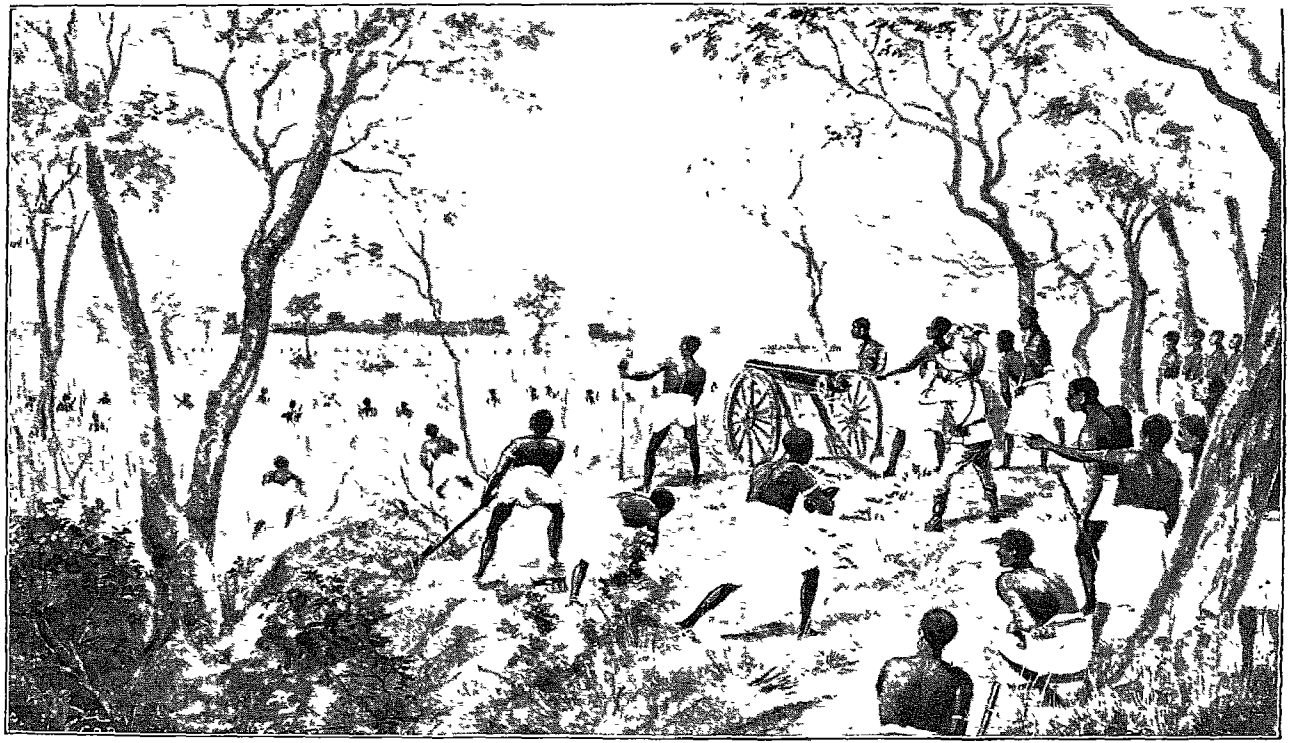
14th, and joined us, but he and all the others were of opinion that to charge the stockades, as we had done eight months before, was useless. It was decided that the attack should be limited to shelling them. I repeatedly warned the Envoy that I would not be responsible for his life unless he returned. As my own departure was imminent, I put the question to the vote as to whether we should attack again at once, not wishing to act counter in any way to the views of those who would be left when I went. The votes for and against were exactly equal, and my casting vote was given in favour of an attack.

Once more we started by night—about two A.M.—and got the gun into position before dawn, the companies of the natives taking up their alignment in the open in front of the stockades, below the knoll on which the gun was placed. We were joined by a body of the North-end Wankondé. The grass was very long and the cover dense, and after opening fire with the gun, I was completely employed in looking after our men. On more than one occasion a party of our allies was mistaken by another party for the enemy, and fired on, but fortunately their firing is so wild that no one was hit. The control of a long line of men in such dense country is extremely difficult, for it is impossible to move about rapidly through the dense and high grass to different parts of the line, and each party loses all touch of the rest. Various *contretemps* nearly occurred, but fortunately no serious mishap took place. Sharpe, starting overnight, had taken up a position in ambush near Mlozi's distant stockade, to intercept reinforcements. A large body of the enemy started when the report of the cannon shots was heard, and, coming right on the top of Sharpe's ambush, were scattered in a panic with much loss. Not one in ten of the friction tubes went off, and I was nervous lest, with an unreliable escort and such ammu-

nition, any disaster might befall the unwieldy gun, in case of counter attack in so dense a country, where a body of men were absolutely invisible in the grass, until they suddenly came face to face with you. After nearly three hours' firing (twenty-six shots only, owing to the bad friction tubes) we returned to Karonga's. The enemy never showed outside their stockades, and made no demonstration on our retiring.

I wished to go up almost daily and shell the villages, so as to make them quite untenable, and compel the Slavers to evacuate or come out and fight us in the open, but the sickness of the men and our small amount of ammunition prevented it, and the general feeling was against the plan. On Feb. 25th we got news that Salim bin Nasur and the Senga Arabs—so long expected—had at last arrived. They sent civil letters, to which I replied that I earnestly desired peace, that the war was not of our seeking, and that I had no quarrel with the Senga Arabs, whom I invited to Karonga's to arrange terms of peace. Above all, I strongly insisted that it was not a racial war, or a war of creed *v.* creed; for at this time the news of the outbreak of hostilities at the coast between the Germans and the Slavers, and the blockade by the combined fleets for the prevention of the importation of arms and powder, had just reached Nyasaland. It was this piece of bad luck, which again, I am convinced, robbed us of a successful termination to the war. I have little doubt that Salim bin Nasur had come all the way from Senga solely to make peace, and the reports, from various sources, that the Slavers were packing up their things, and that there was every sign of their going, confirmed our belief. But there is in my mind no doubt whatever that at this crisis news arrived from the coast with (in all probability) strong injunctions to our antagonists to continue the war at all hazards.

I took advantage also of Salim's presence to inform



SHELLING THE STOCKADES OF THE SLAVERS

our opponents that Dr Cross would treat their sick and wounded, and for fear they should be afraid to bring them to us, I arranged they should leave them at an appointed spot half-way, and we would come for them. They did not, however, avail themselves of our offer. In the meantime, great sickness prevailed amongst ourselves. I was, as usual, almost the only one fit for work, though myself much pulled down. Hector, our latest arrival, lay dangerously ill. Salim's tone suddenly changed, and on the 11th March he sent a most insulting letter, and informed us Mlozi would fight. This sudden change of front can only be explained, as I have said, on the hypothesis of news from the coast, probably of a perverted nature, saying the Slavers were driving the white men out of Africa, &c.

On March 13th, therefore, I again led my little force against the enemy, and again we shelled the stockades. On this occasion the gun was served by Mr Auld with much greater success than had attended Crawshay's efforts. Shell after shell crashed into the stockades, now into Msalema's, now into Kopa-Kopa's; hardly one missed its mark out of the thirty fired. But no breach in the stockade could be effected, for the extremely high velocity of the shells caused them to pass through the poles and burst beyond. Had the walls been of masonry we might have knocked them down, but as it was, a shot merely carried away an isolated pole. The Slavers came out in the open, but were driven back with loss.

It had been decided that I should go south, and the steamer, which had arrived a short time before, had been detained till the attack should be over. Already I had overstayed my time in the extreme urgency of the case, and the loss of my commission would be a very serious matter indeed to me,—and now all my comrades agreed in wishing that I should go down and see if I could not secure the despatch from Mandala of the equip-

ment and necessaries we required, and also effect a satisfactory arrangement in Zanzibar or in England. Constant rumours had reached us that the African Lakes Company was in a state of insolvency, and men were naturally unwilling to expose their lives, and undergo strain and hardship, when any day might bring orders for unconditional evacuation. All were eager to know whether the necessary ammunition and requisites would be supplied, and whether it was intended to prosecute the war to the end, or whether those who stayed at home in comfort were half-hearted, and meant to withhold their support.

We had just received news of Cardinal Lavigerie's crusade, and of the rumoured help for Karonga's which Commander Cameron was trying to organise. If this help was really to be sent, my advice in its equipment, especially as regards any heavy guns, was essential. The ammunition we required for our gun and small arms was now blocked at the Zambesi by the Portuguese; and these restrictions *must* be removed if Karonga's was to be maintained. I had, moreover, great hopes that if I could secure from the Consul-General at Zanzibar the services of a member of the consular staff who could speak Swahili, supported by a really influential Arab, a termination might be put to the war without difficulty, for the Slavers had lately suffered terribly, both from our shell fire and from hunger, and they dared not show outside their stockades. I believe at this time they would have been only too glad to accede to *any* terms, and would have evacuated with delight; but after their treachery to us they could not conceive it possible that when they left their stockades we should not fall upon them and massacre them in revenge. A British and an influential Arab envoy would, by their presence, and by themselves superintending and guaranteeing the safety of the evacuating garrison, have disarmed these fears.

So I decided to go. My first mission was to Mandala, where I was to insist on the immediate despatch of the ammunition and supplies required, thence I would, if necessary, proceed to Zanzibar, after hearing the views of all the Europeans at Blantyre. If I failed to secure the embassy I required from Zanzibar, and the removal of the restrictions imposed by the Portuguese on the import of arms and ammunition up the Zambesi, I would go on to England, and endeavour there to rouse an interest in our efforts at Karonga's, or to direct into the most useful channels any efforts I might find already being undertaken. I was to leave on March 15th.

On the evening of the 12th—the night before our last assault—I was invited to be present at a "sing-song," to be held in our big house. These were of frequent occurrence, and therefore I was surprised to find that proceedings of a somewhat formal character were on this occasion the order of the evening. Dr Cross rose to make a speech on behalf of my comrades. I shall never forget the terms in which he alluded to me, for the memories of that evening are among the most valued of my life. His words were to the effect that I had won the universal respect and affection alike of the natives and of my comrades. Monteith added that my rule had been to do what was *right* regardless of other considerations; and he then told me they had decided to present me with a sword and a pair of binoculars as mementoes of our campaign together. All were poor men—they were facing constant fever, and exposing their lives for a miserable pittance; yet every one of them gave a large subscription. I value these gifts more than any other thing I possess. They bear the inscription—

"From the members of the Karonga Expedition, to Captain F. D. Lugard, D S O., Norfolk Regt, Commanding the Expedition, as a token of their esteem.

Karonga, Lake Nyasa, Central Africa, March 12th, 1889."

We passed one of those evenings which can only be known under such circumstances when

> "We've shared our peril and shared our sport,
> Our sunshine and gloomy weather;
> Shoulder to shoulder too have fought,
> Struggled and toiled together.
> In happier moments lighter of heart,
> Stouter of heart in sorrow,
> We've helped each other, and now we part
> For ever, perchance to-morrow" [1]

You will hear rough men in their shirt-sleeves, amid the strange surroundings, sing long-forgotten Christy Minstrel airs, or the old sweet melodies of Scotland and Ireland; and the words, so long unheard, bring back memories of other times and other places. The smoke curls slowly from the pipes of the listeners, and you can read in their faces that their thoughts are far away. The familiar chorus of 'Dear Old Pals' died away on the night breeze, and my last evening at Karonga's was spent and gone. Perhaps never again shall I see the well-known place; certainly never again will the group assemble that sat around the watch-fire that night, for already there are gaps in its ranks. I can recall many such evenings in campaigns in other countries, and in shooting parties in the jungles of India, but none like those in the days I have spent in Africa. None in which a *camaraderie* could be so cemented as that which holds a handful of white men together in a land far from all communication with the civilised world, where a common task, the common weal, and perhaps a common danger, binds men in the closest of unions.

Seven men, including Dr Cross, were left at Karonga's, and seven were on the steamer—all ill except myself. We were, of course, very crowded; and as it was now

[1] Gordon's Poems, Old Leaven (slightly altered).

the season of the rains, there was naturally great discomfort. The sick men were stowed in the Ilala's tiny cabin, and I recollect sleeping myself on deck, with no kind of shelter, in the pouring rain. I had long ago, however, been pronounced to be "made of cast-iron inside and out!" We passed Bandawé, where I said good-bye to my kind friends, Dr and Mrs Laws, and we proceeded on our way. *En route* I received a letter from the War Office granting me a year's leave, but my plans were already formed, and I went on to accomplish my mission.

We arrived at Blantyre on March 28th, and had much discussion over the "North-end difficulty." Opinion was divided as to the advisability of continuing the war, but I could myself see no honourable alternative. The missions declared that if I left they withdrew their support. Mr Moir was strongly for fighting, and said he was expecting from England eleven more "assistants" to replace the sick, and he also decided to engage fourteen more men from Natal. John Moir was never a man to give in; I always had the greatest admiration for his indomitable pluck! Nothing had been heard of Raw, and the cannon he had gone to get, but I met him later in Quilimane Having made all arrangements for the requirements of the Karonga garrison, by the advice and at the wish of all, I proceeded on my way to Zanzibar. We left Blantyre on April 9th, 1889, after saying a cordial farewell to all my kind friends—the Clement Scotts, the Bowies, the Moirs, and others.

Sharpe accompanied me, and he was very ill with constant fever, to which I too was temporarily a victim. We travelled down by canoe as rapidly as possible to catch the steamer at the coast. On our way down we met my old friends and quondam hosts, the two Polish gentlemen, Steblenski, who welcomed me cordially, and offered their services in the fighting conditionally on

my return. Long afterwards I heard from the younger brother (and Kauffmann) offering me their services in Uganda. We embarked on board ship from Quilimane, and Sharpe now became very ill indeed.

Arrived at Zanzibar, I found Colonel (now Sir C.) Euan-Smith was away on leave, his post being occupied by Mr. (now Sir G.) Portal. I represented the matter to him, and he said he would telegraph to England. The points I was particularly anxious to have a decided reply upon were (1) Whether the Lakes Company had the means and the determination to prosecute the war energetically, and (2) Whether Government would afford any assistance by deputing an influential embassy from Zanzibar, and insisting on the free transit of necessary ammunition through the Portuguese zone at the coast. Mr Portal telegraphed to England, and a reply was received that the Directors of the Lakes Company would be glad if I would return home by the steamer just leaving Zanzibar, and consult with them. They afterwards told me they had never heard of my special questions, and were only informed that I had arrived in Zanzibar! I had left the steamer hoping to attain my object here, and ready, if necessary, to return with an embassy to Karonga's But I was in a very unfit state to do so, for the long strain and hard life had told even upon me. On receipt of this reply from the Foreign Office, I had of course no option but to proceed to England, and I bundled my few belongings on board again, and started.

At Zanzibar I met for the first time Mr W. Astor Chanler, a young American gentleman, who was about to make his first acquaintance with Africa, on a shooting expedition, and I was prepossessed by his frank, open, and brave face. He pressed me to join him as his guest for the rest of my leave, but, fascinating as the proposal was to so keen a sportsman as myself, it was not, of

course, to be considered for a moment while yet Karonga's remained unrelieved. On my return from Uganda three years later I again met Mr Chanler, who was on the point of starting on his expedition through Somaliland to Lake Rudolf—an enterprise of very great danger and risk in the present hostile attitude of the Somals. I learnt that he had planned, at his own expense, to come to my relief in Uganda, when reports had reached Europe that I was hard pressed there. As I write, he is still in the far interior, and we are ignorant of his welfare; but the last reports, dated June 21st, 1893, spoke of success up to the time of their despatch.[1] With my cordial wishes for his success we parted. I met also, on my homeward journey from Nyasaland (May 1889), Mr Jackson, who was about to start on his expedition. Like all who know him, I recognised in him a true sportsman, and as kind-hearted a man as ever entered Africa. He was, moreover, a keen observer, and had no mean knowledge of African natural history, the study of which was the passion of his life, and in which department he has added very greatly to our knowledge. Of his expedition (which preceded mine to Uganda) I shall have much to say in later chapters.

Arrived at home (June 5th, 1889), I felt myself bound in honour to the comrades I had left behind. I wrote the story briefly in the 'Contemporary Review'[2] and appealed for the sympathy and help of those in England. In Manchester, at the British Association (where I read a paper on the commercial possibilities of the country), in 'Blackwood,' &c., I made similar efforts to awaken an interest in the little campaign against the slave-traders, which should prevent the abandonment of Karonga's, and with it the objects for which we had fought so long—to save Nyasaland from becoming a Mohammedan empire, with slave raiders for

[1] Geographical Journal, vol. ii. p. 367.

[2] Sept 1889.

its kings. I found, in Scotland especially, a deep and strong feeling in response to my efforts.

Meanwhile the current of events favoured my cause. The utilisation of the Chindi channel of the Zambesi—a navigable mouth giving direct access to the sea—together with the outrageous claims and suicidal aggressions of Portugal, caused Lord Salisbury to insist on the free navigation of the Zambesi, while the international blockade of the East Coast for the prevention of the importation of arms and ammunition into Africa, directed public attention strongly to the question of the slave-trade. Lord Salisbury's firm attitude towards the ridiculous pretensions of Portugal was met by that Power with open defiance. Serpa Pinto marched up the Shiré, shot down our allies the Makololo, and threatened Blantyre. The question of the rights of England in the Shiré Highlands and in Nyasaland had passed into the region of Foreign Office investigation, and national indignation was excited by the action of Portugal.

Mr Rhodes was at this time in England, and had heard the outlines of my scheme for controlling the waters of Nyasa and Tanganyika, and establishing a land force for the suppression of the slave-trade there (*vide* chap. viii.). He asked me if I would undertake to put it in operation, at the estimated cost of £20,000 down, and £9000 a year. I agreed to his proposal, but asked that I should be allowed to choose my own officers, and be directly responsible to the Board of the South African Company. Mr Rhodes, with his princely methods of doing business, had offered a considerable sum for the purchase of the goodwill and effects of the Lakes Company. He told me it had been accepted, and that there was no hitch in the negotiations for their absorption into the Chartered Company, but the Lakes Company continued to procrastinate, apparently without cause, and to defer final conclusions, until at last Mr Rhodes' patience

was exhausted. These plans thus hung fire till the autumn, when he was compelled to leave for the Cape, and I heard no more about them.

While all this was going on, Mr Johnston, who had succeeded O'Neill as Consul at Mozambique, had proceeded up the Shiré and made treaties with many of the riverine chiefs, and thence had gone to Lake Nyasa and to Kăronga's, where he arrived on Oct. 15th. The garrison there, during the six months that had elapsed since I left, had been carrying on an energetic guerilla warfare by means of parties of natives, who scoured the country in every direction. Deep Bay had been held in spite of many attempts of the Slavers to secure a footing in that vicinity. Engagements between parties of the followers of the Slavers and the natives of the garrison had been of very frequent occurrence; our casualties had been few, while the enemy had suffered very heavily. Starving women constantly deserted to Karonga's, but as it was supposed that they were sent in order to introduce the small-pox (which was raging in the Slavers' stockades) among the Wankondé and the garrison, they were rarely received. Similarly, when I was there, women had undoubtedly been sent to introduce another disease.

About the time Mr Johnston arrived, the occupants of the hostile stockades were, according to Mr Monteith's account,[1] in desperate straits from hunger, and could not have continued the war much longer. On the other hand, they had made raids on the Tanganyika plateau, carrying off great numbers of slaves and cattle, and threatening the missions at Fwambo, and it was rumoured that they contemplated bringing down the fierce Awemba tribe from the north-west to join them as allies in the war. The Senga Arabs were, moreover, supporting them with powder and *materiel*, as was proved

[1] Adventures in Nyasaland, p. 265

by letters from Salim bin Nasur to Mlozi, which fell into the hands of a raiding party of the garrison. One more attempt to shell the stockades with the cannon had been made a day or two after I left with much success, but it was considered too risky to take the heavy gun into dense jungle seven miles away, and henceforth no further use was made of it, the war being carried on by independent parties of natives acting under native leaders.

Mr Johnston's first step on entering Nyasaland was to call at Kota-Kota, the village of Jumbé, the most noted slaver on the lake. He concluded a friendship, subsidised him, gave him presents, and besought his good offices in the conclusion of a peace with Mlozi. Jumbé sent his headman with Mr Johnston for this purpose, and accepted the subsidy of £300 a year to fly the British flag! This subsidy he draws to the present day; but a correspondent writes that he has not abandoned his slave-trading proclivities.

Arrived at Karonga's, Mr Johnston entered into negotiations with Mlozi, through Jumbé's headman, and on October 22d, 1889, a treaty was signed. Monteith says[1] that the main articles of this treaty were:—

1. That the Wankondé be allowed to return to their villages.
2. That they will not then be molested by the "Arabs" or their allies
3. That neither the Slavers nor their allies will build north of the Rukuru River, or south within three miles of the Tanganyika road.
4. That within a year either Kopa-Kopa's or Msalema's village be evacuated.
5. The African Lakes Company to be responsible for the acts of their allies
6. Any hostile act against the natives on the part of the Slavers will be regarded as an act of hostility towards the Company.

[1] Adventures in Nyasaland, p. 279.

Such was the treaty. Salutes were fired in its honour, and the day given up to gratulation and rejoicing. The crucial points about it are :—

1. That the point for which the two years' war was prosecuted—viz., the evacuation by the Slavers of Nkondé, was abandoned. In its place was substituted the curious clause 4, by which one stockade was still allowed to dominate the road and ferry. All, therefore, that the Slavers were to do was to amalgamate Msalema's little village with Kopa-Kopa's (which is within 400 yards of it), and abandon the exact site of the little stockade. For this a *year's* delay was granted. *To this day, this*—the only stipulation to save our credit and support the contention that the treaty was not an absolute surrender—*has remained a dead letter*, and the power of the British Commissioner has remained defied. All the other clauses (except, perhaps, clause 3) of the treaty are merely circumlocutory phrases for saying that if there is peace neither side is to attack the other or its allies. How these pledges of peace and guarantees not to molest the Wankondé have been treated by the Slavers I shall presently describe. After concluding this treaty Mr Johnston left for the north to make treaties with native chiefs, and then returned to England.

I have endeavoured to interest my reader in the events in Nyasaland which fell under my own observation, and immediately preceded the formation of the Protectorate, but, before passing to another portion of the continent, let us glance for a moment at the subsequent development of events in that interesting country, now the "British Central African Protectorate," the home of constantly increasing numbers of British settlers, and of an administration under the Crown.[1]

[1] Blue-book Africa, No 5 of 1892 The Zanzibar Gazette, Feb. 1st, 1893, states the number of Europeans in Nyasaland at that date to be 174, as against 55 in 1891.

Mr Johnston returned to Nyasaland in July 1891, having been appointed Imperial Commissioner and created C.B. (Mr Buchanan, the late Acting Consul, was at the same time created C.M.G.). The task of the new Administrator was one of no ordinary difficulty, and demanded the exercise of great tact and foresight. With characteristic pluck Mr Johnston threw down the gauntlet to the Slavers. Hostilities were begun against Mponda, Makanjila, and many other chiefs in Southern Nyasaland, who were engaged in the slave-trade. The Commissioner had only at his disposal a handful of Sikhs and Zanzibaris, in all some 200 men, with a 7-pounder and (later) a Maxim gun, under the command of that brave soldier Captain Maguire.[1] The African Lakes Company's new trading steamer the Domira was chartered for a time to assist in the operations.

Owing to the masterly way in which this little force was handled, and the really heroic gallantry of Captain Maguire, success everywhere attended the operations, and, towards the end of the year, some progress seemed to have been made towards coercing the Slavers by force of arms. Then occurred a disaster which, even as told in the official wording of a Blue-book,[2] makes one shudder with the horror and ghastliness of the tale. Maguire was killed, MacEuan and a Parsee doctor were massacred in cold blood, nine soldiers killed, and two other Europeans and nine natives wounded. Nor was the Commissioner in a position to exact any vengeance for this disaster, and the treachery of Makanjila. This,

[1] The Scotsman of Sept. 27th, 1893, states "on excellent authority" that hitherto Mr Johnston has only had "an average of fifty Sikhs and a few Zanzibaris as his fighting force," and denies that H.M.'s gunboats on the lower river have ever in any degree whatever come into contact with the slave-trade, or have ever been able to render any assistance" This hardly seems to tally with other accounts

[2] Blue-book Africa, No. 5, 1892

again, was followed by a second reverse, in which six soldiers were killed, two Europeans and four soldiers wounded, and the 7-pounder gun and a quantity of Snider ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy (Zarafi). This was early in 1892, and owing to the necessity for awaiting reinforcements, the Commissioner had to remain inactive.

Up to the end of 1892 the British Administration was apparently powerless to exact reprisals for these reverses, though the opportune arrival of Commander Keene, and the gunboats on the Zambesi, enabled Mr Johnston to maintain his hold on Fort Johnston and the Upper Shiré. In Jan. 1893 further severe fighting took place, and Captain Johnson, who had replaced Captain Maguire, was almost overpowered by a Yao chief named Liwondé, who captured a Lakes Company's boat, and closed communications for a time between Blantyre and the lake. The steamer Domira had gone aground, and Liwondé threatened to capture her The Commissioner and Mr Sharpe with the greatest courage made their way to the scene through the hostile country, and then, having built a small stockade, were practically besieged, and in imminent danger, till rescued by Baron von Eltz of the German Anti-Slavery Society, who was shortly afterwards followed by a party of blue-jackets, under Commanders Carr and Robertson, from the Shiré gunboats. The combined force then attacked and destroyed several of the Slavers' villages, and Liwondé sued for peace. The Upper Shiré was again opened for navigation; but beyond maintaining his position, the Commissioner was unable to effectively deal with the Slavers pending the arrival of substantial reinforcements.[1] He had been compelled to appeal to Government for two gunboats to be placed on the lake (in addition to those already on the Shiré), and opera-

[1] Zanzibar Gazette, April 5th, 1893.

tions are apparently at a standstill pending their arrival.[1]

Meanwhile, Northern Nyasaland had to take care of itself, and the situation grew more and more serious. In June 1891 Dr Cross[2] wrote: "Mpata is wholly given over to Arab influence, and, indeed, to fighting. The Wankondé chiefs I met there complained most bitterly that Mlozi and his fighting men were pushing them out of their own country." An attack had even been contemplated upon Dr Cross's unprotected mission party. He goes on to say: "In my opinion Mpata is, at the present moment, absolutely unsafe for any European. There are few Wankondé people, and these few are gradually being driven out. . . . We will have a renewal of the troubles of Karonga's. . . . The Nyasaland Arab question is assuming more and more gigantic proportions. Slave-dealing Arabs are predominant all over the country . . . there never was a time in the history of the lake, when so many guns and so much powder were in circulation. Indeed, certain tribes (the Awemba) are being

[1] A letter, dated June 21st (Times, Sept 30th, 1893), announces that "the British ensign flying in a man-of-war floats above the waters of Lake Nyasa," for the gunboat Dove has been successfully launched. Already its moral effect has made itself felt, and one of the worst of the Slavers, Zarafi, is reported to have said that he intended to make peace, and it is even stated that he shot his father, Makanjila—perhaps the worst of the Yao chiefs—because he opposed his intention. Though I have elsewhere (p. 204) given reasons why I think that gunboats on Lake Nyasa would be a great tax on imperial resources, and that the money could be more effectively employed in other ways, it is of course necessary to bear in mind that the peculiarities of our Constitution render it easy to spend from £100,000 to £200,000 per annum on slave-trade suppression (*vide* p. 197), so long as the vote is included in the naval estimates, while it would be hard to obtain a direct grant of £20,000 for the Administration of the Protectorate and the upkeep of an adequate land force. Moreover, if the suggestion made in the Times, that the second gunboat shall be transported to Lake Tanganyika be adopted, the scheme would offer greater advantages, and the whole waterway from the mouth of the Zambesi to the north of Tanganyika will then be patrolled by our navy. Independently of the question of cost, no one will be found to deny the *enormous* benefit such a naval supervision would exercise in the suppression of the slave-trade.

[2] Free Church Monthly, Nov 1892.

armed." And he sums up: "The Wankondé are being pushed out of Mpata, the Arab villages are being enlarged and fortified as they never were before, the number of fighting men is greatly increased, while ammunition seems to be very abundant." Other information (dated Aug. 6th, 1893) is to the effect that Deep Bay is now being used as a slave ferry by the Slavers, and Major Weissman lately caught a caravan at this place, while another ferry has been opened at Chintechi, ten miles from Bandawé.

Such is the nett result of the treaty concluded on Oct. 22d, 1889. The acts of aggression towards the natives, which were to be regarded as overt acts of hostility against us, are of daily occurrence. So far from one Arab stockade being evacuated, they are being "fortified as they never were before," and "are there to-day." This letter is dated over one and a half years after the treaty was signed. Latest mails (of half a year later) give a still more gloomy account, and there are indications that the real significance of the situation is not appreciated by the authorities. Those who bore the long strain against physical and moral difficulties at Karonga's, and who felt themselves within a measurable distance of triumph, may be pardoned for their natural disappointment that this should be the outcome of their efforts. British prestige was sacrificed by the conclusion of the treaty on Oct. 22d, 1889. Every one knew that Mlozi was still less likely to evacuate a stockade after the year's delay had allowed him to strengthen himself and import arms, than he was when his garrison were starving and mutinous, and his munitions expended. He had held out because of the war between the Europeans and Slavers on the coast. The success of these operations by the Germans should have been an excellent lever in the hands of the Commissioner.

But, though I may hold that an error of judgment

was made in this instance, I would not that it should appear as though I underrated Mr Johnston's difficulties in his present post. Probably few can appreciate them better than myself. The root of the matter lies in the fact that he has not adequate resources with which to maintain a sufficient force. It surely is unbecoming that the Imperial British Commissioner should be "extricated from a difficult and dangerous position by the German Anti-Slavery Expedition." Beyond all question, the most sensible, and, indeed, the only way of dealing with the situation, is to establish a firm administration in the south, radiating from the Government headquarters at Zomba, and so gradually and effectually to extend northwards, making sure of each step in advance. Karonga's, however, from the strategic importance of its position (between the northern and southern detachments of the Slavers) should be held in force, in my opinion, and the moral effect of a garrison there would not be barren of results. That Mr Johnston has already in some measure succeeded in the south is borne witness to by Dr Laws, who writes that "the results of his efforts are that no slaving chief on the lake is likely to dream of attempting to send a caravan through British territory to the coast."[1] We may anticipate that now that he has a largely increased force of Sikhs, and two gunboats will presently be afloat on the lake, he will be able to effectively extend the Pax Britannica throughout "British Central Africa." No one more cordially wishes him success than myself.

The panacea for the troubles further afield is said to be the arrival of the gunboats, but I have (on pp. 203-204) stated my own view, which is that, by naval action on the

[1] Recent news (Times, Sept 30th, 1893) tells of much progress made, and of a substantial fort built on "the only possible slave route" towards the south, so now, with the gunboats on the lake to assist the Administration, we may hope that the rule of the slave-traders may soon be a thing of the past.

lake, we are but repeating the mistake we have persevered in for over half a century on the coast, and as in that case so in this, we shall live to prove by experience that the cost in money and in the death-roll of our men could have been more advantageously applied. But we are an obstinate nation, and, because the cry has long been that gunboats alone are the desideratum, we will hear no other argument, and having made up our minds that they alone can destroy the slaving dhows, it becomes quite a secondary consideration how many dhows there are to destroy!

A SLAVE CARAVAN ON THE MARCH.

CHAPTER VII.

AFRICAN SLAVERY.

Confusion of terms—Domestic slavery—Objections to—Nature of—Aliens and denizens—Slavery at the coast—Palliations—In Uganda—Serfdom—Among savage tribes—Probably not indigenous—Methods of repression. I. Compulsory freedom, Abolition—Compensation—Not applicable to East Africa—Slaves held illegally—The question of expediency—Prior intimation—Ruin of the West Indies not due to compensation. II Permissive freedom, Abolition of legal status—Effect—Civil *v.* legal status—Feasibility—Efficacy proved—The Indian Act—Rights as British subjects—Legal status in the interior—Only permissible in Mohammedan countries—Effect in Uganda, &c.—In Nyasaland—Not recognised by myself—Importance of early legislature. III. Edicts—of Aug 1890—of 1873—of Sept. 1891—Point of view of the slave—Disposal of liberated slaves—Colonies—Industrial missions—Compulsory religion—Nature of the slave—The

real task to be achieved—Enlightened views among the Arabs, &c.—Among the slaves—Other phases of slavery—Acquisition of slaves 1 Slave-raiding. 2 Slave-trading—Kidnapping.

I WILL beg my reader's indulgence while I devote a few pages to the examination of the much misunderstood question of slavery in Africa, in the endeavour to explain as briefly as possible both what "slavery" is, and what are the means that have been used in the past, and are proposed in the future for suppressing it. In the first place, it is necessary to distinguish the proper meaning of certain terms too often carelessly and inaccurately used, and to discriminate between various phases of the question.

Confusion of Terms

The general term, "an anti-slavery policy," comprises the two great and totally distinct questions of *domestic slavery* and the *acquisition of slaves* Domestic slavery includes household, agricultural, and harem slaves (females and eunuchs). The two main objections to this institution are: 1st, On moral grounds —viz., that we have no right to buy and sell human beings, and treat them as mere domestic animals, especially in respect of the last-named class. This requires no comment from me. 2d, That since it is a known fact that slaves do not increase naturally to any appreciable extent, therefore to countenance domestic slavery is to afford an incentive to the supply of new slaves, with all the horrors attendant on their acquisition, in order to meet the demand.

Domestic Slavery.

Objections to.

There is one great crucial point as regards domestic slavery which I have never seen adequately noticed, and that is, whether the slaves in question are *aliens*, acquired and imported and retained as slaves by a people with whom they have nothing in common—no community of language, customs, and prejudices—or whether they are "sons of

Nature of Aliens or Denizens

the soil," of the same race as the masters, and merely merit the term "slaves" because their chief has an absolute right over them, and because they are compelled to work, not for any fixed wage, but for contingent and equally definite advantages, and form, in fact, but the lowest grade in the social scale. In the first case there is an *a priori* probability that the slave will be more harshly treated and more readily sold; in the second case the probabilities are the reverse.

These, then, are the two extremes of domestic slavery. In the one case the slave is an alien, his loss is supplied by importation of fresh slaves, he does not breed, and is generally short-lived (on the coast it has been computed that the length of a slave's life rarely exceeds eleven years); he is subject to harsh usage, is a mere chattel, and cannot appeal to the law; and in the case of a woman, all moral sense may be destroyed by transfer or loan, till the woman becomes, in fact, a prostitute by order. In the other case the converse is for the most part true. Between these two extremes may exist any number of intermediate grades.

Slavery at Coast

The slaves of the Arabs at the coast are, of course, all aliens, seized forcibly in the interior, and imported for sale It is to such a state of domestic slavery that the various measures of repression which I am about to examine are applicable. Naturally, then, here at the coast we may expect the lot of the slave to be the hardest; yet in very many instances among the Arabs on the coast, I believe that there are masters whose kindness to their slaves has won them their strong affection. Even among the Arabs on Nyasa there was a man whose slaves were so attached to him that they would probably have looked upon manumission as a misfortune. I have myself been embarrassed by finding that a slave whom I wished to free was entirely opposed to the idea. Captain

Willoughby gives an instance of the same thing.[1] For the slave, if in the hands of a fairly good master, has many advantages. If, as is the case with the Zanzibaris almost without exception, he wishes to satisfy the extraordinary craving for travel which possesses these people almost like a mania, he can leave his wife and child in his master's safe-keeping during his absence. In ill health his master looks after him, in a row his master takes his part. On the other hand, in tribal slavery in the interior there may be instances, as I believe is the case among the Sudanese, where the slaves, though of the same tribe as their masters, are treated with harshness and cruelty. Each case, therefore, must be treated on its own merits.

In Uganda.

As regards the status of slavery in Uganda, I wrote in a report to the Directors as follows: "So far, however, as my observation goes, domestic slavery among the Christians in Uganda approximates rather to a system of serfdom, or a feudal system, than to what in Europe is conveyed by the idea of 'slavery.' Such a system is possibly as good a one, in the early development of civilisation, as any other, if, indeed, it is not (as would appear from the history of our Western civilisations) a natural stage in the evolution from savagery to civilisation. It has, therefore, its advantages in the prevention of idleness, and the enforcing of respect for rank, which alone enables the government of a semi-savage country to be carried on."[2]

The 'Times' correspondent argues that there is a very onerous slavery in Uganda, for within his own experience he has seen cruelty to slaves. This is irrelevant, for cruelty can be practised towards serfs or

[1] Sport in East Africa, p. 259

[2] I have more recently noticed that Mr Wilson uses the identical comparison, and in speaking of slaves in Uganda likens their status to that of Russian serfs. He says that they are fairly well off, and not treated badly, being often considered as part of the family (Uganda and Egyptian Sudan, vol. i p. 186).

servants. What constitutes the status of "slavery" I shall presently describe. Captives in war are slaves, properly so called, in Uganda, and the lowest class in the social scale are ranked as slaves. But whether we employ the term "serf" or "slave" is a matter of no importance whatever; for the "slave" in Uganda has a civil status; he has his wife and his home, he lives on his master's estate, which provides him food, his duty being merely to bring a certain amount of produce at stated intervals for the owner's consumption, and in return he has the protection of the powerful chief. Nay, more, from our European standpoint it is hard to fix where this status of slave in such a constitution begins and ends. In a case which I shall quote in the chapters on Uganda (vol. ii. p. 405), where even a paramount chief had to pay his own daughters as ransom to the king—should we not regard a man subject to such a penalty as a mere slave? Yet he would be a chief more powerful probably than the king of any neighbouring country subject to Uganda. Moreover, though it should be possible for a paramount chief to sell, exchange, or give away a slave, such action would not necessarily involve the importation of raw slaves, nor, I think, does it actually do so in practice.

At a discussion in Uganda on Mar. 17th, 1892, regarding the manumission of slaves captured from the Mohammedans, the Protestant chiefs declared themselves willing to abolish the status of slavery entirely, so far as their own faction was concerned. Pending, however, a fuller knowledge of the institution of so-called "domestic slavery" in Uganda, and of the effect that its sudden abolition would have on the industries of the country, I did not think the moment ripe for the measure, or consider it advisable to introduce such an innovation in the province of one faction only, until I knew whether it would be feasible in those of the R. Catholics and Mohammedans.

Such changes are, in my opinion, only to be undertaken when one has an exhaustive knowledge of the bearings of the question, and has seen one's way clearly to provide a remedy for any necessity which may arise, to prevent a dislocation of social and industrial interests.

The general character of the institution in Uganda, then, is that of servitude to superiors of the same race, for captives are usually from Unyoro, Usoga, Koki, and other closely allied tribes, and are incorporated into the population. The Wahuma, who are supposed to be the slaves of the Waganda, actually look down on their masters, and will not eat the flesh and food-stuff which they eat, while it seemed to me that the Waganda regarded them as a superior race. They tended the cattle, and with the death of these they have largely disappeared. Bishop Tucker states in the 'Times'[1] that the Protestants decided, on April 7th, 1893, to manumit their slaves, thus carrying out their original proposal. We hear also that both sects have declined to restore fugitive slaves to the Mohammedans. Apart from the advisability or otherwise of the step, it is a notable commentary on our own quibbles about "technical slavery" and the like, that these so-called savages should have so far become imbued with the teachings of Christianity as to set free all slaves of their own sole initiative.

Among Savage Tribes

Such is domestic slavery among a semi-civilised people like the Waganda. Among the purely savage tribes the institution is not unknown, and appears to have originated through the incorporation into a tribe of captives of war. Originally aliens, these in the majority of cases become part of the tribe, and their status is that of the lowest social grade, or, in the case of women, generally identical with that of the women of the tribe. In East Africa there is, I think, comparatively little internal slavery among the purely

[1] Times, July 14th, 1893.

savage tribes. In Nyasaland, on the other hand, Dr Laws, the highest authority, writes: "Domestic slavery, so far as I know, exists among all the tribes, and varies in severity from a nominal connection to the power of life and death, exercised by the master. Yet, even where it is at its worst, there are checks of a social kind, which go a long way to modify its severity." As an instance, he quotes the fact that fugitive slaves are not restored. He points out that domestic slaves among these tribes are generally not aliens, but of the same tribe, and often relations of the owners.

The Angoni are the most powerful tribe in Nyasaland. The real Angoni do not sell their captives in war; but the tribes incorporated with them and assuming their name *do* sell their prisoners,—such Yao chiefs as Makanjila and Mponda being the medium for the Slavers. Mr H. H Johnston, in a recent letter, emphatically states that these Yao chiefs are the curse of the country under his administration.[1] But it must be remembered that this tribe has become saturated for very many years with the influence of the "Arab" slave-traders resident among them, and that they have become their pupils and tools in the traffic. I am speaking here of the *institution of domestic slavery* among the savage tribes of Africa, and this participation of the Yaos and others in the *slave-trade* is a wholly different thing—to which I have alluded only to emphasise the difference. Other tribes, such as the Wanyoro, Waganda, and Wahuma, have also participated in the *trade* in slaves, but of this I will speak later.

Probably not Indigenous.

Where domestic slavery exists among native tribes, it is not wholly impossible that in the South (Nyasa) it may have been learnt from the Arabs, and in the North (Sudan) from the Turks. In East Africa, as I have said, I do not

[1] Matapwiri, Kawinga, Zarafi, and Makanjila he names as the worst

think slavery exists to any appreciable extent as a *natural* institution among the tribes with which we have so far come into contact. I found, however, that the Sudanese from Equatoria, themselves aliens, and hailing from a country for decades the hunting-ground of the Turkish slave-raiders from Egypt, had domestic slaves, and that the idea of slavery was ingrained in them, as was to be expected. They were harsh and cruel to their slaves, many of whom were not of their own tribe. It was my intention, had I been called upon to continue the administration of Uganda, to make every effort, either to liberate these slaves, or to ameliorate their condition by certain regulations in their favour. And here we touch the solution of the whole problem of domestic slavery.

A word, then, as to the means of dealing with this institution.

1. The first method is abolition, compulsory alike on owner and slave—viz., neither can an owner retain a slave, nor can slaves remain in slavery whether they desire their freedom or not. This plan was adopted by us in 1833, when slavery was abolished in the West Indies. In declaring this emancipation, however, our statesmen recognised that immediate abolition involved great losses to owners, and admitted their claims to compensation. "The grounds upon which compensation was granted to slave-owners," says Lord Grey, "were very simple. This nation, by its Government and Parliament, was at least as responsible as the planters and Colonial Legislatures for the existence of slavery in the Colonies, and it was therefore contended, plausibly enough, that the sacrifice involved in the emancipation of the slaves ought to fall in part, at all events, on the nation."[1] Mr Sturge points out, however, that the enormous sum

Methods of Repression—1 Abolition

Compensation.

[1] Compensation to the Owners of Slaves. E. Sturge, June 1893, p. 13

paid (£20,000,000) has only worked ruin to all concerned,[1] and Lord Grey's plan of a temporary assistance, to the extent of a loan of ten millions to the planters, would have had, as he foresaw at the time, a vastly more beneficial result.

With regard to the question of compensation to present slave-owners, Lord Grey, in the same letter, puts in a nut-shell what many of those interested have long felt. He points out that the case made out, as above, for compensation to the West Indian planters, "affords no precedent for a grant to the slave-traders, who have for long been carrying on a trade which civilised nations have for years concurred in denouncing as a crime, and to reward them for having done so would be monstrous." Gordon's idea[2] of thus bribing the slave-traders to discontinue their raids stands condemned on the grounds of morality, expediency, and common-sense. Thus, to summarise; compensation, or at least temporary assistance, may justly be claimed where the planters are hereditary and legal owners, with large vested interests, and where the nation which gives the compensation was itself involved in bringing about the situation. It is not due (and it is most inexpedient to create a precedent by granting it) in the case of those who *trade* in slaves and those who, in the face of the unanimous protest of Europe, and in most cases in violation of treaties, have illegally acquired slaves in recent years.

Not applicable to East Africa.

Let us see how this dictum affects the East Coast slave-owner. In 1873 Seyyid Barghash, by treaty with Great Britain, made illegal "the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa," whether to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba or elsewhere. In 1876 an edict went further and forbade "the arrival at the coast of slave caravans from the interior." It has been proved fairly conclusively

[1] Compensation, &c. E Sturge, p. 11. [2] Ibid, p. 16.

that the length of life of slaves in captivity rarely exceeds eleven years, also that slaves do not have children born to them to any appreciable extent. Consequently eleven years after this edict—viz., in 1884—the previously existing domestic slaves may be assumed to have practically died out in Zanzibar—and three years later on the coast—for the edict of 1876 was in effect an application of the 1873 treaty to the coast. It is now twenty years since the first edict was made, and therefore the slaves now held legally in Zanzibar—viz., those alive and in captivity in 1873, and their children—must be so reduced as to be practically non-existent. *The whole of the domestic slaves in the Zanzibar Sultanate, therefore, are illegally held.* The owners have no claim whatever to any compensation, and no just ground for complaint should abolition be enforced to-morrow.

Slaves held illegally

But apart from theoretical justice, there is the question of expediency. Sudden emancipation, enforced alike on owner and slave, causes a complete dislocation of existing social conditions. Unless adequate provision were made for the slaves, it would be regarded by the majority as a misfortune; and though we ourselves may be able to clearly see the justice of such a measure as regards the owners, it is beyond doubt that they, being ignorant for the most part of the reasons on which our action was based, would consider compulsory abolition to be an arbitrary and despotic measure, and this would lead to discontent and distrust. For in the abstract, the holding of slaves is legal to the Arab, and is sanctioned by his religion and by the custom of his forefathers for ages.[1] His social standing is estimated by the number of his slaves. He

The Question of Expediency

[1] The Koran, while recognising the domestic institution of slavery—as also St Paul does—and the right to enslave infidel captives of war, does not support the raiding of slaves *per se*. On the contrary, it condemns it specifically.

received them as actual property from his father, representing a certain market value. His inalienable right to them is implanted in his mind, and has grown up with him from childhood, just as, in your opinion, the property left you in his will by your father is yours fairly and legally, and arbitrary deprivation would be regarded by you as manifest spoliation. He is wholly dependent on slaves to cultivate his estates, and for household service, for there is little free labour available, and ruin and starvation would result from their loss.

If, however, he has himself acquired any, he must of course have been aware that both their import and their purchase was illegal. Many Arabs are kind masters, and are often thorough gentlemen of enlightened views. Some have even said of late that they would prefer free labour if it were procurable, as being cheaper, more effective, and involving less responsibility.

It being admitted, then, that abolition, though involving no actual injustice, would nevertheless give rise to much misunderstanding and ill-will, and that it would cause a dislocation of social conditions, it becomes evident that such a step ought to be preceded by an intimation, in order that owners may have time to make provision for the impending change, and accustom themselves to its contemplation; or that some less revolutionary measure (whose effect should nevertheless be identical) should be substituted for sudden and compulsory manumission. The former course was adopted by Portugal in 1858, who being unable to pay a heavy compensation, decreed the abolition of slavery in her possessions on a prospective date (April 29th, 1878)—viz., after a period of twenty years.[1]

1 Prior Intimation

Before leaving the question of abolition, however, it is

[1] The Mozambique and Nyasa Slave-trade. Lieut H E O'Neill, R N., H M.'s Consul, Mozambique July 1885

most important to note that the impression, which is so commonly held by Englishmen, that the ruin of the sugar industries in the West Indies was due to the abolition of slavery, is entirely erroneous. A most able and important letter from Lord Brassey to the 'Times' (July 1892) has been made the text of a small pamphlet by Mr Sturge, which has appeared since these chapters were begun.[1] The whole question of the effect of abolition on West Indian industries is there admirably and tersely examined, and supported by letters from Lord Grey—himself not only one of the statesmen who were primarily connected with the measure in 1833, but by far the best informed on the subject—and events have proved how much more truly he gauged the situation than any of his contemporaries, and how wonderfully accurate was his forecast of events. "The misfortunes of the planters were not caused by the manumission of the slaves," says Lord Brassey, and adds: "At the present day labour is not more costly than when slaves were employed." Mr Sturge's figures go to prove that the ruin of the planters had begun in 1824, long prior to the abolition, and was due to the decline of the sugar exports and the evils of absentee ownership. It was probably hastened, instead of ameliorated, by the grant of twenty millions sterling and the apprenticeship scheme. Abolition, therefore, has been most conclusively proved to exercise only a temporary and not a permanently bad effect on the labour-market.

Ruin of West Indies not due to Compensation.

2. The second method of dealing with the question of domestic slavery is by granting *permissive freedom*. This can be effected by the abolition of the *legal* status of slavery—that is to say, that in any action at law the court refuses to recognise the status of a "slave," and allows to him the civil and legal

2 Permissive Freedom.

[1] Compensation. By E. Sturge. June 1893.

rights possessed by any other class of the community. To appreciate this we must recall for the moment what the status of slavery means. A slave is under special restrictions and is subject to special disabilities. He has no civic rights, and cannot sue in a law-court. He is held to be the legal property of his master, equally with his horse or his camel. He can be severely punished for running away. If stolen, the thief must render him up, and is liable for theft: so also the master of a slave is liable to others for the wrongful act of his slave; just as you would prosecute me and not my horse, if the latter trespassed on your estates.[1]

Meaning of 'Slavery.'

The abolition of the legal status, then, means that a slave at once acquires civil rights. He can sue his master for ill-treatment. He can leave his master, and the latter has no power to seize him. A case comes before the judge, and the owner pleads his right to capture his runaway slave. The judge replies, "We know of no such thing as slavery in the eye of the law." If the slave has been ill-treated, the owner is convicted of assault and battery. Should a master seize a runaway, the slave obtains his liberty and redress from his late owner on the same grounds. The holding of slaves *as such* thus ceases, and the law treats the institution as non-existent. Slaves, on the other hand, who are happy and contented, and have no ground of complaint, and no wish to leave their masters, remain of their own accord *in statu quo ante*.

Abolition of Legal Status.

Effect.

[1] The status of the slave is well described by Dr Pruen (Arab and Af, p. 235): "A slave is of course the absolute property of his master, and though that does not necessitate his being ill treated, it gives him no guarantee of good treatment, and it takes away all rights from him, and all responsibility. He may perhaps marry, but at any moment he may have his children taken from him, or sold elsewhere, or his wife sent away He may be beaten, tortured, or even killed, provided it is done quietly enough if on the coast, or under an excuse of witchcraft if in the interior. A slave is not necessarily a man ill treated, but he is a man without rights. He has no law to protect him, no creature to whom he can appeal."

Such an enactment would affect the kind master but little; it would be most potent against the cruel one.

In thus advocating *permissive* freedom, we must bear in mind that slavery has been an African institution for 1000 years, and if a slave is kindly treated he often has no wish to change his state, and has become so imbued with his master's rights over him, that he considers he would wrong him if he should run away. I have seen this even among the most intelligent men—in one instance a slave preferred to hand over half his pay to his master rather than purchase his freedom with one-third the sum he gave! For a discussion of the causes and remedies of this, see page 484.

So long as Zanzibar was a Mohammedan state, under an independent Sultan of that creed, and under Mohammedan law, slavery naturally existed as a legal institution; nor could England do more than bring diplomatic influence and pressure to bear upon the Sultan—instituting meanwhile repressive measures at sea, with a view to checking the import and export of slaves. Yet even before the protectorate was proclaimed—so long ago as 1884—Earl Granville instructed the Consul-General, Sir J. Kirk, to lose no opportunity of bringing the question of the abolition of the legal status before the Sultan. The Consul had already pointed out to the Foreign Minister the advantages of such action, in inducing free men to come over to Zanzibar and Pemba without fear of being seized as slaves, and thus creating a free labour-market. It was again supported by Lord Salisbury in 1889, who gave similar instructions to the Consul. The day, therefore, that the Sultanate became a British protectorate, and our action was no longer confined to diplomatic pressure and repressive measures on the high seas only, the legal status ought to have been abolished, and such a moment would have been a fitting

Feasibility

one, and less likely to cause irritation among the owners, than if it were first recognised and then suddenly abolished by the protecting Power.

It is a gross scandal that British officials should undertake the whole administration of the Sultanate, and yet recognise the legal status of slavery. Sir John Kirk, who from his twenty years' residence there is best qualified to judge on all matters connected with East Africa, and who is the greatest authority, living or dead, we have ever had on all subjects connected with African slavery, has given it as his opinion, that Zanzibar and East Africa are now ripe for the introduction of this great reform: and this opinion is supported by residents in the island, with knowledge of local feeling. Nor would any injustice be done to the owners, since, as I have shown, all slaves are to-day *illegally* held in the Sultanate.[1] Simultaneously with the abolition of the legal status, a prospective date for total emancipation could be named, if thought advisible.

Efficacy proved.

We are never tired of accusing Portugal of participation in the slave-trade, yet the legal status was abolished throughout all Portuguese possessions in April 1878.[2] This is the plan which we adopted for putting an end to slavery in India, and so effective was its working, that no act of emancipation was ever needed, though its action was reinforced by various sections of the penal code.[3] It was similarly applied to our colonies of Lagos and the Gold Coast on the west of Africa with entire success. It is the application of this short Indian Act[4] to East Africa which all those who are

[1] It has been held by some that the abortive proclamation of Aug 1, 1890, furnished grounds to the owners for claiming that the legality of their ownership had been at least indirectly admitted. This is not so, as appears clearly from the second clause, "All slaves *lawfully possessed* on this date," &c. *Vide* App I. (β).

[2] O'Neill, p. 8. Eastoe Teall, Slavery and Slave-trade, 1889, p 33.

[3] Slavery and Slave-trade, p. 56 For text of Act *vide* App. I. (α)

[4] See Appendix I.

deeply interested in the question so greatly desire, being confident that slavery would then (as in India) die a natural death. Nor does there seem to be any intelligible reason for refusing to the slaves in our Zanzibar protectorate the advantages of the clause, under which an act that would be a penal offence against a free man is equally so against a slave. In speaking of slavery in India, I may remark (as it is not generally known) that there was at one time an import to India of African negroes.[1] The advantages of this method are, that its operation is gradual and permissive, and causes neither the social dislocation nor the friction of emancipation. It has the merit of having been proved efficacious by actual trial.

A similar scheme, differing in method rather than in operation, would be the extension to the natives of a British protectorate of the advantages and rights of British subjects. I shall discuss this subject more fully in the chapter on Administration (xlii. pp. 628 *et seqq.*). Were these rights allowed to the African, we should insist on the same restitution and indemnity for the seizure and export of a slave (being a British subject) as we should do in the case of similar seizure of a British Indian or European. In the case of an African, for instance, who was a native of the protectorate of Nyasaland being found in Zanzibar, he would not be rightly considered, as now, to be without domicile, but would be held to be a British subject beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of his own domicile, and therefore he would be held to come under the

Rights as British Subjects.

[1] There were colonies of these African slaves in India, long after they had ceased to exist in their former status, and Burton came on traces of their language. With that extraordinary linguistic facility for which he was so remarkable, he mastered the language of these "Ceedees" and reduced it to a kind of grammar as a literary curiosity, being ignorant at the time of the origin of these people. His astonishment was great when, on coming to Africa, he found the language to be Swahili!

operation of the law, *not* of the State in which he chanced to be (Zanzibar), but of English law.

Legal Status in Interior.

There is a further point in connection with this question of the legal status of slavery. Though it is true that in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar and Pemba we admit the legality of slavery, since these are under Mohammedan law, there is no reason, in my opinion, why we should extend this admission into the interior, beyond the limits now laid down by international agreement as the boundaries of the Sultan's dominions. If we declare a protectorate over a country in which there is a civilised—even though oriental—code of law, by which law the status of a slave is well defined, and he is deprived of all civic rights, there may (or may not) be a valid reason for acquiescing in such a pre-existing law. However repugnant it may be to our sense of right, that British officials should enforce the despotism of the owner over his slave or chattel, or that an appeal to a British official against the seizure of his goods, or against brutality and cruelty, should be void if made by a slave, because he has *no rights*, and ranks precisely as his master's dog or horse—save that they are dumb animals and he is human—however repugnant to us this state of things may be, the fact remains that it is the case, and has been the case in the Zanzibar Sultanate any time during the last twenty-six years. For we were compelled *until the date of the proclamation of our protectorate* to recognise and conform to the laws and usages of a country over which we had till then acquired no right of control, and whose independence we were bound by treaties to respect. But I fail to see the morality or necessity of introducing this *legal* recognition of slavery into countries where no pre-existing treaties, or recognised law compel it. In such countries as are inhabited by purely savage tribes, and in which we have assumed

Only permissible in Mohammedan lands.

a direct and exclusive control, the acknowledgment of a legal status of slavery is surely altogether unnecessary and gratuitous. Indeed it was ruled by the Consul-General (Sir J. Kirk) many years ago, that no slave could be the legal property of a Pagan, since such people could not claim rights under the Mohammedan law, which extended to Moslems only.

In Uganda, for instance, where an embryonic civilisation and law exist, cases arising out of the relation of the serfs to their masters are, or were in my time at least, dealt with under the native law, administered by the chiefs and the king. In such few cases as might come before me, I saw no necessity why I should recognise a legal status. The revolution effected in Uganda by the war made any jurisdiction as I might choose to exercise in such a matter feasible and natural. Effect in Uganda

Such action would not involve premature friction, even with so powerful a tribe as the Angoni, who practise domestic slavery, for the cases which would come under the cognisance of the law as appeals would be few in the early development of administration. In the case of Arabs and Swahilis resident in Nyasaland, and of tribes affiliated to them—who are for the most part slave-dealers—the same thing would apply, viz., on the one hand being resident beyond the limits of the Sultanate they could not claim rights under Mohammedan law, nor on the other hand would cases of appeal be frequent at first. When the administration had become more powerful, and more able to act with a strong hand, Law would become more effective, and protection more frequently invoked. In a word, the non-recognition of the legal status, unlike manumission, does not involve the overthrow of existing social institutions in the interior any more than on the coast. Its operation is only invoked on appeal. The initiative lies with the slave and not with the law. Effect in Nyasaland.

Hence its operation is *progressive* with the development of law and civilisation, and not aggressive and drastic. A case in point occurred in Uganda. After the war several slaves claimed protection. They were for the most part women, who had been captured from the Arabs in the fighting with the Mohammedans. Their status as aliens was altogether apart from the Waganda "slaves." I enacted, therefore, in full *baraza* of the chiefs at the capital, a law, by which not only was the legal status of Swahili captives abolished, but they were manumitted without ransom. Any such slave appealing to me could obtain a paper of freedom and protection at Kampala. This was entered as a law in the statute-book in English and Kiganda. Some fifty, I think, had been set free under this law up to the time of my departure, and many of these accompanied me to the coast.

Instance.

I have permitted myself to enlarge on this subject without apology, for my aim is to attempt, however inadequately, the explanation of some African problems, prominent among which is slavery, rather than to dilate upon my own doings, which are of minor importance. And this question of the non-recognition *in the interior* of the legal status of slavery —a status hitherto acknowledged on the coast—is a matter of supreme importance at a moment when African administration both in East Africa and in Nyasaland is in its infancy; and as we now shape our methods, so shall future administrators be compelled to act.

Importance of Early Legislature.

3. The third method of dealing with domestic slavery is that hitherto adopted by us—viz., the issue of a series of high-sounding edicts calculated to ameliorate the position of the slave *if enforced*, and not merely produced for home consumption. Such edicts were all very well so long as Zanzibar was an independent Sultanate; but they are entirely out of

Three Edicts.

date since Zanzibar became a British protectorate. The last of these edicts was issued on Aug. 1st, 1890, and it embodies this kind of legislation in a most comprehensive form.[1]

That of Aug 1890

This edict, had it ever been really put into execution, would not only have *immediately* improved the position of the slave, but in course of time would have practically put an end to domestic slavery, and that without prejudice to the vested rights and claims of owners. It was, however, largely superseded by a secret proclamation dated twenty days later, which annulled some of its most important clauses; nor am I aware that even the remainder of the Act has ever been put into force effectively, so that any single slave has gained his freedom in respect of it. I have called the subsequent edict "secret," because over two years later (Sept. 1892) even the Administrator of the Imperial British East Africa Company had not been made officially aware of its existence, and indeed had only heard of it by rumour. Yet the Administrator—Mr Berkeley—was Vice-Consul in Zanzibar at the very time of this second proclamation. It is said that the feeling in Zanzibar ran so high, that a repeal of this edict was necessary to prevent a rising. If so, it only seems to me that a want of foresight was shown in promulgating it; but once promulgated in a British protectorate, on a small island off which lay our men-of-war, it should never have been repealed, or, if repealed, the annulling edict should have been as public as was the first.

That of 1873.

The treaty of 1873, to which I have already frequently alluded, has not been effective in its results, since "There is little room to doubt that some 3000 slaves a year have been smuggled into Zanzibar."[2] It has been ineffective, therefore, in the sense that there are as many slaves in the island as ever, but it has

[1] *Vide* Appendix I. (β).

[2] Times, Feb. 14th, 1893.

formed the only check in operation against the slave-trade, and has seriously hampered it. The enforcement of this edict lay with our cruisers, and the action of the Slave Court in Zanzibar when any cases of slave exportation were brought before it. This was done most thoroughly and loyally by our naval officers and men on the one hand, and Sir J. Kirk on the other. The edict, however, of Aug. 1890, just referred to, and quoted *in extenso* in the Appendix, affected the status of slavery *in Zanzibar*—the sale and exchange of slaves, the right of self emancipation and of appeal, &c. Its enforcement lay, not with our cruisers, but with our consular authorities, and it has been a dead letter—only recently the Sultan's own steamer, the Kilwa, was captured conveying slaves!

That of Sept. 1891.

A still more recent edict, that no labour whatsoever should be enlisted for service beyond the Sultan's dominions is equally a dead letter (see chap. xviii). It cannot be too often pointed out that it is premature and ridiculous to go into ecstasies over proclamations, and to idolise their originators. The real crux lies in their application and enforcement, and the real credit is to those who achieve this enforcement. While we have been busy smothering the real state of the case in edicts and philanthropy, the Germans have taken practical steps to make it easy for slaves to obtain their freedom. A writer from German East Africa (Magila) says that applicants can usually obtain their freedom, and even the *liwali* (Arab magistrate) can free any who have just cause of complaint.

Point of View of the Slave.

I have shown how the institution is regarded from the point of view of the Arab;—we must not overlook the point of view of the African native. I have stated that the slave, unless treated with exceptional cruelty, often appears to prefer his bondage to freedom. And so it happens that the

enthusiastic philanthropist, full of those sentimental and highly-coloured pictures of the abject misery of the slave, finds himself thwarted where he least expected it, and, perhaps, with immature experience, and less than a half knowledge of the facts, goes back to state in Europe that the whole thing is a fraud, born of sentiment and imagination! I have said enough already to prove that the horrors of slave acquisition are no mere fancy, and the mass of evidence at our disposal from travellers, missionaries, and traders of all nationalities is conclusive on this point.

Disposal of Liberated Slaves.

As regards the slave when once he has been acquired, the case is different, and admits of serious thought—(1) with regard to the means and extent of liberation of slaves already domesticated; (2) the disposal of raw slaves before domestication, liberated by force either on the seas or from convoys on land. On the first subject I have already expressed my view, and at the risk of repetition I will once more reiterate, that liberty should be optional to the slave—a result practically established by (*a*) the abolition of the legal status of slavery, (*b*) or by the extension to him of the rights of British subjects. In default of either of these enactments, the slave should at least have the power to purchase his own freedom at a reasonable rate, to be assessed by law. On the second point my own opinion is, that the disposal of the classes of slaves which I have named, together with others who have obtained their freedom under the conditions of (1), can best be effected by placing them either in colonies, under the supervision of a European, or in *Industrial* Missions.

Colonies.

Such colonies I endeavoured to establish in Uganda, and the completion of this scheme was only interfered with by the necessity for my return to England. I had also proposed the plan to

the Administrator for the disposal of fugitive slaves who regained their freedom under the scheme of self-redemption. It was warmly approved and adopted by Mr George Mackenzie. The "stockades" I built in the uninhabited country along the Sabakhi River were primarily intended for the protection of these colonies, and were located in fertile situations, solely with a view to the necessities of agriculture, &c. When Mr Mackenzie left Africa, and I left for the interior, this plan, to my great regret, fell through. It has been superseded in some degree by placing liberated slaves on the Company's plantations at Magarini, where, according to Mr Fitzgerald, they are doing extremely well.

Industrial Missions.

I think that no better plan for the good of the natives exists than industrial missions. I should greatly like to see one established on the coast, and a second in Uganda. They might become not merely centres for educating the natives of the district in useful crafts, but small colonies of liberated slaves as well. A mission of this class has been founded at the Kibwezi, some 200 miles from the coast, mainly under the auspices of Sir W. Mackinnon, but it is not in any way an asylum for freed slaves.

Compulsory Religion

The domesticated slave does not, as a rule, take kindly to the methods of the European, and hence his frequent preference for his Arab master. There is too great a distance between master and man when he is associated with Europeans. The Arab master, though sometimes harsh, is at the same time more familiar, and mixes with his slaves, and eats with them. Moreover, it should not, I think, be an inevitable concomitant of liberation that the slave should be compelled to undergo a course of religious teaching, as is the case if slaves, when liberated, are handed over to the charge of missions (other than Industrial). Religious instruction is a very good thing, and so is freedom; but if

liberation from slavery involves compulsory religious training, it cannot be rightly called "freedom." For the rest, if we are in earnest in our efforts to benefit the slaves, we must be content to accept, as a part of the task, the natural apathy of the people, and their indifference to a yoke, which to us would be terribly galling. We must realise that the ties between husband and wife are often of the loosest kind; that a greater affection is said to exist between man and man than between the sexes (as is often seen among the lower animals); that mothers, and more especially fathers, do not feel so intense a love for their children as Europeans generally do, and hence ruthless separation from relatives or family, though it may involve some grief, cannot be said to be so terrible an ordeal as we should imagine by analogy with our own feelings; that when once these ties are ruptured, and the slave transported miles from his own home, he has no resource in himself, no object in the recovery of his freedom, and thus his master's house is his sole refuge. His apathetic and submissive nature adapts itself to his surroundings, and he often ceases to desire to be free.

Nature of the Slave.

We must recollect, moreover, that some of those acquired by purchase in the interior are probably the scum of the villages—criminals or loafers, sold to the Slavers by their tribesmen for the good of the community. The existence of these black sheep, however, does not constitute the whole Swahili population a colony of blackguards, as Professor Drummond makes out. We must recall the fact that often the Slavers have instilled into their minds a dislike and fear of the European—even spreading throughout Central Africa the report that we are cannibals. When we have realised all this, and made up our minds to accept the African as he is, and not as we imagined he ought to be, and have, in spite of disillusions, resolved

The real task to be achieved

to set him free from the curse of slavery, and to elevate him to a higher plane, we shall then no longer limit our efforts to effecting the liberation of slaves by sea, nor yet by land, but we shall set ourselves to solve the problem on which I have offered a few suggestions—of how best to dispose of the slave when we have freed him, and of how to gain an influence with the African (whether slave or free) which shall supersede that of the Slaver, and give the lie to his calumnies

Enlightened Views among Arabs, &c.

Already there are signs that a more enlightened feeling is springing up among the coast men, as is evinced by the declaration of some of the Arabs, that they would prefer free labour to employing slaves, were it procurable; and in the energetic repudiation by the Indian community of Zanzibar of the charge that they supply money loans to aid in the prosecution of the slave-trade.[1] A few years ago they would not have regarded this as a calumny. And thus it is that Sir John Kirk, as I have already said, holds that the time is ripe for the abolition of the legal status of slavery.

Among Slaves

Enlightenment among the slaves is effected by every day of our residence in East Africa—as they learn that freedom is valid, and appreciate the advantages of equal laws and of a justice of which, till now, they have had no experience or conception. It is effected by seeing how utterly we ignore the difference between slaves and free men when in our employment on caravan duty; how we promote a man to higher rank for merit, and do not know or care if he be a slave. It is effected by our open opposition to all slave-raiding, our attacks on slave caravans, and our refusal to make captives. Thus, in my expedition to Uganda, my men were aware that any news of slave-dealing would be welcomed by me for investigation. They were ready at all times to fight

[1] Blue-book Africa, No. 4, 1892.

against Slavers as against a natural foe. And Dr Laws, writing of Nyasaland, in a recent letter says :—

"It is hardly possible that the knowledge that they had a right to be free should not be widely diffused in a district where there is scarcely a village from which one or more men did not go to Karonga's to take part in the fighting against the slave-traders."

There are various special phases of the slavery question which I will deal with elsewhere. Thus, the employment by Europeans of slave-labour ("technical slavery") is spoken of in the chapter on labour (xviii.), and the fugitive slave question is examined in my description of my dealings with the runaways of Fuladoyo (chapters ix. and xii.).

I have said that domestic slavery was especially to be deplored because it directly encouraged the supply of new slaves. With a few words on the methods by which slaves are procured to meet this demand I will close this chapter. The acquisition of raw slaves is effected by (1) Slave-trading; (2) Slave-raiding. The nature of the latter is already well known from the writings of many travellers, and I have described both the methods employed (chapter iii.), and the nature and origin of the men who are engaged in it on pages 90 to 95.

Acquisition of Slaves—1. Slave-raiding.

Slave-trading is carried on by voluntary purchase from the natives and by kidnapping, and is resorted to by the Slavers in the case of all tribes too powerful to be raided. Most tribes of Africa are willing to sell individuals of their tribe, who may probably be either outlaws and criminals, friendless persons, or sick men left in their charge by passing caravans.[1] More commonly, however, those sold as slaves to the trader are captives in war from another tribe. Where the slave-traders are in force, this form of acquisition becomes, in fact, slave-raiding by proxy, for powerful

Slave-trading.

[1] Pruen, The Arab and African, p. 209

tribes (such as the bastard Angoni, the Awemba, &c.) become slave-raiders in order to supply the demand of the traders and obtain their goods, since slaves and ivory are found to have a purchasing value.[1] The tribes immediately surrounding such headquarters of the slave-traders, like the Yaos of South-East Nyasa, become affiliated to them, and are at once raiders for slaves, and the medium of the barter with powerful tribes around. Thus slave-trading is carried on simultaneously with raiding, but it is, of course, the method more naturally adopted where the Slavers are not in sufficient force to raid, or the tribes are too powerful.

Raiding by proxy

Throughout East Africa (as distinct from Nyasaland) this is almost the sole mode of acquisition, though Mr Jackson reports that small raids have been made in isolated districts, such as Kitosh. But it is important to notice that whereas in Nyasaland and other parts of Africa, large numbers of Arab and Swahili slave-traders have permanently settled down in the country, and prosecuted this traffic, and taught the native tribes to participate in it, British East Africa is entirely free of any such *resident* slave-traders. In former years Arabs were settled in Uganda and Unyoro, and carried on a large slave-trade there;[2] but there are none now in these Lake districts, and there never were any in the intermediate country between the Lake Victoria and the coast. Slave-trading is, therefore, carried on entirely by *caravans* proceeding into the interior nominally to trade for ivory—an evil far easier to deal with. The

[1] As an instance, *vide* Sharpe's description of the Awemba (Geog. Jour., vol. i. p. 525), who raid the whole of the country north-west of Nyasa for slaves, and are hence hostile to Europeans. This country, says Sharpe, has become by this means a great centre of supply of slaves for the Slavers, to whom the Awemba sell them.

[2] Mackay estimates the number exported in his time at 2000 from Uganda, and an equal number from Unyoro. Life of Mackay, p. 433.

Sudan is entirely cut off from communication with the East Coast, and the outlet of its slave-trade is to the north, and is entirely distinct from the East Coast traffic. The East Coast Arabs have not penetrated to the Sudan, nor north of N. Lat. 4°.

Kidnapping of women and children is also freely resorted to. I found the Wakamba on the *qui vive* lest I should thus carry off their people, before they perceived that ours was not a Swahili caravan. Captain Pringle, R.E., speaks to the same thing in Sotik.[1] His report adds, that at several places slaves joined the railway survey who had run away from Swahili caravans, and that in the opinion of one of the oldest *employés* of the Company this form of slave-trade is increasing in East Africa. It were easy to adduce further evidence.[2] Slaves are thus accumulated up country by a Swahili caravan, and smuggled to the coast by various devices.[3] Purchase and kidnapping are resorted to even on the coast. The very last report from Zanzibar[4] says, "In Zanzibar . . . it is no difficult matter to purchase or kidnap children," and a description of the methods employed follows.

Kidnapping.

[1] Survey Report, p. 97.

[2] "Natives are enticed into a caravan to sell food, and are then seized; or else, in time of scarcity, the people of a half-starved village are encouraged to join themselves to a caravan on the assurance that there is plenty of food a few miles ahead. . . . Lastly, in time of famine parents sell their children for food to passing caravans."—Pruen, Arab and Af., 213. *Vide* also p. 215.

[3] Survey Report, p. 97; Pruen, p 218. The *résumé* of the methods employed for this purpose, given on page 97 of the Survey Report, and taken from the accounts of Messrs Jackson and Martin, is concise and graphic. Some statements, however, such as that slave-raiding was prevalent in East Africa prior to the advent of the Company, and regarding the treatment and disposal of slaves, &c. &c., are open to dissent, and any dogmatism on this subject without the closest possible study is to be deprecated in an official report to Government.

[4] Blue-book Africa, No. 6, August 1893. Recent news from Zanzibar (dated 5th April 1893) informs us of a dhow captured by H.M.S. Philomel with kidnapped slaves on board, and she was apparently cruising round the islands to fill up with others so obtained.

CHAPTER VIII.

METHODS OF SUPPRESSING THE SLAVE-TRADE—ARMS AND LIQUOR-TRADE.

Past methods—The slave-trade squadron—Direct cost—Money, how expended—Indirect cost—Results—Percentage slaves rescued—Disposal of slaves—Good results of naval action—Consulates *vice* H.M.S London—Necessity of check at source—Summary—My scheme for control of lakes—Objections to gunboats—Armed trading steamer—The land force—Land convoys stopped—Scheme a gradual one—Cost—Cardinal Lavigerie's scheme—Use of force *per se*—Effect of the defence of Karonga's—Urgency of the matter—The Brussels Act—Its stipulations—Import of arms and liquor—East Africa—West Africa—Extent of the trade—Nature of the liquor—Professions *v* practice.

We have glanced at the nature and extent of slavery in the preceding chapter, and I have indicated the methods of doing away with domestic slavery. It remains to say a few words relative to the modes of preventing the acquisition and the export of slaves. In the past our efforts have been solely confined to the latter, and we have allowed both slave-trading and slave-raiding to go on completely unchecked in the interior, limiting our action solely to the coast and the export of slaves by sea.

Past Methods—Slave-trade Squadron.

For over half a century Great Britain has maintained a squadron in East African waters for the suppression of the slave-trade. The small number of ships employed prevented this being even as effective a blockade as was established on the West Coast. Thus O'Neill points out[1] that the

[1] The Mozambique and Nyasa Slave-Trade. H. E. O'Neill, R.N., 1885, p. 8.

number in Mozambique waters was usually two, and the length of coast to be watched was equal to that from Land's End to the Shetland Isles. It must be borne in mind also that a warship, to be of any use in this task, had need to be especially equipped with a "mosquito fleet" of steam-pinnaces and small craft, capable of entering the shoal water in the creeks, where boats of greater draught could not penetrate. "The cost of this squadron in pounds sterling cannot, during the past fifty years," says O'Neill (writing in 1885), "have been much less than five millions, whilst the loss of life from fevers and other diseases consequent upon the peculiar nature of the service, and the hardships of boat-work upon a dangerous coast, have formed a sacrifice the value of which is unappraisable."[1] This is the verdict of a man himself engaged for many years in the task, and subsequently for five or six years Consul at Mozambique—the very heart and headquarters of the slave-trade, to which he devoted his especial attention O'Neill is, moreover, the last man in the world to overstate a case, or to make an assertion without the closest possible investigation and the fullest statistics. His estimate of the cost of the squadron, on an average of fifty years, is £100,000 per annum. It has been more frequently estimated at £150,000.[2] Another estimate, emanating from an official source, gave the cost as £80,000 per annum for the period between 1880 and 1890;[3] but this probably took no count of anything beyond the bare upkeep of

Direct Cost.

[1] The Mozambique and Nyasa Slave-Trade. H. E O'Neill, R.N., July 1885, p. 9.

[2] Statement of Directors, Imperial British East Africa Company, May 30th, 1893.

[3] Ivory, Apes, and Peacocks. Rev H. Waller, p. 44. The writer adds: "In the ten years preceding midsummer 1890, we lost 282 officers and men, not including a great number of seamen who were invalided home, and of whom many were so wrecked by fever, sunstroke, and dysentery that they retired from the service to live on a small pittance at home."

the squadron, while the very latest writer on the subject[1] names the sum expended during the last twenty years as "something like four million sterling of public money," which gives a yearly average of £200,000

Money—how expended

This enormous sum was expended as follows :—

1. The cost of the squadron in East African waters.
2. Prize-money awarded to officers and men.
3. Bonus per head given of late years to the missions and others for the disposal of liberated slaves (£5 per slave).[2]
4. The maintenance of the Nyasa Consulate.
5. Three Vice-Consuls on the coast.
6. Mail service along the coast.

Indirect Cost.

Indirectly there were further taxes on our resources :—

1. The health of our naval officers and men suffered severely in the prosecution of their duties, involving an enormous amount of invaliding to England. Many lives were sacrificed from the same cause, involving (*a*) a drain on our reserves of men ; (*b*) pensions to widows, &c.
2. The consular and judicial staff in Zanzibar was largely employed in trying cases arising out of captures of dhows, assessing prize-money, and disposal of liberated slaves.
3. The home offices had the extra work of revising these cases, and of dealing with reports, &c., arising out of slave-trade operations.

[1] Times, Aug 29th, 1893.

[2] The Church Missionary Society in East Africa received no slaves prior to 1875, up to which date they were all sent to Bombay From 1875 to 1884 their returns are approximate only, and give the number at 921. From 1885 to 1890 their returns are more accurate. In 1888 they received 152. In the other years the numbers received were very small. The largest numbers ever received were in 1875 (305) and in 1884 (209). In 1890 the bulk were sent to Mauritius. No slaves have been registered as received by this Society since 1890. They state that the majority of slaves have been handed over to R Catholic and other bodies.

For this direct and indirect expenditure both of money and life, a very small percentage of slaves were liberated per annum—so small, indeed, as to be almost inappreciable in comparison with the numbers exported from the interior. A new difficulty and responsibility as regards the disposal of the liberated slaves was also incurred—a difficulty which was never satisfactorily solved. The first plan was to hand them over to the missions (Protestant and R. Catholic), without paying the societies. But this plan laid Government under an obligation to the missions, and within the last few years a grant has been made for each slave taken over. The system was, I believe, unpopular with the missions, and I think I may add in a general way, unsatisfactory as regards the slaves themselves.

Results.

In considering the efficacy of the operations by sea, it is necessary to bear in mind that the numbers that perish on the march from the far interior—known to be an exceedingly heavy percentage—are left out of sight, as are also the numbers of other natives killed in the process of capturing the slaves Dr Livingstone calculated (and he was a most careful man in his statements) that for 50,000 slaves brought to the coast, some 500,000 other natives come by their deaths, owing to the slaughter at the raid, the subsequent inevitable famine, and the diseases that break out where famine is, together with the deaths on the march to the coast; nor would this seem to be by any means an excessive estimate. When one hears of 40,000 slaves passing a single mission station per annum,[1] by *one* only of a network of parallel routes,

Percentage Rescued.

[1] This was the number stated to me by a member of the Universities Mission as the approximate total that passed his station—Masasi—situated on one of the numerous roads from the south of Nyasa to the coast. Dr Pruen (The Arab and African, p 224) estimates that some 30,000 passed his station—Mpwapwa—in German East Africa, and he puts down the output of

and one considers that this is going on over a vast area of Africa, and has been continued for over three centuries (for the Arab but followed in the steps of the European), one wonders that the country has not long since been depopulated, and one realises the wonderful procreative power of the native, and the enormity of the evil. I have not myself ascertained the actual number of slaves liberated by our cruisers out of these millions affected by the slave-trade, but I see it is stated (I presume on accurate authority) by the compiler of the Railway Survey Report to Government to be 120 per annum on an average.[1]

Disposal of Slaves.

After arrival at the coast, the large majority are required by local landowners on the mainland to replace the deaths in their agricultural and household slaves. The residue are exported either to Zanzibar and Pemba, or (from the more southern ports) direct to Madagascar, Arabia, Persia, &c. In spite of the utmost vigilance, it is almost impossible to suppress the traffic from the mainland to Zanzibar, since the slaves "on calm days can be taken over by ones and twos in canoes, and surreptitiously landed about the islands";[2] or they may be detained on the coast till they pick up a little Swahili, and then shipped across openly, being described as natives of Zanzibar returning from the mainland.[3] The incidental risks merely enhance the price of the slave. The proof of it is in the fact that, although—in consequence of the Sultan's decree of 1873—all domestic slaves should have practically died out in Zanzibar in eleven years (1884), even now, after twenty years, the number of slaves shows

slaves on the East Coast alone as not likely to be less than 100,000 a year. These two lines of export are wholly distinct—the one from Nyasa to Lindi, &c; the other from the north of Tanganyika to Bagamoyo, &c.

[1] Page 101.

[2] Mr. Rodd to Lord Rosebery, Blue-book Africa, No. 6, 1893, p. 1.

[3] Pruen, The Arab and African, p. 223.

no appreciable diminution, and the price is said to be the same, though the demand has increased. Nay, there is even a surplus, as of old, for over-sea export! (See p. 187.) This proves that, as regards the export of slaves from the mainland to these islands, all the vigilance of our cruisers has been completely powerless to effect any appreciable result, and that therefore we must consider that our effective action by sea has been wholly limited to decreasing the small residuum of the over-sea-borne slaves, which doubtless it has.[1] And so the vast majority of the slaves required for use on the coast plantations, and in the clove estates and the households in Zanzibar and Pemba, remain wholly unaffected by our slave-trade policy, which, moreover, as I have said, effects nothing towards the mitigation of the atrocities committed in the raids, or the horrors and the deaths *en route* to the coast.

Good Results of Naval Action.

It is not to be inferred, however, that I, or any one else, advocate that the naval supervision of the coast should be abolished *in toto*; for it is, and always was, a great check to the sea-borne traffic, especially off the Portuguese littoral, and acts as a deterrent to slave exportation. It tends to keep alive that national enthusiasm in a noble and disinterested object which will assuredly, in the years that are to come, form a bright page in the records of the nineteenth century. Much has been achieved, under circumstances singularly difficult. The sea-borne traffic might, however, be absolutely crushed at once, were the nations of Europe to unite in unanimously declaring the traffic to be piracy. It was useless for us and some others to do this (in 1824)[2] so long as the example was not followed by *all*

[1] Mackay describes our action by means of a "slave-trade squadron" on the coast as plugging up the aperture of a wound, that the pus may find no exit. (Life of Mackay, pp. 347, 427.) See also Wilson, Uganda, &c, vol. i. p. 344.

[2] Eastoe Teall, Slavery and the Slave-Trade, p. 20.

other nations, for our sole declaration did not give us the right to touch a foreign vessel engaged in the slave-trade.

I have (p. 61 *et seqq*) discussed the question of the Nyasa Consulate, and shown that its establishment was absolutely useless so far as the slave-trade was concerned, and merely led to new difficulties and anomalies. It marked, however, a new departure, and indicated the growing prevalence of the conviction that our action by sea was insufficient.

I have already narrated that these views were more or less present to my own mind even before I landed at Quilimane, and the conviction that the evil should be dealt with nearer its source, and a portion of the money now spent solely on the coast applied to a scheme which should have this object in view, had become strengthened by a fuller knowledge of the matter. When I returned from Karonga's to Blantyre in Aug. 1888, on account of the critical condition of my wounds, I set to work, during my four weeks' rest there, to draw out a scheme for the suppression of the slave-trade along the waterway of the lakes.

Scheme for control of Lakes.

This scheme, which I drew up in two long articles full of statistics of cost, &c., I will briefly summarise here. I advocated that two light-draught steamers should be placed on the Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika, each about 65 ft. long and 30 tons weight. I obtained from those, whose experience best enabled them to afford accurate information[1] (and who had actually superintended the building of such a steamer in Glasgow, and its transport to Nyasa), the fullest statistics regarding initial cost in Glasgow, freight to Africa and cost of transport up country, and of placing them on the lakes. They would have a special armament for fighting purposes, but would be primarily

[1] To Mr Frederick Morrison I was especially indebted.

intended as a means of transport. The real coercive force would consist of a body of soldiers, whose head-quarters would be on the plateau between the lakes—a cool and bracing situation, where their health would in all probability be excellent. The upkeep of the steamers, including replacements of men, wear and tear of all gear, &c., the pay of the men, a fund for casualties, invalidings, &c., were all carefully made out.

I have always been opposed to the idea of placing gunboats on the lake. I can fully appreciate (1) the enormous moral effect they will produce; (2) the value of the base of operations—a movable base,—which they will constitute on the waters of the lake; (3) the guarantee they give that the British Government is wholly committed to a forward policy, (4) the incalculable effect of naval discipline and organisation. But—and it is a very serious *but*—(1) I hold that the enormous outlay on their maintenance, not to speak of their initial cost, and the expense of placing them on the lake, could be more advantageously utilised. (2) That the invalidings of officers and men, in such a climate, will be a terrible drain both in men and money. (3) That it will practically involve an impossible dual command. (4) That with the destruction of the few dhows (probably not half a dozen) on Nyasa in the first ten days, their task will be practically accomplished, and their utility minimised. That this can be done by an ordinary trading steamer has already been proved by the Domira. (5) The shape of Nyasa—its great length (360 miles) and its narrowness (60 to 15 miles)—renders it peculiarly unadapted for gunboat operations; for, even in the absence of dhows, large canoes could make the passage of the narrow ferry by night, while dhows could elude capture, even by day, with a favouring wind, by running into shoal water. (6) The scope

Objections to gunboats.

of their operations would, of course, be confined to the lake, or within a very narrow radius by land, for it would hardly be maintained that the primary object of a gunboat was to carry out land operations. What is wanted, however, is a *land* control, and effective administration. (7) It is possible to conceive that the methods and example of British blue-jackets would not be wholly in accord with the peculiar influence extended through a number of years over Nyasaland by the English and Scotch missions, who form a powerful element. The scheme I proposed appeared to me to afford the advantages claimed for the gunboats, without the serious disadvantages which I have pointed out.

Armed trading steamer.

An equally effective base would be afforded by the armed trading steamer, which, while affording greater facility and accommodation for the transport of troops, would not be open to the objections I have specified. Moreover, such a transport steamer would be available for trade and conveyance of stores, when not required for operations against the slave-trade, and could thus partially defray the cost of her maintenance. That a gunboat would not be available for such purposes is demonstrated by the fact that a small transport steamer is to be placed on the lake, in order to supply the wants of the gunboats.

The land force.

In my alternative scheme I estimated for the maintenance of a sufficient native force, of which, if possible, a nucleus and the non-commissioned officers and native officers should be recruited in India, and the rest locally. The headquarters, as already stated, would be on the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau, in a strong and impregnable position. Small subsidiary garrisons would be placed at certain strategic points on both lakes (prominently the two ferries on Nyasa). Effective communication would be maintained with headquarters by means of heliographs, for which

the hills which surround the lake offer facilities. A system of spies to furnish information concerning the movements of slave caravans was also suggested. If news reached any outpost of the arrival of a caravan of slaves at any point (either before or after they had crossed the lake), it would be at once flashed to headquarters, and the steamer would embark an adequate force, and sail for the spot. If the demand for the liberation of the slaves were not complied with, the force would attack by land, and the guns of the steamer would open fire from the lake side. The village must of necessity surrender before the well-directed attack of disciplined and well-armed troops, supported from the lake by the steamer. By way of punishment, any village thus caught in *flagrante delicto* would have its stockades levelled, and a prohibition enforced against their reconstruction, and all dhows and sea-going canoes, capable of crossing the lake, destroyed. One or two such examples would suffice, and the conveyance of slaves across the lake would be finally abandoned—the two or three existing dhows having been burned, and the fortified villages of the Slavers dismantled.

The steamer, except when engaged in transporting troops, would be available for carrying cargo. The Nyasa steamer would have the supplies for the military force and for the Tanganyika steamer to convey, but the latter would be comparatively free to prosecute a trade around the shores of the Tanganyika, and even to foster the legitimate trade of the "Arabs" by conveying their goods. The produce so collected would be carried down on the return journeys of the Nyasa steamer: this would materially diminish the expenses of their maintenance.

Land convoys stopped

Of course, as soon as the slave-traders found that the passage of the lake was blocked, they would march their caravans round the lake, as indeed very many of

them did, even when there was no obstacle to the lake passage. In this case, the gunboat becomes a "white elephant": its *raison d'être* has ceased. By the scheme I proposed, however, as soon as the spies or scouts brought information that a slave convoy was marching eastwards, say from the Senga country to the coast, round the north of the lake, the troops would be at once despatched, with the same result as though the passage of the lake had been attempted. By this means I hoped that an impassable barrier would be extended from the north end of Tanganyika, along its waters and across the plateau between it and Nyasa (150 miles)—where the headquarters of the force would be (with a station on each lake),—thence along the waters of Nyasa, and down the Shiré to the Murchison Rapids,—a total distance of over 1100 miles. As there are no slave routes south of the Murchison Rapids,[1] and various boats and steamers patrol the waters of the lower Shiré and Zambesi, the cordon drawn would be practically from the sea, along the Zambesi, Shiré, and lake waterway, to the north of Tanganyika.

Scheme a gradual one.

I did not advocate hot-headed and over-hasty measures; for I pointed out that a considerable time must elapse before the Nyasa steamer could be placed on the lake—probably eight months or a year. This period I intended to devote to the raising, equipping, and drilling of the native force, which would number at first as many as 1000 men. By the selection of energetic and capable officers (I already had offers from one or two first-rate men to take service under me in this task), together with native officers and non-commissioned officers from India—where I anticipated that I could personally enlist some good Pathans, who had served under me, were I allowed to do so—I hoped that by the time

[1] It would appear that a route southwards does exist, but it is stated that it has been effectually closed by a fort lately built by Mr Johnston.

the Nyasa steamer was ready the force would be in a fairly efficient state. Operations would then be begun on Nyasa, with the whole force devoted to this portion of the line alone. Meanwhile, this steamer would be utilised in pushing up gradually the sections of the second steamer, and the force on the plateau would superintend its further conveyance to Tanganyika. This, I calculated, would take a year or eighteen months at the very least, by which time we should, I hoped, be ready to commence operations on the northern lake. My calculations were very carefully made.

The initial cost of the steamers was known, since similar vessels had already been built for Lake Nyasa. The carriage up country was calculated on actual experiment, and was further substantiated by contracts offered me (which I still hold). The estimate for the upkeep of the steamers, the annual replacements (invalidings, &c.), was based on the result of experience, and submitted to the criticism of those who had resided longer in Nyasaland than I had, and who had themselves had charge of steamers, and could estimate the sum necessary for repairs and maintenance. The cost of the force was worked out, inclusive of pay of all ranks, equipment, stores, medicines, and medical attendance, &c. Cost.

This scheme, drawn out in the form of two articles for the press, was submitted to the 'Contemporary Review'; but, in its present form, it was too technical, and dealt too fully with minutiæ to be suitable for a monthly magazine. The Rev H. Waller then, at the request of the editor, wrote the article entitled "Two Ends of a Slave Stick," which appeared in the 'Contemporary' for April 1889, in which he reviewed the scheme, and quoted long extracts from it. This he was well qualified to do, both from his personal residence in Nyasaland, and his lifelong devotion to the anti-slavery cause, which had

constituted him an acknowledged authority on the subject. He described the scheme as the "right end of the stick"; the measures hitherto undertaken being the "wrong end."

Cardinal Lavigerie's scheme.

Meanwhile, at the very time that I had been maturing these plans in Africa, and transmitting them to England, by a curious coincidence a movement had been set on foot throughout Europe by Cardinal Lavigerie, who had undertaken to preach an "Anti-Slavery Crusade."[1] He, too, had advocated measures of repression at the source of the evil; but his scheme of independent crusading-parties did not recommend itself to many of those who were best informed on the conditions of the question.[2]

It is true that I myself advocated the use of force, but it was force supported by a very definite and complete organisation. In the main it was defensive rather than aggressive. "It is my belief," I wrote, "that a consistent, conciliatory attitude, combined with a stern prohibition against the slave-trade, the disregard of which would involve war and a Nemesis of loss and destruction, would soon lead to the abandonment of the slave-trade in this part of Africa." Legitimate commerce and trade should, I urged, be promoted by every possible means, while a line would be drawn along the heart of Africa,

Use of Force *per se.*

and any attempt of the Slavers to break through that line would be met by force. Thus peaceful methods would go hand in hand with prohibition supported by force. The latter would be applied only in resistance to aggression: it was not unlawful, since Nyasaland was as yet "No-man's Land"—moreover, hostilities had been gratuitously begun by the Slavers, and Lord Salisbury, the Premier

[1] Mackay supported this scheme.—Letter in Times, Jan. 1889; Life, p. 434.

[2] *Vide* Coercive Measures against the Slave-Trade, by Captain Lugard, p. 13.

and Foreign Minister, speaking of the fighting on Nyasa, had stated in the House of Lords, that the prosecution of the "noble efforts" against Slavery in this locality "must be left to private enterprise."[1] Lastly, the mode in which I advocated that force should be applied was essentially unlike any independent filibustering scheme, with no base of operations nor any adequate organisation and communications. The scheme depended for its feasibility on the fact of a through communication with the sea, along a waterway furnished with steamers, and a transport service in the hands of well-established Companies. It had a definite object,—the protection of the lives of the white men settled all along its length; the formation of a *barrier* to the slave-trade, and a check to that great combination of the forces of Islam and of the slave-traders, the danger of which is not even now past, and which, I fear, the courageous but ill-advised attempts of Crusaders may only precipitate.

Effect of the Defence of Karonga's.

In my opinion, if I may say so, the stand we made at Karonga's staved off this combination for the time, which else had already been *un fait accompli*. For we know that Mlozi was in league with Jumbé to the south, whose plans to march overland and join him were known to me. Jumbé was hand-in-glove with Mponda and Makanjila, to south and east. On the north-east, Mlozi was supplied with men and arms by Salim bin Nasur of Senga, and I heard, on the best authority, that it was he who had told Mlozi to attack the British. On the north-west, Ramathan, the lieutenant of Kabunda, one of the most powerful of the slavers of Tippoo Tib, was actually the leader in Mlozi's attack, and was eventually killed. Karonga's was a point of the utmost strategic importance; it commanded the ferry at Deep Bay, and separated the

[1] Times, July 7th, 1888.

northern body of slave-raiders, against whom we were fighting, from the southern The Slavers knew this, or they would never have fought as they did, spending money and men on a protracted war; nor could a man of yesterday, like Mlozi, have held out had he not been supported by far more powerful allies.

Moreover, the gratuitous attack of the Slavers upon the British was a wholly new and unprecedented departure in African history. Never, up to the time of this attack, had the Arabs or Slavers dared to engage in war with the British, whose influence they knew to be supreme at Zanzibar. Such an attack, therefore, meant no common quarrel, and indicated the inception of a great movement. And so Karonga's "held the Gate," and Nyasaland, thank God, is to-day the "British Central African Protectorate," instead of a great slave-raiding, Mohammedan empire, stretching from Stanley Falls to the Zambesi, and embracing both shores of Nyasa, as I firmly believe—and so do several far-seeing men, who have had every local means of forming a judgment—that it was within an ace of becoming. The grand waterway of the Zambesi, and Shiré, and Nyasa, to Tanganyika is reserved to Great Britain. In looking back on the events which led to these results, I feel proud that my services have been found worthy to be utilised to some small extent in so great an achievement.

If I have unduly digressed, I must crave my reader's pardon. My object was to show how the organisation of these various slaving parties is carried on, and how they render each other support, and what is the ultimate goal towards which this organisation and these ramifications are tending. As I write I feel a strong desire to throw into the fire the mere tale of my personal travels—to abandon my intention of writing on

the commercial prospects of East Africa, to 'slide' the story of 'adventure' and of sport, and to limit myself solely to this engrossing subject of the slave-trade The subject is so large, and it is so pitiful. Even those in England who, amid the engagements and pleasures of their social positions, find time to champion the cause of the slave, understand so little of the real state of the case. So much nonsense and "bunkum" is talked! Vivid appeals are made to the imagination, and to mere sentiment and horror-mongery—as though, forsooth, we must have our palates tickled by a few blood-curdling atrocities (though of these, as I and others have shown, there are plenty), and our pharisaical philanthropy quickened by pictures of agonised slaves in impossible fetters (which would anchor a man-o'-war), pleading with clasped hands, before we can put our hands into our pockets and produce the coin which stamps our sympathy as sincere, or give our efforts to the advocacy of a cause which, without these embellishments of blood and thunder and clanking chains, should appeal to our mere humanity, simply because it is the cause of those who have no champion —nay, who do not even know the depth of their own degradation, because they have never experienced its contrast!

Urgency of the Matter

These plans, however, are out of date, and a matter of ancient history. Africa has now been almost completely divided up among the nations of Europe. Nyasaland has become a British Protectorate. Europe and America have sent their representatives to a great International Conference. Seventeen delegates of the Great Powers have met at Brussels, and examined the whole question of the slave-trade, and the means for its suppression. Their conclusions are embodied in the "General Act of Brussels," which the Powers

The Brussels Act

represented have ratified, and pledged themselves to carry out. It prohibits the import of arms (including percussion guns, and excluding only flint-locks with unrifled barrels) into districts declared to be infested by the slave-trade. It lays down the principle that the slave-trade must be suppressed by the development of commerce, by the improvement of communications by roads, railways, &c., and by the establishment of fortified posts and effective administration in the interior. All this we are now pledged, by international treaty obligations, to undertake And finally, let us note that the Brussels Act takes count of no distinction between spheres of influence (whether under chartered companies or not), protectorates, or possessions. For the purposes of the Act, a Power is pledged to carry out all its obligations, in any country whatsoever, in which it claims to have an exclusive influence.

Its stipulations

Let us pause for a moment to see how these international treaty obligations, incurred at a conference summoned at the instance of our Queen, have been carried out by ourselves. The general scope and nature of our pledges, I shall discuss in chapter xli. (pp. 573-578). The maintenance of effective administration and the establishment of fortified posts, as well as the construction of railways and roads, are also dealt with elsewhere (see chapters xlii., xliii.; also chapter xvii.). The promotion of legitimate commerce is synonymous with the establishment of effective administration. We will here glance only at the last point—the importation of arms—premising that our West African Protectorates are within the slave-trade zone. Linked with the question of the import of arms is that of the traffic in spirituous liquors—also legislated against by the Brussels conference.

Import of arms and liquor.

East Africa.

I am glad to be able to bear witness, that in all that great portion of Africa of which I am writing—Nyasaland and British East Africa—so far as I know, the British have not imported, for sale to the natives, one single pint of intoxicating liquor Moreover, in Aug. 1892 the Sultan of Zanzibar placed his dominions within the zone of the prohibition of the sale of spirits, under the terms of the Brussels Act. Liquor is imported up the Zambesi by traders of other nationalities, and the vile concoctions sold by the Dutch and Portuguese at Sena (as I have seen), have already lowered both the vendor and the buyer.[1]

West Africa

I wish I could say that our hands are as clean on the West Coast. There—to take one instance only—in our Oil Rivers Protectorate (Old Calabar), a revenue of £87,695 per annum has lately been 'created' by customs levied on imports alone. Out of this large sum £68,740 is realised by the duties on arms, powder, and spirits (and this does not include ale, beer, porter, claret, ammunition and cartridges, &c., for Europeans). The total value of the spirits which are allowed to be imported into this British Protectorate (exclusive of all wine, ale, beer, which amount to £5011) is £125,116, representing *1,350,751 gallons of gin* and rum, besides other spirits. Of this, £21,735 worth is exported from Great Britain As regards arms and powder, the total value of the imports during this one year (Aug. 1st, 1891, to Aug. 1st, 1892) was £41,021, which does not include 33½ million gun-caps (value £1890), of which close on 33 millions came from England; nor does it include £593 worth of ammunition and cartridges imported (like the caps) free. The

Extent of the trade

[1] Mr. Rankin (Scottish Geographical Magazine, vol. IV p. 238) indorses this in the strongest possible terms from his own observation.

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sum I have named represents a total import for one year of *62,272 guns* (16,398 being from England), *665,785 lb. of gunpowder*, *all* from England, and 90,982 lb. of lead, of which 87,142 lb. is from England. I quote these figures from the statistics of the Oil River Protectorate, because it is the very latest return (last year's [1]) we have from West Africa, and because the success of our "commercial development" there has recently been the subject of great gratulation. Add to these figures the imports of arms and spirits through Lagos, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone, all of them British *colonies*, and we shall realise the extent of the evil.[2]

Nature of the Liquor.

Possibly my readers may not know what kind of stuff this gin is which is imported into West Africa? In November 1892 I was staying with a Glasgow merchant, one of the class of men it does one good to meet—practical, honest, and straightforward. He told me that he had been engaged, not in the manufacture of the liquor, but merely in its transport; yet, when he discovered the real facts about it, he resigned all connection, however remote, with its exportation, rather than soil his hands in such traffic. A Liverpool merchant, trading with the West Coast of Africa, carried out a similar resolve. The former one day stated to a friend, that a whole case of this stuff, as it stood on the ship's deck, did not cost more than 2s. The friend was incredulous. To prove the truth of his statement, he had the exact details calculated. The total cost was 1s. 9½d.! This included the

[1] Foreign Office Annual Series, No 1144 Africa.

[2] Capt Jacques, who is fighting against the slave-traders in the Nyangwe district, complains bitterly of the supplies of arms and powder which reach them Lieut. Dhanis, who defeated them at Kasongo, is said to have captured 500 guns imported *from Zanzibar* (Zanz. Gaz., April 5th, 1893), and Dr Cross says that in Nyasaland "there never was a time in the history of the lake when the Slavers were so well supplied with arms and powder" These are the *results* of this vast importation

wood, the making of the packing-case, the nails, bottles, corks, labels, transport charges, *and the liquor*. Deducting all the extra items, what was the cost of the actual spirit? He told me it was, absolutely and literally, *poison*.

And we, who, as a nation, posed at the Brussels Conference as champions of the natives of Africa —we who were loudest in our assertions, that the greatest curse to Africa was the importation of spirits—who held Mansion-House meetings to urge on the Conference the expediency of including the prohibition of the import of spirits in the scope of the work of the delegates, and protested at the hesitation of other nations to accept our dictum—*this* is our *practice*!—not merely in "No-man's Land," or a sphere of influence, but in British *Crown Colonies* and in a British Protectorate! Professions *v.* Practice

Look at your atlas, and you will find that in a map a foot square of the African continent you could cover the whole Oil Rivers Protectorate with a split pea! Yet the Foreign Office returns which I have quoted show that in a single year—last year—the import amounted to over $1\frac{1}{4}$ million gallons of cheap liquor, 62,272 guns, and over half-a-million lb. of powder. It is true that this import, prior to April 1892 (the date of the final ratification of the Brussels Act), was not an absolute breach of international treaty, but its continuance since that date is in direct violation of our pledges.

We, above all others, have protested the evils of the import of arms. Yet, as you travel through Africa, and look at the guns of the slave-raiders, or the natives, in the far interior, you will find the vast majority to be of British manufacture. Nor, when I was on Nyasa in 1888, did the African Lakes Company refrain from this traffic, for they sold both guns and powder, and their stores were full of both for sale. The Imperial British

East Africa Company have strictly prohibited this sale. They have also taken means to prevent the importation of arms by Arabs or traders. In the chapters on Uganda I have alluded to the sale of arms in German territory. This, up to April 1892, was no breach of the Brussels Act, which had not come into force up to the time I left Uganda; moreover, the sale or barter, by natives, of arms already in their possession, across an inland frontier, is a matter wholly apart from the question of the import of munitions into Africa.

CHAPTER IX.

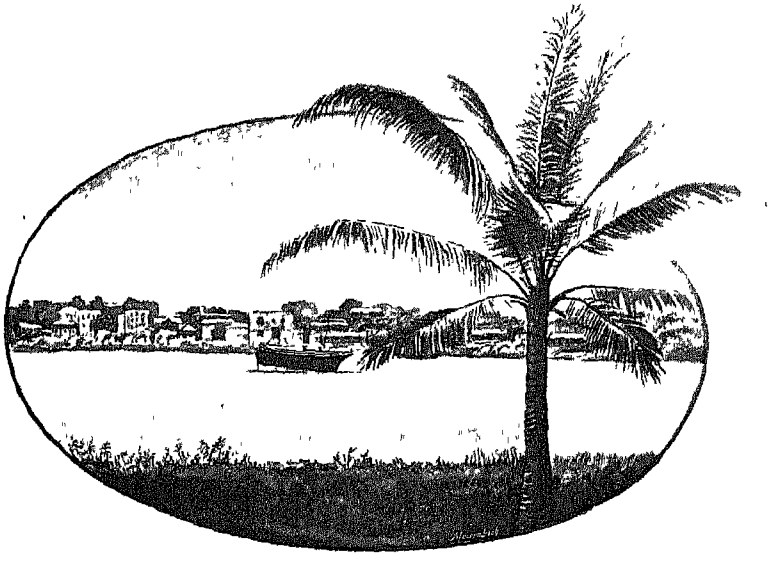
SAIL AGAIN FOR AFRICA—MOMBASA TO MAKONGENI.

Nyasa scheme postponed—Sail for Africa—Arrive Mombasa—News of Nyasaland—And Uganda—Mr Mackenzie suggests my going there—Scheme for opening up Sabakhi—And trying animal transport—Fugitive-slave question—Its history—Missions harbouring slaves—Saved by Kirk—The Arabs hostile—Mission pledges forgotten—Slaves redeemed—Results—Fugitive slaves legal property—My scheme of self-redemption—Slaves as *feræ naturæ*—Wilson—Start for the interior—The Giriama—Customs, &c.—Description of country—Shauri at Fuladoyo—The scheme accepted—The Arabs agree—Road-cutting—Arrive Makongeni—Nature of the country—Return to Mombasa—Madrassee servants—Back to Makongeni—Success so far—Willingness of the men—Drummond on the Zanzibari—His origin and character—Language—Makongeni people accept the scheme.

Mr Rhodes having proceeded to the Cape, I ascertained that no final amalgamation of the South African and African Lakes Companies was likely to be effected till the spring of the following year (1890), and that meantime Mr Johnston had gone to Karonga's to effect a settlement. My undertaking with Mr Rhodes, therefore, remained in abeyance, and, as the wound in my left arm began to break out with the cold of the coming winter, I gladly accepted a kind offer from Sir W. Mackinnon of a passage to Mombasa and back for my health in one of his ships. I was still at liberty, for, though the War Office had cancelled the year's leave granted to me, I was unattached for duty, awaiting the return of my regiment from India in the early spring. I purposed, therefore, only a few weeks' stay in Mom-

basa. I was anxious in some way to acknowledge my free passage, and therefore gladly undertook to make any suggestions regarding the operations of the Imperial British East Africa Company which some experience of campaigning and of work similar to this might prompt.

On these terms I started on Nov. 3d, 1889, having spent five months in England since my return from Nyasaland. My fellow-passengers on the Aruwimi included Sir Charles Euan-Smith, who was on his way to



MOMBASA HARBOUR.

Zanzibar to resume the duties of his appointment as Consul-General, and with him was Mr E. J. L. Berkeley, Senior Vice-Consul. Mr G. S. Mackenzie, who was about to take up the duties of Administrator of the Imperial British East Africa Company for a short period, was also a passenger, and he was accompanied by a number of junior officers of the same company.

On Dec. 6th we arrived at our destination. News met us by Reuter's telegrams of the Portuguese aggressions on the Shiré, and the energetic action of our

Government with regard to them. I saw with pleasure that Great Britain was now fully alive to the importance of the question, and that our work at Karonga's, and the interest it had awakened, had aided in some degree in opening the eyes of those at home to the subject of the slave-trade, and the urgency of retaining our hold on the west shore of Nyasa, if the missions were to survive, and European influence was not to give place to the aggression of the slave-raiders and the Islam creed. I saw, also, that my own services in respect of Mr Rhodes' proposals were no longer required; indeed, shortly afterwards, on the formation of the British Central African Protectorate, Mr Johnston was appointed Imperial Commissioner, and Mr Rhodes engaged to provide him with £10,000 per annum, the sum which he had offered to place at my disposal to carry out the previous scheme.

We also heard news from Uganda. The Rev E. C. Gordon, a missionary, wrote the story of the revolutions which had occurred in that country, the deposition of Mwanga, and the ousting of the Christians by the Mohammedans, &c. Colonel Euan-Smith and Mr Mackenzie were both strongly of opinion that an effort should be made to establish the Company's administration there; and Mr Mackenzie at this early date (Nov. 1889), sounded me as to my willingness to command an expedition to Uganda. My interests were all in Nyasaland, but the task proposed to me seemed one which was as great, and offered as much scope, as the one I had at first expected to undertake on Nyasa, but which now had been confided to another. I therefore readily accepted his proposal, with the proviso that if I should be required in Nyasaland—for as yet the Protectorate had not been declared, nor had Mr Johnston been appointed, and I did not know whether I should still be called upon to fulfil my obligations with Mr Rhodes—I should be free to go there, provided the

plans for Uganda had not taken definite shape, and provided, of course, that the War Office sanction was obtained. It had been decided—I do not know for what reason—to defer any immediate action; perhaps news was expected from Mr Jackson (who was in command of a large expedition in the interior) which might modify the views of the directors

Meantime, Mr Mackenzie proposed to me to undertake the exploration of the Sabakhi river, and to open it up as a route into the interior, to supersede the old trade route *vid* the Taru desert, in which the scarcity of water (especially during the hot months) caused the greatest possible difficulties to caravans. My idea of the method to be followed in opening up a country like Africa, was to build small stations as centres of trade, colonisation, &c., and so, by extending slowly but effectually from our base on the sea-board, to build up a wedge of civilisation which should gradually extend further and further into the interior, each furthest outpost being connected with a series of stations behind it, up to which an effective administration should have already made itself felt. This was the plan long ago advocated by Gordon. The Company, however, already had a detached post at Machako's, 350 miles inland, and Mr Jackson was to build another in Kavirondo, on the lake shore, unconnected with the base, and 660 miles from the coast. Between Machako's and the sea there was no connecting link at all—no roads and no administration. The object of my present journey was to connect this station with the coast administration; and should I find that the Sabakhi offered a feasible route for transport, I had authority to establish small stations at intervals along the line.

These, I proposed, should be some 50 miles (viz., four marches) apart in the first instance, and should consist of small stockades, in which should be placed a few of

the Company's *askari* (undrilled soldiers), under the command of selected and trustworthy native headmen, with a European at the more important posts. These garrisons would merely constitute a defensive force to give confidence to the villagers who were to settle around the post under the Company's auspices; for the Sabakhi, along its whole length, flowed through country entirely uninhabited. The main object, therefore, was rather to select sites adapted to agriculture, and offering advantages of soil, pasture, water, fuel, and timber, with a healthy climate, &c, than strong defensible posts. Such was the task I proposed to myself, and I use the phrase advisedly, for Mr Mackenzie, with that kind confidence and trust which he showed towards all the Company's officers, and in a marked degree towards myself, and which won him the personal affection of all who served under his administration, had left the matter almost entirely in my own hands, and furnished me with no orders or instructions, merely saying he gave me an entirely free hand to carry out the exploration of the Sabakhi, and cordially agreeing with the plans I proposed.

There were two other matters which excited my keenest interest. One was the employment of transport animals to replace porterage by man—a system which had already broken down (*vide* chapter xvii). The Company had, prior to this, imported a considerable number of camels, mules, and ponies. The camels, being without skilled attendants, and there being no one who understood their wants and diseases, had all died except three, as had also the other animals. A fresh consignment of some dozen mules from Aden had recently arrived. I obtained permission to take these animals with me, in order to make the practical experiment as to whether animal transport could not be advantageously used in East Africa; for the ill-success which had so far attended their introduction had prejudiced the administration against them.

The other subject of great interest to me was the difficulty regarding the fugitive slaves (through whose villages I should pass), who had, years before, established stockades at Fuladoyo and elsewhere, and between whom and their late Arab masters there existed a chronic feud, which at this time threatened once more to break out into a serious war. When the British East African Company was formed, this was almost the first difficulty with which the Administrator had to deal on arrival in Mombasa As this is a phase of the question but little understood, I will endeavour briefly to explain the matter. Many years ago, in the earlier days of the Church Missionary Society's advent in East Africa, the mission stations had become refuges for runaway slaves. I have already fully explained (p. 170, &c.) that the slave was (and is still) the legal property of his master, and that, from the point of view of the Arab, to steal a slave (or harbour him if he runs away, which is practically the same thing) is identical with the theft of a horse, sheep, or ox in England. The Arab saw his slaves appropriated by the missionaries. By them they were given work to do, and made to obey rules, and not allowed to run away.[1] He could see no difference in their status. "I buy my slaves with my own hard cash, or I expose my life and fight for them," he bitterly said, "and then you missionaries steal them from me, and make them your own slaves without purchase."

For a time the storm gathered but did not burst. Missionary caravans even broke up, and dispersed slave caravans by force. At length the Arabs could stand it no longer, they declared their intention of attacking the mission station, and recapturing their legal property. The missions even prepared for war with a flag inscribed

[1] Willoughby narrates that a missionary was indignant at his having enlisted mission men without his permission, and he draws the conclusion that the liberated slave was hardly more free under mission surveillance than before he obtained his "freedom"—Sport in East Africa, p. 35

Ungwana (freedom)! Sir John Kirk, the Consul, was informed of the dilemma, and he told the missions that, if the owners came with the Sultan's officials, he could not resist the law of the land; but he restrained the Arabs for forty-eight hours, and the missionaries gave a distinct pledge that they would never again harbour slaves.[1] The fugitives were warned to escape, and most of them joined an outlaw Arab chief, named Mabaruk, while a few returned to their masters, and the missions were saved.[2] Several years passed by; the missions had forgotten their pledges By carelessness, or by a thoughtless and misdirected zeal, they again allowed slaves to take refuge in their stations. The Arabs behaved with much forbearance, and took no measures of reprisal. But suddenly the war broke out in 1888-89 between the Arabs and the Germans. Several nations of Europe, England among the number, blockaded the coast of Africa; the Arab was denied arms and powder wherewith to fight against the Germans, and we were foremost in our vigilance. Arabs were shot down and hung The Germans were, of course, at this time held in bitter execration, nor were the English popular. Were we not the friends of the Germans? Were we not blockading the coast and preventing them getting arms to defend themselves?

[1] As late as the present year, we still find the missions (Methodist) harbouring fugitive slaves, and even offering armed resistance to their re-capture (Daily Chronicle, April 10, 1893) The status of slavery being legal, the Administration has no option but to enforce the rights of the owners, yet in the House of Commons in answer to questions which betrayed the most complete ignorance of the matter, her Majesty's minister replied that the action of the Company would be investigated. However laudable the sympathy of the missions with these fugitives, it is surely unquestionable that they must obey the law of the land in which they are established, unless they are prepared to constitute themselves into a fighting force, opposed not only to the Sultan, but to her Majesty's officers and the Company's officials administering under the authority delegated to them by the Sultan.

[2] *Vide* Philemon 10 and 16, where St. Paul sends back a fugitive slave to his master.

The British Company had only just been formed; in its very infancy it was threatened with extermination. The Germans had troops, officers, and cannon to hold their own. The British Company had not a single soldier, nor rifles, nor ammunition, nor cannon. The position of the Englishmen in Mombasa, and of the missionaries at Rabai and Frere Town, was precarious in the extreme. Shots were fired into the house of the Acting Administrator (Mr Buchanan). The white men went armed, and no man knew at what moment the storm might burst The Arabs wanted an ostensible cause of quarrel; they had it in the harbouring of the slaves by the missions, in spite of their pledge. There was no option but to hand over the slaves or to redeem them by payment to the owners. The Company advanced the money, £3000, of which the missions repaid £1400, and Government paid £800. Fourteen hundred slaves were liberated and given freedom papers, the danger was averted, and the Arabs were pacified. But there still remained a few other fugitive slaves harboured by the Methodist Mission at Ribi, &c.

There were also several colonies of these runaway slaves, who had built large stockaded villages, not far from Mombasa—at Fuladoyo and Makongeni, &c. They had defied the Arabs, and some few years before had fought a battle with them, in which, I believe, the Arabs got the worst of it. At the time of my arrival in East Africa, the Arabs were talking of again taking war against Fuladoyo. This was the difficulty which the Company's Administrator had to deal with. On the one hand the Company were powerless to prevent hostilities, for they had no force of their own at all. On the other hand they could not well allow a sanguinary war to spring up at the very gates, so to speak, of their head-quarters, while they posed as the administrators and paramount power of the country. Mr Mackenzie saw

no way out of the dilemma except by ransoming these fugitives, and so, again, buying off the owners. One's sympathies were, naturally, with the slaves, who had, from our point of view, every right to their freedom; but the plan of buying off the Arabs, or of giving the slaves the money gratis, did not recommend itself to my mind. On the one side it was a concession (very like a submission) to the Arabs, for which they had no claim, as they certainly had in the case of the slaves harboured by the missions. On the other side, such gratuitous ransom was, in its tendency, demoralising to the slaves, and would only encourage all the lazy blackguards at the coast to run away and get ransomed also. A slave thus redeemed would not value his freedom, and the precedent was bad.

An extract from my diary when first I came among these people—at the mission station of Ribi, thirteen miles from coast—and could practically test my views by the light of facts, gives an insight into the actual working results of such a system:—

"Rev. Heroe tells me that, as I expected, the slaves freed by Mr Mackenzie value their freedom so little that two he knows well, Ferunzi and Abechizi, went back of their own accord to their master Mabaruk bin Rashid.[1] The wife of one of them (Ferunzi) was also a freed slave, and she cared so little for the freedom paper (for which $25 had been paid), that she left it unclaimed in Heroe's house, when she joined her husband in slavery again! Heroe quite agreed with my view, that this paper has a market value, which these fellows will not be slow to find out. The liberated slave will sell his paper to another man, and spend the proceeds in eating and drinking (and in this country, where you can find twenty men of the same name in a square mile, how

[1] This man was in the Company's pay, and shortly afterwards took command of the first expedition against Witu

can you swear to the real owner? besides, names are changed daily). He will then either voluntarily go into slavery to his old master, or join the nearest village of runaways. This causes a triple confusion. The man, who has parted with his paper, is no one's property (and can say that he has lost his paper, and claim a new one by proving his identity). The man who has bought it has purchased his own freedom, in his own opinion at least, and identification of either is very, very difficult. Lastly, supposing he *sells* himself again, which is the most likely course for him to pursue, he gets double value for his paper, and the whole mess is inextricable!

"Another point, too, presents itself to me. Owners will co-operate in this swindle; and, arranging that their slaves shall return to them, will get the price of their liberation, and their slave as well. I maintain that only such picked men should be liberated as have proved their real anxiety to be free. . . . Those willing to work out their own freedom will be worthy of it. . . . In the case of those already remitted, photographs should be taken, so as to identify the men. If the Company establish villages on their estates of these and other freed slaves (captured at sea), whoever superintends the estate would get to know them."

As regards the legality of the ownership of these slaves, all fugitives (or others) who could prove that they had been deported from the interior, subsequent to the decree of 1873, were not legally held. The same thing, of course, applied to the fugitives at the mission stations, and therefore the gratuitous ransoming of these, though prompted by necessity, was unfortunate in this respect also, that it afforded a very direct acknowledgment of the claims of ownership by the Arabs over their slaves. The Arab, however, was probably in most cases wholly unaware of this technical disability. The law courts of Zanzibar and Mombasa daily re-

cognised the validity of the claims of ownership, and the owner had every ground for supposing that we held the decree of 1873 as invalid in theory as we did in practice. I have alluded to this point, unnecessary as it seems, because certain well-meaning people have cavilled at the action of the Company, on the grounds that the legality of the ownership was recognised by these methods, and have left out of sight the fact that since the legal *status* was still acknowledged and no question had ever been raised as to the legal *acquisition* of any individual slave, the Administration was bound to recognise them as legally held, unless it proclaimed abolition on the grounds of the 1873 decree—a measure which would, undoubtedly, have been injudicious at the moment.

I proposed to Mr Mackenzie that the slaves should be induced to work out their own freedom. This seemed a fair solution, for even if it were granted that the slaves had the right to be free (on the grounds of the 1873 Edict), they would by this payment secure themselves from the attack of the Arabs and from a war whose issue was doubtful, and which would in any case mean the destruction of their crops. Since, however, they were as a matter of fact recognised as the legal property of their masters, if they came to the coast towns to purchase goods, or for other purposes, they were liable to seizure by their former owners, who would be supported in their action by the law. Thus they were absolutely debarred from visiting the coast, and it was worth a sum of money to them to obtain this freedom of access, and the *legal* recognition of their rights as free men. Granted the legality of slavery—and bearing in mind that this legality had never been disputed on the grounds of acquisition subsequent to the 1873 Edict—it will be seen that the status of these fugitive slaves was a delicate one, which could be viewed logically from two wholly different standpoints—that of the master and that of

the slave. Had they settled *beyond* the Sultan's dominions, the case would have been different. Being, in fact, held in the eye of the law to be *ferae naturae*,[1] held in a state of domestication, their escape beyond the borders of the Sultanate ought to entitle them to the ruling given in Indian law[2] in the case of an elephant who has returned to his native haunts, over whom the original owner can claim no rights of ownership! Be it remembered that it is we who, in a British Protectorate and in British courts of law, thus recognise a fellow human being as having no more rights than a mere beast of burden; indeed, it is doubtful whether, in the case I quote, we should uphold his equal rights with the elephant.[3]

I now undertook to go to Fuladoyo, and to endeavour to bring about a solution of the fugitive slave difficulty on the basis of self-redemption. Mr Mackenzie would deal with the masters, and assess the price of the ransom. As my assistant in my work, I had the good fortune to hit on Mr George Wilson, an Australian gentleman, who had come to Africa with his brother independently of the Company about a year previously. He was a

[1] In applying this term I do not, of course, mean that we ever recognised the right of the slave-raiders in East Africa to shoot down or capture natives, or the right of owners to kill slaves at their pleasure when domesticated. The term, therefore, is not wholly applicable; but, except in the matter of life and death, it perhaps expresses more nearly than any other the status of the slave. For until recently we ignored the question of capture in the interior, and the edicts of the Sultan were merely concerned with the arrival of slaves within the boundaries of the Sultanate, while the law granted them no rights other than those possessed by domesticated animals, and took no cognisance of how they were acquired, nor vindicated their right to freedom on the grounds of recent importation; and, like ground-game, on change of residence they could claim no rights as subjects of the [British] protectorate they had left, but came under the law of the country in which they were found.

[2] Thirteen Years among the Wild Beasts of India, Col. Saunderson, p 77.

[3] *Vide infra.* This right (to revert to his previous state) was not upheld in the case of the Makongeni fugitives, settled beyond the limits of the Sultanate, and hence by the recognition of the rights of ownership of the masters over them, *they were actually placed on a lower platform than ferae naturae*, as illustrated by the law quoted.

man of about twenty-five years old, with a face which one instinctively "cottoned to." When I called on him, I found him engaged in a boxing-match with a missionary, and both of them seemed somewhat taken aback at the entrance of a stranger. I declared my errand. My name, in connection with Nyasaland, was already familiar to Wilson, and he at once declared himself ready to come with me.

We immediately began to enlist porters, and to make such simple "line gear" as was necessary for the animals —head and heel ropes, head-stalls, saddlery, &c. We indented for the ordinary requisites; a few porter loads of goods to buy food with in the interior; many loads of rice for food for the men while cutting a road through the forest; axes, spades, hoes, crowbars, saws, &c., for building stockades and road-cutting; and a few European necessities—very few, indeed, for we were both of us long used to jungle life and fare. In the course of a week the rough line gear was completed, and we started. Together with men enlisted at Ribi and elsewhere, our caravan ultimately consisted of about 120 Swahilis (mostly free men from Rabai and Mombasa), together with nine Persian transport attendants and agriculturists.

Our route led NNW. The strip of cultivation which extends along the coast is very narrow, except at certain points like Rabai, where a big estuary of the sea extending inland renders possible the cultivation of the coco-nut palm (which only grows close to the sea). Passing through these plantations, full of coco-nut palm, mango, cashew nut, and other trees (*vide* chap. xvi.), we emerge in a close country, where the high grass and dense sage bush, seven or eight feet high, shut out the view. This is the country of the Giriama, a section of the Wanyika tribe. The men are tall and wiry, clothed only in a small loin-cloth, and armed with bows. They are much

addicted to drunkenness, and one constantly meets long strings of them carrying fowls, or calabashes full of corn, to exchange for the fiery *tembo* of the coast, made by the slaves from the sap of the palm. The women wear little double petticoats, reaching from the waist to half-way above the knee. Round the waist they festoon strings of coloured beads, and in the ears, and round the neck and ankles they wear great quantities of brass and iron wire, and the chain brought for trade from the coast.

Enormous areas are cultivated by them, but the rainfall is uncertain, and the fields constantly suffer from drought. The country is very hilly, with patches of forest constantly occurring. There is little or no game, except the tiny *pah* antelope. The soil is fairly good, but light and sandy, and occasionally rocky. The flowers are very beautiful and of great variety, as are the ferns and mosses in the patches of forest. Orchids occur, but are rare; the borassus palm takes the place of the cocoanut, and jungle trees, many of them bearing beautiful flowers, replace the mangoes and cashew. There is a fair amount of fodder grass in places, largely mixed with, and spoilt by, the growth of coarse and bad grasses, jungle plants, and weeds. The streams are all brackish and disagreeable, but the water is good enough for cooking, and can be drunk on emergency. This belt of country is intermediate between coast civilisation and the interior of "savage Africa." Its people, the Wanyika (divided into the great tribes of Wa-Duruma, Wa-Giriama, &c.), are to some extent familiar with coast usages, though their dress and mode of life are entirely those of savages. They seem to be a very superstitious tribe, and you will constantly meet with little miniature huts, consecrated to the Deity, or areas marked off as sacrosanct, around some great tree or rock, whose violation will bring out the warriors in a fury. Many of their religious (or rather superstitious) customs are very quaint and interesting,

but space forbids me to dwell on the subject, and indeed these people, who are within a stone's throw of civilisation (so to speak), have already been the subject of much study by the missionaries who reside among them.

The Giriama are not a singularly brave people, and before their cattle died they lived in dread of the raids of the Masai. Their villages are hidden away in the forest, the only approach often being by circuitous paths hardly visible, and are strongly fenced round with poles and thorns. Outside the village there is generally a long hut built for councils or for drinking-bouts. It is a quaint commentary on the tribal character that these huts have doors all along both front and rear to provide means of rapid exit in case of a row or an alarm! The huts are poor in style, conical, and with the thatch continued to the ground.

Our progress was slow, for I was recalled to Mombasa to meet Mr Stanley, who had just returned from his "Darkest Africa" expedition. I had not the pleasure, however, of seeing him. I returned as quickly as possible, arriving at Fuladoyo, where Wilson was halted with the caravan, on Jan. 1st, 1890, and here I had conferences with the chief of the settlement regarding the scheme of self-redemption. Mr Wilson was well known among these runaway slaves. He had lived five months among them, teaching their children, and trying to wean them from drunken habits. He had acquired great influence with them, so that they wished to make him their chief. His co-operation was of great value, and he was enthusiastic in the matter. My scheme was gladly accepted, though at first there was some disappointment, for by Mr Mackenzie's order all their names had some time previously been taken down, and they had understood they would be ransomed gratuitously. I pointed out to them, however, the difference between

themselves and the Rabai slaves. These had been allowed to settle under the missions, who in consequence had become responsible for them, and who were now in the position of having either to fight the Arabs or pay for the slaves they had adopted. They very readily saw this, and agreed that they had no kind of claim on us.

I proposed that they should take service, either as coolies in the works going forward in and around Mombasa, or as porters in caravans. They should be paid wages as free men, and in every way be treated as free men; and, when they had accumulated sufficient money to buy their freedom, they should *themselves* pay their own master, and would receive freedom papers, signed by the *Liwali* (the Sultan's deputy) and a representative of the Company. This European would merely be a witness to the transaction, and certify that money had been paid over in his presence by X—— (the slave) to Z—— (the owner), on account of which the latter acknowledged that all claims, of whatever nature, which he had over the payer were discharged in full.

I was particularly insistent on one or two points: (1) That the Company in no way recognised the man as a slave, legal or otherwise. It would hold money (a portion, for instance, of the monthly pay) for the slave till the sum he required was complete, when it would be repaid to him, to be handed over to his master in purchase of his freedom. (2) That the Company should *not* advance money to the slave to purchase his freedom. At first sight there might appear to be no harm in doing this, but such action would be liable to misconstruction, and might lay the Company open to the charge of involving these men in indebtedness, and so obtaining a lien on their services and a monopoly of labour. This accusation was, in point of fact, made subsequently, and

my course of action, therefore, admitted of the fullest refutation being at once given to such a charge. (3) That the Company should not pay the redemption-money to the master, but that the slave should do so himself. By the influence and exertions of Mr Mackenzie, a very low all-round rate was fixed with the owners—viz., $15 (=Rs. 32=£2). For this sum (being the equivalent of three months' pay of the lowest ranks, exclusive of food) the slave could obtain the legal recognition of his freedom. The Company undertook to find him work, and to hold the money in safe keeping.

The owners agreed that, while he was in the course of working out his freedom, he should not be seized or molested at the coast. The fugitive slaves readily grasped the plan, and eagerly agreed to adopt it, recognising that, though we discountenanced slavery, we did not at present desire to violently upset the *dustur zamani* (ancient custom) of the country. It promised excellently. The Arabs, reassured that it was intended merely as an equitable means of meeting an *existing* difficulty, and that slaves who should run away, subsequent to the date on which both parties agreed to it, would not be entitled to claim its provisions, were very pleased. Her Majesty's Consul-General at Zanzibar, and the Company's Administrator at Mombasa, heartily approved the plan. The people of Mwaiba (another large fugitive-slave village), also sent messages to me, to say they would willingly accept my proposals. Thus in Dec. 1889 I had every reason to anticipate success: I shall, however, later have occasion to allude again to the results of my efforts in this matter.

We arrived at Makongeni, another fugitive-slave settlement on the Sabakhi, on Jan. 16th. The difficulties had been great, for the route lay almost entirely through forest and cactus jungle. The former was not heavy, and gave comparatively little trouble, but the

cutting of a road, through which laden camels could pass, in the dense wall of cactus, was very hard work indeed. I had, moreover, no proper tools, and only some half-dozen available men, for I had sent down to Kilifi for food while at Fuladoyo, and every porter was excessively loaded with these supplies. Wilson had been very ill, and I had to nurse him day and night. He had periods of unconsciousness, which were very alarming to a man like myself with no medical knowledge. Almost all my Persians were prostrated too, for the work was very trying. Fortunately as usual I retained my health and energy, but my hands were very full. The veterinary work with the animals also demanded much time, for I had many sore backs and girth-galls, in consequence of the lack of proper gear. Wilson was carried when we left Fuladoyo, being unable to walk: but once out of Fuladoyo he recovered quickly. We worked very hard ourselves, with blistered hands, hewing down cactus with sword bayonets, to effect a passage for the animals, and easing places too difficult for the camels. Occasionally men got the cactus milk in their eyes, and it caused intense agony, but the natives showed me a bulb which grew in the cactus jungle, and was full of a thin white jelly, which was a wonderful cure if its juice was squeezed into the eye.

The men worked admirably, and loads half as heavy again as regulation were carried without a murmur, the trying marches, with long delays for jungle cutting, were accomplished in good time, and the willingness shown in cutting fodder for the animals, preparing their rough lines, cleaning the camping ground, and making a rough zeriba, was really most gratifying. Our daily routine—involving very much more than is customary on an ordinary *safari*—was quickly accepted, the rapidity with which duties were performed on arrival in

camp was wonderful, and there was little occasion for punishment.

At Makongeni there was a very great deal of cultivation, but little or no food for sale. There had been a failure of crops at Fuladoyo, and hence all the extra grain of the Makongeni men had been bought up. We had accomplished over eighty miles from Mombasa, but, as our route lay northwards, we were still only half that distance from Malindi. Our slow progress, road cutting through a country without supplies, had exhausted most of the food brought from Kilifi. I therefore arranged to get a fresh supply from Malindi, and the day after arrival I was myself compelled to return to Mombasa, to ascertain if the War Office had permitted me to remain in Africa.

The country we had traversed beyond Fuladoyo (to Makongeni) was mostly of open forest, with little or no undergrowth, and small-sized trees. The soil was often sandy, and, generally speaking, poor. Beautiful flowers and most gorgeous butterflies abounded, together with many shrubs with extremely lovely or sweet-scented flowers. Where stretches of cactus jungle intervened (especially parallel to the base of Mt. Mongea) the formation was of quartz and rock, and the soil poor and parched. In the open forest, game tracks abounded—of elephant, buffalo, the large and small antelope, &c. On our journey up, an unfortunate accident occurred one day while road-cutting. I had left the men for a few minutes to inspect the route ahead, when a party of them began to examine and fool with their rifles. One of them had placed a cartridge in his, and forgotten it, and a friend when looking at it let it off, and blew out the brains of another porter who was standing near. As he was a Christian, Wilson read a service in Swahili over his grave.

I left the sick Persians at Makongeni to rest and

recruit their health, and, taking only six or eight men, marched very fast for Mombasa. I had two Madrassee servants, who were very ill, and required constant attention, but their pluck and devotion to me, and anxiety to do their work in spite of fever and illness, caused me to think better of the Madrassee than I had ever done before. I managed to bring them safely to Mombasa, where Permal, the tent-boy, died not long after of pleurisy. It was now arranged that I should leave the animals at Makongeni, to push up supplies from Malindi, and Mr Mackenzie gave orders that a garrison of the Sultan's soldiers should also be sent up, to occupy the stockade I would build. This post would become a most important one, if the Sabakhi route were adopted as the caravan line to the interior, for it would be the junction of the roads from Malindi and Mombasa, and it marks the present limit of cultivation and food. To replace the animals, I enlisted some seventy more men, and, having obtained the War Office sanction, I marched back to rejoin Wilson at Makongeni. The country at this time of year (Jan.—Feb.) is completely dried up, and the grass mostly burnt. The Giriama make water-holes, in which they collect the rainfall, and, on one occasion, I had great difficulty in avoiding trouble with these excitable and uncivil people, owing to their refusal to let my thirsty men drink.

The results of our expedition had not been unsuccessful so far. The animals, after a rest at Makongeni, were in excellent condition; and the sore backs, girth-galls, &c., were for the most part completely healed. Almost all had carried their loads throughout, and I had lost but one donkey, and that at starting. It was hopelessly diseased at the time it was purchased. When it is remembered that this result was effected under exceptional difficulties, I think I may claim that the experiment showed that, with proper system, there is

MAKONGENI STOCKADE

no reason to suppose that animal transport would not succeed in Africa.

My diary constantly remarks on the disadvantages under which the equipment was tried:—"Sending a small batch of animals like this [I write] is useless. No veterinary medicines; absolutely worthless and pernicious saddlery; insufficient supervision; no road, and hardly any tools to cut one with; and no men to do it. We have succeeded, however, and every animal is at Makongeni. Every camel has carried six men's loads, every donkey would have carried two men's loads, and every mule four, had I not forbidden those badly galled and sore-backed to do so. These are mostly *old* sore-backs and galls, and the abominable gear is also responsible. Where twenty have passed two hundred could have passed. But we must do the thing rationally with adequate men. All but two of the Persians are down with fever, and, of course, the Swahilis cannot be expected to know anything about animals. . . . When the grass is burnt up, it is ridiculous to suppose that animals can exist without food, and do the work of from two to six men each without a grain ration." There is good fodder throughout the country from Mombasa to Makongeni, however, throughout most of the year.

During my absence Wilson had cleared an admirable site for the stockade,—a ridge of low hills touching a bend in the river, and commanding a lovely view for a great distance up and down the stream. We worked very hard clearing the dense forest, and building a wall of huge slabs of rocks dug out of the hillside—the rear face being of pointed poles [loop-holed] seven feet high. Such work was an entirely new departure for caravan porters, who had never yet in East Africa been called upon to do more than build temporary houses in a camp, but the utmost willingness and emulation prevailed among them, and though our routine hours of daily work were long,

and the heat now very great, there was no grumbling or trouble, mainly owing to the tact of Mr Wilson, and his admirable methods of dealing with the men. To him I owe my first lessons in my dealings with the Swahili, and I gratefully acknowledge the benefit they were to me.

The Zanzibari has been described by Professor Drummond thus .—

"In Zanzibar these black villains, the porters, the necessity and the despair of travellers, the scum of old slave gangs, and the fugitives from justice from every tribe, congregate for hire. And if there is one thing on which African travellers are for once agreed, it is that for laziness, ugliness, stupidness, and wickedness these men are not to be matched on any continent on the world." [1]

Such an indictment is a strong one from a man who never had any acquaintance with them other than that supplied by hearsay, books, and imagination. I can recall many individuals to whom the description is fairly applicable, but as a class I think it requires modification, and I speak from experience. I know no such typical raw material in the world: you can mould them as you will. Some of them have even the making of heroes in them, as many instances vivid in my memory attest; some of them have the qualifications for all that is the reverse; most of them are singularly easily trained to be willing workers, most patient of hardships, plucky, and ready to expose their lives, adaptable to routine and discipline however novel and unwelcome. The rapidity with which these men had accustomed themselves to the white man's routine and discipline struck me as a singular phenomenon.

A word in passing as to who these Swahilis are. In the year 1698 the Imaum of Oman sailed from Muscat, in the Persian Gulf, and conquered Zanzibar, which

[1] Tropical Africa, p. 5

henceforth became a dependency of Muscat. The East Coast of Africa gradually fell under their dominion, until (after constant friction) the Sultanate of Zanzibar became an independent power, and was recognised by Great Britain as such. These Muscat Arabians (or Persians) settled along the islands and the coast of the mainland. Brave and adventurous, they penetrated into the then totally unknown interior, and

A SWAHILI.

began that system of slave buying and slave catching which, until their advent, had never assumed such proportions on the East Coast. Boy slaves brought down from the interior, and belonging to various tribes from the Zambesi to the Tana, grew up in their households, and took their ideas from them, and too often their vices and their foul diseases. There was also a percentage of half-breeds, the offspring of Arabs by slave concubines.[1]

[1] Handbook of East Africa, War Office Intelligence Division, p. 12, is in error both as regards the description of the Swahili and the diffusion of the language.

A language grew up, founded on the various tongues spoken by these captured slaves, who usually belonged to the great negro stock, with woolly heads, and flat, boneless noses; for these races, from their splendid physical development and great bodily strength, furnished the best type of manhood for the Slaver's purpose. Moreover their childlike docility and adaptability, and their eager imitation of their masters, made them pre-eminently suitable for slaves. The other races, the Somals, Gallas, Masai, Wahuma (probably of Abyssinian origin), with the Angoni and Magwangwara, &c. (of Zulu stock), spoke languages of a different origin, and these have left no mark on Swahili, proving that these tribes were little used as slaves, though doubtless some of their women (being far handsomer than those of the negro races) were brought down for the coast harems. Side by side with the Arabic spoken by the Muscat Arabians, and the dialects of the native tribes, was a third element. Great numbers of Indians from Hindustan—mainly from Cutch and Goojerat—had migrated to the East Coast of Africa. Though speaking for the most part Goojerati, their *lingua franca* was Hindustani. From these three sources the Swahili language took its origin. The construction of the language and its grammar were based on the native languages—tense, mood, person, and location of verbs, number and concord of nouns and adjectives, being all indicated by prefixes to the root, while the vocabulary was largely recruited from Arabic and Hindustani. The words thus amalgamated in the language were naturalised (so to speak) by being made to end in a vowel, and having the accent on the penultimate (as is the case with all Swahili words); they then followed the grammatical rules of the native dialects.

This language has been called the *lingua franca* of Africa; and the coast population who spoke it became

the followers of the Arabs into the interior. Their physique and their origin alike rendered them peculiarly adapted for the task. Taught from their childhood to carry heavy burdens, they bore on their heads the goods necessary for barter in the interior, and the other paraphernalia of their masters, in loads of from 60 to 80 lb. Plucky and delighting in war, they formed under Arab leadership, and armed with guns, an irresistible force in any slave-raiding forays, while their various origin provided the Arab with natural interpreters in almost every country or tribe which he visited.

Such are the people who call themselves "Wangwana" or *watu wa pwani* (coast men), and called by us Zanzibaris, or Swahilis. The common negroid race from which they sprang has been termed the "Bantu" stock, —the word Bantu (people), or some modification of it, being common to all their dialects They include, as I have shown, the pure-bred native of the interior (naturalised at the coast), and also every degree of admixture of Arab blood, from the half-breed downwards. Half-breeds would generally be free men, and arrogate to themselves a much higher position than the common Swahili. The large majority, however, are pure natives.

I called together the chiefs of Makongeni, and discussed the scheme by which they should work for their own emancipation. They accepted it with eagerness, and said 400 men were ready to come forward and engage in agriculture for the Company, in road-making, jungle-clearing, building, &c., provided they were not ordered to some far distant place, and so compelled to leave their wives and children to be seized by the predatory Gallas, and sold by them as slaves in Malindi. I got from Malindi a small garrison of the Sultan's troops —called Viroboto (fleas), from their extraordinary antics when dancing—and established them in the new stockade. They were a troublesome set of men, undisciplined and

arrogant, and I feared would do much harm unless kept in thorough supervision by the Company's agent at Malindi, under whose orders they would be. They are low-class aliens from Arabia, Persia, &c.

The Persians had become greatly attached to us, and were much distressed at being left behind with their animals. I took on two (agriculturists) to form their opinion of the sites in which I intended to build stockades, with a view to the subsequent establishment of one or more Persian colonies, in pursuance of a scheme of Mr Mackenzie's. Arrangements having been completed with the Company's agent at Malindi for rationing the Viroboto, and storing food in readiness against my return, we marched out of Makongeni, leaving the last traces of coast civilisation behind us on Jan. 30th, 1890.

"DUM SPIRO SPERO."
[*From the "Fusiama Cabinet," Norfolk Regt.*]

CHAPTER X.

LIFE IN THE JUNGLE.

The morning start—A gun-bearer—The deserted camp—Kites in India—The march—African paths—Halts on the march—Arrival in camp—Porters' bivouac—Mode of passing the time—Nightfall in camp—Camp-fire stories—A supernatural tiger—A narrow escape—A man-eater—Pig-sticking—An awkward charge—A sportsman's stories—Alone in the night—Starlight memories—Lost in a Burmese forest—Cruelties of the Shans—Welcome by the Ghoorkhas—A fireman's life—"Galloping"—The African porter.

THERE is a charm in the feeling of independence which a farewell to civilisation brings with it, and in the knowledge that henceforward one has to rely solely on one's own resources, and that success or failure depend on one's self. At rare intervals opportunities may occur of sending mails and reports to the coast, but between these times—few and far between—the tyranny of the pen is overpast, saving only for the daily diary and the mapping work.

Daybreak brings a stir among the sleeping forms; in later expeditions the Sudanese reveillé roused the camp generally before the earliest sign of dawn. You tumble out of your last unfinished dream and your camp-cot, and substitute the realities of a heavy pair of boots, leggings, knee-breeches, and karki jacket, with a pith "solar" hat, shaped like the substantiation of the ethereal halo round the head of a saint in a stained-glass cathedral window. You buckle around you the belt, which

contains your hunting-knife and rounds of Winchester ammunition: you fill your haversack with the paraphernalia which only long experience has taught you to select—a tobacco-pouch and pipe, matches, a small file, a spare foresight, a bit of bee's-wax, a measuring-tape, the road-book for surveying, a couple of dry biscuits, and a cloth cap (in case accident or design should keep you late), two or three small straps, a bit of whip-cord, a tiny bit of chalk, a small screw-driver, and I know not what queer knick-knacks besides, understandable only "by the trade"

The man you call your gun-bearer presents himself, and you proceed to dress him up like an (African) Christmas tree. The costume would delight our gilded youth at a fancy ball. In front of his loin-cloth he ties an untanned goat-skin to save him somewhat from the thorns and spear-grass, and the creepers he will have to brush through in the narrow path or in the jungle, should you diverge from the march to follow game. As he leads the way in the early dawn through the high matted grass this skin will be soaked with the dew, and become as it was the moment it left its parent goat, + a smell. Later in the day it will become a petrified board in the scorching sun. But to return to our Christmas tree. Over his shoulders we sling the haversack, the aneroid, and the prismatic compass, each with its separate strap; round his waist he fastens his own belt and hunting-knife; over this comes the belt and cartridge-pouches, containing the ammunition of the gun he carries; fixed somehow among these appurtenances is a huge calabash for water—his inevitable companion. In it he probably carries the balance of his day's ration of dry grain. If your caravan is heavily loaded, and his own gear has to be carried as well, he will have a bundle on his head or strapped across his shoulders, consisting of his mat, his little

tent, and a bone or two of the last beast shot (probably "high"). Nailed on, so to speak, wherever he can find a few inches of space about his person, you will see a native pipe, a flageolet made from a hollow reed, a chunk of meat, possibly a cooking-pot, and other ornaments. Above all he shoulders your rifle, and "stands confessed," "a thing of shreds and patches" and whatnots innumerable.

The dawn has hardly broken when we emerge from our tents to give the order to the caravan headman "to take up loads." These, during the night, have been stacked under the guard in front of the tents, and while you and I were rapidly dressing, the caravan *askari*, according to custom, have laid them out one by one in long rows on the ground. At the word there is a rush from all parts of camp; every porter seizes his own load, and he seems to have a dread lest it should be appropriated by another, however heavy and unwieldy it be, and carries it off to lash on to it his mat and his cooking-pot and his little all, and that done, to sit upon it and discuss the delicacy of a few roasted grains of *mahindi* (maize), or to gnaw the white bones of last night's *nyama* (game). Still in the grey dawn, while the *askari* are striking the tents, and the servants and the porters who are to carry them are tying up your bed and bedding, &c., and the other men adjusting their loads, we sit down to discuss a chunk of meat and a cup of tea—generally in my own case the meal which is to last me till evening.

Just as the sun appears above the horizon I lead the way, followed by a few *askari*. Every porter shoulders his load, the Wanyamwezi strike up their strange but musical chant, and in two minutes the camp, but now a scene of animated life, is deserted, the smouldering fires die out with the rising sun, and the infinite but silent life of the forest replaces the chatter

and the hum of human life. Giant beetles come from every quarter to roll up into balls and carry away the bits of offal about the camp. Small mammals steal out to gnaw the bones, on which but little is left by the savage. A gaunt hyena, looking suspiciously up and down, snatches at a bone and dashes back into the jungle. The *chiels* and the "Pharaoh's chickens," which have long been soaring in scores overhead, contract the circles of their flight, and the former swoops by with a rush of wings, carrying off into the blue sky a bit of offal in his talons, which he proceeds to eat in the air; the latter settles heavily down, and walks around to see what loathsome filth he can find for breakfast. The ravens and the jackdaws alone break the silence, and tucking up their wings, and walking about on tiptoe, as it were, in that quaint way which only these birds adopt, converse noisily together, and make opprobrious remarks to the disadvantage of a *safari* which could not afford to leave behind them a better breakfast than this!

Talking of *chiels* (kites) reminds me of an incident in Indian jungle life. A friend and I had been shooting for ten days, and had lived on the roughest of fare. The morning came for our return, our small kit was packed, our ways diverged. Before parting my friend produced, as a *bonne bouche* for our last breakfast together, a tin of English bacon. We faced each other on two camp-stools, a narrow box which served as table between us. He had seized his knife and fork and was about to plunge them in the "blushing ham." A blow from the wing of one of these kites across his shoulders at this moment almost upset my friend, who was of very diminutive stature, and he recovered his balance to find our piece of bacon far up in the blue vault of heaven, and a *chiel* discussing our breakfast in our stead!

One could recall many incidents in connection with these audacious birds. I remember one seizing a tame

parrot, which was fluttering about with his wings cut, on a tennis lawn. His gyrations in the air when the parrot "froze on" to his toe were wonderful! At last he dropped the hot morsel and the parrot too let go. Fluttering downwards he was seized in mid-air by another *chiel*, who found his bargain no better than No. 1 had! Indian urchins delight to tie separate bits of meat to each end of a piece of string. A kite seizes the bait and sails aloft with it, pursued of course by a rival claimant. No. 2, however, seeing the other piece of meat dangling in the air seizes and swallows it. No. 1, fearful lest he should be deprived of his prize, hurriedly swallows the piece *he* has seized. Thereupon ensues the tableau which pleases the Indian urchin! But I digress.

Meanwhile we are on the march, following a narrow path, and pushing our way through bushes and thorns, or tall, rank grass, as the case may be, or, worst of all, tunnelling through "elephant reeds," which close over our heads, and shower down the cold dew on our faces. Before the sun is well up, we in front are as wet up to the waist as though we had been wading in a river. There is always a path. In country absolutely uninhabited there are the paths followed by game. When you have lived in Africa some time you will be able to distinguish to some extent *whose* path it is. We all know a *man's* path. An elephant's is different. It is some eighteen inches broad (a man's is generally not more than eleven or twelve); it has no central depression, but its distinctive difference is that the edges are clean cut; there is no *partly* trampled vegetation at the side, and the higher grasses lean over from the sharply defined margin. It is a peculiarity of game that it thus follows paths. Though an elephant should pass across a piece of open veldt, with grass but a foot high, which would be absolutely unfelt by him in walking, he will invariably follow a beaten track. If scared, he may

rush across country, and then the densest jungle and most impenetrable scrub give way before him like dry flax before fire; but, however panic-struck, he will follow the first track he crosses. These tracks intersect each other in an elephant country in all directions, and it is difficult to decide with what object they first became well-used paths. A hippo path is different. This animal does not put one foot into the footprint of the last, like an elephant, but his near and off feet each make paths for themselves, so to speak, so that generally there is a narrow ridge of grass or soil in the centre. Rhinoceros again are different, and they use their paths to connect their dunging-places. On the bare plains, where the grass is no higher than the turf on a lawn, you may see the game tracks, worn still more bare by the hoofs of countless animals. In high grass, in forest, through tangled scrub and brushwood, of course the rule applies with still more force. Even the very field-mice and vermin keep to their runs, though the ground be flat and without a blade of grass.

If the caravan is proceeding along game tracks (as now on our journey up the Sabakhi) I select such as bear in the direction I wish to go by my pocket compass. Each path that branches away is "closed" by the men who follow me. This is done either by throwing upon it a few green twigs, leaves, or grass, or by drawing a line across it—if no leaves are handy—with a stick or spear. By this means, should you wish to follow up the track of the caravan, you can do so with ease among a network of paths; and thus, should a gap occur in the caravan, those behind have no difficulty in selecting the path we have followed.

After an hour and a half or two hours' march we halt. By this time the caravan has opened out; men who are sick, or who have stopped to adjust a load, &c., and the lazy or weak ones have lagged behind. Before long

they are all up, and the rearguard, whose orders are on no account whatever to allow a single man to remain behind them, arrive, and report all present. A few more minutes' rest, and we are off again; and probably if we have started early, and the men are in good marching condition, our next stretch brings us into camp. If the march is over ten or eleven miles, a second intermediate halt is necessary, and this delays arrival for over an hour, and tries the men greatly in the fierce mid-day sun. In such cases the custom is usually to *tekeza*—viz., to make a long halt of three or four hours, while the men make fires and cook some food; and then marching again at 2 or 3 P.M., to halt for camp towards sundown. I have done this day after day when marching hard; and a Swahili porter, when—by an early start and judicious halting, &c.—his endurance is best utilised, can carry a load of from 70 lb. and upwards for twenty miles, and even more!

Arrived in camp, the site for the tents is indicated by me with small flags; later, when I had companies of Sudanese and Zanzibari soldiers, the line for each and the limits of camp were similarly marked by flags. In an incredibly short time—half-an-hour or so—the tents are pitched, the bed and tent gear arranged, the loads counted and stacked, and the party whose duty it is to construct the *boma* or zeriba round camp is engaged in chopping boughs, and dragging them in to form the fence. Meanwhile the cook has made his little fire and boiled a kettle of water, and a refreshing cup of tea is ready, and cold meat and *chippatis* if you want them.

Each little coterie of men select the small site for their bivouac; one goes off to collect material to build the huts, another to draw water, another for firewood and stones on which to place the cook-pot. When the caravan has but just left the coast most of the men have little tents. These consist of a sheet of drill some 6 ft.

square; two little props are stuck in the ground about 3 ft high and 6 ft. apart, on these is laid the ridge-pole, and over it is drawn the sheet of drill. This at the edges is furnished with loops, and pegged down to the ground. If it is the season of the rains, plantain leaves, if available, or grass, are spread over it to help to carry off the water. If it is cold, grass is cut and placed all round the edges to keep out the wind. Dry grass is placed inside for bedding, and two men share the shelter. If the weather is very fine, and rain by night improbable, the men will sleep in the open; and when marching hard and arriving near sunset, since there is no time to make a bivouac, the porter has to lie in the open, whether it be fine or wet, and apparently sleeps as well in pouring rain, with no covering, as he does when snugly housed. Those who have no tents—generally the majority when we have been long away from the coast, and cloth is scarce—build, as I have said, little huts. They are of every form of architecture and of every size, according to the number of men they are to accommodate. The commonest are the circular and the Λ-shaped. For the former a number of supple wands are collected and stuck in the ground in a circle of the required size; the ends are then bent over, and the opposite ones lashed together with creepers or tree bark; round the base grass is carefully placed in an upright position, and on the top of the framework a second layer, which reaches down to the first, and completes the walls. This is held in position by rope of creepers tied round the hut. A big bunch of grass is then fixed on to the top, completing the cone. The Λ-shaped hut is made, like the tent, of two small uprights and ridge-pole, against which on either side are laid a series of wands, which are covered with plantain leaves or grass bent over the ridge-pole and covering both sides.

The bivouac made, *boma* completed, and firewood

and water ready for the evening meal, the men disperse in every direction to fish, or pick up what they can get. Here, on the Sabakhi, fishing was the great resource, and I have seen individual men returning to camp, after one or two hours' fishing, with as many as fifteen or sixteen fish, varying from some 6 lb. weight, and 18 in. in length. This, of course, is a great addition to their small daily ration of corn. The fish are mostly cat-fish, and are very delicate, and delicious eating. They are caught with lines of *Nkongé* fibre, baited with the entrails of a fowl or fish. Other kinds, about twelve inches long, like perch, with scales and a dorsal fin, of a pale pink and a purplish tint, were also caught.

If there is no river near, the men lounge about in camp, talking or sleeping, or wander about setting traps for small mammals, &c. It is astonishing what distances they will go after a fatiguing march; but mere walking, if unloaded, appears absolutely unfatiguing to a savage. They prowled about in the dense reeds along the Sabakhi, and, as the place was full of buffalo, it was marvellous they never came to grief. One day a Nyamwezi, who was rather a favourite of mine, came in dripping with water, and somewhat perturbed. He had been charged by a buffalo, and so close was the animal that his horn had brushed past the skin of the stomach, leaving a surface mark. The man jumped into the water (a shallow pool), and lay at the bottom. The buffalo, he said, waited a bit, but gave it up and went off, just as the porter's stock of breath under water was about exhausted! The man had his rifle and ammunition with him, but no one was allowed to fire, and the ammunition was carefully counted, so he did not dare to do so. On another occasion a porter casually remarked to me that a solitary bull buffalo was lying asleep in the reeds on a tiny island up stream. How he could possibly have ascertained this I do not know, unless he had actually been

in among the reeds, for they were so dense that to *see* inside them was impossible. It was, however, perfectly true, for I went and stood on a high boulder close by and threw a stone into the precise spot indicated by the man. Apparently it hit the buffalo, for he came charging out with a tremendous ado. He was a magnificent old bull. I did not fire, as I should only needlessly have hurt him with the light Snider I had, for I could only have got the frontal shot.

While the men thus employ themselves, the *askari*, who have carried no loads, have other duties. They have to look after the loads, sew up rents in the bags of flour or grain, build the cattle zeriba—if we have a flock—perform a host of minor duties, and guard the loads. I have heard of some travellers spending the afternoon on their beds with a book. We never found time for this. Generally, after a hurried cup of tea, I was off to search for game; then dinner at sunset. Often till far into the night I would be working at plotting out the route traversed, and entering all notes on soil, nature of rock, forest, pasture, &c., in my road-chart, or writing up my diary. If there was no game in the vicinity these tasks amply filled my time, together with the ordinary work of the caravan—inquiries into offences or quarrels, re-adjusting loads partly used, issuing *posho* (food) to the men, forming calculations of our position, and the direction of the forward march, &c.

Sharp at six the sun sets, the headman blows his whistle and asks if all are present, a lusty chorus replies from every little fraternity of messmates, and he comes and reports to me, and receives the orders for next day's march, or any others I may have need to issue. As you listen to the cry that goes up in answer to his whistle and his query, "*Wote wapo?*" ("Are all present?") you can gauge the spirit of the men. If meat has been shot, or from scarcity we have come into

plenty, there is a perfect babel of voices, "*Eh-walla bwana, pom-pom, pom-pom*" ("Pots full"). If the march has been very long and hard, or if food has been issued for a specified number of days, of which this is the last, and many have anticipated their ration, and are in consequence short, isolated voices reply, and perhaps one bolder than the rest says, "I am hungry;" on which the headman—the faithful little "Banduki"—abuses him for a wasteful glutton, who must needs gobble up all his rations at once, and hopes he'll feel it so strongly in his inside this time as to learn more sense another day! We sit down shortly to our evening meal, while the porters in little parties are grouped round their huge pot of porridge, and stir it on the fire with a big wooden ladle. And then, when the diary and the mapping are done, we sit and chat together over the camp-fire with our pipes, and indulge in that sportsman's weakness—a recitation of the events of the day, the way we stalked each animal, the result of the shot, the stern chase, &c. Or if there has been no sport to-day we recall the incidents of long ago.

Prompted by questions, I relate how once, in the Central Provinces (in India), my brother and I went after the Lohighur tiger, who had but recently baffled the efforts of a large party of hunters. We made our plans, as we flattered ourselves, in a more sportsman-like and judicious way, with the result that we marked him down successfully. A line of hills debouched sharply on the plain, in a series of horse-shoe-shaped indentations; the slopes of these were steep and covered with thick forest, but a sheer wall of rock—12 to 20 ft.—surmounted the slope, and formed the edge of the plateau above. In one of these recesses of the hills the tiger had taken refuge, gorged to repletion with an ox he had eaten. We had an elephant with us, on which I was mounted. My brother took his station at the point of the

rock above. I, on the elephant, guarded the foot of the slope below. The beaters, starting on the further side of the horse-shoe, hurled down rocks from above and beat their drums, &c., to drive the tiger out, when he would of necessity pass round the point we guarded, to gain the shelter of the next horse-shoe. Nothing transpired, and it was said he had broken away up a small water-course on to the upper plateau.

We left our posts to inspect it, whereupon the tiger, who had been lying watching us in thick jungle, tried to slip past and get round the point. We caught sight of him, and my brother arrived at his former post, out of breath, barely in time to get a rapid shot at the tiger, which was almost vertically below him at the base of the cliff, and only some 30 ft. distant. He thought he had shot him through the head, for he rolled down the slope, but recovering himself, turned round, and went slowly in the direction he had come from. I was hastening back on the elephant, and he gave me a clear view. I drew a careful trigger on him, and was convinced I had hit him fair behind the shoulder. Still he gave no sound, but went slowly on. A number of native shikarries with guns were on the cliff above, and as he walked slowly along at its base, only some 30 ft. below them, one after another they fired at 10 yds. distance! Thirteen shots I counted. Standing up in the howdah I saw him go into a dense thicket of thorns on the hillside, and he did not come out beyond. We concluded he was riddled with bullets, and had crawled in here to die. I hastened up. My brother and the natives above threw down great rocks and boulders, which went crashing through the thicket, but the tiger did not come out. We concluded he was dead.

The elephant began to ascend the steep slope. No one who has not seen it can credit the extraordinary manner in which an elephant can make its way in ap-

parently impossible places. The steep slope was covered with loose rocks and boulders. Going down on her knees she would gain a firm footing with her hind legs. Then rising on her fore legs she would again bring up her hind, and take the forward step up the slope on her knees. Thus slowly and with immense difficulty she at length neared the thicket. This I now saw consisted of a gigantic black rock festooned with dry thorns, under which bears had scooped a small cave. I fired into the mouth of the cave, reserving the second barrel for the tiger if he charged; but had he done so, there is no doubt whatever that the elephant, balanced on her hind legs and fore knees, would have flinched and rolled to the bottom of the hill, crushing us in the howdah; for even on level, open ground I had known this same elephant try to bolt from a tiger when it spoke, even before it charged.

We were so close that the elephant with her trunk, at the command of the mahout, drew away the thorns from the entrance of the cave. The howdah, owing to the slope of the hill, was on the same level as the cave, and the tiger could have walked out of it into the howdah! But we thought he was dead, and he gave no sign. As the elephant drew away the bushes I saw between the crevices of the rock two green eyes looking at me. I shouted to my brother that the tiger was not dead, since he was slowly blinking; had he been very severely wounded he would not be placidly blinking. I had been on the point of descending from the elephant to enter the place, but I shouted that I must shoot first. "Fire if you must," said my brother, "but his skin will be so riddled with bullets it won't be worth a cent." I "drew a bead" on the eyes and fired at about four paces distance. There was no reply any more than there had been to the previous shots into the cave. The strange supernatural beast neither moved

nor spoke! The smoke hung in the mouth of the crevice, and as it slowly cleared away I saw the eyes were no longer there.

I got down, and taking my knife in my teeth, I lay flat on my stomach and proceeded to try and wriggle under the ledge of rock into the cave. The passage was barely large enough for my body, and it was extraordinary how a large tiger had got in. I was wedged in, and could not move except by wriggling, and propelling myself by the points of my toes. The tiger was in front of me. I took hold of his toe and pulled it, for though convinced he was dead, I felt what a very awkward predicament I should be in if he had even strength to move a paw. He did not resent it, and took no notice of a small pebble I jerked forward with my wrist, and which hit him on the head, so I gathered courage, wriggled in and lifted his head. He was stone dead. We dragged him out with difficulty, and found that my brother's bullet had only touched the tip of his left ear, and he had no other bullet whatever in him except my final one between the eyes, which had killed him stone dead! It had been a curious escape for me, for had I not caught sight of the eyes, or had I missed a fatal shot in the darkness of the cave, I should have encountered in the cave an absolutely unwounded tiger.

On another occasion I had several adventures with a man-eating tiger. I followed him for a month, tracking him from water to water, sleeping in trees over the pool at which I expected him to drink, and rarely returning to my camp, from which I was absent for a week at a time. At last I walked him up face to face! Even at this lapse of time I feel the bitter remorse of my disappointment! My foot slipped on a stone, and I nearly fell in stepping back to get a clear view of him (a tree had been between us), and I lost my shot. The tiger

hesitated whether to charge, but my brave natives stood their ground, and he turned, and with a magnificent bound cleared the surrounding bushes, and disappeared in the forest. I measured where we stood; we had been but 20 yds. apart.

Yet again I recall a scene when a magnificent tigress came out of a cave to which I had tracked her, and, jumping on a rock (part of the pile on which I was), stood within five yards of me, for some seconds clearly defined against the sky-line. I never saw a finer sight!

FACE TO FACE.

I lost my chance, for I had that moment given my rifle to my *shikarry*, thinking she was "not at home," and I had no weapon in my hand. She turned without charging.

I have tried many forms of excitement, but I know of none in the world which comes near the mad exhilaration of "pig-sticking." Scenes in the past, in the days when we did not know what "nerves" were, rush back on my memory as we sit over the camp-fire, and I am asked to describe the sport The camp at Bustipur is pictured before me as vividly as though I had left it but yesterday—the white tents under the clump of trees near the

piece of water where the wild duck cross in the evening, and the flight-shooters made many a good bag. I recall the day when Mayne, and Winn, and I, went out "to see if the country was rideable," and if there were pig; how the long line of coolies put up a huge boar, and we pressed him hard—I on the proverbial old grey mare, Delusion, leading till I disappeared, horse and all, in the depths of the blind Bustipur nullah; how Mayne was first on the next boar, and speared him, while Winn and I were back with the line; how he and his horse turned a somersault over the charging pig, on ground as hard as granite; how we were just in time to save him being ripped, and laid him, half conscious, under a bush, while I caught the nasty-tempered beast Borderer before he got into his stride, or had made up his mind to fight; or how, again, at that same Bustipur nullah, Mayne and I were alone on a huge grey boar, riding neck and neck down a hill of loose rocks, absolutely reckless of anything, and mad with the excitement of the rivalry; how Borderer beat Delusion by a neck, and gained the narrow path which the pig had taken, which led through walls of scrub jungle; how suddenly the path wound sharply round a dense *bér* bush of wait-a-bit thorn. Borderer rose at the impossible jump, for the bush was as high as a cottage and twenty feet through, if it was a foot! He got hung up in the middle: I do not believe a leg of him touched the ground. Delusion, unavoidably, owing to the narrow path, was close on his tail, and rose at the jump as he had done, and cannoned him out on the other side!

My first attempts at pig-sticking were in the Central Provinces. Nothing but my ignorance of what a boar really is, and the temporary insanity which the sport produces on young hot blood, can excuse the mad pranks we played, for I recall dismounting to dislodge a vicious old sow from a bush on foot! I got caught by the eye-

lid by a wait-a-bit thorn. Fortunately I got free before she charged, and still more fortunately—for it is impossible to calculate on clearing a pig's face with the spear when he charges, and if it struck there, it would merely glance upwards, as off a plate of iron—fortunately, then, I received her on the spear, though the force of the charge drove me backwards off my ground.

A FOOLHARDY ENCOUNTER

One could fill a volume, or several, with these "camp-fire memories"! Told thus in bald print, I fear they would but earn for one a reputation for "embroidery," and be looked on as brag. The pleasure of recalling such scenes lies in the place and surroundings. The man who has been with you in similar scenes, who *knows*

you—*he* knows whether your story is true, as you do when he chimes in with an incident of his own. Sportsmen have a freemasonry of their own: in five minutes you will know if your listener or the narrator is of the guild. Men have told me that so-and-so is reticent, and will never speak of his sporting adventures. Place him in a group of men who have themselves the same knowledge and the same instincts, and you shall see! He tells you he wounded a buffalo and *followed*. He need say no more; we know just *what* that means and what it does not mean; we know at each pause of his story, in each set of circumstances, what were the chances for and against, what the buffalo, or the boar, or the elephant might be expected to do, and what the nerve required for the task was. We know at once if the narrator is exaggerating. I have rarely—I think never—met a *real* sportsman who did. Such men do not exaggerate. They are generally unwilling to talk of these incidents, except to men like themselves, who can appraise the whole thing rightly—its merits and its demerits—and to such there is no use in exaggerating; but when they get together, and the ice is broken, the hours roll by without count!

Thus we would beguile the hours by the camp-fire; for Wilson was never tired of "shooting yarns," and would draw me on to recall such incidents as I have narrated above, and in his turn, would tell me tales of Australian life. Himself a keen horseman, he loved to hear of gallops over rough country in India after wild boar; and often we found that the small hours of the morning were upon us ere we separated after a hard African day's work!

Wilson, at length, would turn in, and leave me sitting by the silent fire alone, the sleeping camp around me, the glorious heavens of the tropics above, studded with millions on millions of stars; and often I would sit on, and think of different scenes which those very stars recalled.

I remember once, in Burma, when I owed my life to the Pleiades. We were on the way to the Ruby Mines. Dense bamboo forest extended interminably over hill and dale. The Shans were stockaded close in our front, and next day we expected a brush with them. I had been at the base, Kyenyat; the advance party were some sixteen miles ahead. Late in the afternoon I rode out to join them. I reached our first stockade, at eleven miles, at sundown, and pushed on into the perpetual shade of the giant bamboos as the sun dipped Soon it was dark in the dense forest.

I followed, through the clumps of bamboo, the marks of the cart-wheels of our force. But, unknown to them or to me, a convoy of provisions from a treacherous Shan village on the Irawaddy, which we supposed friendly, had that day started for the Shan encampment. Coming on our trail, they had crossed it, and made a detour through the forest (for under the bamboo clumps there is little or no undergrowth), and, striking the rough forest road again above our camp, had gone on to the enemy's position Accidentally, in the fading light, I followed these cart-marks, and thus made the same detour, and passed our camp. On and on I pushed my tired horse, till I was seized with misgiving that I had, in some unaccountable way, missed the camp. It was now night, and such darkness had fallen as only can exist in the depths of forest, where the trees meet overhead. I "left it all to the mare" Delusion. Thorny creepers, or bamboo poles leaning athwart the path, struck me in the face till I was scratched and bleeding; but I could see nothing, not even my mare's ears. We crossed many streams; we got into a narrow gorge full of great boulders, with a tree trunk lying across from bank to bank above, under which we passed. In that gorge, tumbling about over the rocks, the poor old mare lost three shoes and went lame.

I decided to turn round, and try and find my way

back, convinced, at last, that I must have passed the camp, and that our rough road-making operations had not reached to here, though the darkness prevented my seeing the axe or spade marks, which else had been a sure guide. Even these had misled me before darkness fell, for the working party had gone far ahead of camp, and I had seen their marks when I struck the real road, above the detour made by the Shans. I noted at my furthest point that one great tree had fallen against another. We passed that spot later when we advanced, and it was close to the Shan camp. Had I gone but a little further, I should have fallen into their hands! I turned my horse round, but we had not gone far when she ran her head into a bamboo clump, and, rearing up, pirouetted round. When she once more stood still, I had not the remotest idea which way I had come, in what direction the Shan camp lay, or what were the points of the compass! I dismounted, and felt for the cart ruts with my hands to see if I were on the path. I went on, absolutely at sea as to whether I ought to turn to the right, the left, or the right-about!

If my reader has never been really *lost* in an interminable forest like this, I think it is almost impossible for him to realise the appalling misery of it. All those qualities which go to form our manhood are valueless; resolution, endurance, common sense, resource, self-reliance, are each and all useless. One is the victim of mere doubt. Half-a-dozen steps in one direction, and one becomes convinced, as though by supernatural intuition, that that direction is but leading us directly *away* from our goal! If we reverse our steps, the same conviction steals on us again! Reduced to the helplessness of a child, a child's fancies and fears throng the brain; aimless wandering, death by starvation, torture by the Shans, seem the only alternatives! Already I was dead beat with the fatigue of a long and very hard day's work; I had eaten nothing

LOST IN A BURMESE FOREST

since morning, and it was no mere fancy that the Shans would have a "high old time" with me if they got me. These people are very cruel. Their methods of killing their enemies are not pleasant to contemplate. Among those which we had heard of as authentic were the following: Tying the victim to a tree, and cutting open his stomach with a single dah-cut, so that he was eaten alive, like Prometheus, by vultures and ants! tying him over a young bamboo shoot, so that it grew *through* him (as the growth of a young bamboo is extremely rapid)! thrusting bamboo splinters between the nail and the flesh of the hand, &c. Morbid fancies apart, however, I was terribly hungry, and in about as awkward a case as one could well imagine.

Luckily, a jungle instinct had led me to notice, while yet I knew the direction I had come from, that I was riding with the Pleiades in front of me. Now, when I had lost all count of direction, I eagerly looked out for a break in the bamboo tops, and I found I was once more going straight towards the Pleiades, and hence towards the Shan camp! For the second time I reversed my steps We wandered on; a faint moon rose and glimmered through the foliage, and at last I sighted the stockade I had passed at eleven miles from Kyenyat. I shouted my best, and momentarily expected a bullet in reply; for the little Ghoorkhas who manned it I knew well, and they stand on no ceremony. Had they heard a voice or seen a figure in the forest in the night, they would of course conclude it was the enemy, and greet me with a volley. Fortune favoured me, and I was soon standing by a roaring fire in the stockade, half naked, while I dried my soaking clothes at the fire. For the first and last time in my life, I broke into Government stores! The stockade contained stacks of boxes of Armour's "bully beef," containing thousands of tins. My hunger knew no law.

There was nothing to open the tin with, so I solemnly laid it on the ground and chopped it bodily in half with a Ghoorkha's *kookerie*.

Yet again my thoughts wander with the memories recalled by the stars. I conjure up a picture of myself, dressed in fireman's kit, seated straddle-legged on the topmost roof of a house in the East of London. It was a huge fire,—one of the biggest known for years. Oil-matting factories had got ablaze, and tanks of oil defied all attempts to extinguish them. Every station in London had sent engines, and the sea of roaring flame, and the molten mass of red-hot brick and flaming gas-jets was a sight I shall not readily forget. There are moments, of course, when the fireman is exposed to heat, but, paradoxical as it may seem, the exposure is rather to cold and wet. The torrents of water played by the hoses drench you through and through, and chill you to the bone. A small neighbouring house was alight in the roof, and as I was the only one who happened to be present who could draw myself through a tiny trap-door in the ceiling, I went up to work the hand-pump and unroof the tiles from the rafters. Below and in front of me lay the Gehenna of flame; hoses from fifty quarters played vainly upon it. Occasionally a jet of water would be turned towards my direction, drenching me to the skin, and it was cold, wet work for a November night in London!

There is pleasure in "galloping," as it is called. The alarm-bell has sounded; in less seconds than it takes to tell it, the horses are in and the men seated, and we are tearing down the road. "Make way for the engine!!!" No need for the cry! Like Fate it rushes on, and all must yield the road. Round the corners we go without a check—these firemen drive superbly—in the stillness of night. The uncertainty of the work before us, the dash and verve of the

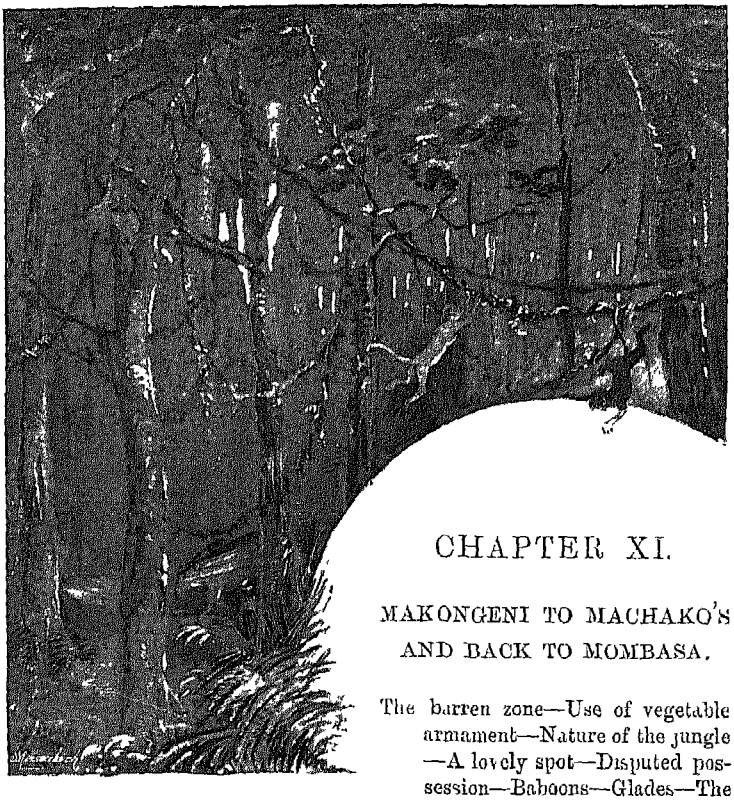
thing, lend a charm all its own to a fireman's life. I recall many friends I made among the men—sailors all of them—in the long nights when I came each evening, and left in the morning, to live my other phase of life.

I have allowed myself to wander among these memories, recalling one here and one there, for I have set myself to give a faithful description of a day of African life, and these hours of camp-fire thoughts form no unappreciable part of it, and cannot be excluded.[1] Gazing into the embers, scene on scene goes by. Wanderings in Afghanistan; events in the Suakim campaign; shooting and jungle life. But those who have wandered among such scenes know well that my picture is not wholly true to life. As one sits in reverie over the dying embers, when the day is dead, alone in the stillness, it is rarely on such scenes that the memory dwells. Nature's harmony lies in contrast. If our daily life be full of rough work our thoughts will turn to memories which are their opposite, and which our lips never voice, till the passing night warns us to take the necessary rest before the early reveillé of the morrow, and we lie down to continue them in our dreams

Such is the daily life of African travel, or such, at least, was the daily routine of my own caravan. A word as to the men, and we must push on our way, for I have three years of continual work and travel before me to condense as best I may. I have already described who and what is ordinary "Zanzibari." In addition to these, of late years large numbers of free Wanyamwezi, from the country south of Victoria, and of Manyuema, come down to the coast to hire themselves as porters, and these too take the name of Swahilis, or "coast men," and look down on the "Washenzi" (savages) of the interior. A last

[1] If I have wearied my reader, it is by the fault of a friend, who, reading my MSS, complained I had left out the "incident"!

section are the mission men—the inhabitants of mission villages like Kisaoni (Frere Town) and Rabai—most of whom are ransomed slaves. Since the Swahilis are of various tribes of the interior there is never any difficulty in finding interpreters in the various countries passed through, and even though you may not have a man of the tribe in your caravan, there are sure to be several who have picked up a little of the language on some former trip. These languages are very similar, and the Swahili is marvellously quick at acquiring them, so that after a brief sojourn in a country you will find your men conversing with the natives as though to the manner born. As a rule, they are singularly good-tempered. Quarrels are very rare indeed among themselves, or even with the natives. Occasionally I would issue a few strings of beads apiece in lieu of *posho*, and let the men buy food for themselves, to get a change of diet. Thus in Ukamba I write as follows :—"I feared that the men would try and get things by force or threats, and spoil the market, and make trouble by quarrels and rows with the natives. Quite the contrary is the case, however. The Wakamba are very independent, yet the men bargain in ones and twos amicably, and not a single row, or even altercation, has taken place, though 200 men armed with rifles, undisciplined, and left to their own resources to buy their food, have daily turned out to bargain with a people whose language they don't understand." I have already spoken of their amenity to discipline, and their general characteristics.



CHAPTER XI.

MAKONGENI TO MACHAKO'S AND BACK TO MOMBASA.

The barren zone—Use of vegetable armament—Nature of the jungle—A lovely spot—Disputed possession—Baboons—Glades—The Sabakhi River—The Masai—Arrive Kibwezi—Method of food purchase—Articles of barter—Distribution of *posho*—Advantage of messes—Description of Wakamba—Lava streams—Kilimanjaro—Game at Mikundu—Wilson ill—Character of Wilson—"Here comes the 'Express'"—Description of Ukamba—Arrive Machako's—African unrest—N'sibu—Build a stockade—Return journey—Quicksands—African cheerfulness—Build stockade No 5—Subsequent abandonment of these posts—Arrive back at Kibwezi—Orders for Uganda—I leave Wilson, and march rapidly to the coast—African cobras—Disagreeables of being carried—Fuladoyo deserted—Arrive Mombasa.

PASSING through the villages of Makongeni, with their rich soil and extensive cultivation, we plunged into heavy forests of gigantic trees, festooned with creepers, where the silence is unbroken, even by the footfall of the traveller on the bottomless carpet of decaying

leaves and vegetation. Beyond lies the scrub jungle, typical of the barren zone (see chapter xvi.). As far as the eye can reach extends the forest of cactus and thorn bush. It is a study in thorns. Each bush rivals its neighbour. The acacia takes the lead, with a straight thorn three or four inches in length, and for fear this should be broken off, Nature has supplied another variety with a bulb at its base as big as a marble; they are as hard and as sharp as though of cast steel. Other bushes grow a combination of both the straight and the hooked (or wait-a-bit) thorn, as though to inflict a wound, however approached. The decayed cactus rots and dies, but its thorns (like the ivory of an elephant) seem impervious to decay, and litter the ground in masses. From below—to meet the thorn-bushes from above—springs the spiked *Nkongé* aloe, with a blade like a triangular bayonet, tipped with a hardened spike, which will penetrate even the strongest shoe leather.

It is a marvel how game, less thick-skinned than a rhino, can live in this inhospitable jungle. The delicate little *pah* gazelle, no bigger than a rabbit, its skin no thicker than a kid glove, bounds off like lightning among the aloes and the cacti. One looks to see it impaled like a butterfly on a pin; but Nature has taught her creatures to live with safety among their surroundings, though it is hard to gauge the reason for this prodigal wealth of vegetable armament, or to understand against what enemy its terrors are directed. Buffalo and rhinoceros swarm, tracks of elephant abound. Fresh footprints of zebra and many antelope, from the great water-buck to the tiny *pah*, show clear on the path we follow, but the denseness of the jungle rarely admits of our seeing the animals themselves. A magnificent lion walked across my front from the river's edge, where he had been to drink, but

he disappeared into the depths of the wood ere I could seize my rifle.

Flowering plants are few, though there are many flowering shrubs. The shrub cactus, the milk-hedge, and the varieties of creeping cacti share the forest with the *kheir* bush and acacia. The feathery foliage and purple blossom of the former contrasts with the gnarled and knotted twigs and sponge-like wood of the *Haga*. This tree perhaps forms the bulk of the forest, and its peculiar cramped shape makes it look as though it had been reared under a pie-crust, where its boughs and twigs had not had room to expand, and had become crooked and bad-tempered from the hardness of their lot. Euphorbias grow in abundance on the north side of the river, but not on the south. The acacias are of various kinds: one grows like an inverted cone, another is table-topped or umbrella-shaped, and their regularity of outline remind us of the quaint peacock yews, and pyramid hollies of old English gardens. Their yellow and white button-shaped blossoms lade the air with the fragrance of English hawthorn. The singular bush, which exudes a flow of sap from its smallest twig with an overflowing aroma of palm oil, adds its thorn to the rest.

The river bank offers a pleasing contrast. The *jhow*-bush grows thickly at the water's edge, and, at some 150 miles from the coast, the graceful date-palm, with its plume-like fronds, first appears at an altitude of 1700 ft. Here magnificent feathery acacia—over 2 ft. in diameter of the bole—tower above the clusters of Hyphoene, and (more rarely) borassus palm. The large baboons come here in droves, with the lesser monkeys, to eat the fruit of the latter tree. A fine tree with a delicious fruit, like a plum or loquotz, the lovely tamarind, the Misanguti[1] (which however is rare), and

[1] The natives here appear ignorant of the uses of this tree The oil extracted (by boiling) from the scarlet pips sets firmly in a moderate temperature, and

further up the river a beautiful poplar-like tree, with bluish-green foliage, and straight-grown stems, fringe the margin of the river, and lean over its silent pools and rushing waterfalls.

One such spot I recollect well. In the hopes of securing game, I had pushed ahead alone. At the place I selected for the mid-day halt, I stopped under a huge, spreading tamarind tree, which leant over a deep and silent pool between the bank and an island in the stream. A series of waterfalls 100 yds. up-stream glistened and sparkled in the sun, while several patches of sand between the rushing streams glittered with minute grains of yellow mica, like sands of gold. Heated and tired, I threw off my clothes and plunged into the pool. I put my naked foot on a slippery thing, which I took to be the end of a water-logged pole. Slowly it appeared end foremost on the surface. I caught hold of it, to throw it out of the water, and found it was the snout of a small crocodile! It got my hand in its mouth, and tore my finger, but I managed to snatch it out. I never had a conception before how extraordinarily sharp these creatures' teeth are; it made several vicious snaps at me, but I left the pool with some agility, recollecting, as Mark Twain would say, that I had no special reason for stopping there, and that there was a lot of room for bathing elsewhere in the river. I went and bathed on the golden sands—sitting under the splash of the waterfall—since named after me, I hear, by the Railway Survey—and left the crocodile in undisputed possession.

Occasionally, we saw droves of great baboons. One does not care to shoot these animals, and, indeed, it is strange that, alike in India and in Africa, the natives

is useful for making candles and soap; the dye obtained from its bark apparently resists decay, and is used by fishermen on Nyasa for dyeing their nets. Its wood is also valuable.

look on the apes and monkeys (except in the case of the colobus and others possessing a particularly fine skin), as something near akin to the human race, and deplore their murder. I, however, was anxious to shoot one large baboon for examination, and I dropped one on two occasions with a rifle-shot, but could never secure him. These animals are dangerous occasionally. On Nyasa, poor Thelwall shot one, and was immediately attacked by the drove. The males have huge canine teeth, and are very powerful and fierce; a single one would be a powerful antagonist, and one could do little against many. Thelwall clubbed his rifle to defend himself; it was loaded and went off, and the bullet, passing through his liver, killed him.

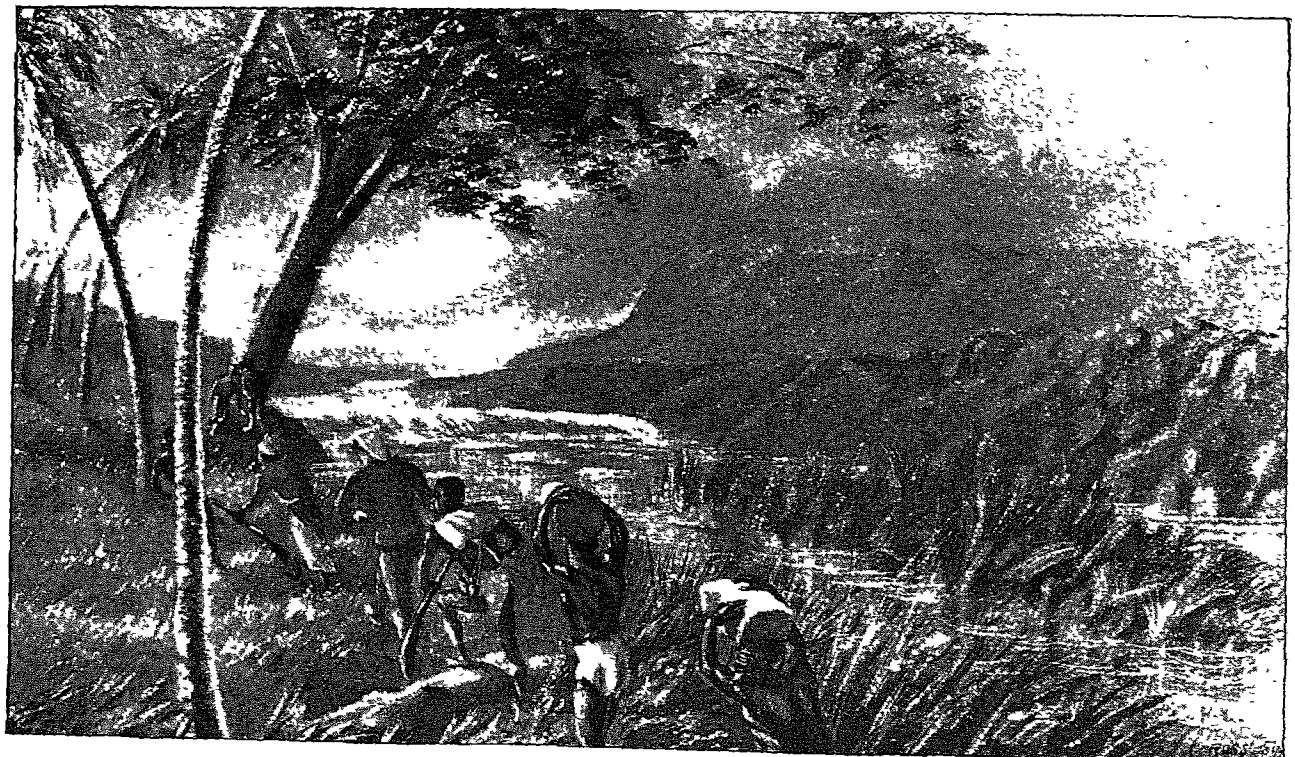
I have said that the zone, through which we are passing, was sterile and rocky with quartz, red and grey granite, conglomerate, a kind of slaty shale, useful for building, and limestone, in which were fossils: constant glades, however, intervene with rich soil and beautiful pasture grass. In some of these the grass was of a kind I have rarely seen in Africa, like English meadow-grass —free from "spears;" it was in such situations that I selected the sites for the two stockades, or stations, I had decided to make, between Makongeni and Ukamba (Kibwezi). My Persian agriculturist was delighted with them, and agreed with me that a system of irrigation from the river would be easy of accomplishment. Now, in the month of February, the hot weather had parched up the ground. By day the thermometer registered from 79° to 104°, by night about 70°. A strong wind blew regularly from the east and north-east.

As the Sabakhi receives no perennial tributaries except the Tsavo, its volume becomes greater as we ascend the river. It is probably navigable for canoes for a hundred miles from its mouth. The main body of water which forms the river comes from the Tsavo, a deep and cold

stream flowing from the snows of Kilimanjaro. Above the junction of the Tsavo, the river, which has still the same characteristic channel with high banks some 50 yds. apart, takes the name of the Athi, and in the hot weather the stream is reduced to a few shallow channels, flowing in the broad expanse of sand. In the rains it is a boiling, turgid stream, with a fast current and muddy brown water. Towards the eastern reaches of the Sabakhi the watershed is from north to south, and hence, south of the river, the fall is towards the Voi Gradually, as we ascend the river, going westwards, the watershed from the south falls to the Sabakhi and Athi Many dry beds of mountain torrents are crossed, but the first perennial stream is the Tsavo, the next is the Kibwezi All these streams become excessively swollen in the rains, the flood-mark on the Tsavo being 6 to 8 ft. above the low-water level. Here, at the Tsavo, had been an old camping-ground, and remnants of slave-sticks told their own eloquent tale.

Many Masai "war-paths" cross the Sabakhi—one especially is much dreaded. These are the routes followed by the warriors in their forays into the countries to the north of the Sabakhi. The prestige acquired by the Masai in bygone days has made them a terror to the tribes of East Africa. Like all dominant tribes in Africa, however, their supremacy is not absolute, and the loss of their cattle by the plague has tamed their arrogance, and largely deprived them of their means of subsistence. In their own country they are not so much to be feared as when met with in parties "on the war-path." *There* they have their flocks, their women, and their villages to guard; *here* they have no impedimenta Half-maddened, as Mr Thomson tells us, by drinking blood[1] and gorging flesh, they are sworn to attack whomsoever they may

[1] Masailand, Jos. Thomson, p. 430.



MARCHING ALONG THE SABAKHI

And now for the mode of distribution. At first, each man's name was called, and he received his ration (a large coffee-cup for a day = 1⅓ lb.); generally three or four days' *posho* would be issued at a time. Later, I divided the men into batches, or messes, of from seven to eleven. All the men of one "camp," as they were called, must belong to the same headman's company, otherwise they could chum as they liked, and each headman would have some four "camps" under him. From each camp I selected a good man as chief. He was vested with no authority, but simply drew the number of *poshos* (rations) in bulk according to the number of men in his camp, and thus time and trouble were saved, both to ourselves and the men. At the evening muster it lay with the head of the camp to reply to the headman's query whether all were present. The system worked admirably, and saved infinite trouble in *posho* issue, and especially in dividing any game shot. In this case we used simply to issue, as far as the meat would go, at a certain *quantum* per head in rotation through the different companies and messes. Hence there was never any quarrelling or grumbling, for each man knew that, if he got none to-day, his turn would come to-morrow.

This system, too, facilitated discipline, the detailing of men for work, &c., and I adopted it the whole time I was in Africa, whether marching or stationary. It is a boon to men without friends, as they are thus included in a common fraternity, and get the use of a cooking pot; such men would otherwise often eat their food raw, and thus invite disease. It also checks the premature consumption of the ration issue, and, in the case of meat or cloth, a small quantity can be issued per mess, which would be useless if the individual were the unit. The system of issuing in bulk to headmen is very bad, and leads to much unfairness in the distribution, and consequent hunger. The head of the camp being one of themselves, a mere

porter, dare not and could not appropriate any portion. During a halt for the purchase of food there is endless detail work to do: rifles to be overhauled and repaired, loads readjusted, diaries and maps to be completed to date, *shauris* (conferences) to be held with native chiefs, and presents exchanged, defaulters to be told off, lists of deserters (in the early stages), or of casualties, &c., to be made up, and a thousand minor things. One's own kit has to be attended to, and odd moments would find us repairing our boots, loading cartridges, or mending clothes! The men would have light work to keep them employed if the halt was longer than two days, such as building rough huts, cleaning camp, or stringing beads, &c.

The Wakamba, the tribe that occupy Ukamba—the country extending from the Kibwezi to Kikuyu—are a large and powerful people My first impressions of them, as noted in my diary, are as follows:—"The men are quite naked, except for a ring, or several, of brass or iron round their waists, like the Wankondé, and a great quantity of chain (iron and brass 'trade' watch-chain) round their necks, and hung through and over their ears, and hanging generally in festoons everywhere. Their only cloth is a strip, with a very long fringe at each end, worn over the right shoulder and across the breast, like an officer's sash. They wear also amulets and bracelets of brass or iron, and festoons of beads in place of the chain, if the latter is not available. Especially curious is the arrangement of *white* beads, which they wear tight round the ankle to the instep, and upwards half-way to the knee, looking exactly like a clean white spat. This on a naked savage has, at a little distance, a most grotesque appearance. They smear themselves over with red clay and castor-oil, which makes them of a dark, brick-red colour, and they have handsome, glossy skins. They wear their hair in endless tassels, mop-fashion, but not long. Their features

are generally good, and the forehead high and intelligent. Their figures are tall, upright, and thin. Some are very well-built, fine men, but slight—calves and arms small but muscular. They seem by nature inveterately lazy. They generally stand in couples gazing at one. The attitude is typical—one leg is used to stand on, the other is hitched up, the sole of the foot resting on the knee, or thereabouts, of the other leg. Then they lean against each other, with their arms over each other's shoulders, looking the picture of laziness.

"They are too lazy to make paths, following the sandy or rocky bed of a river-course in preference to making a sound path on the ground above. The women wear a very small square piece of cloth or leather as an apron, it is about 4 or 5 in. in depth by 7 in. or so in breadth, and generally covered with bits of bright brass or beads. Behind they wear a long **V**-shaped strip of thin leather, ending in a point, and split up the centre, reaching down to the back of the knees or lower. It is literally a pair of swallow-tails, and presents a ridiculous appearance waving in the breeze as they run. They do not seem to tatoo much, and I have not yet seen them smoking. They drink *pombe*, I am told, but apparently very little. In addition to the tiny apron, many of the ladies wear an oval hide on the right hip, reaching below the knee and above the waist, coloured chocolate like all their belongings and themselves. They are generally festooned with beads, especially round the hips. Here we first came across cattle, for at this time the plague had not yet made its terrible ravages. They seem to possess large herds. The animals are fine, of the shape and size of the Indian ox, fairly well-bred, varying in colour, humped, and some tolerably large. They are hornless, or with short, sharp horns, just like Indian cattle. They want exorbitant prices for them."

The Wakamba are of Bantu origin, and are agricul-

tural, though they possess large herds and flocks. Their language is extraordinary: the words are drawled out to an extent which is almost incredible to one who has not heard it. Almost an entire inhalation of breath will be devoted to one short word; the result is most ludicrous. They occasionally organise a party to the coast, to exchange cattle, or for goods; but as they make no adequate provision for food supply on the return journey, when laden, they often suffer great hardship. A caravan of this sort overtook us on the Sabakhi; part had passed on ahead, leaving two men dead from starvation on the road.

The valley of the Kibwezi stream (which is of the purest and clearest water imaginable) is of molten lava. Huge lava waves from Kilimanjaro must have flowed down the valley, seething and eddying like a mountain stream, and in these shapes they have solidified. The honeycombed rock is impregnated with iron. It must have been a strange, wild sight, in those prehistoric days, when the molten, fiery mass swept forest and life before it! For years—nay, for centuries—it must have remained a sterile, blackened plain, and even now the soil is but a surface coating on the lava rock. Along the Kibwezi grow some fine timber trees, including a large rubber tree. It is here that the East Africa Scottish Industrial Mission has since made its headquarters.

Passing onwards from here we catch a glimpse of the great snow-capped mountain of Kilimanjaro. I cannot say it impressed me much. It is shaped like a gigantic, white-topped hay-cock. Those crags and peaks which pierce the clouds in Ruwenzori are wanting here, nor is there (as in that mountain) any series of lesser hills and blue-topped mountains to lead the eye upwards, and help it to gauge the great height and the stupendous grandeur of the snow peaks, which, overtopping and dwarfing all the lofty mountain heights, watch in eternal snow over the storms that rage beneath.

At the Salt River (Long. 37° 45′; Lat 2° 10′ S.) we have attained, by an imperceptible rise, a height of 3000 ft. above the sea, the distance being, in a direct line from Mombasa, about 200 miles. It is to this point that I advocate that the first section of the railway should be constructed (see chap. xvii). Our route here crosses the Mikindu (date-palm) plain, where every kind of game abounds. It is a matter of great importance to shoot meat occasionally for the men. A leader who can thus secure game is very popular, and service under him is eagerly accepted, the men are happy and contented, and one can thus reward, by an extra allowance, those men who have shown zeal or done extra work. I here shot the spotted hyena and the wild dog of Africa (see chap. xxi.). Lions abounded. We waited near the water in the evening to see if one would come to the carcass of an animal I had shot, and we heard them give tongue in three different directions quite close to us. This in the dark was more than we had bargained for.

Crossing the Salt River we begin to ascend rapidly, for here is the edge of the inner high plateau of the interior In front of us towers the gigantic granite rock of Nzoi, which stands out as a sentinel of the mountain masses behind. Almost every tree contains the *mzinga*, or hollow log of wood, suspended by the Wakamba for the wild bees to hive in. The soil is everywhere impregnated with iron, and in places the ore appears very rich. Firewood and timber is very scarce, and is brought from great distances by the natives, and sold in little bundles. The goolah fig, and the misanguti tree form the only shade. Mountains surround us on every side, as we toil in the heavy, yielding sand up the bed of a mountain stream; for, though the country is densely populated, and villages nestle on every hillside, and down among the valleys, there is no other path!

My companion, Wilson, had been constantly ill, and

on the occasion of these attacks he would become unconscious, and his head and neck would grow so hot as often to cause me great anxiety. I applied violent blisters, which gave him great relief. Never in my life have I met a man who took his illness so pluckily, except Sharpe in Nyasaland. Nothing would induce him to lie down, till he could no longer stand. I would sit by him, when racked with a splitting head and high fever, to try and brighten him up, and he would go into such fits of laughter at my anecdotes that it was difficult to realise the pain he suffered all the while. But he was a man of exceptional courage. In his first trip into Africa he had been attacked by a large body of Masai. His handful of men all bolted, and he remained absolutely alone. By some strange chance, in the dusk, the Masai did not see him among the bushes, and he shot many of them, eventually rallied his men, drove off the enemy, and recovered most of his loads. On another occasion the Wakamba, some 600 strong, on their way to fight the Masai, were eager to take vengeance on the white man for a matter in which Wilson had had no hand or part. Hearing of his arrival in the vicinity with a mere handful of men, they lay in wait for him. Wilson got news of it. Alone and unarmed he walked into their camp, and the matter ended in their making friends with him. I found that he had thus acquired an extraordinary influence with them, and now chiefs from considerable distances came almost daily to see him, bringing presents, and showing almost ludicrous pleasure at meeting him again. No other man in the country has ever acquired such an influence with the natives. At this time he was too ill to stand, but managed to sit on our one wretched donkey, falling when it fell, but never giving in, and thus he arrived at Machako's.

I myself, on the contrary, was fortunately extremely full of health and energy. It became my custom to walk

ahead of the caravan at a pace which very few of the natives could keep up with, and I have often found them on the run behind me. Thus gaining a considerable distance, I would have time to write up my road-book, take bearings with the compass, examine rocks and flowers, &c., before the caravan came up, and so I avoided delaying them. Long afterwards I found that this peculiarity had been noticed by each section of my men; the Sudanese called me (in Arabic) "the express train," and the Swahilis had a similar name, and they would make chaffing remarks to my gun-bearers as we passed, asking them to remember them to their friends on the other side of Africa! I thus had time to accomplish mapping work on the march, which otherwise I should have found it difficult to do. This work in the open country, with many striking objects on which to take bearings, now became much easier and more accurate. Along the Sabakhi, when cutting a road through dense jungle, and superintending a caravan, it was difficult to calculate both distance and direction, and, having no proper instruments, the latter was mainly judged by sun-shadow. The chart, however, I was glad to find, tallied fairly accurately with the subsequent careful survey by engineers.

Here among the Ulu mountains the population was dense, and the cultivation extended in every direction. The hills are of red marl, but "black cotton" soil alternates with it in a curious way. The excellent mountain grass was cropped short by the flocks and herds of the natives. The plague had not yet made its terrible visitation, and single herds of cattle numbered perhaps not less than 1000 head. Granite of many kinds, quartz, and the slaty rock, with which we built the fort at Makongeni, indicated the geological formation, and limestone no longer appeared. Apropos of this, I quote a passage from my diary, written near the Kibwezi:—"A crumbly

stone, so fragile and brittle that it could hardly be called stone at all. On close examination I could see the outline of reeds and grass, and even moss and twigs, imbedded in it. It was just a coating of lime on moss, grass, and reeds, which had settled as lightly as hoar-frost, so that the intricate network of dead vegetation was still left intact. Where pressure had come on it, it formed blocks of crumbly lime, with small quartz, pebbles, &c., imbedded in it, and shows a strong lime in the water."

The Wakamba were most friendly, but the people of the proverbial village of Kilungu, who are at war with all others, and have given trouble to every traveller (Thomson, Jackson, and others), played their usual thievish games on us, both when we passed and repassed. Their method was to circulate freely in camp (no zeriba being possible, as there is no bush), and then, snatching up some article, to rush off with it. Instantly there is an outcry; every one, ignorant of the cause, seizes his gun, and pursues the flying natives. The article in question turned out on this occasion to be an old pair of bathing drawers of mine, which were recovered without bloodshed! I cautioned the headman of the village against any such attempts on European caravans in the future.

On March 15th we reached Machako's. The "station," which consisted of a rough house with a trench round it, was occupied by one European and a small party of about a dozen Swahilis. Beyond buying flour for caravans, little was effected by this isolated post, 350 miles from the coast. The Company had no connecting link between it and Mombasa. It was powerless to protect the natives, and was not intended as a trading depot. I had the option of continuing on to the Lake Victoria with no precise object, but I thought I could do more real good by forming a chain of stations to connect Machako's with the

coast, and so establish a system of connected administration. The Administrator had promised to garrison the posts I should establish, and thus I hoped some real effective work would result from our labours. The station was built on a plain (5000 ft.), surrounded by hills, except towards the west, where it extended interminably towards Masailand and Kikuyu. These plains are mostly of black cotton soil, and are covered with excellent grass, cropped short near the Wakamba settlements by the flocks and herds, and further afield, —where the natives dare not drive their herds for fear of the Masai—by countless head of game. The plain in the dry weather looks parched and arid, but where it is intersected by mountain rills the bananas and crops grow luxuriantly. Here, for the first time in Africa, I saw a system of irrigation channels, most cleverly and effectively planned.

"These Wakamba are at constant war with the Masai. They have scouts out along the hills and on the borderland, by day and night, I believe, so that the approach of any Masai is at once known, and they assemble in enormous numbers, almost instantaneously, to fight them. Moreover, every day little parties pass my camp on their way to loot cattle from the Masai—three or four at a time, perhaps, massing further on (where they put on their war-dress). It is a daily sight, and one sees them going and returning all day long on these expeditions. Altogether, they seem to make it pretty hot for the Masai about here. In turn the Masai loot Wakamba cattle, &c." (diary).

Such is African life, for the African knows no peace. One day you may see peace and plenty, well-tilled fields, and children playing in the sun; on the next you may find the corpses of the men, the bodies of the children half burnt in the flames which consumed the village, while the women are the captives of the victorious

raiders. Not against the slave-trade alone are our efforts needed, as I have already in these pages so often said. The *Pax Britannica* which shall stop this lawless raiding and this constant inter-tribal war will be the greatest blessing that Africa has known through the ages since the Flood.

We remained at Machako's for a fortnight, building a large earthwork stockade. Of course, the work was entirely new to the men, and every smallest detail required constant supervision. I made great friends with the local chief, N'sibu, a fine old man, who brought his strapping sons, and even his wife and daughters, to see me, that I might know all his family wherever I might meet them, and no one should deceive me by saying he was his child who was not. They, on their part, were to see me in order that, being an old man, they might hear all his words to me, and fulfil them when he was gone, and that never between his family and ourselves should there be aught but peace; for he had given himself (he said), his lands and his cattle and his all to the white man. Striking words from an African savage! And in return we pretended to afford him "protection." What could a solitary white man and a dozen porters do in case of a Masai raid in force? But *here* there was at least this "station," whereas more distant tribes under our "protection" by treaty had not even that advantage. I would not make a treaty on such terms, but I gave him a flag as an emblem of friendship and alliance.

The rains broke on our arrival at Machako's, and descended in torrents, day and night, making our work difficult, and causing much sickness. The sick were, of course, attended by ourselves, as we had no doctor. Large sloughing ulcers, lung disease, inflamed eyes, and rheumatism were the most common ailments, and were prescribed for in a rough-and-ready, but effective fashion. I find the following note at the end of a day's list of

prescriptions:—"An inveterate shirker with 'stomach-ache' got a strong emetic—mustard and water and salt, mixed thick, followed by hot water. He said it was 'a very fierce medicine,' came for no more, and has worked regularly ever since."

We finished the stockade, and made a pretty pole bastion, with sod-wall entrance, enfilading the broad and deep ditch, which had a live thorn hedge at bottom, and bristled with chopped thorns and spikes. We then left (March 29th) on our return journey to the coast. The appearance of the country was now completely changed. Bare hills were covered with green verdure, and lovely flowers had sprung up everywhere. Dry water-courses had become rushing torrents, down which came "flushes" of water after heavy rain, sweeping all before them. The caravan, when marching down the bed of the river, was nearly swept away by one such torrent, and the men were up to their waists before they could struggle to the bank. Quicksands had formed in the river-bed of a most treacherous nature, which must have been caused by subterraneous streams. They are really very curious. The middle man of three, walking abreast, would perhaps suddenly sink, while the other two were on firm ground! or one leg would sink, and the other be all right. And this was absolutely continuous: every yard had to be tested. I myself got bogged endless times, for these quicksands are in the very bed of the river, through which we waded, and one could not, of course, see under the thick, rushing, muddy water, red with the marl of the hills. Consequently one was wet up to the waist with the stream, and drenched equally above with the rain. The men, however, took it all as a joke, and there were shrieks of laughter when any one got bogged by trying to make a short cut instead of following in the footsteps of the last man, and a rush of *askari* to seize him and his load before he sank too far or dropped it.

The greater the discomfort with driving rain, cold wind, and slippery paths, the more these children of nature sang and laughed as a protest against their misfortunes.

Of one of the worst of such days I write :—"It cleared up a bit, and we halted, and the men (who had marched with loads on paths as slippery as glass for some two and a half hours) actually began to dance—Abedi mimicking a tired man, with a load on his head and laden with rifles, which every man hung around some part of his person. He danced really well, amidst shrieks of laughter. He must have had 150 lb. on him. It is ludicrous how seductive the dance is to the African. One by one (of whatever tribe), as if impelled irresistibly and literally fascinated, they rise and rush off to it, and those who, on the narrow hillside path, could not crowd into the dance circle itself, jerked their bodies about, and beat time to the cadence, outside, with faces of intense abstraction and absorption. The giant Chiwarchi, almost naked, doing this on his own account, presented so absurd an appearance that I don't think I have laughed so heartily for some time."

We reached Nzoi, but as this place is densely populated, I decided to build the next stockade further on, where admirable soil and plenty of timber for building and fuel would be advantages to the colonists who were to settle around these stations, and where the ground would not already be monopolised by the natives. The little fort was built of pallisading (split poles) 8 ft. high and loop-holed. The butts of the uprights were charred, and the pallisading kept off the ground to preserve it from white ants. It was very hard work teaching my riffraff of savages how to construct the *boma*. Some of the most necessary of the tools (augers, &c.) I had been unable to procure at the coast; those I had (axes, &c.) were of the worst possible kind, and almost useless. I had no native artisans to teach

the men the simplest thing, and so every smallest detail had to be done by ourselves. We made our own rope (for measuring and tying) from Nkongó fibre, and our own nails from wooden pegs.

No caravan had ever attempted such work before, and we had to keep the men contented and willing, by constant example, while on one or two occasions I had let them see I would stand no nonsense but meant to be obeyed. For instance, once or twice, when a quarrel among the men had arisen, we did some execution with our own fists to restore order; nor did they ever find that grumbling produced the slightest concession, but the reverse. Meanwhile my success in shooting a giraffe, water-buck, hartebeest, &c., had made them happy with meat. But they only require a little tact, and in spite of the fact that we had a most mixed lot—loafers from Mombasa (even chain-gang criminals), worthless Wanyika, fugitive slaves, &c.—there had never yet been a single case of flogging in the caravan since I left the coast, and very little punishment of any sort.

In twelve days we completed the stockade, and so well did it look that the men themselves were delighted, walking round and round it, and exclaiming "*Kazi Ulaya*" ("The work of the white man"). Wilson, as usual, worked incessantly and indefatigably, though constantly ill and sensitive to the fierce sun, which now had succeeded the first bout of rain; indeed without him it could never have been done. These little forts are now all abandoned. In fact they cannot be said to have ever been occupied in the sense in which I had intended them. A few of the Sultan's "Viroboto" troops, who were a lawless and mutinous rabble, were sent up to occupy them; not a single European was stationed along the line (350 miles *viâ* Sabakhi) to attend to their wants, and supply them with food, as I had recommended. No

colonists or agriculturists were settled around them, though the Persians imported by Mr Mackenzie were eager to come, and redeemed slaves and others would also have been available. The Viroboto, of course, deserted, it was the result foreseen and desired, and was made the reason for ousting them from the Company's employ and pay. To-day, the stockades we laboured to build—as no money recompense would have made us labour—are deserted, and passing caravans pull down the rails we carried from great distances and adzed down with infinite trouble ourselves—to light their fires! Our assertions to the Wakamba, that these were the practical evidences of British occupation and administration remain a dead letter, and along this route from Mombasa to Machako's there is no European, and no station except a mission.[1]

We completed the stockade and marched to the Kibwezi. Having now no mapping work to prevent me from leaving the line of march, or to compel me to remain plotting in details in camp, I was able to do a little shooting on the road, and several times I did not return till long after dark, when Wilson would send a party with a lantern, who would make for the sound of a signal-shot and guide us back to camp, without which assistance we should have lost our way. I bagged giraffe, eland, hartebeest, water-buck, and various small antelope, and so kept the caravan in meat. We arrived at the Kibwezi on 19th, and next day mails reached me from the coast. The Administrator was anxious I should *at once* proceed to Uganda, and suggested that if I thought it necessary, I should return to the coast and organise an expedition for which 200 fresh men were being enlisted. This I decided to do at once, in order that I might obtain the War Office sanction, and get the

[1] A small station was subsequently made (under native supervision) on the Taru route, at the Tsavo River, between Mombasa and the Kibwezi.

necessary men, arms, and supplies. We were, however, loth to abandon uncompleted the task we had undertaken.

"I go with reluctance [I wrote], for I detest leaving a thing half done. We undertook to open up this line, and try transport animals. The last we have done successfully as far as Makongeni. I have made a chart with notes of the road up to Machako's, and conveyed thither double the loads I undertook to take, besides those for Jackson. Machako's stockade is done, also the fifth stockade. The fourth (Kibwezi) is under way. Makongeni is done; there only remain the third and second stockades" (diary).

I decided therefore to return *viâ* the Sabakhi with seventy men, leaving the bulk of the caravan with Wilson to complete the Kibwezi fort. I would choose the site of the third stockade, and convey thither as much food as my men could carry, in readiness for Wilson, detaching ten men to guard it till his arrival. Marching on rapidly to Makongeni, with the men empty-handed, I would select on my way the site of the second (and last) stockade, and send on fifty men to Malindi to procure food, who would return to the second stockade to await Wilson's arrival there. While these fifty men were going to Malindi and returning, Wilson would, we calculated, have completed the third stockade, and would meet them at the site of the second. Meanwhile I would continue my journey from Makongeni to Mombasa with the remaining ten.

Such were my plans. On the 20th I received the mails, and on the 22d I started. Before I left I selected the site of the stockade at Kibwezi, laid it out, and decided on its mode of structure (logs), and had a long conference with the Wakamba chiefs relative to the acquisition of the land. It is a good example of the simplicity of these ignorant savages, that their sole anxiety was centred in the honey-pots in the trees!

"They have no conception of the scope of the question. Here was I, wishing to take over a valuable tract of ground, and to gain legal possession of the site, on which I wish to build the fort, together with adjoining lands, including the regular camping-ground, and the reply is, that there is a honey-pot in the tree on the site! The fact is that waste land in Africa is literally 'no-man's-land,' and a neighbouring small village headman has no more claim over it than you or I" (diary).

I urged that a European and a doctor should be stationed here at the Kibwezi on account of its central position (half-way to Machako's, and at the junction of the Taru and Sabakhi routes), and the good water, abundant food, &c. Though this was never carried out by the Company, the suggestion was followed by the establishment of the East Africa Scottish Industrial Mission.

I carried out my plan exactly as I had arranged, marching very rapidly (in torrents of rain), and reaching Makongeni on May 5th. The forest was now dense with foliage, and where before the ground was burnt up, it was now carpeted with the most lovely flowers. The Sabakhi was a roaring river of immense volume. Buffalo and rhino had come down to the riverine forest in great numbers, and it was a matter of some danger passing through their haunts at the head of my little caravan, with only a small ·440 Winchester for defence. The ground was literally trampled down by them, like a cattle-yard. However, though a rhino charged through the caravan on one occasion, and a buffalo made for a porter on another, we were singularly fortunate, and met with no *contretemps*.

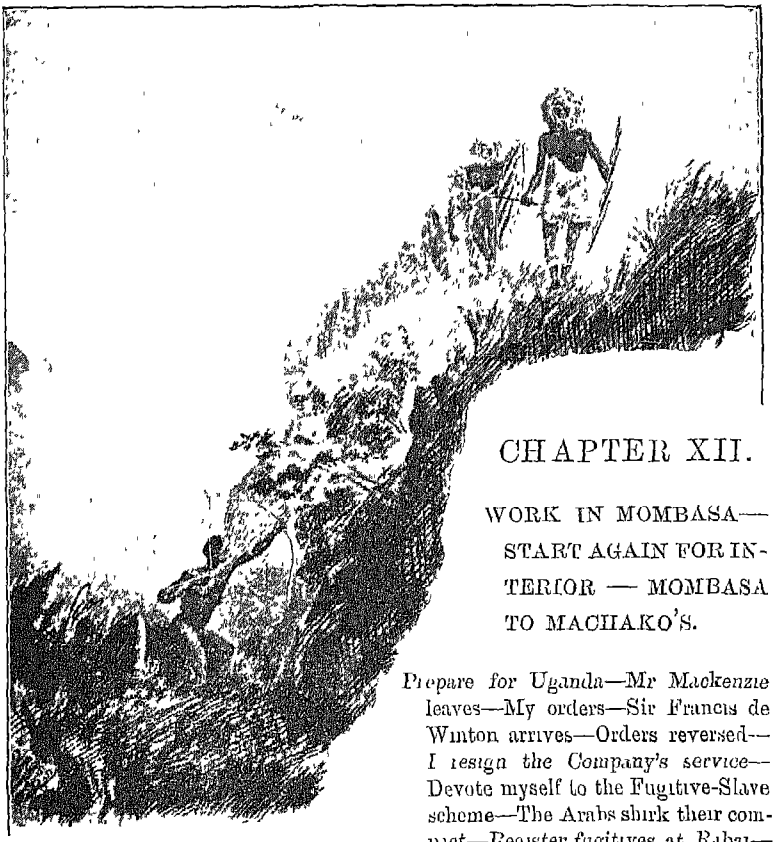
I note in my diary a quaint custom or superstition with regard to the cobra, which I noticed on this march:—"A very big black snake crossed my path slowly, and getting a man's sword-bayonet I let him

have it on the tail-end. He reared, and expanded a big hood, like the picture-book cobra. I did not know there was so well-hooded a cobra in Africa. He spat furiously, on which my men with great energy spat back! Nor could I get them to speak until he (and they) had finished. He did not attack further, though he looked like it at first, and went his way in the thick grass." From the manner of this performance it was evident that the men seemed to think their safety lay in spitting back at the reptile.

During this march I was much distressed by a bad foot, a very large thorn having entered the sole and broken off there. My boots were completely worn out, in spite of all my cobbling, and I had to march more than once with bare feet. The thing became so painful that for a couple of marches (for the first and last time in Africa, except when brought wounded to Karonga's) I had to submit to be carried. This, however, is no great luxury in such a district as the Sabakhi valley, as my diary testifies.—"It is rough work brushing through the thorns, which tear one's arms, and sometimes one's face. This jungle here is full of wait-a-bit thorns, and my bare feet, &c., *can't* wait a bit when I am carried through by main force in a blanket slung on a pole. Not an easy conveyance, unless you know how to dodge it—legs hanging out on one side, and head on the other, is the only way; for you *must* wear a big hat in this fierce sun, and the hat won't go *under* the pole or accommodate itself to the shape of the blanket." I was, in fact, rather a cripple at this time, for the wound in my left arm had broken out and become excessively painful, and I took several considerable pieces of bone from it, and had to wear it in a sling to get relief, though I still used my rifle when I got a chance, and secured a very fine water-buck—perhaps the longest horns I have.

Arrived at Makongeni, I wrote full instructions to the Company's agent at Malindi regarding the despatch of the Viroboto to garrison the forts, supplies of food, &c., and I then pushed on to Mombasa. Passing Fuladoyo, I found most of the villages deserted. There had been a failure of crops, and the chief headman and most of the people had gone off to the mission station of Rabai, in spite of the promise of the missions never again to harbour fugitive slaves. Other matters had interfered, and nothing practical had been done in the scheme, which promised so well when I left—*re* their working for their own ransom-money. The man who was now chief welcomed me eagerly, and said that six villages (about 200 men) were all ready to begin at once to work for their freedom. The truth was that the gratuitous redemption of the Rabai slaves had done great harm, and had given rise to the idea that, if they could only succeed in smuggling themselves there, they would be harboured and redeemed gratuitously.

My excellent men marched splendidly, in spite of the pouring rain, from morning till night. We usually camped at sunset, and they had no time to make any shelter, but lay in the open, often in torrents of rain, without a murmur. Indeed, it was as much as they could do to kindle a fire to cook their food. Lack of tobacco was their chiefest grief, and I supplied them with what I could. I found they had even broken up an old and very rank pipe, and smoked the pieces in lieu of tobacco. Being an inveterate smoker myself, I could fully sympathise with the craving! On May 11th we arrived in Mombasa.



MASAI AND WAKAMBA WARRIORS (p. 283)

CHAPTER XII.

WORK IN MOMBASA—START AGAIN FOR INTERIOR — MOMBASA TO MACHAKO'S.

Prepare for Uganda—Mr Mackenzie leaves—My orders—Sir Francis de Winton arrives—Orders reversed—*I resign the Company's service*—Devote myself to the Fugitive-Slave scheme—The Arabs shirk their compact—Register fugitives at Rabai—And Fuladoyo—Withdraw my resignation—Start for the Interior—Constitution of the expedition—Dualla—Past methods in Africa—Desertions—Bad equipment—Deficiency of men—Makongeni porters—Copper-poisoning—African instability—Meet a slave caravan—The best method of stopping them—Our "nursery"—Reason slaves run away—Advance party joins us—Wilson at the point of death—An awkward predicament—Work at Machako's—Grievances of the Wakamba—Leave Machako's—Discipline in a caravan—Manyuema—Sport

ON arrival in Mombasa (May 11th) I found the Administrator anxious that I should start for Uganda as soon as possible. Leave was obtained from the War Office, but news was now received from England that Sir

Francis De Winton, R.A., C.B., K.C.M.G., &c., was on his way out as Administrator and himself intended going to Uganda. I therefore devoted my time while Mr Mackenzie was away in Zanzibar to reproducing my road-chart of the Sabakhi route as far as Machako's, and to writing a report of my journey and work. I also enlisted and superintended the despatch of a caravan, under Mr Neumann, to cut a road along the Athi, and gave full instructions to him and to Mr Anstruther, who was road-cutting on the Sabakhi, and got the Viroboto sent off to garrison the forts. These tasks, together with much work connected with the scheme for the fugitive slaves, kept me employed all day and much of the night, till the return of the Administrator a fortnight later, at the end of May.

Now again I was told to prepare a caravan to go to Uganda, of which I should be in command. I sent messages to call Wilson, who returned with the caravan in the middle of June, having in the meantime built the intermediate stockades, so that now our first task was completed. In all we had built No. I. at Makongeni, II. and III. on the Sabakhi, IV. at Kibwezi, V. on Wakufokoa (or Dangi) River, and VI. at Machako's. Wilson had been again very ill after I had left him, and his life was despaired of by the men, whose affection for him was so great, that some were even weeping in his tent when they thought him dying. He had also been charged unexpectedly by a buffalo, and had a very narrow escape of his life.

My orders were received on May 30th, and having completed all the necessary arrangements in Mombasa as rapidly as I could, I left for Zanzibar on June 4th, to recruit men. Mr Mackenzie, the Administrator, left for England, after giving me an official letter in which I was directed to lose no opportunity of making treaties with the native chiefs on behalf of the Company, and of

obtaining as much ivory as possible to recoup expenses. For the rest I was given an "absolutely free hand," and intrusted with the fullest powers, both as regards the formation of the expedition, its route and conduct in the interior, and the steps I should take on arrival in Uganda. Mr Mackenzie simply said, "as the credit of success will be yours, so will you have to bear the blame of failure," and I was instructed (telegram, April 20th 1890) to assure Mwanga of our "protection and powerful assistance." His kindness to me, and the confidence he placed in me from the time of our arrival together in Dec. 1889 till his departure at the end of May 1890, were altogether exceptional. I had found in him a warm personal friend, whose departure I, together with every European in East Africa, greatly regretted.

I succeeded in getting a number of men in Zanzibar, where I was treated with the utmost hospitality by Colonel (now Sir Charles) Euan-Smith, in whose house I spent some very pleasant days. He was strong in his opinion that no time should be lost in occupying Uganda, —for it was at this time that we heard of the arrival of Dr Carl Peters in that country on behalf of German interests, and Emin Pasha had just started towards the same point with a strong caravan from the German coast; nor as yet had the Anglo-German agreement (July 1st, 1890) been negotiated.

On June 14th I returned to Mombasa. Sir F. De Winton had just arrived, and now once more my orders were cancelled, and I learned that the Administrator himself intended to go, and had brought a staff of officers to accompany him. I therefore tendered my resignation, which was accepted; but I wished, whether in the Company's service or not, to at least reorganise the scheme for the fugitive slaves, which had completely collapsed during my absence in the interior, and I stayed on to undertake it. Mr Mackenzie had brought from

Persia a number of agriculturists. Some had accompanied me (as I have narrated) along the Sabakhi, and I had acquired a considerable influence with them, and they were willing to settle where I put them. These men, together with self-ransomed slaves, I hoped, as I have said, to establish around my posts in colonies, and so to secure an effective line of stations and garrisons with a system of food supply, communication, and administration as far as Machako's.

The Arabs had tried to go back on the agreement they had made with Mr Mackenzie to accept an all-round sum of $15 per head for the fugitive slaves. They wished to make its acceptance optional with the owner, which would entirely destroy the scheme. I was myself at the *baraza* (council) at which this was proposed, and I strongly pointed out to the Administrator (Sir F. De Winton) how disastrous an acquiescence would be. The Arabs then wished that all those who agreed to the original plan should sign a document, and all who wished should dissent. This was another ruse put forward by an old Arab, who, of course, saw clearly that, through the loyalty and public spirit of the minority of the Arabs, the strength of the fugitives would be broken by the self-redemption of many of their leaders, and so he would be able to seize his own by force, or get a much higher price for them. I declined to accept any such modifications, for I saw their real meaning and results. I appealed to the *liwali* as to whether it was not true that the scheme had been agreed to by himself and the other leading Arabs present at a large *baraza* held by Mr Mackenzie, not as individuals, but as representing the whole of the Arabs of Mombasa. He agreed that it was so. I was warmly supported by Mohamed Ali—the finest Arab I have met in Africa, and a man of very broad and enlightened views—who said that, for his part, he would not go back

on his contract. I found the slaves also much disheartened with the scheme, and fearful lest the freedom papers should not be really valid.

So Wilson and I set to work to reorganise the matter. I pointed out to Bishop Tucker that long ago the Church Missionary Society had given a pledge to Sir John Kirk, when he extricated them from the reprisals threatened by the Arabs, that they would never again harbour runaway slaves. This pledge had not been kept, and its violation had led to the difficulty in 1888, when, for the second time, they had been extricated, by the free ransom of the slaves, on the initiative of the Company. They then again repeated their pledge for the future. I stated that already (early in 1890) this promise had again been broken! This was denied. I went to Rabai, and there in the presence of Mr Fitch, the resident missionary—who helped me in every way, and was not in any way responsible in the matter, since he had only recently taken charge of the station—I enrolled the names of 154 fugitives, including the chief of Fuladoyo. All these were now told that they must leave Rabai, unless they registered themselves to work out their freedom, as slaves could not be harboured by the missions. They readily agreed to the latter course.

With some difficulty I got the missions to consent to allow the Rev Jones, an ordained native, to superintend the scheme during my absence in the interior, and, as he was enthusiastic about it, and personally knew most of the people, and understood their language, and customs, and the modes of employment most suited to them, a better man could not have been found. Sir Francis De Winton promised his cordial help and concurrence, and offered to find work for them to enable them to earn the requisite money A philanthropic lady generously placed £100 at my disposal at this time for the furtherance of this scheme in any way I

considered best. I placed this sum in trust with the Company, and suggested the formation of a committee to organise the scheme, and expend the money on lines which I indicated The main difficulty was to find employment for the women slaves, but I arranged that a village should be established near where the projected railway was to be begun, or where a road was being cut through the bush on the Taru desert. Sir Francis De Winton kindly consented that the women should be employed in carrying water to the men, and in other tasks suited to them. Mr Jones was to superintend this village on the ostensible grounds of ministering to their spiritual needs.

On our return from Rabai Mr Wilson was sent by the Administrator to Zanzibar to engage porters, and I proceeded alone to the fugitive slave villages of Fuladoyo and Mwaiba. Here I increased the roll of those willing to work out their own freedom to 280, and once more all seemed to augur well for success. Confidence was restored among the slaves themselves, when they found that they had to do with Mr Wilson and myself, whom they knew and trusted, and by my taking one man (who had been on caravan work with me, and had earned more than the requisite money) before the *liwali* (magistrate) myself. He himself paid his master in presence of the Arab *baraza*, and was presented with a certificate of freedom, which I witnessed and signed. When he found that this was really valid, and he could go where he liked as a free man without fear of seizure, he went off to tell his friends, and to get all the others to adopt the same plan. I arranged also that the Company's chief magistrate should keep a register of the men who had thus freed themselves, so as to protect them from injustice. I worked hard at this, preparing rolls of the names of the slaves and of their owners to be posted in the coast towns, together with notices in

Arabic and English, intimating that these were working out their freedom, and were, therefore, not to be seized.

Meanwhile, new changes of programme had occurred, and I agreed to withdraw my resignation, and proceed with a caravan some little distance into the interior. For this purpose Wilson and I re-engaged our old men, who were eager to serve with us again, and we superintended the despatch of a caravan in advance, accompanying it as far as Rabai. I returned from Fuladoyo about July 21st, and was fully occupied in preparing the slave lists for posting in the coast towns. The Administrator now desired me (on 26th) to start immediately for the interior with such men as were available. These amounted to some 150. My instructions were to proceed to Ngongo Bagas, in Masailand, some four marches beyond Machako's, and there to build a station. If my resources permitted it, I was to proceed again a little farther and build another post, and there await Sir F. De Winton's arrival. I worked very hard, up to the night before I started, to complete my arrangements regarding the Fuladoyo fugitives, and we left the scheme in the hands of Mr Jones with a fair prospect of success. I regret, however, to say, that long afterwards (when in Uganda) I had a desponding letter from Mr Jones, saying the scheme had fallen through. On my way back, I made inquiries from Mr Fitch and Mr Jones at Rabai, and they told me that by the aid of the documents I had left in their hands they had succeeded in arranging for a few men to work out their freedom, but they gave me to understand that the scheme, in its entirety, and as I had left it, was non-existent. On arrival at the coast, I was overwhelmed with work, and as I left for England by the first steamer, in order to report on matters connected with Uganda, I had no time to enter once more into this important and most interesting question.

In accordance with my orders I now got my men together, took what loads there were, and left Mombasa on Aug. 6th. With me were Mr Wilson (second in command), Mr F. De Winton, and Mr Grant, also Mr Brown, whose destination was Machako's. I had seventy Sudanese, under a native officer, Shukri Aga, who had come down from the Equatorial Province with Emin and Stanley. These men had been enlisted in Egypt by Captain Williams, R.A. (who had come out with Sir F. De Winton). I had also the Maxim gun which Mr Stanley had taken in his trip across Africa. It was worn out and almost useless, nor had I any men who understood it.

With me was a man named Dualla, a Somal by birth, who had been for many years with Stanley on the Congo. Later he had been with Count Teleki, on his remarkable journey to Lake Rudolf, and on many other expeditions; there is probably no living man who has travelled so much in Africa. Though a zealous Mohammedan, he was free from bigotry, and could recognise the merits of Christianity, as well as what he would term its demerits. He was extremely shrewd and intelligent, spoke English, Arabic, Swahili, and Somali with almost equal fluency, had travelled, I believe, in Europe and America, and had lived in England. His home was in Aden. He was the most energetic, valuable native I have ever met, thoroughly trustworthy, and very conscientious and willing. His fault lay in his rough and arbitrary methods with the men. In former expeditions he had, I believe, generally been his own master, and, indeed, in Count Teleki's expedition he had, I understand, complete control of the whole of the men and goods. He was feared and disliked by the men, and I had heard a short time before, that when it became known to a caravan that he was going with it, the men in a body declined to start.

For this Dualla is not to blame. His methods were those which had hitherto been followed in African travel, and which even yet, I am sorry to say, I do not think are wholly extinct. Porters were treated as mere beasts of burden. Flogging—sometimes with great cruelty—chaining of men together in gangs, often for comparatively trivial offences, beating men who lagged behind in the rear of the caravan, abandoning others on the march who were unable to come on—such things have been frequent in the history of African travel.

Every one who has travelled in Africa, or, indeed, been on a campaign, knows that methods are often necessary, which those who sit in arm-chairs at home may cavil at and condemn. Insubordination *must* be crushed at once with a strong hand, discipline—where the good (and often the lives) of many solely depends on the will, and the resource, and foresight of one—*must* be maintained; thieving and gross negligence must be effectually shown to be "not worth the candle." And where fining is impracticable, and imprisonment often impossible, corporal punishment is, at times, a necessity. The remedy against the abuse of power and the infliction of unnecessary or excessive punishment lies in a nutshell. Select a gentleman for the command of an expedition, and one who will remember in all times and places that he *is* an English gentleman. Let him be withal a man of tact, resource, and resolution, though the leader of a caravan need be no Lawrence or Napoleon (as, judging by some recent ebullitions of enthusiasm, one would almost imagine).

Dualla and I settled conclusions pretty early in the day. I saw him strike a native, and told him before the whole of the men that I would not allow it. It was a very nasty pill to the proud Somal, but Dualla's charm lay in the fact that a hint was always enough, and I never had to speak to him again during the two years

we were together. He was one of the bravest and best fellows I have ever had to deal with. I have quite a personal affection for him, which I know he returned with devotion.

Mr Mackenzie, speaking at the Royal Geographical Society (Nov 7th, 1892), said that he thought "no caravan had ever left the coast so ill-equipped in every way" as the one of which I now took command, and there was much truth in the statement. Many of the men were not porters at all; they lay about in the path groaning, and saying they were dying, and they deserted in twos and threes daily. I made the marches very short indeed. I humoured the men in every way I could, but the result was the same. Many, I think, had only come in order to draw the three months' advance of pay, and desert with rifle and ammunition, and by the time I left Makongeni I had lost about fifty, or one-third of my men, and they still continued to desert in ones and twos Wilson was again ill, but we had no doctor, few medicines, no medical comforts, and a ridiculously small allowance of provisions and necessaries.

I was told that very many hundred loads had been conveyed in readiness to Machako's, but I eventually found only about 100 there—largely of useless goods. Stokes had taken up 300 loads by the German route, and Mr Stanley was said to have left large quantities; but all these were at the south of the lake—200 miles from Uganda. However, my orders from the Administrator were distinct that I was not to go to Uganda, and I was told I should not probably be away more than six months, so my hands were tied, and though private news from England led me to conclude that I should later receive orders to go on, I was, of course, unable under the circumstances to equip my caravan with that object, or to point out the insufficiency of the supplies.

On arrival at Makongeni, on the Sabakhi, my caravan

had become so reduced by desertions that I decided to go to Malindi, the seaport at the mouth of the Sabakhi, to endeavour to recruit more, and to obtain food, which was to have been sent here to await me. Moreover, I was now in great difficulties to carry the food supply necessary for the foodless stretch along the Sabakhi, for I had only sufficient men to carry the caravan loads. I therefore sent on seventy men under Grant and Brown as far as the second stockade (fifty miles). These would return, leaving the Europeans and ten Sudanese in charge of the goods The rest of the expedition accompanied me to Malindi, while Wilson, who was ill, and De Winton remained in Makongeni to prepare food for the march, and to try and get some Makongeni men for porters. I made a very rapid march to Malindi and back (seventy-four miles), being absent only five days, though we had to purchase the grain and adjust the loads, &c , for, again, nothing was ready.

While here I took the opportunity of having a long talk with the *liwali* (Arab governor), a thorough native-gentleman, about the fugitive slave question. It had never been properly explained to him before, and I was disappointed to find that my carefully prepared lists had never been sent to him. When he understood that the scheme only applied to the old fugitives—viz., to those who had run away prior to Aug. 1st, 1890, and that slaves would not, therefore, be encouraged to desert; also that the Arabs would have the right of entry into these villages when once the men had obtained their freedom (for the villages would then be of free men under the Company's flag), he was enthusiastic about it, and promised his cordial co-operation. It will be remembered that, on Aug. 1st, the edict against slavery obtained by Colonel Euan-Smith came into force. This edict, if enforced, would practically have extended the benefits of the scheme for fugitives to *all* slaves.

On my return to Makongeni, I found Wilson had been very ill indeed with lung disease and jaundice, but was convalescent. The Makongeni people had benefited very greatly by the little fort we had built on our first trip. Since its garrison arrived, the Gallas, who formerly stole the women and children (for sale in Malindi), and helped themselves as they pleased to the crops, and of whom the Makongeni people stood in abject terror, had entirely disappeared. As I had obtained no porters in Malindi, I now called on these people to help me by supplying a few men to accompany me, at a liberal hire, for six days. They demurred, being a set of cowardly, thieving rascals—the refuse of Malindi, &c. I therefore compelled them to oblige me. Thirty-four came as far as the second stockade (four days), and promised to accompany me as far as the Tsavo, but the moment the promise was made they all cleared out and left me in the lurch!

I was myself taken ill on my return to Makongeni, but experience of camp-life in India enabled me at once to diagnose that I was suffering from copper-poisoning, (due to the copper cooking-pots from which the galvanising had worn off), for I have similarly suffered before. Knowing the antidote to be iodide of potassium (of which we had a little in our chest), I prescribed it—for De Winton and Wilson were similarly affected. Its effect was an almost immediate cure De Winton, who presided over the medicine-chest, weighed out the dose (20 grains). I was on the point of swallowing what he gave me, but thinking it looked somewhat large, I took the scales and myself weighed it. I found he had entangled the balances accidentally, and the dose given me was about 300 grains, which I suppose would have pretty effectually disposed of me! I recommend this antidote to travellers, for copper cooking-pots are *de règle* in the tropics, and poisoning, more or less severely,

is therefore not uncommon. The cure I learnt on board a steamer on the Irawaddy, where I alone, from previous experience, had diagnosed our malady, and a doctor then prescribed the antidote. The symptoms are unmistakable, for a bad case of copper-poisoning produces the same effects as cholera.

On arrival at the second stockade, the distance of which was now reduced to some forty-three miles from Makongeni by point to point marching, I found Grant dangerously ill, and he had to be carried on the forward march. This added a difficulty, for I had not a man to spare. I had seventy loads to pick up here, my thirty-four Makongeni porters had deserted, and I had been unable to get a single man in Malindi. However, we met our difficulties somehow, and determined to push through as fast as possible by morning and afternoon marching (*telekeza*) before the food should give out.

The African is "unstable in all his ways"! Two of my most trusted *askari*—one of them a man whom I thought devoted to me, who had shown such great grief on Wilson's illness, and had confided to me all about his home and his little child, and for whom I had done much, bolted with a bag of rupees! I think the solution is not that the African, as a rule, is of a deeply ungrateful or treacherous nature; quite the reverse. I have already described his inability to appreciate danger. It is part of his character; he cannot realise consequences of any kind. He will yield to momentary temptation, whether it be to run away with rupees, or to overeat himself. Reflection will probably bring bitter remorse when it is too late.

The Sudanese proved terribly bad at marching, but by dint of judicious halts and all-day travelling, together with the reduced distance by the new path, we made good progress. A constant east wind (we were march-

ing west) spoilt any chance of securing game for meat, though I regularly scoured the country in the evening after arrival in camp. I had now an excellent battery, consisting of my valued little ·450 (Tolley), a ·577 express, and a 10-bore. The two latter, both by Holland & Holland, I had bought in Zanzibar from a Russian sportsman.

The day we arrived at the Tsavo three Sudanese were missing. I sent back a strong search party to look for them. They found one, and it was supposed the others had deserted and returned to the coast. Long afterwards another turned up, but the third had died. Meanwhile, after crossing the Tsavo, when I had seen the last man out of camp, as was my custom, I hastened on at furious pace to overtake the head of the caravan. "As I came up I saw two Swahilis in front with guns, and Brown standing opposite them with his legs apart, looking as though he had seen a ghost, and utterly bewildered what to do. It turned out that as they were carrying Masai spears he thought he had run into Masai, though their dress and long rifles and their faces admitted, I should have thought, of no mistake" (diary). I questioned the men, and noticed that others as they came up were slinking off into the bush. "Then two porters, with fearfully emaciated children on their backs, appeared. One was a boy—a living skeleton, a really ghastly object, simply skin and bone, shins and arms like slate-pencils, and a keen, wolfish expression of face. Another child, a girl, limping along with a swollen foot, was in better condition; a third, a tiny child, very pretty, with long eyelashes and curly soft hair—not wool—which showed it to belong to the race from which the Gallas, Somals, Masai, etc., are sprung—was also very thin. Seeing all this, I turned sharply to the men and asked, what children were these? They said the children of one of themselves. I said they

lied; these children were not Swahilis, nor were they all of the same tribe. It was now obvious it was a slave caravan" (diary).

I disarmed the men and put them under a guard of Sudanese, and sent Wilson on ahead to capture any more of the caravan he could, while I despatched a

SLAVE CARAVAN AT TSAVO RIVER

messenger to Shukri, who, as I have said, had marched back to our previous camp with a strong party of Sudanese to search for the missing soldiers. I ordered him to lie in wait for this slave caravan when they should have reunited, and seize their leaders and their arms and all slaves. Meanwhile I brought on the children and the prisoners and our own caravan, and then went rapidly ahead to see what Wilson had been doing.

We found a man in a slave-stick and a slave woman with a baby, and the headman in front had also seen fifteen girls in slave-sticks, who fled into the bush. I took several more prisoners and arms. These I subsequently examined separately in camp, when, finding they could not concoct a story together, they individually had to tell the truth. I disarmed and released the common porters—I had no food to feed many prisoners—and retained the leading men, and ultimately sent them down with a European to the coast, together with the full evidence obtained from the released prisoners regarding the owners of the caravan, who were all Mombasa men.

It is needless to point out that slave caravans are illegal under Seyyid Barghash's proclamation of 1876, to say nothing of the edict of Aug. 1st, 1890, then just issued. My action, therefore, as an agent of the Administration, was perfectly legal in dispersing this caravan; but being in the straits I was for food, and depending on the British jurisdiction under the Company, my main object was to gain full evidence, on which a conviction of the leading Arabs concerned in the matter could be effected, rather than to capture a number of irresponsible hired porters. This evidence, as I have said, I obtained and submitted, duly verified and witnessed, together with the prisoners as further evidence; yet I regret to say that, for reasons I do not know, no conviction was ever effected. Such procedure, followed by a conviction of the principals at the coast, would, I am convinced, have a greater effect in stopping this trade than the issue of edicts to the sound of trumpets, or the mere dispersal of an occasional caravan.

In case it may interest the reader to hear more of the slaves we liberated, I quote a few extracts from my diary:—"At the mid-day halt I gave the children a good square meal, cooking a chicken I had got from one of the

Slavers. I do not suppose the poor little devils have had such a meal since they were born. The boy is desperately ill—starvation mostly—and can barely stand." Again, on Sept. 5th :—" My little children are getting on first-rate. The boy nearly died, but is pulling round. The little girls are getting quite free and happy, and one hears them speak now ; before they never spoke or made any sound. I cover them up nightly with a water-proof sheet—woman and baby and all. The woman went off to-day, and is supposed to be with the Wakamba. She is a fool, and will only be sold again. The Wakamba, I hear, think the children are my own, since they are allowed inside my tent ! "

Again, on Sept. 10th, I have the following note :—" I looked after my 'nursery' too, and had their filthy rags replaced by clean little white coats, which I have had made, and gave them the blanket of the dead Sudanese soldier ; so now they are as snug as dormice. The lady with the croup-coughing baby, who had disappeared, was found in the hut of a native, and brought back. . . . I told her she was free to go or stay, but could get no answer, beyond a giggle, as to what she wished to do. Eventually she got her issue of food for seven days for the onward march, and then cleared off, taking with her the eldest girl, for which I was extremely sorry, as she was a jolly little thing, and I know she will only be sold into slavery again.

" Some good folk would cry, ' Base ingratitude ! ' I do *not*. These savages do not think or act as we do. They are, in truth, like ' dumb driven cattle.' With the slave caravan they suffer uncomplainingly starvation, the scourge, and all the painted horrors of so many writers. They meet a European *safari*, and they hide in the jungle and rejoin the Slavers. Like cattle, they will face any misery, but dread the unknown. They are brought on by us—fed, clothed, and spoken kindly to ; they bolt.

Why? Perhaps they are suspicious of what all this may mean, and, as in Nyasaland, think they are being fattened to be *eaten*. I think, however, it is merely the dumb brute's instinct to wander which makes them go. The long, hot, dusty march, &c., is a bore. They wander off as cattle do, regardless of stall and food, of danger from lions, of danger of a cruel master, instead of a kind one. The very immediate present is the only thought, and sooner than march to-morrow to the unknown, they slip off to-day, and follow the caged bird's instinct, and, like it, they perish in their ill-advised liberty; but, who blames the foolish bird?"

I have copied the passage *verbatim*, though it is somewhat lengthy, and perhaps those who read it will begin to understand that the African must be treated differently from the European with centuries of culture to his making, and that coercion is sometimes necessary for their own good. The children were taken to the Company's station at Machako's. The tiny one shared a donkey with a wizened old Sudanese soldier, who was too ill to walk. They were then handed over by me to the safe keeping of the Company's agent. What has become of them since I do not know.

Grant was now able to ride a donkey; but Wilson, who had been ill ever since we left the coast, and had only kept himself together by mere pluck, was getting worse daily. We crossed the Masai roads safely, though we only missed running into a very powerful war-party by a few hours apparently. We passed a very large Swahili trading caravan, and arrived at the Kibwezi on Sept. 5th, our food having held out with a small margin.

Here I found the caravan I had despatched in advance on July 1st, under Mr Auburn, an ex-cavalry soldier. He told us of strange adventures. He had been lost in the jungle for five days when out shooting, and his wretched men, as I long afterwards overheard from their conversa-

tion together, had been panic-struck, fearing lest they should be accused of having murdered him. He, moreover, casually mentioned that he "had been tossed several yards into the air by a rhino." He returned from here to the coast, taking the prisoners (slave-traders) with him. His caravan included most of the men of our former caravan, and they professed much delight on meeting Wilson and myself. Most of them were armed with muzzle-loaders, and a new instalment of sixty more, who now arrived, had no arms at all.

The Sudanese collapsed here, and a very great many were seriously ill. There were now some 5 Europeans and 450 natives, and yet no doctor. Grant and De Winton were as yet ignorant of the work; when Wilson was well enough to do anything, he was worth ten ordinary men, but as he now completely broke down, the whole work devolved on Dualla and myself, and it was almost more than we could accomplish. The sickness of the Sudanese compelled me to halt for five days before they could possibly march, and in this time I reorganised the whole caravan, divided them into companies and "camps," checked and entered all rifles, re-sorted and ascertained the nature of all loads, bought food, wrote voluminous mails and despatches for the coast, and with a thousand other details occupied my time completely. In addition, we had to tend the sick.

None of the little forts except Makongeni and the "fifth stockade" contained any garrison. Our old friends among the Wakamba chiefs came and brought us their little presents—a sheep, sugar-cane, grain, and what not—and received an equivalent (and no more) in cloth or beads—a more satisfactory system than the virtual blackmail demanded in Nyasaland. On the 11th Sept. we marched. Our cheery old Wanyamwezi porters, who had been with us before, carried Wilson with positive eagerness, though he weighed, I suppose, fourteen stone.

We arrived at the Mikundu plain, where game abounds, and I decided to halt one day to secure a little meat for the men.

Finding Wilson was much better and quite cheery, I started off at 11 A.M. to shoot. I had walked several miles and fired several shots, when men came running towards me, out of breath, to say Wilson was very ill, and wished to see me. Knowing it must be *very* serious for him to have sent such a message, I hurried as fast as

WILSON ILL.

I could towards camp. I quote the passage from my diary, written when the memory was vivid in my mind :—

"I shall never in my life forget the sight I saw There in the middle of camp was Wilson. Grant and Brown and some men were holding his arms up over his head; his head was dropped on his chest, his lifeless hands fell limp, and his knees were bent and not supporting his body. I rushed to him, and found him un-

conscious. Every one gave way to me, for they were helpless and bewildered. I had him carried at once into my tent, and took his shoes and socks off, and rubbed his feet with whisky I poured a little neat brandy down his throat; I found he had taken a good deal. He revived for a moment, and I got men to rub his legs and hands, and especially his feet. I made a *very* strong solution of carbolic oil, and rubbed him violently all over, holding his arms above his head. It saved his life. Every few moments he drank more brandy, but had lost his sense of taste entirely, and, though it was neat, he did not taste it at all. His heart had apparently ceased to beat, when he swooned, and I could detect no pulse. After he came to, he shivered and revived like a dead man come to life. Then he got better; but it was touch and go for several hours; constant brandy, till he had drunk nearly half a bottle; hand-rubbing on the feet and legs, and his pulse just flickering and stopping, and then flickering on again. But he got better, and muttered, 'By George! I am glad you came! I was *determined* not to *go* till you came; and when I saw you, I knew it was all right, and I lost all consciousness at once.' I knelt by him, and directed operations, till at last he was able to take a strong cup of Liebig. He picked up considerably, and I gave him Liebig to moisten his mouth continually. I kept cheering him on to fight it out, and he just did it by main pluck. After I had gone shooting in the morning, he took a bad turn, and had either three or four attacks similar to the one in which I found him, swooning and heart stopped. Determined not to give in, he made them take him out in the open air, and keep moving, lest he should die. He directed everything—holding up the arms to ease the heart and lungs, rubbing the chest, &c.—until he lost consciousness; and, doubtless, had I not come when I did, that attack had been his last, as it was the worst.

"After this he had two or three relapses; but I saw his eyes going, and redoubled the rubbing. It was twelve o'clock when I got in, and by evening he was better, and able to talk and to taste the spirit at last. Still, his pulse was very, very weak, and he dreaded the night. I left him for a few minutes, and he had again a bad turn; but when I returned, he cheered up again. It was extremely curious; my presence just then seemed to be life to him, and he could not bear the idea of any one else having anything to do with him, except under my directions. . . . I sat up with him, though very tired, of course, not only with the physical work, but the strain of many hours when his life depended on me. So I sat up the long night through (and it *was* a long one), and drank strong coffee to keep off the sleepiness. I talked to him for some time, and the subject turned on his and my past. I did it purposely, to take him out of himself, and told him I had done something like this once before in my life.

"His life was *barely* flickering, for he was weaker than ever now, though the stroke was past; and many times I could not detect a pulse at all—and such a fluttering and stopping one at best. We did not dare that he should sleep, except for a very short period at a time, lest he should just pass the border in his sleep, and I should find myself watching a dead man! So all through the night I hardly took my eyes off his face; and when he dozed, I felt his pulse, and watched his breathing till it flickered, and then I woke him. At intervals I fed him with Liebig. Towards daybreak he fell into what seemed to me a far easier and healthier sleep, and I watched and let him sleep. He awoke *very* much better, and I rigged up a really most admirable *dhoolie* of the bed as it stood, and, by a good device, fixed the pole so that when the bed was put down it stood on its own legs, and the pole, too, did not fall. The same con-

trivance prevented the possibility of the bed's toppling over. I fitted him up with bottles of Liebig and lime-juice, and he went off. Then I got the caravan off."

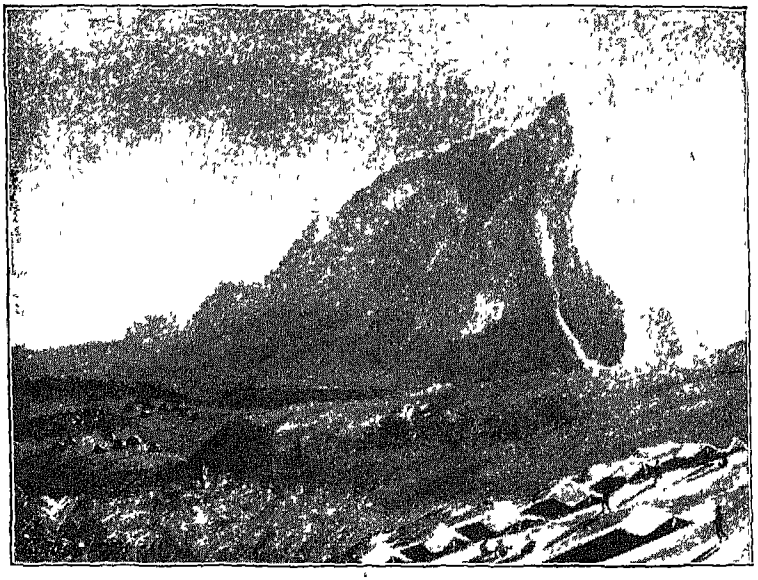
The march was a rough one, and I walked beside the bed on which Wilson was carried to steady it, stumbling through and over the thorn-bushes to hold it up. This was terribly fatiguing work. "Near camp, a very fine rhino came trotting past the *safari*. Wilson's porters were scared, and dropped him, giving him a bad shaking and hurting him much. I had just then gone ahead to select camp. The rhino came past me at twenty yards. I went towards him with the ·577, and he swerved towards me, and looked like charging. I thought it was all right with the ·577, and stood fast. Luckily, he did not charge, for, a few seconds later, I covered him carefully and fired, and found no cartridges in the rifle! My gun-bearer had extracted them without orders (and against orders). It would have been bad for me if he had charged when I was under the impression an empty gun was loaded. I was very riled at losing him" (diary)

The extremely heavy work of forcing my way through bushes, &c., to hold on to Wilson's bed, had tired me out completely, and I add:—"I meant sitting up again with Wilson, and started to do so, but fell dead asleep after watching for some time; and on his urgent request, and assurance that he was very much better, I allowed a Somal to take my place, with orders to wake me on the slightest possible occasion, and I slept like a dead man."

Next day we arrived at the fifth stockade. There was a garrison here, but the *akida* in command told me that the men had already declared their intention of leaving (without orders), being ill supplied with food and necessaries. I took away their arms, but subsequently gave them muzzle-loaders in exchange. I left them goods to buy food, and warned them not to desert, but

to make any complaints they had in a regular manner, when they would be attended to. This stockade, like the others, was soon afterwards abandoned, and I found it falling into decay on my return from Uganda.

On arrival at Nzoi, I found that the Wakamba were scared at the approach of my Sudanese, and had fled. This caused me some delay, as I wished to purchase food here, and it was a day or more before I could reassure the natives. I had many of the Sudanese sick here. Having halted for three days to buy food, we pushed on.



NZOI PEAK—THE GATE OF CENTRAL AFRICA.

It may be of interest to mention the rate of food purchase. After much bargaining our standard was fixed, and I found, on weighing up afterwards, that it came to 7 lb. of flour for a yard of the commonest calico. This calico—Madreput—is narrow, and so flimsy that you can almost see through it. Our requirements were about 822 lb. per diem.

Leaving the grand old Peak of Nzoi,—the massive granite sentinel, as it were, that guards the gate to the heart of Africa, and the range on range behind, which form the plateau of the interior—we arrived at Machako's on the 20th. Wilson had good fortune in having cool, cloudy weather for the march, which we accomplished in three days, and a hartebeest I had shot rewarded his willing carriers. He was better now, the only danger being that in his sleep he should turn on his left side. Many Wakamba chiefs had come to welcome me during the march and make friends. On one occasion a very wild bull was brought as a present. He ran amok through camp, scattering men and cooking-pots in every direction. De Winton, who had long been ranching in Manitoba, undertook to lasso him, but got charged and upset, and we eventually had a considerable bit of fun with him before we overpowered him, and converted him into beef.

Arrived at Machako's, I found that, as the station was now the only one the Company possessed in Africa beyond the coast, the earthwork we had built was too small for the requirements of a central depot for the goods for Uganda and the interior. I therefore undertook to again double it. It had originally been doubled, and was therefore a long rectangle. This we now converted into a square of about 70 yds. sides (interior measurement), more than four times the original area. The men worked most willingly and well. We were engaged from early morning till late at night in re-sorting the bales of goods (of which there were some 80 instead of 500) awaiting us here, stamping and repairing rifles, stringing beads, writing mails, organising the caravan, and a thousand other details, in which Dualla was absolutely invaluable. I sent back the men enlisted only as far as Machako's, and we gradually evolved some

order, by dint of hard work, out of the chaos we found Nothing tallied with the invoices—beads were unstrung and all mixed in a mass, cloth was equally mixed. Meanwhile I awaited the mails I daily expected from the coast.

The agent here reported acts of hostility on the part of a section of the Wakamba tribe, and begged me to send an ultimatum, as he assured me had been done before, and as I know has been done more than once since, and then go and "hammer them." A trivial incident, where a native was caught who was said to have fired an arrow at one of our men, showed me the loose methods employed in dealing with such cases. I inquired into the matter, and found that the arrow in question did not tally with those in the man's quiver, and the evidence altogether broke down; yet had I not myself gone into the question, the asseverations of excited and untruthful Swahilis would have been accepted, and the man would probably have been flogged. So also in this more serious matter. I sent Dualla with a party to the so-called "hostile" villages; he met with nothing but friendship. I called all the chiefs in for a conference on the matter, and they came from great distances.

They then put forward their case. They complained of continual outrages by caravans; their women had been violated (a case of this by one of the Machako's garrison occurred while I was there), food brought in for sale had been forcibly seized, crops stolen, &c. I believe, from inquiry, that there was much truth in their indictment. Against myself they complained that I had brought up "coast Masai" (Sudanese), who daily came out and flourished their arms as a challenge to war. (The Sudanese, to keep them out of mischief, had been daily drilled, and part of their drill was the bayonet exercise, which the Wakamba had taken as a challenge to war!) They added that I

had made a fence round my camp, and would not allow them, according to custom, to enter it. I explained that this was done purposely, in order that there might be no quarrels or cheating; that as all bargaining between my men and their people had to be done in the open, I could at once check any unfair play. It was part of my regular custom, and was done solely on their behalf. They were most friendly, and begged me to make blood-brotherhood with several of the chiefs, who had not hitherto made alliance with the Company. I did so, and we parted on the best of terms.

In order to await the arrival of these men, I had to prolong my halt at Machako's some days; but the thousand and one things demanding my attention (too numerous and uninteresting to detail here) fully occupied my time, and it was not till October 4th that we continued our forward march. I had built a comfortable house for Wilson, and left him behind, as he was not fit to come on.

We marched out 3 Europeans, 66 Sudanese and Somals, and 324 Swahilis (including headmen, *askari*, porters, servants, &c); in all, 390 natives, carrying some 200 loads of trades goods (for food purchase, &c.), besides provisions, tools (for fort-building), European gear, ammunition, &c. By this time, too, the caravan had begun to fall into the regular *dusturi*. An orderly parade for *posho* was superintended by the headmen and *askari*, and the issue was invariably made by one of ourselves. The rules for the march—the pitching of camp, stacking of loads, &c.—were conformed to without trouble, and punishment was rarely necessary. I had, however, to flog a man (my own servant) for stealing by force from the natives, and this was only the second instance of flogging, though I had been ten months in the country.

It had been anticipated that we should have great difficulty in advancing beyond Machako's (as the Masai country, which we now enter, is greatly dreaded), and that there would be wholesale desertions; but I do not remember (nor do I find any note in my diary) of a single instance. The men were all thoroughly willing, and the best of feeling prevailed; nor had we even any trouble whatever in setting them to work at digging and fort-making from early morning till evening—tasks which are most unpopular, and not considered by the porter, hitherto, as coming within the scope of the work for which he was engaged. I am proud that this result was achieved by Wilson and myself without finding any necessity for continual punishments. Indeed, when I reduced a headman to *askari* for laziness and eye-service, his excuse was that I was "too gentle, and would not let him strike the men, and without that he could not get them to obey him."

A batch of Manyuema porters alone gave me any trouble. So far back as my trip to Malindi they had attempted insubordination, but found it would not pay. Occasional ebullitions, even up to this date, occurred, and I find a note in my diary that their leader refused to obey the order to go for the meat shot by De Winton. All the headmen and *askari* were afraid of the Manyuema, who are a fearless, brave lot, but they had learnt it was best to obey orders, so that, on this last occasion, I merely gave the word to seize the man, and in a couple of seconds he was on his back and pinioned. He was almost a giant in stature, and both he and his friends were so taken aback by this summary procedure, that I saw no further steps were necessary; besides, I liked the man, and I released him with a warning. I never had any further bother with them, and in subsequent troubles in Unyoro and Uganda they were perhaps the best men I had.

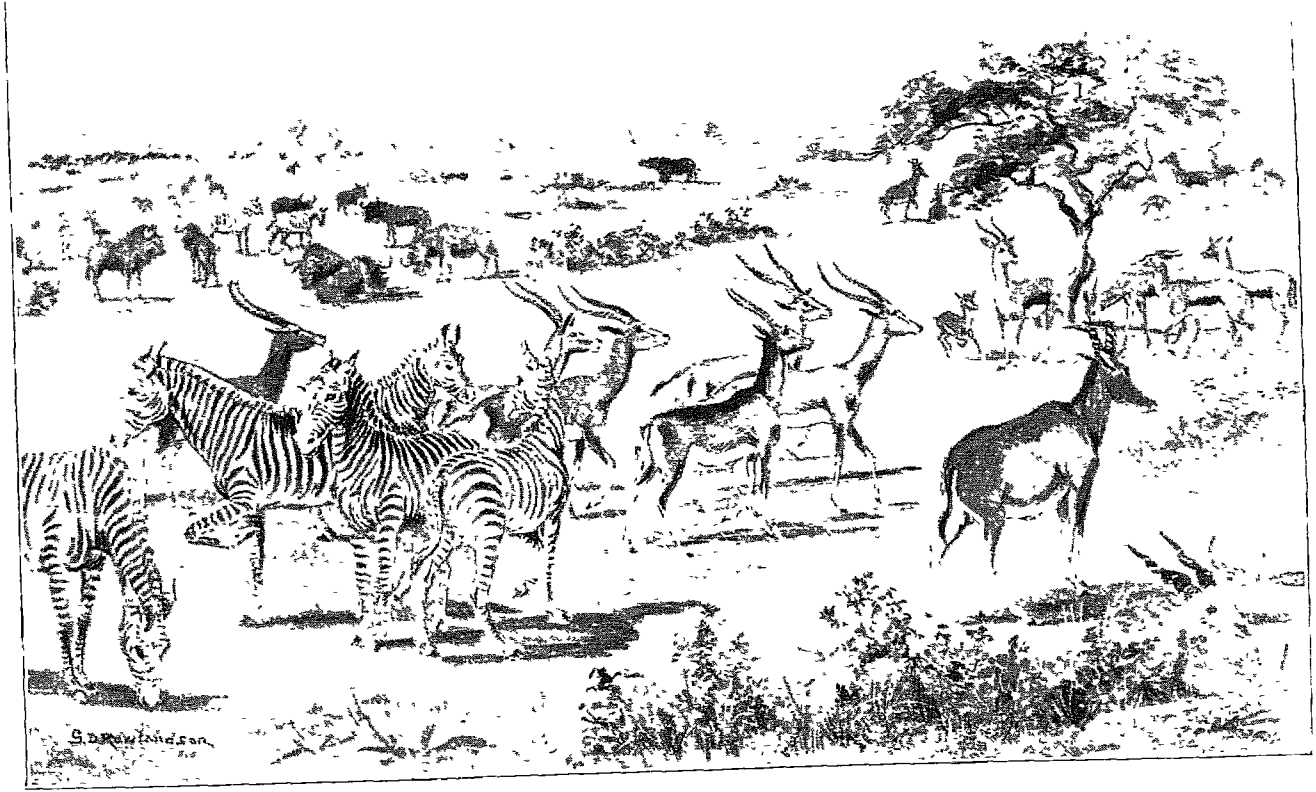
While at Machako's I managed to get one day after game, as the men had had no meat for a very long time, and succeeded in bagging a rhino and nearly full-grown calf, a hartebeest and gazelle; total, 1549 lb. of clear meat, besides heads, hide, feet, &c. De Winton and Bateman also went out, and shot a rhino, which, however, very nearly finished off Bateman. It chased and caught him, when a lucky shot from De Winton settled it. The meat they shot, however, was too far off (some twelve or more miles) to be of use to us.

CHAPTER XIII.

MACHAKO'S TO THE LILWA RIVER.

Athi plains—Reasons for going to Kikuyu—Game-pits—Modes of expressing friendship in Africa—Arrival in Kikuyu—The camp—Description of the people—Character—Fertility of country—The women—Treaty-making—Ceremony of blood-brotherhood—Select site—Build stockade at Dagoreti—Benighted in the forest—Various routes to Uganda—Wilson left at Dagoreti—His subsequent success—Reverses—Cause—Flora of Kikuyu—Leave Kikuyu—African grass—Halting without water—Caravan on the march—The Masai—Lake Naivasha—Fauna—Make for the Pass—Guides not to be got—The Wandorobo—Lake Nakuru—Ascend Mau hills—Attempt to cut through forest—Abandon the attempt—Shoot a buffalo—Dualla charged.

We left Machako's on Oct. 4th, being three white men and 390 natives, with nine donkeys. Passing along the rolling plains, continually, though gradually, ascending, we directed our course towards the southern borders of Kikuyu, where it abuts on Masailand. Dualla, who had been this way before, acted as guide. These vast plains are literally covered with game. Rhino, ostrich, vast herds of zebra, and many different kinds of antelope will be visible at one time; but there is absolutely no bush or ant-hill to afford cover to the sportsman to stalk. As I had now to begin my mapping work again, I was debarred from attempting any sport, or swerving from my direction. It was often hard to find a point on which to direct our forward bearing, and I remember, on one occasion, sighting on a tiny black speck on the horizon. As we neared it, there was much



GAME ON THE ATHI PLAINS

conjecture as to what it was, nor was it until we were quite close that I discovered it to be a rhino lying down asleep! I shot him stone dead, with a single bullet from the ·577, before he had time to wake and make himself disagreeable; and my men were able to carry off their fill of meat without even going off the path to fetch it. Shukri, the Sudanese native officer, was a capital game-shot, and secured several animals for his men. I allowed no native, except him and Dualla, to fire at game.

My instructions had been to build a station at Ngongo Bagas, but this is mere waste land, uninhabited except by passing Masai, who graze their flocks and herds there during the season. There would be no object in building a station at such a place. The object of a station is to form a centre for the purchase of food for caravans proceeding to Uganda, &c. Kikuyu was reported a country where food was extraordinarily abundant and cheap. In Masailand, on the contrary, there would not be food, even for the garrison, except such as the Wa-Kikuyu might bring; for the Masai do not grow a single blade of corn, and exist entirely on their flocks and herds. I therefore decided to build at the southern extremity of Kikuyu, as close as possible to Masailand, so as to get in touch with that tribe, but within the borders of the rich and fertile, food-producing country.

Kikuyu is surrounded by magnificent primeval forest, and probably owes its rich soil to the existence of former forests, which have been replaced by cultivation, only the skirts being allowed to remain as a protection against the Masai. These forest paths are full of deep pits for buffalo, elephant, &c., which are concealed with such consummate skill that though I was aware there were many about, and was on the look-out, and considered myself by no means a novice at jungle-craft, it was not long before I precipitated myself into one! The common custom is to dig the pit close to where a trunk of a tree

has fallen across the path. To step over this involves a lengthened pace, and consequently, when the foot descends through the thin covering of twigs and grass which conceals the pit on the far side, it is impossible to recover one's balance and withdraw it. If the trunk is a large one, wild animals would carry both fore-feet over together, and thus go headlong into the trap

We caught sight of a single native, and approached him with a bunch of green leaves in token of peace, and continual ejaculations of *Mahrātā*, *Mahrātā* (friend). After much trouble and gesticulation we induced him to guide us through the belt of forest The traveller soon learns the word which is the symbol for friendship and peace in each tribe as he passes through Africa. As Tommy Atkins in Burma was taught to shout *Kimya* to the flying villagers, so here each tribe has its password of peace. *Sokeli* among the Wankondé of Nyasa, *Rafiki* near the coast, *Mahrātā* among the Kikuyu, *Shoré* among the Masai, *Horé* among the Wahuma, and so on for every tribe to the far borders of Ruwenzori, we eventually got to know the right salutation for each. After an energetic exchange of this password most savages shake hands.

Mr Thomson narrates that the Masai expectorate in your face by way of expressing good feeling.[1] I cannot say that I ever saw this, nor can I quite decide how I should have responded to such a demonstration! The Wa-Kikuyu, whose dress and customs are in most things identical with the Masai, spit on their hands before shaking hands, or at least they do so when they mean to be exceptionally cordial, and are delighted to see you. It is, however, as a rule, a mere formality, a spray at most. Savages, however, so far as I have met them, do not affect that barbarism of society—shaking hands by clasping the fingers and wagging

[1] Thomson, Masailand, p. 443

ARRIVAL IN KIKUYU

the wrists under each other's chins; they shake hands in a good, honest, sensible fashion. Very intimate friends clasp each other round the body; in Uganda they embrace, laying their heads over each other's shoulders alternately; they will then shake hands vehemently, and again embrace. I have never seen kissing practised in Africa, though both the Swahili and Kiganda languages have several words for it.

When we emerged from the forest, and entered the cultivation, "There was soon a big crowd, and warriors came rushing in from every direction. Huge excitement prevailed. Many young bloods were the worse for liquor, and wanted to fight, others held them back. After several parleys among themselves, they demanded *hongo* (blackmail). I refused, and said that I was going to camp near, and they could come there and say all their words" (diary).

As soon as my men had all arrived I marched on, and the storm of excitement and make-pretence of war died away. Several of the village chiefs recognised Dualla, and escorted us on our way. We camped on a knoll, which I thus describe in my diary:—"It was one of the most charming camps I ever was in—Mogok at the Ruby Mines in Burma, with its wild roses, and arbutus and myrtle included. The soft velvet turf was so springy that it was like nothing I have ever seen out of England, I think, and the air so keen and cold that I shivered in my thick velvet cords." This spot is the one on which Fort Smith was afterwards built by Captain Smith. *Hongo* was again demanded; but I declined to pay it, saying that I intended to build a station here, and if they would give me ground for a site, I would then give a present in return.

I did not myself approve of this place as a site for the station, because it was situated in the very heart of the villages and fields of the Wa-Kikuyu. This I knew

would lead to constant trouble. Caravans from the coast, halting at the station, would inevitably pilfer from the crops, or cause trouble with the women. Moreover, the place was somewhat cramped, and firewood not obtainable for a considerable distance. I spent some time in examining the surrounding country towards the forest, under the guidance of the local chief Eiyeki and his brothers, and eventually selected a charming site at a little distance from the cultivation and villages. A clear mountain stream flowed at the foot of the slope, beyond was the dense forest, in rear was another stream. Timber and fuel were of course in abundance. The name of the place was Dagoreti.

The Wa-Kikuyu are a fine, intelligent-looking race, with high foreheads and well-formed heads. The men carry the same shield as the Masai—an oval made of ox-hide about 5 ft. long and 2 in breadth, decorated with designs in white and red chalk—squares, crosses, and crescents, like heraldic quarterings They have also bows and arrows, spears some 6 ft. long, with a broad 9 in. blade, and a short sword. They go naked except for a small skin worn over the shoulder They festoon themselves with wire and chain like the Wakamba, especially in the ears, which are slit, and often hang down nearly to the shoulder with the weight of metal. They are fond of painting the face with red clay and white chalk, producing sometimes the most ludicrous and grotesque effects. Their hair is generally the wool of the Bantu races. Some shave the greater part of the head, leaving sometimes no hair, sometimes a patch on the top or back of the skull. Others twist it into long tags, and apparently add to it artificially, plastering it with red clay and oil, as do most of the savage tribes of Africa. This clay and oil is by no means a mere extravagance of fantastic ornament. Where men go naked, and are exposed to a hot sun by day, and the bitter cold

nights which are experienced on these lofty plateaux, this custom of rubbing the skin with oil supplies the place of clothing, and modifies the effects both of heat and cold. The war-dress of the Masai is largely adopted—the oval head-dress of ostrich plumes which encircles the face, and the bunches of long flowing colobus monkey hair. They circumcise in an extremely peculiar manner.

Later events in Kikuyu have earned for these people a character for inveterate hostility and treachery. I can only speak of my own experience. I lived among them for close on a month, and I was more favourably impressed by them than by any tribe I had as yet met in Africa. We became the greatest of friends, and I had no hesitation in trusting myself almost alone among them, even at considerable distances from camp, as I shall presently narrate. I found them honest and straightforward; I had very little trouble of any sort among them. Some sheep were stolen from me by people from a village unfriendly to those around me, and as this was a test case, they all looked to see how the white man would stand such treatment. I had no hesitation in dealing with it in a determined manner. I imposed a fine, which, together with the sheep stolen, was to be paid within a given time, under penalty of my attacking the village. They deferred till the last moment, to see if I were in earnest, and then paid my demand, which was not exorbitant. In fact, I took a great fancy to the local chief Eiyeki, and especially to his brother Miroo. They were extremely intelligent, good-mannered, and *most* friendly. I lay some emphasis on this, because I shall later have to allude to the extraordinary events which subsequently happened in Kikuyu.

These people are at constant war with the Masai, who periodically raid the country in strong war-parties. The Wa-Kikuyu, however, hold their own, unless surprised or attacked in overpowering force. I saw along one of the

main roads a series of pits concealed in the rank vegetation by the side of the path, and was told that, in the event of a Masai raid, warriors would conceal themselves in each of these pits, and spear the Masai as they passed!

The cultivation in Kikuyu is prodigiously extensive, indeed, the whole country may be said to be under tillage. Beans of various kinds are the staple food, grain being comparatively little grown at present. I have spoken more fully on this subject in the chapters on the commercial and agricultural prospects, where I have quoted the opinions of other travellers. We bought some 20,000 lb. of grain and beans (mostly the latter) in a few days, before starting on the onward march, and at excessively cheap rates, and this in spite of the fact that a flight of locusts had recently devastated the country, that Mr Jackson's caravan had bought up large quantities, and that this was not the best time of year for food purchase. They have, moreover, a very well-contrived system of irrigation. The common agricultural implement appears to be a long-pointed pole.

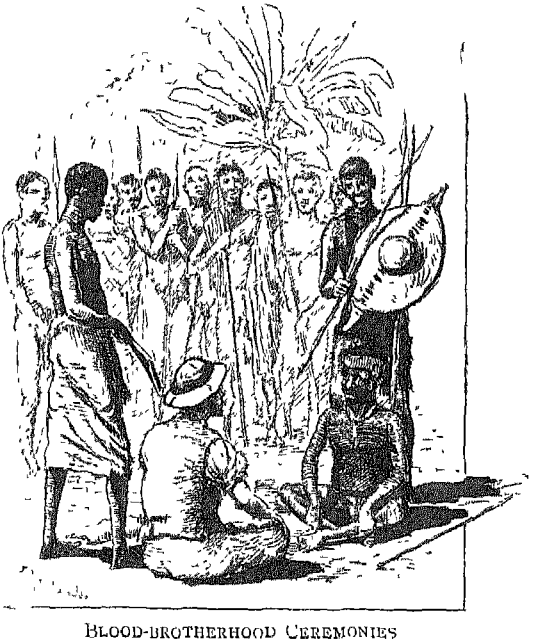
The women (like those of the Masai) are clothed in skins, which are thin and soft, but very black with age, grease, and filth. I write of them as follows in my diary:—"The women are not bad-looking, and apparently modest, but are spoilt by the large bunches of beads, some 3 or 4 in. in diameter, which they wear in their ears, and which make them stick out like an excited elephant's. Long pendant weights, too, are hung in the lobe, and coils of iron and brass wire round their necks, like the Masai women. The wire is twisted round and round, close and flat, like a circular dish-mat, and as large as a dinner-plate, the woman's neck being in the centre (this wire is the common trade wire, and is as thick as a slate-pencil). The weight of the bangles of iron and brass, the heavy pendants in the ear, and the bands of iron wire above the calf, often with bunches of ornaments attached,

must together be really prodigious. Round the waist are endless strings of all sizes of beads, some very large, cowries, &c. The brass discs in the ear, worn in addition to the beads, are about 4 in. in diameter, and coiled flat-wise like a watch-spring (concentrically)." The Wa-Kikuyu appear much addicted to drink, and I saw a good deal of drunkenness. Liquor made, I believe, chiefly from the sugar-cane (which grows most luxuriantly), was excessively cheap, and its sale in my camp gave me much trouble, especially with the Sudanese.

We moved to the site of the intended station, and began work energetically. I warned the men that any case of thieving from the natives, or causing trouble in any other way, would be dealt with very severely, and I had practically no complaints of any sort from the people during the whole of our stay. I made treaties with Eiyeki and several other chiefs, who came from considerable distances to perform the ceremony of blood-brotherhood. I have explained at some length already the meaning and the mode of performing this rite in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society.[1] The fact is that, though I was provided with "treaty forms," I did not see my way to using them. In the first place, I felt I could not honourably pledge the Company's protection to distant tribes, whom they had no means whatever of protecting from their enemies, while the cession of all rights of rule in his country was, in my opinion, asking for more than was fair from a native chief, and more, I am confident, than was ever intended by the Directors. Secondly, the nature of a written compact was wholly beyond the comprehension of these savage tribes. The most solemn form of compact for friendship that exists among them is that known as "blood-brotherhood," and this I therefore adopted, as suited at once to their comprehension, and as enabling me to say

[1] Geog Journal, Jan 1893

just so much, and no more, as seemed a fair and honest bargain. I then reduced to writing our mutual undertakings, and the treaty was witnessed by my comrades, and the chiefs made their marks. Such are the treaties concluded by myself, and sent to England, which have been approved and registered at the Foreign Office, and



BLOOD-BROTHERHOOD CEREMONIES

more binding treaties could not have been executed in savage Africa.

The method of making blood-brotherhood varies slightly among various tribes, but is the same in all essentials. We sit down cross-legged on mats and skins, and each of us cuts our forearm till the blood flows ; the arms are then rubbed together to mix the blood, and two small pieces of meat are supposed to be touched with the blood : he eats the piece which has my blood on it off the palm of my right hand, and I eat the piece which has his blood on it from his palm. (Dualla, holding the meat

in his hand, would cunningly substitute his finger, and so avoid the actual blood touching the meat sometimes !) Sometimes salt or a coffee-berry (in Uganda and Unyoro) is substituted for the meat. Sometimes the incision for bleeding is made elsewhere than on the arm. The headmen of the chief take his weapons of war—his spear and sword and bow—and holding them over his head make a long speech, praising the warrior's valour and exploits, and swearing that henceforward we are brothers. His lands and food and house are mine by day or night, and he will for ever be my friend. To make the speech more effective, the arms held over his head are struck continually (to emphasise the point of each sentence) with a spear or sword.

In like manner, when the chief's oath is done, my interpreter holds my rifle over my head and repeats what I tell him to say, of which the following was here the substance : "That he bound himself to supply us with food (on payment), to demand no *hongo*, to do no harm or damage to our station, to be our friend and ally, and we promise not to harm or molest him and his people ; and, if the Masai raid *close to* our station, to help him to drive them back" (diary) I also pledged him to make peace with the Wakamba, and for this purpose I sent down Miroo himself, and several leading chiefs, to Machako's with 140 of my own men, whom I sent at this time to bring up all the remaining goods from there.

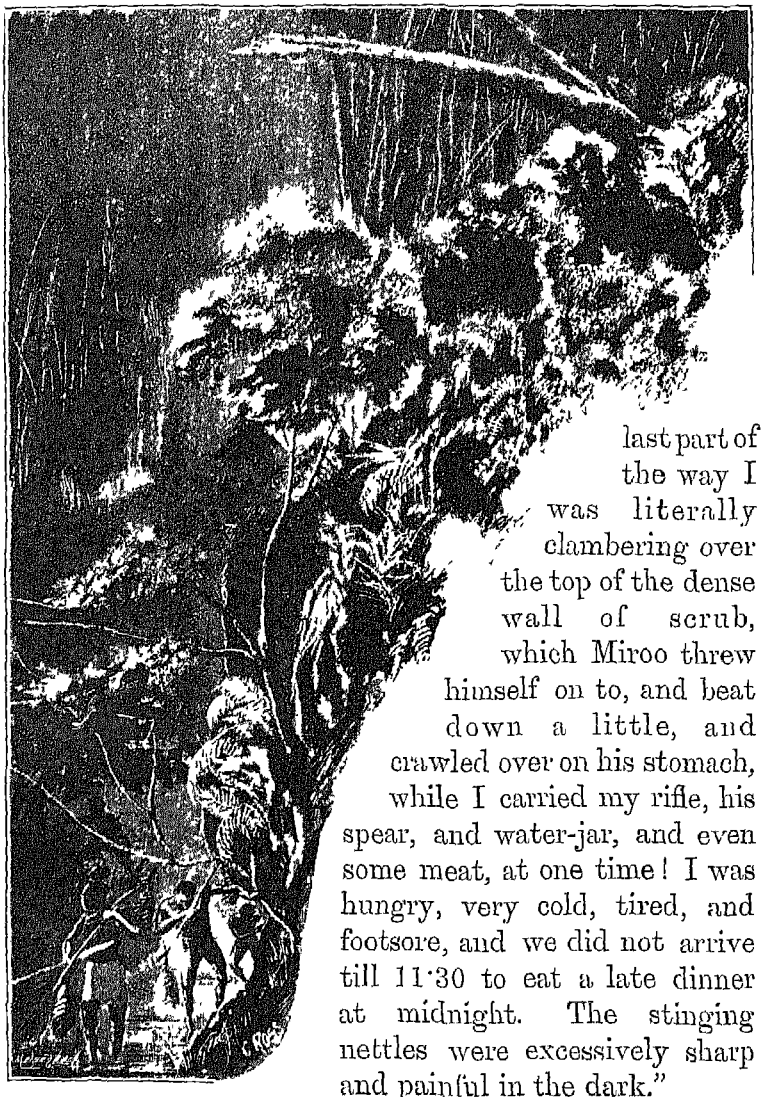
Meanwhile we worked very hard at the stockade. So many of the men from my first expedition were with me that I had less trouble in teaching them the work. Timber was abundant in the forest, and the work progressed rapidly, in spite of lack of tools and other difficulties. On the 18th (Oct.) the men I had sent to Machako's returned, bringing the mails from the coast, and with them came Wilson, who was now much better, though still an invalid. By this time we had almost

completed our work; the little "fort" was the greatest success we had yet achieved, and really looked very smart, though we paid the penalty of disturbing the virgin soil (as subsequently at Fort Edward and Kampala) in a certain amount of fever in the caravan. It was absolutely impregnable to spearmen.

The mails brought me orders to proceed to Uganda, but to take only 215 porters, leaving the rest under Wilson, to build a fort in Kikuyu, instead of Ngongo Bagas. As I was directed to take more Sudanese than were actually available, and some four times the amount of ammunition in existence, and since the fort was already practically built, and *was* in Kikuyu, I decided to leave Wilson a garrison of some thirty odd rifles, which we considered adequate, and to march, as soon as possible, with the rest of the expedition. I at once sent off parties into the interior of Kikuyu to purchase, as quickly as possible, the necessary food to carry us across the foodless stretch of country before us, and meantime we worked very hard to complete the stockade, the dwelling-houses, native houses, store, &c. Correspondence for the coast, and the selection and repacking of all loads of goods, which I intended to take forward with me, and the making of correct lists of everything I left behind, also kept us busy.

I made a survey to Ngongo Bagas, which was only some five miles distant beyond the belt of forest. This spot had been marked by Teleki, Thomson, Hannington, and other travellers, and I, therefore, was anxious to insert it in my chart as a point for comparison and check. I went with Wa-Kikuyu for my guides. There was much game on these plains, so I shot two zebra and a hartebeest for meat for my men, and we started back rather late. The native guides lost their way in the forest, "and the savages led me through the very densest undergrowth of thorn-creepers, &c., through

which, for hours, we only made our way yard by yard, the men, too, being heavily laden with meat. All the



RETURN BY NIGHT THROUGH KIKUYU FOREST

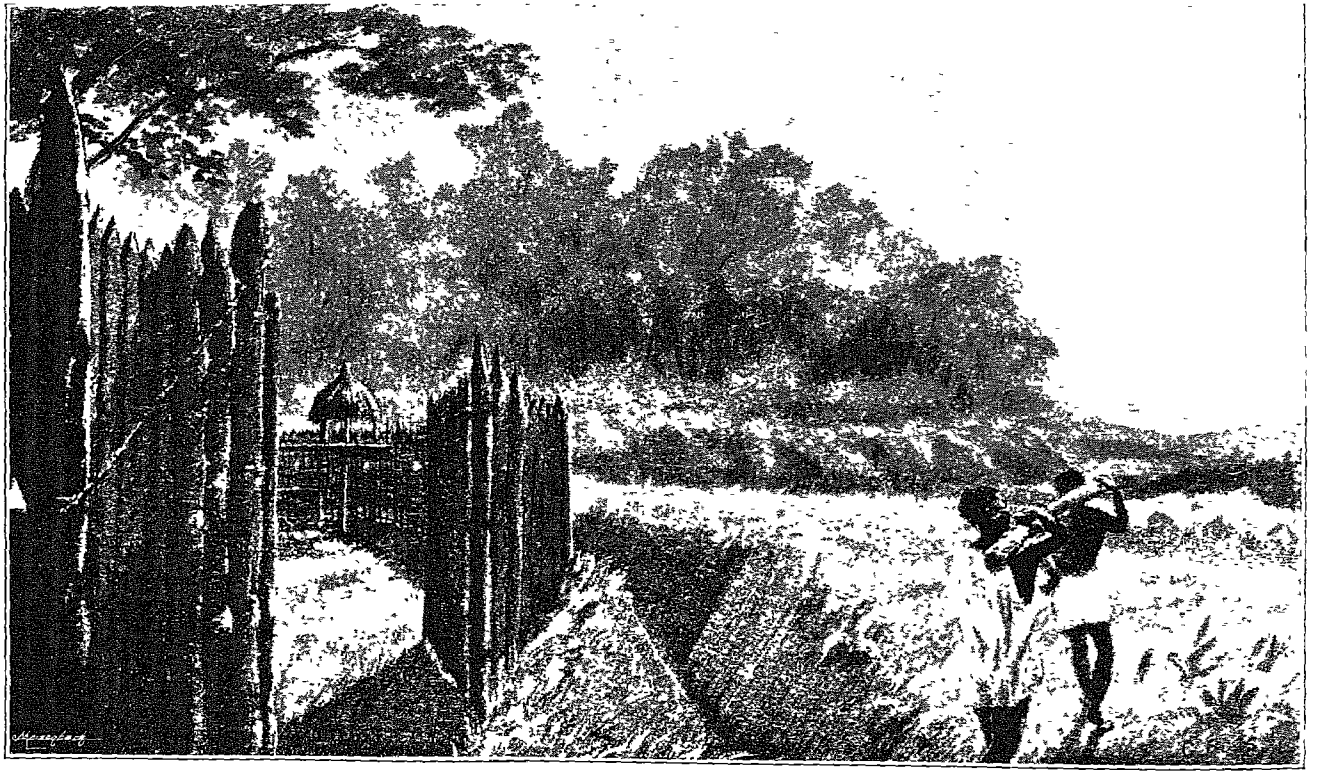
last part of the way I was literally clambering over the top of the dense wall of scrub, which Miroo threw himself on to, and beat down a little, and crawled over on his stomach, while I carried my rifle, his spear, and water-jar, and even some meat, at one time! I was hungry, very cold, tired, and footsore, and we did not arrive till 11·30 to eat a late dinner at midnight. The stinging nettles were excessively sharp and painful in the dark."

I was very sorry indeed to leave Wilson behind, but he was not fit to come on. The cold, bracing air of Kikuyu

subsequently effected a wonderful change in his health, and, as long as he remained here, he was as strong and hearty as though he had been in England.

I had three or four routes to choose from in directing my onward course from Kikuyu to the lake. First, the route due west, striking the lake at the very southernmost point of British territory (1° S. lat.). By this route I should traverse country hitherto entirely unexplored by Europeans. The distance would be only some 170 miles, of which perhaps 120 would be through foodless country, but we had already traversed successfully the 200 miles without food along the Sabakhi. I was very greatly tempted to adopt this route, since I considered that, if steamers were to be at once placed on the lake (as was at this time contemplated), this most direct and shortest line would eventually become the highroad to Uganda, the latter part of the journey being by steamer across the lake. I would *very* greatly have liked to open up this route, and by founding a station on the lake shore, and perhaps one between it and Kikuyu, I should have completed my chain of forts from the coast to the Victoria. So far the series was complete as far as Dagoreti (some 350 miles), which was the seventh station built.

I knew, however, that in crossing an entirely unknown country, and a lofty range of hills, unforeseen delays were certain to occur. Moreover, as there was no steamer now on the lake, and my route would therefore lie round its northern shores, this was not my shortest way. The second, slightly to the north of this, was the route which had been taken by Mr Jackson (through Lumbwa and Sotik). He had had constant trouble with the natives, and had carried off enormous numbers of their sheep and cattle. The country was therefore excessively hostile. The remaining routes both led north to Nakuru—viz., either round by Lake Baringo—the road taken by Thomson, and by Jackson on his return



BUILDING DAGORETI STOCKADE

journey—or as far as Nakuru Lake only, and thence branching off westwards to the Victoria.

Now that I had at last (on Oct. 18th, 1890) got my orders to go to Uganda—orders first given me on March 22d, and constantly reversed since—I determined that I would march thither as fast as I possibly could, by whatever route would take me there quickest, abandoning any idea of exploration, &c., on the way. For I had been told that Stokes, a trader, was conveying very large consignments of arms and powder to Uganda (he had started, I believe, in the previous July), and my object was to arrive there if possible before him; or if that, owing to all these delays, were now impossible, as soon after him as I could, and then to use every effort to prevent the sale of these munitions in the country.

By the time the requisite food was bought the stockade was completed, together with the rough houses for store, native quarters, &c. The natives continued to be most friendly, more so perhaps than any other tribe I had met in Africa. I left Wilson in charge of the station here with some thirty men, mostly the refuse and sick of the caravan. He succeeded admirably with the Wa-Kikuyu, and even got them to engage as porters for the coast, and had extended our influence far into the interior of the country. As usual, he obtained an extraordinary personal influence with them. Moreover, he succeeded in establishing similar relations with the Masai—the first time that any European had ever succeeded in winning their confidence and friendship. His own health improved rapidly in the cold bracing air of these mountains, and he became strong and well. There was no more promising field for development anywhere, and it was with the greatest possible pleasure that I heard of the growing importance of the station, which had become the central depot in East Africa.

I shall have to narrate how this promising state

of things was suddenly and rudely reversed. From what I can gather, the fault did not lie with Wilson. He held his position manfully, till compelled to retire from lack of ammunition, and subsequently having obtained a small supply, he returned with thirty volunteers, and re-asserted his position in the most plucky way. Owing, however, to false reports, spread by the men who had refused him ammunition and men in his extreme need, a perverted account of affairs reached the Directors, who immediately dismissed Wilson from their service without a proper inquiry, and thus lost the services of the most hard-working and conscientious man (and withal the most successful with the natives) in their employ. He then entered the service of the East African Scottish Mission, in which he still remains. But the story of these doings belongs to a later period.

In a private letter to me he said, that he had ever tried to keep in mind a maxim, which, he says, I laid down, "Always leave a country the better, if possible, for your having been in it," and I know that was the rule of conduct he laid before himself. I have told here, and I shall describe more fully later, simply what I believe to be the literal story, in the endeavour to do justice to a man who has been doing most excellent work for five consecutive years, for little pay and less acknowledgment, in spite of continual break-downs of health, each of which has gone near ending his life.

I have briefly alluded to the subsequent history of Kikuyu before passing onwards, for I very greatly deplore the mismanagement which has practically closed a country which bade fair to be the most promising for commercial development between the coast and the lake, and has converted the fair promise of friendship and peace into hostility and bloodshed, so that the people have become a treacherous and embittered enemy, who now massacre any detached men they can catch, in spite of the

strong fort garrisoned by 150 rifles, where formerly Wilson, with no fort at all, was safe with 30 ill-armed men. It is not my wish to indicate upon whose shoulders the blame should lie. My object in presenting this book to my readers is to give as impartial an account as I can of events in East Africa, in order that, by a fair summary both of success and failure in the past, a just estimate may be formed of the nature of the task which lies before us in the future administration of this great country.

Kikuyu, in my opinion, is a country of very great possibilities. Its climate, as I have said, is charming. The nights are so cold that there is occasionally even a slight frost, and it is even possible that in the far future it may be found to be suitable for European colonisation. Cactus and even acacia are no longer met with, and are replaced by evergreen shrubs. The blackberry, stinging-nettle, forget-me-not, clematis, jessamine, trefoil, clover, night-shade, thistle, and many other English plants abound. The forest contains magnificent timber trees, its large open glades between the patches of heavy wood are of the richest soil, and the country is well watered. A fuller description of its physical characteristics is given in Chap xvi.

I had some trouble with my Sudanese here, and eventually I succeeded in tracing the whole of the mischief to the *Bishowish* (sergeant-major), the next in rank to Shukri Aga, the *Usbasha* (captain). I convicted him of robbery of sheep (forcing the sentries) from our little fold, of inciting the men to mutiny and desertion, and of threatening to murder those who informed. I left him in irons with Wilson, to be sent to the coast and dismissed, but he was eventually brought on by Captain Williams. This matter occupied me till very late the night before starting. We had now completed our work, got the necessary food, packed it into 140

loads, and selected the necessary goods for our forward march (44 loads).

On Nov 1st we broke camp, and marched for two and a half miles only, to clear the forest. We numbered 3 Europeans, 66 Sudanese and Somals, and about 285 Swahilis (headmen, *askari*, porters, and servants, &c.) Each man carried eight days' food in addition to his load. Wilson, as I have said, remained in charge of Kikuyu station.

Descending the escarpment, we camped in the Kedoung valley, and once more found ourselves in a country swarming with game. Hills and mountains were in every perspective, and our line of march led over undulating plains of waving grass some 2 ft. high, which, leaning over, conceals the path from view; there is, however, no difficulty in following it. This growth is usually of the spear-grass genus. When tall and rank it is little affected by game, which prefers the young green pasture which springs up after the older grass has been fired. To burn the grass in Masailand is to give great cause of offence to these pastoral people; the Wa-Kikuyu, however, fire all the grass in their vicinity to prevent the Masai coming to graze their herds upon it.

In four days we arrived at Lake Naivasha, crossing over the pass between Mounts Kejabé and Longonot. At times the sea of grass gave place to long stretches covered with the *melalesha* bush, a very aromatic shrub, whose soft downy leaves give a bluish-grey tint to the landscape On one of these marches we had to camp without water, a not infrequent necessity in African travel. It is of course a hardship, especially if not anticipated; but if we know from our native guides, or those who have traversed the route before, that the next water is too distant to be reached in the day's march, every man comes provided with a little in his hollow-gourd calabash, or we halt and cook at the last water

we pass, and then marching hard till sundown, camp, and press on very early next day, and cook again when we reach the distant water. The Swahilis are indeed marvellous in their ability to forego food and water for long periods, in spite of their heavy loads and the fierce heat of the sun. I shot some zebra to help out our food-supply, and though buffalo and rhino tracks were everywhere, we fell in with none before reaching the lake. The beautiful dark-green *murju*, from which the savages obtain the poison to smear on their arrows, was the most noticeable tree, but over most of these open undulating pasture-lands trees are rare, and acres of waving grass or grey melalesha bush extend to the foot of the distant hills.

Through such a country you may picture the long caravan winding its way in single file. Myself in front, followed by the Sudanese advance-guard, and the long line of porters, each with his load on his head, and far away at the end of the line the rear-guard closing the *cortège*. Huge porcupine-holes 4 ft. deep concealed in the grass, would occasionally entrap me, when we followed no path, and the excavations showed the great depth and richness of the soil. My comrades, De Winton and Grant, were now beginning to understand and take their share in the duties of *safari* work. All food issues became Grant's special care; while De Winton played the *rôle* of doctor, in which I too assisted. Each day's duties of marching and camp work found us tired and ready for sleep when night fell, but I myself seldom turned in till 12 or 1 A.M., as I had nightly to plot in and write up the details of my map, which I rarely finished till then. Daybreak would see us once more on the march.

Near Naivasha we met for the first time the much-talked-of Masai. Most of the *Moran*, or warriors, were away raiding, or in Leikipia with the cattle and the

young women (called *Ditto*). Large flocks of sheep grazed on the Naivasha plain, in charge of the old or married men. From one kraal of *Moran* some warriors came out to meet us, got up in their fantastic war-dress, with their huge spears and gaily painted 5 ft. shields. They had an extremely insolent and arrogant air. They demanded *hongo*, or defied us to pass. I replied that I gave no *hongo*, and they would see us pass, for I should not halt to talk. They returned to their kraal in great dudgeon, and I heard reports that they intended to attack us, and none came to visit our camp according to custom. However, we marched early as usual, and saw no more of them—possibly they came to find us gone. They are a fine-looking race, well built, with intelligent faces. The men go naked, but the women are clothed in soft skins. I will say little here about these people, since they have been so fully described by Mr Thomson.

The Lake Naivasha is covered with water-fowl of all kinds. Myriads of duck, geese, and teal of many varieties flock to its waters, and the great level plain which surrounds it is covered with various kinds of antelope and zebra, also a few ostrich, &c. These wild animals mingle fearlessly with the cattle and flocks of the Masai, who do not appear to molest them. It is curious that they apparently do not make any attempt whatever to entrap them, either in enclosures or by pitfalls, and are content with the meat of their cattle for food and their hides for dress. Perhaps, like the Wa-Kikuyu, they do not eat the flesh of game; for the latter, though they are keen hunters, and catch game in pits, &c., do not eat the meat, I believe (except of the buffalo), and value the game only for their hides. The Masai do not use the bow and arrow—their only weapons are the spear and shield—and hence they never hunt game. Now that their cattle are dead, they will eat any meat or offal left from game slaughtered.

The Gilgil, Malewa, and other rivers flow in deep chasms 100 ft. to 200 ft. below the general level, even the tops of the lofty trees which fringe their banks being invisible on the plain above. "These shady chasms, in which the rivers flow, are aviaries of birds; the steel-blue and green minah, with scarlet breast—a most handsome fellow—is especially common, and, like all his class, breaks the silence with his perpetual clamour and chatter. Yellow-wagtails, pigeons, and doves are the commonest birds here, also reed-sparrows and weaving-birds." (diary). There are many kinds of hawks, and of course endless water-birds. Great numbers of zebra and large herds of the little Thomson's gazelle are met with through all this country. At the little salt lake of Elmoteita I write.—"Hyenas are a feature of this place; you can see two or three at a time all day, and they actually got into camp, through the zeriba and among all the fires, and under the sentries' noses bit a hunk out of the hind-quarters of our white donkey."

Here we found the mpalla antelope for the first time Here also I saw the first herds of buffalo I had seen in this part of Africa, having hitherto encountered solitary bulls or small groups only, and we secured a couple, which were most welcome to our hungry men. At this point (Nakuru Lake) Coke's hartebeest ceases, and is replaced by Jackson's. At times the game was extraordinarily tame, and stood and watched us as we filed past; but I made it a rule never to fire unless close to camp, as I could not leave the caravan and my mapping duties to follow a wounded animal, nor did I wish to delay the *safari* on the march to divide up meat. When, however, game was scarce, and meat urgently required, I had of course to break through this rule As we neared the Nakuru Lake we left behind us the soft velvet turf which borders Naivasha, and the close-cropped

plains of the Gilgil and Elmeteita, and once more entered on the patches of melalesha bush and the sea of waving grass, often in this rich soil nearly waist high. We now diverged from the well-known route which led northwards to Baringo, and, striking due west, hoped to find our way direct across to the lake. To the north would lie the country of Nandi, whose people are reported to be excessively hostile and fierce, and no caravan, European or native, had ever yet dared to cross their hills To the south the equally hostile and exasperated tribes of Lumbwa and Sotik. Between these two mountainous countries it was rumoured that a pass existed by which we might cross the giant range of Mau. This would be the prolongation of the direct line from Mombasa to the north of Victoria Lake, and, pending the arrival of a steamer, would be the shortest route to Uganda.

Through the forests which clothe the Mau hills roam a wandering tribe called the Wandorobo. They live entirely by hunting and following game, and every path of the forest and every pass in the mountains is known to them. All travellers have fallen in with these people, and I counted upon it as a certainty that we should meet some of these hunters, and persuade them to guide us through the route I desired. But through all my wanderings in Africa I have been singularly unfortunate in obtaining guides, and hitherto and subsequently we traversed unknown countries with no better guide than a compass, and a very, very vague and hazy idea of the general direction we wished to pursue. Perhaps the reason was that I shrank equally from using violence to the natives to compel them to guide us, and from the extortionate demands for excessive payment in advance, which they made if asked to come as guides without compulsion. On this occasion, however, when, more than ever before or since, guides were a necessity,

we had not the good fortune to fall in with a living soul.

The lake Nakuru reposes among surrounding mountains, nestling at the foot of the forest-clad slopes of the lofty Mau mountains. Its stillness is broken only by the voices of birds and of game, and, more rarely, by the Wandorobo hunters, as wild and untameable as they Trading caravans leave it far to the west as they pass at rare intervals on their way to Baringo, and we were, perhaps, the first to pass beyond its western shores. Standing knee-deep in the water at its margin were flights of scarlet flamingoes, whose vivid colouring afforded a lovely contrast in the distance. I do not remember to have seen these birds anywhere else in Africa. Enormous flocks of water-fowl rose in clouds on our approach, only to settle again a few yards in front of us, and startled hyenas scampered off in every direction. Antelopes were scarce and wild, probably owing to the presence of these carnivora and the depredations of the Wandorobo. The water of Nakuru is undrinkable, and the strong deposit of alkali on its shores gives them a frosted appearance.

We camped on a small stream which flows into the lake, and next day pursued our course by compass due west. No game paths led in the required direction, so I had to force my way through the tangled mass of grass. My gun-bearers, though following in my wake, were compelled to give up all attempt to keep up with me, and when I abused them hotly because by their slowness I lost chance after chance at game (which in our anxiety to obtain food was a matter of regret), they frankly told me they were physically incapable of going my pace, since they could not in the dense grass make up by running what they could not achieve by pace in walking. The caravan, however, did not suffer for lack of a path; for by the time the party, with myself, had ploughed a

way through the dense grass, followed by the Sudanese advance-guard and by all such headmen, *askari*, sick, &c., as had no loads, the loaded porters, led by the strongest men in the caravan, found a well-beaten path. For those in front, however, it was very hard physical exertion; and after some hours of it one's muscles would get so tired that one hardly had the power to lift one's legs!

Gradually ascending, we reached inappreciably an elevation of over 8000 ft., and camped on the skirt of a dense forest. Noticing the direction in which the game-tracks led, I sent men to search for water, which they found at some distance. It was bitterly cold, but, curiously, we were here bitten by mosquitoes, from which we had not suffered since we left the coast. These insects, however, are always to be found (at any elevation and temperature) in the damp undergrowth of heavy, primeval forest. Next day, with a folly which I am at a loss to account for, I attempted to cut my way due west through the pathless forest. It was too dense to crawl into except on one's stomach. By near mid-day we had accomplished but a couple of miles. Range on range lay before us, all clothed in the same interminable forest, and I saw that I had attempted the impossible. Our food would give out, and there was no supply nearer than Kikuyu, and, above all, my resolution to reach Uganda without an hour's unnecessary delay would be frustrated; so I abandoned the task, and steered north-east, with the intention of again striking the Baringo route. Only a mile or so of this new direction brought us to an opening in the forest, and innumerable game paths of elephant and buffalo all led westwards! Here was the spot, undoubtedly, where I should have made my attempt, and I was greatly tempted to repeat it. My determination once formed, however, I was resolved not to change. Subsequently Mr Martin, having ob-

tained guides who knew this route, came across close to this point (now known as the Guaso Ngishu route), by which I returned from Uganda, and the surveyors have found that it offers an excellent route for the railway.

Halting at mid-day in a grove of trees of the juniper class, which surrounded a pond, I went off, as usual, to try for game, and shot zebra and antelope for my hungry men. It was here that the Lilwa River rose, and rushed northwards through black igneous rock, which formed curious pillars like post-boxes. A little further on we passed through some dense melalesha bush, and I put up a couple of old bull-buffalo. I hit both very hard, but, as they separated, I could only follow one, and in such cover it is, of course, dangerous work. However, I killed him without mishap, though he was a nasty tempered brute, old and sulky. Owing to the dense cover, which prevented my seeing him properly, so as to aim at a vital spot, he cost me some fifteen rounds of ammunition before he ultimately succumbed, after attempting to charge at the last moment! The meat (1300 lb.) was distributed on the spot, and, as the men had eaten most of their food too quickly, it was most welcome; the skin also was eagerly appropriated for sandals.

Pushing on ahead with Dualla, the gun-boys, as usual, dropped behind. "We were passing through melalesha scrub, when, suddenly, a few yards in front, up jumped a buffalo, possibly the one I had wounded He came straight for us, and I had nothing in my hand except my road (mapping) pocket-book. Dualla had only a Winchester. I doubled out of the way pretty rapidly, but felt that, in my heavy and very slippery boots, my chance was a small one. Dualla hesitated (lost his head, I suppose), and the buffalo leaving me went for him, and was on him in a moment. I saw him rush at him and plunge his head down, and I was powerless to help, and thought to see Dualla gored to death, and

crushed before my eyes. However, after tossing him once the buffalo went off; all I could do was to yell at him! I found Dualla groaning and writhing on the ground. I camped close by without water, and sent men to carry him in" (diary). No bones were broken, though the horn had penetrated his back.

The sequel of this story was a most extraordinary one. Next day Dualla was carried in a hammock, being unable to walk I had gone a little off the line of march, and put up two bull-buffalo in the grass. They went charging down the slope, straight for the long line of the caravan, which was concealed by the undulations of the ground. "They had come straight for Dualla and his hammock. The men carrying him dropped him and fled, and he fell on the sharp rocks on his bad side. The buffaloes jumped over him, and one showed his contempt in a way I can hardly describe here. He was very bad, indeed, from his fall, and I gave him opium and Liebig. He eats nothing, but writhes and groans; it is most distressing to be near him" (diary). He ultimately recovered completely, and I suppose no man can boast of so extraordinary a double escape.

In fact, this dense bush was full of buffalo, and as I was generally alone in front, there was a considerable probability of meeting them. The very next day I find the following note in my diary.—"Suddenly one jumped up a yard or two in front of me—another or two and I should have trodden on him—fortunately he went the other way towards Shukri and De Winton. I heard several shots and much shouting, and could hear the buffalo plunging about in the bush, coming my way at one time. It would have been bad for us had he seen us when wounded and cornered. I went to Shukri, and found him blazing away from the top of an ant-hill. I saw the buffalo, and put in a 10-bore bullet, which dropped him. The advance-guard had come up, and, as

DUALLA, A VICTIM

the buffalo had gone very close to them, they lost their heads and opened a fusilade in the air at nothing in particular, and it is a wonder they did not shoot some of us in the bush. The porters had dropped their loads and bolted. Apparently Shukri's first shot had broken his fetlock, and he had turned to bay, and meant mischief. He had one (or two) of my 10-bore bullets behind the shoulder. Considering the extremely dense scrub, we were very lucky indeed to bag a solitary bull without any accident." And I add (speaking of mapping work): "It really is very distracting, when one's head is full of computations of distance marched, time from last halt, direction, and road notes on country, to know that at any moment, unless you are very wide-awake, you may be charged and killed by a buffalo."

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE LILWA RIVER TO UGANDA.

The white ant—Drummond's theory—The rhino—Lost—A fine head—Swahili caravans—Their methods—Cross the Kamasia range—Excitable natives—Description of people—Ascend Mau—Description of the plateau—Arrive Kavirondo—The people—Swahili settlers—Leave for Uganda—Usoga—Customs of the people—Description of the country—Hospitality—Mbekuwa—A guide for Uganda—The watershed—Cheerfulness of the men—Cross the Nile—Description of Uganda—Letters of welcome—Arrive at the Capital—Native leeches

THE undulating grass plains over which we had passed, and which extend onwards over the Mau-Elgeyo plateau, are of singularly rich pasture and soil, and are well watered. White ants are scarce, indeed we had hardly seen an ant-hill since leaving Machako's. Mark Twain describes the ant "as a much overrated bird," and I am inclined to think that the white ant (which, by the way, is not an ant at all) is equally deserving of the description. Professor Drummond [1] propounds the theory that these animals take the place in the economy of nature which Darwin has shown to be fulfilled by earth-worms. The author of this theory was Dr Livingstone,[2] and though Drummond does not tell us so, it was Dr Laws on Nyasa who suggested it to him. With such an array of scientific authorities against me, I feel it is bold to assail the position of the white ant.

[1] Tropical Africa, Prof Drummond, p. 124-158

[2] *Vide* Missionary Travels, Livingstone, p 540

I hold him a pestilential curse, however, and as Mark Twain did not fear to impugn the wisdom of Solomon, I may be pardoned for doubting that of Professor Drummond.

If I read Darwin's theory aright, it is that the earth-worm is not merely the agent of a constant process of the revolution of the soil, but that, by passing it through his own interior economy, he fertilises and revivifies it. Now the white ant does not pass soil through its body, but merely manipulates minute portions of earth or clay in his forceps for the purpose of building his dwelling. In doing so he impregnates each minute portion with formic acid or other juices, and therefore, *so far from fertilising it, he sterilises it to such a degree* that you will never see any vegetation growing on an ant-hill, even for long after it has been abandoned, and not until the rain and weather have washed out the poisonous juices and formed a new surface-soil. Moreover, the operations of the white ant are not ubiquitous, like the earth-worm's, but confined to one particular spot, where an enormous excavation is made, and the earth brought from it is formed into a hollow and honeycombed erection above it. The moles, small mammals, porcupines, &c., all do infinitely more than the white ant as mere revolutionisers of the soil; but as they bear no share in its fertilisation, they were for the moment put aside by Darwin.

Drummond's theory, moreover, starts on a fallacy. He says that the white ant takes the place of the earth-worm because these latter do not exist in Africa. Now, as a matter of fact, they *swarm* in Africa, and are of many varieties. The *rôle* in nature of the termite, or white ant, is that of a great leveller and scavenger. He attacks the fallen tree-trunks in the forest, and converts the hardest iron-wood into dust, and by-and-by into soil. He will ascend trees and remove the dead wood

—and I believe will even attack green and living wood.[1]

I have been told by an eye-witness that the acacia forest lying between Teb and Tokar, in the Eastern Sudan, has been entirely killed by white ants, a fact which was corroborated by the Arabs of the desert. I cannot say that I recollect to have seen any such evidences towards Tamai, and in that portion of the district which I have traversed; but, if it be true, it is worthy the attention of Mr Floyer as a third cause of the destruction of the vegetation, and the desiccation of these countries, added to the axe of the Arab and the appetite of the camel.

Near the Lilwa we came upon elephant, for here acacia scrub, on which they feed, abounds. They do not eat the melalesha, and the succulent Nkongé aloe is only chewed and ejected. It is a compliment to the toughness of its fibre—which I have elsewhere spoken much of—that the elephant, whose favourite food is the tough rope-bark of the fig-tree species, refuses to attempt its digestion! Guinea-fowl are in enormous flocks throughout this country, of the spotted variety, the vulturine being confined, as far as I know, to the Sabakhi; quail of several varieties abound, and also partridges and chikor, blue pigeon, with occasional florican and bustard. De Winton, looking about for something to shoot, got charged suddenly one day by a rhino with a calf. He fired his gun in her face and bolted, and she went past without attempting to injure him.

From the Lilwa we struck into an abominable piece of country, of continual ranges of low hills running north and south, with no surface-soil, and formed of loose rocks, hidden by thin spear-grass and parched and withered plants. Acacia, euphorbia, and all the thorn-

[1] Buchanan relates that white ants killed the *living* eucalyptus trees in Nyasaland Geog. Journal, vol. i, p 252.

trees, which thrive where nothing else can grow, flourished here, and among them wandered the rhino, who, like them, seems to thrive without water and sustenance, and to delight in barren rocks and a fierce sun. He is a beast with no fine feelings, he has no eye for scenery, no manners if you meet him unexpectedly. His palate lacks discrimination, unless it be in the comparative merits of thorns as appetisers. He is a pachyderm inside and out with whom I have no sympathy, and, like some people one has met, enforces his repartee with the point of his horn, and relies for his emphasis on the ponderous bulk of his own mass of insusceptibilities. I must beg my reader's pardon, for I have no right to linger on either white ant or rhino, and the thousand other subjects of interest—animal and vegetable—on which I would like to pause.

Steaming on ahead in the desire to complete a given distance on a bearing I had taken on a small peak, I got detached from the caravan, and awoke to the fact that my gun-bearer, a Somal, and myself were undoubtedly lost. My diary written at the time describes the incident thus :—"To be lost in such a vast wilderness of barren hills, interminably spreading on every side, is most dispiriting—worse than in a forest or on a plain, for one feels such an *atom*. It would be impossible to see any camp, however close. The near hills were on fire, so we could not tell a grass-fire from a signal-fire. One could not hear a gun in such a country, and there was no water and no food, and already I was very empty and hungry."

My main anxiety was concerning the caravan, for I felt confident I could myself find my way to the Lilwa and Baringo, and the presence of two companions makes all the difference in such a case. We were lucky, however, in striking a right direction, and eventually in finding the caravan. The same evening I shot a buffalo

with such very exceptionally fine horns that I afterwards sent them to England, and had the skull not been broken, and subsequently removed, they would not improbably be the best on record. It was a difficult shot, and, curiously, the danger lay not to myself but to others. I had come on one side of a gigantic and very deep ravine, the caravan was on the other, and the buffalo was on the slope of the opposite bank near the *safari*. He was some 250 yds. off, and if I fired and missed or wounded him, he would inevitably charge up the slope into my men, who could not see him, and were not aware of his being there. However, meat was most urgently required, so I took the chance, and put two well-placed shots into him, disabling him on the spot, and I then went down and finished him off.

Passing the warm springs, and following up the beautifully wooded stream of the Rongé, we emerged into the Njems plain, where again game abounded, and I secured hartebeest, &c., for my men. Eland and pig (wart-hog) were especially abundant. Again, in following a wounded antelope, I ran into buffalo in dense bush, but again escaped without a charge. I lost a fine rhino here and several hartebeest. These latter take an extraordinary amount of lead. Owing to the necessity for shooting meat for my men, I had relaxed my rule of not firing at game unless close to camp or after arrival, when I was free from my mapping duties. Consequently, being unable to delay very long to follow a wounded animal, especially if it headed back in exactly the opposite direction to that in which we were going, I often had to abandon animals I should otherwise have secured to a certainty. "It is miserable work [I write] wounding game and leaving it; but we are butchers now, not sportsmen, shooting for so many pounds of meat, and weighing and issuing it. My consolation is that the game is so plentiful that a few more or less

make no difference, and the lions and hyenas will have a better feed than usual, or perhaps, by following the wounded game, will spare the lives of those they would otherwise have killed."

One of my men described to me an active volcano he had seen near here, and the whole of this country around the warm springs at Rongé shows signs of comparatively recent volcanic action.

On Nov. 14th we arrived at Njems, a village of Wakwavi These people are an offshoot of the Masai, and differ from them only in being settled and, to a small extent, agricultural, instead of nomadic, and purely pastoral. Here we found a very large Swahili caravan encamped. It was the same that had long ago passed us when we were building forts on the former expedition, and they said they had received all their goods and advances for trading from the Company. Elsewhere I have strongly expressed my opinions as to the great harm done by these caravans in the interior, where they are away from all supervision and control. Their ostensible object is the acquisition of ivory, yet the charter of the Company indicates that the elephant is not to be destroyed wholesale Europeans of the highest character (like my friend Sharpe of Nyasaland) were refused permission to shoot elephants on these grounds, though reliance could be placed on them not to ruthlessly destroy calves and immature cows, yet every facility is given to the Swahili

I shall presently (chap. xvii.) show that, if the proclamation of Sept. 11th, 1891, were logically carried out, these caravans would be unable to recruit porters, and hence the evil would cease. It is certain, moreover, that these Swahili caravans, supplied by ourselves with the means, engage in the slave-trade. In fact, the slave caravan I met in the Sabakhi was a part of this very one, and the *Watoto* we captured recognised Wilson

and myself! Everything cannot be achieved in a day. "but [as I say in my diary], I think that now the time has come when every Swahili caravan leaving the coast should register its arms; that every Company's caravan should have the authority to seize arms in the possession of any one in the interior unregistered, and to inspect their registration papers."

We halted here for a day and a half, and were busily engaged, as usual, in food issue, sewing up the loads torn by the acacia-thorns, doctoring sick men, and (in my case) completing maps and diaries, &c., to date, while the men caught some excellent fish in the rushing mountain river. I much regretted that my constant duties permitted me so little time for acquiring information about the country, and plotting in the surroundings of the camp in my map; but, after all, time, however elastic, has a limit, and I rarely concluded my work till 1 A.M., though we were up daily at dawn. Our food was well in hand, and the game shot had made it go further than we expected, so we had still ample for our forward journey. The whole country here was overrun with rats, mice, and "such small deer" in countless numbers. Guinea-fowl were literally in swarms. Both the Tigiri and Lilwa are well-wooded rivers, and very picturesque, with beautiful rushing cold water. The great Masai plain we had crossed had a general elevation of over 6000 ft., but the last march or two had brought us down to the level of Baringo Lake (3300 ft.). In front of us towered the Kamasia range, running north and south, like almost all the hills, great or small, in Africa. We crossed it, obtaining lovely views of Baringo and its islands, and, descending from the pass (6600 ft.), we camped in the deep valley (3700 ft.) which runs between Kamasia and Elgeyo, which ranges unite southwards in the Mau Mountains.

The natives of Kamasia, as also those of Elgeyo,

demanded *hongo*. The former were not difficult to deal with, as a man from the Swahili caravan, who had accompanied us, knew their language, and interpreted my words. I said that the sooner they learnt the ways of the white man the better for them, that we did not fear them, and would pay no *hongo*; but, on the other hand, we stole no crops, took no slaves, paid fair for all the food we wanted, and wished only for peace, though we would fight if we were attacked, and if we did, we would give them a lesson they would not soon forget. At first they replied that if we would pay no *hongo*, we should have no food. I answered that I wanted none, and was already provided. This was a revelation; and it is thus that the pernicious Swahili trader spoils the natives wherever he goes. His arrangements are so bad that his caravan is always in a chronic state of starvation. If unable to use force, and loot or steal from the natives, he must submit to whatever exorbitant or ridiculous demands they make; and, in retaliation, before he leaves he probably "takes the change out of them" by kidnapping a few of their children for slaves.

This caravan at Njems was a case in point. Here was a huge body of men, armed with guns and loaded up with great quantities of ivory, in the heart of Africa, and I heard that they had completely run out of trades goods for food purchase, or for the payment of *hongo* (which they submit to at the will of the natives, for fear they should get no food, or be attacked and lose their ivory). There is no discipline in their loose caravans; each head of a handful of men bids against his fellows, and even the very porters are traders on their own account. Mistrusted by their own men and natives alike, it is no wonder that they find their difficulties many and great. I was, therefore, never tired of trying to impress on the natives the difference between a British and a Swahili caravan, and of disassociating our methods from theirs.

The natives of Elgeyo were more noisy and troublesome. They are at war with the Wa-Kamasia, and ordered me to prepare my *hongo* before I crossed the boundary river—the Karéu—in the valley. When I turned a deaf ear to their arrogant nonsense, the shrill *kelelé* went up, which summons the tribes to battle! However, our stolid indifference had its effect, and before long the excitable chief laid down his spear and shield in the path, and stepped over them, as an oath of peace; we did the same with a walking-stick, and his ardour for battle was appeased. These people are probably a distinct race, but are so mingled with Wakwavi that the Masai dialect is almost universally understood. They carry the spear, however, of the Suks of Lake Rudolf and the north, with a 6 ft. shaft and a narrow ribbed blade, some 8 in. long by 2 in. broad.

The Kamasia range is covered with the bright evergreen murju tree, the melalesha bush, and acacia Flowers are in great profusion, many of them familiar to us in England, while patches of heavy forest, of the stately juniper tree, occur at intervals, and give shade and moisture to innumerable lovely ferns and mosses. The hills consist of rocky shale, at a high angle of dip, together with black volcanic rocks and boulders. Here, for the first time, we began to find carcasses of buffalo, recently dead of the plague, and, as we passed onwards, they daily became more numerous, and we found that this dreadful epidemic had swept off all the cattle and the wild buffalo, and much of the other game beside. The vultures and hyenas were too surfeited to devour the putrid carcasses, which lay under almost every tree near water.

We ascended the black mountains of Elgeyo, and a savage showed us a rocky bed of a mountain stream, by which we might scale the beetling cliffs, which formed the edge of the escarpment. We climbed from rock

to rock on our hands and knees. How the porters, with their heavy loads, and the two donkeys, which still remained with the caravan (in view of this ascent, I had sold the rest at Njems), managed to gain the summit was a mystery; but slowly and one by one they emerged on the top, at 7800 ft., till we were all mustered com-

THE TRACK OF THE PLAGUE

plete. Curiously enough, it was the very day of the year (Nov. 21st) on which Thomson had climbed these hills; but the cataracts he describes as descending the hills were represented only by a tiny stream, which trickled from rock to rock We marched through a mile of typical tropical forest, of giant trees festooned with mosses and orchids, dripping moisture continually on the dense mass of crowded vegetation below, and emerged

on the great rolling plains of grass beyond, which form the Mau plateau.

The villages of the Wa-Elgeyo, which we had passed in our ascent, appear to consist of single houses, fenced round strongly with a *boma* of thorns and logs. They are dotted everywhere on the hillside, and the natives may be seen grazing their small herds of sheep and goats on the sweet mountain grass. We had obtained from them a little flour, &c., which was a welcome change from Kikuyu beans. Before ascending the Elgeyo hills we came to a wonderful gorge, running north and south, about 1000 ft. deep, and crossed it by a narrow tongue of land, not more than 600 or 800 yds across The western edge of the ravine was precipitous, the eastern nearly so, but possible of descent. Down below were villages and cultivation and forest. The country was very broken and wild; and a violent storm, with a hurricane of wind and rain, seemed a fitting accompaniment to our passage through these wild regions, where lofty mountains and granite peaks towered above us to the sky, and mighty chasms yawned below.

On the rolling plain, which we found at the top of Elgeyo, were a few hartebeest, and signs of elephant abounded. The grass was the same excellent pasture—now (in its second year) a dense and matted tangle—which I have described on the slopes we ascended above Nakuru. We had no guides, and I steered by compass due west, ploughing my way in front through the thick grass. For two days firewood was scarce, and, indeed, non-existent, till we reached the hills of Nandi, which were clothed with patches of forest. We had descended imperceptibly 1600 ft. in some forty miles (viz., from 7800 ft. to 6200 ft.). Ascending again to 6800 ft in crossing the Nandi hills, we found ourselves at length on the edge of the range, with the Kavirondo plain spread out, some 1200 ft. below us, to the far horizon, for I had

abandoned the route followed by Thomson, Fischer, and Jackson, which circles round the north of the Nandi hills, and descends into the valley of the Nzoia. Striking a little south of west, we emerged to the south even of the route from Nakuru (now selected for the projected railway), having crossed the northern part of Nandi. We had not met a living soul since we gained the summit of Elgeyo.

Through all this great plain we passed carcasses of buffalo; and the vast herds of which I had heard, and which I hoped would feed my hungry men, were gone! The breath of the pestilence had destroyed them as utterly as the Winchesters of Buffalo Bill and his crew and the corned-beef factories of Chicago have destroyed the bison of America. In Nandi, however, we came on a huge herd of hartebeest grazing on the young shoots where the grass had been burnt, and four fell to my rifle, and rewarded the toiling men. I issued the meat proportionately; those who had marched most willingly, carrying the heaviest loads, and giving no trouble, received the largest share, while some, who had been laggards and grumblers, got none Such a division, of course, takes much time; but I found that there is no more effective way of maintaining a good spirit in the caravan, and of saving the necessity of flogging and such like punishments. The common custom, I believe, is for the meat to be thrown, as it were, to the dogs—either scrambled for or left to the headmen to divide with what favouritism or carelessness they like—and hence it becomes a source rather of discontent and quarrels than of reward and incentive If a caravan leader has the good of his men at heart he will not think it too great a drudgery to devote his time to details, and the result will be sufficiently apparent in the spirit and the discipline of his *safari*. Grant and De Winton were ever ready to superintend all such work, and I made it a rule

that no food of any kind—be it the regular *posho* or the distribution of meat—should be issued except under the superintendence of one of ourselves, armed with the nominal roll by "batches" and by "camps" (messes) of the whole expedition. At this time I discovered that much unfairness in food issue had been going on among the Sudanese (for I had given to them in bulk, trusting the honesty of the non-commissioned officers), and I adopted, therefore, henceforth the same system for them as for the caravan

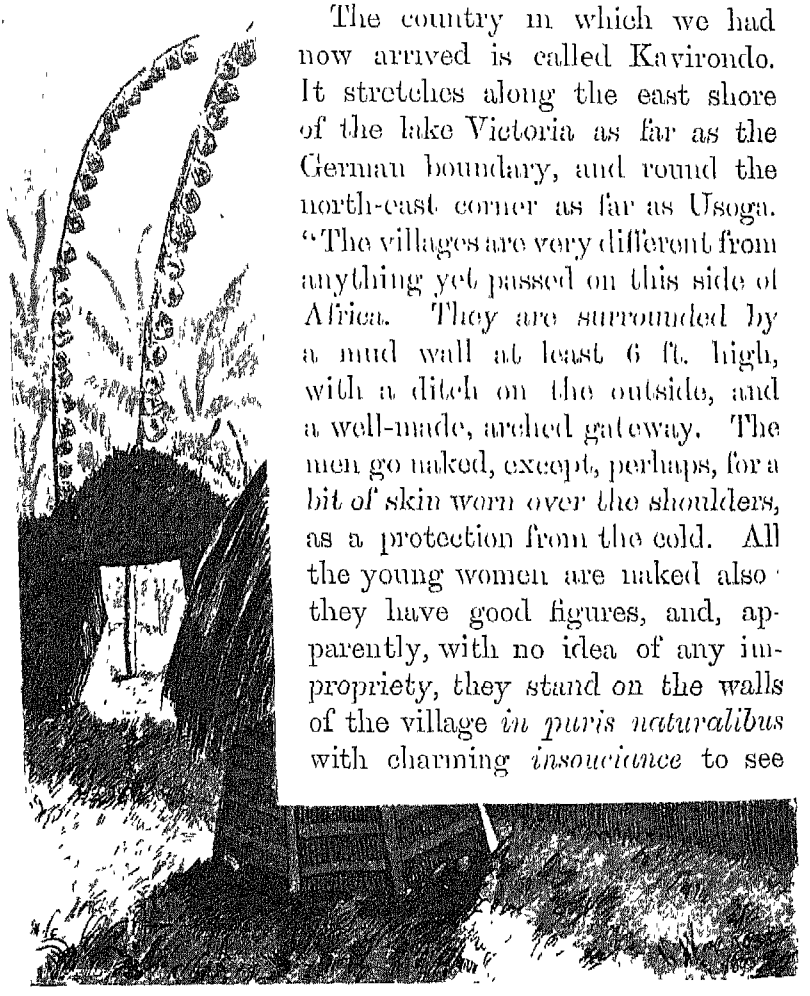
On these high altitudes we crossed several bad swamps, and endless rivers and brooks, some of which were fringed with beautiful trees of very many varieties, among which the *ngomorsi*, with its medlar-like fruit, was a great attraction to the men. Blue corn-cockles were to be seen in the grass, and a very handsome orange and yellow gladiolus, as well as the ground orchis, yellow, white, purple, and variegated Hartebeest (Jackson's) were practically the only game, though elephant tracks abounded, and one rhinoceros was seen Giraffe we had not seen since the Mikindu plain, 200 miles from the coast, nor wildebeest since the Athi plains, near Kikuyu On these bleak, grass plains there were many circular hollows, around which we could trace the remnants of stone walls, the villages of a race that had gone, who had thus formed their habitations below the surface to be sheltered from the cutting winds. Now deserted, they afforded a foothold to a beautiful evergreen shrub with a white flower, like the jessamine in its shape and powerful scent, the only bush which could withstand the biting winds. The people who formerly lived here are supposed to have been Wakwavi, and they told Mr Jackson they would like to return if they were offered protection. A tree like the shumac, date-bushes, wild plantain, and table-topped acacia formed the fringe to the water-courses; but the

forest on the Nandi hills I thus describe :—"Huge, dense African forests of colossal stems, creepers like trees, ferns, orchids, lichens, and mosses ; gloom and shade and damp below, with the feeling of being inside a hothouse, and with the luxuriant vegetation such forest grows. A bright, full moon made it very beautiful by night, but it was intensely cold."

We reached, as I have said, the edge of the hills, and descended the precipitous slope. "It took one all one's time getting down empty handed, and in places one *crawled* down the face of smooth rocks Fortunately, long grass grew on the hillside, by catching hold of which one could steady one's-self and save a fall The loose rocks and stones in the grass, which gave way or twisted under one's feet, increased the difficulty. It was not, of course, a feat to descend one's-self, but I dreaded to think how the porters and loads would come down. Down they did come, however, and not a load hurt! It took some six hours to accomplish this bit, represented on the map by a half a mile at most. So much for estimating the length of marches across country with a pair of compasses on a map at the coast!"

We found that the grass in the plain, which from above had looked like green sward, was 10 ft. high and more. Dense forest stretched on our left. Following the broad, well-beaten elephant paths till they diverged into the forest, struggling through the dense grass till we struck another elephant path, and so making our way, we reached, on the outskirts of Kabaras, the first village and people we had seen for a week of constant and rapid marching Two more days through a densely populated country brought us to Kwa Sundu, or Mumia's, where the Company's flag flew over the village, and a garrison of some ten men, with a quantity of goods, had been left by Mr Jackson. To this point our march had been more rapid than any previous caravan

in East Africa. Our heavily laden *safari* left Kikuyu on Nov. 1st, and arrived here on 29th. Deducting the two (very hard) days' détour at Nakuru, this gave twenty-seven days for the journey, without guides, and across the Kamasia and Elgeyo ranges, or, deducting halts, twenty-five days for some 280 miles. Yet I resolved that our halt here to rest and purchase food should not exceed three days.



The country in which we had now arrived is called Kavirondo. It stretches along the east shore of the lake Victoria as far as the German boundary, and round the north-east corner as far as Usoga. "The villages are very different from anything yet passed on this side of Africa. They are surrounded by a mud wall at least 6 ft. high, with a ditch on the outside, and a well-made, arched gateway. The men go naked, except, perhaps, for a bit of skin worn over the shoulders, as a protection from the cold. All the young women are naked also: they have good figures, and, apparently, with no idea of any impropriety, they stand on the walls of the village *in puris naturalibus* with charming *insouciance* to see

ENTRANCE TO A KAVIRONDO VILLAGE.

the caravan go by The old women wear a tiny fringe or tassel."

These people are extremely friendly, and it was, I think, for the first time in Africa that I saw natives leaving their spears at home and going entirely unarmed. We reached the first village in a deluge of rain. "At last one man came out and then another, and seemed not the least surprised, going round from one porter to another and shaking hands with a ludicrous 'How-d'ye-do' wag of the hand, and a smirk which was very funny, just as though it was the regular thing, daily, to see white men and Sudanese and a large caravan coming in! We persuaded two men to show us the way, and they came cheerfully, quite unarmed, and fearlessly! One curious and distinctive feature of every village is a long pole (or several) hung with tiny cages, containing quail as decoys, below are snares. Honey is abundant, also millet, maize, and wimbi grain, beans, and pojo (pulse), fowls and eggs, also semsem. They formerly had great herds of cattle, but these are now all dead. Among the Wa-Kavirondo are settled great numbers of Wakwavi The soil is rich, though rock crops out continually on the surface There does not appear to be much land under cultivation—extremely little, considering the population. Fuel is scarce, and is sold in small bundles" (diary).

When Mr Jackson had passed here in June the large herds of cattle were still alive, though his own were dying of the plague. Now, in November, I did not see a single ox throughout Kavirondo, and their skulls and bones strewed the ground. Except elephant, which roam through the great forests and uncultivated areas of high grass, there is little game; a few hippo and Nsunu antelope (*kobus kob*) frequent the Nzoia, but I saw neither. The people smoke long pipes, and much tobacco is grown. The enormous quantities of flour brought in for sale, and the cheap rate at which it is

obtainable, prove that this country produces a very large surplus of food beyond the wants of its population, and being well watered, and with rich soil, it is capable of producing very much more, since (along our route at least) there are very large areas as yet unreclaimed.

Sakwa and Munia, the two chiefs of this part of Kavirondo, welcomed us warmly. I found here quite a small colony of Swahilis, deserters from Jackson's and from Swahili caravans. They were a nest of the greatest scoundrels unhung, and were doing much harm in the country. Among them was a "mission boy" who spoke some English! They assumed great airs among the simple natives, and swaggered into my camp to discuss the question as to whether they should join me. I at once disarmed any who did not enlist (their rifles were all stolen property), and two, who wished to argue, found themselves under the Sudanese guard with handcuffs. As I was on my way to Uganda, I could not deal with these men as I would have wished, but subsequently I requested Mr Gedge on his way down to clear them out entirely. I enlisted a considerable number, but they deserted again for the most part.

During our three days halt here for rest and food purchase, I enquired into the state of the goods left by Mr Jackson, and found a great amount of robbery had been going on. I took on all loads with me, except a few of iron wire, broke up the settlement of Swahilis, and paid off the garrison, or took them on with me. As usual, we spent a busy time, completing maps and diaries, conducting *shauris* with native chiefs, and enquiring into causes of trouble. One of these was rather serious, for a Swahili who had belonged to the Company's caravan had let off his gun and shot four men, one of whom had died, and "blood-money" was demanded. We lived in comparative luxury now, on the honey, pojo, fowls, &c., of the country, and when we marched, on the 4th December,

the men were eager and willing, and the trouble I had anticipated, when they found that Uganda was our destination, was replaced by eagerness and emulation. Uganda had at this time got a very bad name as a country of war and famine only. When Mr Jackson had attempted to march thither, a hundred men, under responsible headmen, had made an organised mutiny and deserted with their arms, and a further outbreak, which would probably have ended in the entire break up of the expedition, was only prevented by the men being deprived of their arms. Three or four Sudanese, strange to say, deserted us here, and one or two black sheep among the porters, but the best feeling pervaded the caravan, and though three days' halt was a very short rest indeed after so hard a march as we had made, there was no grumbling or trouble whatever. Mr Jackson had taken three months to reach this from Machako's, and we had taken but one; he halted here for five weeks as against our three days, but he had no incentive for haste as I had. I now occupied myself in reading his report (which hitherto I had not had time to do), and all letters, &c., relating to Uganda, that I might make myself *au courant* with events in the country, prior to my arrival, and the present position; but I did not obtain much insight into the real state of affairs from these papers, which were necessarily brief.

The lesser rains were now breaking, and hurricanes of wind, accompanied by deluges of rain and thunder and lightning, came on daily about 4 P M. We managed to ford the Nzoia waist-deep, and passed through a waste and uncultivated country till we came to the village and fields of Tindi. Here gigantic boulders were scattered on the plain, one vast rock being balanced on the apex of another, as though thus poised by some melting iceberg in bygone ages. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine what force it was, here in the very heart of Africa,

which placed these gigantic masses in this strange position. Throughout Kavirondo, and onwards through Usoga, Uganda, and Ankoli, the prevalent rock, which frequently appears on the surface, is a copper-coloured and honeycombed lava, which obviously owes its colour to the iron it contains. When these lava waves rolled over the land this rock must have been a boiling mass of melted iron and stone fused together. Throughout my road-chart I have called it iron ore lava (or slag for brevity's sake). Granite boulders and red marl formed the general character of the ground.

As we crossed the boundary of Usoga "the country suddenly changed most completely. The rough, coarse grass and treeless undulations gave place to endless banana groves. The Great Unclad were replaced by a race of more intellectual appearance, completely clothed in voluminous bark-cloth. They appeared far less 'savage' in every way, neither scared at the white men, Sudanese, and guns, nor intrusively curious. They assembled round me where I halted, but sat respectfully around, and answered my questions concisely and intelligently. Their quick eyes and high foreheads bespoke a higher standard of intelligence than the Wa-Kavirondo. In their customs Dualla noticed a striking resemblance, he said, to the Abyssinians—in their dress, manner of saluting, &c. The latter is much the same as in Burma. An inferior approaches in a crouching attitude, with hands folded. Every inferior on the road thus comes forward and salutes the chief as he passes, and says the respectful words '*Gud-jay*' (like our 'Good-Day').

"The shady banana groves are a great relief after the burning sun, and the good paths after the jungle we have passed through; but they exclude the view, and make mapping difficult. The groves are wonderfully well kept; all old trees are promptly cleared away; the leaves are neatly strewn on the ground in regular lines

—to keep down weeds, and as manure, I suppose They rival the banana groves of the Wankondé on Nyasa! The villages are dense, and unprotected by any stockade or fence; but very neat hedges are made in every direction between plantations, of a straight-growing plant with juicy leaves. . . . The houses are the simple, dome-shaped bee-hive, the thatch reaching the ground. They are very large and high. The more pretentious ones have the conical roof supported on walls, and extremely well made, with great regularity of work; but they do not compare with the beautiful little houses of the Wankondé.

"The people are very much addicted to the banana wine (*pombe*) Even on the march a man carries a *kitoma* with a tube in it, and sucks; when talking, he sucks at intervals. He sucks, apparently, 'from early dawn till dewy eve,' and when he is not sucking he is smoking a long pipe—of *bhang*, I think. The liquor, however, appears to be very harmless, and I have not seen any one visibly the worse for drink, or boisterous and quarrelsome, as from the effects of *tembo* at the coast The pipe is curious, too; a prettily-made clay bowl, with a long tube in it, is the usual one. Dried hemp leaves are put in it, and a live charcoal on the top. Sometimes a separate perforated tray, or false top, contains the live coal, the *bhang* being underneath. The people are very fond of music, and you may hear the 'penny-whistles,' made from reeds, from morning till night.

"The women have extremely good figures, and are very lithe and active. Apparently there are very many of them, and I saw some 400 in a crowd at Wakoli's, all of whom (and many more) were his wives, I was told. The upper part of the body is not generally covered (except among women of high rank). The hair of these people is the genuine African wool, very short and close, and crisp, unlike the soft, wavy, curly hair of the Somals,

Gallas, Wahuma, &c." Trees of the *Ficus* class are common (goolah, pakhar, &c.) including the bark-cloth tree, of which there are many varieties. The commonest attains a girth in the bole of a foot or even more, but is generally some 6 in. only; it has a bright-green leaf, exactly like the Indian jamūn, or the arbutus. Throughout the banana groves the bhang-hemp and bird's-eye chili are grown. The soil varies. In places it is rocky and poor, or of red marl only; elsewhere it is extremely rich, especially in the depressions, and there it is much cultivated, with sweet potatoes, yams, millet, and wimbi; also semsem and tobacco. The castor-oil plant grows wild on the banks of the Nile, as throughout East Africa, and it is much grown in Uganda and Usoga; but these people do not use it to mix with red clay to plaster over their bodies (as do all the tribes from here to the coast), being very clean and well-dressed in their admirable bark-cloth. Sheep and goats, and all kinds of food, are excessively cheap, but the cattle all died of the plague.

I had much difficulty in pushing on to Wakoli's, the principal chief of Usoga. Each of his chief men and sons insisted on my staying at his place, but I was deaf to all entreaty, and arrived on Dec. 7th. Here I halted for two days to purchase food and see Wakoli. I wrote also a letter to Mwanga announcing my arrival, and asking for canoes to take us across the Nile. Escorted by throngs of his "wives," singing and dancing, and with a few Sudanese for show, we went to see Wakoli, whom we found extremely affable, though somewhat fuddled with *pombe*. Next day I saw him again, described to him the objects with which the Company had been formed, and the task entrusted to me—viz., to try and restore peace and good order to Uganda. I told him we should settle in it, and not merely pass through and go away as former white men had done. I said we desired only peace,

but asked if he would help us if war came. He said he would, and we made blood-brotherhood on the contract The ceremony is somewhat different here ; a coffee-berry is used, and we rub each other's shoulders with the right hand, and then shake hands vehemently, &c.

Wakoli showed the utmost fear of Mwanga and the Waganda, and told me envoys had gone to the coast to ask if Uganda was to be under France or England. Food was very abundant, and we secured enough for our re-

OUR WELCOME TO WAKOLI'S

quirements in our two days' halt, obtaining (without notice to distant villages) some 2500 lb. of flour in the day. The price was more than three days' ration per man for a string of small beads. As before, I went through all goods left in Wakoli's charge, and took on the garrison with me, leaving only two or three men for food purchase. We received endless deputations from Wakoli's relatives and chiefs, and occupied ourselves in our usual tasks.

Henceforward we travelled through a country where firearms were carried, and I much regretted that snider rifles had been given as presents. Very many had also

been sold by deserters or stolen. Consequently I had a new source of trouble in the sale (or theft from each other) of cartridges among the men. I overhauled the whole of the ammunition, counting every man's rounds, and depriving all those of their rifles who were deficient. The men without guns were called upon to do any extra jobs about camp, so that the punishment was not in mere disgrace alone. I warned the men that I would take very strong measures, for we did not know what was in front of us, and these very cartridges might be used against us. We presented Wakoli with a small present, which Dualla manipulated with such skill—dwelling on each article and spreading it out—that the chief was in ecstasies.

Marching thence, we passed through Mbekirwa's territory, and I made blood-brotherhood and a treaty with him (which was translated and explained sentence by sentence), on the understanding that he should collect and send me food to Uganda, for all reports agreed that there was famine and starvation in that country. Wakoli had also promised the same. Meanwhile the men had bought sheep and goats with bits of cloth—and possibly with cartridges—and had had a gorge such as they love, with plenty of meat, *pombe*, and victuals. Mbekirwa was a remarkable-looking man, of great intelligence. "He was dressed in a flowing white cloth of good stuff, and over his shoulders and chest was a leopard-skin, prettily surrounded by the long white hair of a goat or monkey. It was a striking costume, and he was, from head to foot, perfectly got up. I felt quite ashamed of my karki breeches, which were in patches and tatters, with a gaping rent in front. The rapid and decided way in which he walked (most unusual in a savage chief) was an index of much character and personality" (diary). He gave us much food, and presented us with a milch cow—a most valuable gift.

An envoy of Mwanga's was here collecting tribute, and he sent "a guide" to escort me; but I guessed that his real object was to delay me till he should ascertain the attitude of the king; and this, in the critical condition of affairs in Uganda, might mean an outbreak between the Christian factions, and an invasion of the Mohammedans, before I could arrive to endeavour to find a solution other than war. My surmise was correct. "First, he said it was absolutely imperative that I should sleep at the village of Wakoli's mother, or she would be offended. I declined. Then, that it was going to pour with rain, and our goats would not keep up; then, that Wakoli had made a special request I would not pass his boundary to-night. But these pleas were unavailing, and I pushed steadily on. Then they tried to lead us a dance in all directions, and kept branching off to the right, but I steered a little south of west by my compass, and would agree to no other direction."

We travelled mostly along the "great Uganda road"—a lane with regular hedges—quite a novelty in Africa. I noticed many very handsome trees, which were new to me, and were equally unfamiliar to Dualla, in spite of all his travels. As we went westwards the soil became richer and deeper, and the hollows or valleys were swampy, with a black and fetid ooze. The bananas and crops were more luxuriant, the tobacco being 4 or 5 ft. high. Throughout Usoga, alternating with the dense cultivation, were areas of jungle, forest, and waste land. Among a variety of birds, I noticed for the first time the grey parrot (so much domesticated in England), which is indigenous here, also the hooded raven, and a great variety of hawks. The date-palm—here a well-grown tree—was the commonest product of the valleys. All through Usoga there is little or no running water, till the Nile is reached, flowing north-

wards out of the lake, whereas the Nzoia flows south into it. The first running stream in Uganda (after crossing the Nile) also flows south into the lake, while further on the Mianja, and almost all the watershed of Uganda (as also of Usoga) flows north to the Kafu and the Nile! It is a most singular watershed, and one never knows which way any stream may be flowing till one actually crosses it.

Daily the men whom I had enlisted in Kavirondo, or brought on from Usoga (mostly of Mr Jackson's caravan), deserted, and occasionally took off one or two of my men with them. "Desertion [I write] is disheartening, but it is absolutely a part of the Swahili's character, just as much as his innate love of travelling, and he is quite indifferent whether he has arrears of pay due to him. This land of abundance, and the great number of Swahili loafers settled here, form great incentives. Those of Bishop Hannington's men who escaped massacre are settled here; the Swahili caravan which broke up through hunger in Ngoboto has supplied a large contingent, and Jackson's a still larger. If I come back, I hope to clear them out."

But an excellent spirit prevailed among the men, and they sang cheerily as we daily marched along. On the same page as the note I have quoted, I describe an arrival in camp after a particularly trying day, when the caravan had missed the road, and made a long and useless detour, in pouring rain, on slippery ground, and arrived to find the ground they must lie upon sodden with rain, and the fuel too wet to light the camp-fire—some not getting in till 5 P.M., when it was near sunset. "I went back myself to meet them, and bustled about in the rain, and what with one thing and another, all the *askari* got to yelling, and laughing, and rushing at each man, as he came up, to seize his load, and a general chaff and fun was the result, and I never saw the men in better spirits."

He is a wonderful fellow the Swahili, and has his good points as well as his bad ones, like the rest of us!

We passed Ukasa, and reached the Nile, where it was understood we should halt, pending replies from Mwanga, and permission to cross. But I knew that matters were in a most critical position in Uganda; that the king was a mere puppet in the hands of the *Wa-Fransa* faction, and, moreover, most vacillating and irresolute, and I rightly anticipated that in all probability I should be kept waiting here, while constant messages and excuses were sent, and that meantime my supply of food would be finished. Stokes would have arrived with his arms, and all the hardships the men had undergone in order to arrive with the utmost speed, without the loss of an hour, would be foregone in the forced delay at the very threshold of our destination.

Our arrival was quite unexpected, for as usual I had pushed ahead with a handful of men. I found a tiny canoe at the ferry, and at once put a guard over it. I sent messages to the local chief, requesting him to lend me canoes to cross, but this, of course, he dare not do without orders from the king. Groping about in the jungle which bordered the lake, we found another canoe, but without paddles. The natives looked on stolidly, thinking, of course, that we were baffled. I went across myself in the tiny cockle-shell of a canoe, and as we neared the opposite bank, two men with rifles rose from behind a boulder and walked off. I landed, and the canoe returned, and I went up on the high ground beyond, and selected a camp. Sharing the paddles between the two canoes, we made journey after journey, till I had quite a handful of men on my side, sufficient to protect camp. The local chief now, seeing he could not prevent us, made a virtue of necessity, and sent two or three big canoes. Dualla was in his element, and did the work of ten men, paddling backwards and forwards, and arranging the

cargo of each canoe All worked with enthusiasm, and when darkness fell the whole expedition had crossed, except our flock of sheep and goats and our cow, over which I left a guard of Sudanese, and they crossed at daybreak next day. Thus we had marched ten miles at least, and crossed the Nile in a single day, in spite of the absence of canoes and canoe-men. The night of Dec. 13th saw us camped in Uganda, and we were now indifferent to whatever caressing evasions might issue from Mwanga, for we had crossed the impassable barrier without his aid.

The Nile, where it issues from the Victoria Lake, is a deep, broad stream from 500 to 800 yds. across, with a strong current towards the Ripon Falls. The scenery is very beautiful, for the banks are high and densely wooded, and small islands dot the bay (Napoleon Gulf), or stand out to sea in the blue distance. Large schools of hippo snort and grunt in the water, and the old familiar cry of the kwazi (fish-eagle) recalls unforgotten scenes on the Nyasa Lake, while the vast expanse of water to the far horizon reminds us of the ocean. The river contains enormous quantities of fish, which are speared, and then dried and exchanged for other produce. There seemed to be no limit to the number the natives could catch (or rather spear) if wanted, and many were of enormous size and weight.

Early next morning we were off again. The country we were now in was an endless series of hills and valleys, the former being some 300 ft. above the general level of the country (4000 ft.) I thus record my first impressions: "The ground is mostly marl and gravel, but the dips have very rich black soil. The view from the top of the low hills is very pleasing; the valleys are spread out below, with endless banana groves and villages, or else jungle, which from above looks like heavy forest, and is variegated with the scarlet blossom

CROSSING THE NILE

of a very handsome flowering-tree like the palas (*Butea frondosa*). The hillsides usually present a gentle slope of bright green; the rank grass having been burnt, the vivid green of the young shoots gives the hills the appearance of being covered with green turf. To the south the hills are close, and shut out the lake from view, except at occasional places where they break, and show a vista of water and wooded islands. Though usually marly and rocky, much of the ground is rich soil, especially in the valleys and lower slopes. Bananas and sweet potatoes seem to be the universal crop."

Everywhere I noticed that crops were being planted, and the country did not bear the appearance of that theatre of war, desolation, and famine which I had anticipated, though frequent skulls and bones of men marked the scene of some conflict. According to the custom of Uganda, food was brought to me daily in camp (for which I gave a small return present), but in nothing like sufficient quantity for our necessities; so it was fortunate I had come provided. The soil in the plantations was generally a very rich, deep, black loam; where surface rock appeared it was usually lava (impregnated with iron), which had flowed over the older strata of granite.

I continued to see sniders in the hands of the Waganda every day, all bearing the Company's brand, and I took more stringent measures than ever to prevent the sale or loss of ammunition by my men. They were still in the best of spirits, singing and shouting all day on the march. On the 15th we met the king's messenger on his way to the Nile, and he desired to show me the places at which I should camp; but I declined to halt at such short distances as he desired, and pushed on daily to the full limit to which my men could march. On the 16th a second messenger arrived with letters from the king, welcoming me to his country, and henceforth

a continual series of letters (all written in Swahili) continued to reach me. I also had cordial and most courteous letters from Mgr. Hirth, the French bishop, and from the English missionaries. The king's envoy now escorted us, and, as is usual in Uganda, his minstrels played before him on the march, with flutes made of the elephant-reed, and drums, and many strange stringed instruments like harps and banjos, ornamented with beads and skins of snakes, and with tufts and tassels of long white or black goat's hair. At the halts they danced the extraordinary dance of the Waganda; the little bells or hollow balls, filled with iron shot, tied round their calves and ankles, keeping time with their tinkling sound to the motion of their bodies. A dancer in Uganda moves his feet but little, and does not change ground; the dance consisting mainly of throwing the body into the most extraordinary contortions, and stamping the feet in unison.

It rained daily, this being the season of the lesser rains (October to December), and the muddy water in the pools and swamps which formed our supply in camp was of the worst possible description. Now we passed through patches of forest, now through long groves of bananas; beyond perhaps we crested a line of low hills covered with pasture-grass, to descend into a valley, and wade through a black swamp and ascend the slope beyond, and so we neared the capital.

I went on ahead with a few Sudanese in their best turn-out, and when I got close to Mengo great crowds assembled to see me, but there was an almost ominous silence as I passed them. A messenger came from the king to show me a place to camp. It was a wet and dirty hollow, and I declined to accept it, nor yet another place shown me. Eventually I went on the top of a low gravelly knoll of waste land, and said I would camp there. Its name was Kampala. I got message after

message from the king urging me not to use this spot, but I was obstinate, and declined to move. Not only was it the only clean and healthy spot around, but I intuitively saw that if I was to do any good in this country it was essential that I should assert my independence from the first, and it appeared to me that Mwanga was even now already engaged solely in finding out to what extent he could order me about, and whether I was afraid of him. Later experience showed me I had gauged his motives aright, nor did he cease thus to endeavour to badger me and pit himself against me in matters of trivial importance, as well as in greater, until he learnt to his cost that his policy was a mistake. The way we had crossed the Nile was his first lesson,—that what we judged right and best we should do without cringing to him for permission; our rapid march here, and this matter of the camping-ground, were no less part of the *rôle* I had now set myself to play.

I sent courteous messages to the king with salaams, saying we were tired and wet, and I would defer my visit to him till next day. In the afternoon the English missionaries, the Rev Messrs Gordon and Walker, came to see us, and stopped and dined. The French bishop and R. Catholic Fathers also called upon us, and welcomed us most courteously. De Winton, who had been ailing some days, broke down on arrival; but there was no doctor in Uganda, and I had to prescribe for him myself. He had, I think, got a chill and a slight sunstroke. I got an expert among my men to bleed him, and Grant and I watched by him during the night. Perhaps it may be of interest to describe the native process of bleeding, so I copy the passage from my diary: "He had several small cows' horns about 4 in. long, the points being bored through and covered with bees'-wax. He puts one on the place he means to bleed, and sucks through the small hole, and then her-

metically seals it with the wax. The suction produced by the exhausted air causes the blood to run to the place. Then he takes it off, makes a number of little cuts with a knife, and replaces it, repeating the suction process. By-and-bye he takes it off by opening the hole at the top with a porcupine-quill, and removes the clotted blood it contains. Again and again he repeats the process, and, when no more blood will flow, he starts again in a new place. Sometimes he puts on two or three at a time in different places."

And so we had arrived at the capital of Uganda just two months exactly—including all delays—from the day I got my orders. Henceforward began a new chapter in my experience of African work.

CHAPTER XV

COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES OF EAST AFRICA

Verdict of Chambers of Commerce—Of Statesmen—Advantage to ourselves—To Africa—Climate and location—Rainfall—Fertility—Transport—Labour—Communications—Extent of waterways—Railway—Future extensions—Nyasaland a parallel—Buchanan's verdict—Minerals—Commercial staples—Peculiar advantages—Freedom from insect pests—The tsetse—Summary—European colonisation—Reasons of apparent unhealthiness—Diseases of East Africa—Native tribes—Ports—Population and areas—Comparison with others—Conclusions supported by many—Miscellaneous industries—Environs of the Sudan—Sudan soldiers—Threat from Moslems—Imports—Wants of aliens—Contrast with Germans—Basis of development.

BEFORE proceeding further with the story of the Uganda expedition I will beg my readers' indulgence, while I make a few notes and remarks on the possibilities for development of the country included in "British East Africa."

Verdict of Chambers of Commerce.

The Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom have unanimously urged the retention of East Africa on the grounds of commercial advantage. The Presidents of the London and Liverpool chambers attended a deputation[1] to her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs to urge "the absolute necessity, for the prosperity of this country, that new avenues for commerce such as that in East Equatorial Africa should be opened up, in view of the hostile tariffs with which British manufactures are being

[1] Oct. 20th, 1892.

everywhere confronted."[1] Manchester followed with a similar declaration; Glasgow, Birmingham, Edinburgh, and other commercial centres gave it as their opinion that "there is practically no middle course for this country, between a reversal of the free-trade policy to which it is pledged, on the one hand, and a prudent but continuous territorial extension for the creation of new markets, on the other hand."[1] Such is the view of the Chambers of Commerce, and I might quote endless paragraphs from their resolutions and reports in the same sense.

Verdict of Statesmen.

This view has been strongly endorsed by some of our leading statesmen. Space forbids me to quote extracts from speeches by our greatest politicians, which I might else adduce as proof that they held the opinions of the Chambers of Commerce, which I have quoted, to be sound and weighty. The late Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, spoke strongly in this sense at Liverpool.[2] The present Foreign Secretary spoke in no less forcible terms at the Imperial Institute.[3] Mr Chamberlain pointed out at Birmingham how directly to the advantage of the working men this policy of prudent but continuous exten-

[1] London Chamber of Commerce Annual Report (section Uganda), dated April 20th, 1893. The quotation continues as follows: "This policy is not so much one of our own selection, although it is practically a continuation of the Elizabethan policy inaugurated by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, as one forced upon us by the exclusive economic systems of other countries, including our own colonies. In fact, the experience of the Elizabethan era goes far to confirm us, to-day, in persevering in the same direction. New colonial developments cannot be expected to pay at once, but almost invariably they do pay in the long run. The uniform experience of this country from 1568 down to the present reign is, that colonies amply repay the first expenditure in blood and money, and that they pay both by extension of trade and shipping, and in the growth of national power and status. In regard to Uganda it is not easy—norhs it even material—to estimate when the country, if annexed, is likely to pay. It should be sufficent for us to know that investments of this class are invariably good in the long run, and that a few years more or less are immaterial from a national point of view."

[2] Feb. 6th, 1892.

[3] March 2d, 1893. *Vide*, chap. xli. vol. ii. p 585.

sion is.[1] The "Scramble for Africa" by the nations of Europe—an incident without parallel in the history of the world—was due to the growing commercial rivalry, which brought home to civilised nations the vital necessity of securing the only remaining fields for industrial enterprise and expansion. It is well, then, to realise that it is for our *advantage*—and not alone at the dictates of duty—that we have undertaken responsibilities in East Africa. It is in order to foster the growth of the trade of this country, and to find an outlet for our manufactures and our surplus energy, that our far-seeing statesmen and our commercial men advocate colonial expansion.

Advantages to Ourselves.

Money spent in such extension is circulated for the ultimate advantage of the masses. It is, then, beside the mark to argue that while there is want and misery at home money should not be spent in Africa. It has yet to be proved that the most effective way of relieving poverty permanently, and in accordance with sound political economy, is by distributing half-pence in the street. If our advent in Africa introduces civilisation, peace, and good government, abolishes the slave-trade, and effects other advantages for Africa, it must not be therefore supposed that this was our sole and only aim in going there. However greatly such objects may weigh with a large and power-

[1] "I should like to say to you in passing that this question of Uganda, and all questions which affect the extension of the Empire, have a very pressing interest for working men. Those people who want you to have a little Empire must make up their mind that with a little Empire will go a little trade. This United Kingdom of ours is, after all, but a small place—it is but a mere speck upon the surface of the globe—and it would be absolutely impossible that from our own resources alone we could find employment for our crowded population of forty millions of souls. No; your hope of continuous employment depends upon our foreign commerce, and now that other nations are closing their ports to us, and everywhere we see that they are endeavouring to create a monopoly for their own benefit—I say that the future of the working classes of this country depends upon our success in maintaining the Empire as it at present stands, and in taking every wise and legitimate opportunity of extending it."—Times, June 2d, 1892.

ful section of the nation, I do not believe that in these days our national policy is based on motives of philanthropy only. Though these may be our *duties*, it is quite possible that here (as frequently if not generally is the case) advantage may run parallel with duty. There are some who say we have no *right* in Africa at all, that "it belongs to the natives." I hold that our right is the necessity that is upon us to provide for our ever-growing population—either by opening new fields for emigration, or by providing work and employment which the development of over-sea extension entails—and to stimulate trade by finding new markets, since we know what misery trade depression brings at home.

Advantages to Africa

While thus serving our own interests as a nation, we may, by selecting men of the right stamp for the control of new territories, bring at the same time many advantages to Africa. Nor do we deprive the natives of their birthright of freedom, to place them under a foreign yoke. It has ever been the key-note of British colonial method to rule through and by the natives, and it is this method, in contrast to the arbitrary and uncompromising rule of Germany, France, Portugal, and Spain, which has been the secret of our success as a colonising nation, and has made us welcomed by tribes and peoples in Africa, who ever rose in revolt against the other nations named. In Africa, moreover, there is among the people a natural inclination to submit to a higher authority. That intense detestation of control which animates our Teutonic races does not exist among the tribes of Africa (see p. 191), and if there is any authority that we replace, it is the authority of the Slavers and Arabs, or the intolerable tyranny of the "dominant tribe" (*vide* pp. 86, 87). The experiment of an autonomous and civilised African state of freed negroes, such as was founded in "Liberia" in 1820 by the Washington Colonisation Society, and

recognised as an independent state by Europe in 1847, "can hardly be said to have been a success."[1] Such questions, however, as Mr Keltie says, it is now too late to discuss, and they have but an academic interest.

Climate and Location.

The disadvantages which are urged as against British East Africa are as follows: First, its latitude, bisected as it is by the equator. This, it is assumed, means a sweltering tropical heat, malarial fevers, and so forth. This question of salubrity of climate is dealt with in more detail in the succeeding chapter, since the altitude has so direct a bearing upon it, and districts vary so greatly in this respect that it becomes impossible to deal with the whole *en bloc*. Speaking generally, however, we may say that of all this vast continent there is probably no part, with the exception of the extreme south, and possibly of the highlands to the north of the Zambesi, which enjoys such natural advantages of climate—consequent on its high altitude. The plateaux, which begin only 150 miles from the coast and culminate in Mau, I shall describe more fully presently. On the higher portions, even frost is not unknown, and the air is bracing and healthy like that of Europe. Of the more inland districts (Uganda, &c.) around the Lake Victoria, and northwards near the Nile, which do not enjoy so high an altitude, and which are close to the equator, Speke, a most competent observer, writes in glowing terms as regards the climate and rainfall.[2] The Rev. C. T. Wilson, the first European resident in

[1] Keltie, Partition of Africa, p 283 So also Silva White, Development of Africa, p. 237, and Mackay, Life, p 459.

[2] "At 5° south latitude, for the whole six months that the sun is in the south, rain continues to fall, and I have heard that the same takes place at 5° north; whilst on the equator, or rather a trifle to northward of it, it rains, more or less, the whole year round, but most at the equinoxes. . . . The winds in the drier season blow so cold that the sun's heat is not distressing, and in consequence of this, and the average altitude of the plateau, which is 3000 ft [*sic*], the general temperature of the atmosphere is very pleasant, as I found from experience, for I walked every inch of the journey dressed in thick woollen clothes, and slept every night between blankets."—Speke's Journals, Introduction, p. 15.

Uganda, writes in similar terms.[1] As regards fertility of soil and sufficiency of rainfall I shall speak of each district separately, and the testimony of every traveller through these regions can, without exception, be adduced to support the claims for extraordinary advantages in this respect which have been advanced as regards East Africa. Speaking generally of the entire equatorial zone, Speke gives reasons for this "surprising fertility,"[2] and I hear that the members of Sir G. Portal's commission were equally impressed with its richness, while those who had been in India contrasted it favourably with that country.

Transport.

2. The lack of transport has justly been urged as a great drawback to the value of East Africa, and as retarding its commercial development. With this subject I have dealt in chapter xvii.

Labour.

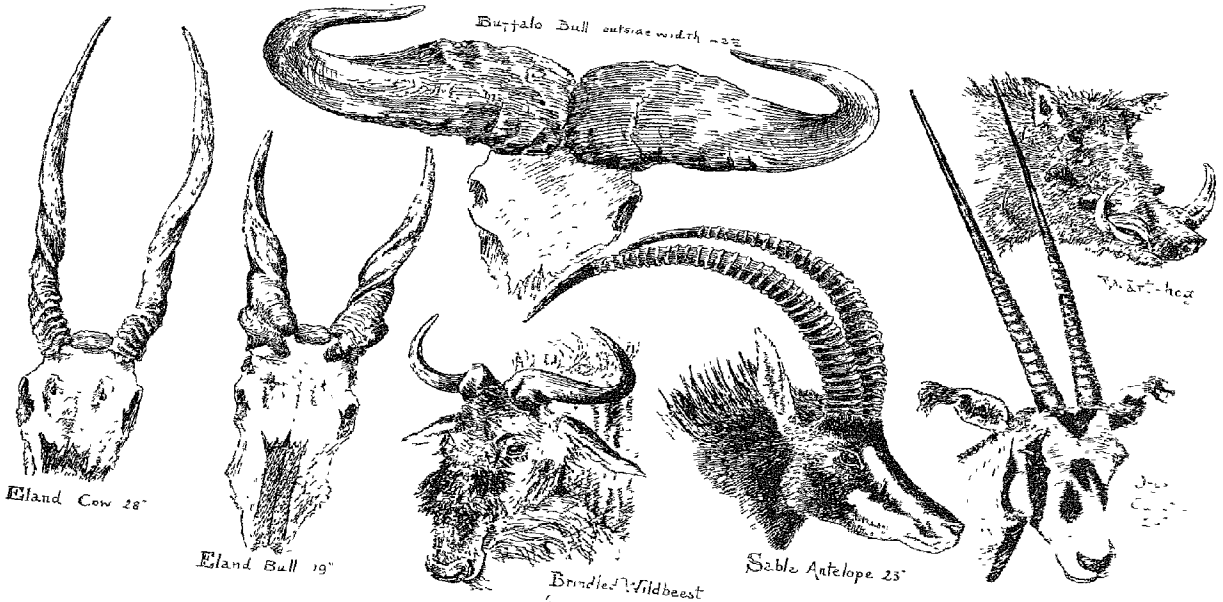
3. A similar objection, on the score of absence of local labour, has been put forward, and I have considered this question also of sufficient importance to merit a separate examination in chapter xviii.

Communications.

4. East Africa labours under the natural disadvantage of having no great navigable rivers which could become the highways of commerce and steam navigation. It is true that the Juba and Tana have been navigated by a steamer 86 ft. long,

[1] He reached the country from what is now German territory, and writes: "A wealth of vegetation for which I was quite unprepared. Indeed, no traveller in Africa can form any just estimate of the fertility and luxuriance of the vegetation within the rainy belt, unless he has actually visited it."—Uganda and Equatorial Sudan, p. 102.

[2] "Over ten degrees of latitude in the centre of the continent, or from 5° south to 5° north latitude, there exists a regular gradation of fertility, surprisingly rich on the equator, but decreasing systematically from it, and the reason why this great fertile zone is confined to the equatorial regions is the same as that which has constituted it the great focus of water or lake supply, whence issue the principal rivers of Africa. On the equator lie the rain-bearing influences of the mountains of the moon. The equatorial line is, in fact, the centre of atmospheric motion."—Speke's Journals, Introduction, p. 16



HORNS OF ANTELOPE BUFFALO, ETC

the one for 400, and the other for 350 miles (representing a direct distance in both cases of some 200 miles from the coast), but neither of these rivers can ever become highways of commerce, for they are practicable only in the rains, and navigation is at all times difficult.

On the other hand, there exists in the centre of the continent a wonderful system of great waterways. The Victoria Lake, with a coast-line of close on 1000 miles, the Albert Edward and the Albert Lakes with over 200 miles each, and the Nile navigable with one interruption (at Dufilé) as far as Gondokoro. This point, N. lat. 5°, may be taken as the limit of the area to be commercially developed from the East Coast. It is situated some 200 miles from the exit of the river at the Albert Lake. We thus have a total coast-line and river waterway immediately surrounding these districts of some 1600 miles from point to point; and vastly greater when the indentures of the lake coast-line and the windings of the river are added. In addition there extends the waterway of the Nile, navigable without a break to Khartum, 1080 miles, and thence to Cairo (with many cataracts) 1500 miles further.[1] To the south of the Victoria lies the Tanganyika, 400 miles long, and south of it Nyasa extends to the Shiré and Zambesi. To the north-east, within British East Africa, lies the great Lake Rudolf. This territory, therefore, cannot be said to be destitute of water communication. On the contrary, it is singularly fortunate in this respect, but its sole disadvantage lies in the fact that these waterways have no practicable outlet to the sea.

This is why a railway has been urged as a substitute. The survey has established the fact that its construc-

[1] Gordon's Journals, p 68. He says, however, in his report on the river. "Were it not for the rapids of Fola (Dufilé), a vessel could come up to the lake from Cairo, for the water is deep throughout, and the other rapids on the river can be passed with care"—Gordon in Africa, p 202.

tion offers no great difficulties, and its cost is only 2½ millions. With such an outlet to connect the water communications of the interior with the sea, British East Africa could claim to have an altogether exceptional system of waterways to develop the interior districts. When Uganda becomes the seat of a British administration, the connection of these lakes by light railways will undoubtedly be eventually undertaken.

I have traversed the country, and I am able to say that, contrary to expectation from the general nature of Uganda, the route, starting from the excellent harbour of Luwambu, on the Victoria Lake, across Buddu and Northern Ankoli to the Albert Edward Lake, offers very few obstacles, if any, and a light line could be made which would, I think, prove extremely profitable. It would not only tap the produce of the whole of the shores of the Albert Edward (a country abounding in ivory, and as yet untapped even by the Arabs and Manyuema), but it would also convey to Uganda and to the shores of Lake Victoria, and so to the countries which surround it, the salt from the Salt Lake of Katwe. The distance is only 140 miles of easy country, with few or no river-swamps, no large rivers, and no mountains to cross, and the people are friendly. From the Albert Edward an extension may be made to Tanganyika (in furtherance perhaps of Mr Rhodes' trans-continental telegraph scheme), and so the line of communication will be complete throughout, *viâ* Nyasa and the Shiré to the East Coast at the mouth of the Zambesi. This extension would involve negotiation either with the Congo State or with Germany, and is altogether outside the immediate scope of British East African internal development.

From the Albert Edward a short extension northwards along the fertile and densely populated lower slopes of Ruwenzori brings us to the Albert Lake, and thence by continual navigation, along that lake and the Nile, to

Khartum and to Egypt. The distance from the Albert Edward to the Albert Lake is some seventy miles. Such are the possibilities of the future, and I name them to show that it is no *cul de sac* of which Uganda is the terminus, but rather that it should become in the hands of a prudent but energetic administrator the emporium and centre of a commerce whose arteries may extend for hundreds of miles to north and south, along lines of communication which require but few connecting links.

Of what *can* be done in the heart of Africa, the development in the Shiré highlands is a notable example. I have already stated elsewhere the results that are to be seen there to-day. These results were achieved in the face of many obstacles The Portuguese held the coast-line and the port of Quilimane, they imposed vexatious tariffs, and threw many difficulties in the way of the British settlers. The Chindé channel of the Zambesi had not been utilised, and bulk was broken (1) at the coast—where cargo was transferred at Quilimane, to small boats on the Kwakwa. (2) At Mopea—whence it was carried across (four miles) to the Zambesi. (3) At the mouth of the Ruo (except in exceptional floods)—when it was transferred to small boats. (4) At Katunga's—where it had to be carried twenty-five miles up steep hills to the Shiré plateau. Moreover, no labour existed, as hostile tribes (Angoni) had laid waste the country. Natural products were few or none, and the ivory, &c., had been already monopolised by the Arabs. I think the difficulties in East Africa are not so great as these which have already been met and overcome in the Shiré highlands by British energy.

I lay particular stress on Nyasaland as an object lesson, because the conditions of its development are so close a parallel. Its climate, and the general conditions, as affecting the introduction of new staples of industry, would approximate closely, I should imagine, to

those of the lake districts, and would be inferior to those prevailing in the third zone. Throughout the following chapters, therefore, I have freely quoted the results as regards new experimental products which have been obtained in the Shiré highlands, as offering a good criterion for success or failure in East Africa. I have taken as my authority Mr John Buchanan, C.M.G., a planter in Nyasaland, who is acknowledged to be skilful and scientific, and withal not an enthusiast in speech. He owns the largest estates, and is the largest exporter of coffee, &c. His statements therefore are based on the actual monetary results which have accrued after some twelve years of experience and effort. In general terms Mr Whyte, botanist and scientist to the Government Commissioner, endorses Buchanan's statements as regards the soil and climate, &c.[1] Mr Buchanan's verdict on the future of Nyasaland, based on long experience, may, I think, be equally applied to East Africa:—

"I feel justified in saying that, commercially, Nyasaland has a bright future before it. We have the backbone of commerce in coffee, cocoa, rubber, tobacco, cotton, cinchona, and it may be tea and sugar, . . with great probabilities in fibres, grain, hides, bees'-wax, &c., not to speak of the ivory trade, which will hold its own for several years yet to come"[2]

Minerals

5. The absence of valuable metals has been urged as a factor which depreciates the value of East Africa. It is not clear to my mind that the discovery of gold in the early stages of its development is altogether an advantage to an infant country. That the favour with which its progress is regarded by England should be in any way dependent on the rise and fall of gold-mine shares, and that the fate of thousands or millions of Africans should in any degree be associated with the vacillations of the stock exchange is, in my opinion, to be deplored. Moreover it must be remem-

[1] Kew Bulletin, 1892, p 124.

[2] Geog Jour, vol i. p. 253.

BUCHANAN'S COFFEE PLANTATIONS

bered that it is alluvial gold only which brings colonists and settlers, quartz gold being dependent on adequate communications for the conveyance of heavy machinery and of ore. But it is by no means as yet proved that East Africa does not contain gold. The country to west of Port Durnford is said to produce gold, and its extraordinary prosperity in ancient times, of which the remains are still to be found in the ruins of large towns, seems to indicate a natural wealth. Gold is known to exist at Fazokl on the Blue Nile,[1] and Fischer says it is to be found in N. Masailand; a specimen containing gold has also been picked up near the ordinary caravan route from the coast. The country has been little prospected for metals, and it is by no means improbable that it may prove to be not deficient. There is a probability of a coal seam near the coast, and iron ore of great richness abounds throughout East Africa, together with other base metals Chalcedony and manganese (Höhnel), graphite, copper, lead, antimony, &c., are reported to have been found

6. It is urged that there is no staple of commerce—such as the palm-kernel on the West Coast, the clove in Zanzibar, or coffee in Nyasaland. The succeeding chapters will, I hope, prove that there are *many* articles which may become staples, and that the variety of industries to which the country is suited by its climate and fertility will preclude the possibility of its becoming solely dependent on any one single product. Of these, coffee, cotton, and stock-rearing are perhaps the most promising industries. Commercial Staple.

On the other hand, East Africa has many great advantages. It is practically free from the tsetse-fly (*Glossina morsitans*) which arrests progress in South

[1] Gessi Pasha, p. 156 Many competent observers endorse this, including mining engineers (Russegger and others), but the district is beyond the present limitations of East Africa

Africa. It is not dominated by powerful hostile tribes or by bands of slave-raiders as are other territories in Africa. Its population is not demoralised by liquor traffic and a vast trade in arms, nor will its revenues depend on any such illegal imports. Lastly, and by no means of least importance, East Africa is singularly free from those insect pests which render life intolerable to Europeans throughout so great a part of Africa, and induce fever by their irritation, the virus they inject, and the blood they withdraw from the system.[1] Mosquitoes are almost unknown throughout the country from the coast to Uganda.) The jigger, the curse of West Africa, has also been unknown hitherto, though the 'Times' correspondent reports[2] that it has been lately found in Buddu. The supposition put forward by Mr Sharpe[3] that it is making its way across from the West to the East Coast is not unlikely, since it is supposed to have been originally introduced from Brazil, and is alarming if true. It is certainly the fact that, at the date I was on Nyasa, and in Buddu, this pest was wholly unknown.

Peculiar advantages.

South Africa, as I have said, is at a disadvantage by reason of the tsetse-fly, which precludes all forms of animal transport, and all agricultural methods which depend on the use of the horse, bullock, or donkey, as well as all stock-rearing farms. Hides, ghi, milk, and beef are products which cannot be procured in the infested districts. In German East Africa throughout

[1] Dr. Clark, in his most interesting paper on Malaria (Royal Scottish Geographical Magazine, vol. ix p 294), ascribes a great share in the propagation of fever to the mosquito. Not only, he says, is its virus "more potent, weight for weight, than that of the cobra," but he maintains that it probably also transmits malarial germs from swamps

[2] Times, July 6th, 1893.

[3] "Two years ago the West African jigger (*Sarcopsylla penetrans*) had just made its appearance on the south of Tanganyika. On my present journey I found that it was not only quite plentiful now at Tanganyika, but had crossed the plateau, and reached Nyasa. At all the villages on the road from Karonga's to Tanganyika they have become a pest Doubtless, before long they will reach the East Coast"– Geographical Journal, vol. i. p. 525

the broad zone, which he describes as the coast area Dr. Pruen says "the tsetse-fly holds undisputed sway.' In British East Africa the fly has been found in an extremely narrow strip of country near Taita, but so far it has only been caught as a natural history curiosity. Indeed, by diverging either to the right or the left, it can, I think, be avoided, for it is doubtful if it exists on the Sabakhi River, and Mr Jackson[1] says that, proceeding from Mombasa *viâ* Taveta to Machako's, "Throughout the whole of the way both good water and fodder are plentiful; there is no thick bush, and there are no tsetse" Mr Jackson is a competent authority, who has travelled in this district (Taveta), and it was by him that the tsetse-fly in the direct route was first discovered and sent home for identification to the British Museum. Thus transport animals could be used throughout East Africa from the coast to the far interior. Even across the strip of country in which it has been found the Arabs and Swahilis have for years driven trains of pack bullocks and donkeys in their slow-moving caravans, and from this it would appear that the fly can hardly be said to exist in sufficient quantities to be a real obstacle, for these people could not afford to risk the loss even of a few animals. The Company have sent up caravans of donkeys, but I greatly doubt if the mortality amongst them was due to tsetse. Three horses were safely imported to Uganda, and the tribes breed and rear cattle continuously from the coast to the far interior.

This brief summary will indicate how superior are the advantages claimed for East Africa to the comparatively sterile belt of country which forms the greater portion of the German sphere, or that still more sterile tract known as "German South-West Africa"; or, finally, to that vast area of "light soil" (to

Summary

[1] Pall Mall Gazette, Feb 4th, 1893.

use Lord Salisbury's euphemistic phrase) upon which the French are expending their energy and their capital.[1] Nor, indeed, are such comparisons necessary. Not even in those other promising districts of Africa in which I have travelled have I ever, I think, seen so fertile a country, as a whole, as East Africa. The lofty plateaux and mountains of the interior, and the climatic conditions generated by the great lakes, render the rainfall of the country certain and abundant. Such observations as have been made and computed of the rainfall in East Africa will be found on the physical maps attached to these chapters. East Africa may indeed, I think, compare favourably as a field for agricultural and industrial enterprise with any tropical country in the world.

European Colonisation.

Whether it may ever be available as an outlet for European emigration is a question which can only be determined by fuller data, and actual experiment: I will allude to this subject in dealing with the central zone in the succeeding chapter. Africa, in the extreme south (the Cape), has been found suitable to European life and colonisation. Further north it still remains to be proved whether the recently exploited plateaux of Mashonaland have a climate suitable in all respects for Europeans, as is claimed for them. Northern Africa is at the disadvantage, compared with East Africa, that "the winds that cross the Mediterranean and the Red Sea have already parted with most of their moisture to the Euro-Asiatic mass, and what little remains is levied by the coast lands."[2] Thus Northern Africa is, considering its latitude, unduly hot. These two extremes of the continent are, however, beyond the tropics. Half-way between East Africa and the Cape lie the Shiré highlands in S. lat. 16°. Their altitude (3000 ft.) renders them salubrious for Europeans, and English and Scotch ladies have lived there

[1] *Vide* Keltie, Partition of Africa, p. 222. [2] Ibid., p. 416.

for years in health, though as yet it cannot be fairly said that they have been proved fit for colonisation in the proper sense of the term. East Africa, throughout its central portions, has an altitude double that of the Shiré highlands (5000 to 8000 ft.) to compensate for its more tropical situation, and the conditions may therefore be assumed to be not dissimilar, with probably an advantage on the side of East Africa.

Reasons of apparent unhealthiness.

In spite of the advantages of climate which I have claimed for this country, it is true that Europeans who have lived in the interior do not on the whole show as good a medical record as we should expect. The causes are not far to seek. Europeans often immature, physically weak, and quite unacclimatised (especially missionaries) come out to Africa. They probably spend some time in the malarial districts of the coast. The missionaries for Uganda, for instance, have invariably passed thither through the German sphere, much of which is very unhealthy: they thus imbibe malaria into their systems. A *sine qua non* for successful colonisation would be a rapid means of transit from the seaport to the uplands—viz., a short railway of 150 miles at least.

Europeans in Africa hitherto have lived in mere grass houses not raised above the ground-level and with floors of mud. Their diet is not luxurious; articles of food, which have become necessities of life (such as bread, and sometimes even salt), have to be abandoned. Medical attendance is generally not available, and medicines are often deficient. Journeys are undertaken in all kinds of weather; changes of clothes are not always at hand; delays occur when on the march in obtaining food. An ignorance of the exigencies of a rough life often results in the neglect of simple precautions against chills, &c. Their duties have been prominently the formation of new stations; virgin soil

is disturbed, and the process is acknowledged to be most destructive to health and life.[1] For examples we need not even go to tropical countries (as Australia, &c.), we have an instance in the reclamation of the Campagna in Italy, and Dr Clark adds the case of the excavation of the canal St Martin in Paris, &c.[2] The result is fever —sometimes of a bad type—or dysentery, &c. Can the mere climate be held responsible for this?[3] Would the average Englishman under such conditions prove invulnerable to disease on the banks of the Thames if compelled to live thus year after year, with moreover the tension of responsibility and heavy work on his shoulders? And should we, therefore, condemn the Thames Valley as unfit for European colonisation?

Diseases of East Africa.

East Africa, like all countries, has its own diseases, and of these dysentery and hæmaturic fever are the most dreaded. Cholera, so fatal in India, is unknown. Influenza, the scourge of Europe, has not made its appearance there. Smallpox, though a terrible scourge to the natives, has never yet claimed a European victim, and is amenable to vaccination; out of some fifty missionaries who have joined the English Nyanza Mission at most one or two have died of disease in the interior of British East Africa, though many have succumbed in German territory on their way thither, or in the Southern Lake stations. There is, however, a disease which I fear may be found in Uganda—it is ophthalmia. I had many cases (some very serious) among the natives, and both English and French residents

[1] Waller (Health Hints for Central Africa, p 52) lays great stress on this point.

[2] Scottish Geographical Magazine, vol. ix. p 286 A perusal of Dr Clark's most admirable paper will convey to the reader a hundred other causes predisposing to malaria, which the early settler incurs, and which space forbids me to detail here

[3] Mackay also draws out this argument, attributing the deaths of Europeans to ignorance and carelessness of precautions, and because the route followed—Nile, Congo, &c —has usually been a low-lying and unhealthy river bed — Life of Mackay, p 254

have suffered. Hæmaturic fever has also of late attacked several, and Mr De Winton (being without attendance) succumbed to it.

I have alluded to the question of the hostility of native tribes, and the subject is so important that it merits an additional word. Native Tribes.

The South African Company have the Matabeles to deal with—an extremely powerful Zulu tribe of great organisation, who we are told are rapidly arming themselves with rifles. They have also had a collision with European neighbours in the Portuguese, and a similar collision with the Boers was narrowly avoided. The "*British Central African Protectorate*" *is permeated* by the slave-traders and their affiliated tribes, all armed with rifles and bitterly hostile, with whom the Administration is at chronic war, and who have hitherto proved themselves more than a match for its resources. There are also the fierce Angoni, a tribe of Zulu origin. The Germans in like manner have tribes to deal with who are armed with thousands of rifles; and the whole country is full of arms. The slave-traders, the Magwangwara Zulus, the dreaded Manyuema, the Wanyamwezi and the Wahehé. The French have in West Africa powerful negro states, well armed, on their frontiers, such as Dahomey and others, and still more powerful opposition in Algeria. The Italians have the fierce and fanatical Somals in the south, intensely antagonistic to them, and the Abyssinians to the west, who have so far defied them and have lately denounced their protectorate

In the greater part at least of British East Africa there are no tribes to compare in power with any of these I have named. The Somals in the north are formidable, but they are not armed with rifles, and so far (except for a local *émeute* on the coast) have been amenable to peaceful methods. The Waganda and their former dependents are by far the most powerful, and

they alone are armed with guns, but they too have been dealt with peacefully—except for an outbreak between internal factions, which would have occurred all the sooner but for British intervention; and which, after singularly little bloodshed, has been succeeded by peace. There are no settlements of armed slave-traders and no savage tribes armed with rifles, as in the case of every other territory in Africa, and the natives almost without exception are well disposed.

Another advantage which accrues to us in East Africa is the possession of at least three excellent harbours. Of these Mombasa is perhaps the finest natural port on the East African coast, and would form a most valuable coaling station for our fleet in those waters. But with its political importance we are not concerned here. With such a port at the base, and such an objective at the further point as I have shown would be attained by communication with the lake and Nile waterways, surely the country offers indisputable natural advantages for commercial development?

Ports.

Mr. Stanley has stated[1] that we should be face to face with twelve millions of people as customers for our goods. Mr Ravenstein's estimate of the population of British East Africa is 6½ millions,[2] and probably if we extended our commerce to the peoples who surround the shores of the lakes and the Nile, we should arrive at a total not far short of Mr Stanley's estimate. Apart, however, from the wants of this native population are the requirements of alien immigrants. These will form a very appreciable factor in the consumption of imports. The distribution of the population is extremely unequal, and this not because of any notable superiority of situation as regards climate and soil, but largely owing to the exigencies of inter-

Population and Areas.

[1] Speech at Swansea, Times, Oct 4th, 1892

[2] Partition of Africa, App 1, p 461.

tribal war. Consequently while certain densely populated areas afford markets for trade and barter, similarly fertile areas exist uninhabited and ready for occupation by alien immigrants. Whether European colonisation in the true sense of the term be feasible or not, it remains beyond a doubt that extensive areas suitable for European exploitation, similar to that in India and Nyasaland, where large plantations of tea, coffee, cotton, &c., are raised, or for stock-rearing and sheep-farming, as in Australia and Canada, are available, and also that East Africa is eminently suitable for Asiatic colonisation.

I think that even this brief and cursory sketch will be sufficient to endorse Mr Chamberlain's words: "Although no immediate return can be expected, the ultimate prospect of trade is at least as good as it was at the commencement of our occupation of many of our most prosperous colonies and dependencies."[1] Let me quote but one instance in support of this view. I have served many years in Northern India and the Punjab, and a country more sterile-looking, more poorly watered, and with poorer soil or poorer inhabitants it would be hard to find. It was, moreover, till recently 1500 miles from its ports on the sea. Yet to-day the grain of the Punjab competes with success in the markets of the world—not to speak of the other numerous products, opium, cotton, &c. What has been done in India, Australia, and Canada—districts offering no greater, if as great, advantages as East Africa will suggest itself to the mind of the reader. But it took many years to develop these great dependencies, which our forefathers have transmitted to us as a portion of the British Empire.

Comparison with others.

I have endeavoured throughout to base my conclusions not merely on my own opinions, but on the published

[1] Letter to Anti-Slavery Society, Times, Oct. 27th, 1892.

statements of all such authorities as I have been able to consult. East Africa is not an El Dorado, but the testimony of all the authorities I have quoted is unanimous as to the fertility of the soil, the healthiness of the highlands, the abundance of the rainfall, and the general excellence of climate. If then my remarks appear optimistic, the onus is rather on the authorities I quote than on my own statements, which have hitherto been much less enthusiastic.

Conclusions, how arrived at.

The attached road chart (Map No. 3) will show the details of soil, products, forests, &c., noted by me in Uganda and the neighbouring countries; the bulk to which it would attain prevents my reproducing a similar chart from the coast to Uganda. The series of small maps by Mr Ravenstein will, however, amply illustrate these points in a far more scientific though more general manner.

In the next chapter I will indicate some of the products present and possible; but there are very many more forms of industry which space prevents my dealing with. Take for instance that of sericulture. Depending as it does solely on the labour of women and children (who, so to speak, abound in Africa), and the mulberry being a sub-tropical tree, there would seem to be possibilities in East Africa for the rearing and breeding of the silkworm. In the report lately furnished by the Governor of St. Helena, with the enclosure by the Rev J. H. Danie (R. Catholic chaplain), we learn that the experiment is being made on a large scale in that island. Similarly, there are many other plants which form the commercial staples of various countries, and which would appear suited to the climate and soil; but which would demand far greater space than I can command for their introduction into these chapters. I will mention but two: opium, a most valuable and remunerative culture, which

Miscellaneous Products.

would involve the employment of skilled coolie labour from Oude, and which has already been experimented with at Mopea on the Kwakwa; and olives, which yield so large a revenue to the countries in the south of Europe.

I have included the Southern Sudan as the fifth commercial "zone." For, so far as commerce is concerned, it is not essential that it should immediately be included in the sphere of our administration. Its products will, in any case, flow to our markets in Uganda and on the Albert Lake. Formerly there was a small trade between Uganda and the Sudan,[1] but this ceased on the evacuation of Mruli by the Egyptian garrisons, and the hostility of Kabarega of Unyoro has ever since opposed a barrier which has quite separated the two countries. A perusal of my notes will, I think, show how important commercially this country is. The most striking thing, however, in studying the commerce of this district is the comparatively greater importance of the districts lying to the north-west. Gessi Pasha's province of Bahr-el-Ghazal will be found to have exports of very great value and surprising quantity. And this leads us to pause for a moment to consider that undoubtedly the products of these districts would find their outlet to the East Coast if a cheap means of transport existed. For already they are close to the Nile waterway, which brings them to the Albert Lake and so in touch with our administration. Here, in this direction, lie thickly peopled independent Mussalman States, boasting a Mohammedan civilisation, and eager for trade. Such are Wadai, Darfur, and Bagirmi. France has long perceived the great importance of getting in touch with these negro states, and has spent unknown thousands in exploring and treaty-making parties in this direction.

Environs of Sudan.

[1] Wilson and Felkin, vol. i. 191.

Owning, as they are reported to do, horses, asses, and camels, as beasts of burden, the trade which they command would not be the mere produce of a petty kinglet's territory, but would practically be the trade of the Central Sudan. Their civilisation, such as it is, causes them to eagerly demand cloth and such goods in return for their ivory, gums, feathers, &c., which at present are reported to be sent across the Sahara.[1]

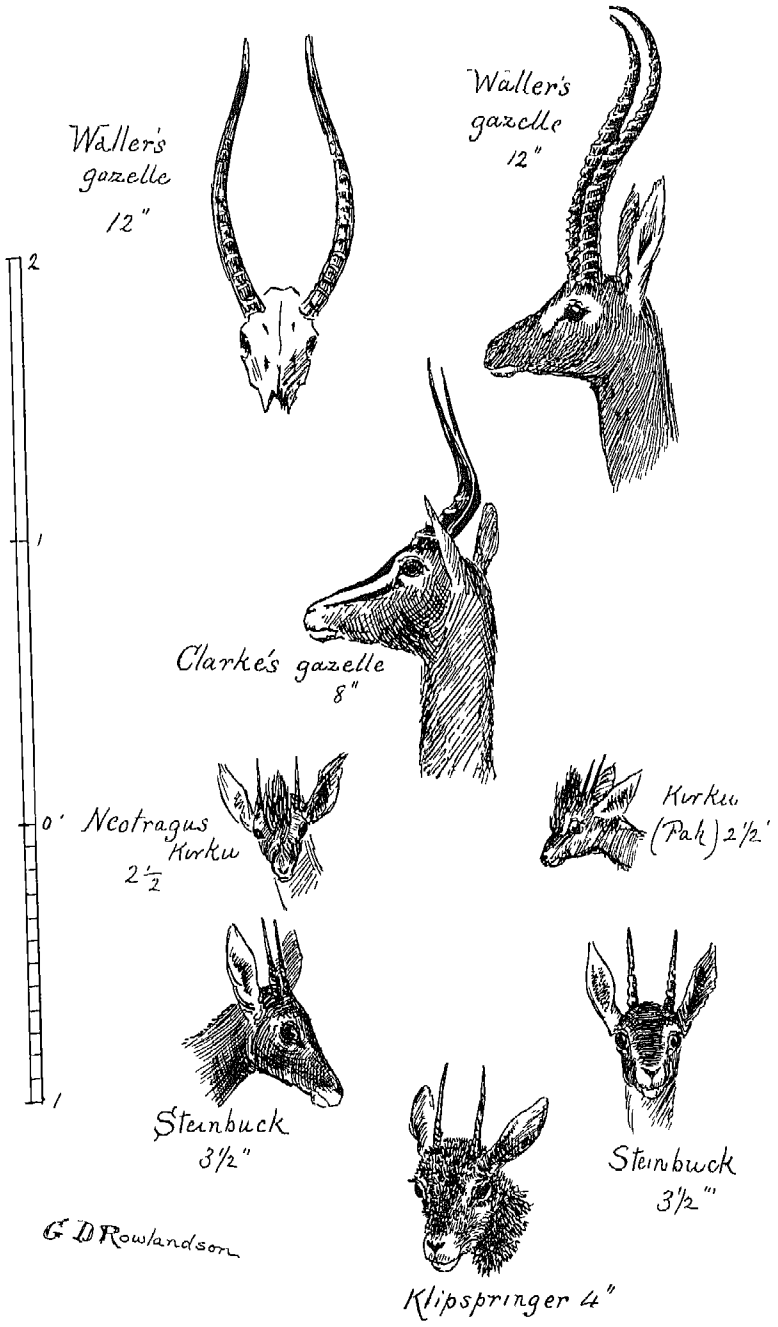
Sudan Soldiers.

There is a great incidental advantage—though not strictly commercial—in opening up communications with the Southern Sudan. It leads us to the recruiting grounds for the best soldiers to be found in Africa. The Black troops in Egypt have shown themselves to be not only brave but extremely amenable to discipline. They possess a quality rare in the African—viz., the instincts of a soldier in routine duties, so that it is possible to establish that chain of responsibility through the non-commissioned officers' ranks which is the basis of a workable military system. The Germans in East Africa are eager to avail themselves of this recruiting ground, and in return for a permission to do so we might obtain porters from among the free Wanyamwezi in their territory, from whom to complete our "Swahili" levies and necessary porters.

Threat from Moslems.

It has been stated that the Mohammedans of these regions would form a standing menace to British administration in Uganda. From rumours conveyed to me by Dr Stuhlmann (whose authority was Emin), I was at first disposed to give some credence to these reports; but, as I will relate, I was completely reassured as regards the dervishes by the Sudanese at Kavalli. Major Wingate has shown that Mahdism, as a fanatical religious power, is dead. The Moslem States of Wadai, &c., are too distant to be considered, nor are they engaged in any religious "Jehad."

[1] Partition of Africa, p 458



HORNS OF ANTELOPE

The party of Senussi is said to be extending east and west (and not south), but little is known of this movement.

The question of the exports from East Africa will be dealt with in detail in the succeeding chapter; they divide themselves into two classes —viz., (1) the indigenous products capable of collection and of development, some being of considerable value; (2) the new products and industries which it may be possible to introduce, and which are of special value to European civilisation. Of imports there is little to say. There is an enormous market for cloth, for almost all the tribes who go naked are eager to buy it, and they have no substitute except skins. The tribes who are clothed (the Waganda, Wanyoro, and Wasoga) have only their native bark cloth, which they are excessively eager to replace with cloth. The demand here includes the best cloths. The savages who now show a preference for beads and iron wire will rapidly have a sufficiency of these, and be as eager as their neighbours for calico; for the African is, above all things, imitative. At present the articles of barter with the savage tribes are cloth (American drill, cheap calico, "turkey-red drill," blue and white shirting, prints, &c.), iron and brass wire and chain, beads of all sorts, hardware, and "notions." In Uganda all the wants of an infant civilisation are present—tools, utensils, glass, stationery, anything and everything. That the African is rapidly progressive in his imitation, however crude, of civilised methods and wants, our West Coast colonies prove. Their present demand for beads and trinkets is no criterion of what their requirements will be when the imports and exports amount to appreciable sums. If I succeed in showing that Africa can produce something wherewith to buy, there is hardly need to demonstrate that they will be eager to acquire our manufactures, especially cloth.

Imports and Exports.

Wants of Aliens, &c.

But if the country is thrown open to development, it must not be forgotten that the wants of European and Asiatic settlers will have to be supplied, probably also of Asiatic imported labour (*vide* chapter xviii.), as well as those of the administrative staff and all dependents. Machinery for mills (cotton, oil-pressing, fibre, &c.), material for buildings, agricultural implements, &c., will be required. Lastly, should the whole or a portion of the railway be made, the plant (iron sleepers, bolts and rails, telegraph wire, material for railway buildings, tools, &c.) and the wants of the *employés* will need to be supplied.

Contrast with Germans.

If the conclusions I arrive at in the next chapter as to the economic value of East Africa are held to be sound, and to warrant the introduction of a regularly organised transport, involving the establishment of a series of stations and depots, an effective administration will be *de facto* initiated. The endeavour to create in East Africa a prosperity which may contrast in our favour with that of our German neighbours will be a worthy ambition for him to whom the administration may be entrusted. Hitherto they have set us an example in the thorough and practical way in which they set about to develop their territories, though, as regards tact with the natives, the advantage, perhaps, lies with us. Even so much as three years before it was officially administered, preliminary expeditions were sent to German East Africa (in 1885) of experts and scientists, to report on the geology, climate, soil, and vegetation; and this was immediately followed by the establishment of plantations, so that some thirty were in existence in 1888. Exactly similar steps were taken in German South-west Africa (Demaraland) and in West Africa (Cameroons), where "macadamised roads, botanical gardens, experimental stations," and plantations supporting a variety of natu-

ralised products attest the progress of the country. The same may be said of German Togoland.

In concluding this summary, I would point out that, while I fully believe in the possibilities of East Africa, the revenues which are returned will be founded on a solid and legitimate basis. Our West Coast possessions depend for their returns on the illegal traffic in arms and spirits (*vide* pp 213-216.) South Africa depends for the favour with which extension is regarded on the cry of "Gold," and the rise and fall of shares. That neither arms, spirits, nor gold are the sources to which we look for revenue is, in my view, one of the greatest advantages of East Africa (see chapter xliii.).

Basis of East African Development.

CHAPTER XVI.

EAST AFRICA AS A FIELD FOR DEVELOPMENT.

Commercial zones—Areas and altitudes. I. The coast zone—Present products—Coconut, &c.—Rubber—Cotton—Grain and miscellaneous—Products possible to introduce—Characteristics of northern portion—Of southern portion. II. Second zone—Aloes and fibre—Irrigation needed—Diversity. III. Third zone—Altitudes—General description—Machako's—Masailand—Kenia—Kikuyu—Mau—Scene of possible experiments—Present products—Possible industries—Tea, cotton, and fibre—Trees—Stock-rearing. IV. Fourth zone—Altitudes and areas—Description—The inhabitants—The soil and pasture—Rainfall—Testimony of those who have been there—Products—Ivory—Coffee—Vines—Cereals—Tobacco—Oil-plants—Bananas—Date-palm—Cotton—Rubber—Miscellaneous—Summary—Population—Prices of products. V Fifth zone—Testimony of residents—Areas—Nile waterway—History—Products—Provinces to north-west—Products. VI. Sixth zone

I WILL limit the remarks in this chapter to East Africa, for the commercial possibilities of Nyasaland have already received much attention,[1] and, since that country is now a British protectorate, they will doubtless form the subject of consular reports. The interior of East Africa has not yet been placed under direct British administration;

[1] Nyasaland has a literature of its own. The Rev. H. Waller (Title-deeds to Nyasa, p. 36) enumerates fourteen books on this country, but there are at least half as many more, besides a vast number of pamphlets, papers in scientific and missionary magazines, &c. Of those dealing with the commercial prospects of the country, I may mention O'Neill's paper, read before the Manchester Geographical Society, June 14th, 1888; Buchanan's excellent paper before the British Association (Geographical Journal, vol. i. 252, *et seqq.*; Mr. J Thomson's paper (Royal Geographical Journal, vol. i. p. 97, *et seqq.*; and a paper read by myself before the British Association in 1889 (Royal Geographical Society Proceedings, vol. xi. p. 688).

and, while its future is still not definitely decided, it may be useful if a few remarks are offered on its economic capabilities.

To facilitate description, I will divide the area into a series of suppositious zones, and in order to enable my reader to readily grasp the extent of each, I have attached a small map, upon which they are coloured in different tints. The first zone is the coast area, and includes a strip along the seaboard, almost identical with the delimitation of the Sultanate, but increasing in breadth at the mouths of the three big rivers—the Sabakhi, Tana, and Juba—from ten to thirty or forty miles. The second zone includes the country behind the coast area, extending to the foot of the central plateau. It is about one hundred and forty miles broad, but, like the first zone, it increases in breadth along the depressions in which flow the three rivers It is a gradually rising area, but the increase in altitude is so uniform as to be almost imperceptible. In the first hundred miles there is, roughly speaking, an ascent of 1000 ft. The third zone includes all the great central plateau, varying in elevation from 5000 ft. to 9000 ft., above which rise the mountain masses of Kenia (18,370 ft.) and Kilimanjaro (19,700 ft.), both with perpetual snow, together with the lofty hills of Mau and the Aberdare range, which rise from the level of the plateau. The fourth zone includes the depression of the great lakes and their surrounding countries. From Kavirondo, on the east, across the level of the Victoria (3900 ft.), throughout Uganda, Ankoli, and Unyoro, the general level of this zone is 4000 ft. On the extreme west the Albert Edward falls to 3100 ft., and on the north-west the plateau gains an elevation of over 5000 ft., and then falls sharply to the trough of the Albert, 2300 ft. In the fifth zone I have included the whole of the Nile valley and what was formerly Emin's Equatorial Province. The sixth and

Division into Zones.

last division embraces the great depression which contains the Lake Rudolf (1310 ft.) and the wild and little known countries of the Suks and Turkanas, the Gallas and Somals. Only a very small portion of this vast area has been explored, and my remarks will therefore primarily apply to the central line from Mombasa to Uganda. The information we have of the country to north and south of this route affords us grounds for supposing that it is fairly typical of the whole, except as regards the fifth and sixth zones, which I have therefore dealt with separately. In so far as we have information of these areas, I have endeavoured to embody it.

The Coast Zone.

The coast belt forms in the German sphere (and southwards) a low-lying, swampy, and malarious tract. In British East Africa it is not so, and this belt is entirely free from any such characteristics. Only some ten to fifteen miles from the coast rise the hills of Rabai, and, indeed, almost from the very seashore we begin to ascend gradually into undulating and healthy country. This zone is almost entirely under cultivation, more especially around the coast towns and ports. It is divided up into *shambas* (estates), which are owned by Arabs and Swahilis. On the agricultural possibilities of this zone there are the recent reports of Mr Fitzgerald,[1] who was deputed by the Company to examine this district as an expert in tropical agriculture. His report may briefly be characterised as enthusiastic in its praises of the richness of the soil and its capabilities for agricultural development.

Products.

The main products are: coconut-palms, the produce of which—coir, copra, poonac, and toddy, &c.—are by no means fully utilised.[2] Indeed, it may be said that this most important industry

[1] Planting Reports, Feb. 1892, printed for Imp Brit. East Africa Company.

[2] A Mauritius correspondent sends news of the sale of some 8000 acres of land planted with palms for Rs 632,000, and says that such investments are considered

is wholly neglected Copra alone is utilised, all the other valuable products of the palm being thrown away. The total export of coconut produce from Zanzibar in 1891 amounted to some £7700 as against £800,000 from Ceylon in 1884,[1] while from the mainland there is practically no export at all.[2] The vast magnitude of the demand for coconut produce can be gauged from Mr Symonds' statistics. This industry, if developed, might become a staple of commerce, since the palm grows luxuriantly on the coast, and is one of the most remunerative of all cultivations. Mango-trees thrive in great abundance, and in Africa yield two crops yearly. The excellent timber of this tree is not sufficiently utilised.[3] The areca-nut, useful for export to India and for its fibre, the Jack-fruit, good for timber, the cashew-nut, the cotton-tree, which yields the "kapok" of commerce, and the papaw, from which is obtained the milky juice for the manufacture of "papain," are other products of this area.

India-rubber vines grow abundantly in the coast forests, and it is probable that, by the introduction of more prolific American varieties, very great extension might be given to this industry.[4] Indeed, Mr Fitzgerald claims

the safest and most lucrative possible —Zanz. Gaz., May 10th, 1893. For a valuable *résumé* of the commercial products of this palm, *vide* Symonds' Tropical Agriculture, p. 231 *et seqq.* From the coir is made rope "from a single packthread to a cable for a first-class man-o'-war." From the kernel is made the valuable coconut oil of commerce. Otherwise prepared, this albumen yields milk, jelly, copra, butter, candles, sugar, or vinegar A soap (almost the only one soluble in salt water) is made from the oil, which is also used for the table and the toilet. Symonds describes it as "the most valuable product" of the palm The kernel is also used for fattening stock, and the milk produces a valuable violet dye. The use of the fibre has been greatly extended of late, and is in increased demand, so that the tree is even being cultivated for its coir The shell makes fancy articles and superior blacking. "It is strange," says Symonds, "that the import of coconut oil has made such little progress compared with its great rival, the African oil-palm" (p. 237)

[1] Consular Report, No. 982, p. 20. In the table, however, on p 42, of the produce of the Sultanate, all mention of this is omitted.

[2] Fitzgerald, p. 32.

[3] For the possible commercial uses of the fruit, see Symonds, p 483.

[4] Buchanan has introduced Ceara rubber into Nyasaland, and reports "a great possibility in its culture."—Geog. Jour., vol. i p 252.

that the soil, climate, and rainfall are so well adapted for their naturalisation, that he believes their introduction "will revolutionise the country," and that "no doubt will be felt that East Africa is destined to become one of the great rubber producers of the world." The rubber collected in 1891-1892 by the crude methods at present practised amounted to close on 10,000 lb., and realised an average price of a fraction under 2s. per lb. Tobacco grows luxuriantly, and the introduction of good seed will make it a valuable export. That grown in Witu is the best.[1]

Cotton has been successfully introduced,[2] and Mr Fitzgerald remarks that "the wild cotton plants scattered about the country attest its extreme suitability for this cultivation. . . . It is a product admirably suited to the people, and the Wanyika have taken to it most kindly. It supplies work for all—for the men the heavier field work, to the women and children the picking and cleaning of the staple." The Witu cotton, the Company state, has been reported upon in Liverpool most favourably.[3] It is also stated that the natives are eager to produce it, and that the simultaneous culture of palms on estates laid down with cotton would nearly double the profit.[4] It has been stated that we pay forty millions yearly to America for our supply of raw cotton, and are yet confronted by hostile tariffs and fluctuations of supply.[5] If it should

[1] It is stated in the Company's reports to sell at 2s per lb in Europe. Especially-grown Havannah plants will realise even 3s. to 3s. 6d. Even at the former rate, the almost incredible conclusion is arrived at that an estate of 150 acres laid down in tobacco would yield some £5000 a year clear profit!

[2] Report to Shareholders, I B E. A Comp, May 29th, 1893.

[3] "It is exceeding fine and of fair length and strength," says this report, "and is better than any but the best Egyptian It would rank with what are known as Sea Island substitutes (Fiji and Tahiti). . . . On an average of years it ought to bring 9d. per lb." The Company calculate that a profit of close on £1 per bale (100 lb) would accrue after every kind of cost of production, freight, &c. had been deducted.

[4] Viz., an ordinary estate would yield a net profit of £1000 per annum.

[5] Mr H M. Stanley, Times, Oct. 4th, 1892.

be proved that throughout East Africa (for, as will be seen, it is not the coast area only which is suited to its production) cotton of the best quality can be grown, it would be a very great gain to Lancashire trade.

Gum-copal is collected for export, and there are very many oil-bearing plants, such as sesame, ground-nuts,[1] castor-oil,[2] &c. Of the grains millet and maize are the most important, and grow luxuriantly. Bazi (*dhal*—a small yellow pulse), wimbi (*Elusine coracana*), and many other kinds are also grown. There is already a considerable export of grain in native craft to Persia, Arabia, &c. Of roots the cassava (yielding the tapioca of commerce), sweet potatoes, yams, and colocassia are grown. Other products are chillies,[3] many varieties of peas, beans, and pulse, sugar-cane, bananas, various vegetables, &c. Hemp grows freely, and the orchilla-weed is largely collected and exported.

To tabulate and describe the various new plants which might be successfully introduced and cultivated would be, in fact, to write a work on tropical agriculture; for, since the soil, climate, and rainfall are reported as being most favourable, there is practically no tropical product which might not be introduced.[4]

[1] Ground-nuts are a neglected product. Fitzgerald writes that they "would be admirably suited to the sandy loam, varying from grey to black, which is so marked a feature of the soil." They are largely exported from the Zambesi district

[2] The castor-oil plant grows wild throughout East Africa, and the natives express the oil for rubbing over their bodies Buchanan states that African-grown beans are valued at £8 a ton in London.

[3] These grow wild throughout East Africa. They are the fourth in value of the exports of Zanzibar.

[4] Fitzgerald, who traversed this area in every direction, in order to report technically on the soil and products, while enthusiastic in his general description, is even, in some places, led to speak of it as "the richest and most fertile country imaginable, soil exceedingly rich," &c. (p 16); and again, "some of the most beautiful country, from an agricultural point of view, that I have ever seen." He sums up as follows: "That the country is, as a whole, exceedingly rich and fertile, there can be no possible doubt; and the coast lands, more especially, for productiveness and richness of soil, it would be hard to equal; whilst in the extensive forests along the banks of the Sabakhi are possibilities of future

The cocoa-tree[1] especially would appear suitable and extremely remunerative. The West African oil-palm is stated by Burton[2] to grow in Zanzibar and Pemba. The nutmeg, cinnamon, pimento, pepper-vine, rhea-grass (for fibre) have all been recommended as profitable for cultivation. There are endless others which might be named. Many, if not most of these, were introduced into Zanzibar by Sir John Kirk,[3] and would be equally adapted to the mainland; but their cultivation has been neglected. New products should be grown on experimental Government plantations[4] in the first instance till their success is assured. The capabilities of the country can only thus be fully tested, and improved methods of agriculture introduced, such as the use of manure, of the plough and simple agricultural implements, of wells and irrigation, and of the bullock for agricultural purposes. Such methods will largely supersede human labour, and enormously increase the returns.

Northern Area.

The coast district from the Sabakhi to the Juba river has not yet been so fully reported upon as the southern portion,[5] with the exception of Witu, which is stated to be the most fertile and prom-

wealth and prosperity which only require development to be realised." This report covers the whole area along the coast up to and beyond the Sabakhi river. While confirming my statements as to the "black cotton soil," he classes much as "good red friable," or "excellent," which I characterised in my Sabakhi report and chart as "poor soil."

[1] In a single plantation in the German Cameroons, there are 100,000 cocoa-trees. (Partition of Africa, p 308.) It grows to an elevation of 2000 ft. Buchanan, however, writes that "success is anticipated" with it in the Shiré plantations (3000 ft.), where it has been introduced.

[2] Lake Regions of Central Africa, quoted by Symonds, p 248.

[3] In the Kew Bulletin, No. 64, April 1892, he gives an exhaustive list of the various plants and grains grown in Zanzibar. He distinguishes between the indigenous and imported plants, and, from long experience and study of the conditions, is able to point out which of the latter are likely to do well and yield profitable returns.

[4] Such plantations have been started by the Company, I believe, at Magarini and elsewhere.

[5] The country around Port Durnford, half-way between the Tana and Juba, shows signs of having been the location of a very flourishing civilisation and

ising district along the whole of the coast. I have already spoken of the tobacco and cotton it produces. The district around the mouth of the Tana is reported by the Company to be extremely fertile and promising,[1] and Captain Dundas, R.N., who ascended the river, states that cultivation and forest (which betokens a rich soil, and natural products such as rubber, &c.) extended for a great distance along its banks, through "populous and fertile districts."[2] To the same authority we are indebted for our knowledge of the Juba river, and he describes its valley as very fertile, the district of Gusha being "one long plantation of maize, millet, plantain, semsem, tobacco, and cotton." Onwards densely populated areas alternate with heavy forest, till the limit of navigation was reached some 200 miles or more from the coast as the crow flies. In the Gusha district [80 miles] the natives were friendly, but beyond this point they were excessively hostile and fanatical Somals.[3]

The district south of Mombasa to the German sphere

of colonisation by Persians and Arabs in olden times (*vide* chap. xv. p. 389) The traces of large towns remain, and the country was in a high state of cultivation, and appears very fertile.

[1] "The facilities for irrigation, the richness of the soil, the abundance of good timber, and a free waterway to the sea by means of the Behzoni Canal render this country a promising field for the immigration of Eastern cultivators of rice and other tropical products."

[2] "The tribe who inhabit this district are hard-working and industrious, growing large quantities of rice and other grain. The populous districts of Ndera Subakhi and Masa were passed, and then an unbroken stretch of dense forest extended for several days' journey on either bank. Emerging from the forest we arrived in the district of Koio-koio, and two days' voyage further on we stopped 350 miles from the mouth," by water, or some 200 miles direct from the coast—viz., at the confines of the second zone.—Scot Geog Mag, vol. ix. p 113

[3] *Vide* papers, in Geog. Jour., vol. i p. 209 *et seqq*, and Scot Geog Mag., vol ix. p 113 *et seqq*. Captain Dundas speaks of an enormous population, and great areas of cultivation, except where patches of primeval forest intervened At Jelib, 60 miles direct inland, cotton was cultivated in very fertile soil. At Bilo, 75 miles (100 by river), was dense forest. At Mfudo (85 miles) he found grass lands and forest. From thence to Kabobe (130 miles) was dense forest, beyond were fertile and cultivated lands up to the rapids —Geog Jour., vol. i p 221.

is reported equally fertile with the northern portion. It also produces mangrove timber for building purposes,[1] and the river Umba has already been used by the natives for irrigation.[2]

Southern Area

This sketch is necessarily extremely brief and terse, but of late various reports[3] have been published regarding the commercial possibilities of this zone, to which I must refer my reader for fuller information. It suffices for us to learn by a perusal of these that the coast area is fertile,[4] the soil good, and the rainfall adequate. The products are numerous,[5] and some of them very valuable, but not fully utilised, and very many tropical products not at present cultivated could probably be successfully introduced.

Summary.

The second zone varies from 120 to 150 miles in breadth, rising at the same time from 500 to 3000 ft. above the sea. The caravan route and projected railway cross it diagonally, and the

Second Zone.

[1] The bark of this tree has recently been proved to contain so large a percentage of tannin that it may not improbably become an article of commercial value, as well as of local use in tanning hides, &c.—Cf. Kew Bulletin for 1892, p. 227

[2] Company's Report.

[3] In addition to Fitzgerald's report to the Company, *vide* his report to Government, Foreign Office Miscell Series, No 266 of 1892; see also No. 982 of same series, and No. 231 (Witu cotton culture), also Kew Bulletin, No. 64, 1892; also Railway Survey Report, p 38, *et seqq.*

[4] Captain Pringle, R E., writes a glowing account of the fertility of the coast, and ends thus, "Streams course the hillside, and everywhere are signs of a bountiful nature"—Geog. Jour vol. i. p 114

[5] The ruling prices for the leading products of the coast are (Company's Report):—

Rubber close on 2s per lb Present production about 3000 lb. per annum.
Maize, 20s. 6d per quarter. Present export unknown. No limit to supply.
Millet, 18s. 6d ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
Semsem, 12s. 6d. per cwt. (Marseilles) ,, ,, ,,
Orchilla weed, 18s. ,,
Hides, 4d to 6d per lb Supply depreciated by cattle disease.
Rice, 11s. per cwt. Supply moderate.
Cotton, 5½d. to 7½d. per lb Supply increasing.
Copra, £14, 5s. per ton. No export Supply unlimited.
Witu tobacco, 2s. to 3s. 6d per lb. Increasing Ordinary do, no returns.
Chillies, £55 per cwt. No returns
Cattle, Benadir coast (Zanz. Gaz., Dec. 28th, 1893).

survey distance is therefore 209 miles from Mombasa to the Kiboko River, which marks the boundary of this zone at that point.[1] Few statistics of rainfall exist, but from its proximity to the coast this area must be subject approximately to the same conditions as affect the former. It is, however (at least to the west of Mombasa), a parched and arid-looking country, badly watered, with poor soil and much surface rock. It produces no timber of any value, and grass for fodder is scarce in the "Taru desert," though glades of rich pasture occur at intervals in the valley of the Sabakhi. The chief growth consists of various thorn trees, among which acacia and mimosa predominate, while the undergrowth is of many kinds of sanseviera, and kindred species of aloe. Of these the commonest is the Nkongé, yielding a strong fibre which I have found by practical experiment to resist decay from damp.[2] It grows in absolutely illimitable quantities over hundreds of square miles, and if found to be of value for export it could be floated down the waterways of the Sabakhi and Tana in rafts or canoes. Fibre is in great request[3] at present, and it would seem probable that out of the infinite variety of aloes and their kindred plants

[1] Survey Report, p. 11.

[2] A sample recently submitted by me to Kew, though sent home three and a half years ago, was reported upon by Messrs Ide and Christie as follows — "The fibre is strong, coarse, and stiff, and of poor colour, but it would meet with a market in London at about £17 per ton, and a trial shipment would be well worth making. If the fibre could be rendered softer and whiter in preparation it might command as much as £24 per ton, if perfectly white. It would only be available for rope-making."—Letter, dated Aug 31st, 1893 Captain Pringle writes that "two species of celadon aloe (presumably the Nkongé ?), which is one of the commonest plants in the first 300 miles from the coast, produce a fibre worth £30 a ton when cleaned."—Survey Report, p 91 Buchanan says the sanseviera aloe fibre is worth about £20 a ton. Rhea grass, &c., have also been introduced by him in Nyasaland, and "grow luxuriantly."—Geog. Jour., vol. 1 p. 252. For a full examination of the sanseviera fibre, *vide* Kew Bulletin, 1892, p 129

[3] At a meeting of the Royal Botanical Society, the sisal hemp (*Agave rigida*) was shown, and "the secretary said that until lately, with the exception of two or three fibre plants—as hemp and cotton—commerce depended upon wild plants for its supplies, but so great is the demand now for fibres for paper-

to be found in this area one or other might prove of commercial value.

Though this area appears arid and unfertile, its sterile appearance is only due to lack of water.[1] As there is little or no shade, thick vegetation, or other means of storage for moisture, the heat of the sun burns up the country after the rains. There is, however, every facility for irrigation, both from the Sabakhi and Tsavo flowing east and west, and the Tana and Juba (north and south), all of which are perennial rivers, with a large volume of water, and considerable current, due to a rapid fall in level, which could be utilised for irrigation. This would entirely change the nature and appearance of this belt of country, and the products raised would have an enhanced value, as requiring less transport than those of the far interior.

Irrigation.

In the south this zone infringes on the fertile slopes of Kilimanjaro (included in the third area). Along the valleys of the Tana and Juba it becomes a fertile valley, as I have already described, while on the banks of the Sabakhi there are long fertile

Diversity.

making and other uses that it had been found necessary to grow them especially "—Times, Jan 31st, 1893 For full account of this sisal industry, *vide* Kew Bulletin, No. 62 of 1892, also Nos 61, 65, 71. *Vide* Symonds, p. 419 *et seqq.* Some of these aloes (as *Fourcroyas*) are especially cultivated for their fibre We learn from the authorities already quoted that "a great deal of money has been made in Mauritius by aloe fibre," and that pine-apple fibre is valued at £60 to £80 a ton; aloe fibres, hitherto reported upon, fetch £20 to £30

[1] Of the sterile tracts described by me—which perhaps would not be considered so poor by him—Fitzgerald writes that "the comparatively barren country, with the lesser rainfall around Mangea Hill," would be particularly suitable for the naturalisation of the ceara rubber tree, and he adds: "I would particularly call attention to Captain Lugard's map, and the description of country up the Sabakhi, and which I have personally verified, which with its gravelly soil and huge granite boulders exactly bears out the description given by Mr Cross of the ceara rubber country." Pringle writes of the country to east of Taru. "It is no desert we enter. Gradually rising country, but always imperceptibly." Beyond, he says, "the soil is less fertile, but not a sandy desert as we understand the term "—Geog Jour., vol. II. p. 114. Mr Fitzgerald saw a small part of this area, and continues to speak of the soil as fertile, &c., even in the parts covered with cactus.

glades of good grass; but the general character of the country is sterile and rocky, with surface granite and quartz. The characteristics of this secondary zone in the country between the Tana and the Juba have not yet been determined. The report of the Company, however, states that "fresh-water lakes and running streams extend from the Juba almost to the Tana river." If this is the case, the country must be much more valuable than that already described to the south.

Third Zone

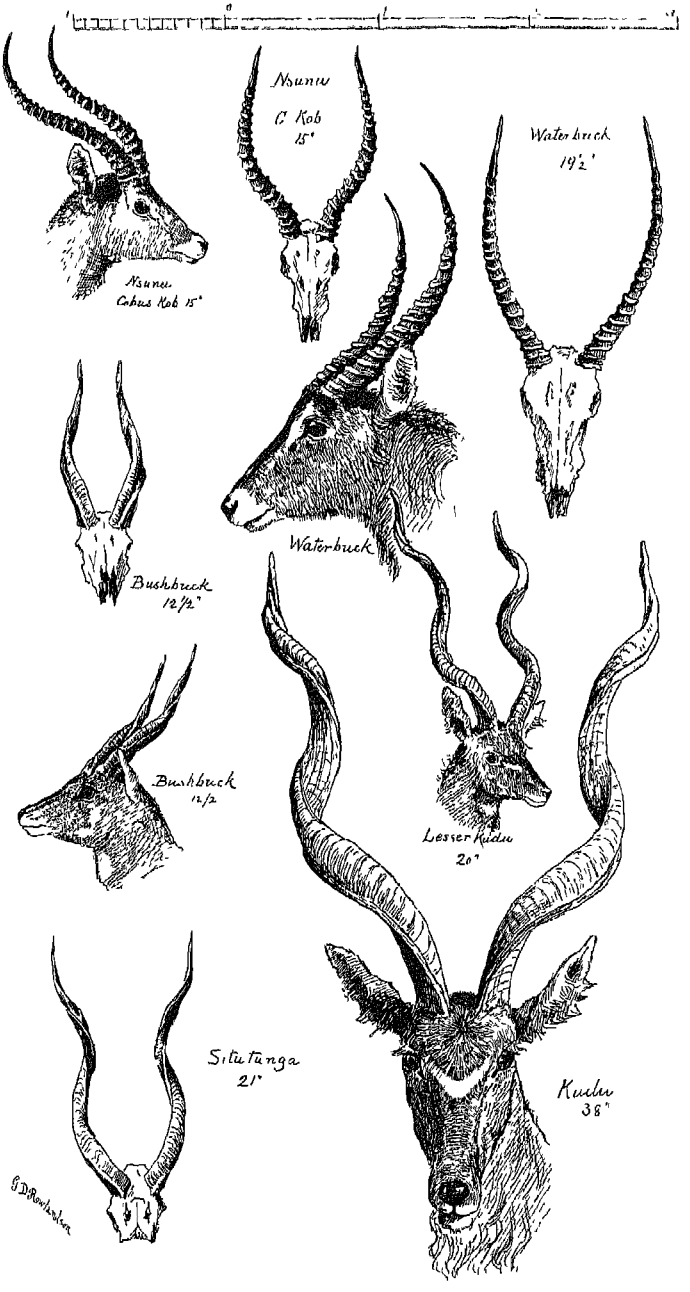
The third zone skirts the lower slopes of Kilimanjaro, and, passing along the Kiboko stream (near the Kibwezi), intersects the limits of navigation of the Tana and Juba, where are the cataracts caused by the rapid fall from the lofty interior plateau, at some 200 miles from the coast-line. Its eastern limit runs, therefore, more or less parallel with the coast. It includes all the lofty interior plateau, and is bounded on the west and north-west by a line running along the western base of the Mau range and Nandi hills. Thence diverging to the west to include Mount Elgon, it again follows the western base of Elgeyo, and trends to the north-east to meet the Juba where that river crosses the 6th parallel of N. lat., the boundary of the Italian sphere. The tract included by these two imaginary lines comprises the bulk of British East Africa. It has by no means a uniform altitude. It includes the depression of the Ngiri plain to the south, and of the Baringo basin (3300 ft.) on the north. Thence still more to the north it falls away rapidly towards the little-known country around Lake Rudolf. Its general characteristics are those of a lofty plateau at a mean elevation of some 6000 ft. Rising above this plateau are high mountain masses, including Kilimanjaro (19,700 ft.), Kenia (18,370 ft.), and Elgon (14,100 ft.); also the Aberdare range and the higher portions of the Mau range (10,000 ft.). It comprises plateaux of varying

altitude. The district of Ukamba has an elevation of about 5000 ft., Kikuyu attains 7000 ft., Masailand 6000 ft., and the Mau plateau some 8000 ft. roughly.

Description.

In the southern portion of this zone are the extremely fertile and well-watered slopes of Kilimanjaro, whose climate and advantages of soil are so well known that there is no need to encumber this chapter with extracts from authorities on the subject. Further north around Machako's, and thence over the grassy plains inhabited by the roaming Masai, and the uplands of Kikuyu, to the foot of the still higher Mau plateau, extends a country extremely fertile, with a climate generally delightful, well-watered, and with an abundant rainfall. As we pass from the second zone and ascend to these plateaux, we enter upon large areas of culivated land inhabited by the Wakamba tribe. The trees are larger and finer; the baobab, tamarind, and hyphoene palm of the lower zone are replaced by the *lebbi*, the table-topped acacias, the date and borassus palm, besides many fine timber trees.

The soil is good, and where not cultivated is covered with excellent pasture grass, and studded with trees and bushes, giving the country a general park-like appearance. The subsoil is usually red marl. In the valleys a deep rich black loam predominates, on the hills a red marl or marly gravel, more or less covered with a surface soil. Except in isolated and small areas, where quartz and granite crop out, or igneous lava rocks saturated with iron, stone is rare, and water-worn pebbles are never seen. The rise from the Kibwezi (3000 ft.) is gradual to Machako's (5000 ft.) and the Masai plains (6000 ft.), in which are situated the Lakes Naivasha, Nakuru, &c. Over these plains roam vast herds of game, which with the flocks and herds of the pastoral tribes keep the excellent grass so short-cropped that the surface of the ground becomes much burnt up in the hottest part of the year



HORNS OF ANTELOPE

from want of vegetation to store the moisture Heavy dews by night largely supplement the rainfall. The Company reports this area (Machako's) to be "fitted for European residence, . . . and adapted as a centre for colonisation. . . . The rainfall is believed to be ample, . . . the natives are industrious and agricultural (Wakamba), and most eager to sell their produce for barter goods. . . . The soil and climate appear likely to be favourable for the production of Indian wheat."

The Masai country has at present the disadvantage that its inhabitants are purely pastoral, and hence there is no food or cultivation in the country, though the soil is rich and the country fairly watered. The warlike instincts of the Masai, moreover, render them at present an obstacle to peaceful development, and a terror to the more industrious and agricultural tribes around them. The advent of a British Administration, and the prevention of raiding and cattle-lifting, would eventually compel this predatory tribe to settle down, and the natural advantages of their country would thus be utilised.[1]

Further to the north, where the Tana cataracts are, Captain Dundas marched overland towards Mount Kenia, through the Mbé country. He describes it as extraordinarily fertile.[2] Between this district and the Juba lies the country of the Borani (Gallas or Somals), which is reported to be rich, and to export much produce, but which has not as yet been explored.[3]

[1] Thus in the Punjab the warlike Sikhs have now taken so eagerly to agriculture that very large areas of previously waste land have been reclaimed, and it has become difficult to obtain sufficient recruits for military service. An instance in Africa itself is afforded by the eagerness of the fierce Angoni for work in Nyasaland (*vide* chap. xvii.)

[2] "The valleys and open country all round were highly productive, and the richest which I had seen in Africa. Large fields of grain and plantations of bananas alternated with rich grassy fields, and slopes divided by water-courses and rivulets."—Scot. Geog Mag., vol. ix. p. 115.

[3] The Company's Report states that it contains vast herds of cattle and sheep, and also of camels, horses, and donkeys; that its exports consist of "great

Let us return to the highlands of Kikuyu and Mau, which of late years have been traversed by many travellers. The former is extremely fertile;[1]

quantities of hides, ghi, and similar produce, besides ebony, cotton seed, cotton, gums, senna, Manilla fibre, and ostrich plumes . . At a place called Jan-Jan, beyond the Borani, white, red, and green stones are obtainable. Gold is also said to be found near Bardera" I am not aware of the sources of this information. [The Jan-Jan live in the Dawro or Waratta country 6½° N. lat., 37½° E long, all their cattle, horses, &c, are black!—Ravenstein.] The German, Von der Decken, who first sailed up the Juba, and was murdered near Bardera, wrote in 1864. "I am persuaded that in a short time a colony established here would be most successful, and after two or three years would become self-supporting." His recommendations and his praises of the country were endorsed in 1867 by Keisten, and in 1879 by Herr Weber and by Dr Rohlfs.—Partition of Africa, Keltie, pp 108 and 225.

The most accurate source of information about this region, however, is Mr Ravenstein's map of E. Eq. Africa, sheets 3 and 9 (1883), compiled mainly from Mr Wakefield's unpublished notes. The country would appear to consist of wide pastoral regions, with detached mountains, and apparently not a single river There are numerous fertile oases, and even rivers; and Natron is found there Of the Jombini range, Mr Chanler writes that "it is more fertile and beautiful than the slopes of Kilimanjaro, and Lieut. Höhnel says it possesses advantages over Kikuyu. It is healthy for Europeans, and the fertility of the soil is such that almost anything will grow here."—Geog. Jour., vol. ii. p 368.

[1] Every traveller has spoken in the same sense Mr Thomson was the first, and his praises were endorsed by Mr Jackson. The Railway Survey say that the climate is temperate, the rainfall ample English vegetables grow luxuriantly, and there is excellent grazing. "The country is most fertile, and will produce anything."—Geog. Jour, vol. ii. p. 114. Perhaps there is a tendency to discount the reports of the earlier travellers, but more recent arrivals give the same account Bishop Tucker wrote enthusiastically to the Times about the fertility of Kikuyu and the abundance of food. "Our correspondent," says the Times, speaking of the gentleman despatched to Uganda in the interests of that paper, "confirms the glowing accounts of his predecessors in this region of its fertility, salubrity, and great industrial capabilities."—Feb. 9th, 1893 "Herr Wolf, correspondent of the Tageblatt, makes some interesting remarks," says the Times, "about the character and resources of that district, which at least deserve notice as coming from an impartial observer. 'In my opinion,' says Herr Wolf, 'this land has a great agricultural future before it if a line of railway is constructed. There is everything that can be desired ready to hand—plenty of water, fuel, a rich and fertile soil, a tractable population, a healthy climate, and cheap means of sustenance for settlers. The tobacco of the country, which I am smoking, tastes very nearly as good as the favourite Transvaal tobacco The potatoes are large, sweet, and mealy, and the peas which I have are better than those we have at home. And yet the natives do little or no agricultural work'" Cardinal Lavigerie, speaking of the highlands of Central Africa, says: "The nature of the soil, the heat of the sun, and the abundance of water contribute to make this country one of the richest and most beautiful in the world."—Speech, Anti Slavery Society, London, July 31st, 1888

the soil is rich, the country is well watered with numerous streams, and the rainfall is abundant. Probably in even recent times the greater part of this area was primeval forest, which has been replaced by extensive cultivation. It is surrounded by a belt of very fine timber forest. The climate is cold and bracing; slight frosts occur at night. The hills are clothed with a springy turf, or covered with bracken—the flora is largely that of Europe. The district between Kikuyu and Mount Kenia is spoken of as especially healthy and fertile,[1] while that of Leikipia on the north-west has been described by Mr Thomson as being of the same class as the rest of the Kikuyu plateau.[2]

Mau plateau

Of the still higher plateau of Mau I have myself spoken enthusiastically, though, as a rule, my descriptions have not been by any means so optimistic and "glowing" as those of the writers I have quoted. A gentle rise along the line taken for the projected railway brings the traveller from the level of the Masai plain (6000 ft.) to the top of the plateau (7700 ft.) This area is uninhabited, and of great extent; it consequently offers unlimited *room* for the location of agricultural settlements or stock-rearing farms. Here, if anywhere in Central Africa, in my opinion, would be the site upon which to attempt the experiment of European settlements. The soil is extremely rich, and is covered with an excellent and luxuriant pasture throughout the year, with which is mixed white clover and

[1] Of the district of Kitui an official of the Company reports "It is well suited for European colonisation. . . . Mountain ranges surround it on all sides. . . . The spot recommended for European colonisation lies between the Kitui mountains and a range to the east of them. Here is a wide valley some eight miles broad and about forty miles long, with a stream running down the centre, with water-pools in places. The soil is alluvium of unlimited depth, except at the edge of the valley, where the schistose rocks lie near the surface. A regular supply of water could, the reporter is almost certain, be obtained by sinking wells in almost any part"—Company's Report.

[2] Masailand, p 395.

trefoil.[1] The country is intersected by small streams, the rainfall is abundant, patches of forest supply bamboos and timber for building and fuel. Game roams over the acres of undulating grass, and the climate is cold and bracing. By day it is often uncomfortably cold, by night the temperature is almost that of an English winter. Portions of this great plateau are devoid of trees, and only a stunted evergreen bush braves the cold winds which sweep over them. This shrub, however, would be admirably adapted as a "shelter-tree," according to the method followed in Sumatra.[2] These more open tracts would serve as grazing-grounds, while the settlements would be in proximity to the forests. It is here that I have advocated the formation of colonies of Asiatics and freed slaves, who should cultivate the soil and supply a free labour market. Here also I would suggest the experiment of a model farm like those established in South Africa by Mr Rhodes.[3] In this central position, half-way between the coast and Uganda, should be the depot for transport animals, and the scene of experiments in taming the elephant and zebra, and utilising the buffalo and other animals. The new industries in coffee, tea, indigo, fibre, tobacco, wheat, cotton, and a hundred other tropical and sub-tropical products could be inaugurated here, with every advantage of soil and

[1] Mr F De Winton, who had spent many years in North America in ranching and stock-rearing, told me it was the finest natural pasture he had ever seen.

[2] Foreign Office Miscellaneous Series, 266, pages 4 and 49. The *Eucalyptus globulus* would also be a useful tree for this purpose, and for rapidly afforesting the country. Its wood is excellent timber, and would also furnish fuel. It is, as I have shown elsewhere, the fastest growing of the eucalypti Moreover, it stands frost and ice, as does also the coccifera.—Kew Bulletin of 1892, p. 309.

[3] "Mr Rhodes' farm, situated midway between Salisbury and Manica, has been the scene of some useful experiments. . . . There has been gathered a very good and large crop of vegetables, fruit, American tobacco, vines, forage, &c. On the British South Africa Company's proof farm, near Salisbury, over two thousand bundles of good forage have been cut and stacked, and a nursery containing thousands of blue gums for distribution throughout the country has been established."—African Review, May 27, 1893

climate, and their success should rival or eclipse that of the Shiré highlands.[1]

The commercial possibilities of this zone depend in a very large measure on the labour supply and means of transport. These questions are dealt with separately in the ensuing chapters. From the description given of the country it will be seen that it is capable of producing almost illimitable supplies of grain and other produce. At present the products consist of maize, millet, mwele, dhal, wimbi, and other tropical grains, cassava, yams, sweet potatoes, and other roots, sugar-cane, bananas, semsem, castor-oil, bird's-eye chillies, cattle, sheep (of a fine breed), goats, hides, and ghi; timber, forest gums, honey, rubber, tobacco of exceptionally good quality, medicinal plants, and ivory. Bees'-wax could, of course, be got in great quantities, since honey abounds, but at present it is thrown away. Of fibre plants hemp grows luxuriantly, but is planted for smoking only. I found also in Kikuyu a tree which the Somals call *kath*, an evergreen shrub with a leaf like the arbutus, and which, I was told, formed an excellent substitute for tea, single shrubs being valued in Aden at $1000 each. Pending, however, accurate statistics of rainfall and climatic conditions, taken throughout the whole twelve months, together with reports on soil, &c., by experts and from actual experiment, it is, of course, impossible to state definitely what products of higher commercial value than those indigenous to the country could with advantage be introduced. Products.

There is, however, every reason to suppose by the

[1] Captain Pringle, Railway Survey, describes the Mau plateau in similar terms. There is, he says, excellent grazing throughout, the soil being apparently extremely fertile, bearing pasture of the finest description, and perennial, mixed with clover The climate is salubrious and equable, with a fine rainfall. In the Lumbwa district (which is populated) he speaks of the fatness of the flocks and herds.—Geog Jour, vol i. p. 114

analogy of India, where, in the Kulu Valley, in Assam, and in the Himalayan sanataria, Naini Tal and Darjiling, as well as in the Nilgiri Hills and Ceylon, tea has been successfully introduced, that its culture would be successful in these Equatorial highlands. Cotton could also be grown as well in this zone as throughout British East Africa. American rubber-trees might be introduced, and the present rubber and gum products of the forests collected for export, as also the various fibres indigenous to the country and at present unutilised — hemp, aloe, and banana. Jute could be introduced, as also more valuable cereals than those named as the present products. Of these, wheat would probably thrive on the higher plateau, and rice on the margin of the lakes.

Possible Industries.

Various valuable trees of the temperate zones would certainly become naturalised here, such as the oak, the ash, the cedar, and the pine; also the useful tropical trees from India, such as the mango, durian, jack-fruit, teak, sal, &c. It is also extremely probable that fruit-trees, such as apple, pear, plum, apricot, &c., would thrive here, and I think it not impossible that a fruit export, such as has been so successfully developed in New Zealand and California, might prove one of the industries of the future settlers. It will be especially interesting to ascertain on what indigenous tree-stocks various fruit-trees can be successfully grafted. Throughout this area the thorn trees of the zone previously described give place to fine timber trees. A species of juniper grows on the higher plateau, attaining a diameter of 5 ft. in the bole, and straight as a ship's mast for 50 ft. and upwards, the timber of which is, however, brittle like cedar. Well-grown acacia, lebbi, and many others yield good timber.

The speciality of this district would, I think, be the establishment of ranches and cattle-runs on the rolling

savannahs of rich pasture. Stock-rearing and sheep-farming in a climate such as I have described would be suitable employment for European settlers. Cattle diseases appear rare, except that at long intervals epidemics have swept over the country. These would in all probability be amenable to proper precautions and treatment. The recent plague (*vide* chap. xx.) has so denuded the country of cattle that it is a favourable moment for such an enterprise. All local produce, as well as labour, could be obtained for cattle or flocks. A route, entirely free of even reputed tsetse, exists (*viâ* Taveta) for driving them to the coast for export. A better class of cattle would yield higher profits to the stock farmer; and the South African ostrich, whose plumes are much more valuable than the indigenous species, could be farmed as it is in our southern colonies. It has recently been exported to South America. Sheep's wool and Angola goat's hair, if raised by European ranchers, would also form articles of export.

Fourth Zone, Lake District.

Descending from the lofty Mau plateau, we emerge on the plains of Kavirondo, which border the Victoria Lake. To the north lies Usoga, and on the western shores is Uganda. Further west beyond Uganda is the country of Ankoli, reaching to the Albert Edward Lake and the boundary of British East Africa on the frontiers of the Congo State. To the north of these countries extends Unyoro as far as Ruwenzori, and the Congo State on the west, the Albert Lake on the north-west, and the Southern Sudan on the north. These countries, which may be called the lake district, have a mean elevation of 4000 ft. The level of the Victoria Lake is 3900 ft. In the extreme west the Albert Edward falls to 3100 ft., but the land around it maintains the normal altitude. The mountain mass of Ruwenzori rises from this plateau to a height of 16,000 or 17,000 ft., and, of course, its slopes (which are steep)

embrace every variety of climate up to the perpetual snow on its summit. Its lower slopes are fertile, densely populated, and cultivated, but it furnishes no lofty plateau. The area covered by this mountain mass is of small extent, and must be considered as an exception to the general characteristics of this zone. North-west of Ruwenzori the Unyoro plateau attains an elevation of over 5000 ft. The great trough in which lies the Lake Albert has an elevation of only 2300 ft., but there is no gradual fall to this level, the country both to east and west falls precipitously from the Unyoro plateau on the one side, and the Kavalli plateau on the other. Indeed, these plateaux have both attained a maximum altitude of over 5000 ft., where they are cleft apart by the "meridional rift," which contains the Albert Lake.

On the whole, therefore, we may say that these lake districts maintain a very fairly constant altitude of 4000 ft. They constitute our fourth zone. Their elevation renders the climate comparatively cool, the nights being always cold throughout the year, while the days, except for a very short period in the summer, are not uncomfortably hot. The soil of this district is, as a rule, extremely rich, especially in Usoga and Unyoro. In some parts of North Kavirondo, though it supports an enormous cultivation, it appeared to me less excellent, but others have described[1] it as extremely fertile, especially in South Kavirondo. In Uganda and Ankole the hills are mostly of red marl, with no great depth of soil, but the valleys, which are long and continuous, are of rich black loam. Throughout all this area iron ore and a honeycombed lava impregnated with iron abound, especially towards the Lake Victoria. Towards Unyoro

[1] Captain Pringle (Railway Survey) says that "in Kavirondo we meet with no more stony ground, the deposits being of rich alluvial loam and clay soil." The millet was the finest he had ever seen, and indicated the fertility of the land. He describes it as "a veritable land of milk and honey," and the people as "hard-working and industrious."—Geog Jour., vol. ii. p. 114.

this lava is less frequent, and is replaced by granite boulders.

All the people of these countries are agricultural, with the exception of Ankoli, in which country, though the dominant race — the Wahuma — are entirely pastoral, there is also a considerable agricultural population, sprung from the neighbouring Bantu tribes. It is, therefore, the absence of universal cultivation, possibly through a long series of years, which has rendered the soil on its undulating hills only such as will support a pasture grass for the flocks and herds of the Wahuma, while the agricultural settlers availed themselves only of the rich valleys. For the hills of similar formation in Uganda have in the more populous parts been so cultivated and worked by an industrious population that they have acquired a deep and fertile soil.

The grass is excellent, but throughout Uganda and Unyoro the valleys, unless reclaimed, become—from the richness of the soil and the great amount of moisture generated by heavy rainfall and dew — choked with impenetrable vegetation, consisting of elephant grass some 10 ft. high, with a dense intergrowth. The lowest point is generally a broad river marsh choked with papyrus, and the reed and fern growth of swampy land. These river marshes are sometimes nearly a mile broad, the water is sluggish, and discoloured by iron or decayed vegetable matter. The rainfall of the lake districts is abundant (see Appendix IV.), and there is also a heavy dew.

I have quoted in the foot-notes from some of the leading authorities regarding the fertility of Uganda, its climate, rainfall, and population. I have selected a few typical passages from Mackay,[1]

[1] Mackay says: "The country is really a rich one, and might produce anything. Cotton, coffee, tea, tobacco are indigenous. Every stone is iron, and kaolin is in inexhaustible quantity. This kaolin—a stratum of white clay below the red clay—will prove of great value when the country becomes open

Stanley,[1] Wilson,[2] Felkin,[3] Speke,[4] Grant,[5] Gordon,[6]

to trade . . I should fancy this would be an excellent land for growing tea and quinine."—Life of Mackay, p. 108.

[1] Stanley, speaking on July 1st, 1890, to the Church Missionary Society, says: "I have the same faith in Uganda as I had in 1876. I am convinced there is no more desirable country in Africa than it."—Quoted in Mackay's Life, p 411

[2] The Rev C T Wilson, who lived in the country, and whose opinions of the general nature of this zone are quoted on p. 384, writes of Uganda: "The coast region of Uganda is the most fertile district that I have seen in Africa. This extreme fertility is owing to the abundant supply of moisture, for, lying as it does within the belt of perpetual rain, there are showers during every month in the year. The mean annual rainfall will probably be found to be not very great—about 50 in The climate of Uganda is remarkably mild, and very uniform all the year round During my residence the temperature never rose above 90°, and rarely fell below 50° at night There is, however, a good deal of ague, which will doubtless become rarer among Europeans as better houses are built" The population of Uganda at that time, 1878, he estimates, after very careful calculations, to be about five millions. "A great future is before the people of Uganda," he adds, "and from the physical advantages and central position of that country, it is well fitted to be the centre of civilisation to surrounding nations" (p. 227)—a summary I fully endorse. I have quoted Mr Wilson at some length, since the book written jointly by him and Dr Felkin (Uganda and Egyptian Sudan) I believe to be the result of great research, and to contain carefully estimated conclusions.

[3] Dr Felkin, in a separate work (Royal Society, Edinburgh, vol. xiii), says that the soil of Uganda is a "rich black alluvial, 2 to 3 ft. deep, under which is a bed of red sandy clay, averaging 30 ft. thick, below which is often a layer of pure porcelain earth. Mica and iron-stone are found in large quantities." I may add that in sinking a deep well I struck a bed of soft white chalk. In the former volume he describes the country between Uganda and Mruli (Unyoro), which, he says, is swampy, thence to Fauvera is a fine country (vol ii. p 43). "The Wanyoro," he says, "are not so fine a race as the Waganda, nor are their intellectual powers so fully developed" (p. 46). In the paper already quoted he says of Unyoro: "The upper soil consists of a fine-grained, loamy detritus, or thick, dark-brown loam resting on red quartz. The rainfall is abundant, and the country is extremely well watered" (p. 78). He describes Northern Unyoro as a fertile country (vol. i. p 327).

[4] Speke describes Uganda as "surprisingly fertile; there is nothing that would not grow here if it liked moisture and a temperate heat" (p 264) "I was immensely struck with its excessive beauty and richness. No part of Bengal or Zanzibar could excel it in either respect" (p 266) "The temperature was perfect; wherever I strolled I saw nothing but richness" (p 274). "We went on through this wonderful country, surprisingly rich in grass, cultivation, and trees—water-courses as frequent as ever" (p. 278). Usoga he describes as "the very counterpart of Uganda in its richness and beauty" (p. 460), but North Unyoro as much inferior (p 486).—Speke's Journals

[5] Grant says little in description, merely remarking that "Uganda is not a land of milk and honey" for Europeans, as there is no grain to make bread (p. 206). Of the north-east portion he says that it presents park-like grazing grounds. Eastern Unyoro he describes as a rich country, but swampy (p. 277). —A Walk through Africa.

and Emin,[1] all of whom are well qualified to pronounce an opinion, since all, except Gordon, have visited the country, and most of them have resided some time in it. I might add indefinitely to these quotations, and supplement them by others from Ashe,[2] and the Railway Survey,[3] and the letters and reports of numerous recent visitors,[4] but sufficient has been said to show a generally favourable, if not enthusiastic, consensus of testimony. For my own part, I hold that these countries are fertile, and the rainfall and climate favourable to agricultural development, but for salubrity and healthiness for Europeans they do not compare with the plateaux of the third zone, the produce of which, also, as being nearer to the coast, will not be so heavily taxed by transport charges.

Products.

The lake districts produce all those articles already enumerated as grown in the third zone. There is, moreover, a much greater return of *ivory*, since elephants abound through all those countries in great numbers, as well as in the adjacent forests of

[6] Gordon says that Uganda is the only valuable part of Central Africa, and is worth opening up from the East Coast (Gordon in Africa, p 65).

[1] Emin, speaking of Uganda, says "The farther we proceeded the more beautiful and highly cultivated grew the land" It is impossible to quote at any length from the long and scientific description he gives of the various products cultivated and wild of the country His verdict is most favourable. "This is indeed a beautiful, well-favoured land, with its red soil, its green gardens—nature has profusely lavished her charms" (p. 125). —Emin's Journals, p. 30 *et seqq.*

The verdict of a *recent German traveller* is quoted by the Zanzibar Gazette, May 10th, 1893, as one which cannot be said to be partial: "'The climate at the lake is delightful; Uganda is one of the healthiest countries there, and possesses a climate in which Europeans should be able to live very comfortably. . . . The shores of the lake in some parts resemble the Swiss mountain and lake scenery, with their huge rocks and striking headlands.' . . . Uganda is, in the opinion of our correspondent, the richest country in East Africa, and possesses a further advantage in the fact that the natives are highly intelligent and willing to work."

[2] Two Kings of Uganda

[3] Report, p. 94.

[4] Jackson, Pall Mall Gazette, Feb. 4th, 1893, Rev R. H. Walker, Scotsman, Nov. 19th, 1892; *vide* also Morning Post, Jan. 2d, 1890.

the Congo State. In spite of the fact that the time I was in Uganda was one of preliminary settlement and administrative difficulties, which did not admit of my devoting myself to the development of trade, the value of the ivory sent by me to the coast averaged about £5300 per annum, besides what was exported by Stokes.[1] The ivory of the South Sudan and Unyoro, where the supply is said to be large,[2] has of late years found no outlet or has been monopolised by the Manyuema and Congo Arabs, or drifted into the German sphere in small quantities. The Mahdist wars in the north, and the years of fighting in Uganda, have prevented its export northwards or eastwards.

Coffee is indigenous in Uganda, and grows luxuriously[3] in Buddu and the Sessé Islands, but it is not carefully cultivated, and is allowed to grow almost wild. Yet the berry has an excellent flavour.[4] In the Shiré highlands (Nyasaland), where the plant was also indigenous, a superior kind was introduced (*Arabica*). There are now some ten million coffee plants under cultivation there, of this and other varieties, covering from 3500 to 5000 acres Mr Buchanan tells me that he thinks the local plant is probably less liable to disease than the imported species. Two years hence, he says, 1000 tons will be exported yearly! This coffee commands a high price in the market. With such results

[1] I believe that not long after I left, some £10,000 more of ivory was despatched.

[2] Jephson speaks of the abundance of ivory, and Emin is stated to have collected, without trouble, more than enough to pay the expenses of his province. Emin says it is the chief export of the Equatorial Provinces (Journals, p. 117)

Gordon had more than enough to pay all his administrative expenses.—Gordon in Africa, p. 143.

[3] Speke, p 275; Grant, p 197

[4] A sample submitted for report to brokers in London was stated not to have been carefully prepared. Its value was about 75s. a cwt Several experts agreed that under careful cultivation and proper curing its value would be increased probably to 97s. a cwt. It was stated to consist of two distinct varieties.—Survey Report, p. 91.

before us, it is not unreasonable to hope that Uganda may some day add to the production of African coffee.

The vine would grow well in the lake districts. It was introduced by the French Fathers, who told me that they made from it an excellent light wine. It grows wild in great quantities a little to the north of Unyoro, in the Shuli country, where it produces "large bunches of grapes, small but sweet, of very good flavour."[1] European *cereals*, wheat, &c., as well as rice, have already been introduced and do well, also *tobacco* from American seed, which grows well.[2] There is a vast amount of unoccupied land suitable for their culture. *Oil-bearing plants*, such as semsem and castor-oil (see p. 409), grow luxuriantly; linseed, ground-nuts, &c., would undoubtedly thrive if introduced.

Bananas[3] form the main food of the people, and are grown in vast quantities, and of infinite varieties, from

[1] Wilson and Felkin, vol. i p 279; also Emin, p. 249 Emin imported vines which did well (p. 457).

[2] The climate of this zone would appear to approximate closely to that of the Shiré highlands. The tobacco grown there was reported upon by brokers in London as "the finest yet seen from Africa." It is already being made up locally into cigars and smoking mixtures, but Buchanan says that more experience is yet needed.—Geog Jour., vol. i. p 252.

[3] Emin says that bananas are equally grown throughout the Mombuttu country, where miles on miles of them are met with (pp. 193 and 399). A writer in the Standard, 30th Dec 1892, states that 78,000 tons are imported in America The plant, he says, is forty-four times more productive (for area cultivated) than the potato, and thirty-five times more than wheat Symonds says a given area laid down in plantains will support twenty-five people, where wheat will support one He gives at great length the various methods used for preserving the ripe fruit for export in a dry state (like figs), and of the preparation of plantain flour for export. The latter, he says, in its composition and nutritive properties is very similar to rice, but has a preference over all other starches on account of the proteine it contains. It is superior to arrowroot, and so nutritious and easily digestible that it is especially adapted for invalids and children, and is not sufficiently appreciated in Europe Large quantities are prepared in America. The juice of the stem is used for refining sugar in China, &c., also in making ink, and in dyeing. The fibre is useful for paper-making and canvas, one stem producing 4 lb. fibre. The substance known as "Manilla fibre" is obtained from a species of plantain Of the fruit, Jamaica alone exports £200,000 worth per annum (Tropical Agriculture, p. 460 *et seqq.*)

a fruit the size of a large cucumber to the ordinary "plantain." Every hill and valley is covered, where habitations are, with cleanly kept banana plantations. Its present uses are (1) as the food-staple of the country; it is cooked green in a score of ways, and is also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into flour. (2) The ripe fruit produces the cider of the country, the universal beverage. (3) From the skins is extracted a potash, from which a very serviceable soap is made. (4) The stem, when beaten into a pulp, is used as a native towel. The fibre is wholly unutilised; in Nyasaland it is used for making ropes and soft, durable mats. With a cheap form of transport for the introduction of machinery, and the export of prepared fibre, banana-flour, and fruit, this plant might yield valuable returns. The Uganda plantain is superior in flavour to any I have tasted elsewhere.

Another greatly neglected product is the *date-palm*. This tree, which is stated to be identical with the date-palm of Bengal, grows wild throughout East Africa. But in Uganda and the lake districts it is ubiquitous, and every watercourse is marked by its graceful outlines. Near the capital (towards the lake) there are large areas covered with it, and it grows to a great height. It is not utilised except for timber, and its young leaves for basket-work. From these neglected resources enormous quantities of sugar could be extracted, as is done in Bengal.[1]

Egyptian *cotton* has already been introduced by the Sudanese (late of the Equatorial Province), who weave their cloth from it. The colonies of these people are already skilled in growing and collecting it, and would

[1] It is especially cultivated throughout India for this purpose, and the borassus also is similarly treated. In one district alone, Jessore, 24,000 acres are planted with the date-palm, and the annual value of the sugar is half a million sterling. Its preparation, moreover, is so simple that the most ignorant ryot can manufacture it (Symonds, p 255 *et seqq.*)

be only too glad to export the raw material in return for cheap Lancashire cloth, and by devoting all their labour to the production of the raw material they would greatly increase their supply. A cotton plant grows wild throughout Uganda. Both cotton and flax are doing well in Nyasaland.

Rubber vines of several species[1] are found in the forests, and Dr Stuhlmann told me he had discovered one or two new varieties in the Sessé Islands. It has never hitherto been collected for export or local use There must be a vast amount of rubber, forest gums, &c., in the great forests on the eastern portion of the Congo State. Their products, known and unknown, will certainly be exported by the nearest route (to the East Coast) if an Administration is established in the lake districts, and the commerce of the countries bordering the lakes is developed by its means.

Acacia is a ubiquitous tree, especially in Ankoli, and its *bark*[2] has lately become an important product of South Africa. Hides would also form a valuable export, especially if roughly prepared locally, to save bulk and weight in transport. The Rev. C. Wilson says that in Uganda vast quantities of *rice* might be grown in the swampy hollows, and on the hill-slopes cinchona and the tea-plant would probably flourish.[3] *Salt*,[4] obtainable

[1] For a synopsis of the various kinds of rubber, and the sources of supply, see Kew Bulletin, page 69 of 1892.

[2] Sir Charles Mitchell's report on the commerce of Natal, 1891-92, shows an increase in the export of bark. "Attention is being more particularly given to the cultivation of the *Acacia mollissima*, the bark of which is a valuable tanning product. Manufactories for the production of leather . are working with success"

[3] *Vide* the Appendix on African commerce in Wilson and Felkin's book, p 341. Buchanan says that in Nyasaland cinchona offers good prospects; its value is 4d. per lb. Tea he does not think will suit Africa, for, though it grows well, it needs an absolute command of labour, at a time when the natives are most busy with their own fields (Geog. Jour., vol. i. p 252).

[4] This salt has been submitted to the opinion of experts in Liverpool, and examined microscopically. They state that it is a rock salt, and not the product of evaporation. It contains very little saline property, but it is not unlikely

from the Salt Lake, would be valuable to the Government as payment for local supplies, and would decrease the cost of local labour and produce, but would, of course, not be worth exporting. It would merely be one means of raising a revenue by which to defray the cost of administration. There is also good timber in Uganda, of many different kinds, which space forbids me to specify in detail here. Some notes on the trees and on the other products of Uganda are contained in my report (3) to the Directors of the Company.[1] The *Mpafu*, which grows from 100 to 200 ft. high, yields an aromatic gum used as incense (Mobani). Many of these woods are not liable to be attacked by the boring beetle, which renders them invaluable in the tropics. Vanilla is also found wild in Uganda.

Summary.

Space prohibits a more detailed examination either of present products or of those which might suggest themselves for introduction. My object has been to show, by the testimony of all who have a knowledge of these countries, that they are fertile, and possess a good climate. This granted, any tropical products may be cultivated. I have named a few, and indicated how they might be rendered of more commercial importance.

The population has been variously estimated. I have already quoted Mr Wilson's estimate of 5 millions in Uganda alone. Stanley's estimate was $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions; Ashe, 1 million. Unyoro is probably more populous than Uganda,[2] and Ankoli about[3] equal to it. Of late years the population has decreased, probably by

that it may be found to contain other chemicals, such as soda-ash, and may turn out much more valuable" (Survey Report, page 90). For analysis, see Stanley's Darkest Africa, vol. ii. pp. 312-315

[1] Blue-book Africa, No. 4, 1892, pp. 116, 117. See also Wilson, p. 159, *re* the *Mpafu*

[2] Felkin endorses Wilson's estimate of 5 millions in Uganda, p. 4, and gives $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions for Unyoro, p 79 (Proc. Royal Society, Edin., vol. xiii.)

[3] Morning Post, 2nd January 1890.

more than half what it was in Mr Wilson's time (1878).[1] All writers agree in saying that the Waganda are very industrious, and in claiming for them a skill in artisan work far superior to that attained by any other tribe of Central Africa (see p. 478). Their great progress in civilisation has made them eager purchasers of European manufactures, and cloth, paper, and other articles have become necessaries, and no longer luxuries, nor have wants to be created Hence they will produce such articles of export as will buy these equivalents. We may also note the amenability of the people to the control of their chiefs, and the possibility, therefore, of their organisation into parties under them for public works. This is in very vivid contrast to the majority of the tribes of Africa, who own allegiance only to their own village headman, and are under little or no control and have no cohesion whatever (*vide* chapter xviii.) The very large country of Unyoro reproduces the characteristics of the Waganda people in a modified degree, since they are not yet as civilised as the latter. There are ample areas for extension of industry and agriculture, especially now that the cattle are dead and the population so greatly reduced.

I have purposely refrained from attempting to quote the prices of any products in Uganda,[2] because this depends so entirely on the value of the barter goods, which again depends solely on the means of transport. Any such figures therefore give no reliable data. I have

[1] The 'Times' correspondent, 6th July 1893, says that four-fifths of Uganda is now uninhabited and the population vastly over-estimated

[2] The Railway Survey Report quotes the following as the local prices per ton in the lake districts: Ivory £350, wheat £2, 10s., maize £1, 5s, millet £1, rice £2, 10s uncleaned and £8 cleaned, semsem £3, 10s, coffee from £2 to £3, 10s. On the same basis of calculation salt is worth £125 per ton in Uganda, and would form a useful *import*. These figures are apparently based on the selling value of cloth for barter, when imported by the railway, but if so imported with transport charges at 6d a ton per mile (viz. £20 instead of £200 freightage), its relative purchasing value would necessarily become enormously depreciated I, therefore, look upon these figures as delusive.

already alluded to the exceptional water communications of these districts (p. 385), and it was the opinion of Gordon after practical experiment that the only feasible line by which they could be developed was from the East Coast (see vol. ii. p. 610). When craft are placed on the waters of the lakes, all the produce of the countries that surround them will focus itself to Uganda, and go to feed the railway, which eventually, whether *we* make it or not, will connect Lake Victoria with the sea. The characteristics of the mountain-mass of Ruwenzori have already been alluded to, and since it affords no extended plateau for agricultural development, I will not refer to it here.[1]

Fifth Zone, South Sudan.

To the north of the lake districts is the southern Sudan.[2] On the south it is bounded by Unyoro and the Albert Lake, on the west by the Congo State (longitude 30°), and on the east by the

[1] Descriptions of their western slopes have been given by Captain Stairs (Darkest Africa, page 254 *et seqq.*), and by Dr Stuhlmann *Vide* also vol. ii. pp 180 and 193, for notes on eastern and western slopes. As these mountains are about to be made the subject of a special examination by a party under Mr Scott-Elliott, under the auspices of the Royal Society, it would be futile to set down the scanty data already at our disposal

[2] Space forbids too copious extracts relative to this province. Felkin describes the country around Fauvera as rough and stony. The limits of Unyoro mark the production of grain in place of bananas and roots as the staple food (p. 59). The country of Shuli is peaceful, and well cultivated (p. 63), lying at an elevation of only some 2000 ft. The Madi country he describes as "enchanting" (p. 72), grass plains alternating with open forest, having fine trees and clear streams, elevation 1600 ft. Bari, to the north of Madi, has much cattle, and cultivation *Up to Beden the hills form a valley in which the river flows*, beyond it to Rejaf are "plains extending for miles, park-land and large trees" (p. 81) Lado was the scene of Emin's experiments with newly introduced products—including European vegetables, the banana, &c (Felkin, vol. ii. p. 70 *et seqq.*)

Wilson says the flora of Shuli are unsurpassed in Africa (vol i. p 280).

Speke describes the Shuli country as "downs of tall grass with occasional swamps" (p 573); in Kiri he speaks of much jungle growth. The granite hills, he says, contrast with the grassy downs of indefinite extent, and make the country a paradise (p. 575) The Madi province is of rolling ground, with occasional bush, jungle, and fine trees (Journals, pp 573 to 599)

Grant describes the crops of Shuli as poor (p 321), but near Faloro (Dufilé) is a beautiful country with much rubber vine (p. 339). Grassy undulations and constant running streams characterise the country (p. 323) In Madi there are trees and cultivation (p 355), with undulating downs (p 357). Bari consists of gently swelling downs with grass only a foot high, fine trees, and running

Turkana and Suk country (longitude 33°). On the north there is no boundary, and we claim rights over the whole waterway of the Nile till it reaches the confines of Egypt. But for our present purpose we will take the 5th degree of north latitude as our limit. Above Gondokoro, on this latitude, the river extends into vast and unhealthy swamps, almost the whole way to Khartum, 1080 miles, and its passage is continually blocked by floating islands of vegetation called *Sudd*.[1] Moreover, the navigation is intercepted at Rejaf. The area, therefore—named Equatoria, or Emin's Province—south of this point naturally belongs to East Africa, and the northern portion around and to the south of Khartum is wholly detached, and must be developed from the north, or more suitably from the Red Sea coast, with its head-

brooks, like an English park (p 361). Near Gondokoro is "a dreary weary plain" of firm heavy sand. The heat is great (90°-104°), and leeches are a pest —unknown elsewhere in Central Africa (p 365). To the west the Niam-Niam country produces goats with long fine hair (Walk across Africa, pp 277-369).

Gordon describes the Bari country as open, well-cultivated, and peopled with fine trees. The Madi country is also populous with brushwood and trees, and many rocky gorges, but opposite Dufilé is a rocky and sterile wilderness It is difficult to quote from his letters to his sister, which were obviously never intended for publication. I have quoted only from his official Nile Itinerary, p. 202. He describes the climate generally as execrable, and fatal to Europeans. Rainfall abundant (Gordon in Africa)

Emin is our greatest authority on this province His scientific observations and careful and accurate writings form an encyclopædia of knowledge of this country. Pages 1 to 18 (Journals) give a description of the journey from Gondokoro to the Albert Lake. It is so void of generalisation that it is difficult to gather his views of its character as a whole. Generally speaking, he describes the province as very attractive Since his descriptions of the fertility of North Unyoro (pp. 18-27) are more strongly worded, and of Uganda still more so, we may conclude that its fertility ranks second to theirs.

Mackay writes:—"From 10° north latitude, all the way south to the Equator, there lies the pure negro region—perhaps the most fertile in all Africa That region belongs not to the Sudan proper at all, but to the Central Lake district. The people are blacks, negroes, and in no sense Arabs. They know nothing about the Mahdi claims, and are as opposed to the Arabs as they are to the Turks" (Life of Mackay, page 289).

[1] Felkin gives a description of this at page 111, vol II. Lupton Bey spent nearly a year cutting through this, and got through 26 miles of it, only to fail in the end! Gessi was blocked in it, and nearly lost his life. It prevented communication for one and a half years, and was cut through at last by three steamers (Gessi Pasha, Seven Years in the Sudan, p. 436).

quarters at Suakim. The commercial products, at any rate, of Equatoria will pass to the East Coast, even though the country should be beyond our actual administration.

This province was originally annexed to Egypt by Sir Samuel Baker. He was succeeded by General Gordon in 1874, who found that there were at that time only two forts in the province. In the space of three years he covered the country with a network of stations some three days' journey apart, and so completely tranquillised it that "one could walk through it with only a stick in one's hand."[1] Emin, who in almost identical words bears witness to the wonderful organisation effected by Gordon, was appointed its governor in 1878,—a post he continued to hold till "relieved" by Stanley in 1888, since which time the province has been left to chaos and anarchy. Of late we hear that a Belgian expedition has proceeded from the Congo to Lado, building a series of stations *en route*, but their presence in the British sphere is unauthorised (see vol. ii. p. 569).

Products.

Of the ivory of the Sudan I have already written. Dr Schweinfurth gives a table of the total export from 1853 to 1879 (inclusive).[2] The raiding of the "Turks" (who, as Grant says, were mostly negroes) for this ivory and for slaves laid waste the whole province,[3] and depopulated it. It was against them that Baker, Gordon, and, later, Emin's efforts were directed. Ostrich-feathers are also exported, and Emin established ostrich farms throughout the province.[4] Casati states[5]

[1] Felkin, vol. ii. p. 100. Emin, p. 15.

[2] Gessi, App., p. 441. This table would apparently comprise the export of the whole Sudan, and not only the Equatorial Province. It shows a yearly average of 274,518 lb. (122½ tons). Emin constantly speaks of it as the "chief export" of his province (p. 117).

[3] Speke, p. 599; Grant, p. 358; Felkin, vol. ii. p. 82; Gordon, *passim*; Emin, *passim*; Gessi, p. 220 *et passim*.

[4] "Ostrich-feathers are to be procured in large quantities, for the broad savannahs of the Lango country harbour large numbers of the birds" (Emin, p. 251).

[5] Gessi, p. 416.

that "tamarinds are collected, and caoutchouc, better than that of Brazil, is exported to the extent of 200 tons." He also maintains that vegetable silk (from the *Eriodendron anfractuosum*) and incense (from the Mpafu ?) are probable exports. Timber of a very superior quality was also sent in large quantities to Khartum. 'Cotton," he adds, "is a product which in a few years will furnish a considerable revenue, rivalling in quality and quantity that of Lower Egypt; skins are tanned on the spot, and shoe factories have been instituted."[1] This report is of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, Gessi's province, which lies to the north-west of the line I have indicated, but this produce would find its way to the Equatorial Province of which it formed a part. The country of the Niam-Niam, which also formed a part of Gessi's administration, is south of lat. 5°. These two provinces are described as being of great richness, and their products of more value than those of Uganda, &c., by Gessi and Casati. Gessi adds: "Among the other products of this region are copal, palm oil, arrowroot, the oil of the arachis, and honey." The people he describes as "most peaceful and laborious." He adds that ebony and ostrich-feathers abound, as also rubber and hides.[2] I have already said that the vine is indigenous in the country, and Felkin mentions that bees'-wax is collected at Dufilé.[3] Honey

[1] Gessi himself, reporting to the Governor of the Sudan, says that he had established saw-mills and produced timber for one-tenth its selling value at Khartum; that he had created iron-works, in which he smelted ore and made nails, &c.; and also "tan-works." For the cotton he claims that it is better than American and Egyptian, and is being worked by natives in looms. The possible output of caoutchouc he estimates at 500 tons, value £72,000, at a cost of collection of £3200 to £4000 (p. 446). "The Sudan," he says elsewhere, "might be the richest country in the world; its climate and soil are adapted for every kind of cultivation. The products are very plentiful" (p 60)

[2] Gessi, pp 60, 61. Emin says that palm-oil and caoutchouc are also to be obtained in Mombutu, which he describes as a rich country (p 199 and p 207). This country lies on the north-west of the Albert Lake "The soil," he says, "is rich and productive. . . . Caoutchouc is destined to become the greatest source of prosperity to the country"

[3] Felkin, vol. II. p. 70.

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is reported as abundant in Makraka, and especially in Shuli;[1] also in the Bahr-Ghazal.[2]

Sixth Zone.

Of the sixth zone I will not attempt to say anything, for it has not been explored, except by Count Teleki. Mr Jackson penetrated a few days north of Elgon, but was compelled to retire on account of the hostility of the natives. It is reported to be a district of stony plains, with cultivation around the great Lake Rudolf, and its lesser counterpart Stefanie, and along the banks of the rivers. The people are said to possess great numbers of donkeys, and towards the north, horses and camels. Already, as we reach Baringo Lake, we have descended from the high plateau-land to 3300 ft., and thence northwards through this area the elevation decreases, and is on the same altitude as the Sudan. Lake Rudolf is 1300 ft., the same as the Nile in the same latitude. (See footnote 3, pp. 417, 418.)

[1] Emin, p. 269.

[2] Gessi, p. 427, says the province could provide twice as much for export as Abyssinia.

CHAPTER XVII.

METHODS OF AFRICAN TRANSPORT.

Present system—Reduces exports—Prevents import of necessaries—Enlistment of porters prohibited—Reasons—Results—How a deadlock might have been avoided—The Edict evaded—Real scope of Edict—Effect on native traders—But not applied to them—Porters, slaves—Summary—Immediate alternatives—The Zambesi route—The route *viâ* German territory—Permanent methods, a railway—Feasibility—Examples of success of railways—Unforeseen developments—Railways by other nations in Africa—Germany—France—Belgium—Portugal—We are already pledged—Objections: (1) Slave labour necessary, (2) Hostility of natives; (3) Metal would be stolen—Impetus to home industries—Advantage of one section only—Animal transport beyond—A road feasible for second section with cart carriage—Baggage animals third section—Already found practicable—Improved methods: (1) Staging system—Food ration—Saddlery and equipment—Indian methods perfect—Attendants—Summary—Class of animals—The elephant—Uses—Camel—Mule and zebra—Donkey, pony and bullock—Sources of supply—Collateral advantages—Water transport—Steamers—Fuel—Conclusion

THE question of transport is a vital one for the development of Central Africa. The present system of human porterage precludes the export from the farther regions of the interior of anything but the most valuable articles. Africa possesses one such product—ivory; and probably there is no other country in the world which has even one single export which would stand the charge of some £200 per ton freight to the nearest port, and yet yield an enormous profit. Not only are the exports limited by this obstacle, which strangles all development of natural resources, but the

Present system impossible.

cost of the introduction of all material which does not yield an immediate return is likewise almost prohibitive. Thus barter-goods to exchange for ivory, or to advance at enhanced values, as part-payment to the men, can be advantageously imported, and the porters returning convey the ivory to the coast. But such plant as machinery for cotton, fibre, and oil-pressing, or for working minerals; steamers and boats by which to control the lakes and develop the trade along the waterways, stores, medicines, tools and material for building, with which to add to the comfort and health of Europeans; ammunition, clothing, and equipment for troops, with which to maintain a minimum police force at the highest efficiency,—all these necessities of administration and development render no immediate return, and their import, therefore, under existing conditions, becomes impossible without large capital outlay.

Failure of Porter supply

Not only is the system of human porterage, then, so expensive as to absolutely preclude the possibility of the successful commercial development of East Africa, but it has other, and hardly less serious, drawbacks. (1) The supply of porters wherewith to continue the system has practically failed. The great numbers of free Wanyamwezi formerly offering themselves for caravan-work at the coast are now locally employed in the German sphere, and hence the drain on the resources of Zanzibar island by the demand for porters in East Africa seriously affects the supply of labour for the local industries. The Consul-General reported that this drain threatened to depopulate the island,[1] and the

[1] "For many years past the island of Zanzibar has been the recruiting-ground, as well as the starting-point, of every African traveller, whether he be explorer, botanist, merchant, soldier, freebooter, slave-trader, or missionary. Not a caravan goes into the interior of Africa without a considerable number of Zanzibari porters, recruited either by persuasion or by force. From what is generally known of the usual history of African caravans and travellers, it will be readily believed that a very large percentage of these men never return at all. The following facts will give some idea as to the extent to which this goes on:

result of his representations was that a proclamation was issued in September 1891 absolutely prohibiting the continued enlistment of Zanzibaris for any purpose whatever.[1] The question as to these men being slaves I will fully discuss in the succeeding chapter on Labour (page 479 *et seqq.*) This edict, it must be remembered, applies to the coast area of British East Africa, which is still included in his Highness's dominions, though leased to the Company. Hence the enlistment of porters, either at Zanzibar or on the coast, was absolutely prohibited by Government so long ago as September 1891. The position produced was, of course, a deadlock. The administration at that time existing in Uganda *had* to be supplied with certain

On the 1st June (1891) last the Imperial British East Africa Company alone had in different parts of the interior of Africa about 800 Zanzibar porters Since that date their agents in Zanzibar have collected and sent to them 500 more men from here, and have also collected and sent away 222 Zanzibaris as porters for Captain Stairs' caravan, to go east of Lake Nyasa. The agents of the Church Missionary Society have collected for mission caravans in the last two months about 350 Zanzibar porters. This alone accounts for nearly 1900 men in the last few months, and takes no account whatever of the far larger numbers who have gone up with Arab or German caravans, or who have been enlisted as soldiers in the German sphere Besides all this, the Congo Free State has apparently begun to look upon Zanzibar as an inexhaustible recruiting-ground for coolies, and has carried off many hundreds of men from here to the West Coast This being known, it is not surprising that a commission has come here even from Natal for the collection of a quantity of coolies for work in that country In fact, it appears that the authorities of the German sphere, the English sphere, the Congo Free State, and Natal, and all the innumerable Arab and European traders and travellers in the interior of Africa, have looked upon Zanzibar as a sort of milch cow, from which to draw unfailing streams of willing or unwilling labour. To such an extent has this been carried on unchecked that not only are the plantations in this island suffering severely, but the whole of Zanzibar is in danger of being depopulated unless a complete stop be put to the system. Moreover, it tends to vitiate our efforts to suppress the slave-trade, as the Arab landowners are put to such straits for labour that they are willing, not only to give high prices, but also to run considerable risks, in order to obtain new slaves "—Blue-book Africa, No. 6, 1892, p 4. Stanley estimates the number of porters employed annually in the British and German spheres only (exclusive of the other demands named by Sir G Portal) as 240,000 (Post, Nov. 16th, 1892, and Times, Dec 8th, 1892).

[1] "To all whom it may concern —Notice is hereby given that by a decree of his Highness the Sultan, issued this day with the consent and concurrence of her Britannic Majesty's Government, all recruitment or enlistment of soldiers, coolies, or porters for service beyond his Highness's dominions is and remains strictly forbidden "—Sept 11th, 1891. (Signed) G H. PORTAL

necessaries. Urgent requests for ammunition, cloth (wherewith to pay the men their wages, long overdue), medicines, and some absolutely necessary stores for Europeans, had been submitted by me. No means of transport other than human porterage was available—the regulations had to be evaded of absolute necessity.

Reason of failure of Portal's Edict

I think that the mistake lay in making this most excellent and valuable proclamation take effect from the day of its issue. It should (in my humble opinion) have been limited to a notification that the contemplated change would take effect, say, on that day year, with, however, an immediate and absolute prohibition for the enlistment of Zanzibaris, for any country except British East Africa. The Congo State and Nyasaland have resources of their own, and do not depend on Zanzibar, while the Germans can recruit unlimited numbers of porters from the Wanyamwezi tribe in their own territory. The insertion, moreover, of a clause enacting that any slaves so enlisted should be at liberty to purchase their freedom, would have been a direct blow to slavery, and would have been in furtherance of the clause of the 1st August Proclamation, which was afterwards cancelled (see p. 187 and App. I. B.) The Company and others would thus have been given time to substitute another mode of carriage, instead of being compelled either to evade the law or to abandon to their fate the garrisons in the interior.

Proof of Failure.

How the difficulty was met I do not know, but caravans continued to proceed up-country as heretofore, though it was said that there was now "some difficulty in getting porters." This I maintain was, in a way, legitimate. The Zanzibar authorities having issued a proclamation, the stipulations of which it was manifestly impossible to enforce at the moment, rightly, I suppose, winked at its temporary violation. Exactly a year later I came to Mombasa

myself. No attempt had been made by the Company during this year to adequately cope with the difficulty, though some futile attempts to employ donkey transport, without system of any sort, had, it is true, been set on foot. But the Administration of the country continued to depend upon the porter system, though a year had passed since it was prohibited by Government—for it must be remembered that the British Company have no inland tribes from which they can recruit porters to any large extent,[1] and, therefore, that every caravan that went into the interior (being enlisted at the coast) was in direct violation of this edict.

Nor was this action limited to the Company The Government Railway Survey had taken some 250 men early in 1892. On my return to Mombasa (Sept. 1892) I met, near the coast, an enormous caravan of the Company's, just starting for Uganda. With the Company's caravan was a small party of Herr Wolf's, correspondent of the 'Tageblatt.' Later, I met a large mission caravan, going up in detachments with Bishop Tucker and others. In spite of the proclamation, they had succeeded in enlisting some hundreds of men, though the alternative was open to them to go up by the German route (as they always had hitherto) and utilise Mr Stokes' Wanyamwezi. Later, the 'Times' correspondent, and various special batches of mail men, went up country. Later still, Sir G. Portal himself left for Uganda with some 500 or 600 Zanzibaris, soldiers, and porters. In his case the thing was legitimate, for as the ultimate authority who had issued the order, it was open to him, of course, at any time to suspend its operation—but no such suspension was notified. When Government deputed him to go to Uganda in urgent haste, and he found that in the year

[1] Experiments with the Wakamba, Wa-Kikuyu, and Wasoga have all practically resulted in failure. Some Wanyika are employed in conjunction with Zanzibaris, but the supply is precarious and inadequate, and these natives are in many ways unsatisfactory as porters.

and quarter that had elapsed since the proclamation of September 1891, the Company had provided no substitute for the porter system, he had, of course, no option but to put aside the Edict of Government, in the interests of Government, and utilise the system he had condemned, since no other had been substituted.

Importance of Edict.

I have entered into this question at some length, since I think it of great importance that it should be clearly understood on what basis this system is grounded. It is a matter of *radical* importance, and on it depends the whole future of East Africa. The proclamation I have quoted seems simple enough, but I doubt if even its originators paused to appreciate its real significance. Not only does it revolutionise African methods of transport, thereby compelling alternative means of carriage, and, as an integral part of this new system, a *real* Administration with chains of stations connected by roads or railway, &c., but it crushes at one blow the entire trading with the interior of the Arab and Swahili (who are solely dependent on the caravan system), and thereby annihilates at once the slave-trade in East Africa, and temporarily, at least, *all* trade, legitimate or otherwise, by the Arabs in the farther interior.

Effect on Arab Traders.

In my opinion the prohibition of the Swahili trading caravan (an inevitable result of the prohibition to enlist porters) would be the greatest boon which could be conferred on Africa. I have already spoken of some of the evils wrought by the Swahili caravans. How their lack of foresight and method results in their finding themselves only too frequently in the heart of Africa with their goods for legitimate trade and even for food purchase exhausted, and how they are consequently driven to illegitimate methods, of looting, or obtaining supplies by force—or else, as in the case of the caravan of Abdrahman, which broke up from starvation in Ngaboto—a general crash and *sauve qui*

peut is the result, and armed men disperse to settle down where they can among the natives, and do incalculable harm to the country. I have described how their lack of system and mutual rivalry spoils the market, together with their custom of paying *hongo*, &c.—how their armed bands disperse over the country nominally to collect ivory—but also to collect slaves [1] by purchase, kidnapping, and even by raids (as in Kitosh), and disseminate coast vices and diseases (such as syphilis) unknown in the interior.

An Edict which should strike at the root of this evil (as this does) would therefore be welcomed by me as a benefit to Africa—granting it to be practicable and feasible. Not only would it put an end to the evils I have described (prominently the slave-trade), but it would also prevent the import of arms and other contraband goods, and would restrict the Swahili to the main arteries of traffic established by the Administration, and to those methods of transport which he could obtain along those main trade routes. More probably, indeed, it would result in compelling him to settle down and trade under the protection of the Administration, instead of roaming through the country in command of large armed bands of men, free from all restraint. This is the root of the whole evil. In no other country are large armed forces yearly collected "in the season," under the eye of the Government, to penetrate into the interior of a country nominally under British Administration, and free to go where they will, and "trade" under what conditions of force they please, bound by no code of laws, nor even by nominal restrictions. But as long as the Administration itself continues to ignore the Government Proclamation, and fails to

[1] *Vide* p 195. See also Railway Survey Report, p. 97 and p. 99, for a precisely similar account of the "pernicious systems" employed by these Swahili caravans, and their modes of procuring slaves.

substitute any other means of transport, it cannot, of course (and does not), attempt to interfere with its infringement by Arab and Swahili traders.

Edict self-contradictory.

And herein lies a new obligation with which we are face to face in East Africa. At the instance of our Secretary of State, the Consul-General and Imperial Commissioner at Zanzibar has issued a proclamation, distinctly stated to be not merely an emanation from the Sultan, but to have the approval and authority of her Majesty's Government. This proclamation, if logically and properly carried out, destroys with one stroke of the pen, so to speak, not only all illegitimate trade, but the *whole* of the legitimate trade throughout East Africa, by making illegal the only existing and possible means of prosecuting it. We are therefore compelled either to enforce this decree, and render it a practical possibility, by substituting a railway or other means of transport, for that which we have declared illegal, or we must eat our own words and retract the edict.

Misapplied by even Consular Authorities.

I have said that I doubted if the full scope of this proclamation was realised at the time it was promulgated. We find that in the despatch containing it the Consul-General emphasises his own responsibility regarding it, and says, "It will be the duty of her Majesty's officers here to see it is thoroughly carried out"; yet, in the very same despatch, he goes on to say that it is impossible to check advances of money by the British Indians, because "almost every caravan which leaves for the interior is so supplied." The 'Zanzibar Gazette' of Dec. 28th, 1892 (the eve of Sir G. Portal's departure for Uganda), in the review of the year says that trade has suffered, &c., so as to show an evident slackening of work "in the months that should have been busiest in the fitting-up of caravans." And, further on, Sir G. Portal's mission is a subject

of gratulation because "it will encourage caravan traders to take goods up into the interior," viz., British East Africa. These caravans are "fitted up" at Zanzibar itself, in the Sultan's dominions, with the approval of the authorities, *and in direct violation of the Government proclamation.*

Or is there one law for the European and another for the Swahili? Turning to the proclamation we find it is not so. "*All* enlistment" is forbidden, and in the despatch quoted, which prompted the edict, native traders are especially alluded to, and surely it were foolish to suppose that Government would permit the Swahili to fit up his caravan, intended at best for his personal profit, but prohibit the fitting-up of caravans intended to convey absolute necessaries to Europeans engaged in the administration of the interior, or missionaries proceeding to the scene of their labours! If the necessity for such a proclamation was pointed out to the Home Government, it follows as a necessary corollary that its enforcement was assumed to be possible and advantageous, and "to be the duty of her Majesty's officers here," and not provided, as so many African edicts have been, for home consumption only. It is not my duty to give an opinion as to whether the time had come for so sweeping an edict—I am solely concerned with its application to the question in hand, viz., the prohibition of porter transport to Arabs and Europeans alike in British East Africa, and the questions which that prohibition brings to us to solve.

Independently of the proclamation there was another obstacle to the employment of coast porters It is that a great number of these porters are slaves, and their employment gives an impetus to the slave-trade I will deal with this under "Slave-labour" in the next chapter. Porters, Slaves

I hope I have demonstrated by these remarks that

Summary—Porter System impossible.

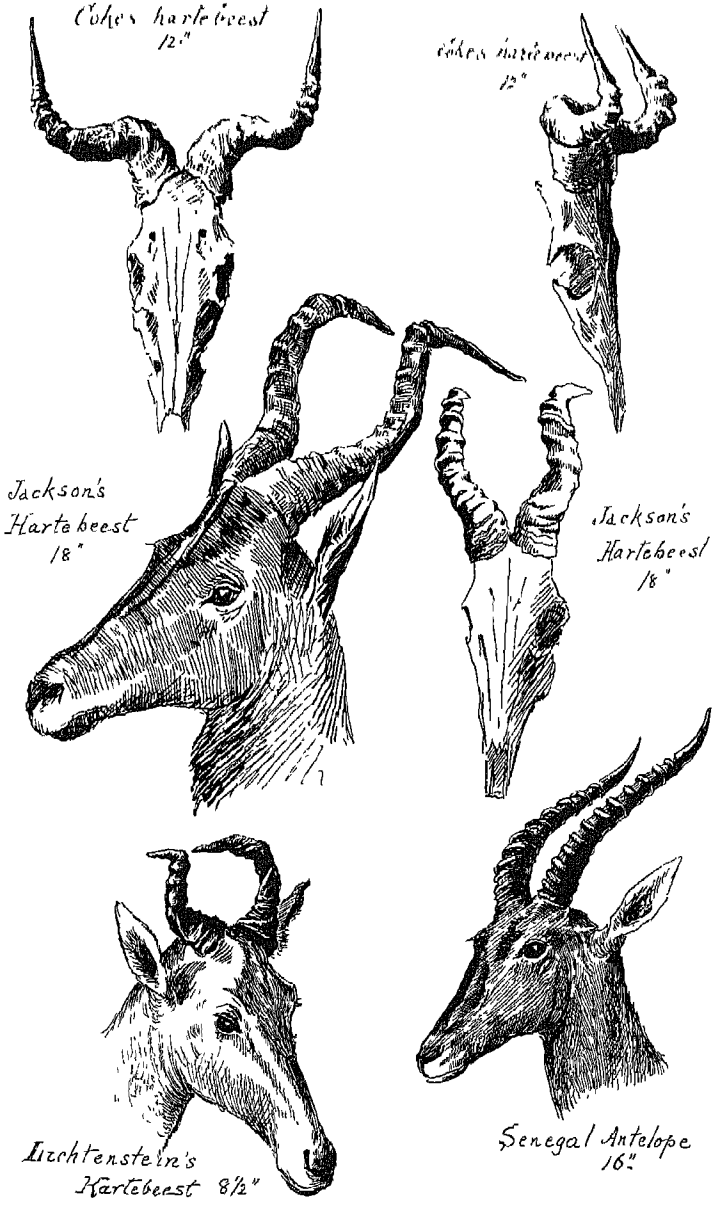
the porter system is impracticable, both on the grounds of cost and morality—as well as prohibited by law in British East Africa, which possesses no tribes beyond the Sultan's dominions from whom an adequate supply of porters can be drawn. The few porters necessary for conveyance of such loads as would be difficult to transport on baggage animals, &c., could not improbably be enlisted from the free Wanyamwezi, in return for permission to the Germans to enlist Sudanese in British territory.

Immediate Alternatives—Zambesi—Tanganyika Route

Let us then see what substitute can be found for human porterage, of an immediate and temporary nature, in order to evade the necessity of Government having to repudiate its own edict so as to admit of the continuation of the Administration in Uganda. First, the utilisation of the Zambesi-Shiré-Tanganyika route has been suggested (see vol. ii. p. 609). The African Lakes Flotilla Company declare that they can deliver goods in Uganda at £150 a ton. I have myself travelled along this route to the north of Nyasa on one side, and to the Albert Edward on the other. Bulk is broken (as I have already said) at least six times,[1] and there are three land porterages,[2] one of 60 miles over steep gradients, another of over 150 equally difficult, and the third of 150 or more, through country as yet unexplored, and where no porters are available! As a means of permanently developing Uganda, even freight of £150 a ton would, of course, be prohibi-

[1] See p 387, and vol. ii p. 609. Six breaks occur—even since the Chindi channel of the Zambesi has been utilised—(1) At the Ruo; (2) At Matopé, Upper Shiré; (3) Songwé, north of Nyasa, (4) Fort Abercorn, south of Tanganyika; (5) at north of Tanganyika; (6) at the Victoria (or the Albert Edward Lake).

[2] (1) Ruo to Matopé, over Shiré highlands, 3000 ft.; (2) Nyasa to Tanganyika, from 1700 ft, over plateau 5000 ft.; (3) north of Tanganyika to either Albert Edward Lake, through Congo State territory, or to Victoria, through German territory I am not aware that the Flotilla Company have steamers or boats on either Tanganyika, Victoria, or Albert Edward Canoes would be uncertain, and probably impossible to procure



HORNS OF ANTELOPE

tive. As a temporary expedient, the route could be utilised, supposing that the Flotilla Company are willing to renew this offer. I am wholly convinced, however, that they could not land goods in Uganda for £150 a ton, nor yet for double that sum; but their profits or losses are their affair, so long as they fulfil the contract, which I doubt their ability to do, apart from the question of cost.

The other, and only really feasible, plan is to arrange by contract with independent traders in the German sphere—such as the wealthy Arab, Ali bin Sultan at Tabora, or Mr Stokes—for the conveyance of goods *viâ* German territory to the south of the Lake Victoria. To accomplish this thousands of Wanyamwezi (free volunteers) are engaged. They are eager for the work, and are the best porters in Africa; they engage to carry a load from the coast to the lake for a fixed sum, extremely small in comparison with the Zanzibari—hired from the day he leaves the coast till he returns. These traders offer to convey loads of 70 lb. to the south of the lake for $45 each—add $5 freight thence to Uganda, or in round figures 100 Rs. per load, which gives £200 per ton. A contract at £200 per ton would probably find ready acceptance. The Company estimate that by their route, under present conditions, the cost of goods to Uganda is at least £300 per ton. Thus we have an alternative based on a system quite separate from that of hiring porters (slave or free) in the Sultan's dominions, and giving at the same time a reduction of cost on present methods. This could be adopted pending the development of a proper system of transport in British East Africa. Contracts in German Sphere.

As regards the future method of transport. There is no doubt that the *only* way to develop the agricultural resources of these countries is by making a railway from the coast to the Lake Permanent Methods—Railway.

Victoria, for by no other means of transport could such bulky products as grain, fibre, cotton, &c., be exported profitably. The British Government has already voted the money for a preliminary survey—that survey has now been completed. If our action was not altogether puerile, and if, in the face of Europe, we are to maintain any character for consistency, it must follow that the principle of making a railway was accepted by the passing of the vote for its survey, and that, if the engineering difficulties should be found not to be greater than had been anticipated at the time the vote was passed, we should eventually construct it. Any other view presupposes that the grant was made to examine a project which we had no conception of undertaking

Feasibility.

The difficulties have been found to be very considerably *less* than had been expected. In spite of the fact that the distance to the lake is greater than was supposed (giving, therefore, a greater area of country for development), the estimate is less than was expected, and is under $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions.[1] Its construction has been advocated by statesmen such as Lord Salisbury, Mr Goschen, Mr Chamberlain, Lord Brassey, Mr J. W. Lowther, Sir Richard Temple, and many others of the first rank. It has also been advocated widely by commercial men[2] I am here concerned with the railway purely in its commercial aspect; as regards our pledges under the Brussels Act, &c., I have spoken elsewhere (*vide* vol. ii. p. 577). In the previous chapter I have endeavoured to give some idea of the products which it would convey and the nature of the country it would open up. But to attempt to gauge the capacity of a country before a railway is made is wholly futile, for,

[1] Railway Survey Report, p 29.

[2] Mackay's opinion carries some weight with a large section of his countrymen, as being a practical and shrewd man He writes "I would not give sixpence for all the Company will do in half a century unless they first connect the lake with the coast by a line ever so rough."—Life, p. 340

as has been truly said, "A railway of itself *creates* a carrying trade," even in civilised countries. It will open up the country as nothing else will, and thereby will effectually kill the slave-trade—not by replacing caravans of slaves in the transport of ivory to the coast, but by introducing trade, industry, and development.[1]

If we pause to consider what has been achieved in other countries by the introduction of railways, it were surely premature to condemn the project on the grounds that it will not pay. I have already instanced the Punjab; not only have the railways of North-West India created vast carrying trades, before undreamt of, but they have rendered valuable the trade of the adjoining countries—Afghanistan, Cashmere, and Beluchistan. More recently Upper Burmah has been opened up by railways—a country in which I have travelled much. It is a land of continual warfare, of most destructive malaria, of interminable forests, of lofty ranges closing connection with the natural arteries of communication, yet it is rapidly developing by means of railways. But it is needless to quote instances. Manitoba is perhaps the most striking one. Commercial men who read these chapters will have many instances in their minds

Other Countries.

But in such a connection it is hard to limit one's phrases to a monotonous quotation of relative values of exports and imports. Imagination leads us back to the days when the "bald-headed Roman," lately alluded to in Parliament, annexed the island of Britain —the Uganda of the Roman Empire—separated from the central government by leagues on leagues of impassable forest, and lofty mountains, and a belt of sea. One pictures his advocacy of the claims of these distant isles, full of naked and fierce savages, to partake in the civilisation of the Empire, and the possibilities of their

[1] Railway Survey Report, p. 100

becoming some day a fertile and a civilised land. Could that "bald-headed Roman" walk to-day in the streets of London and travel back by train to Rome in forty-eight hours, we can imagine that he would grasp what railway extension and commercial expansion have done for that savage island! Had he prophesied for Britain a future not one-thousandth part so great as that we have attained, would he not have met with derision greater even than that which "the little-Englanders" of to-day heap upon the dreams of those who prognosticate a future for the highlands of Africa?

I have endeavoured, in spite of my want of technical knowledge, to indicate some directions in which expansion may take place; but the history of the development of every country is full of lessons of how futile is calculation without experiment. Minerals may be discovered, parts of the country may prove fit for European colonisation, naturalised products as yet unsuggested may "turn out trumps," and supply the railway with freight we had not counted. To take a minor instance:—At Busrah in 1876 the first box of dates was shipped as an experiment. Last year this export was stated to amount to 20,000 tons.

Example of other Nations.

This region is beyond all doubt one of the most promising in Central Africa; yet we hesitate to make a railway to so excellent an objective as the central lakes' waterways, while other nations with far less promising fields for development do not shirk the expense of railways to extend their trade. For my part, I believe that the time when we shall hang back behind the other nations of Europe in our efforts to extend our commerce will be the fatal day which will mark our decadence as a nation. Germany in her sphere, which is greatly inferior to ours, is projecting railways. Dr Kayser stated in the Reichstag (Jan. 15th, 1892) that "next year Govern-

ment intended to discuss the advisability of a railway to put an end to the drawbacks of the present system of caravans"—drawbacks which, as I have shown, are comparatively trivial in the German sphere German discussion is usually followed by action, and a company has now been formed, and the line from Tanga to Korogwé is already in process of construction. This is the beginning of the fuller project alluded to by Dr Kayser.

France has for years projected a great trans-Saharan railway. The disaster to Colonel Flatters threw back the scheme, which has lately been revised, and preliminary surveys despatched from Algeria. It will probably be carried out at a cost of from ten to twelve millions, covering a distance of 2000 miles.[1] Meanwhile, in 1887 a railway was made from Kayes to Bafulabé in the Upper Senegal.[2] Italy has built a considerable portion of a railway in her sphere towards Abyssinia, in a most difficult country. Belgium has undertaken a railway to connect the Upper and Lower Congo, and has lent to the Free State £600,000, upon which no interest is charged until the shareholders receive 8 per cent., after which the interest to the State is limited to 3 per cent. Portugal is about to commence a railway from Quilimane to the Ruo or South Nyasa. She is building one also at Beira, and has completed a great portion of another in her West African territory, from Loanda to Ambaca.

It is in view of this general consensus of opinion among the nations of Europe who hold possessions in Africa, that they are worth opening up by railways—though I believe their commercial possibilities to be inferior to British East Africa,—that I have said that by holding back we are allowing ourselves to be outstripped in the race for commercial expansion. Moreover, in the original intimation made

Consensus of Opinion.

[1] Keltie, Partition of Africa, p. 290 [2] Ibid, p. 262.

to Germany in 1885, at the time when she acquired her East African territory, Lord Granville stated that Great Britain wished to reserve to her influence the portion which is now British East Africa, in order to make a railway from the coast to Lake Victoria; and this intimation was continually repeated. It was, indeed, the object put forward as their leading motive by the founders of the Imperial British East Africa Company when praying for a Royal Charter.

Summary.

Such is the general case for a railway. Consistency urges our undertaking it, now that the survey has proved it feasible. The example of other nations, and the necessity that we should not be behind them in seeking outlets for our trade, prompt us in the same direction; while it is undoubtedly the best means of developing the country, and the prospects of its paying, at no distant date, are by no means discouraging.

Minor Objections.

One or two minor objections urged against the making of a railway may be noticed here. (1) That it must be constructed by slave labour. This is altogether preposterous[1] (see chap. xviii. *passim*). Incidentally, however, if the clause of the Sultan's proclamation (*vide* pp. 187, 277, and 233, &c.) permitting all slaves to work out their own emancipation were re-enacted, the building of a railway would afford opportunities for such slaves to earn the necessary redemption-money; or, better still, if we may hope that the legal status of slavery is doomed in East Africa, no coolie working on the railway would be a slave, unless by his own preference. (2) It has been assumed that such hostility would be shown by the natives, that the construction of the railway has been described almost in the Biblical terms used of the rebuilding of the second temple by Ezra, where the work-

[1] The bulk of the labour is to be procured from India, according to the Railway Survey Report, p. 74, and on this the estimates are based.

men had their arms in one hand and their tools in the other. Such assumptions are wholly ungrounded. The large mass of labourers (a proportion of whom would be armed) assembled at the scene of the work would be sufficient to overawe any predatory or hostile tribes, while the hitherto peaceable relations which for the most part have existed between the natives and the white men, and the peaceful completion of the railway survey, &c., are *a priori* evidence that no such hostility would be shown. (3) It is also assumed that, since the natives require iron, the railway would be torn up and the metal stolen. Only a complete ignorance of actual conditions could dictate such surmises. The sleepers estimated for are all of iron.[1] The rails are bolted to these (the nut-heads being filed off if necessary), and the line thus forms a continuous whole. It would be an extremely difficult task for a body of men with crowbars and all necessary implements to displace such a line. For savages with no appliances it would be impossible. Moreover, in the early years of the railway, a small armed force would be retained to patrol the line on trollies, &c. (included in the estimates), to prevent any damage—not to the railway, but to the telegraph, which would presumably accompany it.

Impetus to Home Industries.

It is needless to point out again that the whole material for a railway would be drawn from our industrial centres at home—the rails, iron sleepers, bolts and fish-plates, iron-work for bridging; the timber, zinc roofing, nails, &c., for station buildings; the tubular iron poles, wire, &c., for telegraphs; the wire, cloth, beads, &c., for payment for labour. That all this material would be conveyed in our own ships. That openings would be created for European supervising officers, artisans, mechanics, and engineers. That the railway, when completed, would convey as its first freight

[1] Survey Report, p. 4.

the steamers for the lake, built in our British shipyards, and further material for buildings, stores of all descriptions, goods for barter, &c., and thus employment would be given to almost all branches of industry.

One Section only.

My own opinion has always been that only the first section of the railway should be undertaken at first,[1] and that a system of animal transport should be established between its terminus and the lake. From the coast to the farther boundary of what I have called the "second zone" there are no great difficulties to railway construction; the low range of hills bordering the coast and the Tsavo river-bridge being the only obstacles. The estimate to this point—the Salt River, twenty-three miles beyond the Kibwezi (the limit of the zone)—is £626,000.[2] Its length is 208 miles. The guaranteed interest on this sum would be about £18,000 per annum. This brings us to the foot of the rise, which includes all the "third zone."

Advantages.

The advantages of making a line over this section are:—1st. Its comparative cheapness. The total length of the line to the lake is 657 miles, and its cost £2,240,000.[3] A third of this length would be 219 miles, but the cost of this *first* 219 miles is less than a third of the whole estimate by over £106,000. 2nd. Its unsuitability to animal transport. Fodder is scarce, and, indeed, almost non-existent, especially in the hot weather, by the direct route *viâ* the Taru desert and Taita. It is obtainable by making a detour to the north *viâ* the Sabakhi (where there is no food for men), or by Taveta to the south. Food for transport attendants is equally unprocurable, and would have to be carried, thus absorbing a great part of the carrying power of the animals. Water, throughout the

[1] *Vide* Wilson and Felkin, vol. i. p. 339.

[2] Blue-book Africa, No 4, 1892, p. 141 and p. 146, § 19.

[3] Railway Survey, p. 27.

hot weather, is dried up in the Taru desert—indeed, transport animals could only be taken up *viâ* the Sabakhi River (though, to my surprise, I found that the only serious experiment yet made to take up a caravan of donkeys in August 1892 had adopted the Taru route, in spite of the absence of both food and water). This area is also very trying both to men and animals (especially Europeans) on account of the heat and the sun-fever, &c., incident to the tropics at low levels. A disproportionate wastage and consequent expense would therefore occur among both. It is, moreover, in this zone that the tsetse has been found; but, as I have already said (p. 391), it is rare, and can be evaded by a detour *viâ* Taveta, where Jackson states food and water are also abundant. Thus, though transport animals can be used pending the construction of the railway, this area would be most advantageously bridged by a line. 3rd. European settlers on the highlands would, by means of a railway to the foot of the plateau, be able to obtain their supplies and export their produce, and to pass over the coast area rapidly, so as to reach the more healthy uplands, without having first imbibed into their systems the malaria of the plains. Without it even settlements of pioneers would find it difficult to develop their industries to any advantage; with it even the experiment of European colonisation could be tried.

Beyond this area there is no reason at all why animal transport should not succeed well,—at least, that is the opinion I have formed after some experience; for I saw much of transport methods in Afghanistan, and I was a transport officer in the Sudan (mules and camels). I had temporary charge of the Sepri Division in India, and more permanently of the Lucknow Circle, where some sixty elephants and a large number of camels, mules, bullocks, &c., were under my charge. In Burma I had transport charge of the

Transport System beyond Railway

largest mass of animals collected in any one place (Ruby Mine Column), consisting of elephants, pack-bullocks, mules, ponies, and carts.

Methods to be adopted. Draught.

To insure the success of animal transport, the present hap-hazard methods must be replaced by an organised system. Wheeled transport being by far the most effective and the cheapest, rough roads should be constructed over such portion of the route as may admit of this form of transport.[1] Oxen should be employed, as being cheaper and more easily procured than any other draught animals. African (local) oxen would be well adapted,[2] and a few were actually trained by the Scottish Industrial Mission, and found to answer well for draught. It is a pity that the experiment was not carried out on a larger scale.

There would probably be no great difficulty in making a cart-road from the suggested terminus of the railway (Salt River) to the central depot (at the Eldoma ravine). Across Masailand there is no obstacle to wheeled transport, for the Malewa and Gilgil Rivers are fordable, except in flood, and the Masai cattle have worn a road down their high banks. But while this rough cart-road was in course of preparation, the more difficult bits must have such a bridle-path as would be practicable for baggage animals, connecting the level tracts which offer few obstacles. The depot at the Eldoma ravine is in

[1] Into the question of the best kind of transport cart it is not necessary to enter here. At the present time the Government of India are offering a reward of £2000 for the best model. Meanwhile the Indian "army transport cart," the South African waggon, or the Indian bullock-gharri would answer the requirements. The Germans have already introduced in their portion of East Africa iron barrows, or hand-trucks, carrying two men's loads each, and they have proved very successful. Mackay also introduced a waggon (Life, p. 392). For his views on this question see p. 439.

[2] Mr Jackson, whose evidence is valuable, writes: "The native cattle, though smaller than the South African oxen, are strong and hardy, and can be easily trained to draught. There is no reason why these animals should not be employed to a much greater extent than at present. Many Swahili traders procure them and use them as beasts of burden."—Pall Mall Gazette, Feb 4th, 1893.

the centre of the grazing lands, and there being several awkward places ahead, pack-animals could be used with advantage beyond this point. Some little cutting and smoothing (especially at the descent from the Kikuyu escarpment to the Kedoung), would be required, but there is no reason why a practicable road for rough country carts should not be made with very little work indeed, and no bridging, from the Salt River to the Eldoma ravine (476th mile). A full description of the gradients, depths of rivers, heights of banks, &c., can be found in the Railway Survey Report, and I have no space to enter upon it here.

Throughout this stretch of country the main difficulties to waggons—swampy marshes, loose heavy sand, unfordable rivers, and narrow, rocky gullies, not admitting the passage of a cart—are not met with, nor are there any prohibitive gradients. Indeed I can recall no part which, even in its present state, is worse than portions of the "road" traversed by thousands of carts in Afghanistan and Burma. This section would be about 270 miles in length. Wheeled transport would not, of course, be feasible when the rivers are in flood. During these months of heavy rain I would advocate the suspension of all convoys, whether carts or pack-animals. Independently of swollen rivers and heavy ground, the sore backs caused by wet and sodden saddles, and the sickness to attendants caused by overwork in assisting their animals in difficult places, loading and unloading at rivers, together with the exposure to inclement weather, would probably do more to lay up both man and beast than three times the work achieved in the dry weather.

Beyond the Eldoma ravine pack-animals could, in the first instance, be used, but the road for wheeled transport could be extended gradually, after the section already described was in good

Baggage animals. Third Section.

working order, so as to replace the baggage train. The bridle-path necessary for them would involve no very heavy work. The descent and ascent of the Eldoma ravine, some swampy hollows in Kabaras, the passage of the Sio River, and other such obstacles, are impediments certainly no greater than those that presented themselves in Burma, and which were surmounted by a vast baggage train, with only a day or two's hasty road-making by a company of sappers. As being a permanent transport route, however, it would be worth while expending some little energy and work over this road, and throwing rough log bridges over some of the sticky and treacherous hollows, easing the gradients, cutting back the jungle, and removing loose rocks and boulders.

Already proved feasible.

Baggage donkeys have accompanied almost every caravan all the way from the coast to Uganda, and some caravans have taken up considerable numbers of them. That they surmounted the difficulties of the road, even with an enormous percentage of casualties and sore backs, is the most conclusive testimony to its practicability. For the road had been wholly unprepared, the gear was unspeakably bad, the saddles being often mere sacks of wet straw, the animals were overloaded, the attendants (Swahilis) were men who knew nothing whatever of animals, and rough and cruel besides, while the animals had no ration given them at all, and were generally herded in a zeriba by night, being thus prevented even from grazing; and, finally, they were driven the whole distance through, a strain which the very best of transport cannot stand.

Improved Methods. Staging System.

It is on these points that I will venture to offer a few remarks. For success with animal transport a staging system is essential, that the animals may have the necessary rest, and those that are sick and sore-backed may be relieved before they are beyond cure. The depots might be some fifty

miles apart throughout the sections served by either wheeled or pack transport. Intervening camps would be made between depots, and it would be the duty of the officer in charge of the section to see that adequate fodder and water were procurable at these on the arrival of a convoy after its day's march. Rough "lines" would be made at these camps, so that the animals should be sheltered, and properly tethered and tended.

I would recommend that depots should be situated at the following points:—Salt River (railway terminus), Kikuyu, Eldoma ravine, on the banks of the Nzoia, on the banks of the Nile,[1] and at the Uganda headquarters. This gives six depots in a total distance of 558 miles, being therefore on an average about 112 miles apart. Of each of these a European would be in charge, while at the chief and central depot at Eldoma there would be a veterinary surgeon and staff A convoy would change its animals (or at least the majority of them) on arrival at each depot, where sick and sore-backed animals would be put aside and treated; while those which were seriously incapacitated would be sent to the central depot, to be turned out to graze and recruit. Hitherto, there being no stations at which to leave sick animals, and no one with technical knowledge to attend to them, they have been merely abandoned to the hyenas. The expense and criminal waste of such a system is too obvious to need comment, and the result is that the country is being rapidly denuded of even the little transport (Masai donkeys) it did possess.

It must be admitted, once for all, that animals in hard work need proper food. It is preposterous to suppose that they can march almost daily for three months

[1] Not at the present crossing of Ripon Falls, but higher up on the highlands, described by the Times correspondent, in Chagwé, as "a region which bore a striking resemblance to the upper parts of Mau and Kikuyu. It presented a charming appearance of forest and grass-clad hills." It is sparsely populated, and the writer's camp was only two miles from the Nile.—Times, Sept 13th, 1893.

at a time (750 odd miles) with only such precarious subsistence as they may or may not be able to pick up on arrival in camp, being even herded at night for fear of hyenas! The wonder is that the poor brutes survived as long as they did.

Food Ration.

The animals on arrival in camp should be allowed to graze, and fodder should be cut for their night consumption. Instead of being herded like a flock of sheep in a *boma*, in which there is barely standing-room, mares and stallions being all together, so that one riotous animal is sufficient to disturb the whole lot for the entire night, they should be picketed separately in the lines,[1] and each animal supplied with its allowance of fodder, and its evening feed of grain. Hitherto no grain ration has been given, though even the Swahilis allow it to their animals. In our Indian wars it has been found necessary to allow a fixed scale of grain ration, and it may be assumed as an absolute certainty that this is the least possible. For this grain has generally had to be carried forward from the base on the animals themselves (as in Afghanistan, Burma, &c.), thus enormously decreasing the carrying power of the baggage train, and consequently adding greatly to the number of animals (and attendants) required. This means a terrible addition to the impedimenta of an army, extra baggage guards, &c., for the fighting force, and extra work for the supply departments. If, in the face of these most serious considerations, our practical soldiers in India have fixed a certain scale of fodder as indispensable, it is ridiculous to suppose that in Africa, under identical or harder conditions, transport animals can be successfully employed on a reduced scale, or indeed on no scale at all.

[1] These at the intermediate camps need only consist of a series of strong pegs driven into the ground at intervals, or a line rope stretched between two pegs or trees, together with head and heel ropes for tethering.

The saddlery and equipment must be fitted to the animal and adapted to the work. A rotten sack stuffed with mouldy grass, a raw-hide leather crupper, and a similar breastband (more calculated to gall an animal in ascending or descending steep places than a cast-iron girdle), a girth consisting of a thong of coir rope or hide, whose effect was about equal to that of a nutmeg-grater, such are the benefits conferred so far on the African donkey under British rule wherewith to prove his capacity for transport! This is not the place in which to write an essay on transport methods. Any book on Indian army transport will furnish the details of a system which has been perfected gradually through a long series of years, and by the experience gained in that hardest of schools, our "little wars" on the Indian frontier, under precisely similar conditions to those in Africa. From India can be procured, above all, the modern mule pack-saddle and Saunderson's elephant gear, both of which are as near perfection as they can be, together with all the other simple gear required for "line" use or on the march.[1] Once introduced they can be manufactured in Mombasa, or supplied by contract from the Indian arsenals and Cawnpore harness factories.

Saddlery and equipment.

Finally, it is essential that men with some knowledge of animals should be employed. The Swahili and all the Bantu races are most singularly deficient both in knowledge of animals and in any sympathy whatever with them. An average porter has no more idea how to handle an animal than you or I have of the treatment or domestic routine of the Ichthyosaurus. These duties are essentially those which should be performed by the pastoral tribes, the Masai, Somals,

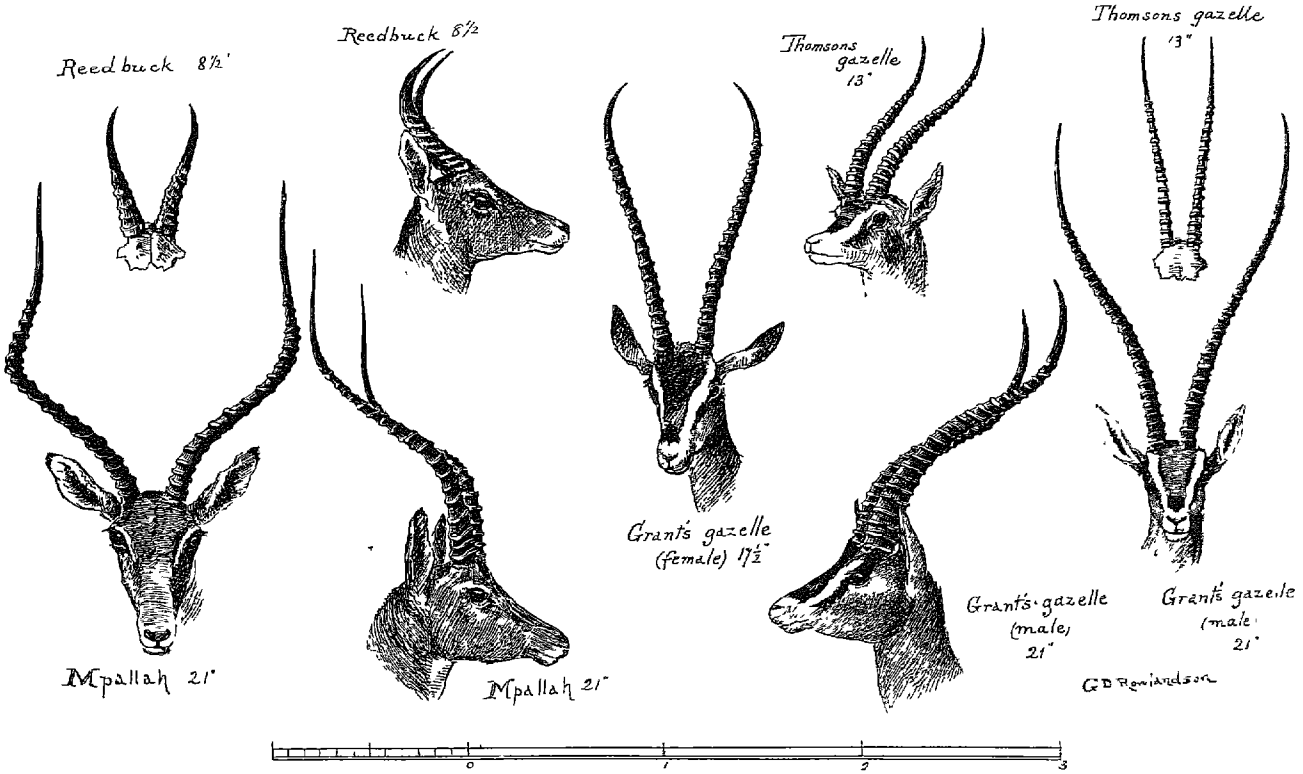
Attendants.

[1] Major Elliott, 9th Bengal Cavalry, has lately invented an automatic loading gear, which is at present being tested. It should be especially valuable in Africa, where attendants are less skilled in loading than in India.

and Wahuma, who love animals, and would probably make good attendants, especially for (draught) oxen. The latter are, however, as yet entirely ignorant of any animals, except cattle and flocks, and the Masai have not yet been found sufficiently tractable for employment. The Somals are good, and have a knowledge of animals, but, except the Aden Somals, who are expensive and difficult to get, they are a troublesome race to manage, and do not stand the climate. The fault of the pastoral races is, however, that they are not physically sufficiently strong to handle the loads if an animal falls, or has to be unloaded and reloaded in crossing a stream. A batch of Swahilis should therefore accompany a convoy for this purpose. If obtainable, Persians, and the northern tribes of India—Pathans and Punjabis—are unsurpassed as transport attendants. They are, moreover, brave, and would, if armed, form an efficient escort. It would, in any case, be of great advantage that a small transport establishment should be brought from India, in order that local attendants might be taught by them the routine work, and the methods of loading, &c.

Summary.

If I have made the outlines of a system clear to my reader, I shall have attained my object. Its details would demand a volume instead of half a chapter. I advocate the construction of a railway for 208 miles over an area especially adapted for it, and unadapted to other forms of transport. During its construction wheeled transport can be used over this section, or baggage animals employed *viâ* Taveta, where no tsetse is found, or camels along the Sabakhi, where fodder suited to them abounds. The second section, I think, should be of wheeled transport over roughly prepared roads. Its length would be 268 miles. The third section would at present be served by pack-animals. Its length would be 290 miles. I advocate strongly that



HORNS OF ANTELOPE

the Indian scales of rations, percentage of attendants (with their jemadars and duffadars to supervise), and improved gear, should be adopted for the animal transport. I also insist on the necessity of an adequate veterinary establishment. Two veterinary surgeons at least would be required, one for the central depot, the other for tour. They should be assisted by trained "Salutries" from India, who can be engaged at small cost.

Class of animals. The Elephant.

With regard to the classes of animals best suited to East Africa. I do not myself think that the elephant is of great use as a transport animal. He is delicate, subject to many diseases, and requires two attendants (one of whom at least must be bred to the work), and also demands a great deal of arrangement as regards fodder.[1] In India he has been practically found "not worth his keep" (regarded purely as a transport animal), except in certain exceptional districts (Assam, &c.). As a necessary part of state ceremonial he still remains in requisition. In Burma, however, where the paucity of cultivated fodder (sugar-cane, green maize, and flour) would render his maintenance otherwise impossible, the abundance of wild fodder is utilised, and elephants are hobbled and turned out to feed in the great forests during the night, being tracked up and brought back by their attendants in the morning. As they continually graze on the march as well, this is found nearly sufficient, provided they are not too hard worked. A similar system would probably be found practicable in certain localities in Africa, and on these stages the elephant might with advantage be used.

He would be invaluable in carrying through from

[1] An elephant's ration consists of sugar-cane, green maize, dhan (green rice), &c., and flour. These (except dhan) are procurable in abundance in the cultivated districts in Africa. His wild fodder in India is chiefly the bark, &c., of the various *Ficus* trees. These also are fairly plentiful in Africa, as also acacia, and many thick and succulent grasses

the coast to the lake articles otherwise difficult to convey, such as heavy and awkward sections of a steamer, a piece of artillery, &c. He would also be of great use in crossing swamp-land and rivers (especially in Uganda), and in heavy forest. In such places fodder would be procurable. One or two spare elephants accompanying a caravan of other animals would greatly assist them by conveying loads across such difficult places. Should it be imperative to send a convoy during the rains, it might consist of elephants and porters. Where "river-swamps" are frequent (as in Uganda, &c.), he would be the only practicable means of transport till bridges are made; and he is not injured by the tsetse. Probably, also, his domestication would have a considerable moral effect. He would, of course, be invulnerable to the Masai and spear-fighting tribes, and a few sharp-shooters mounted on elephants would form an efficient escort to a caravan. He would be invaluable also in moving and transporting heavy timber (especially around the lake), in which work he is almost solely employed in Burma. I do not share the views of a recent writer, that by using the elephant as a transport animal we should deal a blow to the slave-trade far more easy and efficacious than a railway! Regarding his domestication *vide* chapter xix.

The Camel.

The camel is the best of transport animals; he needs no more supervision than the mule or bullock (if so much), and carries twice the amount. East Africa is, I think, well adapted for the camel. Along the Sabakhi (pending the construction of the railway, or the introduction of wheeled transport) he could be used with advantage, and the abundant jhow which grows along the river would supply him with a favourite fodder. Throughout most of East Africa the acacia abounds (especially in Ankoli), and this is the best of camel fodder. Indeed, as Mr Floyer says, "grazing

without acacia is of small advantage to the Arab camel."[1]

If the cold on the higher plateaux be found too great for him, he could be used in the stages on the plains and in the lake districts (Ankoli).[2] It is essential that the camel should be attended by men who understand him, for he is a delicate animal, and is also given to eating indiscriminately of bushes which may be poison to him.[3] The camel is not indigenous to Africa, but has now spread over the whole of the north of the continent as far south as Lat. 6°.[4]

Mule and Zebra.

Of all transport animals the hardiest, and therefore, on the whole, perhaps the most useful, is the mule. To be worth his keep and supervision, mules should not be less than thirteen hands high, and capable of carrying 180 to 200 lb. over rough country. This they will do if provided with a suitable saddle, so that the load may ride easily, and sore backs and continual breakdowns be avoided. Of the possibilities of using the zebra I have much to say in chapter xix.

The donkey of Africa is a capital little beast, extremely

[1] Kew Bulletin, Dec 1892.

[2] There is a hill camel, however (as well as a plain camel), and this animal is used in the rough and stony hills of Afghanistan, in the most rigorous cold. I have myself seen him carrying 960 lb of merchandise over such country! Such a beast, if imported, would be invaluable in the highlands of Africa.

[3] This is well recognised by the Somals, who watch their animals carefully when at graze, and do not take them to the places where the tree which is particularly fatal to them grows. This is confirmed by inference by Mr Floyer.—Kew Bulletin, Dec. 1892

[4] For details of the introduction of the camel into Africa *vide* chapter xix. Gordon introduced this animal into the South Sudan.—Journals, pp. 142, 160, &c.; Camels have been successfully imported in German South-West Africa. With a load of 250 lb they travel two and a half miles an hour, passing through a waterless country for six days They do not become sore-footed in a stony country like unshod horses and oxen.—Globus, Bd. lxii p 19; R. S. Geog Soc. Mag, vol ix. p 48. The introduction of the camel into Australia is described by the Pioneer, Feb. 26th, 1893, as "the most successful example of acclimatisation the world has seen . . . The colonial-born exceed their imported parents in size and strength" The importation of the camel may lead to the immigration of his Afghan and Punjabi attendant—as it has done in Australia—a result which would probably be a benefit to East Africa (*vide* p. 489).

hardy, straight-backed, and strong. He usually carries two porters' loads (130 lb.), and this, under present conditions, except for selected animals, is, I think, rather excessive for long and continuous marches. If properly fed, however, with proper gear, and over a prepared road, he is quite up to this weight. As an adjunct to other transport, donkeys (which can be bought from the Masai in considerable numbers) would be useful animals, but their small size, and consequently the small load they carry, renders them inferior to the mule, since they require almost the same supervision, veterinary attendance, &c. I would not recommend the introduction of ponies as transport animals. Except the Kabuli "Yaboos," and the Shan ponies of Burma, neither of which could be procured, they are not a success, being too delicate and thin-skinned, and hence liable to galls, &c. The bullock used as a pack-animal is a tiresome beast, giving endless trouble on the march, difficult to equip, and liable to many diseases. His "patience" is exasperating, for he lacks spirit, and he succumbs at every obstacle, refusing to make an effort like the mule. He therefore wears out his attendants, and is wholly unsuitable over bad roads. As a draught animal he is absolutely invaluable.

Donkey, Pony, and Bullock.

Africa can itself supply elephants for domestication (see chap. xix.), but a few Indian animals would be required for Kheddah purposes. The camel can be imported from Northern Africa or Arabia. There is no difficulty in procuring this animal; he may probably also be obtained from the northern areas of East Africa itself (Turkana, Suk, and South Sudan), where he would probably be cheap, and his over-sea transport saved. The mule is hard to get, and India demands more than the market supplies. It could be bred in the establishments on Mau, but this would be a matter of time. I maintain, however, the possibility

Sources of supply

of his place being taken by the zebra (chap. xix.), and of these animals there is an illimitable supply in East Africa. The bullock, as I have said, is obtainable in Africa, and so is the donkey. Of the latter, the districts to the north will supply great numbers.

By such a system not only would the cost of transport be very greatly reduced, but by the establishment of such stations and depots, the construction of rough roads, and the institution of regular convoys at stated periods, an organised administration worthy of the name would be facilitated throughout the country. These stations would work in harmony with the general scheme, affording a nucleus alike for colonies and settlements, for military posts, for heliograph stations, or for trade. Collateral advantages

Some experience of steamers on Nyasa, on the Irawaddy, and on the Zambesi-Shiré, enables me also to form an idea of the kind of boat best suited for the navigation (1) of the lakes; (2) of the Nile waterway. The elaborate statistics I collected in connection with the scheme for the control of Nyasa (*vide* chapter viii.) are also before me. If a railway should be constructed across all or a part of the country between the coast and the lake, the conveyance of steamers would, of course, be a matter of no difficulty. Any discussion of cost of transport is therefore premature. Under present circumstances we must calculate at least £150 to £200 per ton for freight of awkward steamer pieces, with wheeled transport or elephants and a more complete transport system this cost would be greatly reduced. Water Transport.

When once placed on the lake, the main difficulty would be in the fuel supply. On the Albert Lake this has been already exhausted by Emin's steamers, but wood will be procurable on the Victoria and Albert-Edward for some time to come. With a section of a railway and a regular transport system such as I have described,

petroleum[1] could be conveyed for fuel when the wood supply failed. The steamer for the Nile should be about 65 ft. long (15 to 20 ft. beam), drawing not more than 2 ft. of water. The size for the lakes solely depends on the question of transport thither. A competent engineer[2] has kindly furnished me with the fullest statistics about the aluminium steamers now constructed for the Swiss lakes. Their initial cost is about double that of an iron or steel vessel, but being one-third only of the weight, an enormous saving would be effected if they were transported otherwise than by rail.

Conclusion.

I have endeavoured to show (1) that it would be advantageous to make a railway from the coast to the lake, and that there are adequate reasons for undertaking it; (2) that failing a railway throughout, it is feasible to make one up to the interior plateau, and to establish animal transport beyond: (3) that an animal transport service *could* be established throughout from the coast to the lake, failing even this first section of a railway. Finally, in the absence of any transport scheme whatever, it would be possible to continue our administration of Uganda on economical lines by utilising the railway projected by Germany. But a policy so emasculate and feeble is to be deplored, for in such a case our energy and our enterprise would all be diverted into the German sphere, and would go to enrich German East Africa.

[1] In ordinary petroleum-motors up to 60 H.P. the consumption is, I believe, about 1 lb. per H.P. per hour. Its advantages are (1) economy of bulk and weight in transport, (2) economy of space on steamer = increase of space for cargo. It is, however, premature to enter into these calculations.

[2] C. L. Du Riche Preller, Esq.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LABOUR SUPPLY IN EAST AFRICA.

Reason for African laziness—Exaggerated view—My own experience—Qualities of the African—Voluntary labour in Nyasaland—Wages and workers—In East Africa—Market spoilt by Swahilis—Other testimony—The Waganda—Employment of slave labour—By whom employed—Export of slave labour—Result on slave-trade—Effect of employment on the slave—Summary of results of slave-labour—Remedies—Provision for family of employé—Methods of independent travellers—*Résumé* of remedies—Conclusion of African labour—Alternative establishment of colonies—British Indians—Well adapted—Class required—Persians—West Africans—Chinese

Laziness of the African.

THE commercial value of East Africa is largely dependent on the labour available to develop its products. It has been said that the African is inherently lazy, and that he will do no more work than he is absolutely compelled to, and will relegate even that to his women. This is to some extent true, for the fertility of the soil, and the fact that his wants are limited solely to his daily food, render it unnecessary for the savage to exert himself, since a bountiful nature supplies him with all he needs at a very minimum expenditure of toil. The population of British East Africa (to 6° N. lat.) has been estimated by Mr Ravenstein, an acknowledged authority, at 6½ millions, or some 14 per square mile.[1] Even this population is restricted to certain areas. Contrast this with, for in-

[1] Partition of Africa, page 461.

stance, the population of Mauritius, which supports an average of 381 inhabitants to the square mile, and it will be seen that there is at present little reason for the African of these countries to exert himself, for, so far as space and food supply are concerned, he has not felt the pressure of the "struggle for existence."

Exaggerated View.

Yet though there is some truth in the picture, it has, I think, been overdrawn. Carlyle's writings had so extraordinary an effect on his countrymen, and have been so widely read, that his description of the emancipated negro, who had no earthly want beyond his pumpkin—which pumpkin ripened without his efforts, so long as he scratched a hole with his finger and inserted the seed—has been accepted as a sketch true to nature, and it was from the methods and habits of the West Indian ex-slave that the conception of an African's character has been drawn. I have endeavoured to show in chapter vii. that the abolition of slavery caused only a *temporary* dislocation of the labour market. The sudden change from enforced labour to freedom naturally produced this result,[1] which is well summed up in the historical reply of the freed slave. A friend remarked that since he became a free man he supposed "Sambo" had nothing to do but cock his leg and smoke his pipe? "I don't trouble about that," he said, "I let the leg cock hisself." In his actions and in his words the newly freed slave felt he must emphasise the change. I have quoted Lord Brassey's testimony to prove that this temporary dislocation of the labour market has already righted itself. "At the present day," he says, "labour is not more costly than when slaves were employed." This goes far to prove that the African is not inherently lazy, but that even with temptations to sloth and idleness (which might prove equally or more operative on our own masses) he is not an unwilling worker.

[1] *Vide* Sir G. Portal, Blue-book Africa, No. 6, 1892, page 4.

On Lake Nyasa I carried out such works as fort-building, timber-sawing, earthwork, &c., with native labour with good results. In Uganda a really vast amount of work was done by the porters, including heavy earthwork, carrying, trimming, and placing some 5000 logs, house-building, thatching, and field cultivation. In Unyoro, during our six months' travel, three stockades were built, involving timber-work and earthworks, and five other similar stockades were more or less completed for the Sudanese. Prior to my expedition to Uganda, seven other small forts had been built between the coast and Kikuyu. This work, however, was in every instance done by men on a permanent engagement, and hence entirely under my orders, and bound to work during the regular hours. It is, however, valuable, as showing the *capacity* of the African for regular and continued labour.

My Experience

So far, therefore, as my personal experience goes, I have formed the following estimate: (1) No kind of men I have ever met with—including British soldiers, Afghans, Burmese, and many tribes of India—are more amenable to discipline, more ready to fall into the prescribed groove willingly and quickly, more easy to handle, or require so little compulsion as the African. (2) To obtain satisfactory results a great deal of system, division of labour, supervision, &c., is required. (3) On the whole, the African is very quick at learning, and those who prove themselves good at the superior class of work take a pride in the results, and are very amenable to a word of praise, blame, or sarcasm.

Qualities of Africans

These results, achieved by men in regular employ, and in some degree disciplined, are apart from the question of voluntary daily labour. The extent, however, to which free labour has been employed in the Shiré highlands is infinitely more

Labour in Nyasaland.

striking than anything I have adduced. I have given an illustration of the church at Blantyre, with the object of showing what *can* be done in Africa. It would contrast not unfavourably with any church in England. Designed by the Rev D. Clement Scott, it was entirely

BLANTYRE CHURCH (EXTERIOR).

constructed by free native labour under European supervision. It is of burnt brick; and every single requisite for its construction was made on the spot. Mr Moir's house (illustration p. 51) is another example, and so is every missionary's house at Blantyre. Dr Laws on Nyasa was not less successful, and his houses and schools

were equally well built. Enormous plantations, covering from 3500 to 5000 acres of ground, and supporting about ten million coffee plants, besides sugar-cane and tobacco, &c, have been made, and the constant care and tillage required for crops of this nature are entirely supplied by free native labour. Irrigation, carpentry, brickmaking, and many other industries have been successfully inaugurated.

Workers and Wages.

These labourers include men from distant tribes, and large contingents even come from the Angoni (Zulus), the scourge of the country, who were formerly supposed to be unmanageable, and addicted only to war and rapine. The ordinary wage is from 3s. to 4s. per mensem; artisans 4s. to 10s.; women and girls, 2s. to 3s. Dr Laws writes that a gang of 540 came 300 miles for six months' work, and Buchanan mentions that Angoni have come from 300 to 400 miles, as also Atonga. They usually stay three or four months, and in order not to expend the cloth they earn, they bring food with them, and when this is finished, will work overtime (Saturdays and Sundays) or at meal-times, cutting fuel or grass to sell for food. The question of rations is, however, a difficult one, and probably the employers of labour will eventually have to feed the labourers. Buchanan says that labour is plentiful, and only peace and greater facilities of transport are necessary to ensure large returns.

Free Labour—East Africa.

Voluntary native labour has also been employed on the East Coast by the Imperial British East Africa Company, but, so far as I have seen, it has not been exceptionally successful in results, owing to lack of system and supervision.[1] The natives, moreover, belong to that laziest and most drunken of tribes,

[1] Fitzgerald writes enthusiastically in his report of the prospects of the free labour market (fugitive slaves and Wanyika) on the borders of the coast zone, but I confess, from what little I saw of this tribe, his anticipations appear to me somewhat optimistic, at least in the immediate future.

the Wanyika (Giriama),[1] the workers are largely women, and the incentive, probably, a failure of crops. The employment of labour on the plantations seems to have been more successful. Very successful results have also been achieved with purely local and voluntary labour among the Wakamba by Mr George Wilson in road-making for the Scottish Industrial Mission. The Wakamba are, however, a lazy and indolent tribe, and I look, therefore, on the really excellent results achieved by Mr Wilson rather as an indication of the extraordinary influence that gentleman has acquired among the natives—who will do for him what they will do for no other white man—backed by indomitable energy and personal exertion, rather than as a real standard of the capabilities of the Wakamba from which we could justly draw working conclusions. The Germans are stated to have found no difficulty in procuring free labour in the development of their plantations in East Africa, though they admit that they also used slaves.

Labour Market spoilt by Swahilis.

The free labour market is, however, ruined by the extravagant prices paid by Arabs and Swahilis (bidding against each other) for food for their caravans, and by agents from the coast, who come to barter for goats and grain. This has recently been borne witness to, emphatically, by the 'Times' correspondent[2] (see pp. 273, 353, 444, &c.). The Arab, therefore, has only himself to blame for the spoiling of the free labour market in East Africa. It is due (1) to the existence of slavery and forced

[1] He adds: "I would point to the Company's experimental plantation at Magarini, worked entirely by Wanyika, as a most satisfactory proof of my belief."—Report, pp. 14, 30.

[2] "The Swahili traders also ruin every market they go into by the extravagant and ridiculous prices they pay for food. In former times at Nzoi I have given as little as one string of small beads per man for a day's rations. This time the natives were asking as many as ten strings for three and a half days' rations, and wanted, moreover, the most expensive kinds of beads in exchange for fowls, eggs," &c.—Times, Feb. 23d, 1893

labour; (2) to the incapacity of the Arab as a trader or labour master. Many writers have blindly followed a lead, and extolled the Arab as a keen and successful trader, whom it would be difficult for us to rival or replace in Africa. I hold with Mackay that the reverse is the real truth.[1] As a result of his insensate methods the lowest grade coolie hire is about 15s. per mensem, I believe, on the coast, as against 3s. and 4s. in Nyasaland. A porter gets $5 per mensem, with food extra—viz., about 16s. per mensem; including supervision his cost is about £1, 1s. per mensem, so that porterage is 2½ times more expensive than in Nyasaland.[2]

Sir Henry Loch, whose varied experience gives weight to his verdict, spoke hopefully of the development of the African labour supply in his speech last November (1892) at the London Chamber of Commerce banquet.[3] Mr Keltie, as the conclusion arrived at from his perusal of the masses of African literature digested in his admirable book, and from his personal acquaintance with almost every living African traveller, thus sums up the case as regards African labour:— Other Testimony.

"We may banish the unfounded idea that the African native

[1] "Already in Zanzibar all the trade has passed into the hands of Indians, which demonstrates the inability of the Arab to compete on fair terms with other traders."—Life of Mackay, p 441. *Vide* vol. ii. p. 655.

[2] The price paid for conveyance of a load (40 to 50 lb.) from the Shiré to Blantyre is 6d —viz., a distance of 25 miles, or 1s. to Matopé (60 miles). It would, therefore, cost 1s 6d. to convey 135 pounds to Blantyre. Two Swahili porters would carry this 25 miles for 2½ days' hire, viz., 3s. 6d., the rate being, therefore, as 1s. 6d. is to 3s 6d., or 2½, but even this is below the actual comparison, for the march from the Shiré to Blantyre is equal to double the distance on the flat, being up very precipitous hills.

[3] "The native has not yet realised the importance of developing the soil or the industries beyond what may provide for his daily requirements. This no doubt creates a difficulty as regards labour The spread of education and the natural instincts of the human mind, and the desire to acquire wealth, by which they may obtain what they consider the luxuries of life, will no doubt very shortly induce the natives to pass into the country more than they do at present, and to provide the labour that the farmer requires"

can never be trained to labour.[1] . . . But we must not expect in this and other matters to force them, in a generation or two, up to a stage which it has taken us 2000 years to reach."[2]

Mr Silva White seems to adopt the same view.[3] The results that Gessi Pasha achieved in his province bear witness to the same thing.[4]

Waganda, &c.

These remarks apply to the coast and to the savage tribes of the interior. The Waganda merit a paragraph to themselves. These people are extremely clever in artisan work, and very eager to learn all handicrafts. Their native manufactures are singularly good. As blacksmiths they fashion beautifully-made spears, &c. A smith, taught by Mackay, was one of the best native workmen I have ever seen, and extremely clever as a gunsmith. He could repair a lock, make and temper a delicate spring, and detect a cause of error with marvellous skill; but it was regrettable that the only trained workman should be a gunsmith, whose talent was equivalent to an annual import of arms! Their tanning of skins is almost perfection; they render them as soft as a kid glove, without smell, and with the gloss of the coat retained. Their pipes and bowls of earthenware are so beautifully fashioned and glazed that people to whom I have shown them had no idea they were mere pottery. Their artistic taste is shown in the beauty of their beadwork, the weaving of coloured grasses as "pombe stems," the finely turned ivory bracelets, &c.; their invention in the discovery of the method of making soap, &c.; their skill in carpentry, by the perfect gun-stocks they will turn out, almost equal to a London maker's, and in their house-building. These people show great promise as artisans

[1] Partition of Africa, p 454.

[2] Ibid., p 432. He adds: "Hundreds of South African natives work at the diamond and gold mines, and serve in various capacities in the British colony of South Africa," p. 452.

[3] Development of Africa, p. 222.

[4] Gessi, p. 365.

for building, steamer work, and the more civilised methods of agriculture, &c.[1] The Sudanese, too, have clever workmen. From old tins they made and soldered kettles and cooking-pots; one man made me a new key to a lock, and a sight to a Maxim gun, but he had of course been trained. They worked the steamer on the Albert Lake entirely themselves, and have skilled engineers among them.

Employment of Slave Labour.

Before leaving the subject of African native labour, it is necessary to say a word on the question of the employment of slave labour by Europeans. It must be clearly understood that a contract made with a slave-owner for the supply of slaves for temporary labour is illegal to a European. It was, I think, for manipulating slave labour in this way that the Consul alluded to by the Rev H. Waller[2] forfeited his position. But slaves have been constantly employed by Europeans when the contract made was between the slave and his hirer, the money being paid direct to the slave. In most cases, if not in all, the slave paid a portion, probably the greater portion, to his owner. This payment was frequently made quite openly, in the presence of the European engaging the slave,[3] and with, of course, the full knowledge of the Consular authorities. An agent in Zanzibar receiving instructions to

[1] I will not weary my reader with a fresh batch of quotations to prove the skill of the Waganda and their adaptability to the higher grades of artisan labour. The books from which I have quoted in the previous chapter (p. 426) will all bear evidence to the truth of my statements By far the most exhaustive account of the arts and manufactures of these people is contained in a little book recently issued as a reprint from the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. xiii., by Dr Felkin, entitled 'Notes on the Waganda and Wanyoro Tribes.' *Vide* also Emin's Essay on the Trade and Commerce of Uganda and Unyoro, Journals, p 111, *et seqq*

[2] Heligoland for Zanzibar, p 42.

[3] *Vide* Sir J. Willoughby's description of hiring porters. "Many of these big fellows were led up by tiny Arab boys, who claimed them as slaves, and who promptly annexed the half of their wages as soon as they were paid."—Sport in East Africa, p. 24; *vide* also p. 22. Major Bartelott says three-fourths of the pay is taken by the owner.—Life, p. 242.

engage porters would very probably at once put himself in communication with Arab owners. And thus, by a paltry subterfuge, slaves would be enlisted as free and voluntary labour, though the real state of the case was fully known alike to the British authorities and to the employers. In Nyasaland the natives offering themselves for hire generally came from great distances, and whether they were slaves or freemen was unknown. If they on their return chose voluntarily to hand over part of their earnings to their owners, the employers of labour held that that was no business of theirs.[1] Of late considerable prominence has been given to this subject under the term "technical slavery," more especially since Mr Waller told Lord Rosebery[2] that if he desired to know of a well-beaten slave route in Africa he would recommend him to the Company's caravan route, since they hired slaves to convey their goods to Uganda.

By whom employed

This indictment is hardly just, if it should be inferred that the custom was limited to the Company. I have never heard it alleged that they made contracts with the owners. Such a thing I did hear suggested, but the directors would never have permitted it. All travellers,[3] including Burton, Speke, &c., engaged slaves in their caravans as porters. From the time of the earliest explorer down to the present day no obstacle has been placed by the authorities in the way of such private individuals employing slaves,

[1] Dr. Laws says that in the engagement of labour in Nyasaland all were alike accepted without regard to their status as slaves or freemen. "Part of their pay," he adds, "may have been, and I believe has often been, given up to the master." Both he and Buchanan state that no contract has ever been made with owners, the slaves being engaged without reference to their status

[2] Speech, Anti-Slavery deputation, Oct. 20th, 1892

[3] Bartelott, speaking of Stanley's expedition, says, "Three-fourths of our men are slaves."—Life, p 242. The 'Times' correspondent to Uganda says, "Nearly all porters are slaves."—Times, December 27th, 1892. *Vide* Heligoland, p. 11, from which I have taken these two quotations.

and it is done by travellers of all nationalities alike. It has been done from the time of their initiation to the present day by the Imperial British East Africa Company, and is openly defended by one of their directors.[1] It has been done, and is done, as I have shown, in Nyasaland. It has been constantly done by Missionary Societies.[2] Government itself has done the same thing. The caravan of the survey party contained an exceptional number of slaves, and Sir Gerald Portal's *cortège* must also contain slaves. There has seemed to be some palliation of this questionable procedure in the especial instance of engaging porters for travel, but Government have gone further, and for years and up to the present day slaves are employed to coal our men-of-war at Zanzibar—the very vessels engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade!

Export of Slave Labour.

But there is a worse phase of this question than the mere local employment of slave labour. The despatch of Sir G. Portal already quoted (p. 440) says that the Congo Free State and Natal have carried off from Zanzibar hundreds of men for "willing *or unwilling*" labour.[3] This is indorsed by a writer to the 'Times' from Zanzibar,[4] and a correspondent[5] points out in the columns of that paper that the German vessel employed in transporting them was liable to seizure as

[1] Scotsman, Dec 6th, 1892.

[2] No proof is necessary of this, but I may note that the letter of the missionary on Tanganyika given in Blue-book Africa, No. 6, 1892, p 6, while indorsing my statement of the employment of slave porters by missions, states that the London Missionary Society have ceased to engage slaves since 1888.

[3] Blue-book Africa, No. 6, 1892, p. 4

[4] "A German steamer sailed to-day for the Congo with 400 mixed slaves and free men recruited here for the Congo railway I cannot repeat too often that the enforced Congo emigration involves grievous injury to the real interests of Zanzibar, and, as the Arabs all acknowledge, increases the demand for slaves."

[5] "Last year one of these heavy shipments of slaves to the Congo took place. The transport was a German vessel, and, shortly after leaving Zanzibar, she was overhauled by a British cruiser employed in stopping the slave-trade The slaves were questioned, and although the large majority said that they were

a slaver! Similar evidence is given by a missionary on Tanganyika.[1]

Result on Slave-Trade.

The result of this system of employment of slave labour is a direct incentive to the slave-trade. This is stated clearly by Sir G. Portal in the despatch quoted.[2] It is indorsed by the Zanzibar correspondent just cited, and many other authorities. Mr Waller points out that not only does the Arab procure new slaves to cultivate his plantations,[3] &c, in place of those he hires out, but the money received in advance by the slave enables his master to purchase two new slaves!

Result to the Slave.

As regards the result to the slave individually. In the second case (over-sea export to Congo, &c.), one would like to know how many of them ever came back; what became of their wives and families, and whether it is true that many, if not all, when the time of their agreement expired, demanded to be taken back as promised, and were refused—for such is the rumour afloat—and what has become of them. But as regards the slave employed as a porter, I think that employment in a British caravan should be a distinct good to the individual. He is treated in every way as a freeman; and if the caravan leader is worthy

taken away of their own free will, some stated otherwise. . . Had he (the captain) taken the transport as she was, she would have been as much a lawful prize as any of the slave dhows which our cruisers are taking and destroying almost daily in the same waters"

[1] Blue-book Africa, No. 6, 1892, p. 6.

[2] "Moreover, the system tends to vitiate our efforts to suppress the slave-trade, as the Arab landowners are put to such straits for labour that they are willing not only to give high prices, but also to run considerable risks in order to obtain new slaves"

[3] Heligoland, p 11.—It is a notable thing that so long as Zanzibar was under an independent Sultan we could find no invective strong enough to condemn the employment of slaves by the Arabs on their clove plantations Now that it is a British Protectorate, and on the yield of the clove estates depends the financial prosperity of the Government, there is a somewhat different tone, amounting in the last despatch from Zanzibar to something like a half-hearted apology for the necessity! *Vide* Blue-book Africa, No. 6, 1893, p. 3, lines 25-27.

the nation he belongs to, the natives under him, whether slave or free, will have learnt many useful lessons before they return to the coast. Our hatred of slavery will have been evident to them, and they will understand for the first time their inborn right to be free. Perhaps they will have met a slave caravan, and have joined in the attack upon it, and the effort to free the slaves. They will have picked up something of the feeling (for these people take their cue, like simple children, from the spirit of their leaders) that slaving is a mean and illicit trade, to be ashamed of. This is the exact reverse of the spirit and teaching of the Arab.

I have known a Swahili, whom I left in charge of a small station, risk his own and his men's lives, without orders, to free a woman whom he had heard of as having been bought by some slave-trading Swahilis at a considerable distance off. This proves how completely he was imbued with our own views of slavery, and thus it is that these men become ready at any moment to attack and fight against Slavers. Porters in a British caravan would probably return with different views regarding slavery from those with which they left the coast. They saw our action in Uganda, in the many steps that were taken to prevent slave-trade and to free slaves. They saw the same thing in Unyoro with regard to captives, and our attitude towards the Manyuema raiders, and Kabarega. The interpreter would explain over the camp-fire the terms of the treaty with Mwanga and with the Mohammedans abolishing slave-trading—for they are terrible fellows to gossip together, and I have often been surprised at the extent and accuracy of their knowledge of our actions. Moreover, they see that in the caravan the status of slavery is absolutely ignored. A porter is promoted to *askari* or headman, a private to corporal or sergeant, solely on his merits, whether he be slave or free. But apart from the moral

improvement to the slave, there is a material advantage to him in some cases by remaining a slave, for if he has a kind master he can leave his wife and family in his charge while he is away in the interior.

Summary of Results of Slave Labour

I have shown that the system of employing slave labour is a direct incentive to the slave-trade, for, while depleting the labour market, it furnishes the slave-owner with the means to acquire new slaves. That to the slave himself, however, it is not without its benefits. Lastly, that there is an inconsistency in our energetic efforts to suppress slavery in all forms while we ourselves employ slave labour. This is obvious to the Arabs, and perhaps most obvious where slaves originally captured in a country are taken back to it in a state of slavery in a British caravan—as in Nyasaland.

Remedies.

The remedy for this anomalous state of things is twofold First, the abolition of the legal status of slavery (*vide* p 180), in which case every man presenting himself for hire would be either a free man or a voluntary slave, and therefore no slave would be under any necessity to give any portion of his earnings to his master unless he received an equivalent advantage in the maintenance of a family, &c., in which case it would be a justifiable payment. If this beneficial reform be not instituted, the re-enactment of the cancelled clause of the Edict of Aug. 1st, 1890, by which any slave had the right to purchase his freedom, would render the employment of slave labour commendable—provided only that no slave should be allowed to take service unless he had first declared his intention of purchasing his freedom.

In the second place, to secure to the slave the benefits of such action provision must be made by the Administration for the maintenance of the families of men absent in their employ in the interior. This is

very easily done. The man, when engaged, assigns a portion of his pay for the support of his family, and the representative he names comes for the allowance monthly; in the event of the man's death the balance due to him is paid to his family. Such methods have been long in use in India. If a man should be located up-country, his wife can be encouraged and assisted to join him. I adopted these methods in Africa, so far as I was able, and my men all knew that if they asked me for any such arrangement I would do my utmost to see that it was done. Even under the present system, if a fair assignment is made to the family from the pay of a married man, and if cloth is liberally issued up-country for clothing and shelter, and the purchase of small additions to the bare ration, but little is left on return to the coast for the owner to seize, or for squandering in a drunken debauch.

Such methods are feasible to an Administration, and were adopted by the I. B. E. A. Company, but how can they be practised by the independent traveller or sportsman? The agent in Zanzibar could disburse such family remittances, but I should like to know how many travellers or commanders of exploring expeditions, &c., have ever made such arrangements, or given a thought to the women and families of their men, left behind for two and three years at a time? The grand aim of African travel has been to discover new lakes or mountains, and to call them after the names of those in high places!—to find new antelopes, new birds, or new bugs, and to christen them Jonesii, Smithii, or Brownii, and so make their proud discoverer immortal to the ages—the sole and only originator of a brand-new cockchafer! Happy was the man who could find a new lake, a new mountain, or a new chimpanzee! To do it he might have sacrificed many lives, and gone through some discomfort himself; but what do we here in England know of the details of African travel?

Perhaps it leaks out that many fell by the way, to the horror of some good folk; but still men call him Great, that he should have accomplished his end, in spite of all, and handled men like ninepins. Did he not risk his own life too? Probably he did. How many of our brave officers in Burma at the present moment are daily doing as much and more in the execution of their duty, and are unknown? But there are no new lakes in Burma. Did it ever occur to any one to ask what provision was made for the families before starting?—whether dates of all deaths were recorded, and the accounts made up on return, and the money paid to the relatives?—whether, if a man were missing, such search was made as there would be if he had been a European, or whether he was merely chalked off as a "deserter"?—whether any cloth was issued for tenting and clothing to the naked porters when crossing the high hills and plateaux in the intense cold?—for how many days out of the total march the men had the full food they were entitled to?—how many men were abandoned to the care of "hospitable natives," to be sold as slaves on the first opportunity?—whether rearguards were instituted to bring on the sick and feeble?—how often food was taken by violence from the natives?—whether—— But I have said enough. We who have travelled in Africa and *know* what all this means—what constant hourly thought it involves—is there one of us who can look back with *nothing* to regret? I am not writing of any particular expedition. I would it were so. I have *many* instances in my mind. But I have digressed.

Résumé of Remedies.

I have said that the remedy for this unworthy employment of slave labour, which directly encourages the slave-trade, is twofold—first, in making freedom optional to the slave by abolishing its recognition by law, or, at least, allowing him to work out his own freedom; second, in giving him the advantage of

an Administration, so that he can provide for his family when away without being forced to remain a slave in order that his owner may look after his family. The remarks I have made on the evils inherent in the system of allowing travellers to engage porters independently of the Administration, of course applies with tenfold more emphasis to the Swahili or Arab traveller or trader. It is an essential, in my view, that all such self-organised expeditions should be registered on the books of the local executive, provision made for families, and deaths accounted for. Under such a system sick men could be left at up-country stations, and indorsements to that effect and of deaths, &c., would be entered on the expedition muster-roll by local officers of government.

Conclusion African Labour

With the example in Nyasaland before us, and the other evidence I have given, we cannot be justified in assuming that the African free-labour market will be a poor one, or that the supply will not keep pace with the development of the country Slave labour is to be condemned, and it is incongruous and unworthy that the British nation should be employers of slave labour, and that too in a manner which directly encourages the slave-trade, which we spend large sums of money to suppress, and loudly condemn in Europe. Permissive freedom would be of great value in rectifying this, and would probably lead to no sudden block in the labour supply. Total abolition has had that effect, but actual experience has proved that the depletion of the labour market was a temporary and not a permanent result of emancipation.

Alternative—Establishment of Colonies.

If, however, we accept the position that we go to Africa not merely for the good of the African, but for our own, it follows that, if the laziness of the natives should make it impossible for us to reap our advantage, we must find means to do it in spite of them. I have shown that in East Africa

the population is restricted to certain areas, mainly through tribal wars and Masai raids. There are, therefore, large tracts of equally fertile country available for colonisation, without dispossessing or in any way incommoding the natives. Such colonies might consist of Africans—freed slaves, or the Sudanese from Equatoria,—who would furnish labour. They might also consist of Asiatic immigrants. From what I have already said it will, I think, be needless to discuss or prove the suitability of these lands for such settlers.

British Indians

From the overcrowded provinces of India especially, colonists might be drawn, and this would effect a relief to congested districts. From them we could draw labourers, both artisans and coolies, while they might also afford a recruiting ground for soldiers and police. The wants, moreover, of these more civilised settlers would, as I have said, very greatly add to the imports, and the products of their industry to the exports of the country, thus giving a great impetus to trade. The African, too, is extremely imitative. The presence in his midst of a fully clothed people would be to him an example of decency which he would speedily imitate. His wants would become identical with theirs, and thus, while his status was improved, and a new encouragement given to trade, he would be compelled to exert himself and to labour in order to supply those wants. Moreover, the methods of agriculture, the simple implements of the Indian ryot, the use of the bullock, the sinking of wells, the system of irrigation and of manuring the soil, &c. &c., would soon be imitated by the African, and the produce of his land would thus be vastly multiplied. As the population increased, both by the introduction of these aliens and by the cessation of war, famine, small-pox, and the slave-trade—a result which would follow on a settled government—the African would be compelled to work for his living, not, as heretofore, by the compulsion

of slave labour, but in order to provide himself with the requirements of his increasing necessities and improved status, and by that law of competition which compels the indolent to labour.

It is not as imported coolie labour[1] that I advocate the introduction of the Indian, but as a colonist and settler, under the Indian Emigration Act, which should be extended to include Africa. British Indians have been established probably for centuries on the coast of Africa. In spite of the fact that the Rajahs of Cutch (from which district most of these people came) forbade the emigration of women, they have established themselves, and become thoroughly naturalised in the country, so that many I met could hardly speak their own language. They are well adapted to the country, and like it, and have managed to get almost the entire trade of the coast into their own hands. So far they have not attempted to penetrate the interior, except a short distance up the Kwakwa, near Quilimane.

Indians well adapted.

Though our colonies might consist of a small proportion of these Gujeratis, who are keen traders, the races who would be more adapted to our purpose would be the Afghans and the hardy tribes of Northern India, who already are finding their way to Australia (see p. 467). No great percentage of Pathans, Punjabis, Sikhs, and Ghoorkhas could be counted upon, for India herself cannot afford to part with many of these, on whom she relies for the defence of her frontier, and who form the backbone of her best regiments. Still, the mere handful required to establish a few experimental villages might well be spared by England's

Class required.

[1] Fitzgerald, in support of Asiatic coolie labour in Africa, says that "even places so far distant from India as the West Indies are enabled to thoroughly depend upon their foreign labour, . . . and Mauritius can be pointed to as a case in point" ('F. O. Miscel. Series,' 266, 1892). It may also be noted that there is a large import of Indian labour both to the Cape and to Natal. Mr Addison also brought ryots from Oude to tend his opium plantation at Mopea.

greatest tropical dependency to her youngest sister among the possessions of the British Empire These northern tribes would be especially adapted to the highlands and central plateau, whose climate would suit them, while the Madrassee, and the natives of Oude, and other agricultural tribes would perhaps do better at a lower elevation. The old Indian system of giving *jagirs*, or tracts of land, to veteran soldiers could well be applied here, as recently in Burma. A few of these *emeriti* established in Africa under the conditions of the *jagirdar*—viz., that he should maintain peace in his district, &c.—would be invaluable in settling the country, and from their sons and retainers the best of subordinate officers could be got for the police of the country.

Persians

Persians would also form excellent material for colonists, being good agriculturists, with a knowledge of animals, and withal brave men, who would make good soldiers.

West Africans.

The introduction of a few of the educated natives of West Africa from our colonies in Sierra Leone, &c., would be of great advantage in the all-necessary task of the supervision of native labour, as well as in subordinate administrative posts. They have been found eminently serviceable in the Niger Protectorate, and, if carefully selected, would, together with educated natives of India, be most suitable for the charge of small stations and experimental farms, &c., and for office work. Being unaffected by the climate, much cheaper than Europeans, and in closer touch with the daily life of the natives than it is possible for a white man to be, they would form an admirable connecting link (under the close supervision of British officers), their status being nearly on a par with the natives, while their interests are entirely dependent on the Europeans. As they would establish themselves per-

manently, with their families, in the country, they would have a personal interest in it

In spite of the views of Gordon, of Schweinfurth, and of Emin Pasha,[1] and in spite of the actual experiment now being conducted with Chinese labour on the Congo, the "heathen Chinee" does not recommend himself to me. (1.) There are the well-known objections as regards his habits, his morals, and his opium, &c. (2.) Though an admirable labourer for a given period, he has not proved himself a good colonist; nor will Chinese *women* emigrate in any numbers. The colonies I would advocate would, as I have already said, be object-lessons to the African savage of a status superior to his own, from which he should learn the simple arts of agriculture, dress, &c. Most people would seem to concur in the view so strongly insisted upon in Australia, that Chinese colonies, even if they could be formed, are not to be recommended as object-lessons, save in the matter of industry. (3.) In the British sphere, the colonists would have to deal with British officers, and the difficulties of the Chinese language would be insuperable, while Hindustani and Persian are extremely simple languages, easily acquired. (4.) By the introduction of Chinese we should gratuitously abandon the advantage which, I think, should accrue to our Asiatic possessions by the opening up of so splendid a field for emigration.

Chinese

[1] Emin's Journals, p. 417. *Vide* also Wilson and Felkin, App vol. i. p. 342.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE AFRICAN ELEPHANT AND ZEBRA.

Changes effected in countries by domestication of new animals—Authorities for the assertion that African elephant was formerly domesticated—Similarly in modern times—Young elephants useless—Asiatic species as tamers—Comparison with African—Nature of tusks—Asiatic capable of living in Africa—Methods of taming—*Kheddah* operations—Catching solitary bulls—Pitfalls—Noosing—Burmese *khedahs*—Elephant's foot—Tusks—Length of life—Destruction of elephant—Mode of preventing—Danger of elephant-hunting—Incident on Semliki—Methods of hunting—The zebra—Colouring a protection—Exempt from plague in East Africa, not on Nyasa—Zebra-mules—Domestication—Methods for—Value of, for transport—Various species.

FROM the time when, as a young subaltern in India, I spent every available day's leave in the jungles after tiger, bear, and deer, or galloped after the wild boar for "first spear" on an indifferent old screw,—the pursuit of big game has been a passion of my life. Those who have met and killed most of the dangerous game, such as elephants, rhinoceros, buffalo, lion, tiger, wild boar, leopard, and bear, cannot of course but have passed through some exciting scenes. I have not, however, left myself sufficient space to indulge in hunting reminiscences, and just now the reading and the listening world is being regaled with lion and elephant stories by a far mightier hunter than I, in the person of Mr Selous. To him, then, I will leave the description of "hair-breadth 'scapes," and confine myself for the most

part to a few notes on particular animals, which I hope may be useful as well as interesting.

Foremost among the beasts of Africa stands the elephant. I have already alluded to his destruction by native hunters, and suggested plans for his preservation, and have given my estimate of his value as a transport animal. A word here as to the possibility of his domestication, and the various processes by which this may be achieved.

It is interesting to note the great change which may be effected in a country by the introduction or domestication of a single animal. The importation of the horse into Mexico and the New World by the Spaniards will suggest itself as a case in point; or the domestication of the pig, which is said to have put an end to cannibalism in the South Pacific Islands; or, again, the successful introduction of the camel into Australia. But perhaps the most remarkable instance, of the revolution of the conditions of social life resulting from the introduction of a domestic animal, is to be found in the case of the camel in North Africa. We are accustomed to think of the Bedouin and his camel as inseparable, and to suppose that their connection dated from prehistoric times. Yet, in all probability, the camel was not bred in Africa until shortly after the time of Mahomet, A.D. 640, and possibly was not domesticated there until even later The learned researches of Ritter[1] establish this fact on indisputable evidence.

Not only has the social life of the desert tribes been revolutionised by the domestication of the camel,[2] but, as shown by Mr Floyer, in his admirable paper on the "Disappearance of Desert Plants in the Sudan,"[3] it is

[1] Erdkunde von Asien

[2] They are even dependent on him for their fuel and their soap, for both of which camel-dung is used. With the latter clothes are said to be washed extremely white by the Somals.

[3] Kew Bulletin, Dec 1892

even probable that the face of the country has undergone a complete change, resulting from the introduction of the camel and his Arab attendant. Large areas have been deforested, and the game forced to leave the districts they once frequented, by the grazing of the one and the axe of the other, and it is not impossible that the disappearance of the trees may have lessened the rainfall, and led to the desiccation of these districts. If such vast changes have followed the introduction of one animal into North Africa, may we not hope that by the domestication of the elephant, the camel, the zebra, and the horse, for transport and rapid communication, &c., and of the bullock and buffalo for purposes of agriculture, a new era may be opened up for East Africa?

Since I first went to Africa I have strongly advocated the taming of the African elephant.[1] I stated recently that the African elephant had been tamed by the Carthaginians in ancient times, and this was controverted by Count Povoleri, F.Z.S.,[2] who says that Hannibal's elephants were undoubtedly of the Indian species. The evidence, however, seems to point the other way. Dr Livingstone,[3] Mr Floyer,[4] the Rev. J. G. Wood,[5] and

[1] *Vide* paper read before British Association, Sept 1889 (R G S. Proceedings, Nov. 1889, p. 690), &c.

[2] Letter to 'Times,' Dec. 3d, 1892

[3] "In two medals (depicting elephants) the size of the ears will be at once noted as those of the true African elephant. One of the coins is of Faustina Senior (A D. 141), the other of Septimus Severus (A D. 197). African elephants were even more docile than the Asiatic, and were taught various feats, as walking on ropes, dancing, &c"—Missionary Travels, p 563

[4] "To possess elephants was a ruling passion with Euergetes. Since Alexander the Great showed their value in war, . . . Egyptian rulers spared no pains to procure these mammoths from their own mountains."—Floyer in Geog Journal, vol. i p 411.

[5] He quotes from Book I. Maccabees, "Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen"—Bible Animals A writer in the 'Times' mentions that Heeren in his 'Historical Researches,' while constantly referring to Diodorus, Appian, and Polybius, expresses the opinion that Africa supplied them with these animals.

others, appear to hold that the African elephant was domesticated in ancient times.

The denial of the domestication of the African elephant apparently rests on the assumption that this animal was not found north of the Sahara. This, as a writer in the 'Standard'[1] points out, is untrue. Elephants' bones have been disinterred in Algeria, Hanno speaks of herds of elephants seen on the coast of Morocco in his voyage in B.C. 470. Pliny, in A.D. 27, speaks of elephants around the town of Rabat. The case for the domestication of the African elephant in ancient times is so admirably summed up in a letter to me from Mr C P. Ilbert, that with his permission I quote it:—

"There is a book called 'Histoire militaire des éléphants,' by the Chevalier P. Armandi (Paris, 1843), who appears to have exhausted pretty nearly all the available sources of information on the use of the elephant in ancient warfare.

"The Greeks and Romans were well acquainted with both kinds of elephant, and with the physical differences between them. Alexander learnt the use of the Indian elephant in his Indian campaign, and handed on the tradition to his lieutenants and successors But the first of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, finding himself cut off from his Indian supply, determined to use the African kind, and for the purpose organised extensive elephant-hunts on the west coast of the lower part of the Red Sea, and thence inwards. When the Romans took over Egypt, they kept up some of these stations In B.C. 217 there was a famous battle at a place called Raphia in Palestine, between Seleucus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy, king of Egypt, in which the former used Indian and the latter African elephants The result showed the decisive superiority of the Indian over the African kind. There can, however, I think, be but little doubt that it was the African kind that was used by the Carthaginians

"There is abundant, and I think quite trustworthy evidence, from Herodotus downwards, of the existence of wild elephants in Northern Africa, north of the Atlas range, in what is now Algeria and Morocco. The very large number of elephants em-

[1] Standard, Dec 6th, 1892

ployed by the Carthaginians, and the rapidity with which good supplies were obtained, and the accounts of their elephant-hunting expeditions, show almost conclusively that it was the indigenous elephant of North Africa that they used. Hannibal took thirty-seven of these from Spain across the Rhone, and some of them accompanied him across the Alps into Italy and fought at the battle of Trebbia. The latest date at which we hear of the wild elephant in North Africa is about 300 A.D. In 700 A.D. they are spoken of as extinct, so they must have been exterminated between these two dates.

"I have looked at several representations of elephants on Roman and North African coins, and in some of these at least I feel pretty sure that it is the large-eared African kind that the artist has tried to depict. In many cases, of course, the animal is so conventionalised that one cannot make out which kind is intended. There is said to have been a representation of an elephant among the hieroglyphics at Philæ, but I have not seen any copy of it."

As regards the domestication of this animal in modern times. In a most interesting letter to 'Land and Water' from Mr Buckland, it appears that the subject was taken up some time ago by himself and some friends. It was then ascertained that dealers in animals for menagerie purposes were in the habit of importing young African elephants, a Mr Hagenburg having done so successfully, and having at that time several for sale. Mr Jamrach informed Mr Buckland that in the course of his experience he had known sixty to seventy young African elephants brought at one time to Trieste, and thence distributed by rail to German and other menageries. He had himself as many as eighteen young elephants at one time in London, and they were walked throughout the streets from the ship loose like ordinary cattle. If he had an order for twenty or thirty African elephants, he could supply them in twelve months. The late lamented "Jumbo" will also suggest himself as an instance of a thoroughly tamed African elephant.

Perhaps the most striking instance is that of the

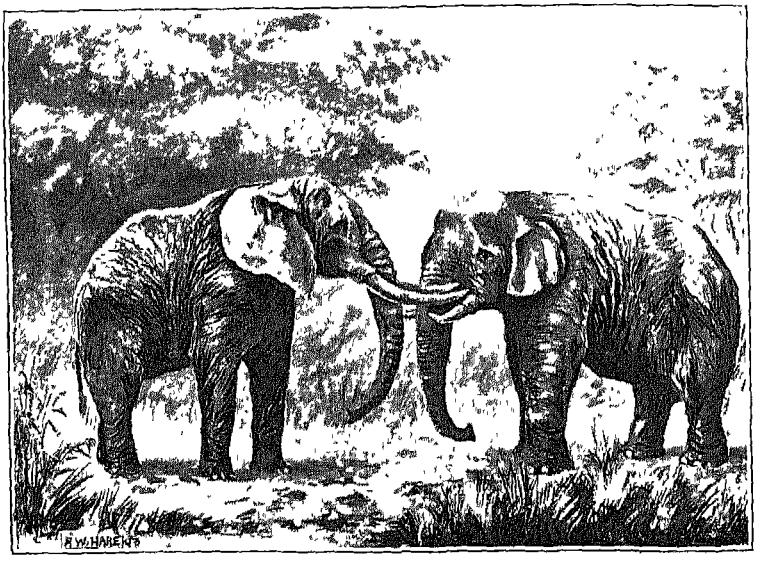
elephant sent by Mtesa of Uganda to Seyyid Barghash of Zanzibar. The Sultan gave the animal to Sir J. Kirk, and he was marched through the streets of the island completely tame and docile, helping himself to sweetmeats from the shops, and otherwise making himself obnoxious in a most civilised way, until Sir John Kirk gave him to Sir P. Wodehouse, and he was shipped to India, and eventually given to Sir Salar Jung, in whose possession, to the best of my knowledge, he remains to the present day. Elton[1] describes him as thoroughly docile and intelligent, and about 6 ft. 6 in. high.

Livingstone, Sir J. Kirk, Elton, and others familiar with the African elephant, have all expressed the opinion that he could easily be tamed. The Germans declared their intention of making experiments to this end, and Lieut. Ehlers went to India with the design of acquiring information on the best method of taming elephants, but, from the accounts of his travels there, it has not as yet transpired that he has devoted any time to this object.

I have had elephants under my charge both in India and Burma; at one time I had as many as sixty for nearly a year. I have also had some dealings with the African elephant. I may state it as my own opinion, that the idea apparently conceived by Mr Buckland and his colleagues of catching *young* elephants would not, I think, prove a useful plan. In India it has been found that the expense of breeding or of keeping a very young elephant until he becomes mature and fit for use is prohibitive, and the ease with which full-grown elephants are domesticated renders their capture and taming a cheaper operation. I see no impediment myself to the importation of a few Asiatic elephants into Africa for *kheddah* operations, and I believe that they

[1] Journals, p. 52

would be able to effect the capture and the domestication of the African species with the same success as attends their operations in India. Since, however, the taming of an elephant often leads to a trial of strength, and old fighting bulls of great power and weight are kept for this purpose, it would be advisable, after the elephants are enclosed, to shoot any bulls of great size



AFRICAN AND INDIAN ELEPHANTS

and weight of ivory. The African elephant stands, as a rule, a foot higher than the Asiatic (Baker), and carries far heavier and longer tusks; full-grown bulls might therefore prove more than a match for their tamers, though the Indian elephant is a heavier and more powerful animal, in spite of its inferior height.[1] Since it is the female elephant which alone is required for use — the males being subject to *musth*, and fre-

[1] The largest bull elephant ever measured in India was 9 ft. 10 in., and the largest female 8 ft 5 in. (Saunderson) Males rarely exceed 9 ft. 6 in., or females 8 ft Faulkner (Elephant Haunts, p. 285) speaks of having killed them over 12 ft in height!

quently, therefore, unmanageable and dangerous for stated periods—the destruction of a certain number of males would not be a serious loss. Indeed, in India the males are not sought after, except by native rajahs for purposes of show and state ceremonial.

Count Povoleri, in his letter to the 'Times,'[1] advocates that a "more humane method of obtaining ivory" should be adopted than that of killing the elephant, and states that "an elephant's tusks, which are solid, can be cut off with a sharp saw." One writer, commenting on this, says that, "If the work were gone about in the right way, the tusks might be removed without the destruction of the animal, and his life spared to grow new ones!" The tusks of the elephant are *not* solid throughout. A large portion of the tusk is hollow, and contains the nerve, but as the elephant ages, this hollow partially fills up. A considerable portion of the tusks is embedded in the frontal bones, and their curve is such that their bases nearly meet in their beds in the skull. So firmly are they fixed, that in order to cut out the tusks of a dead elephant, heavy axes have to be used, and the skull-bones chopped away bit by bit. I should like to see the dental forceps by which our informant would propose to undertake his elephant dentistry! Lastly, of course no new tusk would ever grow to replace an old one, any more than you might expect a new set of back teeth to replace those you may find it convenient to be rid of.

Saunderson states that exactly half the tusk is in the skull, and half protrudes, though, as the lip covers several inches, the part visible is less than that not seen. In the African elephant, however, I do not think that this rule holds, owing to the great length of the tusk, and I doubt its universal applicability to the Asiatic, as, for instance, to the Burmese, whose tusks,

[1] Dec. 3d, 1892

though small in diameter, are often very long. A measurement of those shot by myself in Africa would indicate rather more than two-thirds beyond the skull, and barely one-third embedded in the bone. Thus tusks over 7 ft. long have 2 ft. in the skull, and one measuring 4 ft. 6 in. has 16½ in.: on the other hand, a young male with 4-foot tusks has 18 inches. The depth of the hollow, as I have said, varies, less than half being solid in young elephants, while in older ones it closes, though the tusk lengthens.

As regards Count Povoleri's idea of obtaining supplies of ivory by sawing off the tusks, as is done, he says, in India: to the best of my knowledge, the reason for sawing off the points of the tusks of Indian elephants is in order that they may be less cumbersome to the animal, and render him less dangerous. Great care must be taken not to cut the tusk too high, the rule being that the saw-cut must on no account be higher than the last third of the total length of the tusk (measured from the eye), or about half of the exposed portion. If cut higher than this, the hollow or soft ivory may be touched, and inflammation and decay set in, from which the animal would suffer violent toothache. Small pieces of ivory so obtained have of course a market value, but it is ridiculous to talk of their supplying the present demand; nor do these writers seem to recollect that you must "first catch your elephant" before you can saw his tusks—or extract them.

Indian elephants have from time to time been imported into Africa with complete success, and have not suffered from the climate or fodder. Several of these animals were sent from the East Coast to Tanganyika in 1879. Their mahout died, and the elephants also from want of proper food and care; some are supposed to have been poisoned through eating noxious leaves. Indian mahouts were taken to the Congo in 1886. Messrs Popelin and

Cambier imported Asiatic elephants to Africa, but they died owing to the ignorance of their attendants. Asiatic elephants were also used in the Abyssinian expedition in Africa. It thus appears that the Asiatic elephant is capable of being introduced for the purpose of capturing and domesticating the African species; and I have already shown that, alike in ancient and in modern times, the latter has been proved easy to tame.

It may be interesting briefly to describe the methods used for catching the elephant I take my summary from Col. G. P. Saunderson's book,[1] since he is the highest authority

1. The *kheddah* plan for capturing whole herds. In this operation a large number of men, all trained to the work, are required, together with a number of *koonkies* or tame elephants. The complete establishment of men costs about £254 per mensem. They consist of coolies (320), trackers (18), noosers (5), guards (21), and superior establishment (3); total, 367.

The *modus operandi* is as follows: The expedition follows up a herd and "halts within half a mile. Half of the coolies then file off to the right, and half to the left. Along these diverging lines, which are to meet beyond the herd and enclose it, two men are left at every 50 yds. or so as a guard. The surround when completed is often six or eight miles in circumference, as, if the ground is favourable, the men are posted more widely apart than two at 50 yds. In a couple of hours the hunters run up a thin fence all round the ring. Their only duty is then to see that the elephants do not break out of the circle." There is little difficulty in doing this, especially after the first day or two. The guards, of course, remain at their posts day and night, sometimes for a week, sometimes much longer, and cook and sleep there. The construction of the *kheddah*

[1] Thirteen Years among the Wild Beasts of India, chap. vii

inside the large circle is commenced as soon as the elephants are surrounded It is formed of stout uprights about 12 ft. high, arranged in a circle about 20 to 50 yds. in diameter, and strongly backed by sloping supports, and binders behind An entrance of 4 yds. in width is left for the ingress of the herd, and the *kheddah* is built on a spot where the thickness of the cover screens it from view. To guide the elephants to the gate, two lines of strong palisades are run out from it on each side of the track by which they will approach. These guiding wings diverge to perhaps 50 yds across at their commencement, which may be 100 yds. or so from the gate. Once within this funnel-shaped enclosure, the herd is easily driven forward by the men closing in from behind. The gate is made very strong, and is studded with iron spikes on the inside. It is slung by rope hinges to a cross-beam, and is dropped as soon as the elephants have entered. Inside, round the foot of the palisade, a ditch is generally dug about 4 feet wide and deep, to deter the elephants from trying the stockade, or should they do so, to prevent their standing in a position to use their strength to advantage.

As soon as the *kheddah* is completed, probably in four or five days from the time of the surround, arrangements are made for driving the herd. A smaller interior circle is formed by commencing at the end of the guiding wings of the *kheddah*, and posting the men till the elephants are again surrounded · they are then driven forward, with shouts and shots, and generally enter without hesitation. After they have been impounded in the *kheddah*, the tame elephants are admitted with their mahouts on the neck of each, and a rope-tier seated behind Accidents rarely or never happen to the men. The duty of the tame elephants is to secure the wild ones, by separating them one by one from their companions, when their hind-legs are tied together

by the men, who slip to the ground for the purpose. A rope is then fastened round each captive's neck, and another to one hind-leg, and they are led out and picketed in the forest near. They are loosed from picket and taken to drink and bathe daily by the tame ones, who also have to bring a load of fodder for each, so that two wild ones is the maximum that one tame one can manage.

2. The second plan is used for capturing solitary males. Four or five steady females, ridden by their mahouts, who are partly concealed by a dark blanket, approach the wild male. They constantly attend him day and night for two days or so, keeping him continually on the move, the mahouts being surreptitiously changed one by one. When at last he is tired out and sleeps, two mahouts slip off, and tie his legs securely. For a couple of days he will struggle against his bonds, and then, being exhausted, he is led off with a cable round his neck and one hind-leg, to be picketed and tamed.

3. A third method of capture is by pitfalls, which is barbarous and cruel, and results in the death of the majority of those captured. Tame elephants are of course used to extract them from the pits, and take them out of the jungle. The Mysore pits were 10 ft. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and 15 ft. deep.

4. Noosing elephants is a rare and difficult method, and full-grown ones cannot be caught by this method. It consists, in fact, of running down a wild elephant by tame ones, and lassoing him round the neck. Hand-noosing round the legs is also practised, but rarely.

5. A fifth method, not described by Saunderson, is practised in Burma. Permanent *kheddahs* are built of solid masonry. They consist of four walls in the form of a square, inside which, at the distance of a few feet, are strong poles placed some 3 ft. apart. A decoy

herd of semi-wild females is maintained, and when a male elephant is known to be anywhere in the vicinity, this decoy herd is driven towards him. He associates with them, and as they do not fear the approach of tame elephants with their mahouts, it is not difficult to drive them to the *kheddah*, the male accompanying them. Once inside, the door is closed, and the females are eliminated by a second door, till only the wild male remains. He is now baited by trained men, who dance in front of him, flourishing red rags, and inciting him to charge. Just as in a Spanish bull-fight, his attention is kept constantly diverted; but should he make a determined effort to catch one of his tormentors, the man can dodge behind the poles, between which the elephant cannot pass, and so save his life. When utterly exhausted, he is led out by tame elephants. Above this *kheddah* is a broad verandah, on which is erected a summer-house for the king and his court to see the sport. The advantage of this plan is its comparative cheapness compared to the first method.

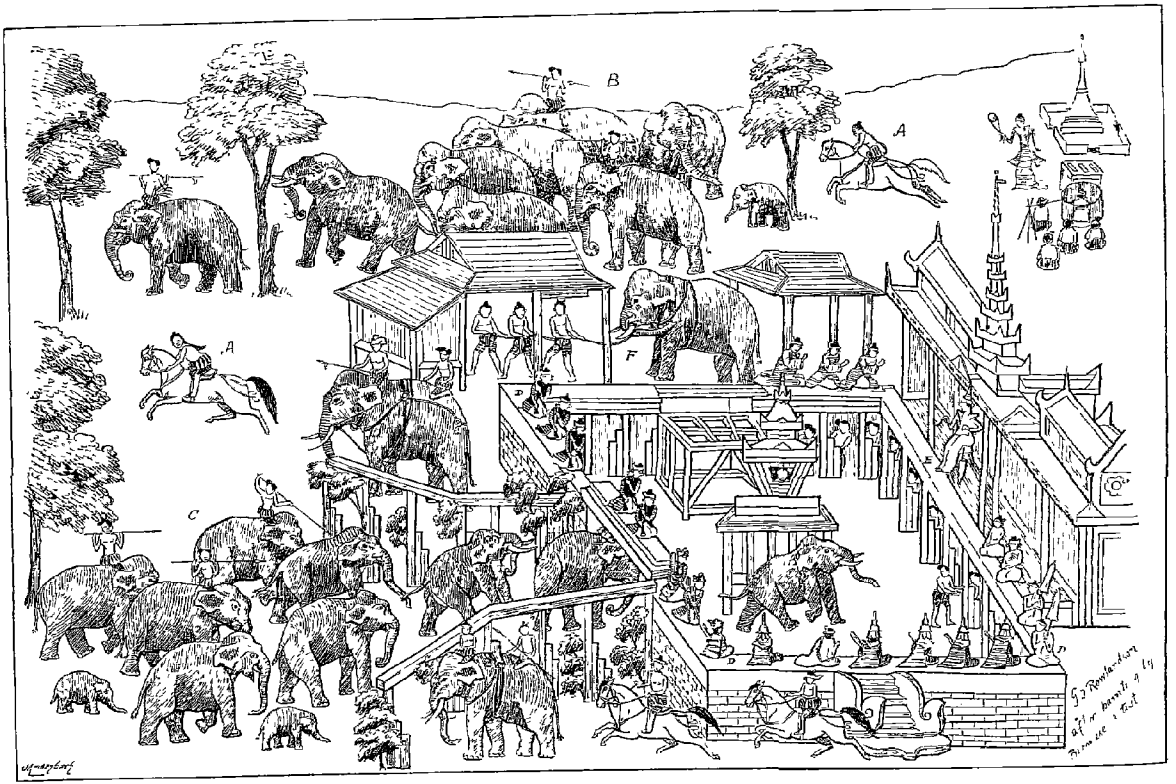
Such are the methods for taming the elephant. There would, I think, be no difficulty in introducing them into Africa; but it would be necessary, in the first instance, to bring a complete *kheddah* establishment from India. After one or more drives, Africans would be fully able to replace the majority of the Indians, and would enter into the work with zest; but skilled mahouts, noosers, and trackers, with tame Indian elephants, would be required for some time.

Twice round the fore-foot is the height of the Asiatic elephant, but I do not think this applies to the African species. The foot of an enormous elephant, whose tusks weighed 200 lb. the pair, was exactly 4 ft. in circumference; and though I did not measure his vertical height, I should imagine it would be at least 11 ft., for another elephant I shot, whose tusks were 162 lb. the pair, had

A A, Elephant
inters

B, Wild ele-
ants brought
by tame ones.

C, Herd of ele-
hants being
riven into ked-
ah in which the
imers are watt-
ig



D, Armed men,
courtiers, &c.,
line the walls of
the keddah

E, The king
watching and
directing pro-
ceedings

F Elephant
after being tamed
—bound and led
away

BURMESE KEDDAH OPERATIONS

(*Reproduced from the original by a Burmese Artist*)

a vertical height of 11 ft. 1 in., measured as he lay from an upright stick at his shoulder by Grant. The foot, therefore, of the African is comparatively much smaller than that of the Indian species.

The male elephant alone has tusks in India, while in Ceylon elephants of both sexes (with very rare exceptions) are tuskless. On the mainland some 10 per cent perhaps are *muknahs* (tuskless). Both sexes of the African species, on the contrary, carry tusks. Cow ivory is more valuable, weight for weight, than that of the male, the tusks being of more uniform thickness and lighter, and therefore cutting to less waste in the manufacture of billiard-balls. *Muknahs*, so far as I am aware, are unknown in Africa. The weight of a very large tusk of the Asiatic elephant would be 40 lb. The largest ever shot was apparently abnormal; the animal had only one perfect tusk, which weighed 90 lb. African elephants' tusks have been scaled up to nearly 200 lb. The largest shot by myself weighed 102 lb., which, I believe, is the heaviest ever shot and brought home by any sportsman: those of greater weight, to which I have alluded, were brought for sale in the Zanzibar market in the way of trade, and not shot by any European. The length of a very large Indian tusk would be 5 ft. Ward gives 9 ft. 5 inches as the longest tusk of African ivory measured;[1] my own longest was 7 ft. 2½ in.

The yearly imports to London for thirty-two years average 532 tons per annum, and this is in addition to the great imports to Antwerp and to Liverpool. On these figures one observes a great decrease in the import. For the first half of the period computed the average was 580 tons, as against 484 tons in the last half. These figures, taken from the annual report of a large ivory-broker, are, however, somewhat deceptive, since they include a small proportion of ivory other

[1] Horn Measurements, p 246.

than elephant's, and also the "points" and pieces exported from India, being presumably the portions sawn off tame elephants' tusks, &c. In addition to the import to Europe, it must be remembered that a very large quantity of African ivory is exported direct to Bombay, and manufactured there. It would not be a difficult matter to compute the number of elephants killed by collecting these statistics. Count Povoleri estimates it at 75,000 per annum, but I do not know on what figures his calculation is based.

Like Saunderson, I am utterly at a loss to imagine what becomes of the bones of elephants that have died a natural death. For the years that I have frequented the jungles of India and Burma, and traversed the haunts of vast herds of elephants in Nyasaland, and on the borders of the Congo State, I have never, I think, seen an elephant's skull or bones, save such as had fallen by the rifle The colossal skull of an elephant that has thus met its death will remain for years bleaching where it fell; what then becomes of those who die a natural death? I can offer no suggestion or speculation, and, like all sportsmen whom I have met, I own the thing to be a complete mystery to me.

Saunderson speaks of epidemics, which in India have carried off elephants, in one instance to the extent of 50 per cent. I have never heard of any such visitation in Africa. The elephants suffered immunity from the plague which recently almost exterminated the cattle and buffalo. Were such an epidemic to take place, it would probably cause a greater mortality in a few months than all the guns of all the elephant-hunters in Africa would cause in a period of years.

The destruction of the elephant must be going on at a vastly greater rate than the increase. The female (Asiatic) elephant probably breeds from the age of sixteen to seventy years, and has one calf about every two

and a half years. An elephant is fully mature at about twenty-five years, and lives to the age of 120, and possibly longer. A "Cairo author" is stated to have computed, by an elaborate calculation, that the procuring of the ivory to make one billiard-ball has involved "at least one murder, or one great crime"! Against the ruthless destruction of elephants I have for years raised my protest. In Nyasaland, in a period of two or three years, the vast herds which surrounded the lake were exterminated, and throughout the greater part of Africa the same deplorable work has been carried on, so that the animal is now only found in any considerable numbers far from the routes adopted by the European hunters in the south, or the Swahili, Manyuema, and Arab in Central Africa.[1]

To arrest this wholesale destruction, I have advocated the preservation of the elephant[2] by law in specified districts wholly within the British sphere; also his domestication. The areas preserved would consist of certain forests and breeding-grounds, in which elephant-shooting would be prohibited as in India. Also the imposition of a penalty for the destruction of young animals of either sex, and, if necessary, the entire prohibition of the slaughter of females. Bulls with tusks over 20 lb. weight might still be allowed to be shot, except in protected areas. Such measures would at once arrest the extermination of the elephant, while the confiscation of all tusks under a certain size, say 20 lb., and of all cow ivory, together with the imposition of a fine upon any one exporting them, or offering them for sale, would be sufficient deterrent to hunters. Nor is it necessary, as a would-be facetious writer remarks,

[1] Gordon in Africa, p 136; Schweinfuth, Heart of Africa, vol. ii. p 24.

[2] Under the terms of their charter, clause 21, the Company were given special powers in this respect, and by granting licences to kill elephants only in the rarest cases, had the power of arresting their destruction.—Blue-book Africa, No. 4 of 1892, p. 9.

that the elephant should be induced to submit his tusks for inspection. Such young animals are easily recognised, for the elephant, unlike other game, can usually be carefully observed for some time before being fired at.

It would, however, be indispensable that all nations interested should institute the same regulations, so as to prevent the deflection of all ivory caravans to neighbouring territories where such rules were not enforced, for sale or shipment at their ports. The Portuguese have already made a step in the right direction by prohibiting the sale of tusks under 5 kilos (10 lb.) in the Mozambique district. The Congo State has gone still further, and by a royal decree, dated July 25th, 1892, King Leopold declared that the right of hunting elephants is interdicted throughout the State, except by special permission. In the previous September (1891) he had declared his intention of reserving ivory as a state monopoly, as Gordon did in Equatoria.[1] Whether under the terms of the Berlin Act he was justified in his action is as yet undecided, but in any case it would appear that the object of these decrees was rather to create a revenue to the State than to preserve the elephant from extermination. And further, it is doubtful if any attempt has been made, or can at present be made, by the State to enforce them.

The extermination of the elephant is due, as I have said, to the ruthless slaughter of young animals and cows, mainly by native hunters. The shooting of a few full-grown bull-elephants by sportsmen is a wholly different matter. Saunderson describes elephant-shooting as "the grandest of all field sports," and incomparably more exciting than tiger or lion shooting. "On the authority of the greatest of ancient or modern Nimrods, Sir Samuel Baker," he writes,[2] "ele-

[1] Journals, p. 6

[2] Saunderson, p. 189

phant-shooting may be pronounced to be the most dangerous of all sports. . . . His attack is one of the noblest sights of the chase." His description of an elephant's charge is well worth quoting, had I space. To his generalisations, however, I would offer some demur. Like all sport, the danger, and consequently the excitement, of elephant-shooting depends on the methods employed and the class of country in which it is engaged in. Where the hunt is on horseback—as I understand from Mr Selous' books is largely the case in South Africa, and from Sir S. Baker in North Africa — the danger is greatly diminished. If, in addition to this, the country is open and park-like, the danger to a mounted man is little, and even shooting on foot becomes comparatively safe. But if you meet the elephant in his own natural haunts—among long and matted grass, high reeds, or swamp—or if the encounter is on open ground, affording no cover at all, the danger is vastly greater, for escape is absolutely impossible. If, added to this, the hunter is accompanied by no brother sportsman, and the natives with him are unreliable, and if he has but one heavy rifle, the sport becomes too exciting to rank as mere pleasure, and he feels that the chances are pretty evenly balanced between success and a horrible death.

My old friend Sharpe in Nyasaland, perhaps the most courageous hunter I have ever met, had constantly followed elephant on foot through the very worst class of country. As we sighted elephant one day, and prepared to follow them, I remember his remark, "A man should make his will before going after elephant, for each time he takes his life in his hand." It was true of the place we were in — a yielding bottomless marsh of matted vegetation; and I have often since recalled his words and endorsed their truth. "As a rule, they charge," he said; and if one's second barrel

does not stop the elephant, under such circumstances one has no other chance. Sometimes, too, some unknown *contretemps* may have damaged one's ammunition. I remember Sharpe on one occasion awaiting an elephant's charge, only to find his left barrel miss fire! He very nearly lost his life that time. I once had much the same luck myself. I followed an elephant into the densest jungle, and was surprised that my bullets had apparently no effect at all upon him. On returning to my camp I examined the rest of my ammunition, and found that, unknown to me, water had got into the case, and out of twenty rounds only one was sound, the powder in the others being caked into a useless pulp. With such rounds I had faced two different elephants under more dangerous conditions (of ground, &c.) than I had ever done before.

I will recall but one incident in elephant-shooting. The day we crossed the Semliki we came upon large herds of elephant, which would not move out of our way. I went after them, having the 10-bore rifle ($1\frac{1}{2}$-oz spherical ball with 8 drams of powder), which is really hardly heavy enough for elephant. Sharpe used to shoot with an 8-bore carrying a 4-oz. bullet and 12 drams, and Jackson had a 4-bore! Shukri, the Sudanese officer, accompanied me, and I lent him my ·577 express (solid bullets, 6 drams). I was unsuccessful at first, and then, getting ashamed, I went close up to the herd, screened by a bush, within about 15 or 20 yds., and shot a fine elephant, which dropped at once in a patch of scrub. Several others remained with it. We followed the herd to secure one which was wounded, when I suddenly saw those behind bearing down on Shukri, who was so excited that he noticed nothing but the elephants in front. I turned off to deal with these; and they swerved to the right, so I got detached from Shukri.

SHUK-RI CHARGED

Apparently he had but one round of ammunition left, and as I was not there to check him, he ran out in the open and fired, hoping to bag an elephant to his single shot. The grass was low, and there was no cover; I was also in the open some 150 yds. away. Immediately he had fired, a loud trumpeting ensued, and two elephants charged from the herd. Shukri ran, but of course had no chance. The sight of a charging elephant is one to make a man's heart cease beating. With their enormous ears spread out like sails, and with the shrieking notes they emit, they can be compared to nothing except a runaway engine, bearing down full upon you. I, too, had but one cartridge left. "With deep shame I confess that I lost my nerve," I write, "and was merely in the very deuce of a funk; but a trumpeting elephant in full charge, backed by another looking for any other enemy, is a sight and sound which seems to simply paralyse one."—(Diary)

I fired my one shot without effect, and the next moment the elephant was upon Shukri. He threw himself down, and to all appearance the animal trampled upon him, kicking him about, and knocking up dust, &c. With its trunk aloft in the air, trumpeting shrilly all the while, it wreaked its vengeance on the man. I was an agonised spectator, and my nerves were quite unstrung by the spectacle, when I rushed forward as the elephant left him to return to the herd I expected to find an unrecognisable pulp of flesh, but what was my amazement to find Shukri comparatively unhurt, though he was bruised and much scared, and he afterwards found that he was slightly injured internally.

He had scoffed at elephants before, but as long as I was in Africa I could never induce him to accompany me again after them. In fact, as Williams jokingly said, he turned sick at the sight of a tusk lying in store!

There are various methods of shooting elephants,—apart from hunting them on horseback of which I know nothing. In Nyasaland, where the constant pursuit by native hunters had made the elephants very shy and cautious, our usual plan was to go out early in the morning, and cross the stretch of country which they were accustomed to traverse in passing from one feeding-ground to another. By thus crossing their line of direction at right angles, the trackers would be able to say whether the elephants had passed along any one of the paths during the night. Having by these means, or by mere chance, found a track in which the herd had not got more than a few hours' start, the hunters proceed to follow through swamp, and grass, and jungle at their utmost pace. Elephants, when thus constantly hunted, are continually on the move, and often the hunter will have to toil from morning till evening before he sights his game; often he is baffled at last by the continual cross-tracks of a slightly older date, and by the trail of hippo and buffalo.

Such a mode of hunting is the hardest work it is possible to conceive. Through the densest grass and through swamp the hunter must maintain a pace of at least four miles an hour, in a blazing sun, to have a hope of success, while upon the skill of the tracker depends the whole chance of ultimately coming up with the elephants. When once they are sighted, different tactics are followed. The elephant trusts entirely to his sense of smell for protection, and everything depends on his not "getting your wind." To test the lightest breath of a breeze, the seeds of grasses are thrown into the air, and the direction in which they fall indicates any motion in the still air, otherwise too faint to be detected. The elephant has but indifferent eyesight, and even should he see the hunter (not having his wind), he will become reassured, and apparently

take him for a tree or stump at quite a short distance, if he remains absolutely motionless.

The elephant is easily killed—that is to say, he will die eventually if wounded at all seriously; but unless completely disabled, he goes off when hit, without checking his pace for many miles. A stern chase after a wounded animal is a terribly hard and fatiguing business, and frequently only results in failure; for, as the elephant travels by night, if you do not come up with him before sunset, your chance of recovering him next day is small. I have again and again known elephants to fall to a single bullet, and, on the other hand, I once shot one which cost me three days' hunting, and earned the *sobriquet* of "the devil" from my men. No shot seemed in any way to disturb him, or even to make him wince; and when eventually he died, the Sudanese who cut him up brought me twenty bullets, two of which were found in his heart, and almost all the rest, they said, in his lungs, liver, and vitals.

The elephants I shot on the Albert Lake were invaluable for food for the vast mass of "refugees" (some 8200) from the Equatorial Province, who were at that time collecting at Kavalli's in preparation for the exodus. In an incredibly short time every vestige of the gigantic carcass—even to the bones—had disappeared, and doubtless the flesh was a very god-send to the hungry host. Of the tribes of Africa only some few (as the Wanyamwezi, Wandorobo, &c.) eat elephants' flesh. The majority of the Zanzibaris will not touch it unless impelled by starvation.

There is another animal in East Africa which offers, as I have said, possibilities of domestication—viz., the zebra. If this animal were tamed, the question of transport would be solved. Impervious to the tsetse-fly, and to climatic diseases, it would be beyond calculation valuable.

The species found both in East Africa and Nyasa-

land is "Burchell's" (*Equus Burchelli*). It is a lovely animal, of perfect symmetry, and very strongly built, standing about 14 hands high. The bright black and white stripes of the zebra would appear to be the most conspicuous marking imaginable. Yet, when standing in sparse tree-forest, it is one of the hardest of all animals to see, and even after it has been pointed out to me close in front I have sometimes been unable to distinguish it, though, as a rule, I am even quicker at sighting game than a native. The flickering lights in a forest, and the glancing sunbeams and shadows, are counterfeited exactly by the zebra's stripes, and thus it is that nature affords protection to an animal otherwise peculiarly liable to destruction in the jungle: in the open plains, where his enemies cannot steal upon him unawares, he can rely for his safety on his own fleetness.

The zebra throughout East Africa, so far as my observation goes, has suffered complete immunity from the cattle-plague, which has attacked most of the rest of the game. This disease has now spread south to Nyasaland, and Mr Sharpe reports[1] that between Mweru and Tanganyika Lakes he saw numbers of dead zebra. Mr Crawshay also reports great mortality among the zebra in that district.[2] This is a curious fact. I do not know if zebra are plentiful towards Mweru, but throughout those portions of Nyasaland in which I have travelled, the zebra is comparatively scarce, and though constantly met with, there are no such vast herds as exist in East Africa. Here — in Masailand and on the Athi plains — herds numbering their thousands may be seen, and these have not suffered from the plague.

Some years ago (1888) I advocated experiments in taming the zebra, and I especially suggested that an attempt should be made to obtain zebra-mules, by horse or donkey mares. Such mules, I believe, would

[1] Field, Jan. 6th, 1893. [2] Zanzibar Gazette, Feb. 1st, 1893.

be found to be excessively hardy, and impervious to the fly and to climatic diseases. I think it not improbable that the zebra would thus cross with the horse or donkey, especially, perhaps, if some disguise were adopted to gain admittance for the mare to the herd, or, better still, if the zebra were driven into a paddock or enclosure, and thus confined in a wild state. I was never able, owing to more pressing duties, to put my schemes into practice myself.

The tameness of the animals at the Zoo seems to indicate that, apart from the possibility of breeding mules, it would be practicable to domesticate the zebra, and lately we have heard from a correspondent of the 'Field' at Johannesburg that the attempt has been made in South Africa with entire success. "Several half-grown wild zebras were lassoed and caught by a hunter, and after a month's training for harness, four out of the eight were perfectly quiet and well trained, while the other four were partially trained. It is believed that in a very short time they will be as steady as horses. They pull well, and are very willing, and never jib. It is intended to train a large number of these animals, and run them in the coaches from and to Mashonaland. They will be far preferable to the mule, as they are not subject to 'horse sickness.' The only vice the zebra has is a tendency to bite, and this is only because they are not yet accustomed to being 'inspanned.'"

When we recollect that the zebra is found all the way from the coast to the far parts of Uganda (I have seen them in Buddu), and that countless thousands roam on the level plains of Masailand, where every possible facility is afforded by the open nature of the ground either for riding them down and lassoing them, or for capturing them by driving them into kraals or *kheddahs*, we shall realise that, when once the possibility of training the zebra as a pack or draught

animal is demonstrated, the question of animal transport for East Africa is finally solved. The elephant would be invaluable in many ways, but his utility as an agent for the development of the country cannot be compared with that of the domesticated zebra. I would even go further, and say that their export might prove one of the sources of wealth and revenue in the future; for, as every one knows, the paucity of mules both for mountain batteries and for transport purposes has long been one of the gravest difficulties in our otherwise almost perfect Indian army corps. I would therefore advocate that the zebra should be at once protected, and its slaughter absolutely prohibited. Its capture might be made a State monopoly (see vol. ii. p. 648).

Some recent writers in the 'Field'[1] have argued that the "plain" and the "mountain" zebra are of two different species, and the new animal is described as having "brown or red-brown stripes on a pale sandy or rufescent ground." The marking of the zebra colt very nearly answers to this description, and may possibly have given rise to the theory; but even if there should be some slight local difference in colouring, it will hardly, I imagine, be sufficient to warrant differentiation into a new species. Sir William Flower has practically exhausted the subject in his book on 'The Horse,' and proved conclusively that only three genuine species have been known: "the zebra," now almost or quite extinct; "Burchell's zebra;" and the extinct "quagga."[2] The mares are larger than the stallions. The flesh of the zebra is not eaten by most of the tribes in Nyasaland. The tribes of East Africa eat it as a rule, though some will not. Mohammedans who follow the Koran closely, refuse it as not having a cleft hoof.

[1] Field, May 6th and 20th, and June 27th, 1893.

[2] *Vide* Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth ed., vol. xii. p. 175.

CHAPTER XX.

SOME OTHER AFRICAN ANIMALS.

Rhinoceros in Nyasaland—In East Africa—Incident at Machako's—Williams' escape—Characteristics—Habitat, &c.—The hippo—Habits, &c.—The buffalo—Herds in Nyasaland—His magnanimity—Excitement in shooting—Domestication—Nature of the plague—Extent of—Favourable to European aggression—Classes of game attacked—A Veterinary Commission suggested—Scope of duties—The eland—Waterbuck—Kudu—Hartebeests—Sable antelope—Situtunga—Oryx—Grant's gazelle—Thomson's—Intermediate species—Bush-buck—Lesser kudu—Mpalla—Reed-buck—Nsunu—Pah—"Grass antelope"—Wildebeest—Giraffe—Ostrich—Wart-hog.

I HAVE found it a most difficult task throughout this book to condense my matter into a reasonable compass, and I fear I have not been very successful in doing so! Nowhere is it harder than here, in discussing the animals of Africa, and contrasting them with their allied species in India, &c. I must, however, content myself with a few brief notes only.

Next in size to the elephant comes the rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros bicornis*). The harmless white species of South Africa is said to be all but extinct. North of the Zambesi, in Nyasaland, the rhino (*chipembeni*) is rare. He is there very fierce, and more dreaded by the natives than even the elephant, buffalo, or lion. In fact, he was the one beast whom the plucky Atonga dreaded to face. I never met him myself, but my friend Austin told me he had a narrow escape on one occasion See-

ing what he thought to be an elephant under a tree, he approached it, but on turning round to take his gun from his "boy," he was astonished to find himself deserted, with no rifle in his hand, and his gun-bearers in full flight. Looking again towards the animal under the tree, he found that it was coming for him "bald-headed, in a bee-line," as he phrased it! He fled, but the rhino (for such it was) regularly hunted him, and when already his horn was but a few inches from the seat of his pants and his fate seemed inevitable, a half-bred dog that he owned flew at the rhino's nose, and distracting his attention, saved my friend's life.

In East Africa the *kifaru* is by no means so dangerous as either the elephant or buffalo. Rhinos will frequently charge a caravan, when it passes to windward of them, but they rarely make a vicious assault, and are generally contented with scattering the porters in every direction, and keeping straight on their course, grunting and puffing like a runaway engine. When I was bringing down the Sudanese, a rhino charged the rear of the caravan, and bore down on a Sudanese woman. Never, I presume, having seen or heard of such a beast before, she was panic-stricken at the sight, and pitching her baby into a bush, fled with shrieks into the jungle. She was, however, unharmed, and came back and gathered up the baby later on.

The rhino, however, when wounded, is naturally more vicious. The first one I ever shot showed great sport. She charged us backwards and forwards like a bull in a ring, and regularly hunted down one man, whom she overtook. He threw himself down, and the rhino galloped right over him. I expected to find him like a poached egg on which a brick has fallen, but he got up (in the marvellous way that natives do escape under such circumstances) without a scratch! The gun-bearers out on that occasion were not my own men,

A RHINO ON THE RAMPAGE

whom I never allowed to fire off a gun under any circumstances whatsoever. These, however, who belonged to the Machako's garrison, had no such order, and as the rhino charged backwards and forwards, natives were letting off their Sniders in every direction; so that, on the whole, it was a pretty warm quarter. She dropped to a final shot from myself; and I was sitting on her examining the position and direction of the bullet-wound, with my finger in the hole, under the impression she was dead, when she suddenly upset me by rising!

Captain Williams had an extremely narrow escape on his way to Uganda. He started with the idea that a rhinoceros was not a dangerous animal, and could not turn quickly enough to catch an active man,—in fact, that it merely charged like an engine on a rail, and you had only to stand out of the line of the metals and let it go past. So he went rhino-hunting, after arguing his theory late overnight. He wounded a rhino, and proceeded to run after it. Eventually he came up with it again, and fired. It immediately turned the tables, and began to run after him. Dodge as he might—and out of wind with his long run, he had not much dodginess left in him—the rhino dodged quicker, and its horn, I believe, actually touched his clothes. He threw himself down on the ground, for he saw escape was impossible, but the rhino refused to take advantage of a fallen foe.

The African rhino is smooth-skinned like a pig and not armour-plated, with his skin in great massive "shields" like the Indian species The skin is very thick, and is valued for making whips, &c., and, especially in the Sudan, for shields. He has a double horn, the second one varying much in length. Sometimes it is nearly as long as the front horn, sometimes it is a mere knob. Willoughby speaks of shooting a rhino with a rudimentary third horn.

In habits the rhino is peculiar. Far from any water, among burning rocks and burnt-up grass, in the very most inhospitable and foodless localities, he loves to take up his quarters. His thick hide is impervious to the long spikes of the aloe, which will pierce a leather gaiter as though it were brown paper. The 3-inch acacia thorns tickle his palate, and serve as sauce to the tasteless fodder. He stands in the same relation to the graceful gazelle which crops the grass beside him as a bargee does to an athlete. His manners are uncouth, and he requires plenty of elbow-room If he comes your way, it is best to avoid him, for he will not apologise for treading on your toes. He delights in the thorny places of nature, for his unfeeling hide has no sensitiveness, and a 4-oz. bullet is the only argument which will have any weight with him. Nature provides her types to point our moralisings, and it is well that there are pachyderms, I suppose, in and out of the jungles of Africa. I do not envy them, for nature's law is compensation, and the more sensitive we are to pain, the greater our capacity for pleasure.

Rhino are very numerous in East Africa. I have not seen them in Uganda, though Speke, Felkin, and others mention having found them there, and they are met with in Karagwé in the German sphere. Nor have I seen them in Ankoli, or the countries westward of the Victoria; but they are reported plentiful in the Sudan. The rhino stands about 4 ft. 9 in. at the shoulder, and is about 9 ft. 7 in. in length. His weight would be about 1200 lb. and upwards.

The only other pachyderm is the hippopotamus. He merits but few words, being an unobtrusive beast, of whom one rarely sees more than the head. As a rule, hippos are harmless animals, and when found in river-pools, where it is impossible for them to swim away,

it is mere butchery to shoot them; one might as well shoot the cattle in a fold. But old bulls will often become cantankerous and aggressive. On the Shiré, when I was there, they swarmed in very great numbers, and were continually charging boats, and on more than one occasion bit a mouthful out of the side, making a hole a man could creep through. As this would naturally sink the boat, and the river was full of crocodiles, it was a taste to be discouraged. The rule is, never to go between a hippo and the open water by day, if you wish to avoid being charged—*i.e.*, always pass to landward of them; but by night keep away from the banks, as the hippo are ashore to feed.

Hippo-hide is especially valued for whips, and for thongs for the long teams of oxen, at the Cape. The ivory is very hard, and is worth, I think, about 1s. 6d. a lb. The curved teeth are handsome, and are used for picture-frames, &c. I used to file my rifle-sights out of a bit of hippo-ivory, as it does not turn colour in the sun so quickly as elephant-ivory. Hippo will cover great distances in their nightly quest of food. At Karonga's there were no hippos within some fifteen miles, yet they nightly grazed even above Karonga's, and went perhaps six miles inland, so that I should suppose they must have swam thirty or forty miles, and walked while grazing ten or twelve more each night, and this in spite of the fact that there was apparently every bit as good a grazing-ground close by the bay they patronised by day. The hippo lives in harmony with the crocodile; both love the same sand-banks and shallows. When a hippo is wounded, however, and his blood taints the water, I have seen the whole river seething with crocodiles attracted by the gore This probably accounts for hippos, when wounded, frequently leaving the water and going ashore. The hippo is sometimes found in isolated small

ponds very far from any other water, and as he is a semi-amphibious animal, it is curious to speculate how he found his way across the dry tracts of country which divide such pools from any lake or river.

Next to the pachyderms, in size and strength, ranks the buffalo (*Bos caffer*). He has acquired an evil reputation, in the pages of every African writer, yet I should imagine that he is by no means so dangerous or so vindictive as his Indian cousin. The latter has enormous horns, measuring sometimes as much as 9 ft. from elbow to elbow. The African "Cape" buffalo, on the other hand, rarely measures more than about 4 ft. across the horn. But he makes up in massiveness—and in the great breadth of the solid frontlet which forms the base of the horn—what he lacks in spread and expansion. This frontlet covers, like a shield of armour, the whole of the upper part of the skull in an old bull; for, as the animal ages, the bases of the horns grow closer and closer together. Thus in a young (though full-grown) bull, the centre part of the skull between the horns is open and covered with skin and hair; as he grows older this is encroached upon, till the bases meet, and only a strip of skin an inch broad divides the diverging curves. The buffalo, when met in herds, is comparatively harmless, and stampedes on the approach of the hunter, though, if the wind be right, he is not difficult to approach, being much less cautious than antelope, or any other game.

In Nyasaland vast herds, comparable only with the countless bison, which once covered the prairies of America, roamed over the plains on the north-west of the lake. When disturbed I have seen them galloping past in squadrons so dense, that their numbers made the plain look black, almost as far as the eye could see. I have concealed myself in the grass, and awaited the oncoming of the charging mass, confident that as I rose

erect, they would swerve aside to the right and left, and leave me unharmed. The first time one tries it the sensation is exciting, for the vast herd bearing down upon you seems to threaten nothing short of being trampled under foot and gored to death; but the experiment, as I have proved, is perfectly safe. Natives will pursue a herd with impunity and try to assegai a calf. Solitary bulls, however, and wounded animals of either sex, are very dangerous; and even herds are apt to be aggressive if met in thick jungles or reed-beds. I have known many instances of very narrow escapes under the latter circumstances. A case of a solitary bull charging I have already narrated, yet for the credit of the animal I must say that I have myself experienced his forbearance. Crawling through some matted jungle and spiked aloes, almost on all-fours, I came face to face with a magnificent solitary bull on one occasion. Only a few yards separated us. My little ·450 was absolutely useless against such a beast, and it was the only weapon I had. We faced each other, and I covered him with the rifle; but he forbore to take my life, which was at

A SOLITARY BULL BUFFALO

his mercy, and I could not be less generous, and refrained from inflicting a needless wound when he plunged into the jungle.

I have killed many buffalo, both in Nyasaland and in East Africa, and have had some intensely exciting moments with these animals. To follow a wounded buffalo into dense cover is as dangerous a performance as any that a sportsman can undertake. The nerve-tension on such occasions is too great to be called pleasure; but success, if achieved, brings a feeling of elation—of imminent danger faced and overcome—which perhaps only the hunter who has followed dangerous game into their own fastnesses can realise and appreciate. If any such should read these pages, I know that my words will recall those thrilling moments, each pulse-beat of which is engraved in their memory, as though they had taken a year to live through. Other memories grow dim, but you never forget the day that you followed the blood-trail in the tall reeds, till it grew fresher and fresher; and you noted that the little air-bubbles had not yet burst in the blood-clots, and the bent reeds were but now straightening themselves from their contact with the buffalo, or the lion, or the tiger, which had passed but a second before. You felt, at each hesitating step forward, that you might hear the deep guttural "Waugh, waugh," with which —almost identical in sound—the buffalo, the lion, the tiger, and the boar herald their charge There is no excitement I know, save only the fight of man with man when a human enemy seeks your life, that approaches the feelings of such a moment. Sooner or later it too often ends in death. The sportsman who dares these odds had need to "set his house in order" before he starts. He may escape again and again, but assuredly he is doomed if he perseveres. But again I digress from the purpose of my chapter.

The buffalo is yet another animal which offers possibilities of domestication, like his congener in India, which, as I have said, is the more fierce and vindictive of the two. Calves could be tamed with little difficulty, or cows imported from India could be crossed with wild bulls. When once the nose-ring is inserted, the buffalo must submit to the will of man. I have seen in India how a beast, whom a crowd of men with howdah-ropes and elephant-chains could not control, was led away by a mere stripling when once he had been ringed. To lasso and ring full-grown bulls in Africa would not be feasible, but calves three parts grown could be so caught and tamed. The buffalo, however, has been almost exterminated by the plague. Recent writers have reported him as almost or quite extinct. This is not the case; for covering, as I did, great distances daily in pursuit of game on my downward march, I not unfrequently came on the freshest possible sign of buffalo, all the way from the Albert Lake to near the coast. The remnant that are left, however, have retired to the fastnesses of the densest forests; the natives say they have sore feet.

It is strange that so little is known of the nature of this plague. It has been reported as a kind of anthrax by Dr Charlesworth at Zanzibar, while others (and these apparently the majority) have described it as lung-disease. Dr Mackinnon and Captain Rogers thus describe it from Witu. Mr Sharpe from Nyasaland states the disease there to have been pleuro-pneumonia. The enormous extent of the devastation it has caused in Africa can hardly be exaggerated. Most of the tribes possessed vast herds of thousands on thousands of cattle, and of these, in some localities, hardly one is left, in others, the deaths have been limited to perhaps 90 per cent. In the case of the Bantu (or negroid) tribes, the loss, though a terrible one, did not,

as a rule, involve starvation and death to the people, since, being agricultural, they possess large crops as a resource But to the pastoral races the loss of their cattle meant death. The Wahuma, I was told, had perished in vast numbers with their animals. Everywhere the people I saw were gaunt and half starved, and covered with skin-diseases. Not only had they no crops of any sort or kind, to replace the milk and meat which formed their natural diet, but many were unable to accommodate themselves to such a change, and all were completely ignorant of agriculture. The Masai are the same. I have seen no reports from the Somali and Galla countries, but they too must be in a similar case. The "North-end Wankondé," on the north of Nyasa, though a negroid race, living largely on bananas and grain (like the Waganda and Wanyoro, the Wakamba, Wa-kikuyu, and Wa-kavirondo), owned enormous herds of cattle when I lived among them. They are reported by Mr Sharpe to have lost 95 per cent of these.

The plague seems to have started on the East Coast, opposite Aden, and to have spread inland. It began at the end of 1889, and when I went into the interior in the December of that year, it had not reached Masailand and Ukamba, nor yet in the spring of 1890. When I returned up-country in the autumn of 1890 it had spread through these countries, and the cattle and buffalo were dead. It had preceded me through Kavirondo and Uganda, though, when Mr Jackson passed down in the summer of 1890, it was only beginning to show its effects. Beyond Uganda, I found it had just preceded me through Ankoli and Unyoro; and in the far heart of Africa, at Kavalli, it had swept off every ox only a few weeks before I arrived (Sept. 1891). Passing southwards, it reached the north of Nyasa about July 1892, and we may look to hear of its ravages to the north in the

Sudan and Abyssinia, till it reaches the confines of Egypt, and on the west through the Congo State, till its area of death has extended from sea to sea. And the pity of it is, that in all probability this vast destruction of the sole wealth of these millions of human beings, and the terrible starvation and mortality among the pastoral tribes which have followed in its wake, might have been arrested by the ordinary precautions which civilised veterinary science would have prescribed; and thus the recent inroad of Europe upon Africa might indeed have been a blessing to its people.

In some respects it has favoured our enterprise Powerful and warlike as the pastoral tribes are, their pride has been humbled and our progress facilitated by this awful visitation. The advent of the white man had else not been so peaceful. The Masai would undoubtedly have opposed us, and either by force of arms or by protracted methods of conciliation (whose results would have been doubtful), we should have had to win our way to the promising highlands beyond their country. Not for thirty years has a plague like this been known in the country, and even then it was not to be compared in virulence to the present one. Never before in the memory of man, or by the voice of tradition, have the cattle died in such vast numbers; never before has the wild game suffered. Nearly all the buffalo and eland are gone. The giraffe has suffered, and many of the small antelope—the bush-buck and reed-buck, I believe, especially. The nsunu (*Kobus kob*) was affected only partially, and very large herds were left both in Buddu and near the Albert Lake; but Mr Sharpe reports this antelope as having been especially attacked in Nyasaland. The pig (wart-hog) seem to have nearly all died. The elephant, hippo, rhino, and I think all the classes of hartebeest, wildebeest, and water-buck, are exempt. It is noticeable that the animals nearest akin to the cattle

have died—viz., the buffalo and the most bovine of the antelopes, the eland. It is therefore extremely curious that the wildebeest has escaped. Goats and sheep have been exempt. The zebra, as I have said, has perished in Nyasaland, but is exempt in East Africa. Sharpe seems to include all game, except elephant, as being attacked in the Mweru district, naming especially the Pookoo and Lechwe.[1]

It is too late to help Africa in this matter; but, as I have already pointed out,[2] our indifference may possibly lead to our own destruction. We do not know for certain the nature of the disease, and whether it is communicable in the hides exported from Africa. If it were thus introduced (for the export of hides has long been a staple of African trade), we may wake up to find an epidemic in our midst, the results of which it is needless to point out. What, in comparison to such a calamity, would the cost of a small veterinary commission be to this country? Such a commission would mean but a trivial expense; its investigations might be of incalculable importance both to Africa and to Europe.

The work undertaken need not be limited solely to the investigation of the nature, and causes, and communicable possibilities of this disease. Other questions of great importance present themselves to a mixed veterinary and agricultural commission. The examina-

[1] "Shortly before August 1892, the district at the north of Nyasa had been visited by the cattle-plague. The mortality was over 90 per cent, and practically all the cattle were cleared out. On my way across to Tanganyika I found that parts of the country had been visited, and portions had escaped. I had no evidence that this disease had attacked the wild game till I arrived at the south end of Lake Mweru. Here enormous quantities of game have died. At the time of my passing the Luapula river, in October 1892, the plague was at its height. Dead and dying beasts were all around On the first day I counted over forty dead Pookoo within half a mile of my camp Elephants do not appear to have been attacked by the plague"—Sharpe, Geog. Journal, vol i. p. 530.

[2] R. G S Proceedings, December 1892.

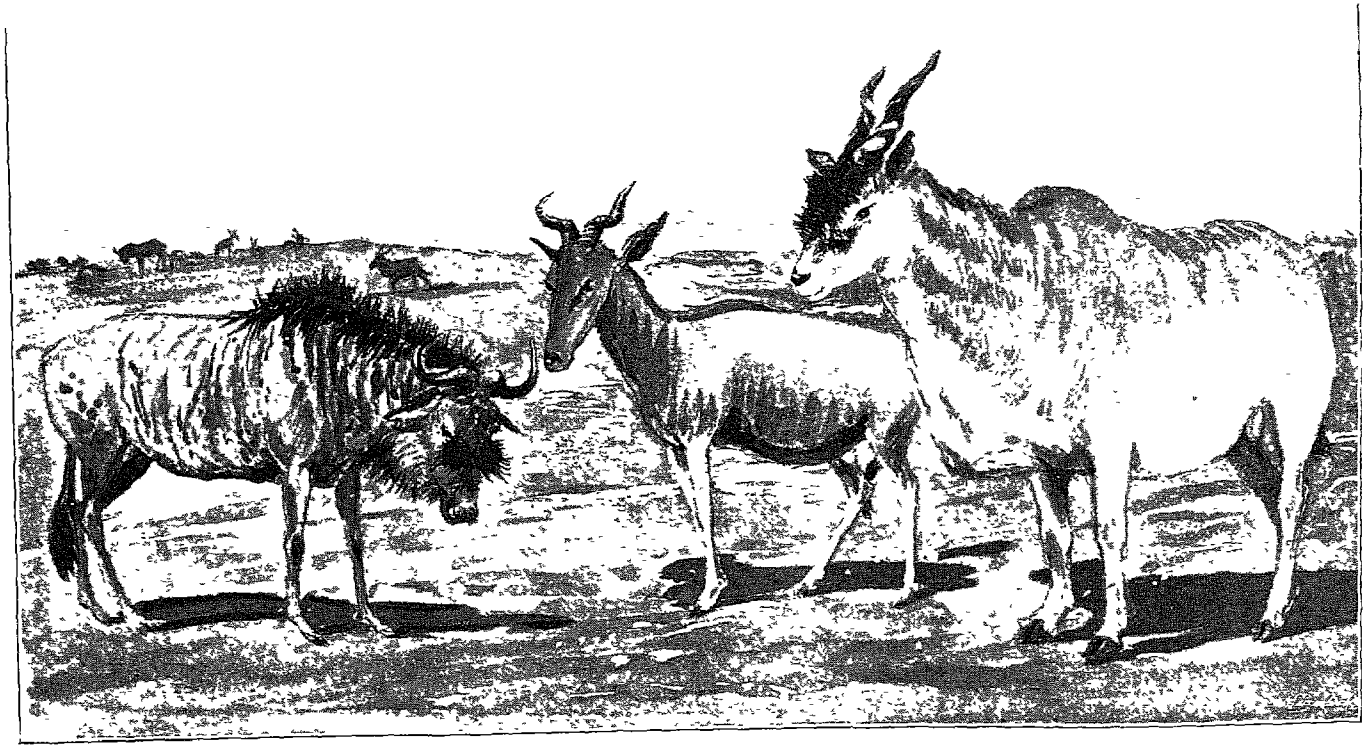
tion of the fodder grasses of Africa, and their value in the European market; the determination of localities subject to tsetse, the methods to be employed against its bite, and the treatment of cases; the treatment of "horse-sickness" and other local diseases, the class of cattle best suited for import to Africa; the capabilities of the zebra, and the breeding of mules; the naturalisation of the horse;—these and a score of other questions present themselves at once to the mind. We have been backward in sending experts to supply authoritative information on the capabilities of our African possessions. Germany prefaced her occupation of each one of her African possessions by sending a committee of experts to report on its resources, as I have already described (p 402). Let us at least lead the way in the investigation of the subjects I have indicated, and it will be a great step forward in the development of the country.

The eland (*Oreas canna*), the largest antelope in the world, is common both in Nyasaland and in East Africa. Both sexes have horns, those of the cow being longer, and curved inwards. The bull's horns are thicker, and point outwards. The horns have a twisted spiral, with a backward inclination, and are black and smooth (not annulated). The colour of the animal is light reddish-brown, the belly being lighter—the male is, like all the antelopes, darker than the female · some old bulls have a distinct bluish tint. The ribs are marked with three faint vertical stripes, indistinguishable except at very close quarters. The flesh of the eland is extremely good, being like good English beef. The eland is generally so fat that I have more than once succeeded, with my boots off, in running one down, when disabled by a wound This antelope is found not only on the lower levels (Nyasa, 1700 ft.), but on the high plateaux in Central Africa at an elevation of 6000 ft.

and more. Mr Jackson has a bull eland's horn recorded as 31⅝ in., with a circumference of 10¼ in. A massive horn is a better trophy than a lanky one which records a great length. Selous records a cow's horn of 31½ in. Anything over 25 in. (10-in. circumference) is a trophy worth preserving in a bull, and 26 or 27 in. with 8-in. circumference in a female.[1] The eland would scale, perhaps, as much as 1000 to 1200 lb. It frequents open plains, often at a great distance from water, and is also especially partial to glades surrounded by forest, and it may even be found in rocky and inhospitable wastes, like the rhino. They are met with in large herds, and consort with all other species of game. Native name, *Mpofu* (Swahili and Zulu), *Sefu* (Nyasa).

The water-buck (*Kobus ellipsiprymnus*) is the largest of the genus *Kobus*, which class are shaggy-coated and frequent water. He is the commonest and the most ubiquitous antelope in Africa. As his name implies, he is generally found near water, and often in thick reed-beds and water-growth. He is, however, also met with on the high and dry plains, and even in rocky and hilly places, if at no very great distance from water. He is a heavily built animal, scaling perhaps 300 lb. He carries a very fine head, and the graceful curve of his long horns sweeping backwards and then forwards, makes him a strikingly beautiful beast. Shukri shot one near the Albert Edward Lake with a horn measuring 33½ in., which equals the present record head. I never succeeded in bagging so fine a one myself. A horn over 25 in. may be considered a trophy. His colour is a dark slaty-brown, with a white crescent on the rump. The female is unhorned. There is a variety in Uganda, and throughout the Lake districts, different

[1] The horns quoted as "records" are on the authority of Mr Rowland Ward's 'Horn Measurements,' corrected up to end of 1892.



WILDEBEEST HARTEBEEST ELAND

ANTELOPES

in colouring, but otherwise identical. It was first described by Speke, and named the Sing-Sing (*Kobus defassus*). It entirely lacks the white crescent (the rump being a dirty white), and the prevailing colour of the back and sides is a reddish-brown. The hair, too, is thicker and more woolly. This variety takes the place of the other in these districts, and I have never seen both varieties in the same country. The native name of the water-buck is *nyakoswe* (Chinyanja), *kuru* (Swahili), and *nsoma* (Kiganda).

The kudu (*Strepsiceros kudu*) carries the most magnificent head of any antelope in the world. His spiral (cork-screw) horns will measure as much as 45 in from base to tip (over 40 in. is a good head), and are extremely symmetrical and handsome. Like the eland, he has the vertical stripes on his side. I have never met him in East Africa, and I do not think he is found there. I have, however, seen him in Nyasaland. The herds generally separate at certain seasons of the year, the males being apart from the females; and a troop of bucks, with their huge horns, is quite an imposing sight. The kudu, so far as my own experience goes, is partial to open plains bordering on forest, but I have not often seen him.

The hartebeests (*Alcephali*) are a very distinct class, entirely unlike any other antelope. They are as unshapely and as ungraceful as the others are elegant. Their high withers and cut-away quarters give them a very humpbacked and awkward appearance, and render them lumbering in their motions. Their gallop is therefore of a wooden and rocking-horse type; and though they can get over the roughest ground and the densest and most matted grass in a wonderful way, the animal never seems to be extended, or to be exerting itself. As though to complete the caricature on the antelope, nature has provided the hartebeests with the ugliest

of hammer-heads, extremely long in the frontal bone. It is a curious characteristic of this class that each species has its own location, in which none of the others are to be seen; and this location is most sharply defined. This rule applies throughout Africa, and the only exception I know is the Senegal antelope, which may be found in the same locality with all the other classes. I will allude only to those found in the countries I write of.

The hartebeest of Nyasaland is known as "Lichtensteini." It is also found in the Kilimanjaro district, but not in the rest of "British East Africa." The horns measure from 14 to 20 in. (record) in length. The species found from the coast as far inland as the Lake Nakuru is "Cokei." It is light yellowish-brown in colour, with legs of a dirty white; horns 16 to 19 in. (record) round the bend. It is a smaller and lighter animal than that which succeeds it beyond Nakuru, known as "Jacksonii." This latter extends to the borders of the Congo State, but is scarce to the west of the Lake Victoria. It is a large and very heavy animal, of a deep chestnut-brown colour; length of horn, 20 to 23 in. Its place in Uganda and Ankoli is largely taken by the "Senegal antelope" (*Alcephalus senegalensis;* Swahili, *topi;* Kiganda, *nemira*), which, as I have said, alone encroaches on the domains of its allied species, and which may be met with mixing with herds of hartebeest throughout East Africa, even to the coast. Its colouring is very handsome, the coat being of a rich dark and glossy mahogany, the upper part of all four legs deep black; length of horn, 16 to 19¼ in. (record). The horns of these various species of hartebeest are shown on Plate II. Both male and female are horned; the male carries a heavier and thicker horn than the female, but in shape they are identical. A hartebeest would scale from 200 to 300 lb.

In East Africa he is known as the *kongoni*, in Uganda as *ngazi*. The meat of the hartebeest is tough and tasteless, though not so much so as that of the water-buck. The hair of the coat is very short and smooth. All species of this animal frequent the open plain, sometimes at great distances from water. They are never found in forest, though they occasionally pass through belts of jungle to reach open glades of good pasture, and may be found also in sparse scrub-jungle. They prefer short grass to the longer and more matted pasture, and delight in the patches of young verdure which succeed the older grass which the prairie fires have burnt off. They also haunt the bare plains, where pasture would seem to be very scarce.

The sable antelope (*Hippotragus niger*), which ranks with these in size, rivals the kudu in length of horn, while for beauty of colouring it is perhaps unrivalled among the large antelopes. The horns are annulated, and curve backwards, like those of the ibex, in a magnificent sweep, measuring 46 in. round the bend (record head). It has the peculiarity of being maned. The sable is extremely local. It is found in Nyasaland, where it is called *impala-pala*, near the Shupanga forest at the mouth of the Zambesi, and Sharpe met it in great numbers on the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau. I have never shot it myself Its chief habitat is in Mashonaland and south of the Zambesi.

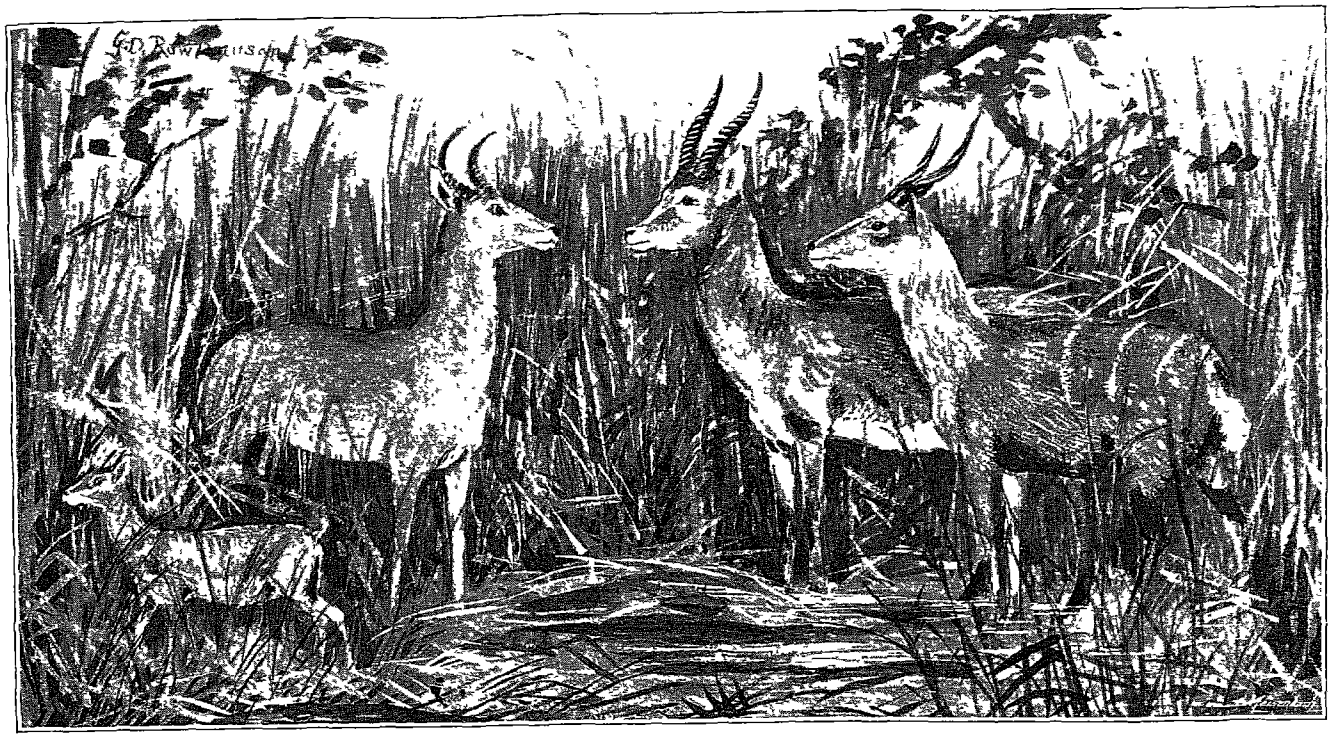
The situtunga or Speke's antelope (*Tragelaphus Spekei*) is found in Uganda, where it lives in the densest swamp, and is said to frequent deep water. It is a shaggy-haired antelope, like the water-buck. The horns have first an inward and then an outward twist, and attain a length of 32 in. The colour is very dark brown or dingy black, spotted with white. I have seen the skins in Uganda, but have never shot the animal. Its hoofs are so long, being adapted to

marshes, that Speke said the specimen he had could hardly walk on dry land; he calls it the "Nzoe."[1] It is easily killed, for the natives have only to localise it and surround the patch of reeds, when it is beaten to death with sticks. It is called *njobi*, and is very rare, for the Waganda (now that the cattle are dead) prize it both for its skin and meat. I fear it may soon become extinct, unless preserved, and for this reason I regret to see, in a letter of the 'Times' correspondent,[2] that he shot twenty-four head in one day on the little island of Kosi, on which alone he says it has survived. The island, by his account, is only half a mile long by a few hundred yards broad! He supposes it to have been preserved through the *Imbari* (religion) of the natives. South of the Zambesi the marking of this antelope seems to vary somewhat.[3]

The oryx may be said to occupy a middle place between the large antelopes and the small. Two species have been determined in East Africa - *Oryx beisa* and *Oryx callotis*. They are similar in most respects (and almost identical with the South African gemsbuck), but callotis has a big tuft of hair on the ears. Their horns are straight, trending backwards, and very long, the best callotis being 30½ in., while the record beisa is 39 in. The oryx is found on the highlands around Machako's, but is not extremely common. He frequents the open plain, and is met with in small batches. It is also common near the coast north of Lamu.

The largest of the small antelope is Grant's gazelle (*Gazella Granti*). He is a model of symmetry, and his large and massive horns are most beautiful in their curve, and are carried most gracefully. In colour this animal is of a very pale reddish-brown, with white belly, a band of lighter colour intervening above the

[1] Journals, p. 223. [2] Times, July 6th, 1893.
[3] Selous, A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa, pp. 160, 210, &c.



STEIN-BUCK REED-BUCK NSUNU BUSH-BUCK

ANTELOPES

stomach. The buttocks are white, with a black edging on either thigh. Grant's gazelle is found on the open plain, and in rocky ground far from water, and never near forest. Both sexes are horned; the female carries thin but long horns (up to 17 in. in length), the points, as is the case in all horned female antelope, turning inwards, the curve being more or less lyre-shaped. I have weighed a male Granti, and found him 115 lb. without the stomach; female, 65 lb. The horns of the male measure up to 30 in. (record), and are some 7 in. in circumference at the base. They are annulated, black in colour, and bend backwards, and then forwards at the tip. Anything above 25 in. would be a good head.

Thomson's gazelle (*Gazella Thomsoni*) is a very small animal indeed. It is found in very large herds throughout Masailand, on the bare and open plains, where it associates with Grant's. In height it would not be more than 18 in. to 2 ft., and its weight would probably not exceed 50 lb. as a maximum. It is an extremely beautiful little animal, with a very large horn for its size, black, annulated three-fourths of its length, and in curve somewhat like a miniature Granti. The longest horn recorded is 15½ in.; a 14-in. head would be a good one. The hair is thick and longish, and on the back and sides is of a bright reddish-brown. The belly is snow-white, and above it (below the ribs) runs a longitudinal black stripe, which stops short at the inset of the thigh. The rump is white, and between it and the red-brown colouring of the back is a thin black line. Mr Jackson states that both sexes are horned. I have never myself shot a horned female.

Opposed as I am to the mania for the multiplication of species, and for differentiating every slight local variety into a distinct animal, I believe that one of the commonest animals of East Africa has hitherto

escaped accurate classification and observation. For great herds of antelope exist which combine the characteristics of the Granti and Thomsoni. In size they are midway between the two, of the height and build of the Indian black buck or the njalla. In colour they approach the Thomsoni, having the distinctive longitudinal black line, while the colouring of the back and sides is lighter and more near the Granti. The horn is that of Thomson's, and both sexes are horned. The difficulty is, that in these mixed herds of Grant's and Thomson's gazelles there seems to exist almost every shade of size and colouring between the two. The animal I speak of, however, is as distinct from the tiny Thomsoni as he is from Grant's gazelle. I would greatly have liked to settle this point to my own satisfaction; but, as my narrative shows, I was compelled to hurry very rapidly through the habitat of this antelope, both on my upward and downward journey, and though I shot several of the intermediate variety, I was not successful in obtaining a good specimen of a well-horned buck. On one occasion I shot a horned female, which was very much larger than Thomson's gazelle, but yet had the longitudinal stripe.

The bush-buck (*Tragelaphus sylvaticus*), like the kudu and the eland, has smooth black horns, quite unridged or annulated. They have a cork-screw-like twist, and are small for the size of the animal, which is nearly as large as a Granti. The maximum is 15½ in.; a horn over 13½ in. would be worth keeping. The bush-buck is either striped or spotted with white on a red-brown ground; belly white. He frequents dense jungle and reeds close to water, and is generally found in swampy or marsh ground. In Nyasaland he is called *bawarra*, in Uganda *ngabi*. The plague seems to have almost exterminated this animal in East Africa, where at no time was he so common as on Lake Nyasa. He

is never found in herds, being met with singly or in pairs.

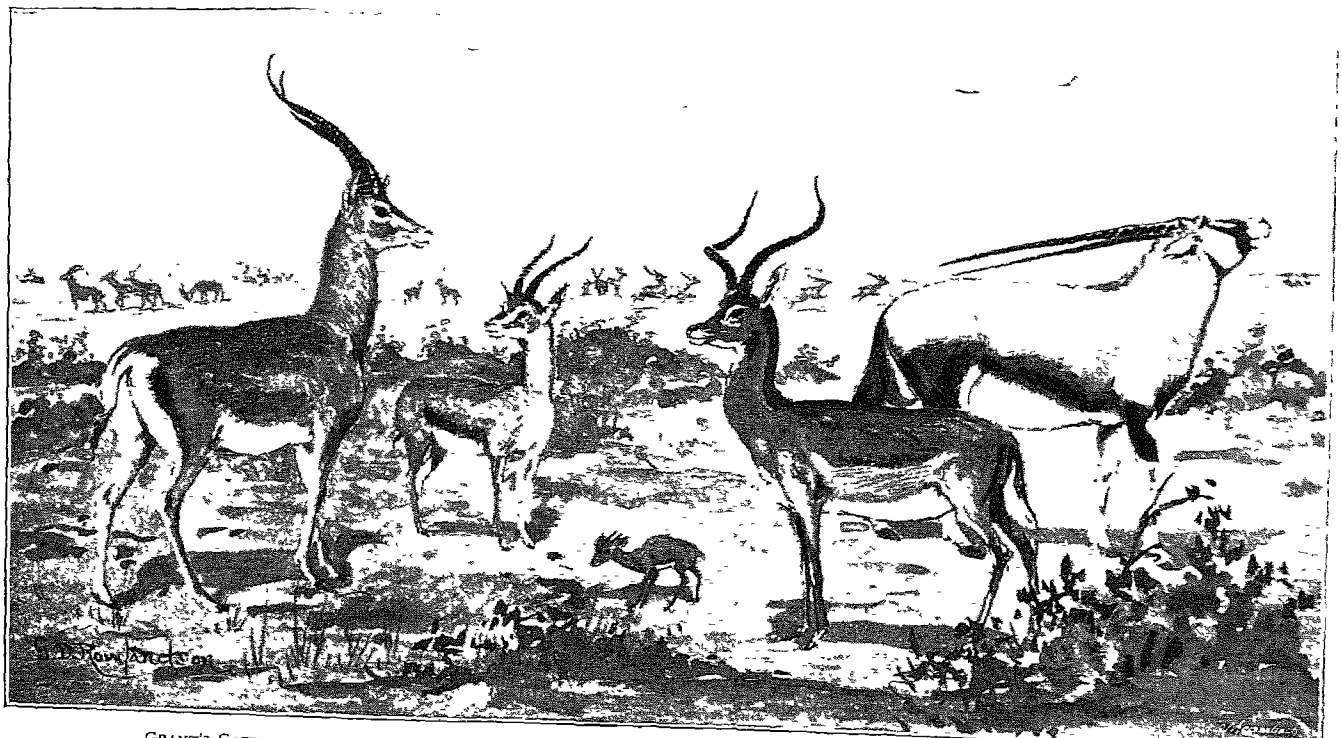
The lesser kudu (*Strepsiceros imberbis*) is one of the most lovely of antelopes. He is a miniature of the greater kudu, but the stripes on his sides and the bluish tint in his colouring are more distinct. He is rare in East Africa, and I never bagged a specimen myself, though Wilson shot one on the Sabakhi. Like the bush-buck, this antelope is not gregarious. It is, I think, generally found in thick places not far from water.

The mpalla (*Æpyceros melampus*) of East Africa carries a finer head than that in Nyasaland. This most lovely animal is found in herds varying from half-a-dozen to fifty or more, and generally frequents sparse jungle, or plains which border on low forest and scrub. It is the only antelope which I have seen browsing on the leaves of shrubs, and I have shot one while thus reaching up, with his forelegs in the boughs of a bush. The longest horn I have shot was $22\frac{1}{4}$ in. straight ($26\frac{1}{4}$ in. round the bend, $18\frac{1}{4}$ in. from elbow to elbow), and this is the largest on record. A 20-in. horn would be worth keeping. The points of the horns are sometimes excessively sharp. In colour he is of a chestnut red, fainter towards the belly, which is snow-white. He has a most graceful carriage, and in symmetry of form and in the beauty of his head and spreading horns he is perhaps almost unequalled even among these most beautiful of the *feræ naturæ*. Like the black-buck of India, he will take enormous bounds, apparently in mere wanton excess of agility, and when wounded will jump perpendicularly into the air again and again. He is very hard to kill, and though on one occasion I put two bullets into one within two inches of each other behind the shoulder, and broke both forelegs with a third

ill-directed shot, it was as much as four men could do to secure him. As he is generally found in thick bush, one often unavoidably loses wounded animals, in spite of one's utmost efforts to recover them.

The reed-buck or Reitbok (*Cervicapra arundinum*) is found singly or in pairs, usually (like the bush-buck) in thick reeds, and near water. It is a very light-built antelope, and would rarely scale as much as 70 lb. Its horns are annulated, and bend forward in a manner common to no other antelope. This bend was exaggerated into almost a right angle in the specimens I shot near Ruwenzori (length, $15\frac{7}{8}$ in. maximum, 14 in. good). It is found but rarely in East Africa—De Winton shot one on the hills near the Kedoung river—but is plentiful near the Albert Edward Lake and on Nyasa. Its hair is very thick and woolly, and it is remarkable for its long white fluffy tail, which, like that of a young lamb, is the most noticeable thing about it as it runs away. Its colour is mouse-brown, with white belly, and it whistles shrilly when disturbed. On Nyasa he is called *ompoio;* in Uganda, *njasa*.

The nsunu (*Kobus kob*) is found in large herds in Buddu, in the swampy land near the lake. He is also found in Kavirondo. In colour he is a bright tawny yellow, with white belly. As his scientific name implies, he is allied to the water-buck, and, like him, his horns are a pale brown in colour, and annulated, all except the extreme tip. The hair, too, is long and thick, though by no means so shaggy as in the water-buck. The nsunu has a peculiar double hoof; the secondary hoof being very long, and the lower so set on as to make it appear as though he walked on the pastern—a provision of nature, apparently, for enabling him to pass over swampy and yielding ground. The pastern and fetlock are black. I did not notice this



GRANT'S GAZELLE. THOMSON'S GAZELLE MPALLAH ORYX

ANTELOPES

formation of hoof among the nsunu I shot on the Albert Lake, where I found them on the dry plains, in some cases a considerable distance from water, on the parched and withered tracts of jungle. One extremely fine buck which I shot there was spotted. The hair, too, was not so long and thick as in the nsunu of Uganda. A pair of horns brought thence by me beat previous recorded measurements, being 18½ in. in length. A 17½-in. horn may be considered a trophy. The nsunu is found in large herds, sometimes numbering perhaps a hundred or more animals.

The tiny pah (*Neotragus*) is a lovely little animal, not bigger than an English rabbit. His slender little legs are no thicker than pencils. I am certain that there are very many distinct species of this animal, varying in size from the *Neotragus Kirkii*—peculiar in his long prehensile shrew-like nose, and the long tuft of hair on his forehead—to the large pah, in size as big as Thomson's gazelle, with a brick-red belly. Several of these species I believe to be still unclassified. The pah lives only in thick jungle, and may be found any distance from water, among the thorny aloes and cactus which clothe the most inhospitable wastes. Indeed, where an entire absence of water, and apparently of fodder, has driven away all other game, the rhino and the tiny pah will alone be found in possession. This is one of the few antelopes which emits any sound, and its whistling—like the notes of a musk-rat or a bird—may invariably be heard when it is startled and darts off among the aloes. It is, of course, easily killed with a shot-gun, and is delicious venison. The Uganda variety has lately been classified as a new species by Dr Stuhlmann. Its coat is smoother, and its colouring varies from a dark sepia brown on the back, to a pale mouse-colour with even a slaty tint towards the stomach. The pah is common

on the islands off the East African coast, and throughout East Africa.

There are in Africa many species of "grass antelope" (*Nanotragi*, &c.), which, like the four-horned antelope (or jungle-sheep) of India, live in the dense grass. When disturbed they dash past in a series of rushes, like the hog-deer in India (who gained his name from his pig-like rush), or in a series of rapid bounds, till they can disappear and secrete themselves again in the grass. They are of course very difficult to bag, for the sportsman is almost invariably taken unawares, and before his rifle is ready his chance has gone. These grass-antelopes vary from the size of a Granti to that of a pah, and if there are still any completely new species to be found in Africa, I am convinced it will be among this class. I shot one of the larger specimens once, but it turned out to be a doe. Of the smaller, I have only bagged the Steinbuck (*Nanotragus tragulus*), a little yellow antelope, with long hair and a white belly. On Nyasa the natives call them *gwapi*, *ensi*, and *ishak*.

Allied to the antelopes, but most distinct in his characteristics, is the wildebeest or gnu (*Connochætes taurina*), called *nyumbu* by the natives. This animal, though an antelope in his anatomy, in appearance much more resembles a bison. His heavy shoulder, beard and mane, ox-like horns, long cow-tail, and manners, proclaim him the bison of Africa. I have always wondered that the pastoral tribes of Africa have never attempted to domesticate him with their cattle. The cow yields a considerable quantity of milk, and I would certainly class her with the animals which might be experimented with on ranches, before the wave of civilisation shall sweep the game away from the plains and hills where now they swarm. The brindled wildebeest of East Africa has lately been called "Jackson's" and differentiated as a new species (*Albo jubatus*), solely, so far as I am

aware, because his beard is white, while that of the South African species is black.

He is a most grotesque animal, the embodiment of caricature! Huge herds of them are found on the Athi plains, but the old bulls love to stand, singly or in pairs, like sentinels motionless on the crest of a rising ground. Thus they will stand face to face, only turning slightly to stare at the hunter. Suddenly, as though impelled by clockwork, they wheel round, and with the most ungainly plunges make off for some distance, and again strike an attitude. So awkward is their plunging gallop and the fantastic capers that they cut, that they appear to be lame, and they will even in their grotesque levity upset themselves altogether. I have run down a wounded bull, but at close quarters they turn fiercely to bay, and are apt to be dangerous. The skin, of a very dark iron-grey, checkered with the "brindled" markings, is very handsome, with the flowing mane and beard. The quarters seem very small in comparison to the depth of the shoulder, and are those of the antelope, as are the hoofs. A bull wildebeest will scale 350 lb. I never saw the wildebeest west of Kikuyu, nor did I meet him in Nyasaland, though Mr Crawshay states that he is found there; but he, too, never saw him.[1]

The giraffe (*Giraffa camelopardus*) stands alone among the game—a genus with no affinities. This most beautiful animal is so well known from pictures, and from the specimens till lately living in the Zoo, that he needs no description from me in these cursory and brief notes. He is found in East Africa to the east of the Mau escarpment, but not beyond it—until we reach the Sudan, where he is common. In East Africa he is found most frequently in the districts near the coast, and extending 300 miles inland. I cannot but think

[1] Zoological Society's Proceedings, 1890, p. 663.

that some use might be made of this animal, and his docility would seem to point him out as a creature which might be serviceable to man. Indeed, at the risk of appearing pedantic, I would urge that over and above those special animals, like the elephant, zebra, ostrich, and wildebeest, whose complete domestication I have advocated, all the large antelope might hereafter be preserved on ranches, and bred in a wild state for meat, like our red-deer at home. This would at least preserve them from indiscriminate slaughter and extinction. The skin of the giraffe is very thick indeed, almost rivalling the rhino. His native name is *twiga*.

The ostrich (*mbuni*) is found in considerable numbers in East Africa, from the coast zone to the lake, but not (so far as my observation goes) to the west of the Mau range. To the north, it is of course common in the Sudan. I have seen as many as thirty on the horizon at once. The East African variety is not valued for its plumes, as is the South African or the more northern, which is found in Somaliland and the Sudan. As the conditions are, however, favourable to its life, it would be an easy matter to introduce the better plumed species for farming. The young ostrich is often brought for sale by the natives, and it becomes excessively tame. The footprint is not unlike that of the giraffe, and both resemble the double-pointed flat track made by the camel, but are long and narrow, and not so circular. The knack of discriminating between the various spoor of game is an art in itself on which one could write a separate chapter!

The representative of the pig tribe in Africa (*njeri*), both in Nyasaland and the northern sphere, is the wart-hog (*Sus phacocoerus*). He is nothing like so large, so powerful, or so fierce as the Indian wild boar. His tushes, however, are very much larger and thicker, and some six or eight inches are exposed outside the lip, and

curl upwards. As will be seen from the plate, he is not a prepossessing animal. On the level plains around Njems, where he abounds, some most excellent sport might, I think, be had in pig-sticking, were horses introduced. The village pig of India is simply the wild species domesticated, and they frequently interbreed with the wild "sounders"; there is no reason why this African animal should not be similarly tamed. The wart-hog rarely stands above two feet at the shoulder. He has a ridiculous habit of carrying his tail on end when running.

CHAPTER XXI.

SOME OTHER AFRICAN ANIMALS—*continued.*

The lion—Comparison with the tiger—Fearlessness—Man-eaters—Night-shooting—An incident with tiger—"Night-sights"—Wild dogs—Leopard—Serval—Hyena—Small game—Non-game birds—Baboons, &c.—Small mammals—Reptiles—Lizards—Snakes—Insects—Ants—Bees—Nature of sport in Africa—Horses and dogs a desideratum—Vitality of big game—"Getting their legs"—Incompetence of East Africans as hunters—Their pluck—Stalking—Native tribes as hunters—Rifles—Other requisites.

Of the carnivora of Africa the chief, of course, is the lion (*Felis leo*). Both in Nyasaland and in East Africa these animals abound. They are found alike at the sea-level and at the highest altitudes. Quite recently one has been shot even on the island of Mombasa, and they are common on the mainland near the coast, while I myself came upon a troop of them on the Mau escarpment at an elevation of some 8000 ft.

The lion in his habits, as in his character, is very different from the tiger. He courts no concealment, and shirks no encounter. The tiger, unless tracked up, or driven out of the fastnesses of the jungle, is rarely or never seen. If come upon unawares, he will in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred plunge into the jungle and escape from view. If suddenly confronted at very close quarters he may charge in self-defence, as I have known him do, and on such occasions he will invariably roar terrifically to frighten his enemy: in fact it is,

perhaps, the only occasion on which he *does* roar his best. A man-eater may assume the aggressive, and a tiger, should he hear sounds in front, and have cause to suspect that he is surrounded or entrapped, will fearlessly charge, but his natural instinct is to escape.

A lion, on the other hand, stalks majestically over the plain in the open. If he sights man he will generally go from him, but he scorns to run, and if pressed close or interfered with, will charge viciously. It would, indeed, appear as though the lion considered it *infra dig.* to bolt, even from man. I have fired shots at a lion and lioness, and though the bullets went so close that they must almost have singed the hair, they walked proudly along till they crested a rising ground and disappeared. Crossing a small ravine, I ran after them as fast as possible, hoping for a shot at the point where they had disappeared, but when I reached it, I saw them galloping fast on the far horizon. As long as they were in view they scorned to run, but when once out of sight they had made the best of their time! I have again and again remarked this, and often as I have seen lions I can never recall an instance where they may be said to have fled from me. Lions go about very often in troops. At the Lanjora, near Machako's, Mr Jackson counted twenty-two of all sizes in one troop. This was witnessed by several Europeans. The most I have seen was in the troop I have mentioned, on the Mau plateau — two lions, four lionesses, and four cubs. At the same time, the lion is more frequently met with singly or in pairs.

He is not easily scared. At the Athi, I remember on one occasion firing a regular fusilade at some small antelope. I was utterly fagged and demoralised, and could hit nothing, while the Grant's gazelle at which I was shooting, though hit seven or eight times, refused to succumb. Unsteadied by the long and hot march, and

anxious to secure him, I fired recklessly, and probably expended some twelve to fifteen rounds. This absurd performance took place close to a patch of tall reeds. I went away, leaving instructions for the caravan, which was a short distance behind, to halt here. They did so, and were seated, chattering and smoking, all round the reeds, when a magnificent lion stalked out in their midst! He had lain there, contemptuously disregarding my previous shots. The porters of course, in a panic, let off their rifles; one shot may have grazed him, for he immediately faced round, as he was slowly walking off, and in another second he would have charged, had not Shukri's unerring rifle shot him dead. On another occasion I almost trod on a lioness, and firing a snap-shot at about 12 yds'. distance, I actually succeeded in missing her! She turned at once, and made a demonstration to charge. Knowing my life depended on my left barrel, I held my ground, and reserved it till she should be on the top of me. We faced each other for a moment, when with a growl she turned and went off at a slow gallop. The incident I have narrated of the lion which stole our sheep at Fort George, will also prove how fearless these animals are.

Lions will often attack men—presumably when game is scarce; and so bad were the lions on the banks of the Shiré, near Nyasa, in this respect, that my canoe-men dare hardly land in daylight to collect firewood, and would on no account do so after dark. We invariably camped on little islands in the river. I had the misfortune to completely lose myself in the jungle when shooting at this very place, and the prospect of spending the night on the branch of a tree was not a pleasant one. To have slept on the ground would have been, I understood, to convert one's self into lion's-meat to a certainty before morning. Talking of this tempts me to digress for a moment on the subject of "sitting up" (in a tree) over

a dead animal, in order to shoot a lion or tiger. I look on this as the most feeble and pusillanimous class of sport—wrongly so called.

I have heard of oxen being tied up by a native rajah, day by day for weeks, under a certain tree, and the stall-fed tiger thus reserved for the rifle of his honoured European guest. One might as well boast of the trophies of a tiger shot through the bars of his cage at the Zoo! Nevertheless, under special circumstances, I have myself tried this form of "sport," and sat up more nights than I care to add up! I have said that I once did so for a month consecutively in India, but I had an excuse. For the animal I was following from morning till night was a man-eating tiger who was said to have killed over a hundred men, and on whose head was a large reward. By night I sat in trees over the water, where I expected he would drink—my food being brought to me at daybreak. It is the poorest form of amusement I know! So absolutely silent must one sit, concealed in the carefully constructed *machan*, that one dare hardly breathe. The mosquitoes graze at will on one's forehead; a hand must not be moved to displace them, at the hour the tiger is expected The tiny jungle-bee—not half the size of the house-fly—in search of moisture settles on the eyelids, till he exasperates the hunter, who dare not dash him off And after all, the result is almost certain disappointment! Out of the scores of times I have thus watched, I have never once met with success.

On one occasion, while watching for this same tiger, I had a droll *contretemps*. I had tracked him to a particular patch of jungle, and I found he had killed an ox there. No water, save one small pool, was anywhere near. It seemed a certainty he would drink there that night. An ox had been tied up near. There was no proper tree to make a *machan* in; the only one was a

low pollard. I borrowed a native *charpoy* (bed), and fixed it among the thin boughs, which else would not have borne my weight. Just at the time the tiger was expected, the ox made a rush among the dry maize-stalks below me. Tightening my grasp on my loaded rifle, and hardly drawing my breath, I leaned over to look. At that moment, without the slightest warning, the boughs to which the *charpoy* was tied, and those on which it rested, gave way with a crash. The native who sat beside me, and I myself, descended bodily with the *charpoy* on the top of the ox! Whether the tiger was really approaching I do not know. We clambered up into the tree again, and spent a miserable night clinging to its branches.

Once, in Nyasaland, being very anxious to shoot a lion, and having only a few days at my disposal, I sat over the carcass of an eland I had shot, to see if they would come. Several did come, but there was little or no moon, and the mosquitoes drew more blood from me than I did from the lions! I have been shown many ingenious fore-sights for night-shooting, in which luminous paint and diamond tips were prominent. Mr Holland of Bond Street showed me the very last invention a few days ago, and was surprised, apparently, at my condemning the whole practice as mere poaching. On one occasion, when waiting over water for the man-eating tiger of which I have spoken, I had need of a night-sight. I caught a firefly, and putting some sticky juice of a tree on my fore-sight, I placed the insect back downwards upon it, so that his wings adhered. As he constantly wriggled to get free, the bright spark at the end of his tail afforded a perfect sight to the rifle.

From what I have said, it will be gathered that to follow the lion into dense cover is even more dangerous than to follow a tiger. I have attempted it—in a

reckless mood—but have never succeeded in meeting the lion under such circumstances. If I had, I should not, in all probability, be now writing these pages!

I only once came on a pack of African wild dogs (*Canis sylvaticus Africanus*). They are quite unlike the Indian variety, except in their behaviour. They had been stalking a hartebeest, and ran into him, but missed their mark and lost him. They then proceeded to stalk a giraffe in a most deliberate manner. Some crept along in the open, or took up positions on ant-hills, while others slunk round through the bush. The giraffe saw me, and "sloped," a word which exactly expresses the action of that animal in retreat! The dogs started forward, and straightened out their backs; some were regularly on sentry, others lying down. I fired at one. They only ran forward a few yards, giving tongue, and even returning quite fearlessly, just like the Indian dog. In colour they are black, with a white tip to their bushy tails, and the body, and especially the legs, spotted with dirty white and fawn colour. They stand as high as a retriever or pointer, and are lean, lanky brutes, full of going, and with terrible teeth. They are rough-haired, and have a very deep howl, but do not bark. The ears are large and upright. The Indian wild dog is not nearly so large, and is of a rufous red, with whitish belly, and a scanty brush-tail of the prevailing red colour.

The leopard (*Felis pardus*) is found throughout East Africa. He is at times very daring, and will attack and kill men. In Uganda it is contrary to custom to shoot him, and when one of these animals has made himself obnoxious at the capital, by killing goats or attacking people, a great hunt is organised, and he is driven out of his cover. He has to run the gauntlet of the crowd on either side, and is thrashed to death with sticks. Should he maul any one, he is beaten off by the rest.

It is all looked upon as a great joke, and indicates the pluck of the people, for he is a large and powerful brute. When thus battered to death, he is slung on a pole, and carried to the king, whose perquisite the skin is; or he may give it to the chief who organised the hunt. In the absence of Mwanga, after the war, a leopard so killed was brought to Kampala and presented to me.

The serval cat (*Felis serval*) is also found both in Nyasaland and East Africa. It is a comparatively large animal, and very fierce; the skin is yellow, with very large black spots and blotches. Like the leopard, servals, though common, are not often seen, owing to their retiring habits; but I have shot them in East Africa. I once kept for some time a serval kitten. It was a most engaging little animal, full of fun and mischief, and very fierce. It would never allow a black man to touch it, and indeed I alone had any influence with it. It was very well aware when it was doing wrong, and if detected would at once prepare for a fight. When I was writing in my room at Mombasa it would suddenly dart upon my table, upsetting papers, &c., and like a flash of lightning would be off again, and prepare to fight me, having apparently done this merely out of sheer bravado and mischief, and to "get a rise out of me"! I would box its ears with a slipper, amidst much hissing and spitting, but the moment the punishment was over, it had forgotten all about it (unlike a dog), and was as affectionate and as ripe for any new mischief as ever. When feeding, however, it was quite intractable. Among many such pets that I have had at various times, including tiger cubs, young bears, &c., it was, I think, the most amusing, and I became quite fond of it.

There are two kinds of hyena in Nyasaland, the striped (*Hyæna striata*) and the spotted (*H. crocata*),

but I have seen only the latter in East Africa.[1] They swarm in great numbers, especially in the districts where the pastoral tribes live—Masailand, Ankoli, &c. Now that the cattle are dead, and they no longer can get the bones and offal of these, they have become very bold from starvation, and probably destroy much game. I have already narrated several instances of their audacity.

There is a very great abundance and diversity of small game in Africa. As stated in the Railway Survey Report, "acres of geese and ducks" may be seen on Lake Naivasha, and these include a great variety of species. Teal, widgeon, and I believe snipe, are also found. There are various kinds of bustard, including the great bustard, and another large slate-coloured species which struts like a turkey. When flying it looks like a large vulture with black-tipped wings. The guinea-fowl is perhaps the most typical game-bird of Africa, and takes the place of the pea-fowl in India and the turkey in America. In addition to the common species, there is a very handsome variety, the "vulturine," found in great numbers on the Sabakhi.

Many kinds of partridge (*quāli*), as also of the red-legged "French partridge," are found. Of the latter, a large crested bird is excessively common on the Sabakhi; of the former, I have seen a dark iron-grey species with a head denuded of feathers (like the guinea-fowl), and a scarlet beak, in Kikuyu, in addition to the ordinary "grey" partridge. Some three different species, at least, of sand-grouse are found, one of them very large; and Sergeant Thomas of the Survey told me that on the Mau escarpment, to the west of Naivasha, he found the English grouse. Several varieties of quail exist, and this bird is extremely

[1] Emin found the striped hyena at Tabora (German East Africa)—Zoological Proceedings, 1890, p. 647.

plentiful. Blue rocks, green pigeon, and endless varieties of doves (some with game feathers like partridge) frequent the tree-jungle. Hares are common, and with the tiny pah gazelle afford some sport for the shot-gun.

Of non-game birds there are endless varieties. The vultures and hawks are well represented, as also the storks, cranes, bitterns, cormorants, divers, moorhens, and other water-birds. A very handsome parrot is to be seen; and the scarlet-tailed grey parrot, so well known in England, is indigenous in Uganda. Numbers of these are brought down by the porters, for sale at the coast. Toucans of various kinds frequent the heavier forest, and very many bright-plumaged birds—prominent among which for gorgeousness of colouring are the reed-sparrows, weaver-birds, and kingfishers give brightness to the scene. Song-birds are numerous. The great black raven, the hooded crow, and others of this family, are to be seen throughout the country; while the common sparrow, and that most ubiquitous of birds, the pied wagtail, remind us of England.

Troops of large baboons are met with both in the northern and southern British territories. I have already narrated how they will, when provoked, attack man. They come down regularly in season to the banks of the Sabakhi to feed on the fruit of the Borassus palm. Many other species of monkey are found in these countries, including the beautiful colobus, which, however, is so prized for its skin by all natives that it has become rare. It lives in the depths of the forests, and is very shy, and hard to approach. Porcupines are common, as are large edible field-rats. One sees numerous kinds of field-rats and mice, some with tails like squirrels or the jerboa. They swarm in some localities, especially round Njems. Large red squirrels, and others with a striped skin, may be seen in the

jungles, and the strange-looking lemur is often caught by the natives and brought for sale. I have also seen the armadillo in Nyasaland.

Reptiles are very numerous, from the giant crocodile, which swarms in the rivers and lakes, to the most minute of lizards. The crocodiles are of several varieties, including the ugly snub-nosed alligator, which is found in tens of thousands in the Albert Lake, the crocodile proper, and a smaller green-coloured variety which frequents the fish-pools. One could recall many stories of crocodiles did space permit, but I must not digress again.

The lizards of Africa are very numerous, and some of them very beautiful. They vary from the great lizard, some 3 ft. long, which looks like a young crocodile, to the blue-headed sentinel, which scurries round the trunk of a tree on your approach, and the endless blue-tailed and other rock-lizards, which you may watch idly basking in the sun on a cloudless African day.

Turtles abound in the rivers and lakes, and the land-tortoises and mud-turtles are very varied. The biggest land-tortoise I have seen was about a foot in diameter. It had been very cruelly spiked by the natives, apparently to prevent it laying eggs, for what reason I do not know.

Snakes are common, especially the cobra and puff-adder. Some cobras spit at an enemy, and the natives say that if the spray it ejects lodges in the eye it causes blindness. I have also seen the hooded cobra. Of puff-adders I have seen the common brown variety, and a very beautiful species with checkered yellow and black markings. The python is also found in Africa, and is common in the Lake districts. Wilson relates that one swallowed a wife of the King Mtesa! Harmless green and coloured tree-snakes are common. Curious reports are rife about the black mwamba, to the

effect that it has the comb of a cock, and crows, and attacks every one passing by its lair; it is apparently a species of hamadryad. Frogs,—from the giant bull-frog downwards,—and toads abound. The latter are extremely plentiful in Uganda. It is a curious thing—first pointed out to me by a native—that the frogs in a marsh have very keen hearing, and will detect the lightest footfall of a passer-by, upon which they make a vociferous clamour. He described this trait as a provision of nature against thieves by night!

Of the strange and weird insects of Africa I have left myself no space to write. They deserve volumes to themselves. The mantis is found of every size, from 4 in. long to an almost microscopic insect. Beetles are often of elephantine proportions, and are of endless kinds. The butterflies and moths are many of them of enormous size and exquisite beauty. Of the former there is an immense variety. The ants are equally well represented. Some are very troublesome, such as the *siafu* and the *maji-moto*, and their bite is most painful. The former attack in masses, and I have known them stampede donkeys, and turn out a sleeping camp. Scorpions are numerous, especially among the dead leaves of forest-trees, and the varieties of the mosquito are a study which is often forced upon unwilling students. Honey-bees abound, and I have noticed a kind of ground-bee, whose nest was made beneath the soil, while a long neck of moulded clay projected above the ground and gave access to the nest, but prevented rain or water draining into it. The natives suspend hollow logs in the trees for the wild bees to hive in, and they take the honey, but discard and make no use of the wax.

With a few general comments on sport I will close this chapter, already over-long. East Africa is, indeed, the paradise of sportsmen. I was myself prevented, as I have said, by other duties, and by urgent necessity for

haste, when passing through the game country, from doing much shooting—except such as I could obtain by diverging from the line of march, and covering some twenty-five miles or more daily. Under such circumstances one is often compelled to abandon wounded game, when it heads back in the opposite direction to the line of march—a necessity always grievous to a real sportsman. With horses and dogs in Africa, the grandest sport in the world could be procured. One could then, on the open plains of Masailand, gallop down each wounded hartebeest, and not one single animal need be shot in excess of requirements, and none be left to die, or to be pulled down by hyenas. With horses the zebra and wildebeest could be ridden down and driven into paddocks or lassoed. With dogs one could track through the densest grass and jungle, and make certain of recovering one's game, where riding was impossible. Such methods would eliminate the one drawback of big-game shooting—the feeling of butchery when luck is bad, and, in spite of the sportsman's utmost efforts, animal after animal is lost though mortally wounded. The pleasure and excitement, moreover, of galloping after game, or hunting with trained dogs, surpasses, perhaps, even the zest of the stalk and the shot, and is its natural complement

Two conditions of sport in East Africa lend emphasis to these remarks. One is the incredible recuperative power of the large antelopes and all heavy game; the other, the extraordinary inefficiency of the natives as hunters. In confirmation of the first, I could fill chapters full of instances in which I have shot hartebeest, wildebeest, zebra, buffalo, &c., and completely "bowled them over" with a well-placed bullet through a vital organ. They have lain apparently dead on the ground; presently they have staggered to their feet,

and in what appeared a final death-struggle have crawled a few yards. Then they gain strength and hobble along a short distance in front of the hunter. Ammunition is valuable in the heart of Africa, and one refrains from firing a needless shot: presently your dying animal trots away—*vires acquirit eundo*—and finally he gallops over the horizon as though nothing had happened! Times without number I have experienced this. One follows on, almost at a trot, mile after mile in a burning sun. Quite unsteadied by the exertion, and demoralised by the chagrin, one fires round after round, and makes miss after miss. Ultimately, having covered a great distance and wasted much ammunition, one sees the wounded animal mix with a herd and become quite indistinguishable, and realises that one has lost it! I would therefore impress on the hunter never to consider his game bagged until the hunting-knife has done its work. If your animal falls to the shot, cover it with your left barrel until your gun-bearer has seized it, and fire if it rises. From the elephant to the tiny pah, treat all alike. In the case of the elephant, I could quote a curious instance from personal experience; and a friend of mine once shot one and cut off its tail, and sat on the carcass for some time, ultimately leaving it to follow another. When he returned it was gone!

But of all game the antelopes are the most tenacious of life. All animals, when first hit, are staggered by the blow, and may be comparatively easily secured. Once they "get their legs" they become more and more unaffected by the wound, and, what is still more remarkable (and I state it as the confirmed observation of a number of years' experience), subsequent shots have not only no such staggering effect, but positively appear to give increased vitality to the animal. I have noticed this with all classes of game both in India and Africa,

and it applies to a boar when speared, as much as to a hartebeest hit by a bullet from a rifle.

As regards the second point. The Swahili or Zanzibari is indubitably the greatest fool at hunting I have ever seen; and the natives of the various tribes are little or no better. Contrasting them with the Bheel-trackers of India, whose skill is absolutely wonderful, or even with the ordinary shikarry, or common Indian villager, the difference is marvellous. I myself was quicker both to see and follow a blood-trail than the best hunter I ever met in East Africa; yet an Indian tracker could give me as many points in such work as I could probably give to a London cabby. They are equally poor in sighting game. They have, moreover, no instincts as hunters. Instead of noiselessly touching one's arm, indicating the game with the pointed finger, and thrusting the rifle instantly into one's hand, they will whistle loudly to call one's attention, point energetically with much gesticulation, and it will not occur to them to hand the rifle they carry till the game, weary of this music-hall performance, is in full retreat at a gallop. Three years' constant teaching failed to fully eradicate these faults from my gun-bearer. I have even looked over my shoulder when stalking a buck (surprised at its suddenly taking fright), and found my intelligent sportsmen following behind with the camp-flag held aloft! They can never tell you (as the Indian shikarry does with absolute certainty) whether you have hit or missed. They have been absolutely positive of a hit which I misdoubted, and when I asked which one, have pointed to an animal at which I had never fired. Again, they have told me unanimously that I had missed, when the animal had dropped dead to the shot, and was lying where he fell! This is a great drawback to the hunter, because a bystander has a great advantage in seeing the

result of a shot, since the object is not obscured by the smoke of the rifle. He can also more clearly hear the "thud" of the bullet. Dualla could always detect this, even though standing 100 yds. or more away from me, but my gun-bearers never could hear it, although close by my side.

On the other hand, the Swahili often shows very great pluck with dangerous game. My left wrist having been shattered by a bullet in Nyasaland, I could not properly handle my heavy rifle. Any one of my men would, without the slightest hesitation, allow me to rest it on his shoulder to fire at elephant, rhino, or buffalo, standing unarmed, face to face with these animals for the purpose. They will often (as I could quote many cases to prove) fearlessly follow even wounded elephant into the densest cover, but they are terribly liable to panic. Elephant-trackers in Nyasaland are sometimes very good, and the natives there are all more skilful hunters than in East Africa.

The bushes dotted over the plain, and especially the ant-hills, give the sportsman a great advantage in stalking game in Africa. In some districts, however as on the Athi plains—the animals are so tame that they will stand within easy range and gaze at the passer-by; and I have even known eland and zebra trot towards the caravan, and accompany it out of curiosity. Few Europeans had, however, at that time, passed through Masailand, and already the game is much wilder. The main difficulty of stalking consists in the fact that almost all herds of game in Africa are mixed: zebra, hartebeest, and the small antelope, all herd together, and frequently a rhino or ostrich will be close alongside. The safety of the herd depends on the most wary species, and a stray ostrich will thus often defeat the sportsman, not merely preventing his getting within range of itself, but by giving the alarm, and so dis-

turbing all the other game in the vicinity. The does of the small antelopes are also especially trying in this respect.

Few of the pastoral tribes apparently hunt or kill game, and this accounts for the tameness of the animals in Masailand, where the wild antelope and zebra mingle with the herds of tame cattle. Now, however, prompted by hunger, the Masai will eagerly eat any game, or even offal; and on several occasions they ran down and speared wounded zebra which I had shot. As a rule they claim no part in an animal thus wounded, and at once deliver it up; but on my downward journey their hunger impelled them to try and seize the meat, and a quarrel, which nearly led to serious results, ensued on one occasion between them and my men, who had run forward to claim the animal. The negroid tribes all kill and ensnare game, chiefly in pitfalls. Various kinds are held to be unclean to various tribes; but, so far as I know, the buffalo is the common prey of all. The Wandorobo are a tribe who live (like the Dwarfs) solely by hunting game.

My own battery consisted of a 10-bore, for elephant, rhino, and buffalo; a ·577 express, for the large antelope; and a 450 express (the first rifle I ever owned, and my constant companion). The latter I would recommend against lions, leopards, and all the small antelope. This I think a most adequate selection; but I would recommend the sportsman to substitute an 8-bore for the 10-bore (and even a 6- or 4-bore if he can manage it) I believe (with Baker and Saunderson) in employing against these three animals the heaviest calibre which the sportsman can use. If I should add to this selection, I would include a shotgun (left barrel choked), and a single-barrelled ·380 rook-rifle.

The cartridge-belts should be as light as possible. a

piece of leather, with loops for each round, covered by a small flap as a protection from rain, is sufficient. A roll of small tools—fret-files, &c., &c.—is most useful. Such an assortment as I have found invaluable, both for repairing rifles and for camp work, has been made by Messrs Buck, and fitted in a leather case according to my own design. The whole thing rolls up into a very small compass. A good hunting-knife, a cartridge extractor, a compass, and a water-bottle are other essentials when starting for a long day's shooting. It may be worth noting, that when game has been shot a considerable distance from camp, and I could not spare a man to watch beside it until the men should arrive for the meat, I have frequently saved it from the vultures and hyenas by tying a pocket-handkerchief to a stick, and leaving it fluttering over the carcass, or close beside it in a neighbouring bush.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

A. THE INDIAN ACT (V. OF 1843) ABOLISHING THE LEGAL STATUS OF SLAVERY.

An Act for declaring and amending the law regarding the condition of slavery within the territories of the East India Company.

I. It is hereby enacted and declared, that no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of the Court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell, or cause to be sold, any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery.

II. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no rights arising out of alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any Civil or Criminal Court or Magistrate within the territories of the East India Company

III And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave

IV. And it is hereby enacted, that any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery.

B THE ANTI-SLAVERY EDICT OF AUG. 1st, 1890.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The following decree is published by us, SEYYID ALI BIN SAID, Sultan of Zanzibar, and is to be made known to, and to be obeyed by, all our subjects within our dominions from this date.

Decree.

1. We hereby confirm all former decrees and ordinances made by our predecessors against slavery and the slave-trade, and declare that whether such decrees have hitherto been put in force or not, they shall for the future be binding on ourselves and on our subjects

2. We declare that, subject to the conditions stated below, all slaves lawfully possessed on this date by our subjects shall remain with their owners as at present. Their *status* shall be unchanged.

3. We absolutely prohibit, from this date, all exchange, sale, or purchase of slaves, domestic or otherwise. There shall be no more traffic whatever in slaves of any description. Any houses heretofore kept for traffic in domestic slaves by slave-brokers shall be for ever closed, and any person found acting as a broker for the exchange or sale of slaves, shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, and to be deported from our dominions. Any Arab, or other of our subjects, hereafter found exchanging, purchasing, obtaining, or selling domestic or other slaves, shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, to deportation, and the forfeiture of all his slaves. Any house in which traffic of any kind in any description of slave may take place shall be forfeited.

4. Slaves may be inherited at the death of their owner only by the lawful children of the deceased. If the owner leaves no such children his slaves shall *ipso facto* become free on the death of their owner.

5. Any Arab, or other of our subjects, who shall habitually ill-treat his slaves, or shall be found in the possession of raw slaves, shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, and in flagrant cases of cruelty to the forfeiture of all his slaves.

6. Such of our subjects as may marry persons subject to British jurisdiction, as well as the issue of all such marriages, are hereby disabled from holding slaves, and all slaves of such of our subjects as are already so married are now declared to be free

7. All our subjects who, once slaves, have been freed by British authority, or who have long since been freed by persons subject to British jurisdiction, are hereby disabled from holding slaves, and all slaves of such persons are now declared to be free

All slaves who, after the date of this decree, may lawfully obtain their freedom, are for ever disqualified from holding slaves, under pain of severe punishment.

8. Every slave shall be entitled, as a right, at any time henceforth, to purchase his freedom at a just and reasonable tariff, to be fixed by ourselves and our Arab subjects. The purchase-money on our order shall be paid by the slave to his owner before a Kadi, who shall at once furnish the slave with a paper of freedom, and such freed slaves shall receive our special protection against ill treatment. This protection shall also be specially extended to all slaves who may gain their freedom under any of the provisions of this decree.

9. From the date of this decree every slave shall have the same rights as any of our other subjects who are not slaves to bring and prosecute any complaints or claims before our Kadis.

Given under our hand and seal this 15th day of El Hej 1307, at Zanzibar (August 1, A.D. 1890)

ALI BIN SAID, *Sultan of Zanzibar.*

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