

the rock, which only needs the requisite machinery to crush out, at anything from 10 dwts. to 1 oz. per ton, no conclusive evidence has yet been offered to support these statements by specimens which can be submitted to analysis. In 1889, however, long before Europeans turned their eyes in this direction, the old Jumbe of Kotakota told me that the quartz in his country contained gold, and



THE SHIRE HIGHLANDS

soon afterwards he entered into an agreement with the African Lakes Company that this gold should be worked. The Lakes Company turned over their agreement to the British South Africa Company, on whose account prospectors have entered the Marimba district.

Specimens of something very like cinnabar were once submitted to Mr. Sharpe and myself for examination. They came from the country to the west of the Lower Shire. We attempted an analysis but although there seemed to be traces of mercury in the pan we could not authoritatively state that the

substance was cinnabar. Since that time no further specimens have reached us. It is beyond dispute that the country of Katanga is rich in copper and also possesses gold. The copper of Katanga, however, is widely spread in a currency of ingots over South Central Africa. Malachite also comes from that region. There is no reason why this copper should not also be found in the same formation to the east of the river Luapula and Lake Mweru.

Specimens of lead and of graphite have been shown to me, but I was unable to identify the districts from which they were obtained, though I understood that some specimens of graphite came from the hills to the west of the Lower Shire.

Iron ore is nearly everywhere abundant. Excellent hæmatite iron comes from the Upper Shire district. We have actually used some of this iron—have had it smelted and worked by native blacksmiths—for making the parts of a gun and such other relatively simple things which were within the scope of native blacksmiths or Sikh artizans.

Garnets are found in the stream valleys of Mlanje. On the same mountain beautiful quartz crystals are met with and persons seeing them for the first time are often deluded into the belief that they have obtained diamonds. No trace of the blue diamond clay has ever yet been met with in Central Africa.¹

There are no deposits of rock-salt, so far as I am aware, but salt is obtained from the brackish marsh called by the name of Mweru which lies between the great lake Mweru and Tanganyika; also from the marsh country in the West Shire district, and from the brackish Lake Chilwa.²

But salt is also obtained both good and abundant—though rather dark in colour—from the ashes of grasses and other plants growing on the mountain plateaux and in the vicinity of rivers and lakes. On the whole, in one way or another British Central Africa may be considered to be well supplied with salt manufactured by the natives, which is a favourite article of commerce and is even a good deal used by Europeans, who in their cooking, if not on their tables, at any rate in their kitchens, use it in preference to the imported article.

¹ Commander Cullen supplies the following note:—"In the upper waters of the Lintipe river (Central Angoniand) the formation is the same as that of the Vaal River Valley: and as garnets and crystals are found in it, if it were properly worked it seems probable it might prove diamondiferous."

² Mr. Sharpe describes as follows the way in which the natives extract salt from the Mweru swamp:—"The natives dwelling round the great Mweru salt swamp take the salt-impregnated earth round the lake shore and put it into funnels made of closely woven grass rope. They then pour in water and stir up the salt earth. The water takes up the salt and filtering through the grass funnel, carries the salt in solution into pots placed below. The water is then evaporated and cakes of pure salt are left."

APPENDIX

THE COAL OF NYASALAND

Report by the Director of the Scientific Department of the Imperial Institute on two samples of coal from Nyasaland, received through Mr. P. L. Selater, F.R.S., from Mr. Alfred Sharpe, Acting Commissioner and Consul-General for British Central Africa:—

SPECIMEN A.—*Coal from North Nyasaland*—Fixed carbon, 57.63 %; ash, 15.57 %; volatile matter, 26.80 %; sulphur, 0.10 %; coke, 73.20 %; calorific value, 5520 units. This is a non-caking coal of very fine quality, which is likely to be useful for most purposes for which coal is employed. The percentage of ash is rather high, but the coal is remarkably free from sulphur.

SPECIMEN B.—*Supposed Coal from the Songwe River*—Fixed carbon, 47.46 %; ash, 8.4 %; volatile matter, 44.54 %; sulphur, 0.52 %; coke, 55.5 %; calorific value, 6050 units. This also is a non-caking coal of good quality, yielding very little ash, and containing but little sulphur. This coal would be serviceable either for heating or for metallurgical purposes.

(Signed) WYNDHAM R. DUNSTAN.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA only comes within the domain of written history quite recently, Tanganyika and much of Nyasa scarcely forty years ago. It is just barely possible that the south end of Lake Nyasa, and it is certain that a portion of the river Shire which flows from it, were known to the Portuguese explorers at the latter end of the sixteenth century. The unwritten history, the history which can be deduced from researches into language, examinations of racial type, native traditions, and archæological researches, extends back into the usual remoteness connected with the movements of the human genus, though in no part of the world is it so indefinite or is there such scanty and slight material on which to construct theories.

It may be that something of this kind occurred. Until further facts come to light, the tendency of such little knowledge as we at present possess of the past history of the evolution of man is to lead us to believe that he was developed from the pithecoïd type somewhere in Asia, not improbably in India.¹ It would seem, at any rate, as if the earliest known race of man, inhabiting what is now British Central Africa, was akin to the Bushman-Hottentot type of negro. Rounded stones, with a hole through the centre, similar to those which are used by the Bushmen in the south for weighting their digging sticks, have been found at the south end of Lake Tanganyika, and specimens of them were brought home thence by me and given to the British Museum. I have heard that other examples of these "Bushman" stones have been found nearer to Lake Nyasa, but I have not seen the alleged specimens. In one instance I alighted on a curious tradition, which would make it appear

¹ At any moment this theory, which at present holds the field, may be upset by unlooked-for discoveries in African palæontology. Quite recently a discovery of the most extraordinary importance and interest has been made by Dr. Forsyth Major in Madagascar, an island which was united to Africa in the early part of the tertiary epoch. This consists of the fossil remains of a monkey-like form called *Nesopithecus*, a form intermediate between the Cebidæ and the Old World monkeys. The Cebidæ are the American monkeys, a type which is connected with the Lemuroids by transitional forms. Mr. R. Lydekker deduces from these discoveries that the primal stock of the monkeys had its home in Africa; that from the African continent branched off the Cebidæ, which found their way to America, and there lingered, while they became extinguished in the Old World; and the Simiidæ, or Old World monkeys, which in turn gave rise to the anthropoid apes and man. So far as we yet know evidence preponderates in favour of the anthropoid apes having arisen in Southern Asia, whence they penetrated Africa; and the famous discovery by Dr. Dubois, in Java, of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, a form almost intermediate between the anthropoid ape and the human species, would lead us to imagine that man likewise originated in the Asiatic continent, which served as a distributing centre. The lowest known forms of man living at the present time, or only recently extinct, are found in Tasmania, Australia, South Eastern Asia, and Central and Southern Africa. At the same time further discoveries may equally well show that the development of the anthropoid ape into man took place in Africa, a guess once hazarded by Darwin.

that until recently the Bushman type was lingering on the upper plateau of the Mlanje mountain mass at the south-east corner of the Protectorate. The Mañanja natives of that district assert positively that there used to live on the upper part of the mountain, a dwarf race of light yellow complexion with hair growing in scattered tufts, and with that large development of the buttocks characteristic of the Bushman-Hottentot type. They gave these people a specific name, "Arungu," but I confess that this term inspired me with some distrust of the value of their tradition, as it was identical with the word for "gods."¹

The resemblance, however, may have been accidental. They declare this people to have been found on the top of Mlanje until quite recently. Similar rumours were collected by a Portuguese officer stationed at Mlanje, and by him communicated to me, quite independently of my own researches, and the same idea occurred to him as to myself, that the traditions referred to a Bushman type. I have at different times exhaustively searched, or caused to be searched, the upper parts of the Mlanje mountain; but although traces of human residence in some of the caves have been reported, no definite proof of the existence of any people differing from the modern type was discovered. That is to say, traces of human habitation in those caves and hollows consisted chiefly of fragments of pottery, which is certainly not a characteristic sign of Bushman habitation. It is probably known to my readers, however, that real undisputed Bushmen are found (I have seen them myself) in South Western Africa, in the same latitudes as the southern part of the British Protectorate under review. Bushman tribes were discovered by Serpa Pinto and other explorers as far north almost as the 14th parallel south latitude, in the countries near the Upper Kunene river.

Here and there, in Nyasaland, one meets with faces and forms amongst the natives which suggest a cropping out of the Hottentot type, as though the present Bantu races had, on their first invasion of these countries, absorbed their Bushman predecessors by intermarriage. This Bushman-Hottentot mixture, however, is not nearly so apparent as it is in the Basuto and certain Kafir tribes of South Africa. Indeed when South African negroes come to Nyasaland for work and one is able to contrast them with the local natives, one is struck at once by the resemblance they offer to Hottentots, in their paler skins, more prominent cheek bones, deep set eyes and flattened nose. It is evident that the Basuto-Bechuana people especially have much mingled with the Hottentots in times past. It would seem from the researches of Mr. Theodore Bent in the ruined cities of



PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG BUSHMAN

¹ Marungu=a god. A-rungu=gods. Yet this is not the ordinary plural which is Mi-lungu or mi-rungu, though it is A-rungu in the more northern dialects.

Mashonaland that those earlier settlers from Southern Arabia, who mined for gold some two thousand years ago and less, in South Central Africa, were only acquainted with native inhabitants of a Bushman-Hottentot type, to judge by the drawings, engravings and models they have left, intended to depict natives engaged in the chase.

The evidence which I have quoted at length in my book on Kilimanjaro,¹ and in the prefatory chapters to the *Life of Livingstone*, derived from a comparative study of the Bantu languages, leads me to believe that the invasion of the southern half of Africa by big black negro races, nowadays so familiar to us, was relatively recent in the history of man—perhaps not much more than 2000 years ago. Some cause, such as the dense forests of the Congo Basin, must have checked their descent of the continent from the Sudan. They may also have been held back for a long time—especially on the eastern side of the continent where the forests could never have been in recent times a serious obstacle—by the sturdy opposition of the prior inhabitants of Bushman-Hottentot type. Be that as it may, I do not think the black negroes, the present inhabitants of South Central Africa, have been in possession of those countries from time immemorial, and in their own traditions they vaguely recall a descent from the North.

It is possible that when the Sabæans and Arabs traded with South-east Africa, during the first half of the Christian era, one or another of them may have penetrated into the countries round Lake Nyasa. With this proviso, however, as to the possibility of such a journey having taken place, it must be stated that as far as we know, the Arabs did little more in regard to British Central Africa than to settle on the coast of the Indian Ocean, or to establish a trading depôt at Sena, on the Lower Zambezi.

It would seem to me as though 3000 years ago the distribution of races in Africa had stood thus. The southern half of the continent, from a little north of the Equator to the Cape of Good Hope, was very sparsely populated with a low Negroid type, of which the Bushmen and Hottentots, and possibly the pigmy tribes of the Congo forests,² are the descendants. The North and North-east of Africa, from Morocco to Egypt and Egypt to Somaliland, was peopled mainly by the Hamites, a race akin in origin and language to the Semitic type, which latter was certainly a higher development from a parent Hamitic stock. The Hamites themselves, however, obviously originated as a superior ascending variety of the Negritic species, from which basal stock had been derived in still earlier times the Bushman-Hottentot group, whose languages—especially that of the Hottentot—are thought by some authorities to show remote affinities in structure to the Hamitic tongues. Westward of the Hamites, and an earlier divergence from the original Negritic group, were the true black negroes, more closely allied in origin perhaps to the Bushmen-Hottentots than to the more divergent Hamites. But 3000 years ago, I am inclined to believe that the true negroes were bounded in their distribution by the northern limits of the Sahara Desert, the Atlantic Ocean, the great forests of the Congo Basin, and either the Nile Valley or the Abyssinian Highlands on the East. Here and there these different sections of the Negritic stock mingled, producing races superior to the pure negro, like the Nubians, the Somalis, and the Fulbe, which dwell more or less on the borderland between the negro and the Hamite. When the true negroes invaded the southern half

¹ *The Kilimanjaro Expedition*, pp. 478-483.

² These latter much mixed I am sure with the black negroes.

of the African continent, some 2000 to 3000 years ago, they carried with them such culture, domestic animals, and cultivated plants as they had derived indirectly from Egypt. I should think that in Nyasaland and along the shores of Lake Tanganyika, the history of negro culture has been retrograde, until the coming of the Arab and the European. In one or two places on the shores of Lake Nyasa old pottery has been dug up at a considerable depth below the surface, with trees of great girth and age growing over these remains. The pottery has been found imbedded in the sand of an ancient shore-line of Nyasa, now covered by about 5 feet of humus, in which baobab trees are strongly rooted. From the approximate age of the trees, and the time it should have taken to accumulate this vegetable soil, some of this pottery must have been 500 or 600 years old. One large pot thus found has been deposited by me in the British Museum. These few remains exhibit evidences of greater skill and taste than is shown by the pottery at the present time in the same districts. Researches founded on the study of languages, of religions, of traditions, and on the records of Portuguese explorers in West Africa, would also seem to show that in Western Africa many of the negro States were in a far higher state of culture 500 years ago than they are now.

The line of the migration of the Bantu negroes in British Central Africa will be treated of in Chapter XI, which describes their languages. It will be sufficient to say, as regards history, that we may presume them to have entered into possession of these countries—driving out or absorbing the antecedent Bushman race—about 1000 years ago.

With the doubtful exception of the visit of an occasional Arab slave dealer, they had no contact with the outer world until the arrival of the Portuguese on the East Coast of Africa, which is the first definite landmark in the history of this portion of the continent. Vasco da Gama, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope in 1495, stopped at the Arab settlements of Sofala (near the modern Beira) and Moçambique, and thence passed onwards to Malindi (near Mombasa) and India. On his return from India he further explored the South-east Coast of Africa, and (probably from information given by Arab pilots) entered with his little fleet the Quelimane River,¹ which was connected intermittently with the main Zambezi, and which, until the other day, was thought to be the only certain means of reaching the Zambezi above its delta. This river he called the "Rio dos Bons Signaes," or the "River of Good Indications." The name "Quelimane," which he applied to a small village 12 miles inland from the mouth of the river (the origin of the now important town of Quelimane, the capital of Portuguese Zambezia) is stated by the Portuguese to have the following etymology. This village belonged to a certain individual who acted as interpreter between the Portuguese and the natives. He appears to have been an Arab, or a half Arab. In those days Portuguese navigators seem to have been acquainted with Arabic, a language which probably still lingered in the southern part of Portugal, where Moorish kingdoms existed till the twelfth century. The name which the Portuguese applied to this individual was "Quelimane" (pronounced Kelimān). Now in the corrupt Coast Arabic "Kalimān" is the word for "Interpreter."² Consequently the name of the modern town Quelimane³ is simply derived

¹ On Jan. 2nd, 1498.

² In Swahili this becomes Mkalimani.

³ I have taken the opportunity to give this bit of etymology as there has long been a misapprehension as to the correct spelling of Quelimane, which was thought wrongly to be derived from "Kilimani," which means in Swahili "on the hill." But there is no hill within eighty miles of Quelimane. The true native name of this place is "Chuabo."

from the term "Interpreter," applied to this guide and go-between of Vasco da Gama.

For some five centuries before the Portuguese arrived the Arabs of Southern and Eastern Arabia had formed or re-formed settlements along the East Coast of Africa from Somaliland to Sofala.¹ In the direction of British Central Africa they were chiefly established at Moçambique, Ngoji (Angoche), and Sena on the Zambezi. They apparently found no direct entrance into the Zambezi River which could be easily navigated by their daus, and preferred to use the Quelimane River. This in exceptional rainy seasons at the present day becomes connected with the Zambezi river, by overflow creeks; and possibly some centuries ago was the most northern branch of the delta. The Arabs would seem, therefore, to have gone up this river past Quelimane, and then to have travelled either by water when the river was full, or overland at other seasons, to Sena, a settlement not far from the junction of the Zambezi and the Shire. From Sena again they had overland communication to their settlements at Sofala, near the modern town of Beira.²

At first the Portuguese were received by the Arabs in a friendly fashion, and several of the Portuguese were taken up by Arab guides from Quelimane to Sena. Before many years³ were over the Portuguese had dispossessed the Arabs, and driven them away. From Sofala to Moçambique they replaced them so completely, with the exception of their settlements at Angoche,⁴ that they disappeared entirely and never returned, even after the temporary decay of the Portuguese power which enabled the Arabs to reconquer the East Coast of Africa as far south as Kilwa.

At first Sena, on the Lower Zambezi, was the headquarters of the Portuguese Administration, and from hence various expeditions, during the sixteenth century, were sent southwards to discover the gold mines of Manika—expeditions which were mostly unsuccessful, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate and the presence of the Tsetse fly. Another obstacle in the way of Portuguese enterprise was the kingdom of Monomotapa,⁵ a powerful empire of Bantu negroes, probably related in stock to the Zulus. The influence of Monomotapa must have ranged from the vicinity of the south end of Lake Nyasa to the Limpopo River. Simultaneously with the first Portuguese "Conquistadores"

¹ I say "re-formed" because we are now practically certain that some races of Southern Arabia had founded their ancient settlements—possibly in connection with the Phœnicians—in South-eastern Africa, not only on the East Coast but far in the interior of Mashonaland. These settlements were, it is supposed, destroyed by the advent of the Bantu tribes from the North, who were far more formidable enemies to tackle than the feeble Bushmen and Hottentots. It is possible that the natives of Arabia did not entirely give up their African trade, though they had to quit the interior and confine their settlements to the coast. But whether or no there was a gap in Arab enterprise in the early part of the Christian era, there was a great revival in the tenth century, and in the eleventh century a strong Arab kingdom was formed at Kilwa (midway between Zanzibar and Moçambique) which exercised a kind of suzerainty over the other settlements or Sultanates. Mosques were built at this period, the remains of which may be seen at the present day.

² Beira was the name given to this place not many years ago by the Portuguese, when it was first founded, after Col. Paiva d'Andrada's explorations of the Pungwe river. "Beira" is the name of one of the principal provinces of Portugal, and the eldest son of the heir to the throne of Portugal always bears the title of "Príncipe da Beira." Beira is pronounced "Bay-ra" in Portuguese. Consequently, with their usual perversity, the English people have decided to call it "By-ra," for it is one of our national peculiarities to devote all our best energy to a mispronunciation of foreign words.

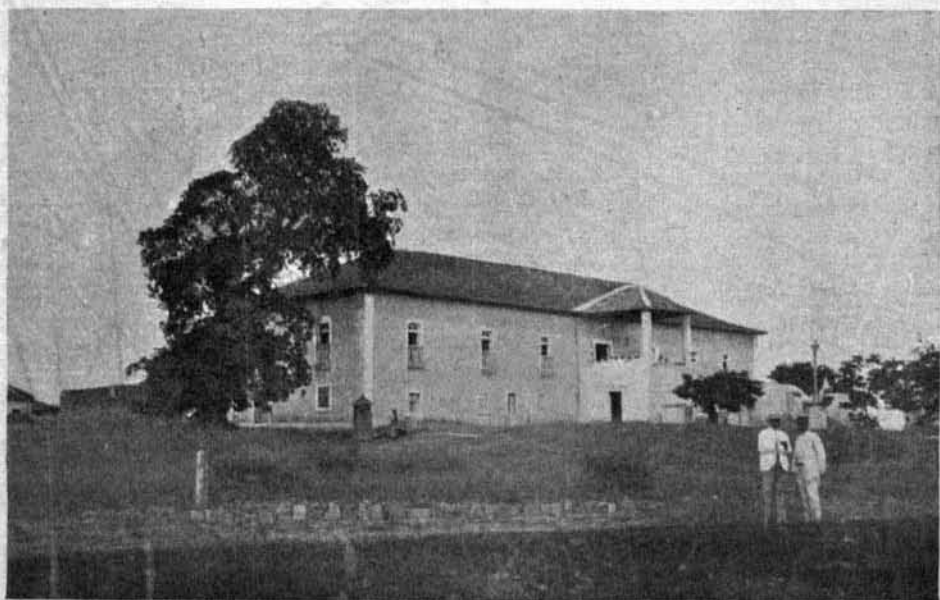
³ I believe the Arabs remained in possession of Sena until near the end of the sixteenth century.

⁴ Which really remain unconquered to this day.

⁵ This name was derived from the native appellation of the Makaranga chief, and is apparently a corruption of "Mwene Mutapa"—"Lord Hippopotamus"; or "Mwana-Mutapa"—"Child of the Hippopotamus." The hippopotamus was much revered by the tribes of the Central Zambezi, and is so, to some extent, still.

and mining adventurers came lion-hearted Jesuit Missionaries, resolved on repeating in the Zambezi countries the successes they had obtained in Christianising the kingdom of the Congo. Several of these men were martyred by the orders of the Emperor of Monomotapa; but eventually they established themselves at Zumbo, on the Central Zambezi, at the confluence of the great Luangwa River.

The modern capital of Tete,¹ which is the most important town on the Zambezi, was not founded until the middle of the seventeenth century, and was merely a station of Jesuit Missionaries originally, though afterwards taken over by the Portuguese Government. At first, however, the principal towns were Zumbo and Sena.



GOVERNOR'S HOUSE, TETE

The Portuguese soon penetrated northward of the Zambezi, in the direction of the Maravi country and the watershed of Lake Nyasa. Here they discovered, or re-discovered, from hints given by Arabs or natives, the gold deposits of Misale,² and for some century or so afterwards these gold mines were extensively worked. Curiously enough, however, the chief mineral discoveries of the Portuguese at this time lay in the direction of silver, though at the present time we have no knowledge of any existing silver mines in the Zambezi countries.

In 1616 a Portuguese, named Jaspar Bocarro, offered to carry samples of Zambezi silver overland from the Central Zambezi to Malindi, a Portuguese settlement to the north of Mombasa, without going near Moçambique. The

¹ Tete is the name for a reed. The plural "Matete" means "a reed-bed." It is possible that this was the etymology of the name, as the shore is very reedy about that part of the Zambezi. But the native name of Tete is "Nyungwi."

² Nowadays Misale lies within the British sphere of influence, and a British company is attempting to work its gold.



THE ISLAND OF MOÇAMBIQUE, SEEN FROM THE MAINLAND

motive of this offer lay in the fact that considerable friction existed between the Central Government of Moçambique, which was under the Viceroy of India, and the Portuguese adventurers on the Zambezi, who strongly objected to the grinding monopolies which the Moçambique Government sought to establish. Jaspas Bocarro apparently journeyed from where the town of Tete now stands to the Upper Shire River, crossing that stream near its junction with the Ruo; and then, passing through the Anguru country in the vicinity of Lake Chilwa, he entered the Lujenda Valley, and so travelled on to the Ruvuma River, and thence to the coast at Mikindani. From Mikindani he continued his journey to Malindi by sea. So far as reliable records go, this was the first European to enter what is now styled "British Central Africa."

The Jesuit priests from Zumbo had journeyed westward into the country of the Batonga or Batoka,¹ and northwards up the Luangwa River. They

¹ Sir John Kirk, when travelling with Livingstone, in 1859, discovered groves of fruit trees in the Batoka country which may have been introduced by the Jesuits.

transmitted rumours of a great lake (Nyasa), which they styled Lake "Maravi." This really meant "a lake in the country of the Maravi," Maravi being an old name (now nearly extinct) of the Nyanja tribes in the south-west of Nyasaland. But in the middle of the eighteenth century the Jesuits were expelled from all the Portuguese Dominions by order of the Marquês de Pombal; and after their departure from the Central Zambezi there was a temporary diminution of Portuguese activity. At the very end of the last century, however, the interest of the Portuguese Government in its East African possessions was revived by the British Government having taken possession of the Cape of Good Hope at the outbreak of the war with France. In the year following the seizure of Cape Town¹ by an English force, Dr. Francisco José Maria de Lacerda e Almeida, a distinguished scientific man who was a native of Brazil, and a Doctor of Mathematics at Coimbra University (Portugal), addressed a very remarkable letter to the Portuguese Government, setting forth that the results of the English invasion of Capetown would be the creation of a great British South African Empire, which would, if not counteracted in time, spread northwards across the Zambezi, and separate the Portuguese Dominions of Angola and Moçambique. This, I think, at the period and with the limited geographical knowledge then possessed by even a Portuguese University, was one of the most remarkable instances of political foresight which can be quoted. The Portuguese Government was so struck with Dr. Lacerda's arguments that it appointed him Governor of the Rios de Sena,² and authorised him to conduct an expedition "à contra-costa"—across Africa from the Zambezi countries to Angola, establishing Portuguese Suzerainty along his route.

It should be stated at this juncture that not nearly so many white Portuguese had assisted in opening up the East African territories, as had settled in Angola, and on the West Coast of Africa. In those days the Portuguese East African possessions were generally knit up with their Viceroyalty of India, and the pure-blooded Portuguese in the Zambezi countries were few in number compared to the "Canarins" or Canarese. These people were half-caste natives of Goa, with more or less Indian blood in their veins, and constituted the principal element in the Portuguese Zambezi settlements. They were very enterprising men, though they relapsed into semi-savagery, and as slave-traders and robbers had a record almost more evil than that of the Arabs. Nevertheless the European blood in their veins sharply distinguished these Goanese from the unlettered black people, and of some of their journeys they kept more or less intelligent records. Two Goanese of the name of Pereira, father and son, had gone gold hunting to the north of the Zambezi, and had eventually pushed on with their armed slaves till they reached the Kazembe's country, near Lake Mweru. The reports which they gave of the Kazembe (a lieutenant or satrap of the Muata Yanvo of Lunda) decided Dr. Lacerda to proceed thither on his way across to Angola. His expedition numbered about 75 white Portuguese, and the two Pereiras accompanied it as guides. Dr. Lacerda, however, only succeeded in reaching Kazembe's capital, near the south end of Lake Mweru, and eventually died there on the 18th October, 1798. After his death the expedition became so disorganised that instead of continuing the journey to Angola it returned to Tete.

At the beginning of the present century two half-caste Portuguese, named Baptista and Amaro José, crossed from the Kwango River in the interior

¹ Which took place in 1795.

² The old name for the Zambezi.

of Angola to the Kazembe's country, near Lake Mweru, and thence to Tete on the Zambezi. In 1831 Major Monteiro and Captain Gamitto conducted a mission from Tete to the Kazembe, and some years subsequently Silva Porto, a Portuguese colonist, of Bihe, in the interior of Benguela, is also said to have rambled over much of South Central Africa; further, a certain Candido de Costa Cardoso claimed that he sighted the south-west corner of Lake Nyasa in 1846; but none of these explorers, with the exception of Dr. Lacerda, possessed any scientific qualifications, and their journeys led to little or no geographical information or political ascendancy. Indeed, what is remarkable about Dr. Lacerda, to say nothing of the other explorers, was the extraordinary bad luck which prevented him from sighting any important river or lake. He reached a point within a few miles of the large Lake Mweru, and yet either never saw it, or thought it not worth mention. He heard vague rumours of Tanganyika and of Nyasa, but did not direct his steps in either direction; and, stranger still, he missed the recognition of the remarkable Luapula, which we now know to be the Upper Congo, though he must have actually been within sight of it.

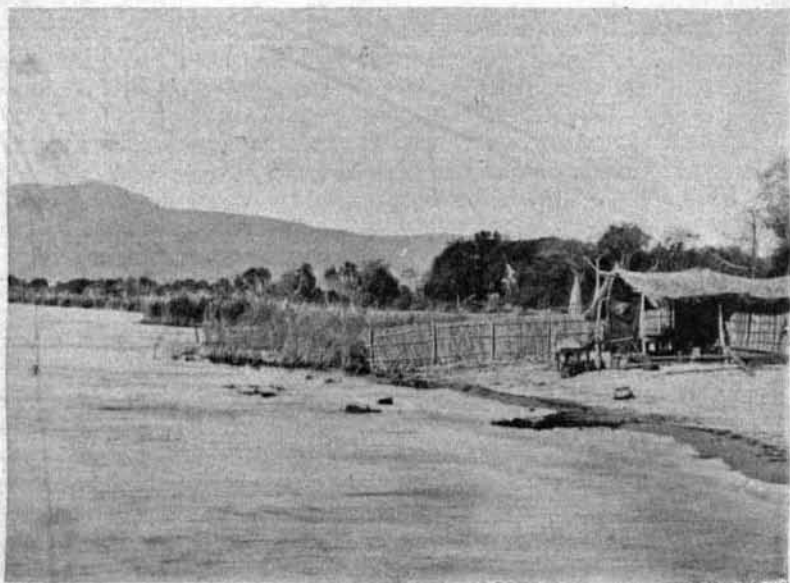
The real history of British Central Africa begins with the advent of Livingstone. This intrepid missionary had gradually pushed his explorations northwards from the Cape of Good Hope until he reached the Central Zambezi in 1851, accompanied by the celebrated sportsman Mr. Oswell. Impressed with the importance of his discovery Livingstone returned to Cape Town, and with the generous assistance of Mr. Oswell, was enabled not only to send his wife and children out of harm's way, but to equip himself for the tremendous exploration of South Central Africa, which he had determined to accomplish. Having perfected himself in astronomical observations, under the tuition of the Astronomer-Royal of Cape Town, Livingstone started for the North and once more reached the Zambezi, near its confluence with the Chobe. Thence he travelled up the Zambezi to its source, and across to Angola and again back from Angola and down the Zambezi to its mouth, or more correctly speaking to Quelimane, on the Indian Ocean. This epoch-making journey had important and far-reaching results. Livingstone was sent back by the British Government at the head of a well-equipped expedition, and was accompanied amongst others by Dr., now Sir John, Kirk, who, besides being medical officer, was the naturalist of the expedition.

After a journey to Tete and visits to the "Quebrabaço" Rapids for the purpose of determining the navigability of the Zambezi above Tete, Livingstone determined to search for and find the reported great lake out of which the Shire¹ flowed to join the Zambezi. At this date the Portuguese knew scarcely anything of the Shire beyond its confluence with the Zambezi. They seem to have lost all remembrance of the one or two earlier journeys in that direction of Portuguese explorers. Consequently, before Livingstone and his party had ascended the Shire very far they found themselves in a country absolutely new to the white man. After several futile attempts to reach Lake Nyasa, in the course of one of which they discovered the brackish Lake Chilwa, which lies to the south-east of the greater lake, and Lake Malombe, which

¹ The name of the "Shire" river was formerly written by the Portuguese "Cherim" (pronounce, "Shéring"); this was later still written "Chire," which if the "ch" be pronounced as in "church" fairly represents the native pronunciation. But the Portuguese pronounce "ch" like "sh," therefore Livingstone heard them speak of this river as the "Shire," and thus transcribed it in English. The correct native pronunciation is "Chiri" (Cheeree), and the word means in Chinyanja "a steep bank"—Nyanja ya chiri, "the river with the steep banks."

is a widening of the Upper Shire, Livingstone and his companions finally reached the southern extremity of Nyasa, near the site of the modern settlement of Fort Johnston, on the 16th of September, 1859, the first white men, as far as we know with any certainty, who stood on the shores of Lake Nyasa. As the district in which Livingstone discovered this third greatest of the lakes of Africa was under Yao domination, he recorded its name as pronounced by the Yao, *i.e.* Nyasa; but its most common appellation is Nyanja. This is the same word as Nyanza farther north, and Nyasa, Nyanja, and Nyanza are derived from an archaic and widespread Bantu root -anza, which means "a broad water."¹

Livingstone and his party extended their explorations of the western coast of Lake Nyasa as far north as about 11°30 south latitude, a little more than



THE POINT ON THE SOUTH SHORE OF LAKE NYASA WHENCE THE LAKE WAS FIRST SEEN
BY DR. LIVINGSTONE AND SIR JOHN KIRK IN 1859

half-way up the lake. Subsequently Livingstone travelled inland west of Lake Nyasa till he reached the watershed of the great Luangwa River, and it was upon hearing at that point of a not far distant lake that he resolved, on his succeeding journey, to proceed along the same route, and thus discovered the south end of Lake Tanganyika, Lake Mweru, the Luapula River, and Lake Bangweolo. Whilst Livingstone and Kirk were exploring Lake Nyasa and the Shire Highlands, however, they were joined by a Christian Mission under Bishop Mackenzie, which had been sent out from the two great English Universities, and which exists to this day under the name of the "Universities Mission to Central Africa." These missionaries settled in the eastern part of the Shire Highlands, just as the invasions of the Muhammadan Yao slave raiders were beginning.

¹ This root is found even among the more corrupt Bantu tongues of Western Equatorial Africa. For instance, the broad estuary of the Cameroons River is called in the Duala tongue "Muanza," and the same name is given to the Lower Congo.

Following on the Portuguese expeditions at the end of the 18th century to Kazembe's country, a great intercourse had sprung up between the Babisa tribe, which inhabits the district to the west of the great Luangwa River and the Zanzibar coast. The Babisa had acquired guns from the Portuguese, and, armed in this way, had asserted themselves effectually against tribes still armed with the bow and spear. They became an enterprising people and resolved to trade directly with the Coast. Not liking the Portuguese, however, they preferred to journey farther north, and trafficked with the Arabs of Zanzibar. About this time the Zanzibar Sultanate was increasing gradually in power. It was an appanage of the Imamate of Maskat ('Omān), and already the Maskat Arabs (who had replaced the Portuguese in all the trading settlements of Eastern Africa, between the Ruvuma River and Somaliland) had begun to push their slave and ivory trading enterprises into the interior of Eastern Africa, especially in the direction of Tanganyika. Attracted, however, by the accounts which the Babisa caravans gave of the fertile country in which they dwelt, and struck with the docility of the slaves brought down by the Babisa from the Nyasa countries, certain Arabs accompanied the Babisa caravans back to their place of origin, which was, as I have said, the countries lying to the west of the great Luangwa River. The route they followed was from ports like Kilwa on the East Coast to Lake Nyasa thence across Nyasa and south-west or due west to the Lubisa country.

In the course of these journeys the Arabs became acquainted with that race of fine physical development and stubborn character, the Yao, who inhabit much of the high country lying between the Indian Ocean and Lake Nyasa. In the Yao they found willing confederates in the slave trade, and a people much inclined to Muhammadanism. Eventually the poor Babisa were attacked and enslaved by neighbouring tribes who had been armed by the Arabs, and their importance passed away. The Arabs and Yao between them began to dominate Nyasaland. Now the inhabitants of the bulk of Nyasaland proper, with the exception of its north-west portion, belonged in the main to what may be called the A-nyanja stock. These people who are referred to by Portuguese of an earlier date as the Amaravi, and who are of the same race as the indigenous inhabitants of the Zambezi Valley between Tete and Sena and of the whole course of the Shire, are of a singularly docile and peaceful disposition, devoted to agriculture and timid in warfare—a race consequently that is always falling under the domination of more powerful and energetic tribes. Before what may be called the Yao invasion of the Shire Highlands the Nyanja people had been oppressed by Zulu invaders coming from the south-west. The convulsions which had been taking place in Zululand in the early part of this century had resulted in a most curious recoil of the Zulu race on Central Africa. It is probably not many centuries since the forerunners of the Zulus swept down from Central Africa, from the region of the great lakes, across the Zambezi, into Southern Africa, driving themselves like a wedge through the earlier Bantu invaders, the ancestors of the Basuto-Bechuana, and further, displacing and destroying the feeble Hottentot people. Now, however, with the Indian Ocean in front of them, and internal commotions and increase of population compelling them to find more space for settlement, sections of them began to turn their faces back towards the Zambezi. The foundations of the Matabele¹ kingdom were laid, and band after band of Zulus crossed the Zambezi about

Or Amandabele, as it ought to be written but that we English love inaccuracy in pronunciation and spelling for its own sake. Matabele is the Se-chuana corruption of the Zulu "Amandabele."

1825-6, and in their raids and conquests almost penetrated as far as the southern shores of the Victoria Nyanza, whilst they were constantly heard of on the east coast of Tanganyika. In the west and south-west of Nyasaland they had founded kingdoms and enslaved the local inhabitants, when the Yao from the north-east hurled themselves on the fertile Shire districts. So that the unfortunate Nyanja people were caught between Zulu and Yao, and suffered greatly. The British missionaries and explorers, however, saw little of the Zulu raiders in those earlier days.¹ At the beginning of the "sixties" they were chiefly concerned with the Yao invasion. After in vain attempting to defend their Nyanja converts from the attacks of the Yao, the Universities Mission lost so many of its members from sickness, and was additionally so discouraged by the abandonment of Dr. Livingstone's schemes, that it withdrew from the country for a time. Livingstone and his Expedition were recalled by the British Government at the end of 1863, and quitted Zambezia in 1864.

The fact was that the British Government was at that time discouraged from any further work in the Zambezi countries by the following obstacles: the political opposition shown by the Portuguese;² the acknowledged sway of the Portuguese over the coast line which made it impossible to communicate with any British Possessions which might be founded in the interior; the unhealthiness of the coast lands; and the seeming absence of any easy way into the Zambezi River, all the known mouths of which were cursed with dangerous and shallow bars. The discovery of the Chinde mouth, which afterwards revolutionised the whole question, had not then been made; or, it may be, the Chinde branch of the Zambezi as an easily navigated river did not then exist, for there have evidently been great fluctuations in the Zambezi Delta with regard to the course taken by the principal body of its water.

Following on Livingstone's first journey across South Central Africa, a great interest had sprung up in France and Germany regarding the existence of the reported Central African lakes. The German Missionaries in the pay of the Church Missionary Society in East Africa, had discovered the snow mountains of Kenia and Kilimanjaro and had reported, from native information, the existence of the Victoria Nyanza, of Tanganyika and of Lake Nyasa. Foremost amongst the African explorers of that day, and, at the time, second in importance to Livingstone only, was a young lieutenant in the Indian Army—Richard Francis Burton—who, stationed at Aden, had attempted the exploration of Somaliland with a brother-officer named Speke. After some difficulty Burton had induced the Geographical Society and Her Majesty's Government to provide him with the funds for an expedition which would start from opposite Zanzibar to discover the great Central African lake or lakes. He chose Lieut. Speke as his companion, and together they discovered Lake Tanganyika, Speke afterwards being dispatched by Burton to look for the great lake of Ukerewe, which Speke declared with truth to be the main source of the Nile and which he named the Victoria Nyanza. Burton and Speke were the first Europeans to arrive on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. They explored its northern half, but not very much work was done in the way of

Livingstone however came in contact with them when he explored the western shores of Lake Nyasa.

² But it must be distinctly stated that throughout the whole course of Livingstone's first and second Zambezi expeditions, though the Portuguese Government may have viewed with distaste the interest evinced by England in the Zambezi and the interior of East Central Africa, the courtesy and kindness shown by the Portuguese authorities to Livingstone and the rest of his expedition were praiseworthy in the extreme. For particulars of this see my *Life of Livingstone*.

mapping beyond visiting the western shore and making a rough outline of the northern portion of the lake. Prior to Burton's journey, a young Frenchman started from Zanzibar for the same purpose, but had been murdered on the way to Tanganyika, and after Burton's expedition a German doctor, named Ernst Roscher, had set out for Lake Nyasa in the disguise of an Arab. He reached the eastern shore of the lake at a place called Lusewa, on the 19th November, 1859, two months after Livingstone's discovery. On his attempted return to the coast, however, he was murdered by the Yao, a murder which was to some extent avenged by the Sultan of Zanzibar, who brought influence to bear on the Yao chiefs to send the ostensible murderers to Zanzibar to be executed. Another German traveller of some celebrity, Baron von der Decken, who was the first systematic explorer of Kilimanjaro, had attempted to reach Lake Nyasa, but scarcely got half way.

Meantime Livingstone, after a year's sojourn in England, had managed to scrape together funds for another Central Africa exploration. He was very desirous of resuming his journeys in search of other lakes to the west of Lake Nyasa. Travelling by Bombay and Zanzibar he landed at Mikindani at the end of March, 1866. He was, I believe, the first explorer to attempt taking with him natives of India as guards or soldiers; but it must be confessed that although the employment of Indians in Central Africa has since proved very successful, the Muhammadan Sepoys who accompanied Livingstone turned out utter failures, and were eventually sent back from Mataka's, a town in the Yao country. Livingstone also tried to introduce the Indian buffalo, an experiment not repeated until my reintroduction of this animal from India in 1895. It is interesting to note that Livingstone's buffalos passed through the tsetse fly country, and, seemingly, were not affected by the bites of that insect, though they all subsequently died as the result of maltreatment at the hands of the Sepoys.

Livingstone again reached the shores of Lake Nyasa, at its south-eastern gulf, on the 8th of August, 1866; but being unable to cross without a dahu he walked right round the southern end, and thence turned his steps northwards. At Marenga's town, near the south-west corner of Lake Nyasa, there were rumours of Angoni-Zulu raids, which greatly scared the coast-men of Livingstone's caravan, who consequently abandoned him here; and to excuse themselves at Zanzibar for their act of bad faith, they reported, with much corroborative detail, the death of Livingstone at the hands of the Angoni.

Livingstone, after the desertion of these coast-men (who were natives of the Comoro Islands) pursued his way northwards, and reached the great Luangwa river in December, 1866; on the 28th of January, 1867, he crossed the Chambezi river, which issues from the Bangweolo marshes, under the name of the Luapula, and is in reality the extreme Upper Congo. On the 1st of April he reached the south end of Lake Tanganyika, and for the time being, believed it to be a separate lake under the name of Liemba; on the 8th of November, 1867, he discovered Lake Mweru; on the 18th of July, 1868, Lake Bangweolo. Returning from Bangweolo, he journeyed with an Arab caravan from Kazembe's town near the south end of Lake Mweru, to the west shore of Tanganyika, which he crossed to Ujiji, reaching that place in March, 1869. After attempting in vain to organize a caravan for a journey round the north end of Lake Tanganyika he recrossed the lake to the opposite side in July, and having joined a large party of Arabs and Swahilis, he wandered with them in the Manyema country for many months. His object was the Lualaba river

(the Upper Congo) of which he had heard much to excite his curiosity, and which river, he believed, with occasional misgivings, to be the Upper Nile. But so erratic were the wanderings of the Arabs to and fro in the Manyema country that Livingstone did not actually reach the banks of the Lualaba until March, 1871. Resolved to devote himself now to the tracing of what he believed to be the Upper Nile from its source on the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau to its entrance into the Albert Nyanza, Livingstone decided to return to Ujiji and renew his stock of trade goods and provisions. His journey from the Lualaba to Ujiji was accompanied by indescribable hardships, which produced such an effect on his constitution that they eventually led to his death two years later. Soon after returning to Ujiji he met Henry M. Stanley, who had been sent by the *New York Herald* to "find Dr. Livingstone, living or dead."

Stanley's arrival certainly added two years more to Livingstone's life, as by a series of accidents and frauds he found himself absolutely destitute of resources after his return to Ujiji. Together the two men made an exploration of the north end of Lake Tanganyika, and then journeyed eastwards to Unyanyembe, half way to Zanzibar. Here Livingstone insisted on parting company with Stanley, though the latter earnestly entreated him to return to Europe; but with Livingstone the idea of finding the ultimate sources of the Nile had become almost a monomania, and he was resolved not to return to Europe until he had mapped the upper waters of the Chambezi and the Luapula, together with the river Lualaba, which took its rise in the Katanga Highlands to the West. So he started off once more for Lake Bangweolo in August, 1872, passing round the south end of Lake Tanganyika, and reaching the eastern shores of Lake Bangweolo in the month of April, 1873. But his race was run, and he died at a village near the south end of that marshy lake on or about the 1st of May, 1873.

Meantime Nyasaland had not long remained without English visitors. In 1867 Lieut. Young conducted an expedition to the south end of Lake Nyasa to examine into the reports as to the murder of Livingstone by the Angoni. Young (who only died a few months ago) conducted this expedition in a most remarkably successful manner. He left England in the middle of May, 1867, reached the Zambezi with three European companions and a steel boat on the 25th of July, journeyed with his baggage in the steel boat (which was named *The Search*¹) and in a flotilla of smaller boats and canoes up the Zambezi and the Shire to the Murchison cataracts; conveyed the steel boat overland to the Upper Shire; reached Mponda's town at the south end of Lake Nyasa; collected a mass of information which conclusively proved that Livingstone was not killed but had started unmolested on his way to the West; returned to the Zambezi, and reached England at the beginning of 1868 after only eight months' absence.

Young had been greatly helped in his transit of the Shire Highlands by the Makololo whom Livingstone had left behind in that district after his withdrawal from the Zambezi in 1864. Those who have read the well-known works dealing with Dr. Livingstone's explorations will remember that on his first journey of discovery up and down the Zambezi he had been accompanied by certain faithful Makololo porters who had followed him from the Barutse country, on the Upper Zambezi. The so-called Makololo were a section of the Bechuana people who, leaving Basutoland after tribal

¹ And is still plying on the Shire.

disturbances, journeyed across the Kalahari Desert, and established themselves in the Barutse country.¹ When Livingstone reached Tete on his journey back to the East Coast in 1856 he left behind at that place the so-called Makololo (about 25 in number), who had followed him from the Upper Zambezi. On his return in 1858 he picked them up again and added to their numbers several others who followed him of their own free will on his second visit to the Barutse country.

These men were very useful to his expedition in exploring the River Shire, and were of a masterful nature, easily imposing themselves as superior beings on the timid Mañanja people of the Central Shire. When Dr. Livingstone had to leave the country, anxious to put a check on the depredations of the Yao coming from the east, and the Angoni coming from the west, he armed these Makololo, and left them behind to protect the Mañanja natives. The result was that they very soon constituted themselves the chiefs of that country, and they subsequently played a most important part in checking the advances of the Yao and the Angoni, and in sturdily resisting any attempts on the part of the Portuguese to conquer the Shire countries.

In 1874 Mr. Faulkner, who was one of the party accompanying Lieut. Young, R.N., returned to the Shire as a hunter of big game. He was, I believe, eventually killed by the natives. He had a son by a native wife who now bears his name, and who was the first half-caste, so far as we know, born in the Protectorate.

Livingstone's death caused a tremendous enthusiasm to spring up for the continuation of his work as a Missionary and as an Explorer. Cameron completed Burton's and Livingstone's map of Lake Tanganyika; Stanley, at the expense of the *Daily Telegraph*, continued the exploration of the Congo from Nyangwe, where Livingstone had left it, to the Atlantic Ocean; but in Nyasaland proper Livingstone's work was immediately continued by the Scotch Missionaries. The Livingstonia Free Church Mission was founded in 1874 and sent out its first party of Missionaries with a small steamer in sections, for Lake Nyasa, in 1875. They were joined, in 1876, by the Pioneers of the Church of Scotland Mission, who chose the site of the present town of Blantyre, and established themselves in the Shire Highlands, while the Free Church applied itself to the evangelisation of Lake Nyasa. It is interesting to note that the leader of the first Missionary expedition—Dr. Laws—who went out in 1875, and the engineer of the first Mission steamer placed on Lake Nyasa (the *Ilala*, which is still plying), Mr. A. C. Simpson, are still alive and well, and hard at work in Nyasaland, the one as a senior member of the Mission he has served so devotedly for twenty-one years, and the other as a prosperous planter at Mlanje.

Shortly after the Church of Scotland Mission had established itself at Blantyre, a young gardener, named John Buchanan, was sent from Scotland to assist the Mission in horticulture.²

In 1878 Captain Frederick Elton had been appointed Consul at Moçambique, and had obtained permission to conduct an expedition to Lake Nyasa to report

¹ Barutse is stated to be derived from "Bahurutse" the name of another of the Bechuana septs. These Bechuana emigrants who sometimes called themselves the Makololo had conquered the Barutse country, from its native chiefs of Baloi race. But as a matter of fact these famous Makololo porters who have played such a part in the history of Nyasaland were very few of them of Bechuana blood. Many of them were slaves of Baloi, or kindred races of the Upper Zambezi.

² He was the means of introducing and planting the coffee shrub in Central Africa.

on the slave trade. He was accompanied by Mr. H. B. Cotterill, Mr. Herbert Rhodes,¹ and Captain Hoste.

With the aid of the little Mission steamer *Ilala* Consul Elton explored the north end of Lake Nyasa, which he was able to show extended much farther northwards than had been supposed by Livingstone and Kirk. This northward extension of the Lake was further verified a few years afterwards by numerous observations for Latitude taken by Mr. James Stewart, an engineer in the employ of the African Lakes Company. Consul Elton first made known to us the remarkable Livingstone or Ukinga Mountains, at the end of Lake Nyasa, which attain an altitude, in parts, of nearly 10,000 feet. Unhappily Consul Elton died in Wunyamwezi on his way to Zanzibar.

The Missions had not been long established when they found it impossible



MANDALA HOUSE, NEAR BLANTYRE

to conduct the necessary trade with the natives (for provisions could only be obtained by barter) and the transport service between the coast and Lake Nyasa, in addition to the ordinary Missionary work; so it was resolved, in Scotland, to found a small Company for trade and transport, subsequently styled "The African Lakes Company," which would be affiliated to the Missions (in so far that its employes should be required to do a certain amount of missionary work), but be conducted independently and on a commercial basis. Two brothers, John William Moir and Frederick Maitland Moir, were sent to Nyasaland as joint managers. They had been previously at work in the employ of the late Sir William Mackinnon, on a road to Lake Tanganyika which that philanthropist intended to construct inland from Dar-es-Salām, opposite Zanzibar. The headquarters of the Lakes Company were fixed at

¹ Mr. Herbert Rhodes was a brother of Mr. (now the Right Honourable) Cecil J. Rhodes, and had come to Nyasaland to shoot big game. He accompanied Consul Elton as far as the north end of Lake Nyasa, and then returned to the Upper Shire, where he established himself for some time shooting elephants. He gained a great reputation amongst the natives for bravery and fair dealing, and is still spoken of by the older men at the present day under the name of "Roza." He was burned to death in 1886 by the accidental setting on fire of his hut.

Mandala* (now a suburb of Blantyre), about one mile from the headquarters of the Church of Scotland Mission. Mr. John Moir built a substantial house there, which still endures; and as he wore spectacles he was called by the natives "Mandala," a name meaning "glass." This nickname was soon applied to his residence, and gradually came to mean both the African Lakes Company, and the place where they settled near Blantyre. Mandala is now the official name of the headquarters of the African Lakes Company and of an important suburb of Blantyre.

The Church of Scotland Mission in those days—that is to say at the end of the seventies—was under the direction of two able men, the Rev. Alexander Duff and the late Mr. Henry Henderson, the latter being the business manager and the principal lay member; but it had attached to it also certain lay members who were either badly chosen, or who developed into bad characters when they came into contact with African savagery. It is only necessary to specify one of these—George Fenwick—whose name cannot be ignored in the history of this Protectorate. These men soon began to treat the natives with great harshness, and taking advantage of the dread in which white men were held, to bully and extort, and raise themselves almost to the position of petty chiefs. Indeed, in reviewing all that has happened since Europeans settled in this part of Africa, I have been increasingly struck with the rapidity with which such members of the white race as are not of the best class, can throw over the restraints of civilisation and develop into savages of unbridled lust and abominable cruelty. These lay members of the Mission attempted to exercise a kind of jurisdiction over the natives in the vicinity of the Mission stations, and so severe were their punishments that one native was sentenced to death and was shot, while other natives actually died from the awful floggings they received. Two English sportsmen, returning from Nyasaland, conveyed the news of these outrages to the consular authorities in Portuguese East Africa; the Foreign Office took up the matter, and eventually the Church of Scotland Mission sent out commissioners to hold an enquiry into the charges. Mr. Nunes, H. M. Vice-Consul at Quelimane, represented Her Majesty's Government on this enquiry, which resulted in the charges being in great measure proved.¹ The ordained minister who was at the head of the Mission at Blantyre resigned; though no blame was imputed to him, as he did not possess the means of controlling the actions of his subordinates. But after what had occurred he preferred to withdraw from the Mission.² Mr. John Buchanan also at this time left the Mission, and set up for himself independently, as a coffee planter. George Fenwick and other lay members of the Mission, who were implicated in the deeds referred to, were dismissed, and the first-mentioned went to live among the natives as an elephant hunter. In 1881 the Revs. D. C. Scott and Alexander Hetherwick came out to Africa and took charge of the Church of Scotland Mission, implanting on its work a very different character to the ill-fame which had temporarily clouded its earlier days owing to the misdeeds of its lay assistants. The indirect result, however, of the increasing British settlement in Nyasaland³ was to induce Her Majesty's Government to establish a British Consul for Nyasa, and in 1883

¹ The evidence gathered by this commission makes very painful reading, and further expatiation on this subject is neither necessary nor desirable.

² See an excellently written book called *Africana*, by the Rev. Alexander Duff (Sampson Low & Co.) of the best books ever written on Africa.

³ By this time the African Lakes Company had placed their small steamer, *The Lady Nyasa*, on the

Capt. Foot, R.N., went to Blantyre with his wife and children, taking with him Mr. D. Rankin as private secretary.

During all these years the Makololo chiefs had become increasingly powerful. At first they had seemed disposed to welcome the British, but there were times when they became arrogant and exacting in their demands. Still, on the whole, they were a valuable counterpoise to the aggressive Yao, some of whom became highway robbers and rifled the Mission and African Lakes Company's caravans. There were two of the Makololo chiefs specially prominent—Ramakukane and Chipatula. Ramakukane was seemingly of real Makololo origin, and had been the son of a chief or headman in the Barutse country, who had accompanied Livingstone back to Nyasaland, after his second visit to the Barutse country. Chipatula was one of Livingstone's old porters. Ramakukane was established at Katunga on the Central Shire, and Chipatula at or near the modern Chiromo, where the river Ruo joins the Shire, and where the present Anglo-Portuguese boundary runs. Ramakukane was, on the whole, friendly to the Europeans. Chipatula chiefly concerned himself in repelling the attempts of the black Portuguese from the Zambezi to establish themselves as slave traders on the Shire. He not only kept these half-castes at bay, but even extended his rule far down the Shire towards the Zambezi. The George Fenwick of whom I have made mention, after leaving the service of the Mission had set up for himself as a trader and elephant hunter. He was a headstrong, lawless man, who inspired fear and admiration alternately, in the minds of the natives. He had had several commercial transactions in selling ivory for Chipatula, and visited that chief at Chiromo in 1884 to settle accounts with him. Both men had been drinking spirits; Chipatula refused to accept Fenwick's version of accounts and applied opprobrious terms to him. Fenwick started up in a rage and shot Chipatula dead. Before the chief's astonished followers could take any action he rushed out of the hut towards the river shore, and shouted to them, "Your chief is dead, I am your chief now," but seeing that the natives were rather more inclined to avenge Chipatula's death than to adopt his slayer as his successor, he got into a canoe at the river side, and paddled across the river to Malo Island. Here for three days he led a wretched existence attempting to defend himself from the attacks of the natives. He was at last overcome and killed, and his head was cut off. The Makololo chiefs then became quite inimical to the white settlers. They shot at and sunk the little steamer *Lady Nyasa*, and they sent an insolent message to Blantyre, demanding that Mrs. Fenwick, the wife of the adventurer, should be delivered over to them, together with an enormous sum as compensation for the death of Chipatula. Consul Foot finally succeeded, with the help of Ramakukane, in restoring peace, and Mr. John Moir recovered the *Lady Nyasa*. Consul Foot, however, died not long afterwards from the effects of the fatigue and anxiety he had undergone. Chipatula was succeeded by a man named Mlauri, also one of Livingstone's men, but not friendly to the British; and old Ramakukane died. The demeanour of the Makololo as the years went by became increasingly insolent and hostile towards the Europeans, English as well as Portuguese.

In 1881 a fresh element of British influence had appeared on the shores of Lake Nyasa, in the arrival of the Rev. W. P. Johnson and Mr. Charles Mson, of the Universities Mission to Central Africa—that Mission whose first shop, Mackenzie, had died near Chiromo on the Shire in 1862. It will be remembered that the Universities Mission had been founded at the instance

of Livingstone, but after establishing itself in the Shire highlands in 1862 had been obliged to quit that country owing to the hostilities shown by the Yao. Since that time the Mission had concentrated itself at Zanzibar, and had founded stations on the East Coast of Africa. That really great man, Bishop Steere, the third of the Missionary bishops to Central Africa, had set his heart on reopening work in Nyasaland. He walked overland from the Indian Ocean to the east coast of the lake. Subsequently Lake Nyasa was reached by the Rev. W. P. Johnson, accompanied by Mr. Charles Janson. The latter fell ill, and died on the shores of Lake Nyasa. In his will he bequeathed a sum of money for the construction of a Mission steamer to be placed on the lake. Other subscriptions were raised, and eventually the *Charles Janson* was launched on Lake Nyasa, where she still exists. The Rev. Chauncey Maples and other recruits from the Mission had meantime joined Mr. Johnson. Bishop Steere had been succeeded by Bishop Smythies,¹ who if anything took an increased interest in the establishment of his Mission on Lake Nyasa, to which lake he paid repeated visits. The Rev. Chauncey Maples was made Archdeacon of Nyasa.² Seeing the troublous condition of the Yao countries, and the shores of Lake Nyasa, where the unfortunate A-nyanja inhabitants were alternately raided by Magwangwara,³ Arabs and Yao, the Universities Mission resolved to establish its headquarters on the Island of Likoma, which is distant about eight miles from the east coast of Lake Nyasa, and consequently is not so subject to the attacks of the Magwangwara or Yao.

The Livingstonia Mission under the able guidance of Dr. Robert Laws, M.D. had been for years making steady progress on the west coast of Lake Nyasa. Their first experiments at Cape Maclear,⁴ a promontory which divides the southern end of the lake into two gulfs, were not very successful. The settlement of Livingstonia,—which still exists but where only native adherents of the Mission dwell at the present time,—proved to be extremely unhealthy for Europeans, and many missionaries died there. Dr. Laws decided, therefore, to transfer the headquarters of the Mission to Bandawe, about midway up the west coast of the lake, a place in the middle of the Atonga country. Here the Free Church Mission was confronted with an immediate difficulty in the shape of the Angoni-Zulu of the interior, who were gradually exterminating and enslaving the indigenous people of the lake-coast, known as the Atonga, who were related in origin to the A-nyanja stock. The Free Church Mission, therefore, set itself to work to conciliate the Angoni, and obtained such influence over them, after some years, that they stopped to a great extent their raids over the coast people. At any rate the Mission stations served as a harbour of refuge for the harried Atonga, who were eventually able to recover their position and assert themselves against the invaders.

About the end of the seventies the London Missionary Society resolved to take up Tanganyika as a sphere of work. Their journeys thither were made overland from Zanzibar; but when they decided to have a steamer placed on Tanganyika they found it easier to send its sections by the Lake Nyasa route. The explorer, Joseph Thomson, had reached the north end of Lake Nyasa in 1880, and had journeyed thence to Tanganyika. This exploration

¹ Died at sea on his way back to England in 1894, worn out by ten years of incessant toil and physical fatigue.

² Became Bishop of Likoma in 1895, and was drowned in Lake Nyasa a few months afterwards by the capsizing of his boat in a storm.

³ A section of the Angoni-Zulu, established east of Lake Nyasa.

⁴ Named by Livingstone after the Astronomer-Royal of Cape Town.

had assisted in fixing the relative position of the two lakes and showing that the land transit between them did not much exceed 200 miles. The African Lakes Company were entrusted with the contract for conveying the London Missionary Society's steamer from Nyasa to Tanganyika, an enterprise successfully accomplished in 1885. Mr. James Stevenson, a director of the Lakes Company, was struck with the idea of making a permanent road from lake to lake, and subscribed a sum of, I believe, £2000 or £3000, for the purpose of making preliminary surveys. The Stevenson road, however, was never completed, but the route it was to follow was roughly cleared for about sixty miles from Lake Nyasa. The engineers concerned in this work died of fever, and further operations were checked by the outbreak of war with the Arabs. The London Missionary Society did not, at first, think much of the Lake Nyasa route to Tanganyika, but preferred the overland journey from Zanzibar. They therefore devoted their attention more to the middle portion of the lake, especially the west coast opposite to Ujiji, and established themselves here on the island of Kavala. The unhealthiness of this place, however, and the troubles which began to arise on Tanganyika after the first Belgian expeditions, and from the subsequent uprising against the Germans, obliged the London Missionary Society's agents to alter their plans. They transferred their establishments to the south end of the lake, in order to be brought into more direct communication with the British settlements in Nyasaland.

The first serious danger which may be said to have menaced the infant settlements in Nyasaland, was the trouble with the Makololo chiefs, to which I have already referred. The next danger, and a much more serious one, arose from the conflict with the Arabs who had settled at the north end of Lake Nyasa. When Livingstone and Kirk first explored Lake Nyasa they practically only found the Arabs established in a few places—at one or other of the ports on what is now the Portuguese coast of Lake Nyasa, and at Kotakota on the western shore of the lake;¹ at which latter place Livingstone visited an Arab settlement under the control of a person called "Jumbe," who was a coast Arab, and a representative or *wali* of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Jumbe means "prince" on the mainland opposite Zanzibar, and the Sultan had no doubt chosen as his representative a man who went to Nyasa for trade purposes principally, but who was of sufficiently good standing to exercise some show of authority, in the Sultan's name, over the Arabs wandering in those regions. When I use the term "Arabs" I mean both Arabs with white skins of pure blood (and usually natives of 'Oman or of Southern Arabia) and every degree of intermixture and type between the Arab and the negro, so that some of our so-called Arabs in Nyasaland are quite black, though in the shape of their features or in their beards, they may retain traces of the intermixture of a superior race. But all these so-called Arabs are sharply distinguished from the ordinary negroes by dressing in Arab costume, using the Arabic language, and by being stricter and more intelligent in their practices of the Muhammadan religion.

The first interference of the Arabs with Nyasaland was merely to secure a passage across the lake in their caravan journeys to the countries of Senga, Lubisa, and Luwemba, which journeys were undertaken for ivory, or slaves, and had commenced, as I have already related, by their following back into South Central Africa the Babisa caravans that formerly traded with Zanzibar. The

¹ "Ngotangota"—as the natives call it, the Arabs having corrupted the name into the easier pronunciation of Kotakota.

Arabs, however, soon established themselves in strong stockades in the Senga country, through which the great Luangwa River flows. Then they began to adopt, as an alternative route to the journey across Lake Nyasa, the direct journey from Zanzibar overland across the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau; and gradually the strong Arab dominion on Lake Tanganyika became connected with the settlements in the Senga country and on Lake Nyasa. The Arabs



L. MONTEITH FOTHERINGHAM

had also found a friend and ally in Merere, an intelligent and enterprising chief of the Wa-sango people, who had his capital in the high mountainous region to the north of Lake Nyasa. In their journeys to and fro between Senga and the sea coast, by way of the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau, the Arabs became struck with the magnificent fertility and the wealth in cattle of the Nkonde country at the north end of Lake Nyasa. A certain Zanzibar Arab, named Mlozi,¹ appears to have commenced by trading in the country, and gradually proceeded to surround his trade establishments with stockades and by degrees take forcible possession of this delectable land. Mlozi had, with several other Arabs, established strong trading stations in the Senga country, and was almost a prince among slave traders. But Mlozi's schemes were not to be so easily accomplished. Prior to his settlement in the

Nkonde country, or simultaneous with it at any rate, the Lakes Company had obtained a footing at Karonga for the purpose of opening up communication with Lake Tanganyika.

The Lakes Company had employed amongst other Europeans two notable men to conduct the expeditions which transported the London Missionary Society's steamer in sections from Nyasa to Tanganyika. These men were Low Monteith Fotheringham and John Lowe Nicoll. Mr. Fotheringham had become finally their agent at Karonga, on the north-west coast of Lake Nyasa, while Mr. Nicoll was chiefly employed on Tanganyika and in going backwards and forwards between Nyasa and Tanganyika. Fotheringham was a man of very strong character and upright disposition, severe occasionally with the natives in maintaining the laws which he laid down for the maintenance of order, but of great bravery, and absolutely just in his dealings. No qualities ensure a man greater favour amongst the negroes than mingled firmness and justice; and the natives of the north end of Lake Nyasa, the Mambwe of the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau, and the Atonga of West Nyasa, came by degrees to look upon Mr. Fotheringham² as their natural leader and champion. The Arabs under Mlozi began to press their rule on the Nkonde people. The Wankonde looked to Fotheringham for advice and protection. Fotheringham was at first disinclined to interfere in the quarrels, as he feared that the



JOHN LOWE NICOLL

¹ Mlozi means in Swahili "an almond tree"; but I expect the real derivation of the word is from Mulozi (= a sorcerer) in the dialects spoken in the Senga and Bisa countries.

² Whom they called Montisi, from an Africanising of his second name.

results of a fight with the Arabs might seriously prejudice the Lakes Company's position, and cut off communication with Lake Tanganyika; but he was not long left the choice of remaining neutral, for the Arabs appear to have come to the conclusion that the conquest of all the Nkonde country was impossible until they had first driven out the British traders and Missionaries; for two missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Bain and Dr. Kerr Cross,¹ had already settled at the north end of Lake Nyasa in the service of the Free Church Mission. Of course much of the friction that had arisen between the Arabs and the Lakes Company's agent came from the undoubted sympathy which the British traders showed for the Wankonde in their hopeless struggle against the Arab forces. One fact may be cited in particular as an example of the atrocious way in



GROUP OF WANKONDE (NORTH NYASA)

which the Arabs conducted this war of conquest. The Wankonde, who were entirely and only armed with spears, had been defeated in an engagement with the Arabs, and took refuge on the banks of the Kambwe lagoon, on the shore of Lake Nyasa. The Arabs surrounded them, set fire to the dry reeds, and compelled the wretched Wankonde to enter the water, where hundreds of them were devoured by crocodiles, and large numbers were shot, stabbed, or drowned.² Several refugees from this and other fights found their way into the Lakes Company's station, which was then unfortified. Mr. Fotheringham's refusal to give them up and his answering the Arab threats by commencing to fortify Karonga were no doubt the causes which decided the Arabs to make an attack on the Karonga station. Fortunately before this attack took place

¹ Dr. Kerr Cross is still serving as a medical missionary in this part of Africa, where he has done great good amongst the natives, as well as having nursed into recovery many sick Europeans.

² For a faithful description of these horrors see pp. 80, 81, and 82 of the late Mr. Fotheringham's book, *Adventures in Nyasaland* (Sampson Low).

reinforcements were received. Mr. Nicoll arrived from Tanganyika and the little steamer *Ilala* returned from South Nyasa bringing Consul O'Neill, of Moçambique, and Mr. Alfred Sharpe and two other gentlemen who had decided to come to the rescue of the Europeans threatened by the Arabs.

Karonga was attacked and besieged for days though the Arabs were finally repulsed after desperate fighting; but eventually the British position



JOHN W. MOIR

became untenable, and after communicating the news of his dangerous situation to the Manager at Mandala, Mr. Fotheringham, Mr. Nicoll, and the others who had joined them, decided to withdraw with the Wankonde chiefs into a part of the country where they would be better sheltered from the Arab attack. They removed most of their goods in canoes, abandoned the station at Karonga, and remained in the country at the extreme north end of the lake until reinforcements arrived. Amongst the volunteers who came to their aid, were Mr. Consul Hawes and Mr. John Moir. The arrival of these slight reinforcements and the aid of five thousand natives enabled Mr. Fotheringham to attack, enter, and partially destroy Mlozi's stockade at Mpata (in which attack both Mr. Alfred Sharpe

and Mr. John Moir were wounded). But the native allies abandoned the stockade after having loaded themselves with loot and the whites had to retreat without consummating their defeat of the Arabs by the destruction of all their stockades. After this all the volunteers returned to South Nyasa and Messrs. Fotheringham, Nicoll, and Kerr Cross lived for a time at Chirenje, to the north-west of Karonga, while the Arabs regained to some extent their former position, though they never were able actively to assume the offensive. Early in March, more volunteers returned to North Nyasa. With them came Mr. John Buchanan (Acting Consul) and Mr. Fred Moir, joint manager of the Lakes Co. Mr. Buchanan attempted to negotiate a peace with the Arabs, but the negotiations had no result. Hostilities were then resumed, but Mr. Fred Moir was severely wounded, and again owing to the vacillation of their native allies the British failed to score any great success.

When the news of this fighting at the north end of Lake Nyasa reached the outer world, several gentlemen volunteered to assist the Lakes Company, the principal among these being Capt. Lugard,¹ who was constituted by the Lakes Company the Commander of their forces in North Nyasa. Capt. Lugard was subsequently re-joined by Mr. Alfred Sharpe,² by Mr. Richard Crawshaw (who had also come to the country as a hunter), by Mr. John Moir, and others.

¹ Now Major Lugard, C.B.

² Now Her Majesty's Deputy Commissioner and Consul. Mr. Sharpe originally came to Nyasaland to hunt elephants and big game, but hearing of the Lakes Company's distress he came to their assistance with Consul O'Neill in the manner above related. After being wounded and proceeding to the south to recover he returned with Captain Lugard and fought out the rest of the campaign, marching up overland at the head of a large number of Atonga.



FREDERICK MAITLAND MOIR

Mr. Frederick Moir, whose arm had been severely wounded, had returned to Scotland to recover his health. From thence he succeeded in sending out a 7-pounder gun, as it was felt the Arabs could only be adequately fought with artillery. But unfortunately, although this gun ultimately reached its destination, it was not provided with the right kind of ammunition. Its



MR. ALFRED SHARPE IN 1890

shells merely drilled round holes in the tough stockades which, being made of withes and mud, did not offer sufficient resistance for a real breach to be made. A good deal of damage was done to the Arabs who were shut up in their fortresses and much inconvenienced for lack of food, but the British, on the other hand, suffered severely, having one of their officers killed and several more or less severely wounded, besides the terrible ill-health which resulted from fighting during the rainy season. Amongst the wounded was Captain Lugard who returned to Blantyre, got his wound partially healed, and then

once more took command at Karonga. Captain Lugard finally quitted Nyasaland in the spring of 1889, finding it impossible to bring the Arab war to a conclusion without disciplined troops and efficient artillery.

An attempt was made by Sir Charles Euan-Smith, Her Majesty's Consul-General at Zanzibar, to induce the Sultan of that place to intervene, and to bring the war to a conclusion by compelling the Arabs to come to terms with the British. The Sultan accordingly dispatched an envoy, but he commanded very little weight in the councils of the Senga Arabs, who considered themselves quite independent of the Sultan's authority.

The consequences of this war with the Arabs, which was clearly known by the natives of Nyasaland to be a war for the suppression of the slave trade, aroused a good many expressions of ill-feeling against the English on the part of the Muhammadan Yao on the east coast of Lake Nyasa. Mr. John Buchanan, who had been Acting Consul since the departure on leave of Mr. Hawes, attempted to open up friendly relations with Makanjira, the Yao chief on the south-east coast of the lake. He paid him a visit with the Rev. W. P. Johnson, in the Mission steamer, the *Charles Janson*. To their surprise, however, they had no sooner landed than they were seized, stripped of their clothes, and grossly maltreated. They were imprisoned in huts, and Makanjira announced his intention of killing them, and would probably have done so, but for the persuasion of some Zanzibar Arabs, who represented that their deaths would certainly be avenged, and that the Sultan of Zanzibar would hold them—the intercessors—responsible, after what had occurred, if English subjects were killed in their presence, and without remonstrance on their part. Makanjira accordingly held his captives up to ransom. They were obliged to write to the engineer of their steamer, which was in the offing, to send on shore an enormous supply of trade goods and ship's stores. When these things arrived Makanjira released them, though he neither restored their clothes nor the personal property of which they had been robbed. Mr. Buchanan, the Acting Consul, had even been whipped with a *chikote*¹ by Makanjira's orders—not severely, but just with two or three stripes to show his contempt for the British.

After a little vacillation the Arabs of Tanganyika had decided not to join with their fellow countrymen in the war against the British, and indeed after a little more deliberation, that section under the orders of Tiputipu² had determined to protect the British missionaries on Lake Tanganyika from violence at the hands of any other Arabs who might, in consequence of their uprising against the Germans, have resolved to assassinate all Europeans in the interior. Likewise the Arab settlement at Kotakota, which was under the third in succession of "Jumbes," who continued to be the *wali* of the Sultan of Zanzibar, resolved to remain neutral. Generally speaking, it may be said that at this crisis the influence of the Sultan of Zanzibar was exercised *strongly* in favour of the British. Had he not compelled peace and a good understanding with them, all the Arabs of Central Africa would have gladly united in a war to drive us out of Lake Nyasa, and would have doubtless succeeded in doing so, as in those days owing to difficulties with the Portuguese, it was found very difficult to import supplies of guns and ammunition.

The general situation in British Central Africa, before I was personally connected with its fortunes, was as follows.

¹ A whip of hippopotamus hide.

² Whom, of course, the British *will* call "Tippoo-tib."

In the Barutse country, a strong kingdom of large extent, existed a ruling caste of Bechuana (who had first organised the territories on the Upper Zambezi into a large kingdom, and had been subsequently dispossessed of power to some extent by revolution) and the descendants of the old rulers, who were of Baloi, or Balui, stock. These latter had replaced in sovereign power the Bechuana¹ kings. But otherwise the government of the Upper Zambezi countries in their political tendencies remained much what it was in the days when Livingstone first discovered Barutse-land. Eastwards of the Barutse country, the lands of the Bashikulombwe, of the Batonga and Manika, remained in a state of utter barbarism, fiercely recalcitrant to European researches. Little was known of the country since the explorations of Kirk and Livingstone; Dr. Emil Holub, an Austrian explorer, had been repulsed; Mr. Selous, who had penetrated farthest into this part of Central Africa, was attacked and obliged to fly for his life; and Jesuit Missionaries had either been maltreated, killed, or expelled, in their attempts to penetrate these countries. On the lower part of the great Luangwa river, the country was harried by black chieftains from the Zambezi, who called themselves "Portuguese," on the strength of remote Goanese descent. In the Senga and Lubisa countries, Arabs and Swahilis were carrying on the slave trade, and gradually establishing themselves in the land by means of building stockaded towns. At the south end of Lake Tanganyika there were one or two missionaries settled and building. At the north end of Lake Nyasa a war between Arabs and Scotch traders had been going on for two years. Missionaries were peacefully at work in West Nyasaland, but on the east coast of the lake their work was paralysed by the hostility of Makanjira. The Yao, who, since Livingstone's first arrival in the country, had gradually conquered much of the Shire Highlands, and had established themselves at the south end, and along the south-east and south-west coasts of Lake Nyasa, were engaged, either in incessant civil war amongst themselves, in attacks on their weaker neighbours, or in hostilities against the British. In the Shire Highlands coffee-planting had already begun under Mr. Buchanan, who had been joined by two of his brothers, and under Mr. Sharrer, a British subject of German descent, who had established himself as a planter and trader in Nyasaland. In the Shire Highlands the missionaries of the Church of Scotland Mission had acquired a considerable influence, an influence justly due to their high character and their devotion to the interests of the natives, but an influence which at that time they were too much inclined to exercise with the view to governing the country themselves, independently of Consuls or other representatives of Her Majesty. The rival to the Scotch Missionaries, as a governing body, was the African Lakes Company, which was half hoping for a Charter, and was striving to obtain from the native chiefs a concession of governing rights. Sometimes the interests of the Lakes Company and the Mission were conflicting, and not infrequently the two or three independent planters could agree with neither. The Universities Mission was supposed to hold the opinion that the war with the Arabs was unwise, and owing to its friendly relations on the lake with the Arabs more or less attached to the Sultan of Zanzibar, that Mission did not identify itself with any movement for the expulsion of the Arabs from Nyasaland. A French Evangelical Mission had established itself in the Barutse country, and was acquiring a very great influence over the natives.² The seat of this Mission, however, lay in British South Africa, and so far

¹ *i.e.*, Makololo.

² An influence always used for disinterested and proper ends.

as these French Missionaries had any political sentiments at all they were on the side of bringing the Barutse under British influence. The history of Barutseland is only artificially connected with the rest of British Central Africa, by the fact that at present it is included within the same political sphere. Otherwise its history is mainly connected in the past with that of British South Africa, and in the future it will unquestionably become an appanage of that portion of the Empire.¹

The greatest difficulty which at that time hampered the development of the eastern part of British Central Africa, was the fact that it could only be approached from the outer world through Portuguese East African Possessions. In those days, anyone wishing to proceed to Lake Nyasa, and shirking the overland journey from Zanzibar, which was lengthy, arduous, and often full of risk, landed at Quelimane, a little to the north of the Zambezi delta, journeyed up the Kwakwa River in small boats to a point called Mopeia, then crossed overland, a distance of three or four miles, to Vicenti, a trading station on the Zambezi. At Vicenti one was met by either of the African Lakes Company's two steamers, the *James Stevenson* or the *Lady Nyasa*, and so travelled on up the Zambezi and up the Shire, as far as the season of the year, and consequent depth of the waters would permit, and thence overland to the British settlements. This route, however, compelled travellers to land at the Portuguese port of Quelimane; and even assuming the Kwakwa to be, like the Zambezi, an international waterway, a fact which could not be asserted and maintained, it was impossible to reach the waters of the Zambezi without crossing a mile or so of Portuguese territory. No arrangement existed with Portugal to secure us exemption from Customs duties or even graver hindrances that might be placed in our way by the local Portuguese authorities, and these authorities—bearing in mind that the boundaries of Portuguese and British influence in the Hinterland had not yet been settled—were naturally very jealous of this immigration of British subjects, the said British subjects being never too careful of Portuguese rights and susceptibilities. It was this difficulty with the Portuguese which had caused Her Majesty's Government in 1863 to arrive at the conclusion that the Zambezi expedition of Livingstone must be recalled. It was again this difficulty which hampered Her Majesty's Government in the "eighties," in preventing them from affording active assistance to the traders on Lake Nyasa in their war with the Arabs, and, indeed, in formulating any decisive policy in regard to Nyasaland. Had it been possible for vessels of fair size and draught to enter the river Zambezi from the sea, all these difficulties from overland transport would have disappeared. Her Majesty's Government had for some time past maintained the principle of the freedom of navigation of the Zambezi, but although ships did occasionally succeed in getting over the bar of the Kongone mouth—a bar on which at low tide there was only a depth of 5 to 6 feet of water—the enterprise was too uncertain to be often prosecuted, and the best proof of its impracticability lay in the fact that the African Lakes Company had almost abandoned this way into the Zambezi, and preferred to pay the heavy Customs duties of Quelimane and submit to all reasonable restrictions on the part of the Portuguese, rather than attempt to communicate with the Shire by means of the Kongone mouth of the Zambezi—an attempt indeed which they could only make at fitful

¹ Whereas, on the other hand, the history of the eastern half of British Central Africa, east of the Kafue River, has always been mixed up with that of Zanzibar and the northern half of Portuguese East Africa.

intervals, and by specially chartering ocean-going steamers, as no established Steamship Line would hear of calling in at the Kongone mouth as a matter of course.

At this juncture a discovery of the greatest importance was made, which completely altered the political aspect of the question. Mr. Daniel J. Rankin, an explorer who had originally proceeded to Nyasaland as private secretary to Consul Foot, and who had also acted in a Consular capacity at Moçambique, was enabled by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society to institute an exploration of the Zambezi delta. In the course of his journey he discovered the Chinde mouth of the Zambezi, which apparently was quite unknown to the Portuguese Government, though it had probably been first discovered by a Portuguese planter who was working a concession in the delta. This planter's information put Mr. Rankin on the track of his discovery, which he announced to the world in the spring of 1889.¹ It was briefly this, that the Chinde mouth of the Zambezi possessed a bar shorter and safer and simpler than that of any other outlet of the Zambezi, and with a minimum depth of water at high tide of 17 feet (as against, say, 10 feet at the Kongone). At the time Mr. Rankin sounded the bar, I believe he found a depth of water on it of 21 or 22 feet, a depth which has several times since been recorded, but chiefly at that season of the year when the river was visited by Mr. Rankin, namely when the Zambezi is in full flood. Ordinarily the depth of water at high spring-tides is 17 to 19 feet. Not only was the Chinde bar a far less serious obstacle than that of any other mouth of the Zambezi, but its channel from the sea into the main Zambezi was easier of navigation than the other branches of that river. In its far-reaching political importance, probably no greater discovery in the history of British Central Africa has been made than that of the navigability of the Chinde River from the Indian Ocean to the main Zambezi.

¹ In the *Times* Newspaper.



ON THE CHINDE MOUTH OF THE ZAMBEZI

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOUNDING OF THE PROTECTORATE

ANY direct personal interest which I may have taken in the affairs of Nyasaland dates from the commencement of 1884.

I had returned from a prolonged examination of the western basin of the River Congo and my opinion was invited at the Foreign Office on certain points connected with the proposed treaty with Portugal regulating the political and commercial affairs of the Lower Congo.

This treaty contained a clause providing that Portuguese political influence should cease in the direction of Nyasaland at the junction of the Ruo and Shire rivers. Had the treaty been ratified this clause would have obviated any further frontier disputes with Portugal, north of the Zambezi; but owing to unreasonable opposition in certain quarters it was not ratified, and then the Berlin Conference was called to deal generally with questions affecting the Congo and the Niger, and Zambezi affairs were postponed in their settlement. The Portuguese were now free of any obligation in regard to Nyasaland, and being an enterprising and ambitious people, determined once more to revive their scheme of a trans-continental Empire from Angola to Moçambique, including the southern part of what is now Central Africa. They were aided in these assumptions by the remarkable journeys of their explorers, Capello and Ivens.

Lord Salisbury's Ministry, however, had succeeded to power, and in several speeches in the House of Lords the Premier could not conceal the interest that he felt in the struggle going on between the Arabs and the African Lakes Company, or his resolve to maintain Nyasaland as a country open to British enterprise without the restrictions which would result from its transference to any other European Power. Owing to the difficulty about a direct water route into the heart of South Central Africa to which I have alluded in the last chapter, I believe it was not the object of Her Majesty's Ministers in 1887 to establish any actual Protectorate over Nyasaland: they merely wished that it should become neither German nor Portuguese, but be ruled by its native chiefs, under the advice, it might be, of a British Consul,* but in any case that it should remain open to the British traders, planters and missionaries without let or hindrance.

* In 1888 I had returned from three years of Consular work in the Niger Coast Protectorate, and in the summer of that year Lord Salisbury held a short conversation with me at Hatfield in which he developed his views about Zambezia. From this conversation I date, to a great extent, my own concep-

tion of the policy to be pursued.¹ In the autumn of 1888 I was offered and accepted the post of Consul to Portuguese East Africa. At the beginning of 1889 it was decided by the Foreign Office that I should travel in the interior, and report on the troubles which had arisen with the Arabs, and above all with the Portuguese; and that in those districts admittedly beyond Portuguese jurisdiction I should take measures to secure the country from abrupt seizure by other European Powers, by concluding treaties of friendship with the native chiefs, in which they bound themselves not to transfer their governing rights to any European Power without the consent of Her Majesty's Government. Before starting for my post, however, it was thought by Lord Salisbury that I might, by personal intercourse with the Portuguese Authorities at Lisbon, suggest some *modus vivendi* with regard to the settlement of our conflicting claims. I, accordingly, spent some six weeks in Portugal, and in conjunction with Her Majesty's Envoy, Mr., now Sir George, Petre, discussed the subject of Nyasaland at the Portuguese Foreign Office. A draft arrangement was drawn up, which after some modifications was shown to the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, and approved by him. It was then submitted to the English Foreign Office, but as it did not provide for the exclusion of the Shire Highlands from the Portuguese Sphere it was not deemed acceptable by Her Majesty's Government, as the chief object of any such arrangement at that time was to secure the work of the English missionaries and planters from interference. This arrangement might, however, have been modified in that respect without difficulty on the part of the Portuguese, but the fact was that the Government felt reluctant to push the matter to an immediate conclusion in the face of two obstacles, one being the want of direct water communication with the interior beyond the Portuguese Sphere, and the other, the difficulty which would be experienced by the Imperial Government at that time, in finding funds for incurring the great responsibility of administering the districts bordering on Lake Nyasa, a territory that did not then promise much or, indeed, any local revenue of its own. Two things now occurred to dispel Government anxieties on these accounts: Mr. Rankin announced his discovery of the Chinde mouth, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes arrived in England to obtain a Charter for his Company. I made the acquaintance of Mr. Rhodes, and found him much disposed to interest himself in the extension of British influence across the Zambezi. As the result of several conferences Mr. Rhodes was able to assure the Foreign Office that his proposed Chartered Company would find at least £10,000 a year, for several years, for the development and administration of Nyasaland. Under these new circumstances, therefore, the Government felt justified in attempting to secure for Great Britain a reasonable amount of political influence over those countries of Central Africa, not claimed by Germany, Portugal, or the Congo Free State. The form of Treaty that was drawn up was not, however, altered, as it was not intended to proclaim any Protectorate, if more indirect means of political supremacy could be attained. It should, perhaps, be stated that the attention of Her Majesty's Government had been drawn in the spring of 1889 to the imposing expedition which was to be commanded by Major Serpa Pinto in Portuguese Zambesia. Explanations had been asked for in Lisbon as to its eventual destination,

¹ What this conception was may be found in an article in the *Times* of August 22nd, 1883, which it may be interesting for some persons to re-read now as it was written at a time when such ideas as a British dominion, including an establishment on the shores of Tanganyika and through communication between the Cape and Egypt had never before been specifically enunciated.

but the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs assured Her Majesty's Government that Serpa Pinto would merely proceed to the Portuguese establishments on the Upper Zambezi and on the Luangwa River, and would not enter the debatable ground of the Shire Highlands. Consequently, as the Portuguese claim to Zumbo and to the Lower Luangwa had not been contested—or indeed their claims anywhere where occupation or political supremacy could be shown—it was thought that if the Portuguese did not attempt to impose their rule on any new lands where our interests might be affected, no such direct step as the establishment of a Protectorate on our part should be undertaken until negotiations with Germany and Portugal had, more or less precisely, fixed the limits of our political influence.

I started for Moçambique in the early summer of 1889. On my arrival at that place the Foreign Office, at my request, appointed Mr. W. A. Churchill,¹ Vice-Consul, so that I might be free to start on my journey to the interior, without leaving Consular matters unattended to. Soon after I reached Moçambique there arrived H.M.S. *Stork*, a surveying vessel commanded by Lieut.-Commander Balfour, R.N. The *Stork* had just returned from Chinde, where it had been sent to verify Mr. Rankin's discoveries. The Commander informed me that in his steam-launch he had passed up into the Zambezi, and had found the channel all the way deep enough for even the *Stork* herself, and the *Stork* was a vessel drawing 13½ feet. I felt that it would be good policy to show that I had reached these regions of the interior, without necessarily landing on Portuguese territory, so I obtained permission from the Government to use the *Stork* for the conveyance of my expedition. At the same time the authorities at Moçambique were made fully aware of the purposes I intended to fulfil, namely the negotiation of a peace with the Arabs and the conclusion of treaties of friendship with the local chiefs, who were not under Portuguese jurisdiction. The Governor asked me pointedly if I intended to proclaim a British Protectorate, and I told him I was authorised to do nothing of the kind, so long as Major Serpa Pinto or other Portuguese explorers took no political action outside Portuguese territory. No difficulty whatever was placed in my way by the Portuguese, whether or not they approved of my expedition. I think particular stress should be laid on this fact, as had Portugal been animated by really hostile intentions to Great Britain, there were a hundred pretexts by which they might have stopped my journey. So little need was there to preserve any mystery about my operations, that instead of proceeding direct to Chinde, I called in with the *Stork* at Quelimane, and there visited the Portuguese officials, and communicated with the African Lakes Company. The *Stork* crossed the bar of the Chinde mouth without difficulty, on the 28th of July, 1889, and steamed up the Chinde River into the main Zambezi, to the unbounded astonishment of such few inhabitants as were on the banks, for neither they nor any other people had seen so large a vessel enter the Zambezi before. A short distance above the confluence of the Chinde with the main Zambezi the *Stork* came to anchor, and we continued our journey in a flotilla of steam launches and boats, by which means we finally came up with the African Lakes Company's steamer, the *James Stevenson*, near Morambala, a very notable mountain which is situated some twenty miles up the Shire River. My expedition consisted of Mr. J. L. Nicoll, formerly of the Lakes Company's service,² whom I had engaged at Quelimane as an assistant; Ali Kiongwe, my Zanzibari headman, who had accompanied me on my journey to Kilimanjaro, and whom I

¹ Now Consul at Moçambique.

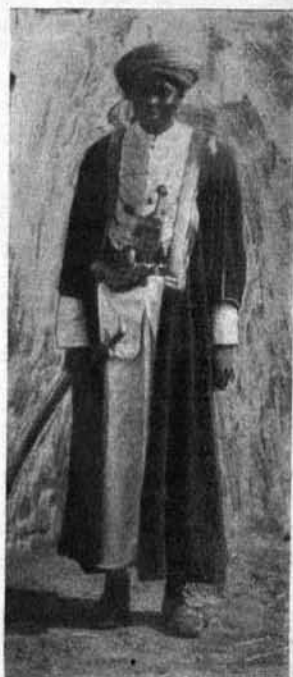
² Just returning from the Arab War.

had re-engaged at Zanzibar in 1889; and fifteen Makua, engaged with the consent of the Portuguese authorities at Moçambique. The *James Stevenson* was a river steamer of about forty tons burden, worked by a stern wheel, and with fairly comfortable cabin accommodation, and an upper deck. In this steamer we pursued our course up the river, until we reached Serpa Pinto's camp, which was a little distance below the confluence of the Ruvo and the Shire. I had been startled, on reaching Quelimane, to learn from the Portuguese officials there, that Major Serpa Pinto, after journeying to Sena on the Lower Zambezi with his expedition, had suddenly, and abruptly, deflected his course northwards to the Shire, and was apparently making for the Makololo country, and the Shire Highlands. Major Serpa Pinto had been apprised of my coming, and when the *James Stevenson* drew near he dispatched an officer and a boat, so that I might land and see him. I found Serpa Pinto surrounded by a staff of white officers, and was informed that he had with him over seven hundred Zulu soldiers.¹

The Major received me in a little hut, and after insisting on my sharing his afternoon tea, we began to discuss the political situation. He informed me that he sought my intervention with the Makololo people, to persuade them to allow him to pass unhindered through their country, as he was on his way to Lake Nyasa in charge of a Scientific Expedition. "We go," he said, "to visit that Portuguese subject, Mponda, at the south end of Lake Nyasa."² I replied to Major Serpa Pinto, "If you are only in charge of a Scientific Expedition, you need, at most, an escort of fifty soldiers; but the Makololo are sure to view your journey with distrust if you attempt to bring so large an armed force into the country; moreover, your Government has distinctly assured us that the object of your mission was the Upper Zambezi, and not the Shire. Consequently, if you take any political action north of the Ruvo, which we consider, provisionally, to be the Portuguese limit, you will oblige me, on my part, to go beyond my immediate instructions and effectively protect the interests of Her Majesty's Government. If you merely wish to pass through the country for scientific purposes we will travel together, and I will do my best to persuade the Makololo to offer no opposition."

Major Serpa Pinto did not give any very definite reply to these remarks of mine, merely reiterating his hope that I would prevail on the Makololo to offer no opposition to his passage; otherwise he would be obliged to fight them.

I proceeded on my way in the *James Stevenson*, and soon afterwards



SERGT.-MAJOR ALI KIONGWE

¹ Many of these men were inhabitants of Gazaland and Inyambane, but a few of them were undoubtedly Zulus, who had been recruited in Swaziland and in the vicinity of Delagoa Bay.

² I was aware that the Portuguese had endeavoured by means of Senor Cardozo, the only Portuguese explorer who had at that date reached the shores of Lake Nyasa, to conclude a treaty with Mponda, but it was common knowledge that although he had received the Mission in a friendly way, he had not signed the treaty.

we passed the junction of the Ruo and the Shire, and the steamer stopped at Chiromo, on the north bank of the river Ruo. Here we found a large native village, under two young chiefs, Mbengwa and Makwira, sons of the Chipatula who had been killed by Fenwick. There was an English trading station at Chiromo, belonging to two young English elephant hunters, named Pettitt. Whilst the steamer stopped at Chiromo, I saw the two chiefs, and explained to them that they were not to take any aggressive action against the Portuguese, even if the latter crossed the Ruo in force. In such a case as this they were to inform the Acting Consul at Blantyre. From Chiromo we passed on up the River Shire, through the Elephant Marsh, but as we approached nearer to the Makololo settlements beyond the Elephant Marsh, the captain of the *James Stevenson* became greatly perturbed as to the attitude which might be observed by the powerful Makololo chief, Mlauri. Mlauri was no more friendly at that time to the English than to the Portuguese. Towards the English he had been very aggressive on account of his not having been recognised as supreme chief of the Makololo. He had several times tried to get hold of the two young chiefs of Chiromo, in order that he might kill them, and was furious with the Pettitts and with a Mr. Simpson, an engineer in the service of the Lakes Company, for having intervened to protect them. Mlauri in those days occupied a strong position at Mbewe, a place some little distance below Katunga, the termination of river navigation on the Lower Shire. The set of the current compelled all steamers to pass close under the cliff of Mbewe, and they were therefore completely at the mercy of Mlauri's guns, and Mlauri was frequently in the habit of firing at the steamers to compel them to stop, and either give him a present or await his good pleasure in other respects. He had been the leading spirit in the sinking of the *Lady Nyasa* at the time of the disturbance following the death of Chipatula, and not having been punished for this his tyrannical obstructions to river navigation were becoming unbearable.

As we neared Mbewe, we saw the banks lined with armed men. The captain of the *James Stevenson* at first determined to steam by at full speed, but the natives shouted from the banks that if we did not stop and come to an anchor they would fire on us. I therefore advised the captain to anchor his vessel at Mbewe, and determined to go on shore and interview Mlauri, with the double object of protesting against his behaviour towards the British steamers, and cautioning him about falling out with the Portuguese. The Rev. Alexander Hetherwick, of the Church of Scotland Mission, was a fellow traveller with me on board the *James Stevenson*, and when he heard of my intention to see Mlauri, he kindly volunteered his services as interpreter. In those days I could speak nothing but Swahili, and although this language might be partially understood by Mlauri, it was preferable to talk straight to him in his own language—Chi-nyanja.

We landed amongst a jeering crowd of warriors, armed with guns, who were rather inclined to hustle us, but eventually we found our way without misadventure to the presence of Mlauri, who was seated in an open space on a chair, with a gaudy blanket wrapped round his loins, and a tall white chimney-pot hat on his head. He was surrounded by a semi-circle of warriors and headmen, and directed us to be seated on some rickety-looking camp chairs placed opposite to him, evidently in readiness for our visit. On our attempting to sit on the chairs they collapsed, and we fell to the ground amid

shouts of derisive laughter from the natives. After this I lost my temper, and so severely rated Mlauri in Swahili that whether he understood the drift of my words or not, he was convinced I was extremely angry, and being—like most of these negro chiefs—a coward as well as a bully, he became quite apologetic. When fresh and more secure seats had been brought for us I explained to him—through Mr. Hetherwick—firstly, that these attempts to obstruct the navigation of the Shire would get him into trouble with Her Majesty's Government, and, secondly, that he had better not attempt to fight the Portuguese if they forced their way through his country, but should leave this matter to be decided between the two Governments. Mlauri replied, discursively, giving as his reason for annoying the steamers that he was not allowed to seize Chipatula's two sons, and that the English would not recognise him as paramount chief of the Makololo. Also that he felt convinced that we were in league with the Portuguese, and that all white men were equally bad. He would, therefore, fight Major Serpa Pinto, unless the latter broke up his camp and retired to the Zambezi.

I reiterated my advice to him, not to pursue such a course, and then returned to the steamer, which was allowed to leave without further opposition on the part of the natives. We soon reached Katunga's, which in some sense is the port of Blantyre, that place being about twenty-five miles distant over the hills. At Katunga I was met by Mr. John Buchanan, the Acting Consul; by the Rev. D. C. Scott, of the Church of Scotland Mission; Mr. John Moir, the Manager of the Lakes Company; and by a trader whom I will call Mr. S.,

who was a British subject of German origin. I explained to these gentlemen the end that I had in view, namely, to secure treaties of friendship with the Makololo and Yao chiefs, but not to declare a British Protectorate if possible, unless the Portuguese forced my hand, for I considered it better to leave the ultimate decision as to a Protectorate with Her Majesty's Government, who would probably wait till they had first negotiated a settlement of boundaries with the Portuguese. Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Moir were delighted at the idea of the treaties of friendship, but a violent opposition was declared thereto by Mr. S., the trader, an opposition which, at the time, I was totally unable to understand, but which was made clear to me afterwards by the discovery

that Mr. S. had, himself, attempted to conclude treaties with the native chiefs, by which they were to yield to him their sovereign rights. He had not, up to that time, succeeded in inducing them to do so, but he was counting much on exploiting the ill-humour of Mlauri. It is not very clear what were the intentions of Mr. S.—whether to start a Chartered Company of his own, or, having acquired a sovereignty over the Shire Highlands, to make terms for himself with either England or Germany, England being the



MR. JOHN BUCHANAN

country of his adoption, and Germany the land of his birth. I do not give this gentleman's name in full, because, when the British Protectorate was finally declared, he accepted it loyally. I only mention the incident here because it was one which rather precipitated our political action.

A treaty of friendship was concluded by Mr. Buchanan at Katunga with all the Makololo chiefs except Mlauri. Subsequently, when Mlauri had received his first defeat at the hands of the Portuguese, he made a treaty also with Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. Moir, the manager of the Lakes Company, had invited me to be his guest at Mandala, near Blantyre, and had brought down a horse for me to ride. In those days there were only two horses in British Central Africa; one of these was ill, and the other lent to me was rather an unmanageable beast. It had evidently been bored by the long delay in treaty-making at Katunga, and was desperately anxious to return to the pleasanter climate of Blantyre, so that when I mounted at Katunga station, it instantly bolted, nearly beheading me in the low gateway which formed the entrance to the station. Its frantic gallop was checked at the ascent to the hills, and I regained command over it; but soon afterwards the rotten leather bridle came to pieces, and before I could clutch at the two ends they had fallen to the ground, the horse had put his foot on them, snapping them off, and there I was on his back, without any means of controlling him. He realised the situation, and once more raced along the narrow path. I did not fall off, but entered Blantyre more like Mazeppa than a well-conducted British official. In passing through the various archways and tunnels covered with very thorny roses, which diversified the garden approach to Mr. Moir's house, I could only save myself from serious damage by lying as flat as possible on the horse's back, with my arms round his neck. He made straight for his stable, and at the fortunately closed door came to a dead stop. I rolled off his back, bleeding and bruised, and have always regarded that first ride from Katunga to Blantyre as the greatest risk I ever ran in British Central Africa.

At Blantyre treaties were concluded with the Yao chiefs; and I organised, with the help of Mr. John Moir, my expedition to the north end of Lake Nyasa. Before leaving for the lake, I made arrangements with Mr. John Buchanan as to the course which should be pursued if the Portuguese attempted to take forcible possession of the Shire Highlands. In such an event as this, if the Portuguese crossed the Ruo in force and gave any evidence of an intention to occupy the country politically, Mr. Buchanan was to proclaim a British Protectorate over the Shire province, between Lake Chilwa and the Kirk Mountains of Angoniland, the River Ruo and Zomba Mountain. This step, however, was not to be taken and Her Majesty's Government was not to be pledged to a Protectorate over the Shire Highlands, unless there was no option between such a proceeding and passively admitting the Portuguese conquest of the country.¹

Subsequent to my departure the following events took place. Major Serpa Pinto advanced northwards, along the west bank of the Shire, and was attacked by the Makololo² under Mlauri. Mlauri excused himself for this action afterwards by complaining that the Portuguese on the east bank of the Shire had

¹ The Protectorate was proclaimed September 21, 1889, after the news of the first conflict between the Portuguese and the Makololo (at Mpatsa, just below the Ruo) had reached Mr. Buchanan, who was then trying to pacify the Makololo.

² November 8, 1889.

been the aggressors, and had raided some of his villages. His attack, however, was completely repulsed by the Portuguese, who inflicted upon him a very sanguinary defeat. Up to this point Major Serpa Pinto had not crossed the hypothetical boundary of English and Portuguese interests, which had been once or twice mentioned to be the River Ruo, and a line—more or less parallel with the confluence of the Ruo—drawn westward across the Shire. So far as I am aware Major Serpa Pinto never crossed this line, but when brought face to face with the question of doing so, and thereby bringing the Portuguese Government into almost open conflict with the British, he left the expedition



MASEA AND MWITU, TWO OF LIVINGSTONE'S MAKOLOLO

under the charge of Lieut. Coutinho, and proceeded to Moçambique for further instructions.¹ In his absence, however, Lieut. Coutinho, whose attitude towards Major Serpa Pinto may be described in Lady Macbeth's lines—

"Infirm of purpose! Give *me* the dagger!"

resolved to conquer the Shire province, and meet English remonstrances with a *fait accompli*. Hitherto all the other Makololo chiefs had followed my advice, and had not joined Mlauri in attacking the Portuguese. Mlauri's action was quite isolated, but Lieut. Coutinho had established a camp on the other side of the River Ruo, facing Chiromo. The two young Chiromo chiefs were careful to give no cause of offence to Lieut. Coutinho, who suddenly crossed the Ruo and seized Chiromo. The Makololo withdrew before him, and he destroyed their village and erected very strong fortifications on the small spit of land,

¹ Arriving there December 25, 1889.

which is a peninsula, with the Shire on the one side and the Ruo on the other.¹

The Portuguese forces then marched up both banks of the Shire, driving Mlauri before them. Prior to his first defeat at the hands of the Portuguese Mlauri had concluded a treaty with Mr. Buchanan, but as the latter had forbidden him to fight with the Portuguese, he was not encouraged, after his defeat, to take refuge at Blantyre, whither all the other Makololo chiefs proceeded. The Portuguese forces advanced as far as Katunga, and were making preparations to occupy Blantyre, when the English Ultimatum to Portugal brought matters to a standstill. I have always believed that the Portuguese Government in Lisbon neither sanctioned nor approved this forcible entry into the district in dispute between England and Portugal, and that they even transmitted instructions to Major Serpa Pinto and others not to cross the Ruo, if by so doing any conflict was likely to arise with British interests; but that their representative at Moçambique desired a bolder policy and acted far beyond his instructions, and even in defiance of them: for at the time when the Portuguese Government in Lisbon had assured Lord Salisbury that Major Serpa Pinto had left for Moçambique, and that the expedition would proceed no farther in the direction of the Shire Highlands, the Portuguese Governor-General at Moçambique issued an official gazette announcing that the Shire province had been annexed to the Portuguese dominions, and appointed Lieut. Coutinho "Governor of the Shire." These acts were annulled by the Portuguese Government after they were brought to their knowledge by the Ultimatum, and the Portuguese forces were withdrawn to the Portuguese side of the Ruo, though they continued to exercise a strict control over the Shire navigation, frequently stopping the British steamers and boats. At the same time, I think it is only right, in historical justice to Portugal, to make it clear that although this struggle for the possession of Nyasaland was a sufficiently acute question to the Portuguese, and one in which they were passionately interested, no such struggle for priority of rights was conducted with more fairness and even chivalry. For instance, had Major Serpa Pinto been an unscrupulous man he would have, on some pretext or another, stopped my small expedition, and whilst detaining me on this pretext, have marched ahead and arbitrarily seized the country, before anything could be done to preserve British interests. Again, even after the Portuguese had advanced as far as Katunga, and occupied both banks of the Shire river, between that place and Chiromo, they placed no obstacle in the way of my return. On the contrary, the following incident occurred between myself and Lieut. Coutinho, who had been appointed "Governor of the Shire." When I passed down that river on my return from Tanganyika my boat was stopped by his orders and drawn into the bank by a Portuguese sergeant. I was, at first, annoyed at what seemed to be an attempt to arrest my progress towards the coast, but fortunately, before I could give expression to my angry sentiments, Lieut. Coutinho had met me on the bank, and, raising his hat, said, "I have taken the liberty of stopping you so that you might not miss your mail-bags which are here awaiting you. As you have had

¹ Chiromo means "a big lip," from the word -romo, or -lomo, which in so many Bantu languages means "a lip." The chi- or ki- prefix in Chi-nyanja has the effect of an augmentative. Mromo means "a lip"; "Chiromo" means "a big lip." This chi- prefix, which becomes si- in Zulu, has in that language the effect of a diminutive, consequently "Silomo," the Zulu name given to a well-known member of Parliament by the Swazi Envoys, means "a little lip," but is otherwise identical in origin with the name of this place in British Central Africa, for a year such a bone of contention between England and Portugal.

a long and arduous journey in the interior, and are also, I hear, short of provisions, I have taken the liberty of making up this small supply for your use on your way to Quelimane." Therewith he handed into the boat two hampers, which contained not only a supply of champagne and other wines, but all sorts of little luxuries very grateful to the jaded palate of a travel-weary man. Then, giving me a letter to ensure my not being stopped on my way to Quelimane, he bade me farewell. Upon my expressing my thanks very warmly, he said, "We are both doing our best for our respective countries, and however much our political views may differ that is no reason why one white man should quarrel with another in Central Africa." This was indeed the keynote of the Portuguese demeanour towards me, then and thenceforth, and I feel it only just to place these facts on record, for I have been often vexed at the unjust aspersions which have been cast upon the Portuguese in the British Press.

On my way up the Shire to Blantyre I had encountered Mr. Alfred Sharpe, who was travelling up the river in his own boat. Knowing that a great deal of ground would have to be covered in treaty-making, and that I should be unable to reach all parts of British Central Africa myself, I desired to engage some one who might suitably represent me in such portions of this territory as lay outside my line of route, especially in Central Zambezia and the countries between Nyasaland and the Barutse. The latter country had been placed under the British flag by Mr. Rhodes's agents acting for the Chartered Company.

I had heard much of Mr. Alfred Sharpe from persons acquainted with Nyasaland. He had taken a leading part in the war between the Arabs and the Lakes Company, in which war he had been wounded. Mr. Sharpe, who had been trained for the law, had held a Colonial appointment in Fiji for some years, but when this appointment, in common with many others, was abolished at a time when the state of Fiji finances compelled severe retrenchments, he had been offered a District Commissionership on the Gold Coast. For a time, however, he preferred to travel and hunt in Central Africa. In 1890 Mr. Sharpe accepted employment under the British South Africa Company, in whose service he remained about a year, securing for them many important concessions north of the Zambezi. Early in 1891 he was appointed H.M. Vice-Consul in British Central Africa.¹ It had been arranged between Mr. Sharpe and myself, before I quitted Blantyre for the north, that he should proceed due westward to beyond the Portuguese dominions at Zumbo, and secure to the British the Central Zambezi, and that afterwards he should make treaties along the Luangwa River and, northwards, to Lake Mweru and Lake Tanganyika. All this he successfully accomplished. After passing into the service of the British South Africa Company he made an expedition to Katunga, but did not succeed in making a treaty, as the chief, Msiri, though expressing a desire to remain on friendly terms with all white men, refused to become subservient to any particular European Nation. Subsequently Msiri similarly refused to make a treaty with Captain Stair's expedition, which represented the Congo Free State, and having assumed a hostile demeanour towards the expedition he was shot by the late Captain Bodson, who himself was killed immediately afterwards by Msiri's followers. His country was afterwards annexed to the Congo Free State.²

¹ Consul in 1894; Deputy Commissioner in 1896.

² Msiri does not deserve much pity. He was a stranger to the country of Katunga, being merely a Moyamwezi slave trader who by the aid of an armed rabble of Wanyamwezi freebooters and coast Arabs had carved out a kingdom for himself in South Central Africa. He was a persistent slave raider and was hated by the people over whom he ruled. These latter rallied to the Belgian authorities after Msiri's death.

Mr. Joseph Thomson in 1890 came out with Mr. J. A. Grant, on behalf of the British South Africa Company, and supplemented Mr. Sharpe's work by securing further treaties and concessions in the central region of British Central Africa, but the main credit of having secured all this portion of our new dependency to the British Flag emphatically lies with Mr. Sharpe, who traversed the country with a following scarcely exceeding fifteen to twenty men, and, by the weight of his personal influence only, secured these countries to British interests, besides adding a great deal to our geographical knowledge.¹

In my journey from Blantyre to Lake Nyasa along the Upper Shire, my progress was beset with great difficulties owing to the civil war which was raging between the Yao chiefs, Mponda and Msamara.

My assistant, Mr. Nicoll, took charge of that portion of the expedition which travelled by water, whilst I marched overland. As we neared the south end of the lake we were stopped by Msamara's forces in the belief that we were about to render assistance to Mponda. I managed, however, to pacify Msamara by making a treaty of friendship with him, and months afterwards I succeeded in patching up a peace between him and Mponda.

Mponda's reception of us was rather doubtful. He denied having concluded any treaty with the Portuguese, but was averse to concluding even a treaty of friendship with Great Britain, at any rate without the sanction of the Sultan of Zanzibar's representative on the lake—the Jumbe at Kotakota. Mponda was a very repellent type of Yao robber, alternately cringing and insolent. Had not the Universities Mission steamer arrived by good chance to give me a passage to Likoma (where I was to see Bishop Smythies) I might have been robbed and murdered by Mponda. As it was my retreat to the Mission steamer was very like a flight. However, I got away safely with all my goods and proceeded to the Island of Likoma. My object in seeing Bishop Smythies was to obtain the use of the *Charles Janson* for a period, in order to enable me to bring about peace with the Arabs. At that time the Lakes Company had only one steamer plying on the lake, the little *Ilala*—which besides being much out of repair, was too small for the conveyance of even my limited expedition. The Bishop was good enough to place his steamer at my disposal, for though the Universities Mission then and always declared its intention of remaining absolutely neutral in political matters, they were anxious to do all in their power to assist me to bring about peace between the Lakes Company and the Arabs.

We then crossed to Bandawe on the west side of the lake. From this place Mr. Nicoll proceeded direct to Karonga in the *Ilala*, bearing letters from me to the North Nyasa Arabs. I remained some days at Bandawe, concluding treaties with the Atonga chiefs. Then the *Charles Janson* called in and took me down to a point fifteen miles distant from Jumbe's capital at Kotakota, where its commander landed my expedition on the lake shore. His reasons for not proceeding to Kotakota arose from two considerations. One was that Jumbe, after all, was an Arab and might make common cause with the north-end Arabs and seize the steamer. The second was that at that time the harbour at Kotakota was unsurveyed and was not thought to be safe for steamers of considerable draught. I must admit that I landed with Ali Kiongwe, my

¹ The late Mr. Joseph Thomson's claims to fame and to our gratitude are so numerous that it is no loss to him to spare a few laurel leaves to Mr. Sharpe. The treaty which Mr. Thomson made with the Emperor of Sakatu on behalf of the Royal Niger Company, was alone a transcendent benefit to British interests never to be forgotten.

headman, and my small expedition of fifteen Makua in some considerable trepidation. The Lakes Company half feared that Jumbe was going to join the Arab movement at the north end. At this time, too, all Arabs in Central Africa were much incensed against Europeans by their quarrels with the Germans and the Belgians. The way in which they would receive me, therefore, was very doubtful. Makanjira on the opposite coast had recently stripped and flogged a British Consul and held him up to ransom, and no measures had been taken to avenge this insult. After landing near the mouth of the Bua river I sent Ali Kiongwe ahead to interview Jumbe and to deliver to him the letters that I had brought from the Sultan of Zanzibar. On my journey down the east coast of Africa I had stopped at Zanzibar, and had conferred with the late Sir Gerald Portal, then Acting Consul-General at that place, on the subject



OUTSKIRTS OF KOTAKOTA

of my mission to Lake Nyasa. Mr. Portal (as he then was) had interested himself very much in this undertaking to make peace with the Arabs, and urged the Sultan Khalifa bin Said (whose own envoy previously dispatched had been unsuccessful in bringing the Arabs to reason) to provide me with the most authoritative letters to his representatives on Lake Nyasa, notably to the Jumbe of Kotakota, who was the Sultan's ostensible *wali*, or representative. The Sultan Khalifa willingly gave these letters, which were most potent in effecting the subsequent results.

Some hours after Ali Kiongwe had started for Kotakota, a Swahili soldier of Jumbe's came rushing down into our camp, dropped on one knee and seized me by the leg, as an act of homage. He then said, "Master, do not be alarmed, Jumbe sends us to greet the representative of the great Queen and of the Sayyid of Zanzibar, and he has told us to fire a salute of guns in your honour." Shortly afterwards a tremendous fusillade commenced, much to the alarm of my porters, who had not understood the purport of Jumbe's message. We then started for Kotakota, Jumbe's men insisting on carrying me in a *machilla*.¹ Jumbe was waiting to receive me as I entered the town. A large house and compound was set aside for my use. Oxen were killed for myself and

¹ *Machilla* is a Portuguese word (Latin *Maxilla*), which is universally applied in Eastern Africa to a hammock or chair slung on a pole and carried by porters.

my men, and quantities of provisions of all kinds were sent in for our sustenance. After a day's rest I had a long conversation with Jumbe, to whom I exposed frankly the whole political situation. As soon as I had quitted the Shire River I had felt free to take open political action, as after my stay in Lisbon there had been a tacit understanding between the Portuguese and ourselves that although the Shire province and a portion of the east coast of Lake Nyasa were territories not to be seized by either Power without arrangement, the west coast of Lake Nyasa was admittedly

open to British enterprise. I therefore advised Jumbe, who was now practically recognised by the Sultan of Zanzibar as an independent Prince, to place his country under British protection, and to mobilise a sufficient number of his men to compel the North Nyasa Arabs to agree to make terms of peace; and in the event of their not so agreeing to place this force at my disposal for their coercion. Jumbe, in return for all these services, was to receive a subsidy of £200 per annum. The slave trade was to be declared at an end in his dominions. After one day's deliberation with his head men, Jumbe assented to my propositions. Treaties and agreements were signed, the British flag was hoisted, and the first portion of British Central Africa was secured. I should then have been picked up by the *Ilala* and conveyed to the north, but unfortunately the *Ilala*, unknown to me, had been wrecked in a storm, and she did not resume her voyages on the lake for several years afterwards. Meantime I waited on and on at Jumbe's, treated by that chief with unwearied hospitality, though I used up almost all his stock of candles, and consumed all his supplies of tinned fruits. The only thing I could offer him in return for all his hospitality was a bottle of yellow Chartreuse. Jumbe was a very strict Muhammadan,



THE LATE TAWAKALI SUDI
JUMBE OF KOTAKOTA, WALI OF I.H.H. THE SULTAN OF
ZANZIBAR ON LAKE NYASA

especially on the subject of alcohol, but he suffered much from asthma. He appealed to me repeatedly for medicine, and as I had no drugs with me I was in despair, until it occurred to me that a small glass of Chartreuse might at any rate distract his thoughts if it did not remedy the asthma. I gave him a taste of what he called "the golden water." He at once declared himself cured, and the least I could do was to hand him the entire bottle, which he spent, I believe, several months in consuming. It was the one

thing, he told me afterwards, that he felt obliged to deny to his head wife, "the lady Siena."¹

At last my detention was becoming a little tedious, and I was very anxious about the missing steamer. To soothe my anxiety, Jumbe sent for his necromancer, who was to ascertain, by means of "raml" (sand), what the



NORTH NYASA ARABS: BWANA 'OMARI IN THE FOREGROUND

immediate future had in store for me as regards steamer communication. The necromancer informed us that the small steamer (the *Ilala*) had run aground on the rocks, but the "Bishop's steamer"² would shortly call for me. This information turned out to be perfectly correct, and no doubt the necromancer had other sources of knowledge than those which were occult.

¹ Or the "bibi mkubwa," ("great lady") as she was commonly called.

² The *Charles Janson* used to be always called by the Arabs, "Istima-al-Askaf," the "Bishop's steamer."

His news was true, for eventually the *Charles Janson*, with Archdeacon Maples on board, came to fetch me and convey me to Karonga.

I found on arrival here that Mr. Nicoll had concluded in my name a truce with the Arabs, and that the ground was prepared for negotiation. I may briefly relate that as the Arabs were very distrustful, I arranged to meet them in the bush midway between their nearest stockade and Karonga, stipulating that they should only be accompanied by a small escort, and that I would only bring with me the same number of men. I was accompanied by Mr. Nicoll, Mr. Monteith Fotheringham, and a few armed Atonga. Mlozi, Kopakopa, Bwana 'Omari, Msalemu, and other Arabs, duly met me at the point agreed upon. After a brief discussion I read out to them the terms of the treaty which I proposed, and told them that if they refused it we should prosecute the war to the bitter end until not one of them was left in the country. They accepted these terms almost without deliberation and the treaty was forthwith signed, and peace was declared.

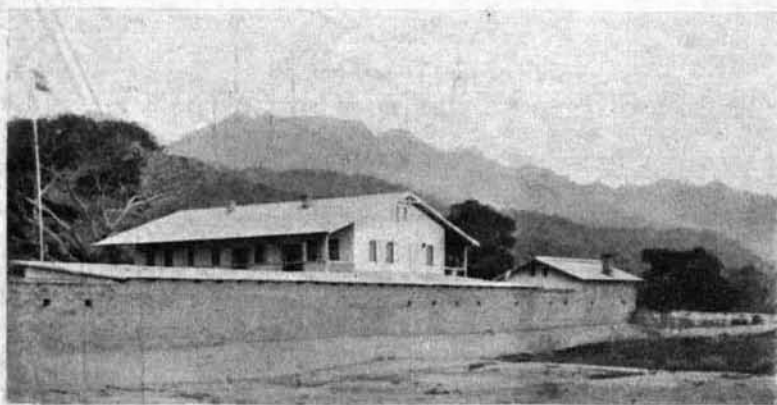
A bull was killed as a sacrifice, and the flesh was distributed amongst our men and the men who had accompanied the Arabs. On the following day the British flag was run up at Karonga, and the native chiefs from the surrounding districts came in and signed treaties, accepting British protection. On the following day the Arabs paid us a return visit at Karonga, signed treaties of protection and accepted the British flag. Mr. Crawshay¹ then arrived from Deep Bay with a large number of Wahenga chiefs in canoes, who signed treaties of protection. Thus protection treaties had now been concluded between Jumbe's territory on the south-west of Lake Nyasa, and the extreme north-east corner of the lake.

I was at this time much exercised about the want of a secure harbour at the north end of Lake Nyasa. Karonga was an open roadstead, most dangerous for landing, for it must always be remembered that Lake Nyasa is as rough at times as the British Channel, with heavy breakers on unprotected shores. The existence of a secure harbour in Kambwe lagoon, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of Karonga, had not then been made known, or it may be that owing to various circumstances it did not then exist as a harbour which vessels of considerable draught could enter. After examining carefully the north coast of Lake Nyasa, I decided to secure the harbour of Parumbira, at the extreme northernmost corner of the lake, for the African Lakes Company. I accordingly bought the land for them, and placed an agent there to build and occupy. Subsequently, however, by the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890, the boundary between the two European Powers was drawn at the River Songwe, and Parumbira fell to Germany. It is now the headquarters of the German Government, on Lake Nyasa, and has been rechristened Langenburg.

Only one week was occupied at Karonga in making peace with the Arabs; securing North Nyasa by treaty; choosing this harbour for the African Lakes Company; and arranging my caravan for Lake Tanganyika. But the reason

¹ Mr. Crawshay, originally a lieutenant in the Inniskilling Dragoons, had come out to British Central Africa to shoot big game, and had joined the Lakes Company's forces as a volunteer in the war against the Arabs. After Captain Lugard had captured Deep Bay, an important harbour on the north-west coast of Lake Nyasa, used by the Arabs as the end of a ferry to the east side of the Lake, Mr. Crawshay for some months garrisoned this place as a fort, and kept the Arabs out of Deep Bay. He acquired a considerable influence amongst the Wahenga, and was of much service to me in the early days of the Protectorate. Until quite recently he was Vice-Consul for the north of Lake Nyasa, but retired from this appointment on account of ill-health.

why it was possible to dispatch such a mass of important business in seven days, was that I was most ably seconded by Mr. J. L. Nicoll. My having secured this gentleman at Quelimane as my second in command really did more than anything else to secure the complete success to my mission. We started for Tanganyika on the 10th of November, 1889. To obtain as much territory for England as possible I journeyed at first in a northerly direction, and penetrated as far to the north-east as the southern shores of Lake Rukwa, a salt lake of considerable size. Mr. Nicoll, Dr. Kerr Cross (who had joined us) and myself, were the first Europeans to discover the southern end of this lake. The country all round Rukwa, however, was so desolate and inhabited by such a reprehensible set of slave raiders, that I concluded no treaties with them, and was thankful to get my expedition out of their clutches without loss of goods or lives. Returning to the beautiful Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau, we found ourselves again among people



LANGENBURG, CAPITAL OF GERMAN NYASALAND

who were warm friends of the British, and who everywhere concluded treaties with expressions of positive enthusiasm. The A-mambwe, especially, had come to look upon the British as their champions against the Arab slave traders, and were almost frantic in their expressions of friendship. Nevertheless the A-mambwe were very quarrelsome amongst themselves, and when I reached the London Missionary Society's station at Fwambo, about thirty miles from the south end of Lake Tanganyika, I found the Missionaries were in a serious fix. In the first place they had been for more than a year cut off from supplies and letters and were much delighted to get their mails and such supplies as I could bring them, but they were still more seriously embarrassed because two chiefs were fighting one another, and their servants had left them to join the respective sides to which they belonged. A little good-humoured argument, however, secured peace between these rival chieftains, who in turn concluded treaties with us; and I reached the south end of Tanganyika with no further difficulty except occasional scares amongst my porters caused by the dread of Awemba raiders. At the south end of Tanganyika I was greeted by Mr. A. J. Swann, who was the master of the London Missionary Society's steamer on that lake. Mr. Swann threw himself heart and soul into assisting me in my projects. Unfortunately the Mission

steamer was laid up for repairs, but Mr. Swann placed their sailing boat at my disposal. By means of this boat I visited all the chiefs on the south end of Lake Tanganyika, made treaties with them, and further penetrated to the settlements of Kabunda, an Arab trader, who had almost constituted himself a native chief. It was important in those days to conciliate Kabunda, who had remained neutral in the war between the Arabs and Lakes Company, and who had a great influence over the native chiefs. He was really a Baluch in origin, not an Arab, and considered himself in some respects a British subject. He entertained Mr. Swann and myself with the greatest hospitality, and assisted us to enter into treaties with the chiefs of Itawa, in the direction of Lake Mweru. This being the limit of the journey which I had to perform (Mr. Sharpe was working for me to the west), I decided to return at once to the Shire Highlands, as rumours had reached me of war with the Portuguese. It was a great disappointment for me to turn back at this juncture, as I desired to go to the north end of Tanganyika and secure for England the north end of that lake,¹ but I felt it to be my duty to get through to the coast and send a report of the work already done; so I reluctantly postponed the completion of a scheme, which was, as I hoped, to give us continuous communication between Cape Town and Cairo, either over international waterways or along British territory. On my return journey, in which no unpleasant incident occurred, I found Mponda, the Yao chief at the south end of Lake Nyasa, in a more reasonable frame of mind, and concluded a treaty with him. I reached Mozambique at the end of January, 1890, telegraphed the result of my work to the Foreign Office, and subsequently proceeded to Zanzibar to make arrangements for the conclusion of treaties at the north end of Tanganyika. Not being able to return thither myself, as my health was failing, I entrusted the task to Mr. A. J. Swann, and sent up to him an expedition under the leadership of my invaluable Swahili headman, Ali-Kiongwe. Mr. Swann's expedition was entirely successful. Treaties were made and the British flag was planted at the extreme north end of Lake Tanganyika. Unfortunately, however, his treaties arrived too late to be taken into consideration at the conclusion of the Anglo-German Convention; but Lord Salisbury managed to secure by that Convention facilities for the crossing of German territory between Tanganyika and Uganda, which will be very important to us in future developments.

In forwarding my report to the Foreign Office I proposed the term "British Central Africa" for the territories just brought under British influence. Soon after my return to England in the early summer of 1890 the Anglo-German Convention was signed, which, among other important gains to Great Britain, set a seal on the work which the British South Africa Company, Sharpe, Nicoll, Swann, Fotheringham, Buchanan and I had done. This was followed by an abortive Convention with Portugal which, however, proved to be the basis of a definite understanding concluded with that Power in 1891. In the spring of 1891 the British Protectorate over the countries adjoining Lake Nyasa was proclaimed, and by the Conventions with Germany and Portugal, the remainder of British Central Africa was declared to be an exclusively British sphere of influence.

After the conclusion of the Anglo-German Convention Her Majesty conferred on Mr. John Buchanan a C.M.G., and on myself a C.B. Mr. W. A. Churchill, who, during my absence in the interior, had done excellent work

¹ With land hunger *l'appétit vient en mangeant*.

at Moçambique, when matters had been in a most critical state with Portugal, was promoted to be Her Majesty's Vice-Consul; Mr. Alfred Sharpe and Mr. Alexander Carnegie Ross¹ (who had been British Vice-Consul at Quelimane) were equally made Commissioned Vice-Consuls; Mr. J. L. Nicoll (who had remained a year at Tanganyika to strengthen the British position at the south end of that lake) was given an important post in the Administration of the new Protectorate; Mr. John Buchanan, when he ceased to be Acting Consul, was made a Vice-Consul; Mr. Crawshay, Mr. Swann, and Mr. Belcher (the Commander of the Universities Mission steamer on Lake Nyasa)² all subsequently joined the Administration of the British Central Africa Protectorate. Mr. Monteith Fotheringham, the agent of the Lakes Company at Karonga, who had rendered me very great services, preferred, however, to remain in the employment of the African Lakes Company, as he was subsequently offered the important post of manager at Mandala.

In the autumn of 1890 Her Majesty's Government began to consider the administration of these new territories. It was finally decided to confine the actual Protectorate to the regions adjacent to Lake Nyasa and the River Shire, and to administer that Protectorate directly by a Commissioner under the Imperial Government, and further to place all the rest of the Sphere of Influence, north of the Zambezi, under the Charter of the British South Africa Company, subject of course to certain conditions. I was appointed to be Commissioner and Consul-General to administer the Protectorate, and was chosen by the British South Africa Company as their Administrator north of the Zambezi, an unpaid post which I held for nearly five years.³

By an arrangement between the Chartered Company and Her Majesty's Government, the former contributed annually for a certain number of years the sum of £10,000 per annum, for the maintenance of a police force to be used by me indifferently in the Protectorate and in the Company's Sphere. The Company also met the cost of administering its own Sphere of Influence north of the Zambezi, and further agreed to provide us, by arrangement with the African Lakes Company, with the free use of that Company's boats and steamers.⁴

On my return to British Central Africa as Commissioner and Consul-General and Administrator for the British South Africa Company's territories to the north of the Zambezi, I appointed to my staff Lieut., now Captain, B. L. Slater, R.E. (who took with him three non-commissioned officers of the Royal Engineers); Mr. Alexander Whyte, F.Z.S. (as a practical Botanist and Natural History Collector); and, with the consent of the Indian Government, engaged

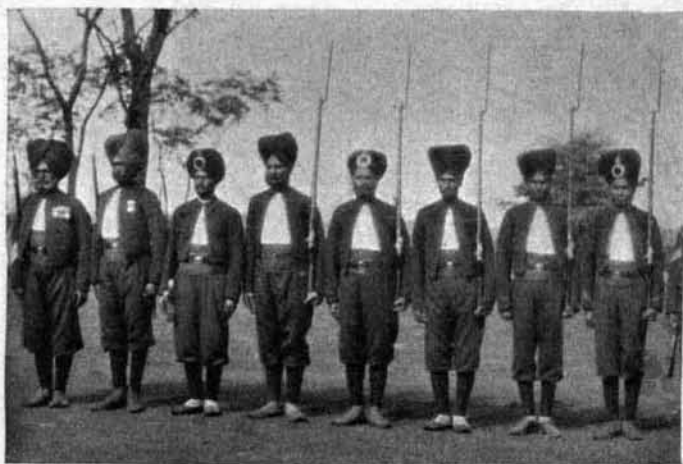
¹ Now H.M. Consul at Beira.

² Now H.M. Vice-Consul at Quelimane.

³ I preferred to receive no pay from the Company, so that I might not in any way compromise my position as an Imperial Officer.

⁴ Roughly speaking the Company thus pledged itself to spend about £17,500 a year on British Central Africa. For the first two years, however, the average amount spent per annum did not reach this sum, but in the third year it was deemed advisable that I should come to some definite agreement with the Company in regard to their annual contribution, which was then fixed at £17,500. In addition to this allowance Mr. Rhodes agreed to provide as much as £10,000 for the special purpose of conquering the chief Mankanjira, who persistently raided the south-eastern portion of our territories. Of this sum a little over £4,000 was actually spent. In 1894 this arrangement came to an end. At the beginning of the financial year 1895, the Company ceased to provide any contribution whatever towards the administration of the Protectorate, and the Imperial Government returned to them a proportion of the amounts already contributed. The Company in 1895 undertook the administration of its own Sphere at its own expense, and the Protectorate was thenceforth assisted by contributions from Her Majesty's Government only.

Captain Cecil Montgomery Maguire¹ (of the Haiderabad Contingent Lancers) to raise a small force of Indian troops as a nucleus for our police force in Central Africa. Captain Maguire was to start from India and meet me at the mouth of the River Chinde. Captain Sclater and the rest of my staff were to leave England subsequent to myself and also meet me at Chinde. In the meantime I proceeded to Zanzibar and Moçambique, to make arrangements for the disembarkation of my expedition at the mouth of the Zambezi. In the autumn of 1890 Lord Salisbury had resolved to place two gunboats on the Zambezi, and these vessels, the *Herald* and the *Mosquito*, were very ably put together at Chinde under the superintendence of the Senior Naval Officer, Commander J. H. Keane, R.N., C.M.G., who managed to launch his gunboats without undue friction with the Portuguese. All the various sections of my



SIKH SOLDIERS OF THE CONTINGENT NOW SERVING IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

expedition arrived with delightful punctuality at Chinde, and with the aid of the two gunboats and the steamers of the African Lakes Company we conveyed men, beasts, and goods without accident to Chiromo.

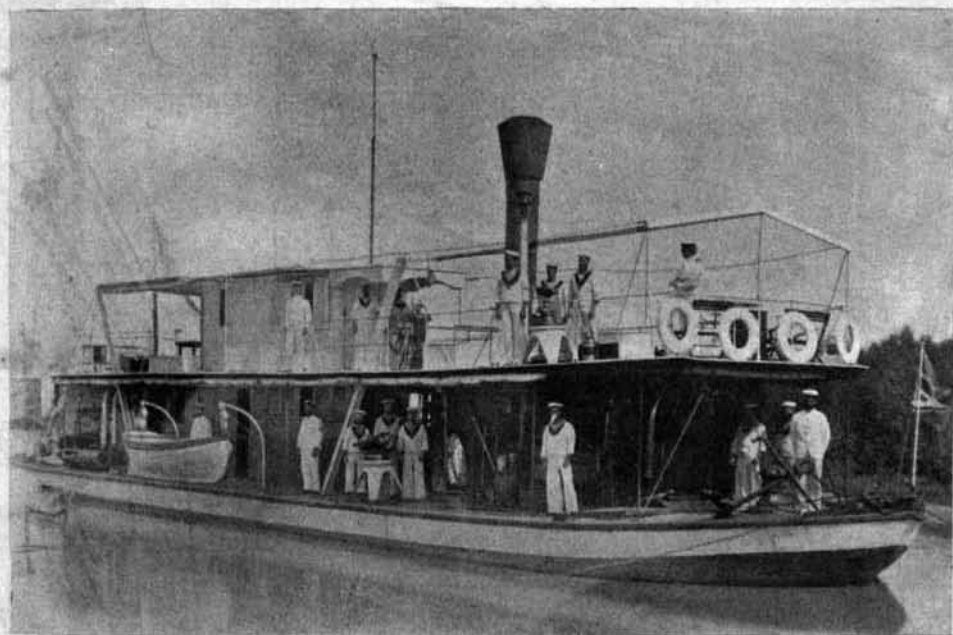
By the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 1891 we had lost a little territory to the west of the Shire basin, but had been allotted in exchange by the Portuguese a portion of the right bank of the River Shire, below the Ruo Junction. This brought the British Protectorate almost within sight of the Zambezi. On my journey up the river, therefore, in H.M.S. *Herald*, I had to fix the Anglo-Portuguese boundary according to the Convention, and take over political possession of the Lower Shire District.

We had no sooner arrived at Chiromo in the month of July, 1891, than we were greeted with the news that the Yao chief, Chikumbu,² had attacked the British settlers who had commenced coffee-planting in that country. The

¹ Captain Maguire obtained from the Indian Army seventy volunteers, of whom about forty were Mazbi Sikhs, of the 23rd and 32nd Pioneers, and the remainder Muhammadan cavalymen from the various regiments of Haiderabad Lancers. As nearly all our first batch of horses died of horse sickness or tsetse fly, the Cavalry became useless and were eventually sent back to India. We subsequently decided to engage in future nothing but Sikhs for our Indian Contingent.

² A recent arrival in the Mlanje district, who had developed by degrees into a powerful African chief.

ill-feeling between Chikumbu and the British was of some years' duration. Chikumbu was a Yao who had settled amongst the peaceful Nyanja people of Mlanje, whom he had been gradually subjugating until in 1890 they appealed to Mr. John Buchanan for protection. The old Nyanja chief, Chipoka, had died in 1890, and on his death-bed had, with the consent of all his sub-chiefs and subjects, transferred the sovereign rights of his country to the Queen, in order to pledge the British Government to the protection of the indigenous Nyanja people against Yao attacks. Two or three planters had just begun to settle in the Mlanje district, and although they had paid



H.M.S. "MOSQUITO," A ZAMBEZI GUNBOAT

relatively large sums to Chikumbu he continued to extort larger and larger payments from them; and at last, upon their refusing to give any more, committed various acts of violence, and stopped the natives working for them. Chikumbu was a very great slave trader and kept up a direct communication with the East Coast of Africa at Angoche, whither his caravans of slaves were generally forwarded. He was allied with Matipwiri and other Yao slave-trading chiefs.

Accordingly Captain Maguire was dispatched two days after our reaching Chiromo, with a force of Sikhs to bring Chikumbu to reason. The campaign was not of long duration, though there were one or two days of stiff fighting. Chikumbu fled and his brother was taken prisoner. The latter was eventually released and appointed chief in Chikumbu's stead, upon his giving promises of good behaviour which have since been kept. After a considerable banishment Chikumbu was recently allowed to return, and lives now as a private individual.

Whilst Captain Maguire was thus engaged I had to spend two months at Chiromo, settling a great many matters in connection with the Lower Shire districts. I did not reach Zomba till the month of September 1891, and here I was joined by Captain Maguire. After a brief rest we were both obliged to start with a strong expedition for the south end of Lake Nyasa, owing to troubles of a complex kind which had broken out between Mponda and other Yao chiefs, and between Mponda and Chikusi, a chief of the Southern Angoni. We took with us a force of 70¹ Indian soldiers and 9 Zanzibaris; also a 7-pounder mountain gun, and marched up the east bank of the Shire. Although we had come to mediate between the chiefs whose fighting was temporarily stopping communications on the Shire and were not bent on any punitive measures except in regard to Makanjira, we were obliged to take considerable precautions against Mponda, who was uncertain in his attitude towards the British, and who waged these wars chiefly with the intention of securing slaves for the Kilwa¹ caravans which visited his country. To avoid coming into collision with him unnecessarily we encamped on the uninhabited reed wilderness opposite his main town on the east bank of the Shire, about three miles distant from the south end of Lake Nyasa. Though some of these Yao chiefs had invoked our intervention at a distance, their attitude became suspiciously hostile upon our entering their country with an armed force. Accordingly Captain Maguire deemed it prudent to throw up fortifications round our camp opposite Mponda's town. These had to be erected with stealth as Mponda was continually sending to enquire what we were doing, and we were anxious to avoid any attack on his part until we were capable of defending ourselves and our stores. Accordingly the defences of what Captain Maguire called, half in fun, "Fort Johnston," were constructed during the day-time in separate sections, which apparently had no connection with one another. Mponda was informed, when he came to see what we were doing, that these pits and sections of embankment were intended as sleeping shelters for the men. We then took advantage of a moonlight night, when the moon was half full, to work almost twelve hours on end, and by the next morning our camp was completely surrounded by mud and sand breastworks behind a revêtement of bamboo. Before this point was reached, however, an engagement had taken place with one of our enemies. Makandanji, a chief who dwelt on the south-east corner of Nyasa, had tied up and imprisoned our envoys. His town was about seven miles distant from Fort Johnston. Captain Maguire resolved on the true Napoleonic policy of crushing our enemies singly, and not waiting for them to come to terms as to a combined movement against us. He suddenly fell on Makandanji and drove him out of his village, releasing our imprisoned men, and scattering Makandanji's forces, which were never again able to take the field against us. Mponda, however, instead of joining Makandanji, seized the opportunity to capture nearly all the runaways, whom he forthwith marched off to his own town and sold as slaves to the Swahili caravans waiting there. Over seventy of the captives he had the insolence to drive through our camp at Fort Johnston, at a time when Captain Maguire was absent and I was left with only ten men. As soon as Captain Maguire was back and the little fort was completed, I summoned Mponda to set all these slaves at liberty. He declined to do so, and commenced warlike proceedings against us. We had timed our ultimatum for a day which was followed by full moon, and resolved to attack

¹ Kilwa, on the east coast of Africa, was formerly the great distributing depôt of the Nyasa slaves.

at night. Accordingly at nine o'clock, on the evening of the 19th of October, 1895, one hour after the expiration of the term given for the restoration of the slaves, we fired a shell across the river into Mponda's town, perhaps a quarter of a mile distant. Mponda had no conception of the range of artillery fire, or the effects of incendiary shells. The return fire of his guns and his muzzle-loading cannon was harmless, as we were almost beyond their effective range. A few more shells soon set much of Mponda's town on fire, and he called for a truce. This was granted, but he only made use of it to withdraw with his women and ivory to a strong place he possessed in the hills. His fighting men remained and we renewed the struggle, which we kept up till the early morning, when we landed on the opposite shore and drove the remainder of the defenders out of Mponda's town, which we then destroyed. A great many slaves were found by us in the town, and brought over to our camp. Many of these wretched people had come from vast distances in the interior of South Central



FORT JOHNSTON IN 1895

Africa. The following day Mponda asked for terms of peace, and peace was eventually concluded. He then informed us as to the whereabouts of the slave-trading caravans: Captain Maguire pursued these people, capturing seven of them and releasing large numbers of slaves. The terms of peace offered to Mponda were very fair, and he probably rather gained in power by coming to an understanding with us. For four years afterwards he kept the peace; then in the belief that we were going to get the worst of it at the hands of Zarafi, he unwisely went to war once more, with the result that he is now temporarily exiled from his country.

Makandanji, the first chief with whom we had fought, acknowledged the supremacy of Zarafi, a powerful chief who dwelt on a very high mountain 20 miles to the east of Fort Johnston. We knew little about Zarafi in those days, except that he had not long succeeded his mother, a famous woman-chief called Kabutu. Zarafi, imagining that we should follow the attack on Makandanji by an advance into his country, sent envoys down to treat with us for peace. We, therefore, on one day, concluded treaties with Mponda, Zarafi, and Makandanji, and seemed to have accomplished the pacification of South Nyasa.

Encouraged by this success, we then and there resolved to undertake the chastisement of Makanjira, who had, as already related, committed various outrages on British subjects, and had recently robbed the Universities Mission of a boat and killed some of their boatmen. We hired the African Lakes Company's steamer *Domira*, and mounted our 7-pounder gun in the bows. Arriving suddenly off Makanjira's in the early morning, we were saluted by volleys from his fighting men, who were drawn up on the beach, and who had evidently been expecting our arrival. A shell landed in the middle of this yelling crowd produced an impression on them which was absolutely novel, and there was soon not one of the enemy in sight. After setting fire to a portion of the town with other shells, I effected a landing with a small number of Sikhs, whilst Captain Maguire kept the enemy at bay by bombarding the town from the steamer. We managed to land with only one or two casualties, and the Sikhs carried off two of Makanjira's cannon and set fire to one of his daus.¹ The enemy, however, came on us in such strength that we had to retreat to our boat, and should probably have not escaped with our lives had not Captain Maguire arrived with reinforcements. He drove the enemy back into the town, and completed the destruction of the dau.

The next morning Captain Maguire landed in force, and after hard fighting, in which several of our Sikhs were severely wounded, he captured all Makanjira's defences. I joined him, and we then drove the enemy out of the huge town, which we completely destroyed. We also destroyed two or three of their daus.

After waiting a day in vain to see if any person would come from Makanjira to treat for a peace, we steamed over to the opposite side of the lake, where it was necessary to come to an understanding with Kazembe, who lived opposite to Makanjira and was a near relation. Lake Nyasa is at its narrowest opposite Makanjira's town. Its breadth here is probably not more than fifteen miles. The favourite ferry across Lake Nyasa, therefore, has generally been between these two points, the one on the eastern shore held by Makanjira, the other on the west by Kazembe. Kazembe was a great slave trader, but was not hostile to the British. He had concluded a treaty with me in 1890, but it was necessary to warn him that the slave trade could no longer continue. He took the warning in good part, and promised good behaviour in future. This promise was not faithfully adhered to, and the result was that Kazembe was exiled from the Protectorate for a few months, but was subsequently restored to power, and is now chief in Makanjira's place.

After leaving Kazembe's, we revisited Makanjira's coast in the *Domira*. Captain Maguire landed at a town belonging to Makanjira's headman, Saidi Mwazungu, in the southern part of Makanjira's country, for the purpose of acquiring information. The people had not evinced unfriendliness as we approached, and Captain Maguire landed under a flag of truce. He was received by an Arab (who was said to have been a native of Aden) with a show of courtesy, but no sooner had he reached the veranda of the Arab's house than he was suddenly fired on by the Arab himself, who by some marvellous accident missed him, though only two or three yards distant. Captain Maguire had landed with only six men; but, hearing the shot, I immediately dispatched reinforcements to his assistance, and the town was soon taken and destroyed. The two remaining daus of Makanjira, in search

¹ A "dau" is an Arab sailing vessel, sometimes of considerable size. Spelt phonetically it should be *dau*, but the British, with their extraordinary racial perversity in matters of spelling, prefer without rhyme or reason to spell it "dhow."

of which Captain Maguire had landed, were either not there or had escaped before our coming.

We now returned to Zomba, leaving a garrison behind at Fort Johnston. We had no sooner reached Zomba than we heard of trouble from Kawinga, a powerful Yao chief who lived on a hill which was at the north-eastern extremity of the Zomba range. It was deemed advisable to dispatch an expedition against Kawinga, and this was accompanied by Mr. John Buchanan, C.M.G., who had become a Vice-Consul in the service of the Protectorate. Kawinga's fortress proved however to be a much harder nut to crack than we had expected. A gallant attempt was made by Captain Maguire and Mr. Buchanan to scale the hill in face of a heavy fire. Captain Maguire was wounded in the chest, several of our men were killed or wounded, and the force was partially repulsed, though it had captured nearly all Kawinga's positions except the highest, and had so far scared him that he treated for peace and obtained it. After the conclusion of peace with Kawinga, Captain Maguire considered it necessary to return to Fort Johnston, to complete the building at that place, and relieve the garrison. He was to be back at Zomba to spend Christmas with me, but I was doomed never to see him again.

Upon reaching Fort Johnston he had received information as to the locality where Makanjira's two daus were hidden. Without waiting to consult me, therefore, he started in the *Domira*, with a small force of Indian soldiers. He found the daus—in a little cove close to where Fort Maguire is now situated, and somewhat to the north of Makanjira's main town. He landed with a small force of about 28 men, and was proceeding to destroy and incapacitate the daus, when Makanjira, with about 2,000 men, attacked him. He retreated to the beach.

Unfortunately a storm had arisen which had wrenched his boat from her moorings, and had dashed her on to the rocks. The *Domira* in endeavouring to approach as near as possible in order to come to his assistance, was blown on to a sand-bank, and stuck fast within a short distance of the shore. When he had lost three of his men Captain Maguire told the others to enter the water and make for the *Domira*. After seeing them off, and with a few faithful Sikhs repulsing with the bayonet the onslaught of the enemy, he turned to the water himself, but just as he was nearing the steamer a bullet apparently struck him in the back of the head and he sank. Just about this time the master of the *Domira*, Mr. Keiller, was wounded, and shortly after Mr. Urquhart, the second engineer, was severely wounded. All the Indian soldiers except the three who had been killed reached the steamer safely, and preparations were at



CAPTAIN CECIL MONTGOMERY MAGUIRE
DIED DECEMBER 15, 1891

once made to defend the *Domira* from the attack of Makanjira's men, who were at very close range. After two or three days' incessant fighting, Makanjira's people put up a flag of truce. His envoys were received on board and offered, in return for a certain ransom (which was paid), to cease fighting and to assist in moving the *Domira* off the sand-bank, and to give up the bodies of Captain Maguire and the dead sepoys. The negotiations were chiefly conducted by Dr. Boyce¹ and Mr. McEwan,² in order that the two wounded Europeans might not be shown to the enemy. After peace had, seemingly, been concluded with Makanjira's envoys, the latter said that no effect could be given to the provisions of this agreement until the white men had visited Makanjira on the shore, and as an extra inducement for them to come they promised Dr. Boyce that he should receive for burial the body of Captain Maguire. Owing to the two wounded officers being concealed in the cabin below, it appears that Makanjira's envoys imagined Dr. Boyce and Mr. McEwan were the only white men on the steamer. They therefore made a point of insisting they should both come to see Makanjira.

No idea of treachery seems to have entered the minds of the Europeans, who did not even think of insisting on Makanjira's leaving hostages on board, whilst they went on shore. They therefore started for the beach with only a few unarmed attendants. One of these was Captain Maguire's orderly, an Indian Muhammadan soldier. Soon after reaching the beach an Arab led this orderly away from the rest of the party, offering to show him Captain Maguire's body. So far as is known, after taking the orderly for a roundabout walk he urged him strongly to return to the boat, which the man did.³ Dr. Boyce and his party were told that Makanjira was just a short distance from the shore, in the bush, awaiting them. They were thus led on to a distance of perhaps two miles from the lake shore; then they suddenly found themselves surrounded by a number of Makanjira's men, at the head of whom was Saidi Mwazungu, a man half Arab and half Yao. Saidi Mwazungu suddenly called out, "Makanjira has ordered the white men to be killed." His men then turned their guns on the party. Mr. McEwan was shot repeatedly. Dr. Boyce was shot several times, but did not die. They therefore threw him down and cut his head off. The Swahili servants who had accompanied this party were not killed, but secured and subsequently sold as slaves.⁴ The Atonga steamer-boys were killed, or left for dead. One of these Atonga, however, whom the Arabs believed themselves to have killed, managed in spite of his terrible wounds to crawl by degrees to the lake shore, where he shouted for help. He was got on board the steamer, and gave them an account of what had happened. Meantime the survivors in the steamer heard the Yao shouting on the shore that all the white men were killed, and that now was the time to attack the steamer. The Sikhs behaved splendidly, but the hero at this crisis was Mr. Urquhart, the wounded engineer, who by dint of almost superhuman efforts, and by working at the dead of night, managed to get the steamer afloat. After a five days' detention—five days without sleep, in constant and incessant danger, and almost

¹ Dr. Boyce was a Parsi Doctor of Medicine, who had been engaged by me at Zanzibar as Surgeon to the Indian contingent.

² The first engineer of the *Domira*.

³ The orderly, with the horror of what had taken place during these few days, subsequently went out of his mind, and was never able to give a coherent account of the circumstances, but it is believed that the Arab did not wish a fellow Muhammadan to be killed, and therefore induced the orderly to return to the steamer.

⁴ After the most extraordinary adventures they succeeded in reaching the coast.

without food—the steamer floated off the sand-bank into deep water. The 7-pounder gun was silently got ready by the Sikhs, and before the vessel steamed away, shells were fired in rapid succession into howling crowds of Makanjira's men, who were dancing round camp fires, confident that a few more hours would see the *Domira* in their possession.

The death of Captain Maguire took place on the 15th December, 1891. No news of it reached me until Christmas Eve, just at the time when I was expecting him to arrive for Christmas day. I left at once for Blantyre, which I reached on the evening of Christmas day, and there conferred with Mr. John Buchanan and Mr. Fotheringham, the manager of the African Lakes Company. The latter at once proffered his co-operation in meeting the difficult situation on Lake Nyasa. We both started for the Upper Shire by different routes, and reached Fort Johnston at the end of December. Here we found that the chief Msamara who lived a little below Mponda on the west bank of the Shire, had turned against us and with Zarafi had sent a force of men to attack Fort Johnston, and although nothing more had come of the attack but a few wild shots, he had nevertheless been raiding all round the Fort.

The bad news had brought volunteers hurrying up from the south. Amongst them came Mr. J. G. King, from Port Herald; Dr. A. Blair Watson; the late Mr. Gilbert Stevenson; and, a little later on, Commander J. H. Keane, R.N.¹ Fortunately Mponda had remained loyal, and although for a few days the Fort and its garrison of wounded and exhausted men lay at his mercy, he had not only been neutral but had assisted to defend the place against Zarafi's attacks. My arrival soon restored the morale of the Sikhs, who were literally in tears at the death of their commander, but the Muhammadian Indian soldiers had not rallied from the feeling of discouragement caused by this disaster. Soon afterwards they had, in fact, to be sent back to India, though there were men amongst them who had strikingly distinguished themselves. It must be remembered, however, that they were all cavalry men, and not used to fighting on foot, or on board a ship, and all things considered behaved as well as might be expected. The Sikhs, however, throughout all this crisis, never showed their sterling worth more effectually.

Another attack on Makanjira was impossible until we had got gunboats on the lake. So I decided to restore our prestige by subduing those enemies who were nearer at hand and more vulnerable, to wit, Msamara and Zarafi. The chief Msamara was captured and imprisoned in the fort, together with some of his headmen, whilst an enquiry was instituted into his culpability for the recent raids. I regret to say that whilst in prison he poisoned himself but it was fortunately done with the knowledge and connivance of his followers and consequently no slur was cast on the Administration for his death, his headmen themselves asserting that their chief had committed suicide because he believed he was going to be hanged, an eventuality, however, of which there was little probability. The war against Zarafi was a more difficult matter. I was able with the help of the volunteer officers and the Sikhs to capture all Zarafi's villages in the plains with relatively little loss of men; but to attack Zarafi in the hills was another matter. While on our way thither, all Mponda's men who were acting as our porters ran away, and we were therefore compelled to retreat to Fort Johnston. Under the circumstances the flight of our porters was the best thing that could have happened to us, since we were embarked on an enterprise far beyond our strength, although we did not know it at that time;

¹ Afterwards made C.M.G.

for another march would have brought us to the base of Zarafi's hill, where we should probably have met with as serious a disaster as subsequently happened to another expedition.

During all this crisis we were much helped by the Angoni, under Chifisi, who dwelt at the back of Mponda's country. These men came down in hundreds to assist us in fighting Zarafi. Unfortunately the Angoni are not as brave as they look, and we subsequently found they were very broken reeds to depend on in hard fighting. Zarafi had, nevertheless, suffered so much at our hands by the loss of all his villages in the plains that he ceased his raids, and commenced negotiations for peace. No doubt these negotiations were only intended to gain time, but I welcomed them as a valuable respite, and did not intend to take any further steps against Zarafi until I could receive reinforcements of officers and men. By the capture of Zarafi's low-lying towns I had prevented for some time to come any attempts on his part to obstruct the navigation of the Shire; this end was still further attained by the imprisonment of the chief Msamara who subsequently committed suicide at Fort Johnston.

I again returned to Zomba, determined to apply myself now to the consideration of our financial position, for since my arrival in British Central Africa in July, 1891, I had not had a spare day in which to turn to accounts. Up till this time it must be remembered that I had to be my own secretary and accountant, and the pressure of office work was almost more than I could stand. Captain Sclater was busily employed in making roads, and this work was so necessary I did not like to call him off it for other purposes; Mr. Sharpe was not yet back from leave of absence in England.

I had just begun to settle down once more to office work at Zomba when another message arrived with disastrous news. On the 24th February, 1892, I received a note from Dr. Watson informing me that after my departure a large force of Angoni had come down and placed their services at the disposal of Mr. J. G. King, whom I had left in charge of Fort Johnston as chief of that station; and Mr. King had resolved, then and there, to attack Zarafi, who had once more become troublesome; that the expedition had resulted in a very serious repulse at the foot of Zarafi's hill, in which but for the dogged bravery of a Naval Petty Officer, Mr. Henry Inge, lent by the river gunboats, nearly the whole of the expedition must have been annihilated. He went on to relate that at the beginning of the engagement Mr. King had been shot through the lungs, and that he himself (Dr. Watson) had been wounded in the fight; that some six Indian soldiers had been killed and several Swahilis; that another fourteen Indian soldiers were missing;¹ and that the 7-pounder gun which Mr. Inge used till the ammunition was exhausted, to distract the enemy from following the defeated expedition, had had to be abandoned in the bush. Fortunately at this juncture Commander Keane, R.N., was staying with me, having only quitted Fort Johnston a short time before. On my invitation he returned there and restored the situation as well as possible.

I am glad to say that both Mr. King and Dr. Watson recovered from their wounds. The recovery of the former was quite extraordinary as he was practically shot through the lungs.² Our ultimate losses were found to have consisted of the 7-pounder gun, a few rifles and cases of ammunition; and six

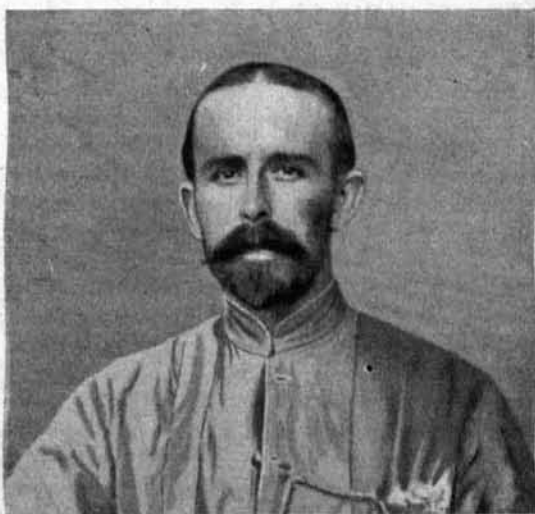
¹ These subsequently reached Fort Johnston by devious routes, one after more than thirteen days in the bush with nothing but grass, leaves, and roots to eat.

² For years afterwards he was Vice-Consul at Chinde; but to my deep regret died at that place on November 30, 1896.

Indian sepoys and three Zanzibari soldiers killed. This time may be taken as the nadir of our fortunes. The slave-trading chiefs at Chiradzulu began to give trouble by committing highway robberies on the roads between Zomba and Blantyre and Blantyre and Matope. The Ndirande¹ people joined them in these depredations, and Matipwiri, a very powerful Yao chief who dwelt near the Portuguese border at the back of the Mlanje Mountain, together with Kawinga, sent out raiding parties from time to time to rob our carriers and to carry off slaves. Makanjira having received an enormous accession of strength and prestige from the death of Captain Maguire, crossed the lake to the opposite peninsula of the Rifu, and with the aid of the disaffected party there drove Kazembe from power as punishment for his alliance with the English. Kazembe fled to the south. Thus both sides of this narrow ferry were in the hands of the enemies of the English. Makanjira's next attempts were directed against Jumbe, and he began a war with him, which eventually terminated in the following year by Jumbe's loss of all his territory except his capital town. Fortunately the Arabs at the north end were not ready to recommence the war; and Mponda, who held the key of the situation at the south end of Lake Nyasa, remained faithful to us. Then Mr. Sharpe returned from leave of absence in England, and the terrible pressure of the official work on my shoulders was lightened. Moreover I received my first accountant in the person of Mr. William Wheeler, who assisted me in getting our finances into order.

Captain Sclater had been of great assistance to me through this trying time, and had made a rapid journey to the coast to obtain things that were wanted, and to engage some more men. Amongst his recruits was Mr. Wheeler, who had come to us from a position of accountant in the service of the Union Steamship Company.

But in March, 1892, after the disaster at Zarafi's, the fortunes of the young Administration seemed certainly at their lowest ebb; and what distressed me much more at this period than our wars with the Yao, or any trouble that could be given by the black men, was the attitude of the white settlers and some of the missionaries. It cannot be said that the Administration in its earlier days was universally popular amongst the Europeans, especially those who dwelt in the Shire province. The proclamation of the British Protectorate had been followed by a wholesale grabbing of land; or, where it is not fair to describe the acquisition of land as "grabbing," at any rate huge tracts had been bought for disproportionate amounts from the natives, and there were



MR. WILLIAM WHEELER

¹ Ndirande is a mountain overlooking Blantyre.

² Now the chief accountant of the British Central Africa Administration.

many claims that overlapped and required adjustment. The settlers knew that I was entrusted with the task of enquiring into and settling their claims, and many of them anticipated with some accuracy that their claims would not be sanctioned, either wholly or even at all. They were therefore disposed to weaken my position as much as they could by cavilling at all my acts, and making all the capital they could out of my misfortunes. In regard to a certain Missionary Society in the Shire Highlands, its hostile attitude was of more complex origin. It had acquired, and acquired by good means, a very strong influence over the natives. Its representatives were men of great natural ability who, whether conscious of it or not, enjoyed to the full the power of governing. Still they had not been appointed to administer this country by the Government, and it was impossible to allow them to take the law into their own hands as they were in the habit of doing, by holding informal courts and administering justice. Loth as I was to come into conflict with any Missionary Society—as I have always been a sincere admirer of the results of mission work—I found myself inevitably at issue with certain men at Blantyre and elsewhere. It is not worth while describing the ways in which through misrepresentation in the Press, letters to the Foreign Office, and strong local opposition my life and the lives of my subordinates were made unbearable: for I suppose the same conflict has occurred with the commencement of all attempts to found an Administration among headstrong, sturdy pioneers. I merely refer to these foolish dead-and-forgotten quarrels because in a small way they enter into the woof of our history at this period, for I cannot too strongly assert, as a fact perhaps not sufficiently appreciated, that during my seventeen years' acquaintance with Africa the difficulties raised up against my work by Europeans have infinitely exceeded the trouble given me by negroes or Arabs.

Captain Charles Edward Johnson, of the 36th Sikhs, arrived in the month of June to take the place of the late Captain Maguire. He soon brought order into our disorganised forces, and there accompanied him a small detachment of Sikhs which proved a very useful reinforcement. Commander Keane was released by the arrival of Captain Johnson and received a C.M.G. in reward for his services. Before Captain Johnson could get an expedition ready I was obliged to dispatch a small force under Mr. Sharpe and Captain Sclater against the highway robbers of Mt. Chiradzulu.¹

At the beginning of July, 1892, we received a visit from Admiral Nicholson, who was commanding on the Cape Station. Being absent at Fort Johnston, I dispatched Mr. Sharpe to meet the Admiral at Chiromo, whilst I journeyed to Blantyre. As regards bad news, I had one hour after I reached Blantyre which I shall always remember as a kind of Job's experience. Within that one hour arrived the following pieces of information. First came a messenger to say that a raid had been made by the Yao on the Blantyre-Zomba road, a caravan attacked and a quantity of goods stolen. Then came another message from Katunga, on the Shire, with the news that Mr. Sharpe's boat, on his way down to Chiromo, had been capsized by a hippopotamus, and that Mr. Sharpe and all his companions were drowned.² Lastly came the post with the news

¹ Chiradzulu is a very fine picturesque mountain about 5,500 ft. in height, midway between Zomba and Blantyre. The Yao settled on this mountain since the Yao raids of 1861-2 and -3 were very troublesome to the first missionaries and planters, and gave a great deal of annoyance in the early days of the Administration. They were thoroughgoing slave-raiders, and were not finally subdued until the winter of 1893.

² Two or three of Mr. Sharpe's men were drowned, but he fortunately succeeded in swimming ashore where he was eventually picked up by a native canoe. He lost, however, everything he had with him, including some valuable guns.

that the New Oriental Bank, in which were invested a good proportion of our funds, had failed.¹ Following close on this tale of disasters came Admiral Nicholson, fortunately accompanied by Mr. Sharpe, the news of whose untimely death had fairly taken all the heart out of me. Probably Admiral Nicholson has never known to this day why I received him with so much emotion.

In May, 1892, Mr. John L. Nicoll had returned from leave of absence in England, and had entered the service of the British Central Africa Administration. He was appointed collector for the South Nyasa district, to reside at



MR. NICOLL'S HOUSE AT FORT JOHNSTON

Fort Johnston. In nearly three years' residence he effected a remarkable improvement in affairs on the Upper Shire and at the south end of the lake. Zarafi's raids were checked, the river was policed and rendered safe, and Mponda was kept in order. In the summer of this same year two important expeditions arrived in the country. One was the dispatch from England of three gunboats in sections for Lake Nyasa and the Upper Shire. These boats had been obtained by the initiative of Lord Salisbury, when the news first arrived of the disasters on the lake, consequent on the death of Captain Cecil Maguire. The Admiralty undertook the charge of furnishing these gunboats, and they were sent out under the charge of Lieutenant (now Commander) Hope Robertson, R.N.² The other expedition was that

¹ The Bank subsequently paid us in full, though not for about a year afterwards.

² For his services in conveying these gunboats to Lake Nyasa, bringing about their rapid and successful construction, and afterwards commanding them on Lake Nyasa in various campaigns, Lieutenant Robertson was promoted, and was made a C.M.G.

under Major von Wissmann, who at the head of a large expedition was conveying a steamer (named after himself) to Lake Nyasa, on behalf of the German Anti-Slavery Society.

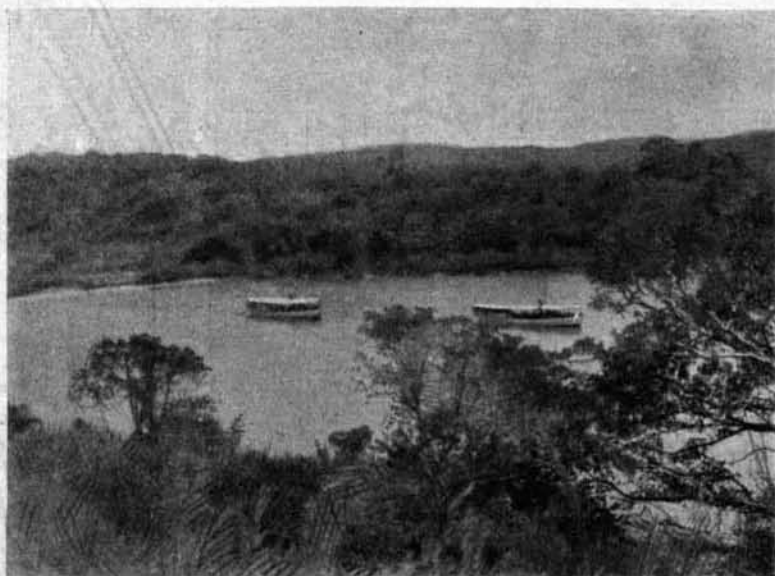
In the middle of 1892 our Customs Regulations received definite form. Mr. H. A. Hillier, who had joined the Administration in 1891, was made principal Customs Officer at Chiromo, and the efficiency of our Customs service owes much to his organization. In 1896 he was made Director-General of Customs. In 1892 also the first steps were taken to institute a Hut tax. The question of the taxation of the natives was in its initial stages a



TREES PLANTED BY MR. NICOLL AT FORT JOHNSTON (TWO YEARS' GROWTH)

difficult one to settle. In taking over the Lower Shire district on the west bank of the Shire from the Portuguese in the middle of 1891, the natives who had been accustomed to pay taxes to the Portuguese had asked me to assess their taxes, if possible, at a lower rate. On enquiry I ascertained that they had paid a capitation tax of something like half-a-crown a head per annum, which tax was levied indifferently on men, women, and children. The chiefs of the Lower Shire natives, however, were of opinion that they would prefer a Hut to a Poll tax. Estimating the average number of hut occupants at three, their former Poll tax would have resulted in each household paying about 7s. 6d. per annum. I therefore proposed to compromise the matter by fixing the annual Hut tax at 6s. per annum and abolishing the Capitation Dues. The natives seemed well satisfied with

this proposal. Gradually, however, it became obvious that if the natives of the Lower Shire district were to pay taxes, the other natives of such portions of the Protectorate as we were obliged to administer at our own cost, should do the same. For a year I talked this over with the leading chiefs of the Shire province (the only portion of the Protectorate we were then prepared to administer), and got most of them to agree to the principle that the natives of the Protectorate should contribute, to a reasonable extent, towards the revenue. The idea of taxing the natives, however, was strongly opposed by the missionaries, and also by many of the traders and planters, who believed it would cause discontent and would make native labour dearer. I still held to my view, nevertheless, that those natives of British Central Africa who



THE NYASA GUNBOATS IN NKATA BAY, WEST NYASA

were unable to protect themselves from the incursions of slave raiders, or who by their own misconduct compelled the intervention of the Administration for the maintenance of law and order, should contribute as far as their means allowed towards the revenue of the Protectorate, for it was not to be supposed that the British taxpayer, or the British South Africa Company, could continue indefinitely finding subsidies for the support of the Protectorate; that the Protectorate must justify its existence by eventually supporting itself on its locally raised revenue. At a meeting with some of the leading missionaries and planters at Blantyre, in the winter of 1892, I agreed to propose to the Secretary of State that the Hut tax should be reduced to 3s. per annum, and eventually it was fixed in the Queen's Regulations at that sum.

The only other taxation incumbent on the natives was the taking out of a gun license, for which the same sum was charged as in the case of Europeans and foreigners, namely, £1 for five years, or in the case of the natives, 4s. per annum. The payment of the Hut tax was at first confined

to certain portions of the Shire province. Gradually it was enforced throughout the Shire province. At the present time it is enforced throughout all the Protectorate with the exception of that portion of the West Nyasa district which is inhabited by the northern Angoni, who at present decline to pay taxes to the Administration but on the other hand remain quiet and free from civil war, and therefore do not compel us to go to the expense of administering their country. Eventually, no doubt, by friendly arrangement the Hut tax will be enforced even here. In all other parts of the Protectorate it has never been put in force without a proper arrangement being come to with the native chiefs, except in such districts as where the chiefs—Yao or Arabs—have gone to war with us. Then as one of the conditions of peace or one of the results of conquest, the Hut tax has been eventually enforced. The



LAKE ROAD, CHIROMO

revenue derived from this source in 1893 was about £1,639. In the financial year ended March 31st, 1896, it amounted to £4,695 in value.

In the early autumn of 1892 I commenced the land settlement, and by degrees every estate or land claim between the Lower Shire district and Lakes Tanganyika and Mweru and the Upper Luapula was visited and enquired into by Mr. Alfred Sharpe, Captain Sclater or myself. Admissible claims were divided into two kinds: claims to mineral rights, and claims to land with or without mineral rights.¹ In the case of treaties conferring mining rights the investigation was relatively simple. The chief or chiefs alleged to be the grantors of such concessions were examined and if they admitted making the grant, and it could be shown that they had received fair value for the same, the mining concessions were confirmed. In regard to land, long occupation and improvements were regarded as almost the best titles. These qualifications, however, applied to very few estates in British Central Africa, as in most cases

¹ Inadmissible claims were those which conferred sovereign rights or granted any monopoly of trade inconsistent with the various treaties with Foreign Powers to which Great Britain was a party.

the settlers had only arrived after the proclamation of the Protectorate. Only in cases of very lengthy occupation and much cultivation or building were claims sanctioned which were unsupported by properly executed documents. Even when land had been purchased, and the sale on the part of the chief was not repudiated, and the deed of sale was authentic, the concessionnaire was required to show what consideration had been paid, and if the grantor was not considered to have received fair value for his land the grantee had either to supplement his first payment by another, or the area of his estate was reduced to an extent fairly compatible with the sum paid. As land was of very little value before the establishment of the Administration, and as undoubtedly the settlers had conferred great benefits on the country by clearing and planting, land was not rated at a high value in these settlements. Threepence an acre was the maximum, and this only in exceptionally favoured districts like Mlanje and Blantyre. Sometimes the value of the land was computed at as low as a halfpenny an acre. Except on very small estates the existing native villages and plantations were exempted from all these purchases, and the natives were informed that the sale of the surrounding land did not include the alienation of their homes and plantations. The fact is, that at the time the chiefs sold land to the Europeans they were very heedless of the results. All they desired was the immediate possession of the trade goods or money given in payment. The tenure of the land in reality was tribal; that is to say theoretically the chief had no right to alienate the land, but he had assumed such right and his assumption was tacitly accepted by his people. It was, however, highly necessary to secure these people from the results of their chief's heedlessness, in many cases, as they were apt to become the serfs of the white man when he began to appear as their over-landlord. One of the results of the land settlement, therefore, was to completely free the natives from any dependency on the white settler, by restoring to them the inalienable occupancy of their villages and plantations. Moreover, in sanctioning the various concessions in the name of the Government we reserved to the Crown the right to make roads, railways, or canals over anybody's property without compensation; the control of the water supply; and where mining rights were included in the concession, a royalty on the produce of the mines. In each deed (the deeds were styled "Certificates of Claim") the boundaries of the property were set forth with sedulous accuracy, and it was provided that all these deeds should be eventually supplemented by an authoritative survey made by a Government surveyor, a process which is fast being completed. On the whole the settlement was well accepted by the Europeans, while it gave distinct satisfaction to the natives, and was approved without modification by Her Majesty's Government. Throughout the whole settlement I believe I am right in saying that only one dispute regarding boundaries was brought into Court and not settled amicably and informally in my office. When all these claims had been arranged I concluded, on behalf of the Crown, treaties with all the chiefs of the Protectorate, securing Crown control over the remainder of the land, which the natives were henceforth unable to alienate without the sanction of the Commissioner. In some cases large sums of money were spent by the Government in buying up the waste land from the natives where it was deemed advisable that a complete control over its disposal should be exercised. Except over a small area of land which is absolutely Crown property, a percentage on the selling price or the rent is paid to the native chief when portions of the Crown lands are let or sold.

In the same year, 1892, the foundation of our Courts of Justice was laid. At my recommendation a number of officials were given warrants as magistrates by the Secretary of State, and were thus enabled to administer justice to Europeans and other foreigners under the "Africa Orders in Council of 1889 and 1893."¹ It was theoretically supposed that justice to natives only was administered by native chiefs, but in reality the native courts are practically held by British magistrates in the name of the local chief or as his representative; for over most of the districts the native chiefs have surrendered to us by treaty their justiciary rights. Still, in some districts, native chiefs are encouraged to settle all minor cases themselves, and the natives are not allowed to go to the European magistrate except where the native chief cannot be relied on for fairness. No native chief or British magistrate, however, is



THE KATUNGA ROAD IN PRE-ADMINISTRATION DAYS

allowed to carry out a death sentence on a native without first referring the case to the Commissioner for consideration, and obtaining his sanction to the verdict and sentence.

As far back as 1891 we had commenced road-making. Captain Sclater had begun to clear a road from Chiromo to Zoa, with the intention of ultimately carrying on this road to Mlanje in one direction, and to Blantyre and Zomba in another. It was found, however, to be of more urgent need to the community that the road between Katunga and Blantyre should be made passable for waggons. Consequently Captain Sclater undertook the reconstruction of the Katunga road,² which proved to be a very lengthy and expensive business and is not yet finally completed.

In the summer of 1892 Captain Stairs' expedition returned from Katanga,

¹ That of 1889 only applied to British and British protected subjects; that of 1893 gave us, in virtue of treaties concluded, jurisdiction over all subjects of Foreign States within the limits of the Protectorate.

² It had been originally made by the Lakes Company, but it was little more than a rough track, without bridges, and almost impassable for waggons.