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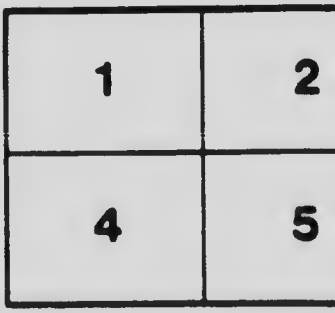

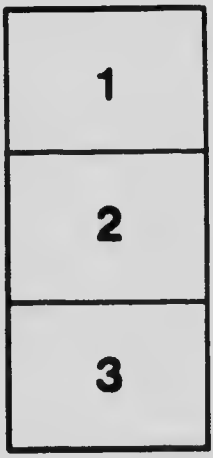

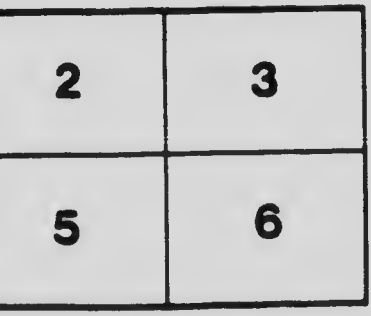

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THE OPENING UP OF AFRICA

By SIR H. H. JOHNSTON
G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc., F.Z.S.

London
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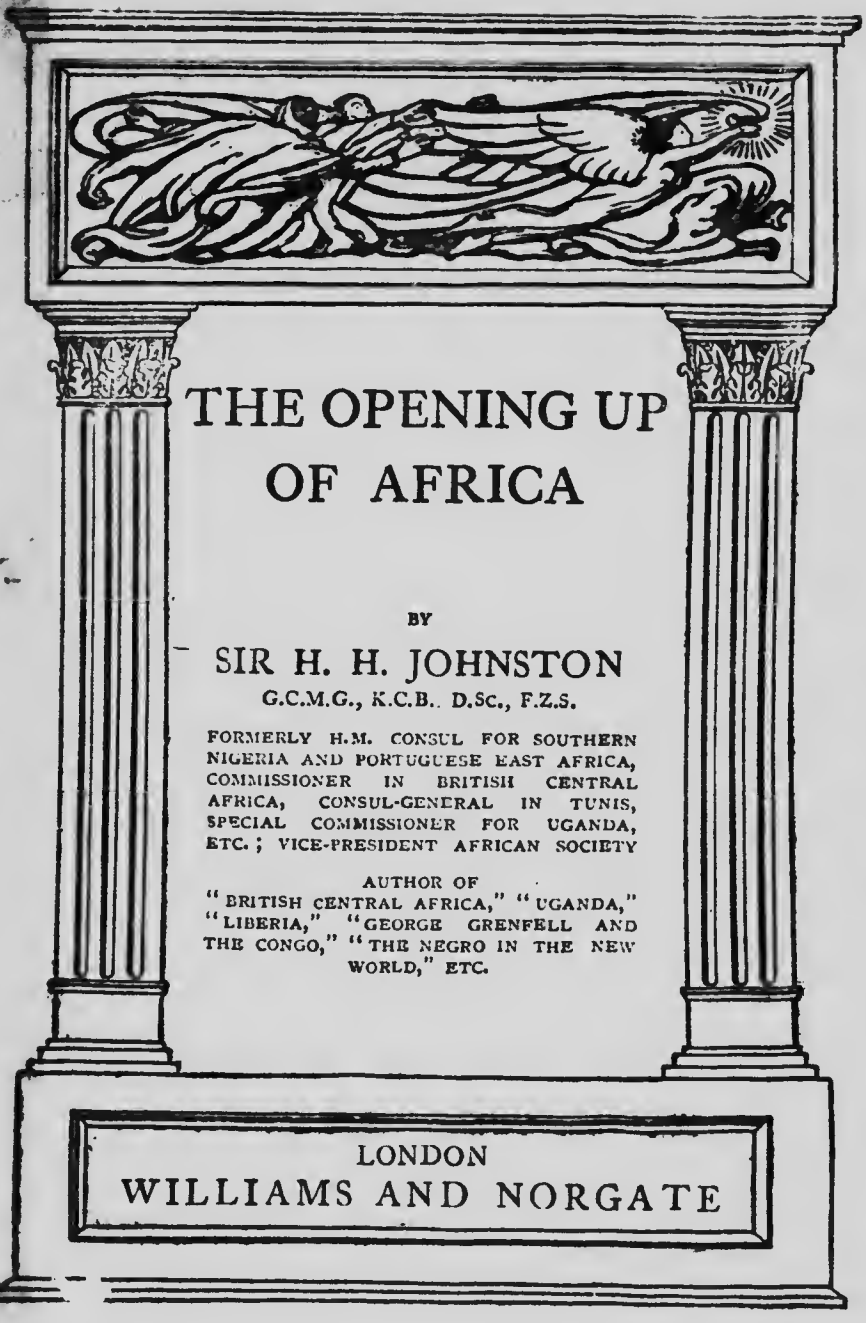

THE OPENING UP OF AFRICA

BY

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AUTHOR OF
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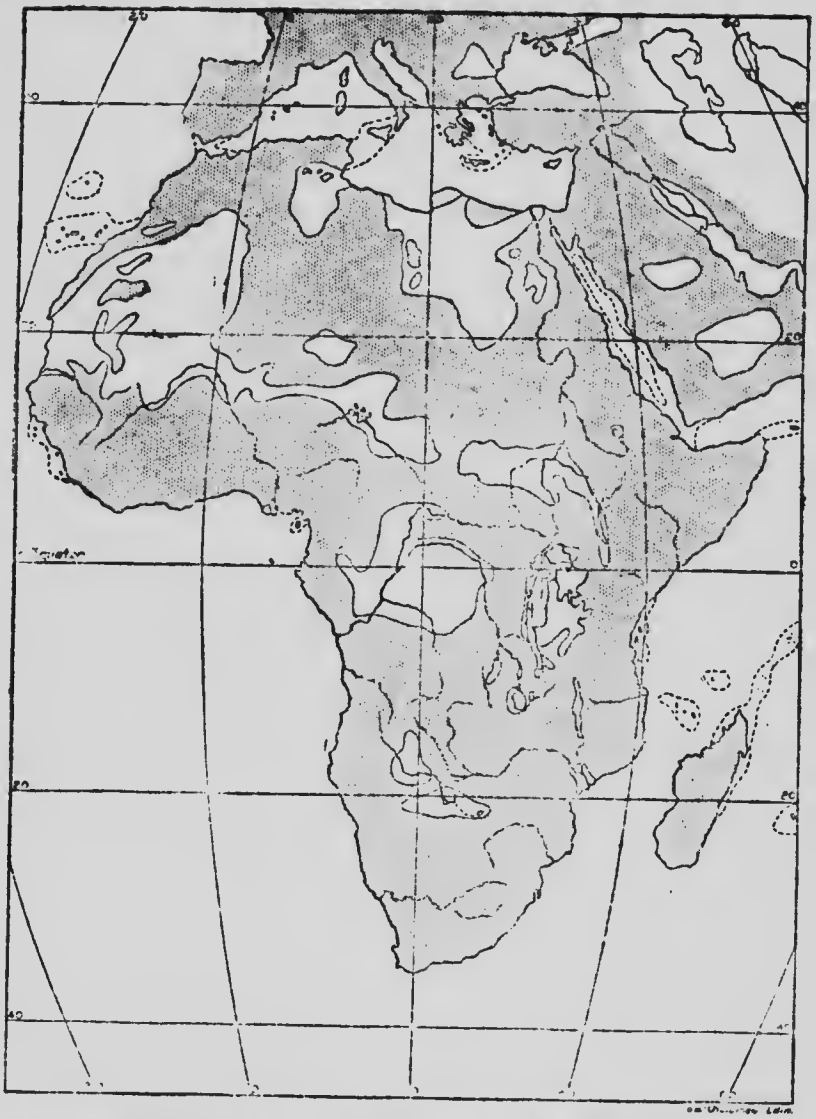
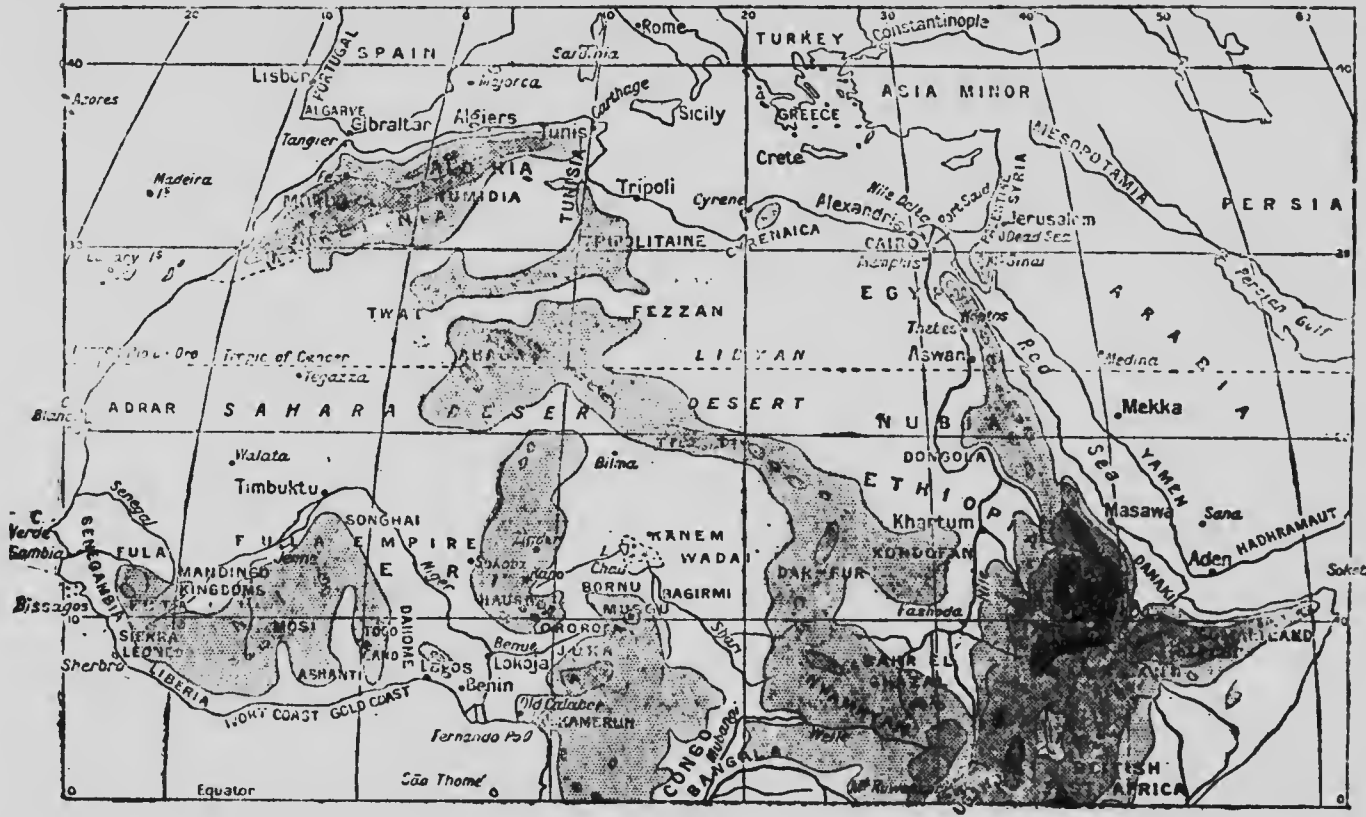


Sketch-Map of Africa showing in white the areas of land which from ten to fifty thousand years ago were probably covered with shallow water-lakes, or inlets of the sea, or were uninhabitable swamps. The shaded area has not been under water to any extent since the close of the Tertiary Epoch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LIBYAN
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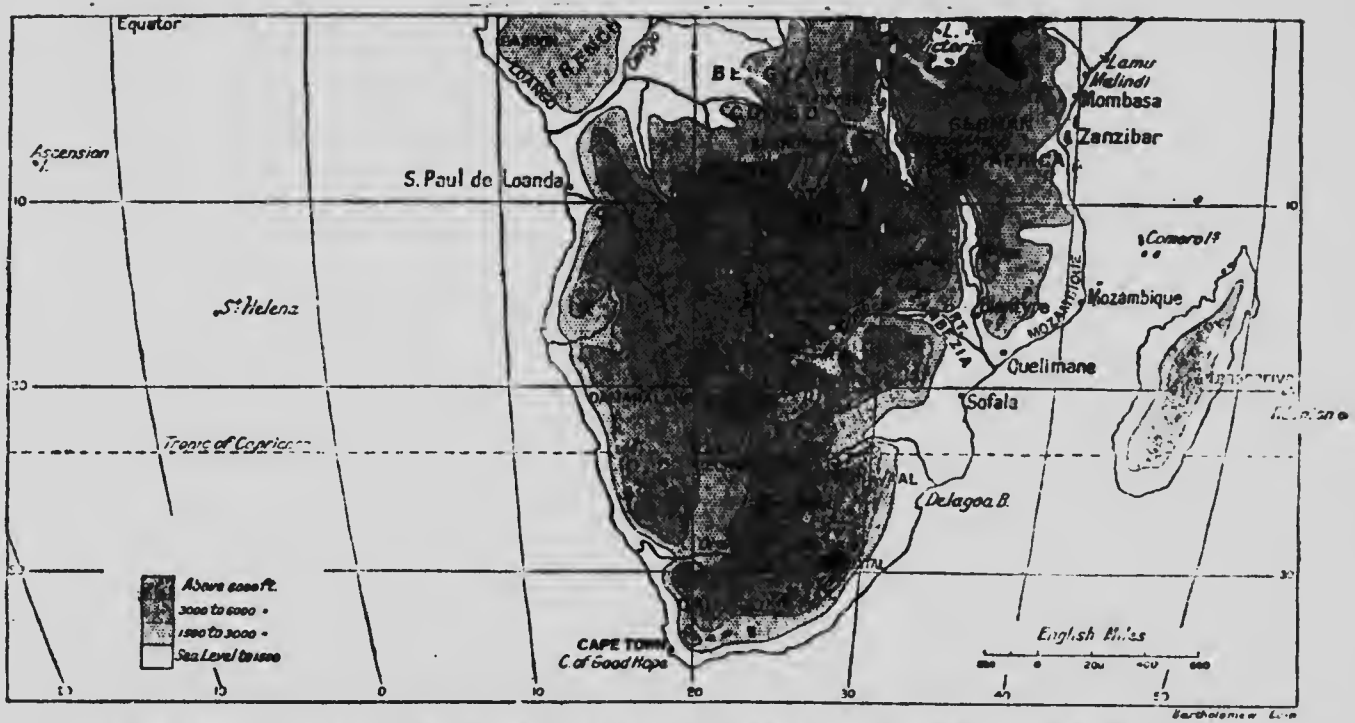

MAP OF AFRICA SHOWING RELIEF OF LAND SURFACE, PRINCIPAL RIVERS, COUNTRIES, TOWNS, AND TRIBAL NAMES MENTIONED IN THE BOOK.

NOTE ON BOOKS

SUCH of my readers as are not content to accept my theories or quotations of other people's theories without question, or who would like to look into the details of African history, are advised to consult the following works: —

The "Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th Edition. The many articles on African subjects in these volumes (some of which have been written by the Author of this book, while others are based on information supplied by him) give very full bibliographies of original authorities.

The Author's own works on "British Central Africa;" "A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races;" "Uganda;" "The Nile Quest;" "Liberia;" "George Grenfell and the Congo;" "A History of the British Empire in Africa;" "The Negro in the New World" not only deal largely with the "opening-up" of Africa and with African history, but also give lists of books of reference.

There should also be read: "A History of Ancient Geography," by Sir E. H. Bunbury; "A Tropical Dependency," by Lady Lugard; "British Nigeria," by Lieut.-Col. Mockler-Ferryman; "Timbuktu the Mysterious," by Félix Dubois; the works on Ancient Egypt by Professor Flinders Petrie; the South African histories of G. McCall Theal; the histories of the British Colonies in Africa, by Sir C. P. Lucas of the Colonial Office, and the Annual Colonial Office List; also "The Story of African Exploration," by the late Dr. Robert Brown (an excellent and most readable work); "Farming Industries of Cape Colony," by Robert Wallace; "The Partition of Africa," by Dr. J. Scott Keltie; the works of Dr. Heinrich Barth, Dr. Nachtigal, Dr. Schweinfürth: all of which can be got at any well-furnished library. There are a great many modern works of importance on the ancient and recent history of Africa by French, German, Italian and Portuguese authors, which will be found mentioned either in the bibliographies attached to Sir Harry Johnston's books or those given in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Two recently published historical compilations will also be found useful in regard to such portions as deal with Africa (portions contributed by authorities of recognized value): *The Times*' "Historians' History of the World," and Harmsworth's "History of the World." *The Times* History contains a most ample catalogue of books dealing with Africa. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute and of the (British) African Society may be consulted with great advantage.

THE OPENING UP OF AFRICA

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC TIMES

WHY does special interest attach to what is styled in colloquial speech "the opening up of Africa"? Because only twenty-five years ago Europe and civilized America were very slightly acquainted with the greater part of the geography, peoples and products of Africa, a region of the earth's land surface which the explorer Stanley had just nicknamed "the Dark Continent"; yet nevertheless since 1885 African discovery has proceeded at a rate so astonishing that there is nothing quite comparable to it in the history of human civilization. The white man has been aided by his own wonderful inventions to traverse the wilderness and not die, to combat hostile human tribes—some of them separated from him in culture by fifty thousand years—to exterminate wild beasts and brave the attacks of far more deadly insects and microbes. Africa to-day, perhaps, is slightly better known to the well educated than is South America or the central region of Asia.

But although this accumulation of knowledge has been mainly achieved within the last quarter of a century, the opening up of Africa by the Caucasian race did not begin with the Portuguese discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Dutch and British settlements in South Africa, the French and British conquests of Nigeria, Stanley's discovery of the Congo Basin, or the German and British protectorates over East and Central Africa. The white man in his Mediterranean and Nordic types has been attempting to penetrate Africa for many thousands of years. for ten thousand years, at any rate; and it is this story of his extraordinary perseverance in a dire struggle with great natural forces that I propose to tell in these pages.

From such meagre facts as have already been collected by scientific investigation we are led to form the opinion that the human genus was evolved from an ape-like ancestor somewhere in Asia, most probably in India, but quite possibly in Syria on the one hand, or in the Malay Peninsula or Java on the other. So far, the nearest approach to a missing link between the family of the anthropoid apes and the family of perfected man has been found in the island of Java (*Pithecanthropos erectus*), but there are slight indications pointing to Burma or the southern part of the Indian Continent as having been the birthplace of humanity. The first dis-

tinctly human type—*Homo primigenius*—certainly wandered westwards into Europe, and his remains, five hundred thousand years old it may be, have been found in the Rhine Basin near Heidelberg, dating from the beginning of the Pleistocene or Quaternary epoch.

Somewhere in Asia or in Europe during these first ice ages, *Homo primigenius* developed the perfect man—*Homo sapiens;* and *Homo sapiens* is seemingly the parent of all the sub-species or varieties of humanity existing at the present day. These are divisible, for practical purposes, into four groups: the *Australoid-Neanderthaloid*, the *Negro*, the *White Man* or *Caucasian*, and the *Mongol*.

The *Australoid*, represented at the present day by the indigenous population of Australia and perhaps the Veddahs of Ceylon, comes nearest of all living men to the basal stock and to *Homo primigenius*, behind whom lies a long vista of semi-humanity till apehood is reached in the Miocene. The modern Black Australian (though he is a chocolate colour rather than black) is very little differentiated from the inter-glacial Man of Europe—man of the Neanderthal cranium and of the early Palæolithic Age.[1] This Australoid type

[1] *Homo primigenius*, the type of man represented by the lower pair recently discovered near Heidelberg, probably belonged to the Eolithic stage of culture, in which stones broken by the simplest fracture were used. The recently extinct Tasmanians were scarcely beyond the Eolithic stage. The Neanderthaloid type, going back to one to two

was almost certainly the parent of the White man in Europe and Asia, and again gave rise to the Negro in India, Malaysia and Oceania.

Possibly also from this same basal stock arose the *Mongolian* or Yellow man, with narrow nose, cylindrical hair,[1] a hairless body, slanting eyes and broad cheekbones. The Mongolian variety or sub-species wandering north-west and east from its birthplace in South-central Asia mingled with the European or Caucasian[2] sub-species and produced mixed types, which are well repre-

---

hundred thousand years ago in England and in Europe, perhaps North Africa, and no doubt many parts of Asia, had reached the Palæolithic stage of culture which only gave birth to the Neolithic about 20,000 to 10,000 years ago. The Neanderthaloid type so often referred to is named from the calvarium found in the Neanderthal, near Düsseldorf, in the Rhine Valley.

[1] The hair of Australoids and Europeans, if cut into segments and looked at under a magnifying glass, is seen to be elliptical, or oblong; the hair of the Mongolian and Amerindian is completely, or almost completely, circular; the Negro's hair, on the other hand, is very narrow and much flattened, with a strong tendency to curl.

[2] Caucasian is a better general term for the "White" or European sub-species of man: since not only is this sub-species developed in great physical beauty on the Caucasus range of mountains, but both "White" and "European" are inaccurate names for a division of the human species which, in some of its races, is dark-skinned, and which has inhabited anciently many parts of Asia and the north of Africa. Still, in the main it is White in its original skin-colour, and European in its principal home at the present day, and its birthplace in the far-distant past.

sented by the aborigines of America (Amerindians) at the present day, besides permeating much of Central and Northern Europe. These Caucaso-Mongolians peopled the whole of the New World before the true White man came there, and a somewhat similar hybrid spread over Malaysia and the Pacific Islands. In these regions, the Caucaso-Mongolian crossed with the Asiatic Negro and the Australoid, and by these mixtures evolved the Polynesian and Melanesian races, examples of which — mainly Malayo-Polynesian — actually traversed the Indian Ocean many centuries ago and colonized Madagascar.

The *Negro* sub-species was evolved from an Australoid stock somewhere in Southern Asia; and in a remote period of time undoubtedly peopled much of India, Malaysia, the great island of New Guinea, and those larger Pacific islands situated at no great distance by canoe from any continental area. Primitive negroids even penetrated through Australia to Tasmania, and perhaps by some other route to New Zealand. Westwards from India the Negro spread through Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Arabia. There was a strong negroid strain—we gather from various evidence, chiefly pictorial, and the examination of existing types—in the Elamites of southern Persia and Mesopotamia, which penetrated to the Assyrians and even to the Jews. It is more probable that Tropical Africa was colonized by the negro

race by way of Arabia and Syria rather than through Europe and Algeria, and perhaps colonized at a period before any negroid type had penetrated into Southern Europe. From Syria the Negro must have radiated over the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean. Through Syria and Arabia the Negro entered Africa and populated the whole of that continent, except the regions which were becoming sandy deserts or which still lay under shallow water or were hopeless swamp.

The first real awakening of Man seems to have come from South-eastern Europe or Asia Minor. The White man, evolved from an Australoid or Neanderthaloid ancestor, ceased —at a guess, some thirty to twenty thousand years ago—to live in an absolutely savage condition as a mere carnivorous hunter of other animals. He developed more elaborate ideas regarding the world outside his own body—what we call religion; he *manufactured* his implements, instead of making a somewhat haphazard use of stones, horns, bones, thorns, sticks and shells in their natural condition. He tamed and kept domestic animals and rapidly developed the art of imitating them, first by gesture, and secondly by drawing and painting. Though still devoid of any sense of shame and going naked in warm weather, he shielded himself from cold and adorned his head and body by the skins of the beasts he had slain. He devised ornaments for himself and for his

women out of feathers, tusks, teeth, shells, seeds and pebbles. Armed with his superior weapons and possessed with a lust of conquest, he soon polished off whatever may have remained in Europe of Australoid man or the more ape-like traces of *Homo primigenius*. And he drove away—or absorbed by intermarriage—the negroes of the Mediterranean Basin, retaining, however, some evidence here and there of this intermixture, which may still be seen in the dark-eyed, black-and-curly-haired peoples of Western and Southern Europe.

The Caucasian ranged right across Asia till he reached the waters of the Pacific, and perhaps—in fact, most probably—crossed over, again and again, into North America by way of Alaska. He invaded Malaysia and penetrated several thousands of years ago into the Pacific Islands. At a period removed from the present by some twenty-five thousand years[1] he seems to have commenced the colonization of North Africa, absorbing the Australoids and Negroes who may have preceded him. Similarly, he had fused with Negroids in northern Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia, and was commencing to colonize Abyssinia; having colonized Arabia at a still earlier date, and Somaliland.

North Africa was almost certainly peopled at a very ancient period in human history by the Neanderthaloid type of man, with heavy

[1] These computations are largely guesswork.

projecting brows and a hairy body. Traces of this type still persist in parts of northern Tunisia and in Morocco, and it underlies the composition of the North African people generally. Then came from the east or from the south the primitive negroes. These were followed before long by the first immigration of the true White man or Caucasian, from Syria (via Egypt) or from Spain or Italy.

The first white men, or even their immediate successors, who occupied the northern parts of Africa from Morocco to the Isthmus of Suez, probably did not speak any one of the sex-denoting languages either of the Aryan family or of that group afterwards differentiated into the Libyan, Hamitic or Semitic tongues. These later types of Palæolithic or the pioneers of Neolithic man may have been like a pure-blooded Fula (see Chapter VI) in appearance and have used a form of speech like that of the modern Fula: one in which the nouns are divided into classes without any distinction of sex. Such classes generally represent groups of objects allied by certain affinities; such as, for example, those that are human or on a par with humanity, and those which are not; " high-caste " or " low-caste " things; animate or lifeless objects; or the " tree " class; the " water " class; things that are long or short; big or small; weak or strong; and so forth. " Class " languages of this type include the Dravidian tongues of India, the Georgian-Lesghian group of the Caucasus

Mountains; and it may be that the Lydian or Etruscan and the ancient languages of Asia Minor, Greece, and the Ægean Islands were also of this kind.

Languages in which the nouns are divided into a large or small number of classes each of which has its pronoun and adjectival particle (the "concord" of philologists) are common in West and Central Africa. Noteworthy among them are two speech-families that are both associated with the introduction of superior civilization into Negro Africa. The first is the Fula speech, the second the Bantu. Of all these the Fula is the most remarkable from the point of view of its being a language foreign to Negro Africa and especially associated with a white race. It is the opinion of some French ethnologists that a speech family like the Fula preceded that of the Libyan in North Africa. They hold that when the Libyans—coming as they did probably from the East, for they were at one time, thousands of years ago, of kindred race and speech with the Amorites and other tribes of Palestine and southern Syria—conquered and occupied the north of Africa and Lower Egypt, they drove southwards the preceding Caucasian race which we now know as the Fula. These Fula people then travelled slowly across the Sahara Desert, conflicting or mixing, no doubt, with previous negro or negroid inhabitants, and perpetually driven onwards by Libyan or Berber attacks, till they

finally settled in the valleys of the Upper Niger and Senegal, perhaps penetrating farther still into the Central Sudan. An eastern branch of this race of early Caucasian immigrants, which like the Fula absorbed, as it progressed, an increasing quantity of negro blood, may have been pushed southwards and westwards by the invading Hamites of East Africa and have originated the Bantu languages in the central part of the continent.

The existing " class " languages of Africa extend, with intervals of more primitive negro speech, from the mouth of the Senegal to Borgu and the vicinity of the Lower Niger, and perhaps begin again in places east of the Niger and near the Benue. Then follows a wide gap of rather degraded negro speech with intrusive elements from the north and from the Nilotic negroes, and once again travelling north-eastwards, in Kordofan, and south-eastwards, among the Bantu, we reach fresh developments of the " class " languages, the last-named of which has covered Central and Southern Africa.

There are two great and very distinct groups of sex-denoting languages, the right understanding of which will help us much to reconstitute the ancient history of the Old World. These are the Aryan languages of Europe and Asia; and the Libyan-Hamitic-Semitic group of South-west Asia, North and North-east Africa. These two families of speech agree in nothing except the prin-

ciple of denoting sex, and sex only [or absence of sex], in their division of nouns and in the "concord" between nouns, pronouns and adjectives. In this matter of the "concord" they may exhibit some far back relationship with the "class" languages already described.

But the Libyan or Berber peoples, though they may have originated in Syria from the same stock as the Hamites and the Semites, seem at an early date—perhaps beginning ten thousand years ago—to have invaded Spain, France, Britain and Ireland, western Germany and Denmark. They were the people of the menhirs, cromlechs, monoliths, and megaliths. In the United Kingdom they absorbed pre-existing racial elements and "Iberianized" them. The speech of Ireland and Britain (except in the east and north, where a language and a physical type like Basque may have lingered) was quite possibly of a Berber or Libyan type, before the arrival of the first Aryan Kelts about 3,000 to 4,000 B.C. The result of the mingling of the two elements—the fair-haired, Nordic Kelt, and the black-haired, brown-eyed Iberians—was the Keltic languages of Britain as we find them at the present day, with a grammar and syntax related to that of the existing Berber speech while the vocabulary is mainly Aryan.

A third "white man" element seems to have colonized North Africa at a much later period, perhaps about 3,500 years ago. This was the brown-haired, yellow-moustached,

blue-eyed type of Berber which is still so frequently met with in Morocco, Algeria and Tunis, and which seems even to have penetrated to ancient Egypt and Abyssinia. They were first noticed in Egyptian history during the XIXth dynasty, and distinguished as *Tahennu* from the *Tamahu* or darker-skinned Libyans. In Mauretania they seem to have constituted an aristocratic type, never very numerous even at the present day (except on the High Atlas), but always remarkable by their white skin, grey or blue eyes, brown hair and light moustaches. It is thought that these blond Berbers came from Spain and were Keltiberians, that is to say, a blend of the Iberian or Libyan population of Spain with early Nordic immigrants—fair-haired Kelts who spoke an Aryan tongue. From this blend indeed may be derived the undoubted Aryan roots to be found in the Libyan tongues of North Africa, rather than from borrowed Latin words; except where these are obviously of such derivation.

Thus in the human history of North Africa there would seem to have been the following layers and courses of immigration: Firstly, a Neanderthaloid type, akin to the black Australian, which may have come from Spain or from Syria (more probably the former); secondly, the Negro from the east; thirdly, the Fula from the east, followed (fourthly) by the Libyan from the same direction; and fifthly the Keltiberian from Spain.

Meantime the sex-denoting languages of the Libyan and the Hamitic type (to be succeeded afterwards by Semitic) were influencing profoundly the speech of the negroes in North-east Africa, carrying the principle of sex-discrimination in syntax as far into the Sudan as the Bahr-al-Ghazal and the Shari-Chad basin, where it exists in the Bongo, Hausa, and Musgu languages of to-day; while in a more southern direction we have it in the Nilotic speech, especially of the Bari and Masai branches (which extend beyond the Equator), and even amongst the Hottentots. These last in physique, phonology and other characteristics are mainly of the Bushman division of the negro race. Some form of Hamitic influence in grammar, in domestic animals and religious ideas must have been grafted at an early date on to a Bushman tribe, it may be, in the vicinity of the Victoria Nyanza (where click languages are still spoken). With their long-horned cattle, their fat-tailed sheep, and their language denoting the difference between male and female, they were driven southwards by some racial or physical disturbance (for in those days Africa was more volcanic: earthquakes and lava floods in the eastern half of Africa played a great part in the dispersal of tribes). And passing between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa they found their way across Southern Congoland to the Central Zambezi, and thence to the arid Atlantic coast near the mouth of

the Kunene, becoming more and more Bushman in blood and language as they fought their way to the south-west through lands mainly peopled by these yellow pygmies, whose clicking speech is scarcely human. Yet these yellow-skinned, wrinkled, steatopygous Hottentots (the Bushman race of negro has a tendency to develop much "adipose tissue" on the buttocks) were carrying with them at some remote date—perhaps six or seven thousand years ago—the first glimmerings of Neolithic civilization into Bushman South Africa, then in a condition of almost Eolithic civilization.

Fifty thousand years ago and earlier the geography of the African continent would have presented a somewhat different appearance on a map to what it does at the present day. Morocco was probably still united to the southern extremity of Spain, and a similar land-bridge may have subsisted between Tunis, Sicily and Malta. The south-west extremity of Arabia had drawn very near to the opposite coast of Afar, or had even joined it across what are now the straits of Bab-al-Mandib. On the other hand, the Red Sea possibly communicated with the Mediterranean across the Isthmus of Suez and a good deal of the delta of the Nile had not yet been formed; there was a large lake—a backwater of the Nile—covering the depression known as the Fayum, in western Egypt, and a considerable incursion of the sea into the hinterland of Tunis (the region of the Shats or dried-up salt lakes).

Other lakes or inland seas were still lingering over portions of the Libyan Desert, of the Nigerian and the Northern Sahara, and the basins of the Upper Congo and Zambezi. Lake Chad was much larger than it is at the present day, extending north-eastward towards the Tibesti Mountains and up the valley of the Komadugu into Hausaland and south-east over the Shari basin. Human movements over the region now known as the Sahara Desert would have been obstructed by marshes and shallow lakes fed by torrential rivers, almost as much as they have since been limited by the drying up of this country of steppes, flat plains, shallow depressions and rocky plateaus; and by the formation of drifting sand where there was once life-giving water and vegetable humus. For, fifty thousand years ago (and less), there existed forests of diverse trees in the Sahara, Libyan and Nubian deserts, and Egypt was a well-wooded country where now it is almost without plant life except when artificially irrigated.

But at this distance of time from the present day (approximately guessed at by such calculations as can be made) a desiccation was beginning over most parts of Africa. This was due to the waning of the glacial grip over Europe and a lessening of the rainfall; as well as to the piercing by streams of rocky barriers which had hitherto blocked the outlet into the ocean of land-locked, moisture-diffusing lakes. Africa was becoming, through

this draining process, much more fitted for human habitation ; although over the great belt of country between the Red Sea and the Atlantic, Nature was commencing to push things to one of her customary extremes, and was about to render the Sahara, the Libyan, and the Arabian deserts a formidable barrier between fertile Mauretania, Lower Egypt, and Syria on the north, and Tropical Africa and Arabia Felix, with their heavy rainfall, on the south. The shallow lakes dried up and left deposits of salt or soda in their place; the rivers ceased to flow above ground, the forests withered and died, the bared soil was exposed to the ravages of occasional cloud-bursts of heavy rain which washed it away, and the absence of trees and herbs made the climate one of extremes with blazing hot days and bitter cold nights. These alternations of heat and cold cracked and crumbled the bare rocks. The same causes created winds of tremendous force which ground the crumbling rocks into sand; and so these great deserts were formed in Arabia and North Africa, and became a means of cutting off and isolating Tropical Africa from the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and separated the fauna and the types of Man inhabiting temperate Europe and Asia from those which were fast becoming peculiar to Tropical Africa.

The great mass of the Negro sub-species was locked up in the African Continent south

of the Desert Belt, and thus prevented from fusing with the Caucasian races of Europe, North Africa and Western Asia. The Negroes of Tropical Africa specialized in their isolation and stagnated in utter savagery. They may even have been drifting away from the human standard back towards the brute when migratory impulses drew the Caucasian, the world's redeemer, to enter Tropical Africa by four main routes, mingle his blood with that of the pristine negroes, and raise the mental status of these dark-skinned, woolly-haired, prognathous, retrograded men by the introduction of Neolithic arts and ideas of religion, domestic animals, cultivated plants, superior weapons, and devices with which to combat successfully reactionary Nature or fierce wild beasts.

But fifty, thirty, ten thousand years ago the difference in mammalian fauna and human races between North Africa and Egypt on the one hand, and Tropical Africa on the other, was not as great as it is to-day. People of Negro stock (together, it may be, with Australoids and early types of Caucasians) inhabited the southern shores of the Mediterranean and Lower as well as Upper Egypt. In Egypt, down to about five thousand years ago, there were African elephants. But for the intervention of man, the hippopotamus, extinct for many thousand years in Southern Europe and Western Asia, would now be sporting in the Delta of the Nile (the last was

killed in the Nile Delta about 1658 A.D.), and swimming out, perhaps, into the salt water of the Mediterranean, as it swims into the Indian Ocean from the mouth of the Zambezi. The lion would range throughout the length and breadth of Egypt, feeding on wild bulls (? *Bos ægyptiacus*), addaxes, oryxes, hartebeests, ibexes, gazelles, wild asses; and leopards, chitas, perhaps buffaloes and even giraffes would abound, just as they did in the not-very-far-removed times of the first dynasties of Egyptian kings—say five thousand years ago and more.

Even Mauretania, much more separated geographically from True Africa than Lower Egypt, possessed a far richer mammalian fauna five thousand to fifty thousand years ago than it does at the present day—huge buffaloes, whose enormous curved horns were fourteen or fifteen feet long; nilghais larger than those of India; hippopotami, wild asses, zebras, gnus, elands, pallas, long-necked gazelles, wild bulls like the aurochs of Europe, and bears and deer that are now extinct, elephants which died out during the Roman Empire or at the coming of the Arabs, lions of which the last were killed less than thirty years ago, and leopards and hyenas which still remain.

And to hunt successfully this wonderful fauna, of which I have only mentioned a few examples, the white man had come to North Africa twenty-five thousand, fifteen thousand,

ten thousand years ago with his superior weapons, and, at a later date, his passion for building by placing one stone on another, his cleverness in carving commodious dwellings in the soft limestone rock, his cunning with nets and snares, and his new-found interest in agriculture and the taming of wild animals that he might utilize them for milk, for flesh, for their furry or woolly coats, as beasts of burden or of transport, or as emblems in which he might typify great forces and principles necessary to his dawning ideas of religion.

This survey of the ancient history of Africa within the human period brings us down to a time removed from our own by some twenty thousand years, when the white man, first, it may be, of the Fula, and then of Hamitic and Libyan types, was preparing to invade Negro Africa by four principal routes. One of these, no doubt, was along the Atlantic coast, from Morocco to the Senegal river and thence to the Niger, through a region less arid, less deficient in water supply twenty to fifteen thousand years ago than it is at the present day. [And even now this land route is chiefly difficult, not from natural obstacles, but because of the bitter hostility towards the European on the part of the degenerate Moors and Arabs who occupy the Atlantic coast-lands of the Sahara at the present day.] The second main line of migration which the white man of Libyan or Fula type followed in attempting to penetrate the lands of the negroes

lay along the plateaus and mountain ranges between southern Tunis and the basin of Lake Chad. From a very remote period in the earth's history there has always been a sort of mountain skeleton for Northern Africa, a region of Palæozoic rocks, which has not been submerged since the Primary epoch, and which has always constituted a land bridge connecting all parts of North Africa with West, Central, East, and South Africa—True Africa. [True Africa once formed a single continent with Brazil, Madagascar and Southern India.] Such a permanent land bridge at the present day is represented by the long range of the Atlas Mountains and the plateaus of the north-western part of the Sahara : by the table-lands of Tademait, Tasili, Ahaggar ; and the Tummo, Tibesti, Ennedi, and Murrah Mountains. This elevated region connects the fertile, well-watered lands of Mauretania and Tripoli with those of the Egyptian and Nigerian Sudan. The direction of this bridge is from north-west to south-east; and therefore for this reason, in types of fauna, flora and human races, Mauretania, on the far north-west, is perhaps more nearly connected with East-central than with West Africa. It is important to bear this bridge of rocks and mountains in mind, because effectual as the Sahara Desert has been as a recent barrier between Europe and True Africa, there has, nevertheless, been constant communication between the two regions by way of the moun-

tain ridges athwart the Sahara Desert. The choking sands of the Libyan and Saharan deserts scarcely exist on these high table-lands and mountains between the southern Atlas and Darfur. Tremendous desiccation has taken place, no doubt, south of the Atlas and north of the tropical rains. Once luxuriant forests have disappeared, leaving at most a few traces on the highest mountains of Ahaggar and Tibesti; but in the most elevated regions snow lies occasionally and sufficient rain falls in the winter season (or farther south in the height of the summer) to maintain springs and brooks, and here and there a shrubby vegetation or a few trees. These conditions render it possible for wild beasts and birds to exist, and human beings to maintain themselves with their flocks and herds and a limited amount of agriculture.

A third way of access from the Mediterranean to Tropical Africa lay up the valley of the Nile. This was the easiest way of all, leading as it did to Abyssinia and Galaland on the south-east; Kordofan, Darfur, Wadai, the Shari basin, and Lake Chad on the south-west. But due south towards the Mountains of the Moon and the Central Lakes region (then certainly an area of almost impenetrable forest inhabited by gorillas, chimpanzees, okapis and elephants) the advance of the white man and even of the negro was greatly obstructed by the vegetation-choked swamps of the Upper Nile, the remains of a former

huge, shallow lake which covered much of the basin of the Bahr-al-Ghazal and White Nile.

The fourth and last route to Negroland in ancient times was from Arabia across to Abyssinia or Somaliland, and thence up the ancient Rift valley which lay to the north and west of the Somaliland and Gala deserts and approached well-watered, not too thickly forested East Africa by way of Lakes Rudolf and Baringo, and the snow-crowned volcanoes of Kenya and Kilimanjaro, with a divergent line of march to Mount Elgon.

These were the principal, if not the only, routes trodden by the earliest Caucasian adventurers, the pioneers in the task of "opening up" Africa. Long afterwards, beginning perhaps two thousand years before Christ, attempts were to be made by the white man and the Polynesian to reach the coasts of Tropical Africa from across the sea: Egyptian sailors would steer their lateen-sailed vessels down the Red Sea to Somaliland. The Carthaginians and Phœnicians on the north-west and the Himyarite and Sabæan Arabs on the north-east carried out voyages (we are entitled to assume, though very few are recorded historically) which made the first-named acquainted with the west coast of Africa as far as Sierra Leone, and the latter with the east coast down to the Zambezi, the Comoro Islands, and the north end of Madagaskar. But the most wonderful of these early attempts to open up Africa by sea

was the invasion of Madagaskar by peoples of the Malay Archipelago, the ancestors of all or nearly all the existing tribes of that large island. When this took place—began and finished—we cannot tell with any precision. But it is a question which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III.

From the basin of the Nile, and the eastern Horn of Africa, the Negro spread over Tropical and South Africa in three principal types: (1) short-legged, prognathous, long-headed, hairy, splay-toed, and dark-skinned—as illustrated by the Forest Negro of West, Central, and South Africa, some of the Congo pygmies, and perhaps the modern Vaalpens and vanished Strandloopers of South Africa; (2) the tall, long-legged, black-skinned Nilotic Negroes; and (3) the short-statured, rounder-headed, yellow-skinned Bushman, with tightly curled, less abundant head-hair and an almost hairless body. There has also been an element —perhaps very ancient—in the heart of Africa which might almost be called Negrito or "Asiatic Negro," and which perhaps explains the rounder heads in some parts of the Congo and Bahr-al-Ghazal basins and may have played some part in the origination of the Bushman.

All these types mingled freely with one another (even at the present day the six-feet-two-inches-tall Sudanese soldiers will take as their wives pygmy women from the North-east Congo basin of barely four feet eight inches in height, and have normal-sized children by

them) : and in time produced the many races peoples and tribes which inhabit Negro Africa at the present day. It is doubtful, however, whether Negro Africa, outside the border regions of the Sahara, Northern Niger, Nubia, Abyssinia and Somaliland, has been very anciently inhabited by man. Not nearly so anciently as England, for example, where there were men not differing very greatly from the modern type living at the mouth of the Thames one hundred and thirty-five thousand years ago (this age is deduced by Professor Arthur Keith for the Galley Hill skull); or as Central Europe, wherein the age of man stretches back perhaps to five hundred thousand years; or Asia, where the record may go back much farther still.

Fifty thousand years ago may be postulated as about the period at which the great Negro dispersal over Tropical Africa began. One of the obstacles to a rapid human conquest of this continent was the dense forest which at that time covered so much of Tropical Africa between the southern limits of the Sahara and the valley of the Zambezi.

Until the Caucasian began to influence the Negro, the latter was (and is now in a few parts of Africa) only in the Palæolithic stage of culture—that is to say, the state of industrial development in which stones merely broken or flaked (or drilled with holes) or in their natural condition are used as implements, together with stakes or sticks split or pointed by

burning, horns and teeth of mammals, beaks of birds, shells and thorns, are regarded as sufficient aids to man in his hunting and fishing, his intertribal wars, his search for roots and medicines, and his very elementary needs of house-building. The early negroes were acquainted with the use of fire, partly from the frequent bush fires resulting from lightning flashes: but they may not have acquired till their contact with the Caucasian the art of making fire artificially. They practised no agriculture, kept no domestic animals, except (it may be) dogs of South Asiatic origin. Both sexes went naked, so far as any sense of shame prevailed; but they adorned their skins by raising patterns on them of weals and scars (cicatrization), they stuck porcupine quills through the nose or lip, they wore necklaces and waist-belts of teeth, knuckle-bones, shells, seeds, or plaited grass, and adorned their mops of head hair with the plumes of birds.

In the forest regions of dense tropical rains they made for themselves shelters or huts by sticking long twigs or pliant boughs into the ground and bending them over so that their tips again entered the soil, describing an arch. On to these sticks they heaped or fastened by their stalks quantities of leaves. In the more open, park-like country the shelters and night-dwellings were thatched with grass, and encompassed with branches of thorns to keep off wild beasts. In the rocky or sterile country early African man was a cave-dweller whenever

and wherever he could find a rock shelter or cavern.

The primitive Negro's chief care and subject of thought was how to fill his belly. This preoccupation overrode all others. But the next interest in life, in the case of a male, was to get and keep a mate, who hunted with him and for him, dug up roots, sought for medicines in trees and herbs, cooked the food, and produced children who in time became a source of strength to the community. Of religion the early Negro had very little, and—as compared to the European and Asiatic—was singularly little interested in the skies of night or day. He was no sun or moon worshipper (though of the two the moon interested him most as a measurer of time). Some of the planets and constellations he knew by name or may even have imagined stories about, though when these myths are encountered at the present day they always suggest foreign (*i. e.* non-Negro influence. He—the primitive Negro—probably believed in a vague way that some form of spirit life continued after the death of the body, either by the spirit lingering in the vicinity of the grave in some shadow-like form or by its passing into the body of a wild beast, bird, or snake : especially such animals as frequented the vicinity of human settlements.

But in the main he thought little of anything but killing and eating animals ; and obtaining honey from the hives of the wild bees, fruits from the trees, roots and fungi

from the ground. He entered Africa from Asia (we may imagine) possessed of the boomerang or throwing stick, of the bow and stone-tipped arrow, the stone-headed lance, club, and stone-weighted digging stick. He understood how to lay snares and dig pitfalls, but in all respects he was in a state of Palæolithic culture similar to that of Europe and Asia from thirty thousand to—let us say—two hundred thousand years ago: and to that of Black Australia in the nineteenth century.

In all probability the speech of the ancient Negroes of Africa belonged to two different types: one with words or word-roots expressed in a single syllable and pronounced with clicks, gasps, harsh gutturals and nasals almost impossible of transcription; the other melodious, broad-vowelled, slightly nasal, with words running more often than not into two or more syllables. The Negro tongues of this second group resemble in phonology the Melanesian languages of Oceania and Malaysia; the first-mentioned type—illustrated by the Bushman and one or two East African and Sudan languages—finds some slight parallel in certain of the Negrito and Micronesian languages of Malaysia and the Equatorial Pacific; and even an underlying kinship (in phonology) with certain Hamitic and proto-Semitic dialects of Ethiopia: due no doubt to an ancient permeation of these regions by a primitive Bushman-Negro population.

These speculations as to the pre-history

of Africa, the period at which Caucasian inter-penetration commenced, the comparatively modern date at which the Negro in three or more varieties overran the southern and tropical two-thirds of the continent, are suggestions and not at present assertions capable of undisputed proof. But they rest on some evidence, negative as much as positive: stone implements, kitchen middens, skulls, rock-drawings. And the lapse of time is calculated by the rate at which water cuts down rocks, silts up lakes, and deposits alluvium. Such information as we have acquired about the unrecorded past of Africa, leads us to believe that though it can be proved by osseous remains, implements, and rock-drawings that the Caucasian or white-man type has inhabited Mauretania for at least twenty thousand years back (probably longer); and Egypt—the valley of the Lower Nile—for nearly the same period; and Somali-land, Abyssinia, and perhaps the northern bend of the Niger for—let us say—about fifteen thousand years—yet that the true Caucasian sub-species came as a stranger to Africa, and did not even originate in the Mediterranean coast-lands of that continent, but in Europe or Western Asia.

It seems equally probable that the Negro originated in Southern Asia; and that he at a period by no means remote as human history is measured, travelled to Africa by a land route across Arabia. The Lemurian sub-

continent which undoubtedly once connected Tropical Africa and Madagaskar with India, could have played no part in facilitating this land journey, for if geological evidence is of any value it must have been covered by the sea before Man himself came into existence in the Pliocene period. But it is not inconceivable that as recently as fifty thousand years from now, Arabia and Africa may still have had some connecting isthmus across the Gulf of Aden, while the climate of Arabia may have been more humid, and vegetation more abundant. Where at present exist untrodden, unmapped deserts of shifting sands, lakes of fresh water and inlets of the sea may have made of this stern land a genial home for man and beast, a half-way house between Asia and Africa.

But, above all, one fact seems clear to the author of this book: that though the Negro preceded the Caucasian in the opening up of Africa—of the forested Africa which lies beyond Somaliland and the Sahara—he did so at no very distant date (compared to the peopling of Europe), and that he had in the remoter, southern part of this dark continent no human predecessor.

CHAPTER II

THE WORK OF EGYPT

THE Libyan or Berber—quite a white man [1] as compared with the Hamite and the Egyptian—has been for about twelve thousand years the dominant and underlying inhabitant of Northern Africa. He absorbed or expelled the pre-existing whites of the Fula stock, the remaining Negroids or Neanderthaloids in Mauretania and Lower Egypt; he penetrated south-eastward to the Abyssinian mountains and even to Somaliland; he may at an early date in his history have crossed the Sahara and reached the Senegal and the Northern Niger; being checked here and elsewhere on the threshold of real Africa by the micro-organisms of disease swarming in the blood of the African negro and conveyed thence by the mosquito or the tsetse fly.

In Mauretania and Lower Egypt, perhaps

[1] It has been pointed out by Professor Petrie, that in Ancient Egypt the direct hybrid between the Libyan and the Negro was a mulatto with all the characteristics of the modern hybrid between the European and the Negro: whereas the mingling of the Egyptian or Semite, Hamite or Fula with the black man produces a handsomer, more physically perfect human being. Some of the existing pure-blood Berber tribes of North Africa at the present day are white-skinned, and have the faces of Europeans; yet many are dark-complexioned and more African in appearance. This is due to the persistence in that region of an early Negro strain, and to the constant importation of Negro slaves for the past eight hundred years.

also Abyssinia, he began to pass out of the Palæolithic stage of culture about ten thousand years ago: possibly because of the influence reacting on him from Syria. Syria (together with Mesopotamia and Arabia) derived the light of Neolithic knowledge from Asia Minor; a region which may prove to have been, with Pontus and the Danube valley, the birthplace of human civilization and of several great families of human speech.

The Libyans were probably preceded (as Caucasians) in their occupation of North-east Africa (especially the Red Sea coast and Abyssinia) by the Hamites, an earlier and more negroid branch of the Arabian races which spoke sex-denoting languages. Possibly the Hamites had been the pioneers of this tripartite group, of which at one time the Semites were the northern and the Libyans the western section. The Hamites, represented at the present day by the Gala, Somali, Danakil, and the Beja-Bisharin tribes of the western Red Sea littoral and the Nubian Desert, had no doubt first populated southern and western Arabia and had then crossed over and occupied the mountain regions west of the Red Sea, mixing their blood freely with the Bushmen, Negroes, and Fula-like Caucasians who had preceded them. They had at most attained to the pastoral stage with cattle, but in the main were hunters and not so civilized as the whiter Libyans.

The Semites, it is thought—as early as

nine thousand years before Christ—crossed the Red Sea (on which even in that remote period there were small ships or biggish boats) and established themselves in the Nubian Alps, while they were taking the places of the Libyans in Sinai and Midian. Far to the south they were extending over Arabia and perhaps pushing before them a remarkable people, who are styled by ethnologists the "dynastic" Egyptians, for the reason that they gave Egypt her ruling people and her caste of rulers for five thousand years.

Judging from the examples depicted in the monuments of Egypt, and even from such types as are occasionally met with among the fellahin, or country-folk, at the present day, these dynastic Egyptians were of almost ideal human beauty, though the men were usually handsomer than the women. This ancient Egyptian type had a somewhat long head with an excellent development of brain, well-formed features, but fleshy rather than sharp-angled and lean like the Arab, somewhat full lips, large and long eyes, and a stature in the men almost averaging five feet ten inches. The skin-colour was sallow or reddish-yellow, the hair was ordinarily black, but of fine texture, and almost entirely free from any negro kink. Occasionally it was brown, but this no doubt was due to the Libyan or European element in the race. In the earliest days of their immigration they were relatively heedless about clothing so far

as matters of decency were concerned, but after the primitive times, the costumes of the men became somewhat elaborate.

The language they spoke by the time they had taken possession of Egypt was a member of the great but loosely-joined group which includes the Hamitic, Libyan and Semitic tongues, yet in many ways it differed markedly from these other languages of Arabia, Palestine and North Africa. It was almost without syntax and its roots were mostly monosyllabic, a few extending to two syllables. It was without the three-syllabled roots which are so characteristic of the Semitic and are not strange to Hamitic and Libyan. Ancient Egyptian in some respects suggests a remote kinship with the rather monosyllabic speech of the Nilotic negroes. But it was more obviously sex-denoting than are these, and among numerous points of relationship to the Semitic and Libyo-Hamitic groups was the use of the consonant " t " as a feminine letter, specially employed to indicate the feminine gender of words, either as suffix or prefix.

The original home or centre of development of this " dynastic " Egyptian type seems to have been in southern or south-western Arabia, the land of Punt or Puanit (or Puoni) of Egyptian traditions. The region of Yaman and of the Hadhramaut—south-western and southern Arabia—ten to fifteen thousand years ago was probably an even better-

favoured region of Arabia than it is at the present day, when it still bears the Roman designation of Arabia Felix—so much of the rest of this gaunt, lava-covered, sand-strewn peninsula being decidedly "infelix." This portion of Tropical Arabia has high mountains, a certain degree of rainfall on them, and was anciently clothed in rich forests before the camels, goats, and sheep of Neolithic and Bronze-age man nibbled away much of this verdure. Above all it grew trees oozing with delicious-scented resins or gums—frankincense, principally *Boswellia carteri* (myrrh which was in almost equal demand from Arabia is the resin of *Balsamodendron myrrha*). These, when civilization dawned on the world redeemed by the white man, became very precious and an offering of sweet savour to the white man's gods, because so grateful to his own nostrils. For the gods have ever been man himself—the man of the period—projected large upon the sky or the sea like a spectre of the Brocken.

Here in this favoured region of Arabia (once, far back, the home of ancestral negroes) grew into definiteness what may be called the Egyptian type, which had probably already entered the Neolithic stage of culture with highly-finished stone weapons and implements of industry, and even employed copper for some purposes before it migrated from its home in Yaman or the Hadhramaut to colonize the valley of the Nile.

Perhaps the ancestors of the dynastic Egyptians had already acquired in Arabia the art of building with stone, in the ever-increasing struggle with the growing drought which was so greatly to alter the human history of that sub-continent, and to compel men to construct dams of boulders to store up the water of mountain torrents, and to put stones together in fitted masonry in order that reservoirs of water might ensure the irrigation of their crops and pasture for their herds. Titanic works some of these were, and their bursting or crumbling in less careful times led —with other causes—to the steady depopulation of Southern Arabia and a relapse into semi-barbarism of the land which had been the mother of the civilization of Egypt, of Abyssinia, of East Africa, Madagaskar, Mesopotamia, and Phœnicia. However that may be, it is as builders above all that we first realize the presence of the dynastic Egyptian race in the valley of the Nile.

Quite possibly, the impulse to seek another home across the Red Sea came from the advance southwards of the earlier Semites, who may have been better armed than the future conquerors of Egypt. Some authorities have thought that the "land of Punt" lay in Somaliland, where frankincense and myrrh trees also grow; but it is more probable that Punt was South-western Arabia, and that the ancestors of the Egyptians landed north of the Suakin coast and marched inland till they

reached the Nile valley in Nubia, gradually moving downstream till they concentrated themselves in the district between Thebes and Abydos. About eight thousand years ago they moved northwards on the old Libyan and Semitic capitals of Memphis and Heliopolis (to quote the Greek version of their names); and eventually conquered the whole of Egypt down to the Mediterranean shores and southwards up to the First Cataract of the Nile, a region then inhabited by a mixture of Negroes and Hamites.

North of the Koptos bend of the Nile the population was more Libyan and Semitic in its physical types, languages and religion. And scattered amongst these North African and Syro-Arabian races there were, no doubt, precursors of the true European—Minoans from Crete and the Mykenœan or Pelasgians of the islands and penisulas of the Ægean Sea already blossoming out into the most splendid civilization of the Neolithic period. Such hardy seamen-traders (precursors of the Philistines) brought to Egypt ideas about building, about domestic animals, weapons, writing, pottery and religion, which the dynastic Egyptians—for all they reigned in proud isolation above the divided Nile—were not slow to take hold of. For something like five thousand years the Egyptians seldom ceased warring against either the dispossessed Libyans or the intrusive Semites, of whom the Israelites were only one among thirty or

forty similar tribes, who continually made their way across the Isthmus of Suez—now dry land and salt lakes—from Sinai, Midian, and Palestine: countries not nearly so attractive to humanity as the perpetually irrigated, always fertile, lands of Lower Egypt. In one period of Egyptian history, for some nearly two hundred years, between about 1700 B.C. and 1580, all Lower and part of Upper Egypt was under the domination of a horde of Semites, known as the Shepherd Kings or Hak-su (a word which the Greek historians changed into Hyksos). According to Professor Petrie this word is really Hikushasu or "Princes of the Beduin Arabs." Haq, Hik or Huk was a root in ancient Egyptian meaning "prince"—and also shepherd's crook, a symbol of princely rank. It is remarkable that a crook-shaped staff or long stick should so often be the symbol of chiefdom in Negro-Africa, and that another mark of noble birth in ancient Egypt—the whip—should figure in that sense to-day among the Fula and Mandingo of West Africa.

Remembrance of their former power and civilization, however, never left the Egyptian people, who at length rose in Upper Egypt against their ignorant oppressors—an early type of Arab—and drove them back to the land of Midian. After the renascence of Egyptian power in 1580 B.C. the Pharaohs and their people, aided by Sardinian, Cretan and Libyan mercenaries, and Negro troops enlisted

in Upper Nubia and the Sudan, frequently conquered and garrisoned Syria and Palestine, and carried the Egyptian standards to the mountains of Asia Minor and the banks of the Euphrates. But at length the dynasties of the Egyptian Pharaohs fell before the foreigner. Assyria, the Semitic conqueror of Babylon and Mesopotamia, conquered Egypt, or at any rate Lower Egypt, and Pharaohdom was only continued in Upper Egypt by a dynasty of negroid —Ethiopian or Nubian—kings. A brief revival of ancient Egyptian rule—the Saïte Pharaohs of the XXVIth dynasty—was followed by the two crushing invasions of Persia (525–415 B.C. and 342–332 B.C.). This was succeeded by the domination of Greece after 332 B.C.

Thenceforth, for nearly two thousand five hundred years, Egypt was not to experience the rule of a really native dynasty: she was always to be governed by kings, princes, emperors, tyrants, military adventurers, or successful soldiers (and their descendants) of foreign birth or extraction: Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Kurds, Turks, Syrians, Circassians, Albanians, French generals, and Macedonian Turks.

The Egyptian wars of conquest which began after the expulsion of the Hyksos, and extended over Syria and Cyprus, and the succeeding Asiatic and European conquests of Egypt, played a notable part in the opening up of Africa. The intercourse resulting from these struggles brought many

European and Asiatic inventions and products into Egypt. Especially was this the case as regards domestic animals and plants.

The Negro in his untouched state, as has been remarked, was without any domestic animals except the dog, and even that may have been absent from his earliest immigration into Africa; and he had cultivated no plant of African origin, unless the yam (*Dioscorea*) and the *Pennisetum*, *Panicum* and *Paspalum* millets are an exception. There are certain kinds of bean, such as those of the genera *Crotalaria*, *Tephrosia*, *Phaseolus* and *Dolichos*, which have been semi-cultivated by the Bantu and Sudanese negroes, at any rate, during the last thousand years or so. The *Arachis* ground-nut (an earth-pea) is said by some to have originated in Tropical America, and to have been thence introduced into West Africa by the Portuguese, while the similarly growing *Voandzeia* (earth-pea) came from Madagaskar. Both of these leguminous earth-peas ("monkey-nuts") are now spread all over Negro Africa except the south-west extremity. The date-palm was indigenous to the Sahara Desert, Egypt and Arabia, and grew most luxuriantly on the northern fringe of the desert regions, wherever there was any oasis or underground stream of water. Another species of wild date grows over nearly all Tropical Africa, but although its fruits, when fully ripe, are quite eatable, no attempt has ever been made by the negro

to cultivate it, though he has taken some trouble with the more important oil palm, and with the Borassus and Hyphæne palms. Negroes drink the sweet sap of all these palms and they eat the nuts if they are eatable.

The Egyptians when they invaded the valley of the Nile found the pre-existing Libyans, Proto-Semites and Hamites already cultivating wheat, barley, and perhaps millet (*Panicum*). But it is doubtful whether they already had the Durra grain (*Sorghum* or *Andropogon*). This corn, probably known in Egyptian records as Boti, the source of their bread-making flour, was perhaps introduced into Egypt from Arabia after the commencement of the dynastic period, and rapidly became the commonest form of grain all over Negro Africa, except in the densely-forested regions of the west or the Bushman country in the south. The cultivated forms of *Pennisetum* millet and the *Eleusine coracana* came to ancient Egypt from Syria: rice and the sugar-cane were unknown to the ancient Egyptians, but they had obtained or brought from Asia or Eastern Europe lentils, peas and beans of the genera *Lens*, *Ervum*, *Pisum*, *Cicer*, *Vicia* and *Dolichos*, besides clover and vetches for forage. They cultivated in later times an Indian type of "water-lily," *Nelumbium speciosum*, which produced a bean-like fruit good for food. They grew in their gardens gourds, pumpkins, melons and water-melons; onions, radishes

and lettuces: all these things coming to them from Syria. Their grape vine (*Vitis vinifera*) probably came also from Asia: it is not indigenous to Egypt or Tropical Africa. The olive-tree grows wild in Abyssinia and North Africa, as well as in Western Asia, but it was seemingly not cultivated by the ancient Egyptians, who obtained their supplies of olive oil from Palestine, Syria and Greece. They themselves extracted oil from the castor-oil plant, from flax (linseed), possibly from rape seed (*Brassica campestris*), from lettuce seed, and from sesamum: all of which cultivated plants were of Asiatic origin. For fruit they had the indigenous date, pomegranates, grapes, figs (the Asiatic or Mediterranean type, and the African Sycomore fig), the wild fruit of the jujube bushes (*Zizyphus*), melons, and perhaps water-melons.

Of all these cultivated trees and plants, almost entirely of West Asian origin [a constant reminder, in common with the domestic animals, that Neolithic civilization arose in Asia near the confines of Europe], the ancient Egyptians passed on to Negro Africa only the following list of food-products: wheat (in a limited degree only); *Eleusine*, *Pennisetum* and *Sorghum*, now spread nearly all over Negro Africa; *Panicum* millet (North-east and East Africa and perhaps parts of northern Nigeria); peas and beans (but not lentils or vetches); pumpkins and gourds, but not melons or water-melons.

In Abyssinia in ancient times a species of *Poa* grass was cultivated for its grain. In the swampy parts of the Congo basin, the Upper Zambezi, and perhaps other regions of Equatorial Africa, there is a kind of wild rice (*Zizania* ?) the grain of which is used for food by the negroes. In West Africa there were also the tubers of the yam (*Dioscorea*) and the Taro yam, apparently known to the ancient Egyptians as Kulkas (latinized into *Colocasia*). The first named, which is related to our hedge bryony, would seem to have originated as a cultivated form (there are several wild species) in Tropical Asia, but it might conceivably be derived from a wild African *Dioscorea;* the latter, the Taro, is an Aroid, and seems like the banana to have been first cultivated in South-eastern Asia and to have reached Tropical Africa from the East.

The dynastic Egyptians, being a people in the Neolithic stage when they mastered the Lower Nile valley, were prone to tame and domesticate animals. To some extent, no doubt, the Libyans had preceded them in this; and it may be that they found the wild bull of North-east Africa—*Bos ægyptiacus*—already brought into captivity. This animal may be identical with the species described as *Bos indicus*, which is found fossil in the alluvial formations of Algeria. It is closely related to the zebu or humped cattle (*Bos indicus*) of India and of East Africa. In the west of Mauretania there are remains of an

extinct ox, *Bos opisthonomus*, which come very near to the Aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), an animal which was the father or the grandfather of so many of the breeds of European and North-east Asian cattle. *Bos opisthonomus* or *primigenius* may have penetrated into Northern Syria, but the "wild bulls" hunted in Egypt, Southern Mesopotamia and Syria (the "Bulls of Bashan") seem to have had the characteristics of *Bos ægyptiacus*. This form agrees with the zebu, or Indian humped ox, in many points—set and direction of horns, dewlap, markings and voice, but differs from it in having a perfectly straight back. The humped ox was perhaps first domesticated in India and was introduced thence at a not very remote date into Southern Arabia, North-east, North-central, East, and South-east Africa, and Madagaskar, no doubt by the Arabs, Islamic and pre-Islamic. In parts of East Africa and Nigeria at the present day it has been so much mixed in blood with the long-horned *Bos ægyptiacus* that it shares with the latter the feature of enormous upright horns.

In early Egypt *Bos ægyptiacus* had already developed very long, upward-and-backward-directed horns. When this breed passed on to Galaland, and still more when it reached the mountain region of Equatorial Africa and the country round Lake Chad, its horns grew to an enormous size, larger than those of any ox except the extinct buffaloes of North

and South Africa. But where it penetrated westward towards the Atlantic coast in Congo-land and Senegambia the form of the body became smaller and more compact and the horns dwindled. The early Bantu invaders of South-west Africa (Damaraland) and the Hottentots brought with them a form of this Egyptian ox to the regions south-west of the Upper Zambezi.

When the dynastic Egyptians first settled in the valley of the Nile they had these long-horned oxen, dogs of the pariah, greyhound, and perhaps hound breeds; and they tamed the wild sheep of the desert—*Ovis lervia*, the Addax and Oryx antelopes, the Nubian ibex (at one time very common), gazelles, cranes, ducks, geese and pigeons (the Rock-dove). In somewhat later times the wild Egyptian cat (*Felis ocreata*) was domesticated—no doubt for rat-killing as well as for fishing and hunting—and certainly formed the foundation of the domestic breeds of cat in Europe and Western Asia. The African elephant was apparently not brought under control. Indian elephants were frequently imported from Syria (where they seem to have existed *wild*, down to about 1000 B.C., and long before that date to have been tamed by Hittites, Syrians or Persians); the hippopotamus was reverenced, yet also hunted for food, but was not tamed; and pigs were probably not derived from the then indigenous wild boar, but were obtained from Asia. Although the domestic pig figures a

good deal in the early monuments of Egyptian art, it soon fell into disfavour as an unhealthy, evil-smelling, unclean beast.

Soon after history begins the Egyptians are obviously discarding the semi-domesticated desert sheep, ibexes, oryxes and gazelles in favour of the domestic goats and sheep which are being brought in from Syria and Arabia. These were of successive types. First came hairy sheep with short horns, long legs, and a simple, long tail, which passed on westwards into Negro Africa and developed into the Maned sheep we see to-day throughout West Africa and the Congo basin. Then came (from southern Arabia or Syria) the fat-tailed sheep with short horns or hornless. This found its way southward into Galaland, Abyssinia, Somaliland and Equatorial East Africa. A breed of it was carried by the Hottentots into South-west Africa. In East and South-central Africa the maned and fat-tailed breeds of hairy sheep mingled into a composite form. Next came into Egypt from the East a breed of large sheep with long hair and spiral horns growing out at right angles horizontally from the forehead. This breed travelled across the Sudan westward to Nigeria and also reached Abyssinia, but was otherwise foreign to Negro Africa.

About 2000 B.C. all these hairy breeds were superseded in Northern Africa by the introduction of woolly sheep from Syria and perhaps from Eastern Europe. Woolly sheep,

though they extend throughout North Africa to Morocco and the oases of the Sahara, never penetrated into Negroland, except that they have reached the Niger basin in the vicinity of Timbuktu. The sheep of the Tuareg are nearly always degenerate woolly sheep.

The first kind of goat kept in Upper Egypt (coming perhaps from southern Arabia) was probably the small Guinea breed, a plump, little, short-legged goat, with close-cropped hair and short horns. This has been almost exclusively the breed of Negro Africa. Its range may never have reached Lower Egypt, only Abyssinia and Somaliland. The small "Guinea" breed of goat probably originated in India and has reached as far east as Borneo. To Lower Egypt and North Africa there came the Syrian breed hornless or with short horns, long neck, arched nose, long legs, long hair and drooping ears. This type has reached Abyssinia and central Nigeria. It is also found in India.

The wild ass of Nubia and the Libyan Desert was very early brought into domestication by the Egyptians or their Hamitic predecessors. But it never really reached true Negroland as a domestic animal, though it penetrated to Eastern Equatorial Africa with sections of the Nilotic negroes, and to the northern parts of the Niger basin, as well as throughout North Africa and the Sahara. The Egyptians, strange to say, seem to have had no know-

ledge of the zebra, though they were in touch with Abyssinia and Somaliland, where this handsome equine was found in two forms. There is some slight indication that the Egyptians knew the camel (probably as a wild animal) in the early days of their colonization of the Lower Nile valley; but as a tamed beast of burden it only came among them in the Ptolemaic era. It was the Semites of Mesopotamia, apparently, who first tamed the one-humped camel, perhaps in this imitating the Aryans and Hittites of the north, who had already domesticated the two-humped Bactrian camel. No form of wild horse came nearer to ancient Egypt than Mauretania, and the Egyptians only knew the animal in its domesticated Syrian type quite late in their history, from about 1500 B.C. The horse then began to penetrate into Abyssinia and subsequently Somaliland, but evidently did not reach the Sudan or any part of Negroland until after the invasion of Africa by the Muhammadan Arabs. Even then, until the nineteenth century, it rarely got beyond the basin of the Niger and Shari-Chad.

The ostrich figures much in the prehistoric art of Egypt, and elaborate arrangements were made by the ancient Egyptians for hunting and slaying it, so as to procure the coveted plumes; they even went so far as to start something like ostrich farms, and have left pictures on their monuments of men plucking the tame ostriches. But neither they nor

any negro race seems to have thought of permanently domesticating this biggest of living birds, though such is a very easy operation and can be performed by any one who will catch and tame young ostriches, or hatch out their eggs artificially: a process resorted to by the Egyptians in rearing broods of geese and ducks, and, much later on, domestic fowl. Also they kept guinea-fowl as curiosities (and francolin and red-legged partridges), but did not develop them into permanently tamed additions to the poultry-yard. As to the domestic fowl, it only reached Egypt about 600 B.C. (at the earliest), and of course came from Persia via Syria. The Egyptians soon applied to its rearing their invention of the incubator.

Although they worshipped the Hawk as a type of certain divine energies, they never thought of making it of use to mankind as a hunting bird. This idea only arose among the Caucasian peoples of Western and Central Asia. The Egyptians liked to have the Giraffe [1] as a curiosity, they made the Hippopotamus—one of Nature's buffooneries—a goddess, the Crocodile a god, and the black and white Ibis a sacred emblem: but on the whole they are remarkable—given their high

[1] It is curious that although they collected specimens of the giraffe, panther, lion (which they often tamed), chita, baboon, monkey, and other animals from Tropical Africa, they quite ignored the rhinoceros, then common in Upper Nubia and the borders of Abyssinia.

development of civilization—for what they left undone rather than for what they did in the matter of creating cultivated plants and trees and domestic breeds of mammals and birds. They abandoned their attempts to domesticate the ibex, the bubal and oryx antelopes, and the gazelles, they took no interest in the buffaloes of the Nile valley and Abyssinia (the Indian buffalo now so common in Egypt was only introduced about the tenth century of the Christian era from India) or the magnificent Kudu and Eland antelopes, they soon dropped their attempts to make the lovely Demoiselle crane an inmate of their enclosures, nor do they seem to have permanently domesticated the white-fronted goose (*Anser albifrons*), the sheldrake (*Tadorna* and *Casarca*), the chenalope or the mallard (*Anas boscas*). The wild ox which has been named conjecturally *Bos ægyptiacus* may have first been tamed by the Libyans or the Syrians. In short, with all the wealth of the African fauna to draw on, the world at large apparently owes to the Neolithic civilization of Egypt only two of its permanently acquired domestic animals: the ass and the cat.

To Negro Africa, Egypt and Abyssinia passed on the ox in two forms—straight-backed and long-horned (*ægyptiacus*) and humped (*indicus*). These gifts travelled due south up the Nile valley to the region of the Victoria Nyanza and the Zanzibar coast

(whence the humped ox reached Zululand and the Zambezi); and west-south-west to Lake Chad and the Niger. Goats and sheep of the earliest hairy kinds and a greyhound breed of hunting dog were other contributions. The last-named only reached parts of Central and Western Africa, where it usually became nearly hairless and was often kept and bred for food, the eating of dog being a frequent practice in former times in Equatorial and West Africa. This thin-haired greyhound hunting dog is often associated in legends and traditions with the arrival of semi-white wonder-working beings from the north. The other and older type of dog in Negro Africa was of the non-barking, smooth-haired, South Asiatic type; akin to the pariah dog of ancient Egypt, modern India and Western Asia, and the dingo-like forms of Malaysia and Australasia. Its introduction into Negro Africa was probably a matter of many thousand years ago, though it is conceivable that the pristine negroes had no dog. But neither ancient Egypt, North-east Africa nor Negroland seems to have had any breed of dog of the bushy-haired, wolf or Chow type. Such dogs exist among the Berbers and Libyans of North Africa, from the oasis of Siwa on the east to the Rio de Oro on the west, and we know, from the familiar *cave canem* representations of the Roman statues and mosaics, that they were a common breed in Italy during the Roman

Empire. Northwards, this type of Chow-like dog stretches over Northern Europe, Northern Asia and China to Arctic America. Southward it extends to the Sahara, but not to Egypt or Negroland or Southern Asia.

In addition to cattle, goats, sheep, and a breed of dogs, Negro Africa received from ancient Egypt the domestic fowl, probably from about 800 B.C. onwards. There are, of course, some districts of the remoter forest regions of Equatorial Africa where the fowl has not penetrated yet, and it was totally unknown to the Bushman and Hottentot.

The domestic pigeon is now met with in many parts of Negroland, but usually not far from "Muhammadan" Africa; and although it came mainly from Egypt, it was probably spread only after the Muhammadan Arabs and their allies permeated the Sudan and East Africa. The Arabs also (aided by the Europeans later) carried the domestic cat of an Egyptian or Indian type to many parts of Negro Africa.

The only metal which interested the early Neolithic peoples was gold, as an ornament. When the Egyptians settled down in the Nile valley they began to hunt for gold, alluvial and in the rock; and found it in the Nubian Desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea, and also in Upper Nubia-Dongola. It may also have been discovered and worked through their instigation by Negro and Ethiopic tribes on the confines of Abyssinia and Darfur.

The rage for gold grew—has gone on growing ever since—about 8000 B.C. It is quite probable that the earliest examples of the Fula or Libyan white man that found their way anxiously across the western Sahara to the sweet waters of the Upper Senegal encountered barbarous negroes or semi-Bushmen who could only converse with them in signs ("the silent trade"), but who had already picked up nodules and nuggets of the lovely metal in the river gravels and offered this glittering ornament to the skin-clad white men in exchange for salt from the desert, stone axes, beads of bluestone, or lambs or kids from their flocks. By the time Egypt was Hellenized or Romanized it is probable that the Carthaginians had, in an indirect manner and through the Libyans, opened up trading relations with the gold-yielding regions beyond the Niger basin—what we now call the Gold Coast; and both from Egypt, by way of Darfur and the Chad-Niger regions, and directly across the desert from Numidia, a trading intercourse was opened up with the basin of the Niger and beyond. It was in this way and about this time—say two thousand years ago—that an Egyptian style of architecture in brick and clay, Egyptian ideas of gold-, iron-, and copper-mining and working, of weaving, musical instruments, boats or rafts made of planks or of reed-bundles, pottery, and the simpler methods of agriculture began to reach Nigerland, the

Chad basin and northern Bantu Africa. But above all the Niger basin; for there sprung up on the Upper and Central Niger some two thousand years ago a faint far-off imitation of the life of the Nile valley, enhanced later by a continuous stream of Caucasian and semi-Caucasian immigrants, and still more in recent times by the common possession with the Mediterranean East of the Muhammadan faith and Arab ideas of costume and adornment.

But there were curious limitations in these gifts from the Libyan and the Egyptian to the Negro world. The latter received the iron or copper axe, which as in Egypt they came to regard as a symbol of divinity or semi-divinity; also the sword and dagger, even the adze, but never the saw nor any idea of sawing. The metal hoe came to them in place of the wooden branch-angle, and the wooden rake (besides the head-comb); but no plough. The plough penetrated from Egypt (which had it from Asia) to Morocco (though not to Spain) and to the uttermost limits of Galaland, but never entered Negro agriculture till the nineteenth century. The wooden head-rest permeated Negroland from Egyptian models, and in West-central Africa (Ashanti to the Kamerun) became a monstrous stool; but no notion of carpentering or joinery penetrated Negro industries. Objects were hewn or carved from a solid block of wood: they were not pieced together, fitted, or united by nail and glue.

Another great gap in the culture of the Negro was in regard to using stone for building or for sculpture. It is true that in a few parts of West Africa the art of carving figures out of soft soapstone came into existence at some unknown period (Sierra Leone and Senegambia), and may have been inspired from the north; and in the Gambia country and the Cross River and Kamerun hinterland there are mysterious stone circles or single upright stones with some religious import; and both these exceptions to the usual negro disregard for stone seem to imply the ancient influence of Libya or Egypt percolating through the West African forest. Also, among the Nilotic negroes of the Upper Nile, and their kindred on the plateaus near Mount Elgon, stones are made use of for building rough graves, making rough walls, or even for setting up stone circles; but still more here we can trace these customs to the not far-off influence of the Hamite. But nine-tenths of the Negro race in the condition in which they were found by the modern European absolutely ignored the use of stone for any purpose except the remote one of weighting their digging sticks or furnishing flakes for their arrow-blades or their axes, or lumps for hammers. Consequently the mystery of Zimbabwe and the other stone cities of South-east Africa (with their stone phalli, stone birds and monuments, and stone basins and crucibles) remains a profound puzzle to

the ethnologists in view of the present lack of evidence attaching them to their most obvious cause: the prehistoric, pre-Islamic wanderings across the Zambezi of Semites or Hamites.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY SEMITES

THE whole of Egypt, between the Mediterranean and the First Cataract of the Nile at Aswan, had become a white man's country some seven thousand years ago. Between the First and Second Cataracts the banks of the Nile were inhabited by a dark-skinned population of mixed type, but mainly Hamitic with an infusion of Negro. These people were identical with the modern Bishari or Beja who have now been moved away to the east of the Nile valley. [Though friendly to the rule of the whiter Egyptians in the north, and ready to act as go-betweens in the trade intercourse of the Egyptians with the negro tribes farther south, they proved themselves very turbulent towards Roman and Byzantine rule and were consequently shifted to the Nubian Desert east of the Nile.] Their place along the Nile in Lower Nubia was in a measure taken by tribes of Nubian negroes who had invaded the oasis of Kharga west of Thebes (coming from Kordofan, the real Nubian country). By the orders of Diocletian these

Nubian negroes were deported from Kharga to replace the rebellious "Blemmues" or Bisharin.

The white man's country finished on the south of the Second Cataract (Wadi Halfa) when Egyptian rule reached its most splendid climax about three thousand two hundred years ago. And at this point Negroland began, just as to-day the "Sudan" (an Arab plural meaning "The black [people]") begins—administratively—at Wadi Halfa. But since that period the unmixed negro race has retreated much farther south, to three or four hundred miles beyond the junction of the Blue and White Niles. Such black men as remained in Nubia, after the Roman Empire over Egypt came to an end, fused with the Hamites and above all with the Arab tribes who invaded the Nile valley at different times after 652 A.D., and mainly during the eleventh century. Nevertheless the Nubian negro tongue (which on the Nubian Nile displaced the Hamitic speech) still persists here and there, though Arabic is the dominating language.

The Negro races dwelling on the Nile above the First and Second Cataracts were known as "Wawa" by the dynastic Egyptians. Whether they were of the same racial and language stock as the Nubian negroes who succeeded them we do not yet know. The word-root "Nuba" or "Nub" apparently comes from Kordofan.

As to the Hamitic peoples of ancient Egypt and the region between Egypt, the Red Sea and Abyssinia, they seem to have belonged to the most northern (Beja) branch of the Hamitic race, which, though it is regarded as still speaking an archaic type of Hamitic language, is perhaps a good deal mixed with negro blood from the remote date of their invasion of the Nile regions. They are and were more negroid than the dynastic Egyptians (the British soldier, and his literary interpreter Rudyard Kipling, aptly hit off their chief negroid characteristic when he called them "Fuzzy-wuzzies" from their bushy, kinky hair); and it is a remarkable fact that they should have remained so unchanged in mental development through all the seven thousand years which have elapsed since the first establishment of the splendid twin kingdoms of the Pharaohs. The Beja were gross barbarians living alongside the amazing culture, art and knowledge of the dynastic Egyptians; they have barely ceased to be gross barbarians at the present day; though the opening up of the Nubian Desert in the search for gold, precious stones and mineral oil bids fair to civilize them at last.

Originally they were known, from the confines of Abyssinia to the Nubian Nile and about as far north as the 24th degree of N. latitude, as the "Bugait" (if we may guess at the Egyptian word which the Greeks turned into *Bougaeitai*), a term which became in

Arabic Buja and Baja, and is now fixed in our nomenclature as Beja. On the Nubian Nile they seem to have called themselves "Dankala" or "Danagla," a name which recalls at once the racial designation of their far-away kindred, the Danákil of the country of Afar between Abyssinia and the Red Sea. From Danagla comes the modern European corruption of the name of Upper Nubia: "Dongola." Nowadays their different sections are known as Bishárin or Beja, Hadendoa and Ababda, but the real tribal names are nearly always something which ends with -ab, such as Amerab,[1] Shinterab, Omarab, Ashabab, etc. This tribal suffix -b or -ab of the northern group of the Hamitic peoples suggests an affinity with the Hottentot masculine singular suffix which is also -b or -p.

But the range of the Hamites does not seem to have extended northwards in Egypt much beyond the vicinity of the 24th degree of N. latitude. East of the Nile, in that region where the great river approaches nearest to the Red Sea, is a district rather appropriately named the Arabian Desert, the coast fringe of which is very mountainous. Here dwelt in remote antiquity—say eight or nine thousand years ago—an advance-guard of the Semitic peoples who warred with the Libyans in Lower Egypt, and at one time took

[1] Not the same as the Beni-Amer of the region between Suakin and Eritrea, who though racially akin to the Hamites, speak a language which is half-Semitic.

possession of the deltaic region (then much smaller in area). A remnant of these Proto-Semites (no doubt reinforced by the invasions of the Hyksos and Islamite Arabs) seems to linger in the Arabian Desert to this day. The dialects of these "Bedui" (Beduin) Arabs contain some Hamitic or even Libyan words, but seem to be in the main an archaic form of Arabic.

After the Egyptians, coming from Arabia or Somaliland, had established themselves as the lords of the Lower Nile, there began a Sabæan (Semitic) invasion of Abyssinia, possibly as early as five thousand years ago. According to the opinions of French ethnologists, Abyssinia had received a partial colonization at a much earlier date by a white people of Libyan affinities, racial traces of whom remain to this day; and these Libyans had partly fused with an antecedent Hamitic stock (represented by the modern Agau, Bogos, Gala, etc.) which in its turn had dispossessed or absorbed savages of Bushman or Negro race. The Semites who made themselves the ruling caste in Abyssinia were offshoots of the Minæan and Sabæan peoples of south-west and south Arabia; and their language—now called Ge'ez or Ethiopic—was a branch of the south Arabian Semitic speech. Ethiopic is now a dead language, but it has given birth in the course of several thousand years to five daughter languages still Semitic in their main features. These are (beginning

on the north) Tigre, Tigrinya, Amharic, Harrari, and Guragwe.

Similar invasions from Arabia at subsequent periods carried Semitic settlers and dialects through Somaliland to Harrar, and these colonists no doubt were the builders of the stone cities in northern Somaliland the ruins of which are one of the many riddles in Africa as yet unexplained. For some reason however both the Semites who invaded Abyssinia and created principalities there of some importance, and those who colonized northern Somaliland, left severely alone the sterile coast country of Afar between the Abyssinian mountains and the Red Sea, which for a very long period has been inhabited by a branch of the Somali-Gala race, the Danákil.

The dynastic Egyptians left the region between Suakin and Masawa and all Abyssinia and Somaliland without any attempt at conquest; but as soon as the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt were organized and combined under one great king, shipbuilding made much progress, and fairly large ships with sails were put together on the Red Sea at Kosseir and no doubt opened up a trade between Egypt and all the Arabian and Abyssinian ports. When the troubles of the Hyksos invasion had cleared away the Egyptians bethought themselves of reopening communications with the Land of Punt or Puoni, from which their ancestors had migrated to the Nile valley, the land "where the incense

trees grew." It is probable that the original land of Punt really lay in southern Arabia, but the Egyptian fleet sent out by the great Queen Hatshopsitu about 1470 B.C. kept more to the African littoral and opened up friendly relations with the coast of Afar and northern Somaliland (especially the district round Tajurrah Bay). The officers of this expedition found the people of African Punt living very much in the same style as the heathen Galas or the Ba-hima of Uganda at the present day; both men and women having little regard for clothes and as often as not going naked, though people of consequence wore ivory and perhaps copper rings round their legs and arms, and decorated their hair with ostrich feathers. Also then, as now, women of rank were encouraged to grow enormously fat; and fat queens became a leading feature in the life of Hamitic Nubia and Dongola during the centuries which preceded the establishment of Christianity. The same mania for fattening women exists still among the Moors and Berbers of North-west Africa.

This maritime intercourse between Egypt and the African land of Punt was an additional means of conveying Egyptian domestic animals, cultivated plants and manufactured products into Negroland; for the early Hamites and southern Arabs certainly traded with Equatorial and East Africa long before the beginning of the Christian era. The southern Arabs also carried on a commerce with India

as early as a thousand years before Christ, and this Oriental trade (alluded to in the Old Testament as bringing peacocks, monkeys, gold, ivory, ebony and sandalwood to the dominions of Solomon), also brought India and East Africa into relations with each other. The pioneers of this transoceanic trade may have been the Polynesian adventurers who passed from Sumatra and Java, via Ceylon and the Maldives, to Madagaskar. By some such traffic the cultivated banana (which first arose from the wild form in Eastern Asia) and the Taro arum-root (*Colocasia*) reached the lands of the Negroes and found their way across Africa as quickly as tobacco and other foreign products have since done. It may also have been this early Arab trade between India, Abyssinia and East Africa which introduced the humped Zebu ox into Negro Africa and Madagaskar, perhaps also the domestic fowl.

The wonderful white man of the dark-haired Mediterranean type or of the fair-haired Nordic stock was like a renaissance of man himself: he would not leave the world alone. Just as primitive man, even when only *Homo primigenius* and before he became *Homo sapiens*, ranged far and wide over Asia, Europe, and perhaps America, after he emerged definitely from apehood, so when the white man was born from out of the early stock of *Homo sapiens* in Europe or Western Asia, he started out to colonize the world anew with a human type which had risen above the

condition of the early Palæolithic savage—the hunter, the predatory animal only. Not only did the white man permeate Northern and perhaps North-eastern Africa and Western Asia, but he seems to have pushed right across Asia in prehistoric times till he reached the north-eastern extremity of that continent, penetrating thence into the New World, where, mingling with previous immigrants of a low Mongolian type, he brought about by intermixture the Amerindian, who is quite half white man in his body and mind. As regards Asia, the white man permeated India and Malaysia, and reached Sumatra and Oceania. In this last direction he mingled with antecedent Australoids (Melanesians) and formed the Polynesian race, which hybrid may also have reached the western coasts of the Americas and have contributed an element to the Amerindian peoples. The evolution of the Polynesian type may have taken place in Sumatra or on the Malay Peninsula. It seems to have brought into being the Malay or Polynesian speech-family and to have stirred up amongst the non-Negro, Mongoloid populations of these great Malay islands a considerable enterprise in oversea adventure. Something much better than the original dug-out canoe was constructed, a canoe with outriggers which could remain afloat on the agitated sea. Possibly even bigger boats, not to say junks or ships, were here evolved, which could

progress by means of mat sails. At any rate, with their boats and outrigger canoes these Polynesian peoples commenced a marvellous era of colonization some five thousand to one thousand years ago.

They reached across the Pacific as far as Easter Island, within a thousand miles of the coast of South America, and left traces there of a remarkable development of civilization. They colonized a few islands to the east of New Guinea, but took little hold on the coasts of that island, no doubt owing to the way in which they died from malarial germs conveyed to them by mosquitoes from the blood of the Negro peoples. But they occupied the Sandwich Islands and New Zealand. Nor were their exploring energies only directed eastwards till they reached the Far West: they crossed the Bay of Bengal (there is reason to believe) and settled along the coasts of Ceylon and of prehistoric India, or India just entering into the historical period. Again embarked on adventure and impelled by the wind of the monsoon and the ocean currents, they allowed themselves to be carried to the Maldive Islands [1] and thence across the Indian Ocean in a south-westerly direction, perhaps halting at the Seychelles Islands, the Amirante, the

[1] The root of this and other place-names in South India and Ceylon—Mala—suggests remembrances of the "Malagasy," as the Polynesian people of Madagaskar call themselves. The name Madagaskar is the old Arab name for the island.

Providence groups, and other archipelagoes of coral islands by the way. (There are on Praslin and Frigate islands traces of an ancient human habitation. But when the Seychelles were first discovered by the Portuguese they were without inhabitants.) By some ocean route or other, at a period as yet only vaguely fixed in time—between three thousand and two thousand five hundred years ago—they reached the north end of Madagaskar, and probably found this great island uninhabited by man.

These Polynesian emigrants spread all over Madagaskar, which was then tenanted by enormous birds bigger than an ostrich—the *Aepyornis*—and by great lemurs nearly as big as a man (*Megaladapis*), which, like the Aepyornis, have become extinct within the last thousand years. Many varieties of smaller lemurs inhabited the dense forests. There was a peculiar carnivore (still existing), the Fossa (*Cryptoprocta*), which is neither cat, dog, weasel nor civet, but something like the parent form of these flesh-eating animals. Perhaps there still lingered small hippopotami in the rivers, descendants of those which had swum over from Africa by way of the Comoro Islands. There was also a type of bush-pig, which still remains, though the hippopotamus is extinct. The Madagaskar rivers swarmed with large specimens of the common African crocodile; but in a general way Madagaskar was without any serious enemy to man.

The question is still undetermined by any conclusive evidence as to whether Madagaskar was entirely without human inhabitants when the first colonists arrived from across the Indian Ocean. It has been sometimes thought that the strong negro intermixture in the present population is not entirely of recent origin, but is due to a people of Bushman or East African Negro race having reached this great island from the opposite coast of Mozambique. But although the Comoro Islands do to a certain extent act as stepping-stones from East Africa to Madagaskar, they are still sufficiently separate from the Dark Continent to make the intervening voyage almost impossibly dangerous for the simple dug-out canoe, which is all the negro could have invented on his own account down to the arrival of the Arabs on the Zanzibar coast. And Bushmen—still more, the antecedent race of Negro savages, the Strandloopers—are scarcely likely to have used even dug-out canoes. There cannot have been within recent times any greater approach to a land bridge between East Africa and Madagaskar, or it would have been made use of by other animals than the hippopotami, pigs and crocodiles. Moreover, as yet no human remains of any antiquity have been found in Madagaskar, though the island is rich in recent fossils of strange lemurs and birds.

But it seems to be more and more evident that several centuries before Christ the

Sabæans, Minæans, or other tribes of south Arabian stock (Himyarite), had developed a maritime trade between western, southern and eastern Arabia and India, and between western Arabia and East Africa. Not only had southern Semites—Sabæans—colonized Abyssinia and even Somaliland, but they had begun to establish colonies in "Azan" (East Africa) on such islands off the coast as Zanzibar and Mozambique. Is it possible—notwithstanding all reasons asserted to the contrary—that they were the originators of the gold-mining operations south of the Zambezi? In their voyages they not only discovered the Comoro Islands, but undoubtedly reached Madagaskar. It was they, perhaps, who conveyed Bantu negro slaves to populate the Comoro Islands and the west coast of Madagaskar. They brought to the Malagasy tribes of Madagaskar—still speaking their Polynesian language down to to-day—the domestic ox (which is known by its Bantu negro name in Madagaskar) and the domestic fowl. They introduced a good many arts and crafts of the white man, and left the imprint of Himyaritic Arabic on the Malay speech of Madagaskar. And for a variety of reasons this early Arab influence must have been exercised over Madagaskar before the rise of Islam had changed Arabian religious beliefs.

The most resolute, warlike and Mongolian of the Malagasy tribes—namely, that which had least mingled with Melanesians or negro

immigrants from East Africa—was the Hova, inhabiting the plateau region of east-central Madagaskar. About one hundred and twenty years ago they contrived to obtain the mastery over all the other tribes of the island, and subsequently entered into political relations with the French and English. But the power and influence of the original Malagasy immigrants must have been sufficiently strong, after the Arabs and negroes arrived, to have permeated the whole island, for there is but one type of native language spoken throughout Madagaskar at the present day—the Malagasy. This at most divides into a number of different dialects, even though some of the people who speak it on the west coast are almost negroes in appearance. The Arab trade with India, however, also affected somewhat the north of Madagaskar, for there seems to have been a slight immigration, before the Muhammadan era, of natives of India to the coasts and islands of north Madagaskar and the Comoro Archipelago, an emigration which has left its traces here and there in the physique and good looks of the people.

Another branch of the Semitic peoples—the Phœnicians—played a notable part in the opening up of Africa. By some students of Arabia they are thought to have originated on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf (in or near the Bahrein Islands), to have travelled up the Euphrates, and thus to have reached

the Syrian coast, where they founded sea-cities on three small islands (now peninsulas): Sidon, Arwad and Sor (Tyre). Their own name for themselves was Kinaχi or Knā, and Canaan is only a derivative of this root, which was also transported to Carthage. Phœnician is merely derived from the Greek *phoinix* = "red," and the Latin *Pœni*, *Puni*, a derivative from the Greek. In race, origin and language, the Phœnicians were entirely Semitic and closely allied to the Hebrews.

Their first migration westward from the Euphrates may have commenced five thousand years ago, perhaps earlier. Tyre was not founded till between two thousand and one thousand two hundred years B.C., according to different estimates. But before this event the Phœnicians had ranged the Mediterranean as hardy mariners, and had established trading stations and colonies on the north coast of Africa, had visited the Canary Islands, and perhaps the Azores, and had opened up a trade in tin, if not with Cornwall, at any rate with the Scilly Islands. Their first historical city, Utica, on the northern coast of Tunis, near the mouth of the Majerda river, was founded in about 1100 B.C. by an expedition from Tyre. Sidon in rivalry established a trading town called Kambe, just where Carthage was subsequently built: in fact, when Carthage was commenced in about 818 B.C. by the runaway Tyrian princess Elissar, it was called the "New

City" (Kart-Hadjat). Elissar is said to have been nicknamed Dido, or the "Fugitive." She was the daughter of a king of Tyre, with the—to us—extraordinary name of Mutton. (Other students of Semitic languages, however, spell this name from the Tyrian annals as Metten.) The story of Dido having obtained from the Libyan chief Iapon as much land as an ox-hide would cover, and of having therefore cut a hide into tiny strips so as to encircle a wide area, is one of those many legends invented to fit in with a verbal conceit or mistaken meaning. *Bursa* in the Greek histories, meant (in Greek) a hide; but the real clue to the myth was that Carthage was first styled (in Phœnician) the Bursa or Busra, meaning "fortress," a word akin to the Arabic Basra.

Between the tenth and the seventh centuries B.C. the Phœnicians appeared on the Red Sea, more or less as the friends and partners-in-commerce of the Egyptians, the Edomites and the Hebrews (especially when the latter were ruled by that overrated monarch, Shelomoh, whom we persist in calling "Solomon"). The Hebrew kings may have allowed them to build ships at the head of the Gulf of Akaba, or the Egyptians have facilitated the passing of their vessels up the Deltaic Nile and through the canal which (intermittently) opened a communication between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez. By the seventh century B.C. they seem to have traded

between the head of the Red Sea, Yaman, Aden and the Persian Gulf. More than this: Herodotos tells the story (which recently unearthed evidence in Egypt would seem to confirm) that about the year 610 B.C. the Saïte Pharaoh Niku (or Neχo) commissioned the Phœnicians to find out whether Africa could be circumnavigated; and that the Phœnicians starting from the Gulf of Suez, sailed round the southern extremity of Africa and passed through the Straits of Gibraltar ("Pillars of Hercules") into the Mediterranean and back to the Delta of the Nile.

In the course of several centuries, the trading stations and colonies of the Phœnician-Carthaginians, who retained for a thousand years and more their Phœnician language, extended from Bone (Hippo) in Algeria to the middle of the Tripolitaine, where they were checked by the Greek colonists of Cyrene. After the downfall of Tyre and Sidon, in about 550 B.C., and the extinction of Phœnicia as a power, Carthage received the allegiance of all the Tyrian and Sidonian colonies on the Mediterranean coasts, and ruled the north coast of Africa from Tripoli to Tangier, besides the southern and eastern littoral of Spain and the islands of Sardinia and Sicily Beyond Tangier the Carthaginians, in the sixth century B.C., began to found colonies and trading settlements along the Atlantic coast of North Africa as far south as the inlet we now call the Rio de Oro. In this narrow

gulf is a little islet which the Carthaginians called Kerne, and which is still locally known to the Moors as Herne. This became an important dépôt for the Carthaginian trade with West Africa. The people round about may have been Libyans or they may have belonged to the Fula race. These dark-complexioned "White men" obtained gold-dust from the watercourses of the Adrar hills, salt from the desert, and more gold-dust and possibly negro slaves from the black people on the river Senegal, far to the south. From them the Carthaginians heard, no doubt, of the well-watered country south of the great desert, with its abundant vegetation, its flowing rivers containing sea-horses and crocodiles, and its black inhabitants living quite naked or clothed in wild beasts' skins.

Accordingly, when in about 470 B.C. (or as some authorities say, about 520 B.C.) Hanno, a Carthaginian general, with a fleet of sixty ships, conveying thirty thousand people, proceeded to reinforce the Carthaginian settlements along the Morocco coast, and got as far down as the mouth of the river Lixus (the Draa), he was tempted to push his investigations farther south, no doubt leaving most of his colonists behind, and only risking a few of his fifty-oared galleys (called by the Greeks, *pentekontērēs*). He obtained interpreters from the Libyans of the Draa, and perhaps at their suggestion, made his next

halt at the little island of Kerne in the narrow, deceptive inlet of the Rio de Oro —deceptive because it looks as though it must be the mouth of a big river. At Kerne Hanno founded a station, which no doubt was visited afterwards at intervals by the Carthaginians, till Carthage became crippled in her struggle with Rome. From Kerne a tentative voyage was made to the south, and the ship or ships engaged on this exploration reached first a lake near the sea-coast (Lake Teniahia), and a little farther south a great river (obviously the Senegal), which contained many crocodiles and hippopotami. The people round the lake shores were a wild folk clad in beasts' skins, who threw stones at them to drive them away.

From the River of Crocodiles[1] the galleys made their way back to Kerne. Then bracing itself for a further effort the expedition started a second time for the south, and after a voyage of twelve days rounded Cape Verde, and on the other side saw a vast gap or chasm in the coast (the flat estuary of the Gambia). On these plains they beheld bush fires at night. Another seven days' voyaging brought them to a large bay which they called the Western Horn. They landed on an island

[1] In the Greek translation of the engraved tablets which recorded this story at Carthage, this river is named the Xretes. The Roman geographers called it the Bambotus, a very African-sounding name and suggestive of Bambuk on the Upper Senegal.

in this bay (probably one of the Bissago archipelago), but left it in terror, because, although during the day there was the silence of the tropical forest, at night they heard the sound of flutes, drums and gongs, and the sky was lit up a fiery red with the blaze of the bush fires. The coast country after this (the season was no doubt the middle of our winter and the dry season) was one blaze of fire, from the burning of the bush. Streams of fire seemed to run down the hills into the sea, and at length a blaze rose so loftily that it appeared to touch the skies. When daylight came this "Chariot of the Gods" (in the Greek translation, *Theon oχema*) was seen to be a lofty mountain (Mount Kakulima, probably, which is near the sea in French Guinea and about 8,800 feet in altitude). Three days' further voyaging in fear and doubt (still passing a fiery land) brought them to an island containing a lake. In the lake was another island, and on this were wild hairy men and women "whom the interpreters called Gorilla." It has been suggested that the interpreters were Fula people from the Senegal, and that *gorilla* is derived from the Fula root *gor-*, which means "man." The name gorilla was fantastically applied to the biggest of the anthropoid apes after its discovery in 1847, in the belief that Hanno's journey had extended to the Kamerun Mountains. The island in question might

very well have been Sherbro (at the south-east extremity of Sierra Leone colony), the "lake" the Shebar estuary, and the island within the lake, Bendu. As a remarkable coincidence, Chimpanzees are still found in this very region and only a few years ago were quite abundant here. They were almost certainly the wild, hairy men and women which the interpreters called *Gorillai* (in the Greek translation).

After catching some of the wild hairy women (the males of the band proved to be impossible of capture) the Carthaginians turned back and eventually regained Carthage, where they deposited the skins of these Chimpanzees in the Temple of Tanit.

No doubt overland trade routes also existed between Carthage and its subordinate African colonies and the western Sudan, across Sahara. The trade would be carried on by the intermediary Libyans, Numidians, Teda; and the Fula, Songhai and Mandingo peoples of Nigeria who had already, it may be, received some inkling of commerce and civilization by indirect intercourse with Egypt through Kordofan and Nubia. Or Carthage may have renewed frequently the enterprise begun by Hanno, and have sent every few years fleets of fifty-oared galleys to Kerne, and from Kerne, along the west coast of Africa, even it may be to the Gold Coast. In any case, during the third century B.C., Carthage sold much ivory, some gold, and many negro slaves at the ports

of the western Mediterranean, all of which came from West Africa, though a portion of the ivory may have been obtained in North Africa from the African elephant which still lingered there. The Carthaginians had tamed the African elephant, especially a somewhat smaller breed which was found wild in eastern Algeria and western Tunis. They also obtained guinea-fowl from North-west Africa, and this bird reached the Roman world first through Carthage and was called the "Numidian fowl." (Afterwards when the Romans governed Egypt they received from near Abyssinia another type of guinea-fowl which they called "meleagris.")

According to a passage in Strabo, the Carthaginian trading settlements on the north-west coast of Africa were destroyed (about a hundred years B.C.) by a warlike tribe, the Pharusians, who dwelt thirty days' journey south of the river Lixus (Draa), in other words near the Rio de Oro inlet. These Pharusians of the Greek and Roman geographers may have been tribes of Fula, inhabiting the country between the Senegal and the Rio de Oro.

The descendants of the Tyrian and Sidonian merchants did not assimilate or mix in blood much with the Libyan peoples of North Africa. The rule of Carthage was as selfish as that of Venice, and when the Romans grew to be sufficiently powerful they found the native peoples of Spain and Mauretania ready to join them

against Carthage, whose influence over these regions perished quickly. Nor did her Semitic tongue leave any appreciable traces on the Berber speech after something like a thousand years of contact. This was the more curious as the Phœnician language was often adopted as a language of civilized intercourse by the Numidian princes, and lingered as a dialect of the coast towns of Tunisia down to the sixth century A.D., only perishing completely by becoming fused into the new Semitic speech—Arabic—which from the close of the seventh century was being forced on North Africa.

In 1868 a Boer hunter named Adam Renders, pushing his way through the bush country of South-east Africa, north of the Transvaal (now-a-days styled Southern Rhodesia), discovered the remarkable stone buildings of Zimbabwe, and his discovery reached the knowledge of a German explorer, Carl Mauch, who in 1871 visited and described Zimbabwe. Soon afterwards it came to be known that there were other stone ruins scattered over South-east Africa between the Zambezi, the Kalahari desert, and the Limpopo. Building in stone being so utterly foreign to the customs and achievements of all negro tribes not dwelling in civilized European colonies, it was deemed impossible that these—or at any rate the more remarkable of these—masonry walls, towers, and carved stone monuments could be the work of a negro people. Even where in the

western and central Sudan the negroes had obviously come under an indirect form of Egyptian influence two thousand or more years ago, and Berber and Arab instruction later, they had contented themselves with clay as a building material and had never made any use of stone (except very rarely for a little carving of images). So explorers, archæologists and romancers at once jumped to the conclusion that Zimbabwe and like vestiges of fairly good masonry work must be the relics of an ancient Semitic or Hamitic occupation of South-east Africa—ancient, because the buildings and the ornaments bore no traces of Muhammadan ideas or the Saracenic art of Kilwa and Zanzibar.

If the ancient Egyptians, who were not exactly fond of sea journeys, could send fleets of sailing-ships three thousand five hundred years ago down the Red Sea to Somaliland, what may not the far bolder Sabæan Arabs and Persian Gulf Phœnicians have effected? They, no doubt, as already mentioned, had opened up a sea trade between India, Arabia, East Africa and Persia, not much later in history than the Egyptian expeditions to Somaliland. Having accomplished as much as this, there can be little doubt that they coasted up and down the East African coast, making halts and trading-stations on islands like Lamu, Zanzibar and the Comoros. Undoubtedly, they had reached and partially civilized the north end of Madagaskar before

the time of Christ and had seemingly conveyed as early as two thousand years ago negro slaves from the east coast of Africa to the west coast of Madagaskar.

Were such pre-Islamic Semites (Sabæan or Hadhramaut Arabs or Phœnicians) connected with the beginnings of mining in South-east Africa, and thus the instigators, perhaps the architects, of the mysterious buildings of Inyanga, Zimbabwe, Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, Mpopoti, Nanatali in South-east Africa? Was it they who taught these prehistoric negroes to mine not only gold, but tin, copper and iron; instructed them in the terraced system of agriculture (so common in Arabia) and the art of irrigating the fields with leats of water from the hills; and the keeping of cattle in stone-walled kraals?

Whatever was the cause, there can be little doubt that at some period not later than the eleventh century of the Christian era, and much more probably a thousand years before that, there had sprung up in Africa south of the Zambezi, east of the Kalahari Desert, and north of the Limpopo a degree of civilization not only far above the eolithic state of the Bushmen but much beyond anything attained to in recent centuries by the existing Bantu tribes. Personally I can see no reason why, even if the agents in erecting these prehistoric stone buildings and excavating these mines were negroes, the *initiators* of this civilization may not have been the same

Himyaritic Arabs who between two thousand five hundred and one thousand four hundred years ago (at a guess) were colonizing northern Madagaskar and founding trading-stations on the east coast of Africa. From such stations as Sofala (near the modern Beira) they may have imparted instruction to an intelligent race of negroes in the use of stone for building and the simple methods of mining. These negroes or negroids may have been a mixture of Hamites and Nilotic negroes which perhaps permeated East Africa before the arrival of the Bantu and (mixed with Bushmen) created the Hottentot hybrid. Tribes of this Hamite-Nilote blend still exist in German East Africa and retain the use of non-Bantu dialects. Subsequently, just about the time when the uprise of Islam was distracting Arabia, and turning all Arab enterprise to the north, west and east, the forerunners of the Bantu may have descended like barbarous hordes from Central Africa, lacking most of the elements of culture but armed with iron weapons; and have conquered and fused with the subtler, cleverer, more refined race which preceded them and which had won South-east Africa from the Bushmen. One reason why I am disinclined to credit the Bantu negroes of any part of Africa with the inception of these gold-mining operations in South-east Africa is that nowhere else has the Bantu mined for gold. He has native words for copper and for iron, but his languages ignore gold and have to allude to it

by a word borrowed from Arabic, Portuguese or English. The word in use for gold in South-east Africa is a corruption of the Arabic *dirham* (money).

The Bantu invaders gradually founded the empire of Monomotapa and in a ruder way carried on the mining and the stone building of the race they had dispossessed and absorbed, a race which has left distinct traces of its Hamitic origin in the existing population of inner South-east Africa, and even of the Kaffir-Zulu tribes farther south.

The Islamic Arabs resumed about 720 A.D. their intercourse with the East African coast, and by the tenth century of the Christian era were well established on the littoral to the south of the Zambezi, in what they called (perhaps after the Bushmen aborigines) the Land of the Wakwak. According to native Bantu tradition such Arabs themselves came and mined as far to the west as the upper Limpopo River not many centuries ago.

No certain clue has yet been acquired as to the approximate date of construction of the stone-built towns or fortresses. Under some of the buildings thought to be most ancient at Zimbabwe specimens of Chinese porcelain, or articles of Indian commerce which can scarcely be older than the seventeenth century, have been found, in positions which are hardly consistent with buried treasure. No human remains (skulls or skeletons) have come to light which are not negro, and negro

of the average Bantu type. No inscription as yet has been discovered on any of these ruins, no symbol, hieroglyphic or engraved picture associating them with any known civilizing race of Asia or North Africa. On the other hand, the really remarkable wall masonry of well-fitted stones,[1] the round towers (like those of prehistoric Ireland and Sardinia), the carved stone posts representing birds, the stone emblems of a form of Nature worship, the implements for mining and assaying the gold, are utterly unlike anything that has ever been found connected with an uninfluenced negro race in Africa, unless it be amongst such peoples as those of Benin, Yoruba and Adamawa, whose access to Mediterranean civilization and ideas has already been described as having probably commenced about two thousand years ago. Yet at least two thousand miles of dense forest, pathless jungle, swamps and broad rivers, inhabited by fierce wild beasts and cannibal savages, separate southern Rhodesia from southern Nigeria or the Gold Coast. If we ever discover the full history of the stone buildings and ancient mines of southern

[1] A kind of cement was employed to make smooth surfaces, but the masonry was dry and unmortared. This masonry is usually very rough, but where, as at Zimbabwe, it is neat, the stone blocks have been obtained without elaborate quarrying. In this region the granite scales off the parent rock into long, narrow slabs, and these were split up into blocks approximately of the dimensions required.

Rhodesia we shall probably know that the earlier and more elaborate of these works were inspired by Semites and executed by Hamiticized negroes before the period of the Bantu invasion of South Africa.

No account of Semitic influence in the history of African development would be complete without an allusion to the Jews, a composite race of Semitic, Elamite and Armenian origin (so far as race traits are concerned), and speaking in early times a North Semitic language—Hebrew—closely allied to Phœnician (Canaanitish). Probably the Beni-Israel or Habiru (Ibrim, "Hebrews") originated eastward of the lower Euphrates and wandered westwards as nomad herdsmen, mixing by degrees with Aramæans and Moabites. If there is historical truth in their legends they entered the Delta of the Nile during a time of famine; increased in numbers there; were enslaved by the Egyptians, who included them in their general hatred of Arabs and other nomad Semites ("Shepherd Kings"); and finally departed from Egypt to colonize a portion of Palestine and southern Syria.

Under chiefs or kings like Sha'ul, David and Shelomoh this restless people attained to some degree of power, and held, for the first fifty or sixty years of the tenth century B.C., the coast of the Gulf of Akaba, while their long alliance with the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon interested them in the commerce of

western Arabia and the regions beyond, to which access might be obtained by sea routes. Under Shelomoh (a name afterwards misrendered Sulaiman, Salomon, etc.) they evidently commanded, in the tenth century B.C., the easiest overland trade routes between the Red Sea and the Phœnician coast of Syria, Phœnicia then being, between 1100 and 300 B.C., the Venice of the Mediterranean world. Egypt, until the time of the Ptolemies, evidently discouraged and penalized a traffic for international commerce through the Nile valley. Assyria and Persia did the like in Mesopotamia, so that the Europe-India-Persia trade had to go by sea round Arabia and thence through Palestine and Syria ; thus the people of Israel, who controlled the Jordan valley really, were for a brief period an important factor in the commercial politics of the Near East. And in that capacity they seem to have attracted the attention of a chieftainess or notable woman in Abyssinia, of Sabæan descent—the so-called Queen of Sheba [*i.e.* Saba—though Sabæan annals know her not]. In all probability some such a personage did accompany a trading expedition which went to open up friendly relations with Shelomoh of Yerusalim. From this time onwards the Israelites became more definitely aware of the existence of the land of Kush (Abyssinia, Ethiopia), as well as of the south-west Arabian state of Saba.

As the influence of Egypt and Tyre waned

and died, as their systems of theology, their hierarchies of cruel, capricious, lustful and exacting gods and goddesses lost their hold on the minds of Semites and Hamites, attention was directed towards the far purer, loftier worship of the Jews' one God, Yahvē (Jehovah). So that when an almost endless series of political troubles swept over the land of Judah, after the conquests of Alexander the Great, the Jews who migrated as individual traders or in families or small bands, were usually well received in Abyssinia, South Arabia, and North Africa. In Abyssinia some two to three hundred years before the Christian era they were beginning to settle to such an extent that (after mixing with the dark-blooded indigenes) they formed in time a tribe which still exists—the Falashas.

About the same period, or earlier, they settled in numbers at Alexandria and became so numerous, wealthy, and hellenized there that it was necessary to translate for their benefit into the Greek tongue their holy books as they then existed—a version which we know as the Septuagint. From 800 B.C. onwards, the Greek colony of Cyrene (west of Egypt) began to attract Jews from Palestine as a region in which they might conduct a profitable commerce and find freedom from persecution. The Jewish colony in Cyrenaica soon sent out offshoots to Carthage and, above all, to the other cities of Mauretania, at a time when the substitution of Roman power for

that of the western Phœnicians had dealt a blow at the worship of Baal, Moloch, and Tanit, and set the Berbers wondering where they were to find a religion in which they could believe. The arrival of the Jews—especially after the great dispersal which followed the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.—filled up the gap between Baal and Moloch and the inculcation of Christianity. In North Africa most of the Berber chiefs, after the Roman annexation of these provinces, became converts to Judaism and to the worship of the one God. Thus Judaistic practices penetrated to some slight extent across the Sahara into Negro Africa. This also occurred in regard to Abyssinia and Galaland. In Abyssinia and in the opposite country of Yaman in south-west Arabia, Jewish proselytes or merchant princes rose to be rulers during the three centuries which preceded the Persian conquest of 575 A.D.

After the Muslim Arabs had overrun all North Africa and converted the Berbers to Islam, and incited them to extend Muhammadan influence over the Sahara and Sudan, Jews followed in the wake of Berbers and Arabs and reached the basin of the Niger. A few seem to have lived at Jenné, but Timbuktu was their principal residence. Their caravan travellers in the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sent to Europe from Morocco much information as to the geography of southern Morocco and the western Sahara.

By the nineteenth century (and at the present day) the Jewish element in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco had become one of considerable racial and political importance.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREEKS IN AFRICA

GREEK interference with Africa in its beginnings was scarcely distinguishable from Minoan or Mykenæan enterprise. [Mykenæan means the Ægæan civilization of the mainland of Greece and of Asia Minor; Minoan, the special development of that early and remarkable culture in the island of Crete, with its legendary King Minos.] This high and early development of Ægæan art and industry extended its influence from Spain and Sardinia to Asia Minor, Cyprus and Egypt from about 4000 B.C. onwards. It may have originated in Asia Minor or the Balkan Peninsula far back in the Neolithic period, say, thirteen to fifteen thousand years ago.

The Greeks were fair-haired Aryans who invaded the Balkan Peninsula and the islands of the Ægæan Sea from the north-east. The invasion was, no doubt, largely an infiltration without any abrupt break in culture, the Greek language being substituted gradually for the non-Aryan languages which preceded it. The Greeks following in the trade routes of the Minoan vessels probably began to visit

and trade with North Africa a thousand years before the time of Christ, and they seem to have created a number of settlements along the north-east coast of Tunis. The adventures of their seamen were the foundation of the stories of the Argonauts and the wanderings of Ulysses. The land of the lotus-eaters was probably the delightful country round about the shores of the greater Syrtis —the oasis of Gabes, the island of Jerba and the region round the Shats or Salt Lakes (a former gulf of the Mediterranean). Here the date-palm was indigenous, probably reaching in this district the northernmost extension of its natural range in recent times. Although the date-palm may be seen growing all round the coasts of the Mediterranean it has been planted there at one time or another by the hand of man. The fruit of the date may have been the *lotos* of the early Greek writers, though it is often assumed that this much-vaunted food was the berry of the *Zizyphus* or Jujube shrub, but it seems to the present writer much more probable that it was the fruit of the date-palm, which would make a stronger impression with its honey-sweet pulp on the Europeans of that period than the insipid mealy berries of the *Zizyphus*.

The prehistoric markets of these Greek settlers or traders on the north coast of Africa (which, no doubt, were interspersed between the trading colonies of the Phœnicians: then probably on good terms with the Greeks who

had settled and civilized Sicily) penetrated far southwards across the Sahara till it reached the land of the blacks. Greek pottery, Greek ornaments, beads and metal-work in copper and bronze, early Greek ideas of architecture in building fortified habitations or cities, went percolating through the lands of the Libyans, the Teda, the Fula and the negroes, until they reached the very verge of that dense equatorial forest which acted for untold ages as an almost complete barrier against the civilization of the white man. The Germans have discovered in Adamawa and the hinterland of the Kamerun castellated towns, or models in clay of these fortified cities, which almost exactly resemble similar prehistoric buildings in Crete. Other evidences exist of the evident inspiration which Negro art received from Greece several hundred years before the Christian era, this inspiration having followed trade routes across the Sahara Desert.

About 631 B.C. an expedition of Dorians from the island of Thera or Santorin (the most southern of the Cyclades) founded a historical colony on the promontory of Cyrene, where the northern coast of Africa juts out into the Mediterranean between Tripoli on the one hand and Egypt on the other. Around the city of Cyrene itself (the name of which still lingers in the locality in the form of Grenne) were grouped four other cities—Barke, Teucheira, Euesperides and Apollonia.

These Greek colonies persisted for three hundred years in spite of the civil wars and the intermittent attacks of Libyan raiders (ancestors of the modern Tuareg). The Greek hold over this district was then strengthened by the establishment of the Greek dynasties of the Ptolemies in Egypt.

Greek influence over Egypt began at a very remote period—nearly seven thousand years ago—if under the geographical term "Greek" we may include the long antecedent influence of the Ægæan peoples who did so much to mould Greek art and civilization. But the Egyptians, though eager to trade with these producers of beautiful pottery, woven fabrics, bronze metal-work and domestic animals of useful breeds, were Chinese in their pride and love of isolation, and jealous of any settlement of pushing foreigners in the deltaic region which might subject Egypt to an invasion from the north. Nevertheless, as the Egyptian power waned before the attacks of the Semitic peoples of Syria and Arabia, Greeks were enlisted as mercenary warriors, together with the warlike inhabitants of Sardinia, who were possibly of Italic speech but in race akin to the Ægæans and the Berbers.

One of the last of the Pharaohs, Psammetik, employed Greek mercenaries to assist him to establish his rule over Egypt and rewarded their services by allowing their countrymen to trade with the ports of the Nile delta. The city of Naucratis was founded by Greeks soon

after 600 B.C. not far from the modern Rosetta, and became in time almost a Greek colony. Thenceforth Greek merchants and students of science travelled over Egypt from the sixth century B.C. onwards, and no doubt brought to their home country the first definite accounts of the marvellous civilization and architecture of the Egyptians. Indeed, the Dorian architecture of Greece seems to owe its origin to direct Egyptian inspiration.

About 448–445 B.C. Herodotos, a native of Halikarnassos (a Greek settlement in Asia Minor), explored parts of Egypt and Cyrene and probably ascended the Nile as far as the First Cataract. He found his fellow-countrymen settled as merchants and mechanics as well as soldiers in the delta of the Nile, and he noted that the whole coast between the borders of Egypt and Euesperides (the modern Benghazi) was occupied by Greek settlements.

Through Herodotos, and even earlier Greek writers such as Hekataios (who derived his information from the Phœnicians), rumours reached the Greek world of the Niger River: that is to say, of a mighty stream of fresh water beyond the Sahara Desert, flowing through a land populated by black people with immense herds of wild beasts and an abundant vegetation. These vague stories, derived partly from the voyages of the Carthaginians, and partly from the trading expeditions which went on constantly across the Sahara Desert, resulted in a kind of confusion

of Lake Chad, the Upper Niger and the Senegal into a single fluvial system. These Greek geographers and historians also described to the civilized world of Asia Minor and the Greek peninsula: ostriches, which they conceived as being enormous cranes; the dwarf races of Central Africa, which pursued these birds in the chase; and baboons, which were described as men with dogs' heads.

The great development of the Persian Empire under Cyrus had brought that power eventually into conflict with Egypt as the successor of the Assyrian Empire. Under Cambyses the Persians actually conquered Egypt in 525 B.C., besides then and subsequently dominating the western and southern parts of Arabia, from which they sent colonists across to Abyssinia and perhaps to Somaliland. Cambyses perished with an army in the deserts of the northern Sudan, imbued with a half-crazy idea of conquering the land of the blacks and finding his way to the sources of the Nile. But at that period Persia seems to have had little effect on the opening up of Africa. The intervention of this handsome, semi-Dravidian people of Western Asia did little more than prepare the way for the conquest of Egypt by the Macedonian Grecks. Asia and Europe fought for the mastery of the Mediterranean world in the forms of Persians and Greeks. Greek valour and discipline and perhaps prepotency of white blood conquered. Alexander the Macedonian laid the Persian Empire in

the dust, and his victorious arms brought Europe as conqueror to the heart of India. Following up the Persians into Egypt (invited thereto by what remained of national feeling in that country), Alexander added Egypt to his empire in 332 B.C., in that year founding the city of Alexandria (on the site of abandoned Egyptian settlements of considerable age) and making it the capital of Egypt, which it remained for nine centuries. After his death Egypt was allotted as a royal domain to one of his principal generals, Ptolemaios Soter, who founded the famous Greek monarchy of the Ptolemies over Egypt, which lasted (latterly under Roman protection) till the death of Cleopatra in 30 B.C.

During the Ptolemies' rule the power of Egypt revived and was solidified, and extended its sway as far south as Dongola, and as far to the east as the verge of Abyssinia, which country, indeed, was much influenced during these centuries by Greek ideas. The coasts of the Red Sea and of Somaliland were explored and Greek traders settled on the island of Sokotra. From these Greek explorations, combined, no doubt, with Phœnician and Arabian traditions, the geography of Africa was faintly outlined for the information of Greek and Latin geographers as far as the neighbourhood of Zanzibar and even the Comoro Islands, while the great lakes forming the head-waters of the Nile were first hinted at in the geographical treatises of the period,

no doubt on information transmitted by the natives to Greek traders at the coast ports of the region between Somaliland and Zanzibar.

CHAPTER V

ROME IN AFRICA

About 150 B.C. the Latin power of Rome had become almost complete master of Italy. It had conquered first Sicily from the Carthaginians (who had taken that island from the Greeks), then Sardinia and Corsica and finally Spain; it had dominated Greece and Macedonia, and established (in 168 B.C.) a protectorate over Ptolemaic Egypt. In 146–145 the Romans, in their last war with the Phœnician colonies, destroyed the city of Carthage and founded the Roman province of Africa. For a time the Romans contented themselves with raising to an alliance with the Roman state the great Berber kings of North Africa, Massinissa, Micipsa, and his two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal. Micipsa reigned from the Muluya river to the Gulf of Gabes. Westwards of the Muluya was Mauretania (Morocco), ruled by an independent prince.

But there could be—seemingly—no condominium between Europe and Africa. The Berbers were very near to the white man of Europe in race, descent and culture, but they were sufficiently tinged with the blood of Africa to be no longer in community of feeling

with Europe. They may have absorbed into their midst the ancient Greek colonies along their coasts, and they undoubtedly displayed considerable affinity of mind (though they often quarrelled) with the Phœnicians, and, even later, with the Jews; but they found the Romans a little too European to their liking: too dominating, too fond of method, order, tidiness and fatiguing public works.

The Roman colony of "Africa,"[1] which was at first just the north-eastern extremity of Tunisia, picked a quarrel with Jugurtha, who was nephew of Micipsa and displacer of his sons, but *de facto* king of Numidia and national hero. (Numidia was the name given to what we should now call eastern Algeria.) After a gallant struggle of four years against the Roman general Metellus, Jugurtha sought refuge in Morocco, was surrendered, and died at Rome in 104 B.C. In his earlier battles Jugurtha adopted a plan of fighting learnt from the Carthaginian armies. He had war elephants of the African species, which he placed in the van of his attack; but somehow they did not make much impression on the dogged Roman infantry. After the Roman conquest the African elephant disappears from the annals of North Africa and, no doubt, became extinct everywhere north of the

[1] The name is said to have been derived from the Afarik or Afriga, a Libyan tribe which formerly inhabited the region south of Carthage, but long ago retreated into the desert, where, as the clan of a larger tribe, they still retain the name Aurigha.

Sahara except in Morocco, where—in the country near the High Atlas—it seems to have lingered till the arrival of the Arabs. The camel had been introduced into North Africa from Egypt about 200 B.C., and was rapidly adopted by the nomad races of Mauretania as an animal very useful in war. The nearly naked foot-soldiers would shelter themselves between the camels' legs, and the camels were taught to bite the approaching enemy. During the sixty-one years following Jugurtha's death a number of princes ruled as satraps or vassals of Rome between Morocco and Tripoli, but by the year 43 B.C. the Romans had definitely annexed to their empire the Cyrenaica, and the remainder of North Africa, except western Algeria and Morocco.

In 19 B.C. Egypt ceased to be a protected state and became an integral part of the Roman Empire, the province of Ægyptus. By 20 B.C. the Romans, under a Spanish general, Cornelius Balbus, had carried their arms in triumph into the heart of Phasania (the modern Fezzan). They marched from Gabes, in southern Tunis, to Ghadames (which remained for some time after in Roman occupation) and reached Jerma (Garama), seventy miles from Murzuk and the capital of the Garamantes of Fezzan, a people evidently Teda (Tibu) in race. A few years afterwards, just about the time of the birth of Christ, a Roman general named Septimus Flaccus, who had become the ally and friend of a powerful

Teda chief, the king of the Garamantes, marched for three months southwards across the Sahara Desert, and is said to have reached a country inhabited by negroes. About 45 A.D. another general of British fame, Suetonius Paulinus, marched up the valley of the Muluya river in Morocco and reached the High Atlas range. He ascended these mountains to the snows, and descended to the southern side of them into the valley of the Gir stream, and gave a vivid description of the burnt-looking rocks of the desert and the swarms of elephants in the Atlas forests. He also noticed the strange trees of the Morocco forests: the *Argania sideroxylon* or Argan tree, which is really a survival of a tropical Miocene flora. Much later, about 150 A.D., another Roman general, Julius Maternus, started from Garama in southern Fezzan, accompanied by the chief of the Garamantes, and reached a country seemingly in the neighbourhood of Bilma, which he called Agisymba. He may even have got as far as the country of Kanem, for he is said to have journeyed for a space of four months and to have reached a land swarming with rhinoceroses. [The record of this journey is in the portion of history by Marinus Tyrius, which was edited by Ptolemy the Alexandrian: see Sir E. Bunbury's "History of Ancient Geography," Vol. II. p. 523.] When Greek geographers and Roman generals visited Nubia—the Nile valley in Dongola—at the beginning of the

Christian era they found the rhinoceros in great numbers in this now sterile region, as well as elephants.

These two recorded, and no doubt many unrecorded, adventures of the Romans in the eastern Sahara once again carried to Europe stories of a Niger river far away across the desert. Our modern name "Niger" is derived from the writings in Greek of the Alexandrian geographer, Claudius Ptolemæus (Ptolemy), who, in his description of North Africa, alludes not only to the river Gir, which was visited by Paulinus in 45 A.D., and really exists in southern Morocco, flowing from the southernmost end of the Atlas Mountains towards the desert—but to the great "Nigir" farther to the south. The Nigir of the Libyans or Moors may have been the Senegal, or it may really have been the Niger.

[The Senegal is obviously referred to by Polybius (second century B.C.) and Pliny (first century A.D.) as the Bambotus, Hanno's Xremetes or Xretes. Mention is made of papyrus growing along its banks, of crocodiles, hippopotami; and the very name Bambotus sounds as though it were a modification of some local negro word like Bambuk.]

By the year 42 of the Christian era, Morocco had been annexed to the Roman Empire; and Rome ruled North Africa from within sight of the Canary Islands on the west to the verge of Abyssinia on the east. Her dominion extended up the Nile as far as that of the

Ptolemies, namely, to the Second Cataract (Wadi Halfa); and Roman influence, no doubt, reached through Dongola to the junction of the White and Blue Niles, and was in touch with slightly civilized Ethiopian states and Nubian chieftains. The Roman Cæsars from Augustus onwards ranked themselves as Pharaohs in Egypt, and took full part in the ceremonies of the Egyptian religion down to the reign of Septimius Severus. Indeed, on the great temples of Egypt, especially of Upper Egypt and the northern Sudan, they are almost as much represented in the pictorial records as the Ptolemies or the Egyptian Pharaohs. They patronized most of the faiths of Egypt, especially the worship of the goddess Isis. The cult of Isis, in fact, was transported to Rome itself and to other cities of the Roman Empire; and before the universal official adoption of Christianity (which occurred between 380 and 400 A.D.) the gods and goddesses of old Rome had been almost displaced from their pedestals by those of Egypt, or by the Egyptian practice of erecting the ruler of the empire into a god after his death.

The problem of the Nile aroused interest in the minds of Roman thinkers from the time of Cæsar onwards; and as soon as Roman armies began to penetrate Egypt, learned men sought to increase their geographical knowledge by following the Roman troops. Thus, Strabo, a native of Amasia in Pontus (southern shore of the Black Sea), who was

born about 50 B.C., and became, when quite a young man, a writer on the geography of the Roman world, obtained permission, in 24 B.C., to accompany the Roman general in Egypt—Ælius Gallus—on a journey up the Nile as far as the First Cataract.

Spurred on by the Roman development and pacification of Upper Egypt, Greek exploring traders, mainly from Asia Minor, busied themselves much with Nile exploration at the commencement of the Christian era. Amongst these have been recorded (by Pliny the Elder) the names of Bion, Dalion and Simonides, one or more of whom are believed to have penetrated up the river beyond Khartum to the land of the Shiluks, but they chiefly explored the Lower Atbara and the Blue Nile.

The Emperor Nero, though the Beast of the Apocalypse, had a certain genial interest in geography, and by his orders an expedition was dispatched about the year 66 A.D. to discover the source of the White Nile. It was commanded by two centurions, and was furnished by Roman prefects with letters of recommendation to friendly Nubian or Ethiopian chiefs, one of whom ruled the principality of Meroe along the main Nile between the Atbara and the Blue Nile. The expedition was at first provided with boats built of planks, but these were later exchanged for shallow-draft, dug-out canoes, and passed apparently without great difficulty up the

main Nile to the vicinity of Fashoda. It reached far enough south to come into contact with the great marsh which extends from the vicinity of Fashoda to the frontiers of the Uganda Protectorate. The passage of the canoes was stopped by the accumulation of water vegetation, which we now know as the Sudd; but there is some reason to think that by intermittent land journeys through the country of the cattle-keeping Dinkas, the two centurions may have reached as far south as the sixth degree of north latitude, the verge of the Bari country, or even as far as the Falls of the Nile above Rejaf. At any rate, they got well into the land of the naked Nile negroes; and the leaders of the expedition lived to return to Egypt. But their very discouraging reports of the difficulties attending the penetration of this region of hopeless marsh put an end to any further Roman enterprise in this direction.

It was rather the eastern half of the Roman Empire, the Greek world, not the Latin, which profited by the establishment of Roman rule over Egypt. Greek traders prospered greatly during the first centuries of the Christian era, and extended European commerce with Arabia, East Africa and India. The work published by a Greek of Alexandria in 77 A.D.—the celebrated Periplus of the Red Sea—(A Pilot's Manual, not unlike the modern Admiralty sailing directions) shows us that the Greeks, by the middle of

the first century of the Christian era, knew the Zanzibar coast well under the name of Azania. According to other traditions reported by historians of this period, a Greek merchant named Diogenes, returning from a trading voyage to India about 50 A.D., landed on the East African coast at a place he called Rhaptum, which may have been Pangani, at the mouth of the river Rufu. Thence, he said, he travelled inland for a twenty-five days' journey, and arrived in the vicinity of two great lakes and the snowy range of mountains whence the Nile drew its twin sources. If there was any truth in this story it is much more likely that Diogenes journeyed inland till he caught sight of the snowy dome of Kilimanjaro, and even the distant snow-capped crater of Kenia. The story of the great lakes may have been added from information received from the natives, but in the record of his voyage preserved by Marinus of Tyre it is certainly stated that the Nile united its twin head-streams at a point to the north of two great lakes and then flowed through marshes until it joined the river of Abyssinia (the Blue Nile). Writing from this and similar stories, Ptolemy of Alexandria actually fixed the joining of the Victoria and Albertine Niles (as they afterwards came to be called) into one river at 2° north latitude. As the real latitude of the point in question—the emergence of the Nile from the north end of Lake Albert—

is 2° 25′, Ptolemy made an uncommonly good guess, though he placed the lake sources a great deal too much to the south. Carrying on the names applied to the various branches of the Nile by earlier Greek travellers and geographers, he distinguishes them as Astaboras (the modern Atbara), Astapos or River of Ethiopia (the Blue Nile), and Astasobas, or the main White Nile. Asta is very likely the corruption of a native name meaning river, and Sobas suggests very strongly an affinity with the name of the Sobat, which enters the White Nile opposite Fashoda. The name of Sobat is sometimes given by the Nile negroes to the main course of the White Nile near Khartum. Astapos may survive under the modern Abyssinian name of the Blue Nile, which is Abai.

Under the division of the Roman Empire which followed the reign of Constantine, Egypt and Cyrene fell to the share of Byzantium, and Tunis and Tripoli (under the name of Africa and Tripolitana), Numidia (eastern Algeria, southern Tunis and Tripoli), Cæsarea (western Algeria), and Mauretania (Morocco), were ruled from Italy, though Mauretania was included in the prefecture of Spain. In the divisions of Christianity which followed, Egypt became the domain of the Greek Church, and Carthage followed the Latin rite and acknowledged more or less the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. Greek Christianity did not finally prevail in Egypt over the

worship of Isis and Serapis till the reign of Justinian in the sixth century of the present era. At that date it had penetrated to Abyssinia. In the centuries that followed, it reached even to the northern parts of Galaland, the Somali Coast and the Island of Sokotra; and up the Nile as far south as Khartum. It followed immediately on a great development amongst the western Hamitic tribes of the worship of Isis, and was not finally extirpated from the northern part of the Egyptian Sudan by the influence of Muhammadanism till the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In Abyssinia it persisted, as will be afterwards seen, but the forces of Islam renewed repeatedly from Arabia confined this Greek Christianity to the more inaccessible parts of the Abyssinian Mountains and the dense forests of the upper valley of the Blue Nile. Somaliland became Muhammadan from the thirteenth century, being invaded by Arabs from the Hadhramaut; but the Sokotrans remained Christians of a kind (related to the Nestorian Church of Mesopotamia and Persia) down to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

If certain slight indications and traditions may be believed, notions of Christianity were carried by Coptic or Nubaic Christians across the eastern Sudan, and conveyed as far west as the country of Borgu to the west and south of the Central Niger. Here there would seem to have arrived about the seventh century of the

present era several semi-white adventurers or refugees, who brought with them the account of a wonderful religion believed in by the great White people of the North, a religion which had for its central figure Kisra (Christ), a Jew, who had died for mankind and whose symbol was the cross. This mysterious religion, which contained many features incongruous to Christianity, seems to have lingered in Borgu down to the middle of the nineteenth century, and a description of it was given by Richard Lander, the explorer who subsequently traced the River Niger to its outlet into the Gulf of Guinea. But nothing seems to be known of it nowadays, the people of Borgu having become almost entirely Muhammadan in faith. Lauder believed that the missaries of this religion were Christian Tuaregs, but the Coptic Nubaic explanation seems more probable.

In North Africa Latin Christianity never obtained a very great hold over the indigenous Libyan or Berber peoples, who showed themselves rather more inclined to Judaism. The violent quarrels and disputes which led to so many martyrdoms, between the Catholics and the Donatists, the Pelagians and the Arians, greatly agitated the Roman communities in Tunisia and Tripoli, but probably disgusted the Berber agriculturists and mountaineers, who under no circumstances were well inclined towards an ascetic life, and who were wearied by this deafening clamour

of tongues in Latin, about non-essentials in religion. Nevertheless, there were Berber Christians in the country districts, apart from the romanized Berbers of the towns.

The invasion of the Vandals, in 415 A.D., gave a great shock to Roman North Africa, and contributed to lay low the wonderful civilization which Rome was building up in a region singularly favoured as to climate, and perhaps as to natural products. The Romans, indeed, had not enjoyed a smooth dominion for five hundred years over Mauretania. On the contrary, it has been calculated that no period of peace from native attacks lasted more than seventy years at a stretch. The indigenous Berbers or Libyans—in their character of mountaineers, herdsmen, or patient agriculturists on fertile plains, and of desert nomads and raiders, like the Tuareg—never cordially accepted Roman rule, and also harassed the Greek colonists of the Tripolitaine and Cyrenaica. When the Vandals entered North Africa from Spain their forces were joined by many Berber tribes in revolt, and a terrible devastation swept over Roman Africa from Tangier to Tripoli. During this period not a few of the Roman towns, whose ruins strew Algeria, were destroyed or abandoned. The Vandal kingdom died away in sloth and decrepitude. About the only word of the German speech which they imported into North Africa for the first time which has lingered in the traditions or records of the

country, was *trinken*, to drink, and the Vandal kings and captains in this land of vineyards lost their valour and virility in the abuse of wine. Meantime, the Byzantine power—the Eastern, Greek-speaking Empire of Rome—was rising to greatness under such emperors as Justinian. These Byzantine emperors not only reconquered much of Italy and placed it again under the Roman eagles, but by means of great generals like Belisarius and Solomon smashed the Vandal power in North Africa and re-established Roman rule from Tripoli to Tangier (531 A.D.). They rebuilt some of the great Roman cities of the interior, and probably reopened one or more trade routes with the Sudan across the desert. Yet in opposition to this European civilization the Berbers rose in revolt again and again, and when the last and fatal blow was dealt against Roman domination in this direction, by the arrival of the Arabs in the seventh century, some of the beautiful Roman towns of eastern Algeria and Tunis had been already abandoned by the colonists owing to Berber attacks.

CHAPTER VI

THE FULA, THE SONGHAI, AND THE BANTU

ONE of the most remarkable of human elements in the present composition of West Africa and the Sudan, and equally one of the most potent of "white" influences in moulding

Negro Africa is and has been the Fula people. Their origin and ancient history are as mysterious as that of the Zulu in Southern Africa. In appearance the Fula man or woman of pure race is a handsome type of human being. They are tall people, beautifully formed as regards the proportions and carriage of the body, comparable sometimes to the much quoted Greek statue. The appearance of the face frequently recalls the dynastic Egyptian or Pharaonic type, the nose is usually straight and well-formed when there is no strain of Negro blood derived from recent intermixture. The hair is not by any means the negro wool, yet is not straight like that of the ancient Egyptian, but kinky and falling in ringlets. It is, in short, something of a compromise between the hair of the Caucasian and that of the Negro, without being so " fuzzy-wuzzy " as the head-hair of the Hamitic peoples, or so straight as that of the Libyan.

The skin colour, even amongst the pure-bred Fula, shows some considerable degree of variation. Early English and Portuguese travellers in West Africa sometimes stated that the women, and occasionally the men, were no darker in colour than gipsies or the people of Spain. Others distinctly described them as tawny. Even at the present day Fula women may be met with in western Nigeria and Senegambia with a complexion no darker than that of the women of Egypt proper, and much lighter than the Ethiopians.

They are, in short, a yellow-skinned people with a tinge of red in the yellow. The root of their racial name, Ful, or Pul, is said to mean red, and they appear in times past to have described themselves as the "red people," in contrast with the black negroes of West Africa. But in the traditions of the Fula on the Hombori plateau, Central Nigeria, the ancestral Fula seem to have been white-skinned in contrast with the "red" pygmy races whom the Fula dispossessed in the Niger valley. They are, in short, so much like the Egyptians in appearance that it would be simple enough to derive them from that part of Africa, from which, indeed, they really seem to have come, though at a rather remote period.

But amongst the perplexities concerning their origin are these points: They speak a language of a clearly defined type which, even though the Fula are widely spread over Western and Central Africa at the present day, shows but little dialect or variation. This language offers no resemblances whatever to ancient Egyptian, in its roots, its numerals, its grammar or phonology. In all these respects it is essentially an African tongue,[1] which in its structure and even in some of its roots has affinities with several speech families existing alongside it in West Africa at the present day, and even with the Bantu language family, about which more will be said presently In the Arab chronicles of West Africa (Tarik-

[1] See, however, p. 16.

as-Sudan) it is stated that the Fula originally inhabited the mountain district of Adrar to the north of the Senegal river, in the western Sahara Desert, and that they were driven thence southwards by the incursions of the Moors, so that they had to migrate to the regions along the Senegal and to the south of that stream. It has been suggested by one or two French writers that a Fula race once inhabited the Canary Islands and the Sahara coast south of Morocco, about the Rio de Oro; that they were in touch with the Carthaginian trading settlements on the coast of Morocco; and that from them Hanno obtained his interpreters on his celebrated journey of exploration along the West African coast. If they were the Pharusians of Greek and Roman geographers, then according to Strabo they destroyed those Carthaginian settlements on the North-west African coasts.

On the other hand, French explorations in the valley of the northern Niger and the plateaus which lie to the south of it (Hombori), seem to show that this part of western Nigeria had been an ancient home of the Fula : namely, that they were not new-comers there, as they are admittedly in those regions farther east, where they rule as princes and potentates, and which they have only penetrated during the last six hundred years. The local traditions of the pure-blooded and the negroid Fula within this great bend of the Niger, are to the effect that when their ancestors came to this

region at a period of time beyond their computation, they found the country only inhabited by red-skinned dwarfs, whom they dispossessed: but to account for the black skins and negroid features of the Habe peasants there must also have been an antecedent black negro population.

From earliest times onwards the Fula seem to have possessed cattle of either the humped zebu or the Egyptian long-horned breed; sheep and goats; and perhaps domestic asses. While settling in the valley of the northern Niger they passed through the Neolithic stage to the use of iron. Here—in what was later styled the kingdom of Masina—they seem to have dwelt under more settled conditions as agriculturists as well as herdsmen. But when first encountered by European travellers in Senegambia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they were leading a semi-nomad life as herdsmen only, though it is probable that there were Fula kingdoms and principalities in the Futa mountains, on the Upper Senegal. As herdsmen of a pacific nature they penetrated early—between five hundred and a thousand years ago—into Borgu and Gandu, countries lying to the west of the Niger stream where it directs its course southwards towards the Gulf of Guinea. They must also have exercised a good deal of influence at this period, and earlier still, in the regions between the Upper Niger on the north and the forests of Dahome and the Gold Coast on the south;

for the languages of the northern Gold Coast and Togoland offer distinct resemblances to the Fula speech in construction, either because the Fula derived their mother tongue from that region or more likely because they implanted on these negroes a certain type of syntax. The Fula on the Upper Niger were early converted to Muhammadanism—perhaps about the twelfth century; and in the thirteenth century penetrated far eastward into Hausaland, preaching the religion of Islam.

Where the Fula have had towns or have influenced the building of towns between Senegambia on the west and Hausaland on the east, the architecture in mud, bricks and plaster associated with these towns is of a peculiar type and undoubtedly offers a superficial resemblance to the architecture of ancient Egypt. But this style of building was really Songhai, and was obviously brought by this negroid people of unknown affinities from an easterly direction—from Egypt, directly or indirectly—and implanted by them at Jenné and elsewhere in western Nigeria and afterwards adopted by the Mandingo and the Fula. A wave of Egyptian influence undoubtedly extended two thousand to twelve hundred years ago right across the Sudan from Darfur to the Benue and Upper Niger by way of Lake Chad, the Yo and the Shari rivers. Nowhere, of course, in West Africa or in any other part of Negroland (except the unexplained Zimbabwe and similar

ruins in South Africa) has there ever been any building with stone until the recent arrival of Arabs and Europeans. The most advanced type of building material is sun-dried bricks and plastered clay, built up on a foundation of posts, beams and sticks—wattle and daub, more or less. This style of building existed in Egypt and Algeria in remote and prehistoric times, before stone was quarried and used for building purposes. The use of stone in building seems to have been an invention of the white man, in the Old World at any rate; even if it was not an inspiration in America from prehistoric Caucasian immigrants. Except where the Negro has been influenced by lighter skinned races, he has no thought of putting one stone on another, but builds his house, or shelter, of sticks, grass, palm-fronds and leaves, unless he has risen to the superior stage of culture wherein clay is plastered on to a wattle foundation.

A considerable civilization arose in Nigeria from a period which we may guess to have begun about two thousand years ago, a civilization which may have received a few hints conveyed across the Sahara or along the Atlantic coast from the Carthaginians, but which seems mainly to have owed its inspiration to trade contact with Egypt, and through Egypt with the Mediterranean world. Even earlier still, no doubt, ideas of European culture connected with building and weapons had reached Nigeria and the basin of the Benue from the

Far North, but somewhere about two thousand years ago there were great stirrings in the Nigerian Sudan.

According to native traditions gathered up by Arab writers soon after the commencement of the Christian era, a powerful kingdom called Ghana grew up in western Nigeria. Ghana is a name supposed to be connected with the geographical terms "Guinea" and "Jenné." The power of Ghana was succeeded and absorbed by the rise of the Mali or Mandingo Empire, which extended far north into the western Sahara some nine hundred years ago.

The Mandingoes may have represented the farthest penetration westwards of this wave of Egyptian influence. The Mandingo language family offers some slight affinities with the Nilotic tongues of North-east Africa, and the look of the Mandingo people constantly suggests the negroid rather than the negro. The handsome, black-skinned Wolofs (with clear-cut Ethiopian features), inhabiting the coast region of Senegal and the lower part of that river, no doubt also received some of this impregnation of Eastern culture, but perhaps more through their association with the Fula. Some faint reflex of Egyptian and even Roman influence penetrated to the Gulf of Guinea on the Gold Coast and in Benin. But with the exceptions noted, the negro tribes of the Great Forest Belt remained quite out of touch with the white man's world as late in history as the great sea journeys of the

Portuguese, not more than four hundred years ago.

By about 700 A.D. a negroid race known as the Songhai, or Songhoi, had established its capital and rule at Gao or Gagho on the central Niger, not far from the Sokoto river. In physique and in language at the present day the Songhai appear to be mainly negro, but with an undoubted strain or element of Caucasian blood. They reached Nigeria apparently from the direction of Agades, where their language is spoken to this day. It is a language which in our present state of knowledge offers no clearly marked resemblance to any other African speech group, though it may turn out to be related to the tongue of the Tibesti (Teda) people. From the mountain region, indeed, of Tibesti the Songhai seem to have migrated towards the Niger, but before or after their migration to have received a considerable influence and influx from Nubian Egypt, and to have introduced into the western Sudan not only a faint reflex of the Egyptian architectural style in brick, but also Egyptian ideas of working in metal (iron and copper and perhaps bronze), improved forms of pottery, the arts of weaving, dyeing and boatbuilding (in place of the simple dug-out canoe). Songhai merchants are said to have founded the wonderful brick-built city of Jenné, at or near the junction of the Niger and the Bani, about 765 A.D.

At that time and for some six centuries

afterwards the regions about the Upper Niger were mainly in the power of the powerful Mali or Mandingo people, who were governed by a ruling caste of eastern origin. But about 1469 the Songhai kings (who had been Muhammadan since A.D. 1010) gained complete mastery over the western Sudan, from Senegambia to Hausaland. In the preceding centuries they had converted to Islam the Fula, the Mandingo, and the warlike Mosi negroes (of the region midway between the Central Niger and the Gold Coast). The ultimate fate of the Songhai Empire at the close of the sixteenth century is related in Chapter VIII. It was succeeded by nearly a century and a half of domination by Morocco, chiefly exercised by Spanish Moors. After another fifty years of lawlessness, the Fulas arose as a conquering race during the nineteenth century, and under three separate leaders extended their dominion from the Senegal to Hausaland and the Kamerun.

About the same time that the Ghana, Mandingo and Songhai civilization was springing up in western and central Nigeria, Hamitic adventurers (together with the Teda or Kanuri negroids of Tibesti and Kanem) were founding kingdoms in Bornu and Bagirmi, perhaps also in the Kororofa and Juku countries of the Benue basin.[1] Indeed, spurts of this

[1] Some authorities think that the open country to the north of the river Benue, between that stream and the Bauchi mountains, was one of the regions of interior Negro

"Teda" or "Kanuri" civilization, influenced by Hamitic wanderers from Nubia, passed from the Shari basin across the Congo watershed right down into the heart of Congoland (the country of the Bushongo), where a wonderful isolated culture in metal-working, weaving, carving and pottery has recently been discovered by Mr. Emil Torday and others.

Some such people as the Nyam-nyam (in whose country—the southern Bahr-al-Ghazal—at the present day ancient Egyptian amulets and other relics are found) seem, together with the Teda or Tibu element from Kanem (Lake Chad) to have carried the white man's influence across the Mubangi and the northern bend of the Congo, where they introduced ironworking and the iron throwing-knife, which is nothing but a metal development of the boomerang of Palæolithic man and of modern Palæolithic savages (we know from Egyptian records that the boomerang was a common weapon amongst the Hamite people of the land of Punt four thousand years ago); together with ideas of

Africa first to develop a measure of civilization from the teaching received indirectly from Nubia and Egypt, the line followed being through Darfur, Wadai, Bagirmi and the Musgu country. The Musgu speech betrays distinct sign of having, like Hausa, been long ago influenced by a sex-denoting Hamitic language. It has itself remained sex-denoting, though situated in the very heart of Africa. From Kororofa and Juku (where powerful kingdoms or empires once existed) civilization spread to Hausaland, to the inner Kamerun and perhaps the Mubangi, to Yoruba and Borgu.

pottery-making and such domestic animals as the domestic fowl and sheep: the goat having been, perhaps, of earlier introduction.

Similar negroid missionaries of culture ranged all over Nigeria after about 700 A.D., and even penetrated beyond the more open bush country into the dense forests of Adamawa, the Upper Cross river (Aro country), Yoruba, Benin, Dahome, and Ashanti.

The Negro races of Central and East Africa in the meantime, but dating from an earlier period, were being subjected to similar waves of Egyptian culture. A hybrid type, more or less resembling the Fula in physique (but not in language), arose in that region of western Nileland known as the Bahr-al-Ghazal, in the form of the Nyam-nyam (A-zande) and the Mangbettu, and still more markedly in the countries around the Victoria and Albert Nyanzas and the north end of Tanganyika—the Ba-hima. This handsome type of pale-skinned, tall negroids, with the facial features almost of ancient Egyptians, but the head-hair of negroes, was originally called Wa-huma by its discoverer, Speke, but Hima seems to have been the older and more widespread form. [The Wa- and Ba- are simply the plural prefix differently pronounced.] Other names given to this type locally are the Tusi or Ruhinda, etc.

The Ba-hima civilizers of Uganda and contiguous countries, arriving from the north or the north-east (for some of them may have been of Gala origin) brought with them, besides

the knowledge of working metal and the types of the principal domestic animals, an improved method of boat or canoe construction superior to the mere dug-out; also ideas of religion and magic which must have had their origin in Egypt, or perhaps more correctly, in Nubia. Prior to their coming, these Sudanese, Nilotic, and Forest negroes of Central Equatorial Africa, together with the Congo Pygmies, and, in the east, the remains of a Bushman type had (we may assume), before this period of about two thousand years ago, only vague and simple ideas of religion, a limited belief in the life after death, in the persistence of the entity of great chiefs or strong men, and of the entry of these human souls into forms of beasts, birds, and reptiles. Perhaps, also, they acknowledged vaguely a god of the sky, who controlled the rain, uttered the thunder, and flashed the lightning; and certain minor spiritual powers (sometimes thought of as assuming the form of a man or a woman, or dwelling in the body of a crocodile, hippopotamus, or lion) who dwelt in a whirlpool, a great cataract, a lofty tree, a cloud-capped mountain, or a deep pool. After the permeation of these vagrant, wonder-working, semi-white men from the North a belief in witchcraft has since haunted most of these negro peoples of the centre and the west of Africa; and in the westward regions especially more elaborate religious ideas have grown up which were, in all probability, derived from

this indirect Egyptian influence of not very ancient date. The Egyptian character of the legends, folk-lore, sacred numbers (such as the number 9) of the Ba-hima of Uganda, Unyoro and Ankole, is commented on by some ethnologists.

Egyptian and Sabæan influence over Somaliland and Abyssinia during much the same period (three thousand to two thousand years ago) also introduced the working of metal, the domestic fowl (which came originally from Persia), a good many cultivated plants, and the use of the plough. Here is an implement, however, which has played a very limited rôle in the development of Africa. The plough—if it only be the jagged bough of a tree dragged along by men and cattle—is of very ancient history in Eastern Europe, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia; and spread, no doubt, from these centres of Neolithic culture to Western Europe, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt. The dynastic Egyptians used the plough, and its use extended south-eastwards as far (at the present day) as the lands of the Galla, in the equatorial region of East Africa. But the plough (common, of course, also in Mauretania) never crossed the Sahara Desert, and was never carried with domestic animals, cultivated plants, etc., to the Sudan or to any part of Negroland. The great agricultural implement of the negro has been the hoe, which, like the plough, had a wooden origin. In fact, in many parts of savage Africa at the

present day wooden hoes alone are used by the people, and are made out of a forked branch cut off just below the fork. The slenderer of the two branches is used as a handle, and the thicker is pared and flattened into a hoe-blade, having no doubt previously been hardened and pared by being partially burnt. But not even the hoe is universal, for it is unknown amongst a few very savage tribes of forest negroes, such as the Congo Pygmies, and was equally unknown to the Bushmen and Hottentots. These last possessed the more archaic digging-stick, which preceded the hoe as an implement in Tropical Africa. The digging-stick was weighted at one end by being thrust through a naturally hollowed stone, or a stone of friable quality through which a hole had been gradually bored by drilling.

One of the principal events in the opening up of Africa from (let us say) two thousand to five hundred years ago, was the Bantu movement, a problem of the deepest interest, which is still only very partially solved.

At the present day, the language conditions of Negro Africa may be thus summed up. Over all the desert or steppe region, bounded on the north by fertile Mauretania and Egypt, and on the south by the seventeenth parallel of north latitude, more or less, there are practically only six language stocks: (1) the Libyan-Hamite; (2) the intrusive Arabic (dating mainly from the eleventh century of

the present era); (3) the Negro languages of Nubia; (4) the Teda-Kanuri group (spoken by the Negroid Tibu and the negroes of Bornu); (5) the Songhai of Agades and of the northern Niger; and (6) Hausa. The Hausa language is a hybrid between a Hamitic speech, such as was once spoken in Dongola and Sennar, and a negro tongue of the central Sudan. No doubt Hausa began as a trade language between the white men from the north-east and the negroes of the central Sudan. Owing to the slave-trade and other conditions it now penetrates as a spoken language to the town of Tripoli, on the Mediterranean, and westwards to the hinterland of the Gold Coast.

Within the domain of Egypt and the northern Egyptian Sudan we have, of course, the intrusive Arabic, and in Coptic the remains of the ancient Egyptian, a form of speech which, as already related, was a very isolated member of the Hamitic group influenced in later times by the Semitic languages of Asia.

South of this 17th degree of latitude, however, one enters on the Negro domain, where the language families are almost uncountable, and possess few, if any, features in common. They differ from the two principal language-stocks of the white man in making no distinction of sexual gender in their syntax [except in such instances as in the Bongo speech of the Egyptian Sudan, the Musgu of the western Shari, and the Nilotic

Negro and Hottentot languages, where this distinction between male and female has obviously been borrowed from the Hamitic Caucasians]. West Africa and the south-western part of the Egyptian Sudan are perhaps the most bewildering in their innumerable language types. A few hundred or few thousand people will speak a language in one group of villages totally distinct in vocabulary and in grammar from the equally isolated language of the next group of villages, and so on. It is, therefore, difficult to select any one African language in West Africa as a widespread medium of trade intercourse, such as Arabic is over much of North, North-west, and North-east Africa. In the central Sudan there is the Hausa language, which is understood by some twenty million negroes. But even inside Hausaland there are a great many totally distinct types of African speech offering very few affinities one with the other.

Yet when you have traversed a line which stretches right across Africa in the equatorial belt, you encounter a very different state of affairs in regard to speech. There is but one indigenous language-family over the whole of Central and South Africa, the only exceptions to this universality of type being a few patches of Sudanian tongues on the northern Congo, Nilotic dialects in East Africa, a click language south of the Victoria Nyanza, and the nearly extinct Hottentot and Bushman languages of South-west Africa. To the south of a

zigzag boundary which stretches from Fernando Pô on the west to Mombasa on the east, lies the sphere of the Bantu speech. Within this sphere lie the most barbarous, the least developed and the latest explored parts of Africa, a third portion of the Dark Continent which was only seriously tackled by the intelligent white man at the commencement of the nineteenth century.

No sooner was any attempt made, a hundred and more years ago, by scientific men to compare the natives of East, South-west and South Africa, than they realized they were dealing with a single-language family; whether they surveyed Zanzibar, the Kamerun, Angola, Mozambique, eastern Cape Colony or Natal. And when, at a later date, Portuguese and British explorers began to cross Africa from one side to the other, it was evident that the similarity of speech extended right across this southern third of the continent.

Of course, subsequent investigation has shown that within the northern parts of the Bantu field there are isolated colonies or fragments of other tongues which do not belong to the Bantu group. This is the case in the northern parts of the Congo (south of the Bantu line), in German East Africa between Unyamwezi and Usambara. But these exceptions are so minute and so near the northern frontier of the Bantu as not to affect the general statement that there is but one dominant language-family throughout the

southern third of Africa; whereas over the whole Sudan, between Senegambia and Abyssinia, the forms of speech are most diverse and offer very little evidence of a common origin, except in the most remote antiquity.

How did this situation arise? The physical types of the negroes in the southern third of Africa do not offer a uniformity similar to that of their speech. It is not easy to call them all "Bantu" negroes. [This word in most of the "Bantu" languages means "men," "people."] It is true that the word Bantu is applied to a certain rather good-looking negro type to be seen on the Upper Congo and amongst the Zulus and some of the tribes of the great lakes. But this same type is encountered in many parts of West Africa or the Egyptian Sudan, or northern Uganda, amongst people not speaking Bantu languages. Bantu Africa, as a rule, offers in a mixed or a pure form the following negro types: the Nilotic, with tall stature and very long legs; the Forest Negro, with powerful torso, long arms, short legs, and prognathous face (and his diminutive form, the Congo Pygmy); and the Bushman with his Hottentot hybrid. There are perhaps also traces in South Africa and in the north-east basin of the Congo of what may be the most primitive type in Africa—the Strandlooper[1]—a long-headed negro of

[1] Strandlooper is a Dutch term meaning "shore-runner," for these savages formerly ran along the seashore feeding on shellfish.

great prog ..hism and small brain capacity, a type which may be nearer than any other to the original Negro ancestor of the black peoples of Africa and Asia. All these varieties of negroes have mingled in varying degrees to form the Bantu-speaking peoples of to-day, some of which in the far south may be more than half Bushman in blood and yet have long ago abandoned the Bushman dialect for a Bantu language, while others may resemble closely the Nilotic negroes of Eastern Equatorial Africa, or be mere Congo Pygmies or Forest Negroes of the most repulsive type, while again some are more than half Hamite, are the descendants on one side of the first white civilizers of Central Africa. The handsomest amongst the Bantu negroes or negroids are certainly those of western Uganda and north-west German East Africa, of the northern Congo, of central Zambezia and of Zululand.

Where did this Bantu language-family and metal-working civilization arise, and when? It is the theory of the present writer that the former must have come into being—much as did the Hausa language and civilization—by some impact of a semi-white race like the Fula, the Hamite or the Egyptian on a vigorous type of negro; an impact by no means necessarily connected with warfare, but the peaceful penetration of a fertile negro country by semi-white negroid adventurers who brought with them the ox, perhaps the domestic fowl, some idea of working metals, and superior notions

in hunting, and the simpler handicrafts. We know by the legends of Uganda that such pale-skinned, handsome adventurers from the north were received by their forefathers in ancient times as demigods.

It is possible, of course, that the nucleus of the Bantu peoples may have arisen somewhere in the very heart of Africa between the basins of the Congo, Chad, Benue and Nile; before they were impregnated by this trickle of Caucasian blood and inspired by Caucasian energy to conquer the southern prolongation of the continent. This great Bantu movement from west to east may have taken place before these negroes had any knowledge of working metal and whilst they were still in the Stone Age.

The first great concentration of the Bantu seems to have been somewhere about Lake Albert Nyanza. To the west of that lake they penetrated the dense gorilla-haunted forests of the Congo Basin, but found these peopled to some extent by Pygmy and Forest Negro tribes speaking languages related to those of the central Sudan.

These languages also, together with others of a type akin to the Hamitic, the Nilotic and to the speech of Dahome and the Niger Delta, may, together with Bushman, have preceded the Bantu as the forms of speech used throughout the southern sub-continent. The first great rush of the Bantu as invaders would appear to have been from east to west across the basin of the Mubangi to the Kamerun and

to Fernando Pô, but almost simultaneously they invaded and took possession of the regions round the Victoria Nyanza, and thence pushed down to the Zanzibar coast. Whether they crossed over to Zanzibar, the Comoros and Madagaskar of themselves, or were brought thither by the pre-Islamic Arabs, is an undecided point. The conquest of the regions between the Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika was rapidly followed by the occupation of Nyasaland, Mozambique and central Zambezia. This last became another great *nidus* of the Bantu, and on the central Zambezi are spoken to-day some of the most archaic of the Bantu tongues. From here they pushed across to the Atlantic coast, where they warred for centuries with the Hottentots. Then in the form of the Bechuana they occupied much of South-central and South-east Africa. Last of all came the Zulu type from somewhere in Eastern Equatorial Africa. It rapidly traversed the regions occupied by the other tribes, borrowing from them much of their language and mixing it with the East African dialect with which they had started, absorbing also some elements from the southern Congo tongues. Arrived in South Africa beyond the domain of the Bechuana, they were arrested by the sea coast and by the concentrated strength of the Hottentots in the south-west corner about the Cape of Good Hope. This they would have soon swept aside but for the intervention of the white man 150 years ago.

CHAPTER VII

THE MOSLEM ARABS IN AFRICA

In the seventh century of our era the dominion of Europe over Northern Africa fell with dramatic suddenness, not to recommence for eight hundred years. Greek Christianity had overloaded itself with many superstitious practices incorporated from Syrian and Egyptian religions, and while it allowed great licence and inebriety in some directions, it encouraged in others an asceticism almost ferocious in its fanaticism. In short, it proved distasteful to the Semitic races (though less so to the Hamites), just as Latin Christianity had done with the Berbers of the west. The Arabs of Arabia had no doubt in a superficial way followed the religious beliefs of Persia, Syria, Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt in the course of several thousand years, and of the flux of political influence exercised over their coast regions or over the Euphrates valley. Such faith as was more truly indigenous seems to have been a vague worship of the generative principle which at one time extended right across the southern Mediterranean regions from North Africa to India. This worship was symbolized more especially by the Mahrab or Mihrab shrine, which in its oldest forms (found in pre-Saracenic architecture in eastern Syria

and western Mesopotamia, and again in southern Tunis) was little else than a hollow male emblem. With this alternated other symbols and fetishes such as may still be seen surmounting the minarets or in the neighbourhood of the mosques in southern Tunis. But religious ideas of a purer and loftier kind were already fermenting in Arabia during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries of the present era. Judaism had become very popular with some Arab tribes; and Christianity was at any rate inquired into by thoughtful men in the more settled districts of the north and west.

Mekka (Makka) had been for a thousand years and more a market for the interchange of commerce between Syria and southern Arabia, and also a centre of religious pilgrimages in connection with what was little else than fetish worship; for the town possessed a great black meteoric stone, a minor wonder of the world, which had fallen from heaven. This was housed in a rude stone temple, the Ka'aba, which was also the sanctuary of a (? Mesopotamian) god, Al-lah, and two or more daughter goddesses, Al-lat and 'Uzza, etc. In this region of western Arabia there uprose an inspired camel-driver, small trader and shopkeeper, Muhammad, of the Koreish tribe. After some years of rebuffs and guerrilla fighting against his native city, Mekka, he conquered this town and succeeded in founding firmly a faith in one god, which, as its prin-

ciples emerged from his mind, proved to be little else than a variant of Judaism with a little admixture of Christianity. In his oral teachings, which were afterwards written down, edited and combined together in one sacred book—the Koran—he adopted much of the history and traditions of the Jews as given in the Hebrew books of the Old Testament, combining them with some Arab traditions and variants of Jewish and Babylonian legends. Somewhat charily he recognized Jesus Christ as a great prophet, but in a general way the policy of Islam was directed against Christianity and Judaism, and as time went on the Jews were hated and despised only less than the idolatrous Christians and the loathed fire-worshippers of Persia.

Muhammad preached temperance or abstinence as regards alcohol, and adopted or enforced totemistic prejudices of the Jews and other Semitic peoples against the flesh of the pig and meat which had not been killed in a sacrificial manner. He inculcated charity towards the poor of Islam and many right and just principles of conduct as between man and man. But woman was expressly relegated to an inferior position not only in social and religious life, but even as regards a future life in a world beyond the grave. It cannot be said that his religion encouraged sensuality, but by its toleration of polygamy and its suggestions of voluptuous delights in Paradise, it gave just that encouragement of

carnal-mindedness which not only was lacking in Christianity, but was replaced in that religion in early times by a fierce disparagement of sexuality, which being pushed to extreme fanaticism in the contempt it poured even on the married state, had done much to alienate Oriental sympathies.

Armed with this new faith and with a fervent belief that to die in battle against the unbeliever was a sure passport to Paradise, the Arab hordes swept victoriously into Syria and Persia, and in the course of a few years practically extinguished Byzantine rule to the south and east of Asia Minor. In 640 A.D. an Arab army under Amr-bin-al-Asi entered the delta of the Nile and quickly wrested Lower Egypt from the feeble grasp of the Byzantine governors. Thence it pursued (in 647–648, under Abdallah-bin-Abu-Sarh and Abdallah-bin-Zubeir) its victorious course through Cyrenaica and the Tripolitaine. By 669 A.D. the Arabs (joined to some extent by the Berbers, who were discontented with European domination) had conquered the Roman province of Africa (Tunisia) and had penetrated by 680 to the borders of Morocco and held it tributary. In the following year the command of this army was resumed by the great Arab conqueror Oqba-bin-Nafa (who some years previously had overrun Fezzan and had made the Arabs known to the people of the northern Sahara). Oqba carried his standards victoriously to the very shore

of the Atlantic Ocean, and is said, traditionally, to have ridden into the waves of the Atlantic shouting that if there were worlds beyond that sea horizon they should yet be conquered for Islam. He was unable, however, to capture the Byzantine fortress of Septa, the modern Ceuta. This was held for Europe by Julian, a count of the Roman Empire, who had become an ally and feudatory of the Gothic kings of Spain. There Islam received a check.

The Berbers had no desire to replace the Romans and Greeks by Arabs, and a Berber warrior-queen, Dihia al Kahina drove the Arabs out of Tunisia after they had captured Carthage in 698. Unfortunately this brave woman felt it necessary, in order to make her fatherland untenable, to order a terrible devastation of the fertile regions of eastern Tunis, and this action on her part in cutting down olive and fruit trees was the first step in the deterioration of what had once been a country of magnificent fertility, but which has since lost much of its surface soil by winds, floods and scorching sunshine. In 705, however, Dihia was finally defeated and slain. Under the Arab general, Musa-bin-Nusseir, the Arabs again surged westwards conquering perhaps the whole of Morocco with the exception of Ceuta, which still held out under Count Julian.

Amongst the Berber chiefs converted to Muhammadanism was Tarik, who became

a general in the Arab army. Musa, the general of the Arab forces, placed Tarik in charge of the Roman-Berber town of Tingis (Tangier), and Tarik entered into friendly relations with Count Julian at Ceuta. Julian for some reason had quarrelled with the Gothic King Roderigo of Spain, and urged Tarik to invade that peninsula with his army. Accordingly, with thirteen thousand Berbers officered by three hundred Arabs, Tarik landed at or near Gibraltar in the year 711. Shortly afterwards he was followed by Musa with an Arab army, and thus Spain was conquered by the Muhammadans.

Between the beginning of the eighth and the middle of the eleventh centuries though the Arab element in North Africa was small in regard to numbers, it was represented by a few thousand bold, rapacious warriors who had in a marvellous manner forced their religion, language and rule on several millions of Berbers and some hundreds of thousands of Romans, Greeks, Germans and Jews. North Africa was to some extent divorced from the Arab rule over Spain, possibly because of the instinctive dissidence of feeling between Europe and Africa. Idris, as an alleged descendant of Ali and Fatima (one of the daughters of Muhammad), had established himself in Morocco as an independent sultan and was again recognized as caliph (or lieutenant and successor) of the Prophet by most of the populations between

Tripoli and Morocco. In the ninth century, however, Tunis was ruled by an independent dynasty established by Aghlab, a successful soldier dispatched to govern the country by the Caliph of Bagdad. In the following century—the tenth—the Aghlabite sultans gave way to an Arab dynasty, that of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt, who claimed descent from the Prophet's daughter Fatima. But the Arabs though few in numbers yet pushed their explorations far to the south, and urged the Berbers to make conquering raids in the direction of the Sudan. In this way they had penetrated—Arabs and Muhammadan Berbers together—along the Atlantic coast southwards from Morocco till they reached the mouth of the Senegal in the tenth century. It is possible that about this period they began to Islamize the intelligent Songhai and Mandingo peoples of the Upper Niger region. They also penetrated south from Fezzan through the Teda or Tibesti country to Kanem.

The impetus that Islam gave to the Berber and Hamitic peoples of North Africa about this period must have led to much penetration of North Central Africa, even before the Berbers were reinforced by further Arab invasions. These commenced about the year 1045 A.D. Two Arab tribes, the Beni-Hilal and the Beni-Soleim (originally from central Arabia, but driven out of that country by internecine wars and deported to Upper Egypt), left the

banks of the Nile with the deliberate intention of invading Barbary and making new homes for themselves in the Far West. They were urged to this course by the Fatimite rulers of Egypt, who found these Arabs a great source of trouble and wished at any cost to get rid of them. Accordingly, some three hundred thousand of these Arabs from central Arabia, accompanied by their women and children, crossed the desert and encamped on the frontiers of Tunis and Tripoli. They defeated the Berbers in several battles and settled in southern Tunis and western Tripoli, but being partially driven out of these regions by the Berbers, some of their numbers drifted on westwards through southern Algeria to Morocco. They were reinforced during the next fifty years by other Arab tribes who left the west coast of Arabia for Nubia. Here they displaced to a great extent the preceding Hamitic and Nubian negro inhabitants of the Nile valley between the Second Cataract and Khartum. From this region they directed many and repeated invasions into Central Africa, and from them are descended the dark-coloured Shua and other Arab tribes of Darfur, Wadai and Bornu. Some of these Arabs penetrated right across West Africa and, joined with other Arab colonists from Morocco, mixed with the Berbers of the Senegal region, and founded some of the existing tribes of mixed Arab-Berber descent in the mountainous country of Adrar and the regions north of the

Senegal river, which the French somewhat inappositely term Maurétanie.

These direct invasions from Arabia led to a great revival of Islamic propaganda in Central and Western Africa which had begun in the tenth century. A considerable proportion of the Fula people in the West became converted to Muhammadanism at this time (the twelfth century). So also did the countries of Darfur, Wadai, Bornu, Hausa, Songhai, and the great Mandingo kingdom of Mali, which at that time extended north of the Upper Niger far into the Sahara Desert. Pilgrimages began to be made by Songhai chiefs from their dominions in the western Sudan to Mekka. Thus they came into touch indirectly with the civilization of Europe. The Crusaders had recovered Syria and Palestine for a brief period of Christian rule and had repeatedly fought with the Kurdish sultans of Egypt (who had replaced the Fatimite caliphs). Their chain armour made a great impression on the minds of the Muhammadans, who made haste to imitate it. As it grew out of fashion in the more advanced regions of the Muhammadan world (through the gradual adoption in warfare of gunpowder and projectiles) this armour found its way to regions of the Sudan and still exists in northern Nigeria; for again and again one is reminded that Africa is a vast museum illustrating human life at almost all periods from the most ancient Palæolithic times to the most wonderful achievements

of civilization, such as may be seen in modern Africa and Egypt.

As early as 720 A.D. colonies of heretical Muslim Arabs had sought relief from persecution by settling on the east coast of Africa between Lamu and the Rufu river. Early in the tenth century the Arab civilization of western and southern Arabia experienced a sort of renaissance, and about the same time a great desire for oversea trade developed along the Arab coasts of the Persian Gulf. The result was not only a great movement of commerce and conquest directed towards India and the Far East (which ended in a conversion to Muhammadanism of Malay peoples extending to New Guinea), but also led the Arabs to resume a trade with Madagaskar and East Africa that from some unknown cause had apparently declined in the first centuries of the Christian era. Muhammadan Arab settlements were created along the Somali coast at Lamu (whither also came a colony of Persians), at Mombasa, Zanzibar and Kilwa. Mozambique was occupied and the Zambezi reached about the twelfth century. At this period a flourishing Arab colony grew up at Sofala near the modern Beira, and the Islamic Arabs opened up a profitable intercourse with the great power of Monomotapa—the modern Rhodesia.

Here they may have influenced the building or the repair of the typical Zimbabwe stone cities. The main attraction, of course, lay

in the gold of the Zambezi watershed and the tablelands of South-east Africa. Arab knowledge and influence scarcely extended beyond Delagoa Bay to the south. They nicknamed the stalwart, turbulent, naked Bantu negroes of all this coast region *Kufar*, or unbelievers, a word which in its singular form is *Kafir*. A brisk trade in slaves grew up for the furnishing of labourers to the agricultural districts of Arabia and southern Persia, and the supply of eunuchs to the harims of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The Arabs, no doubt, carried over many slaves from the Mozambique coast to Madagaskar, where they were disposed of to the Arabized Malagasy chiefs. The Comoro Islands were easily conquered and held by petty Arab chiefs, who assisted to populate them with negroes drawn from the mainland.

Gold proved a great magnet likewise in the development of West Africa. Arabs and Tuareg began to hear of the wealth of gold in the forest regions of Ashanti ("Wangara") and in the country of Bambuk near the upper Senegal. As far back as the eleventh century, when the Arab still ruled in Sicily, they had begun to acquire and to transmit to the civilized world of the Mediterranean some ideas as to the geography of Inner Africa, reviving and extending the old Greek and Roman stories about great lakes, rivers and mountains far away beyond the sandy desert which bounded North Africa. They

had also commenced to introduce into the Mediterranean world black slaves from these regions, ivory, spices, ostrich feathers, leopard skins and strange wild beasts from the regions of Inner Africa.

What did the Arabs do for Africa after the Islamic upheaval? They intensified the principle of slavery. The enslavement of the Black by the White had begun—we may be sure—as soon as the two races met. It is evident from the remains found in the prehistoric graves of Lower Egypt that the Libyan race of ten thousand years ago had enslaved what remained of the Bushman or Negrito population. When ancient Egypt was in full development as a mighty empire slavery was an established principle. All prisoners of war were turned into slaves whether they were white or black, but the black slaves proved the more contented and docile. Consequently, all through the rule of the dynastic Egyptians and down to the Roman and Byzantine periods, the Sudan was raided for slaves; or troops of negroes and negresses were obtained by purchase when slave-trading became a matter of private enterprise. But the Arabs carried on the principle over all that part of Africa which they could reach, and infected the Muhammadanized Libyans with the same idea. Slaves were required for the harims of the Muhammadan world, and to serve as soldiers in Persia and India; they were even needed for the cultivation of the

sparsely-inhabited districts of Southern Portugal. With the discovery and colonization of America the demand for negro slaves became one of the chief inducements to "open up" Africa, and although this attraction drew one European nation after another to found settlements on the West African coast, it also spurred on the activities of the Arabs, not only in the Western, Central and Egyptian Sudan, but along the east coast of Africa. Through Morocco, from the regions of the Senegal and Gambia rivers; from Tripoli, Alexandria and Zanzibar, they supplied the British, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spaniards, and later on the British Americans, with a large proportion of the slaves wanted for the cultivation of Eastern North America, the West Indies and Eastern South America. A few also went to the Cape of Good Hope. In most parts of Negro Africa the Arab acted as the instigator rather than the actual raider and snatcher of slaves himself. He brought trade goods with which he bribed the native chiefs, or he intervened as advisor or provoker in their quarrels and set one tribe to fight another in order that he might receive a proportion of the slaves captured in war. The movements that he thus set on foot had a far-reaching effect on Africa; and even where the Arab influence was checked (until the middle and end of the nineteenth century) by the dense forests of the Congo Basin, the Kamerun, the Ivory Coast and Liberia, the idea of

warring and raiding for slaves had penetrated to the remotest recesses of these regions amongst cannibal tribes who had never heard of the existence of Arabs or of white men, but understood vaguely that if they went to war with a weaker tribe such captives as they might make and did not choose to eat then and there, could be sold for trade-goods to another tribe farther to the west or to the east, which was willing to buy people for some purpose unknown.

As the result of the slave-trade natives of the very heart of Africa might find themselves occupying posts of importance and power in Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis or Morocco; in Arabia, Turkey, Syria, Persia or India; while European notions in weapons, in adornments, in clothing and in metal-working, found their way through the slave-trade to the remotest recesses of Africa. It was in this way that American introductions like tobacco have spread in three hundred years—between 1600 and 1900 (for tobacco was scarcely introduced into Africa before the beginning of the seventeenth century)—all over the continent, tobacco being known practically to every tribe and race except the Hottentot and the Bushman (who used the earlier Indian narcotic, hemp), and some forest pygmies when Africa was finally laid bare at the beginning of the twentieth century.

As a set-off against the damage done by the slave-trade, the Arabs greatly improved the

circumstances of negro life as they first found it. To them seems to be due the introduction of rice and of the sugar-cane from India. The cotton plant may also have been brought by them. They certainly spread its cultivation over all parts of Africa which they could reach, possibly bringing indigo with them at the same time. They may also have introduced hemp, which preceded tobacco as a narcotic (and a very unwholesome one). They spread the use of the horse : even if they did not introduce it into Negro Africa—which they probably did. They seem to have brought from India before and after the Islamic times the zebu type of humped ox, and introduced this into Somaliland and East Africa.

Lastly, they conferred on fetish-ridden Africans, tortured in mind and body by some of the most hideous forms of religion ever invented, the comparative blessings of the Muhammadan faith, and with it they conveyed a wonderful feeling of self-respect, which was partly aided by a suitable and picturesque costume. Wherever the European races have been concerned Muhammadanism has ultimately resulted in an arrest of development, partly through its connection with the Turks. It has gone far to ruin the north of Africa and Egypt. Syria, Persia and Asia Minor have been reduced to a pitiable condition by a faith which was of little positive value, and inspired men to no high deeds in art or science. But to Negro Africa, and no doubt to parts of India

and Malaysia, it came as a great blessing, raising up savages to a state, at any rate, of semi-civilization, making them god-fearing, self-respecting, temperate, courageous and picturesque.

CHAPTER VIII

PORTUGAL OPENS UP AFRICA

In the eleventh century of the Christian era a new force appeared in Mediterranean waters which slightly affected the opening up of Africa. This was that wonderful people, the Northmen: the coastmen of Norway and Denmark, who did so much to colonize and virilize England, Scotland and Ireland, Flanders and northern France, whence they obtained their current name of Normand (Norman), the French rendering of the Scandinavian Nordmænd. As early as the tenth century these sea-rovers were harassing the coasts of Morocco, and are spoken of in the Arabic chronicles of that country as Majū. Having become Christians at the close of the tenth century they took to making pilgrimages to Palestine and assisting Italian princes against the Saracens. By the middle of the eleventh century they had created a Norman state in southern Italy, and had conquered Sicily from the Saracens by 1090. In the twelfth century they also seized and held

intermittently, places on the east coast of Tunis. When the Normans took possession of Sicily and southern Italy they did not despise the erudition or the art of their Saracen subjects. On the contrary, they dealt out even-handed justice to Muhammadan and Christian alike, and in this way acquired the liking of many Arabs, who were willing to instruct them in the lore of recently-explored Africa; and under Norman rule a great trade sprang up between southern Italy and Moorish Africa.

Another dépôt of trade, for the interchange of European and African products in the period between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, was the south of Moorish Spain, especially such ports as Malaga. Hither Arabs and Berbers brought the products of West Africa, especially spices and pepper. The most favoured of these condiments in European estimation, perhaps, was the seed of a handsome amarantaceous plant distantly allied to the banana, and known by the modern scientific name of *Aframomum*. Colloquially, these seeds were often called "Grains of Paradise," and from a shortening of this term is derived the old trade name for Sierra Leone and Liberia: the Grain Coast. As this spice, during the period above referred to, was chiefly dispensed from Malaga it became known as Malagueta pepper.

When the Norman power faded in the Mediterranean there grew up bold sea-rovers

(often tinged, no doubt, with Norman blood) in the ports of the Balearic Islands, which had been wrested from the Moors by the Christian kingdom of Aragon; and also on the Ligurian and Etruscan coasts — Genoa and Pisa. In the Adriatic the power of Venice had become a very potent factor in the development of the trade between Europe, Asia and Africa. But sea-rovers of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, of Genoa, Pisa and other north-west Italian ports, began to penetrate into the open Atlantic Ocean; where they encountered as rivals—not altogether friendly—descendants of the Norman settlers of northern France, and Flemings and Dutchmen; likewise, no doubt, of mainly Norman descent. Such adventurers as these discovered, or rediscovered, the Azores Archipelago, a thousand miles west of Portugal and almost half way across to America (it is quite possible, however, that this Archipelago had been visited by the Phœnicians). They also reached the Canary Islands and noted that they were inhabited by a tall, handsome race of white people—the Guanches, of whom, the men went nearly or quite naked. Genoans and Pisans began to enter into friendly relations with the civilized Berber dynasties of North Africa, especially on the coast of east Algeria or northern Tunis.

The Venetians, on the other hand, taking advantage of the pacification which followed the withdrawal of the Crusaders from Syria,

opened up friendly relations with the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria, thus being enabled to stimulate and conduct an indirect trade with India and with East Africa. Through this trade they were enabled to pour the spices of the East into the markets of Central, Western and Northern Europe; for the people of the Middle Ages and succeeding centuries, down to about one hundred and fifty years ago, had a passion for highly-spiced food, which to us at the present day would be nauseous, uneatable or indigestible. The Venetians sought by every means in their power to create a monopoly in the spice trade. They fought with Genoa and Pisa, and although they did not completely crush them, nevertheless, so enfeebled these republics as greatly to hamper their development of trade with North and West Africa, which was just beginning.

But about this time a new maritime power was arising in the west of Europe: Portugal. This little kingdom had been founded by a bold German, a knight of Burgundian descent, who had taken service with the King of Castile in order to harass the Moors of Western Spain. Henry of Burgundy drove the Moors southwards across the Douro to the banks of the Tagus, and became the Count of Portus Calis (a small harbour at the mouth of the Douro, near Oporto, which was known as "Portugal"). His successor, aided by a roving band of English crusaders, had cap-

tured Lisbon from the Moors, and finally, by the year 1250, had carried the Christian power to the southernmost limits of Portugal, the little coast province of Algarve, which in a slightly altered form, still bears its old Arabic name of Al-Gharb, the Province of the Setting Sun.

From Southern Portugal the Moors were pursued into Morocco, and Portuguese and Castilians in alliance seized and held such points of vantage as Tangier and Septa (Ceuta). Prominent amongst the Portuguese warriors and leaders of thought and speculation, was Prince Henry, the second son of the Portuguese king, João I, and of his English queen, Philippa: daughter of that John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who was one of the most prolific of English princes and was the ancestor of the present British dynasty, as well as figuring in the family tree of nearly all the monarchs of Europe. Prince Henry, afterwards surnamed the "Navigator," conversed with many intelligent Moors when Portuguese rule had been established over the northern extremity of Morocco. From them he heard wonderful stories of the wealth of Inner Africa: the gold of the Gold Coast, the abundance of spice and pepper in the tropical forests, the incredible numbers of elephants, and the handsome cotton cloths woven by industrious black people. It may be that Prince Henry, who was a man of wide learning and patient

research, had also heard rumours of adventurous sea journeys undertaken by the hardy seamen of Dieppe (Normandy), or of Majorca or North-west Italy, who—it is believed—had not confined their explorations to the discovery of the Canaries, Madeira and the Azores, but had passed along the west coast of Africa till they had reached the great Gulf of Guinea.

[It has since been maintained by students of French history that in the fourteenth century the mariners of Dieppe had visited the mouth of the Senegal, had established trading posts on the coasts of Liberia, and finally had reached the Gold Coast and built a fort at the place now called Elmina, deriving from these regions much gold and above all much ivory. There is no doubt that an ivory-carving industry arose at Dieppe about this period, and it seems strange that it should have done so, unless the trade of Dieppe was in touch with some ivory-producing region like West Africa.]

But these adventures, if they ever took place, had come to an end in the first quarter of the fifteenth century when Prince Henry was inclined to renew them on behalf of the Portuguese. He caused ships to be fitted out and to direct their course southwards past the various headlands of Morocco. For several years the mariners were baffled by Atlantic storms and unable to get past Cape Bojador (a name which means the bulging, or jutting-

out (Cape), but this obstacle was passed in the year 1434 by a bold mariner, Gil Eannes, who in the following year succeeded in reaching the inlet now known as the Rio de Oro, where was situated the little island of Herne, supposed to have been the Kerne trading dépôt of the Carthaginians: a place whence they maintained intercourse with what may have been a Fula people inhabiting the region between the Rio de Oro and the mouth of the Senegal. The Fulas had long been displaced by the Zenaga Moors, a mixture of Libyan and Arab tribes. The Portuguese adventurers seized some of these Moors to convey them to Portugal as slaves. Here the pleaded with Prince Henry for their freedom, stating that far away to the south beyond their own country was a land of black people whom it was not only lawful in their eyes to enslave, but who proved very docile and laborious servants. They said they had no gold in their own country, but what they derived in trade from the lands of the negroes. In short, they offered, if the Portuguese would take them back to their own land, to furnish guides or pilots which might show the Portuguese ships the way to the land of black people and of tropical rains.

This was agreed to, and under this guidance the Portuguese in 1444 reached the mouth of the Senegal and did something to explore that river. Further explorations followed rapidly, sometimes undertaken by Venetian or Genoese

captains in the service of Portugal, such as Cá da Mosto and Uso di Mare. By the year 1471 the Portuguese had at last reached the far-famed Gold Coast and proceeded ten years later to build a fort, which they called St. George of the Mine (Saõ Jorge da Mina), at that same Elmina which is alleged to have been a stronghold of the Dieppe traders some fifty or sixty years earlier.

By the year 1485 the Portuguese had got into touch with another important African kingdom, that of Benin. Benin had received its strange civilization from Yoruba, and Yoruba again from the Sudan—Hausaland and Bornu. A remarkable art of moulding, and perhaps casting, was already in existence when the Portuguese reached Benin in the latter half of the fifteenth century, but whether the Benin people already possessed bronze before they received it from the Portuguese is doubtful. But they were greedy for this alloy and probably from the Portuguese learnt the art of casting by a process known as " cire perdue," in which a mould of the object to be cast in bronze is first made in wax. The people of Benin were able to give to the Portuguese immense quantities of Malagueta pepper, tusks of ivory, and negro slaves, but their swampy country had no gold.

The Portuguese passed along the Niger delta without realizing that it was the delta of the wonderful river they had dimly heard of in the interior of Senegambia. They dis-

covered the Kamerun[1] Mountains and estuary, the island of Fernando Pô (then inhabited by a wild race of Bantu-speaking negroes in the most primitive condition of Palæolithic culture), and reached the mouth of the Congo in 1482. They realized the importance of this great river, and a few years afterwards sent an expedition, which sailed and rowed up this stream to the highest point possible, below the impassable Falls of Yelálá. Here, on high rocky cliffs, they inscribed the facts relating to this expedition, an inscription which was only rediscovered a few years ago, and which is a signal proof amongst many others that the Portugal of that period was a nation of heroes achieving with very small means things which would be barely within the power of the best-equipped European expeditions of the present day.

Not content with thus getting access to the land which produced pepper and gold, the Portuguese with a boldness of conception that was really remarkable, dispatched more than one adventurous traveller such as Pedro de Covilham to find a way through Egypt to India by the Red Sea, and discover some means of cutting off the Venetian trade in spice with that vast country. Pedro de Covilham after

[1] It may be as well to state here that although for the sake of uniformity the official German spelling *Kamerun* has been adopted in this book, the name is really a Portuguese word, *Camarões*, meaning prawns, owing to the abundance of prawns in the river estuaries.

reaching India and visiting Arab East Africa had landed on his return journey up the Red Sea at Masawa and entered Abyssinia about the year 1489. Though detained here against his will, he sent back to his countrymen accounts of this remarkable Christian kingdom, which, together with distorted legends of Christian khans in Tartary created the legend of Prester John. But the semi-imprisonment of Pedro de Covilham by the king of Abyssinia and the always-existing hostility of the Muhammadans on the Red Sea route to India, spurred on the Portuguese government and its adventurous subjects to continue their explorations of West Africa, and find a way round the southern end of that continent. Nevertheless, they did not neglect the gold possibilities of West Africa.

Amongst other inspiring legends which were luring men on far adventures in that wonderful century—the fifteenth, the great century of the rebirth or renaissance—was the story of Timbuktu. Timbuktu is situated at the present day a few miles from the north bank of the Central Niger where that river reaches the most northern extension of its course. No doubt its site has been for ages a converging point of commerce between the Sahara and the Sudan, and probably arose as such on the actual banks of the Niger lake before that lake dwindled to a river with backwaters and isolated lakelets. As a civilized city, however, it was founded by the Songhai merchants of Jenné, about 1150 A.D., on the site of an old

Tuareg trading camp called Tombutu or Timbuktu. Through its trading intercourse by way of the salt-mines of Tegazza with Morocco, Algeria and Southern Tunis, it became rapidly a city of great wealth, though its immediate surroundings produced little or nothing but camels and herds of sheep and goats. To Timbuktu, however, by way of the Niger and its tributaries and by overland routes, came the gold of Ashanti and the gold of Bambarra; the salt of the Western Sahara Desert, and vast numbers of negro slaves, besides the cotton goods of the Sudan. From Roman or from Muslim Egypt the cultivation of the cotton plant and the use of the loom for weaving its thread had spread right across the Northern Sudan to the Upper Niger, as well as the art of producing a dye from indigo which tinted this cotton cloth a rich dark-blue. Long before the weaving of cotton was established as a British industry, West and West Central Africa were supplying much of the Muhammadan world with strong cotton cloths.

Under the stimulus of the Arab and Songhai religious and commercial propaganda and the rule or overlordships of the Songhai kings, not only had Timbuktu and Jenné (at the confluence of the Niger and the Bani) risen into prominence in Western Africa, but Gao or Gago, the original Songhai capital on the Central Niger; Kano, in the very heart of the Sudan; Birni, the great city of Bornu;

Zinder, Katsena, Hausa and Zaria in Hausaland, had become even greater centres of commerce and population. In fact, about the time the Portuguese were discovering for Europe the coast-line of West Africa, the whole Sudan from the Upper Senegal and Upper Gambia on the west to Darfur and the confines of Nubia on the east, was becoming a region of civilization. It possessed its own distinctive architecture, that introduced originally by the Songhai people and now more associated with the Fula—an architecture obviously derived from an imitation of the style of ancient Egypt (but later influenced by the Saracenic art of North Africa): it had acquired the horse likewise from Egypt, and had developed fine breeds of that animal; it possessed flocks of domestic donkeys and great herds of cattle, sheep and goats, the leather of these animals being cured and dressed with a peculiar art, famous to this day. There were busy forges at work turning out manufactures of iron. Tin had been discovered in Nigeria and was being combined with native copper to make bronze. Brass—which is a compound of copper and zinc—was being imported from Egypt and the Mediterranean. Life and property in the regions outside the great forests were fairly secure. Agriculture was industriously pursued, and except for occasional famines caused by drought, locusts or floods, the Western and Central Sudan was a land of

bounteous plenty. In fact, there were some regions in which hunger could not exist because of the abundance of wild edible products.

So that the Portuguese were told no lies by eager interpreters when they were led to believe in the existence of populous, wealthy and civilized cities in the heart of Africa. The first object of their search was naturally Timbuktu, with which they often confounded the still more remarkable brick-built city of Jenné, or "Guiné," which is to-day one of the wonders of Africa. According to somewhat vague records, a Portuguese expedition set out about the year 1470 from the Senegal river, of which two envoys are said to have got as far as Jenné; while some years later another expedition landed at Cape Palmas in Southern Liberia and marched inland till they reached the Mandingo countries of the Upper Niger. Again, from the Gold Coast the Portuguese despatched expeditions towards the same region, which got no farther than the country of Mosi or Moshi (a powerful negro kingdom, early Muhammadanized), but this was already a considerable feat, and was not repeated by European explorers for about four hundred years.

By 1488 a great Portuguese navigator, Bartolomeu Diaz, had penetrated as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, and had just managed to round that promontory to Algoa Bay before storms compelled him to

return. Nine years later, Vasco da Gama, with an expedition of four ships, not only rounded the Cape—whose name King John II of Portugal had already changed from the Cape of Storms to the "Cape of Good Hope"—but sailed eagerly and prosperously along the coast of Natal into the smoother waters of the Mozambique Channel. Calling at Sofala, he found himself in touch with "Moors"—the East African traders who came thither from Southern and Eastern Arabia. With these Arabs on the outward and homeward journeys, he partly warred and partly compromised or made friends. He heard from them of the gold in the river valleys of the interior, the wonderful stone cities, and the powerful negro empire of Monomotapa. Continuing northwards with Arab pilots he visited Zanzibar, Mombasa and Malindi. At this last place he obtained a pilot who showed him how to cross the Indian Ocean with the monsoon wind, and thus he arrived at Calicut on the Malabar coast of India, a very remarkable event in the history of man. On his return journey from India, Vasco da Gama touched at the island of Mozambique and visited Quelimane near the mouth of the Zambezi. Between 1505 and 1508 Portuguese captains of fleets captured from the Arabs Sofala, Quelimane, Sena (on the Lower Zambezi), Mozambique, Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, and Magdishu—all on the East African coast—and, in addition, Aden,

Sokotra and the island of Ormuz (in the Persian Gulf).

In the subsequent development of a Portuguese empire over Africa, a fatal blunder was made. The Portuguese neglected to occupy the Cape of Good Hope or any other stronghold on the southern extremity of West Africa. They had discovered in the Southern Atlantic the islands of Ascension and St. Helena, which on direct voyages to the Cape of Good Hope might have been useful calling-places for water and vegetables; but to any power that aspired, as did the Portuguese, to occupy and rule East Africa and India from the west of Europe and by means of the Cape route, it was an oversight difficult to understand that prevented their garrisoning the necessary places of call between St. Helena Bay and Algoa Bay at the southern extremity of Africa. It might have been difficult to establish such a stronghold at any point on the coast of Natal (even if there had been a harbour there, which there was not) because of the numerous and warlike Bantu tribes in the vicinity. But the natives of the region about the Cape of Good Hope were only Hottentots and Bushmen, quite unable to resist or to eject a force of determined Europeans.

For three-quarters of the sixteenth century Portugal had it all her own way in Africa. She had even established a sort of empire over Northern Morocco, and by treaty with

Spain (that of Tordesillas in 1498) her sphere of influence in North-western Africa was recognized as commencing on the East Morocco coast at Velez de la Gomera.

Spain by the beginning of the sixteenth century had seized and held many points of vantage along the Mediterranean coast of North Africa between Melilla on the west and Sfax on the east. In Tunisia Spain played a very important part between 1535 and 1574. But the rise in Turkish power in the Mediterranean acting through Turkish corsairs or pirates drove the Spaniards out of all these acquisitions in North Africa with the exception of Oran and Melilla. Spain, however, had acquired the archipelago of the Canary Islands by 1279, and never lost this valuable possession.

The Turks having seized Egypt and garrisoned the Red Sea coast as far south as Masawa, attempted to interfere with the Portuguese on the route to India, but they were signally defeated and prevented from making any extension of their power towards East Africa. About 1532 the Portuguese interfered romantically in the affairs of Abyssinia, sending an army of four hundred horsemen and artillery to assist the king of Abyssinia in resisting the attacks of the Muhammadan Somalis and Arabs from Aden. [This expedition will be described in Chapter XIII.] It led to the establishment of Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries in

Abyssinia, and to the discovery of the source of the Blue Nile, of the leading features in Abyssinian geography, and of many strange African mammals and birds till then unknown, such as the Zebra and the Hornbill. The facts which were thus revealed were, however, much exaggerated by the map-makers of Portugal and Italy, and actually prevented for centuries a right appreciation of the geography of Africa, for Abyssinian names, lakes, mountains and rivers were pushed southwards on the map of Africa till they entered the region of the Zambezi.

In this last region—Zambezia—the Portuguese by the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century had achieved great explorations. They had explored the river Zambezi more or less to the rapids of the Lupata gorge and had left missionaries behind to pursue geographical investigations as well as convert the negroes to Christianity. But the tsetse-fly wrecked the principal gold-seeking expeditions under Barreto (1560). Malarial fever carried off many of the Portuguese, and the missionaries left behind were murdered by native chiefs, who did not like the idea of the Portuguese taking possession of the country. The Portuguese merely retained, on the south-east coast of Africa, Sofala and the Bazaruto Islands, and did not occupy Delagoa Bay till the eighteenth century.

On the west coast of Africa they held the little island afterwards called Goree at Dakar,

in Senegal, and one or two trading posts between the Senegal river and Cape Blanco. They had trading stations along the lower part of the Gambia river and on the innumerable rivers between the Gambia and Sierra Leone. The Ivory Coast they, and all succeeding adventurers down to the close of the nineteenth century, left alone, because of the ferocity of the cannibal negroes and the absolute lack of any harbour or shelter; but the Portuguese were strongly established at Elmina on the Gold Coast, at Ajuda or Hwida on the coast of Dahome, and they had trading stations at Lagos, Old Calabar, and the Cameroons river. They had early annexed the islands of Fernando Pô, Saõ Thomé, and Principe, in the Gulf of Guinea, and in 1492 they had entered into an alliance with the powerful king of the Lower Congo.

The kingdom of Kongo, like so many of these negro states in Africa, had been founded several centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese by a hunter-adventurer who came amongst the Palæolithic savages of this region armed with weapons of iron and with great renown as a hunter of elephants and other big game. The people of this region, when the Portuguese first came amongst them at the close of the fifteenth century, were, in fact, impregnated with what may be called the civilization of Bushongo. They were workers of metal, weavers of grass-cloth or of cloth made of palm-fibre, they made beautiful

pottery by hand, they carved ivory and wood, and had an elaborate religion, a hierarchy of nobles and a sovereign regarded as semi-sacred.

This early type of African civilization specially characteristic of Benin, Yoruba, and Bushongo, by the close of the fifteenth century had probably affected much of the interior of West and Central Africa, stopping short, however, of regions of dense forest where the people still lived under very primitive and barbarous conditions. Such backward regions were what is now called Portuguese Guinea between the Gambia and Sierra Leone; Liberia and the Ivory Coast, the main delta of the Niger, the coast district of the Kamerun, and the gorilla country between the Kamerun on the north and Luango on the south. But this "Bushongo" type of civilization had influenced much of Southern Nigeria, Northern Kamerun, Western Congo-land and the interior of Northern Angola. It also ascended the main stream of the Congo and its affluents, the Mubangi and Kasai; and reached the shores of the great lakes—Victoria Nyanza, Tanganyika and Nyasa, and the Zambezian empire of Monomotapa.

There was in addition, when the Portuguese began to open up Africa, the already described Songhai and Bornu type of civilization in the Sudan which extended from Upper Nubia and the Blue Nile to the mouth of the Senegal, a civilization distinctly higher and more

infused with European ideas than that of Benin and South Central Africa. But elsewhere the condition of the negro inhabitants of fifteenth-century Africa was one of almost complete savagery.

But in the people of the Lower Congo the Portuguese found a race eager and willing to receive some measure of European civilization. They became rapidly, though superficially, converted to Christianity. They adopted European names and titles; petty chiefs styled themselves counts; stronger chiefs marquises; males of the chief's family became dukes or princes; and native women of prominence and possessions were correspondingly ennobled. But the Portuguese were never much more at this period than the powerful allies of the Congo kingdom. Directly they attempted to subjugate it they met with a stubborn and successful resistance. Consequently they turned their efforts more (after 1597) towards founding a colony in Angola. In Northern Angola the people were nearly allied in race and language to those of the Lower Congo, but were not so civilized, united or powerful. In spite of several revolts and much native resistance the Portuguese established themselves firmly in Angola and on the river Kwanza by the close of the sixteenth century.

But before this date had commenced a decline and disintegration of the Portuguese power in Africa and elsewhere. No doubt Portugal in styling her monarch King of

Portugal and of the Two Lands of the Setting Sun on this side and on that side of the sea in Africa, Lord of Guinea and of the conquest and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India, had attempted to saddle a small country of some two millions of people with an impossible empire, especially as the vast country of Brazil in the New World was becoming the most prominent of the Portuguese possessions beyond the seas. Yet so far as Portugal itself was constituted in regard to climate, and even area (it is about thirty-six thousand square miles), there is no reason why it might not have achieved proportionately as much as England has done, but for some inherent weakness of race and the appalling blow which fell on the country by the defeat and death of the King Sebastian in Morocco on the fatal field of Kasr-al-Kabir in the year 1578. This defeat, which led subsequently to the founding of the Sharifian Empire of Morocco — now tottering to its fall — cost Portugal not only her young king, who died childless, but many of her leading nobles, no doubt of Gothic or Burgundian descent. King Sebastian was succeeded for two years by his uncle, a cardinal of the Roman Church, and when this last king of the house of Avis died in 1580, the next legitimate heir to the throne was the king of Spain, Philip II.

After the fatal battle of Kasr-al-Kabir, the Portuguese lost all their possessions in Morocco except one or two points on the Atlantic coast,

and Tangier and Ceuta.[1] But Portuguese prestige had received a fatal blow. Spain, though she had maintained the administration of Portugal intact as a separate country from the rest of the Peninsula, and similarly carried on the work of the Portuguese colonies mainly by Portuguese administrators, nevertheless in the eyes of the world at large became identified with the Portuguese Empire and responsible for it. Hitherto the English, French and Dutch had been embarrassed in their adventures by the obstacles Portugal placed in their way, and at the same time their unwillingness to quarrel with the court of Lisbon because of their greater dislike of the court of Madrid. But as soon as the Spanish and Portuguese crowns were fused in the person of Philip II. in 1580, then these Northern nations knew no pity in their attacks on Portuguese possessions. The British and Dutch were most eager to trade with the west coast of Africa, and the Portuguese had constantly prevented their doing so. But in 1621 the Dutch seized the Portuguese footholds of Arguin and Goree on the Senegal coast, and in 1637 captured the Portuguese fort of Saõ Jorge at Elmina on the Gold Coast. The Dutch likewise took the place of the Portuguese as the claimants or owners of St. Helena, Mauritius and Bourbon, on the

[1] Ceuta was retained by Spain when the Portuguese regained their independence in 1640. Tangier was given to England in 1662.

coasts of Madagaskar, and also attempted, with partial success, to turn them out of the Kongo kingdom of Angola and of Mozambique. The French also commenced trading on the Senegal river, and began to frequent Madagaskar and the Mascarene Islands. But the Dutch were the deadliest enemies of the Portuguese in Africa and elsewhere, because of their long prolonged war of independence against Spain.

Portugal recovered her independence in 1640, and soon afterwards developed considerable energy not only in opening up Brazil, but in extending her possessions in Angola and Mozambique. The Arabs of Maskat and of Southern Arabia had taken their ancient possessions and footholds along the Somali and Zanzibar coasts, including the island of Zanzibar; but the Portuguese continued to hold Mombasa fitfully during the early part of the eighteenth century. Finally, about 1752, some sort of arrangement was come to with the Maskat Arabs. Portugal withdrew from all possessions north of the Ruvuma river, and contented herself with Mozambique and Zambezia.

In the eighteenth century the Dutch settlements in South Africa began to attract the attention and envy of Europe, and the Portuguese, no doubt prompted by this and by the desire of other European powers to found settlements in South Africa, attempted in a rather feeble way to occupy Delagoa Bay.

On the west coast of Africa the colony of Angola was extended southwards to Mossamedes, and some kind of claim was set up to influence over the coast as far as Cape Frio. During the eighteenth century much intercourse grew up between the Portuguese and the powerful Bantu kingdoms of the southern basin of the Congo, generally grouped under the title of the Empire of Lunda. Portuguese civilization, costumes, arms, spread inland across the Kwango river to Southern Congoland. From Mozambique, and mostly from Tete on the Zambezi, it reached north as far as Lake Mweru. Portuguese slave-traders, generally half-castes, at length pushed their journeys from the west eastwards, and from the east north-westwards, until they had crossed from Angola to Mozambique and vice versa.

But a new shadow fell across the Portuguese power when it seemed possible that another Brazil was being founded in Africa. Dr. Lacerda, a Brazilian scientific explorer whom the Portuguese government had sent out to Zambezia to conduct an expedition which might open up communications between that possession and Angola, heard just as he was preparing to start on his journey that a British force had occupied Capetown. He uttered the remarkable prediction that this event might lead to the establishment of British rule from Cape Colony to Egypt.

The general results of the Portuguese dis-

covery of the west and east coasts of Africa was very noteworthy in so far as they affected the future condition of the negro races. The Portuguese found the Sudan as it was after the Arabs, the Songhai, the Copts, the Nubians and the Libyans had brought to it the achievements of the Middle Ages: namely, enjoying an Eastern type of civilization not without its comforts, learning and even luxuries. But they also found the densely forested regions of the West African coast-belt, the western basin of the Congo, and the undiscovered parts of South and South-east Africa in a state of comparative or complete savagery, and sometimes in a condition of intermittent famine. Savage, naked, negro Africa at the time of the Portuguese discoveries during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had little more than goats, sheep and dogs and fowls in the way of domestic animals; and few cultivated vegetable products beyond yams, bananas, gourds, pumpkins, and (where Arab civilization had reached them indirectly) the *sorghum*, *eleusine* and *pennisetum* cereals, and beans and peas. In much of the forest regions of Central Africa even these food products were lacking; and the Portuguese had not meddled with West Africa for much more than a century before they realized how every few years food-famines swept over the country bringing disaster in their train and destroying large numbers of the inhabitants.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they made haste to introduce into West and East Africa cultivated plants from Brazil which might give the negro a more permanent food supply. Thus to them, and to them alone, is due the introduction of the pineapple, which now grows wild over much of the Congo Basin and the West African woodlands. They introduced tobacco, the useful manioc or arrowroot, ground-nuts (*Arachis*), sweet potatoes, maize, oranges, limes, sugar-cane, red pepper, tomatoes, onions, the guava, the papaw tree, perhaps the coco-nut; the pig, several breeds of cattle, dogs, cats and horses, the Muscovy duck (a common domestic bird now in Negro Africa), the turkey (which has taken root on the eastern Gold Coast), and many utensils, weapons, musical instruments, and industries, which it would be tedious to enumerate. They also brought wheat to the Zambezi basin, and often co-operated with the Arabs in spreading the cultivation of rice. Though, like the Dutch and later the Spaniards, British, French and Danes, they established the oversea slave-trade, on the whole the verdict of history will be that they contributed materially to the ultimate welfare of the negro inhabitants of Africa.

One indirect effect of the Portuguese attempt to rule northern Morocco was that the Sharifs of Tafilalt, who had chiefly come to power through their share in the defeating the Portuguese at the battle of Kasr-al-Kabir,

acquired from their expulsion of the Portuguese large quantities of guns, cannon and ammunition. The new Sharifian dynasty of Morocco also enlisted Spanish Moors (Rumis), and armed with the new weapon—gunpowder—they determined to effect the conquest of the Nigerian Sudan, not only in order to secure the salt-mines of the western Sahara, but to gain access to a country which produced black slaves in abundance—slaves that might easily be turned into bold and faithful warriors, and so provide the supreme ruler of Morocco with a standing army. Accordingly, in 1590 the then sultan of Morocco, Abu'l Abbas-al-Mansur, dispatched his general, Juder Basha, with an army of Spanish Moors and negroes to attack the Songhai Empire on the Upper Niger. The expedition was completely successful. Timbuktu was captured in 1591 and the Songhai Empire soon afterwards came to an end. The result of this and succeeding expeditions was that the sultan of Morocco ruled southwards to the town of Jenné and his empire covered a good deal of the Upper Niger. He or his viceroys in the Sudan even conceived the idea of adding Hausaland to his dominions, but were probably restrained by the growing power of Bornu. But this Moorish rule of the Upper Niger carried a bastard European civilization still farther into Negro Africa; Moorish architecture, Moorish art in metal-work and in leather, Moorish cookery and Moorish ideas of history and religion

penetrated all through Nigeria and permeated much of West Africa to the north of the forest zone.

CHAPTER IX

THE DUTCH IN AFRICA

It has been already shown in the last chapter how Holland, while warring with Spain by sea as well as on land, replaced the Portuguese as the principal nation trading with West Africa. By 1637 they had acquired, through purchase from the natives or by the exercise of force, the islet of Arguin off Cape Blanco; Rufisque, Gorec, Joal and Portendal between the Senegal and the Gambia; and Fort Nassau and Elmina on the Gold Coast. A little later they attempted vainly to replace the Portuguese in Congoland, and seized and held a portion of Angola, besides occupying Mozambique for a few years, and establishing trading settlements on the coast of Madagaskar. They also occupied the island of Mauritius during the seventeenth century, and exterminated the Dodo in that island as they are now-a-days exterminating the Birds of Paradise in New Guinea.

At different periods in the early part of the seventeenth century the Dutch consolidated their sea-going ventures into two great chartered companies, one of the West Indies and

the other of the East Indies. The West Indian Company ruled all the settlements on the west coast of Africa, in the East Indies, and on the coast of South America. The East India Company was granted a monopoly of trade from the Pacific coast of South America across the Indian Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, and had its headquarters with a governor-general and consul at Batavia on the island of Java, a place, however, which was then called Jacatra.

It was not at first intended to establish anything like a colony in South Africa: the ships eastward bound called at St. Helena (which the Dutch had occupied from 1645 to 1651), and, if necessary, at Table Bay, where they maintained friendly relations with the Hottentots. But in 1648 a Dutch ship was wrecked at Table Bay, and the crew having landed lived there for five months, until they were picked up by other Dutch ships. During this period they sowed and reaped wheat and obtained plenty of beef and mutton from the Hottentots. On their return they gave such a favourable report of the Cape Peninsula that the Dutch East India Company decided to take possession of Table Bay, and sent out an expedition under Jan van Riebeek, a ship's surgeon, who was already acquainted with South Africa. The three ships of Van Riebeek's expedition reached Table Bay on the 6th of April 1652, exactly 161½ years after Bartolomeu Diaz had sighted the Cape of Good

Hope. Seven years afterwards war broke out with the Hottentots. The Dutch settlers easily defeated them and then bought from them a small strip of coast, which gave them the whole of the Cape of Good Hope Peninsula. This action was necessary in view of the attention which France was beginning to pay to the neighbouring Saldanha Bay with the idea of establishing a footing in that harbour.

After about 1680 no attempts were made to interfere with the Dutch settlements in South Africa. And this venture might have grown into a splendid colony for Holland—another Brazil—but for the stupidity and shortsightedness of the officials who managed the Dutch East India Company. The government of the Cape of Good Hope was really carried on simultaneously by a chamber of seventeen directors at Amsterdam, by deputies at Batavia, and by a commandant at the Cape who was alternately under the orders of Amsterdam and Batavia, but who might further be overruled by any officer of superior rank who visited the Cape of Good Hope. The restrictions imposed on the colonists were so vexatious as greatly to hamper any extensive colonization of South Africa, for the settlers in Cape Colony were practically slaves to the Chartered Company. Yet as the white immigration was comparatively slow under these conditions, it was necessary to find real slaves who would till the soil under the orders

of the white colonists, and for this purpose the Dutch soon began to import slaves from Madagaskar, the Gold Coast and Mozambique, and also from the Malay Archipelago. Thus there is at the present day, as the descendants of these slaves, a considerable population of "Cape boys" (a mixture of Hottentots, Kafir, Fanti, Makua, Malagasy and whites), and Malays who are Muhammadans, and who from their intelligence and industry are becoming a very recognizable factor in the future of Cape Colony.

When the colony had been established for thirty years it only contained 502 adult Dutch and Flemish settlers, besides 162 young children. But in 1689 nearly 200 French immigrants were landed at Capetown and settled in the mining country behind. They were homeless Huguenots whom the insensate policy of Louis XIV had expelled from France in 1685, to the immense enrichment of England, Ireland, Holland, the United States, Germany and South Africa. Already the East India Company had introduced the cultivation of wheat and the vine, had sown acorns to produce oak trees, and brought pines to produce shady, aromatic forests along the lower slopes of Table Mountain. The French settlers taught the Cape Dutch amongst whom they lived, improved methods of growing corn and wine and more scientific agriculture.

By the end of the seventeenth century the South African coast had been more or less

explored from Little Namakwaland to Zululand, and an attempt had been made to purchase from the Kafirs the Bay of Natal. As early as 1688 (before the arrival of the French) Cape wine had been exported to Ceylon, and Cape wheat earlier still to the Dutch Indies.

But the Dutch, while they introduced many things that were of benefit to the natives, brought to them the accursed distilled alcohol and the diseases of the civilized world. Smallpox exterminated nearly half of the population of the Hottentots in 1713, syphilis had also been introduced, and extended its ravages far and wide amongst the native population, many of whom also died from the effects of alcohol. These causes certainly prevented any rising of the Hottentot against the Dutch rule, and they had become almost by their own consent serfs to the Dutch settlers. A considerable half-breed population sprang up, the children of Dutchmen, Huguenots and Hottentots: in fact, during the end of the nineteenth century whole tribes of these half-castes came into existence, termed Bastards by the Dutch, and sometimes known by the Hottentot term of Grikwa. Not a few of the Hottentots that we hear of in later times as fighting against the Germans in South-west Africa or warring with the Bantu Herero are of mixed White and Hottentot blood, descendants of people who migrated northwards from Cape Colony.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century Dutchmen had crossed the mountains immediately behind the projection of the Cape of Good Hope, and the boundaries of the Colony had been carried on the north, west and east to the Berg river, the Zwartenbergen Mountains and the Gamtoos river. A few years later the Olifants river (so named because the first explorers met with hundreds of elephants in the vicinity) became the northern limit. To the eastward the colony during the eighteenth century gradually crept up to the shores of the Great Fish river, and by 1785 the district of Graaf Reinet had been formed. The lower course of the Orange River was discovered in 1760 and was traced to its mouth in 1779 by Captain Gordon, a Scotchman in the service of the Dutch Company, but the northern boundary of the Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope did not reach much beyond the second great range of South African mountains, the Sneeubergen.

The Dutch made no further attempt to occupy the Bay of Natal after their abortive attempt at purchase in 1689 (when the ship containing the purchase deed was lost), but after abandoning Mauritius they sent in 1720 an expedition to occupy Delagoa Bay. Here they built a fort called Lyd Zaamhaid, and even sent explorers in the direction of the Zambezi, who purchased gold-dust from the natives. But the loss they sustained at

Delagoa Bay and on these expeditions from malarial fever was so great that the whole enterprise was abandoned in 1730.

In 1770 the total European population in Dutch South Africa, mainly of Dutch descent (with not quite a thousand descendants of the original French Huguenots), was nearly ten thousand in number, of whom eight thousand were free colonists, and the remainder the servants or *employés* of the Company. There had been one or two strong, sensible, upright governors, such as Tulbagh (who ruled without reproach and with great ability from 1751 to 1771, and who encouraged and directed numerous geographical explorations), and men like these endeavoured, as far as they were able, to mitigate the restrictions and taxes imposed on settlers by the administration of the Dutch Company. But the strangling policy which the latter favoured made the colony a poor one, and the Company, so far as its Cape administration was concerned, practically went bankrupt about the time that Governor Tulbagh retired. In 1779 the Company was more closely associated with the government of the United Provinces of Holland, and the head of the state (Stadhouder) was appointed perpetual chief director of the Company. This intervention of the state in the Chartered Company's affairs led in South Africa, as in Guiana and the West Indies, to a great improvement of conditions amongst the settlers.

In 1778 the Dutch colonists came into direct contact with the powerful Kafir tribes on the Great Fish river. In that year it was agreed by the Dutch governor of the Cape that this stream should be the boundary between the Dutch and the Kafirs. But two years afterwards the Kafirs commenced raiding the Dutch settlers, and in 1781 went to war with the Dutch forces and were beaten disastrously, being driven back to the Kei river, which had been in the former Kafir boundary as against the Hottentots. Yet in 1789 they invaded Cape Colony in force, and the Dutch power being scarcely strong enough to resist them, agreed to a compromise by which they were allowed to settle westwards of the Great Fish river.

From about this time the Dutch East India Company was becoming disheartened in regard to South Africa. They were aware that a great war was threatening once more to convulse Europe, and that in that war England and France would be on different sides and England would certainly make this the excuse to seize the Cape of Good Hope. Moreover, from a company point of view the Cape was not a profitable enterprise, and the East India Company was practically bankrupt. In 1791, when the European population of Cape Colony numbered 14,600 persons owning 17,000 slaves, the Dutch Government at home recalled the Company's governor and sent out two commissioners to represent the States-

General, but the burghers, or Boers,[1] of the interior districts chose this moment to rise against the oppressive rule of the Company and establish an independent republic of their own. Therefore, affairs in South Africa were in a state of chaos so far as this condition could exist amongst sober-sided, quiet, resolute people, determined under all conditions to show a united face to the watching Kafirs.

The importance of Capetown as a half-way station on the way to India became apparent to the British and French by the middle of the eighteenth century. Their vessels in any case were compelled to put in here for fresh water and fresh provisions. English and Scottish explorers took service under the Dutch Company; French and Swedish naturalists wrote descriptions of the strange fauna and flora of the Cape. It became increasingly clear that this portion of the world would be seized by either France or England, whichever could get the first opportunity. Holland was much allied with France in the last half of the eighteenth century, and when she became included in the war against Great Britain which commenced with the rebellion of the American colonies, the British took advantage of this and of the frequent calling of French ships of war at Capetown to

[1] This word, meaning farmer, first comes into use about this time to express the Europeans settled on the land, and quite apart from the Company's officials and traders.

send out an expeditionary force and seize this Dutch possession (1781). But the attempt failed owing to a great naval defeat inflicted on the British by the French Admiral Suffren. However, in 1795, on the strength of an authorization granted by the Prince of Orange, Capetown was garrisoned by a British force; and, although the colony was surrendered to Holland by the Peace of Amiens in 1802, possession of it was resumed on a permanent basis by Great Britain in 1806. From that time onwards the flag of the Netherlands ceased to fly in South Africa, though the Dutch element in that region of the continent has gone on increasing and multiplying until at the present day it is of equal numerical value with the British.

The after-history of the Dutch-speaking colonists of South Africa cannot be related in detail here. But as pioneers they profoundly affected the development and opening up of South Africa. Large numbers of them, quarrelling with British rule, left Cape Colony in the 'thirties and 'forties of the nineteenth century and crossed the Orange and Vaal rivers into the unexplored regions inhabited by Bechuana tribes and raided by the newly arisen Zulu conquerors. The Boers—one against a hundred—broke the power of the Zulu hordes and created the present states of Natal, Orangia and the Transvaal. The influence of their Dutch dialect, their customs, dress, mode of travel, and methods of hunting

and making war extended northwards to the Kunene and the Zambezi. The Boers also commenced the destruction of the vast herds of game in South Africa which was completed by men of British nationality: both peoples being aided in all this pioneering work, good and bad, by many German settlers and adventurers. In fact in the opening up of South Africa, Germans, under the British or Boer flags—latterly under their own—have played a part only less than the British and Dutch; and French hunters, missionaries, explorers. miners and settlers have, in addition, engraved their names somewhat deeply on South African history and geography between Barotseland and Natal during the nineteenth century.

The position of the Dutch West India Company on the west coast of Africa was rather affected in the second half of the seventeenth century by the rise of colonial ambition and interest in the slave-trade displayed by France and Britain. France in 1677–78 took Rufisque, Goree and the other Senegambian forts from the Dutch, and turned them out of Senegal (acquiring Arguin in 1724); while the Danes (1657) and later the British (1668) interfered with the Dutch monopoly of the Gold Coast. Nevertheless during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Dutch established eighteen fortified slave-trading dépôts between Axim and Akkra—the principal of which were

Elmina, Kormantyn and Annamabu—and exported four or five millions of negroes to English-speaking North America, to the British and French West Indies, to Guiana and Brazil. They and the Danes (Christiansborg to the Volta) traded mainly in slaves till 1840, leaving the trade in gold-dust more to the English company.

The Dutch and Danish possessions in West Africa lost much of their importance when slavery as well as the slave-trade was abolished by the Dutch government in 1848. Danish rights on the eastern Gold Coast were purchased by the British government in 1850, and the Dutch forts and towns were finally made over to Great Britain in 1871 in exchange for other claims in the Far East. The chief importance of the Dutch settlements on the Gold Coast in the history of West Africa lay in the wide scope they gave to the slave-trade, with the consequent increase of power and importance gained by the kingdom of Ashanti, and the penetration of West Africa by European fire-arms, alcohol, and cloth manufactures, with their consequent effect on native communities. But undoubtedly the Dutch hold over the Gold Coast (and trade with West Africa generally) greatly increased the world's scanty stock of information as to the native tribes, the fauna and flora of this part of the continent. Agents of the Dutch West India Company, such as Dr. O. Dapper in the seventeenth and Willem Bosman in the

eighteenth century, have left us remarkable books describing the condition in these periods of the Grain Coast (Liberia), Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Dahome. Moreover the Dutch hold over the Gold Coast (which from the beginning of the nineteenth century was directly exercised under the Dutch Crown) left behind it a useful race of Dutch half-castes which endures to this day, and furnishes minor *employés* in the British administration of that region, and in the leading commercial and mining enterprises.

CHAPTER X

THE FRENCH IN AFRICA

THE exact date at which the French Empire in Africa began is uncertain. There is, of course, the tradition already referred to of the Norman trading-stations on the Liberian and Gold Coasts in the fourteenth century, but from various causes French maritime enterprise died away almost completely during the fifteenth century, and was only stirred to fresh energy at the close of that period by the need for salted fish, which sent their hardy Breton and Norman mariners to Newfoundland. During the sixteenth century French enterprise was mainly absorbed in American discovery, but attempts were made, more or less in co-operation with those of the English, to

break through the Portuguese monopoly of West Africa. These did not meet with much success. It was only at the beginning of the seventeenth century (especially in 1624) when being at war with Spain, and Spain having absorbed Portugal, the French renewed their expeditions in West African discovery and seem to have directed them mainly towards the Senegal river, which after all was at no very great distance from the west coast of France. The first noteworthy voyage to the Senegal in the seventeenth century was that of 1637, which was commanded by Captain Lambert and accompanied as soldier and historian by Claude Jannequin de Rochfort. The party constructed a small boat out of timber brought from France, and left their big ship at the mouth of the Senegal river, which stream they explored for 210 miles inland. On this journey they obtained concessions from the natives on which (after the fashion of those times and of our own) it was attempted to found a chartered Norman company. This company sold its rights to the French West India Company, and the latter passed them on to a subsidiary association eventually named the "Royal Senegal." The Dutch proving hostile to French trading operations, their Senegambian forts were seized in 1677–78.

After Louis XIV came to the throne, and rose by degrees to be the leading monarch of Europe, French pirates and adventurers

founded (besides other settlements in the West Indies) the colony of St. Domingue on the western half of the island of Hispaniola; and therefore required African slaves in large numbers for West Indian development. No longer content to be dependent on the Dutch for supplies of negroes for the American plantations, the Royal Senegal Company proceeded vigorously to develop their settlements at or near the mouth of the Senegal river, and rebuilt Fort St. Louis about 1683, on the site chosen by Captain Lambert in 1637. They sent out in 1696 a very able man to attend to their affairs, André de Brüe, who combined the qualities of a man of science and a far-sighted trader, and really laid the foundations of the French empire in West Africa. Brüe made two exploring journeys up the Senegal and into the interior, and spent some fifteen years altogether on the coast of Senegambia. He visited himself, or through accredited agents, the gold country of Bambuk, the mountainous region on the Upper Senegal. It is pleasant to note that after all his adventures, dangers and attacks of fever, he eventually returned to France in 1715 and lived quietly and happily for a long time afterwards on the large fortune he had accumulated: for he was no mere slave-trader, but a man who strove to win the affections of the people and to establish an honest trade with them. He inspired similar ideas in the agents whom he dispatched up country,

notable amongst whom was Campagnon, whom I have described in another work as the ideal, good-tempered, good-looking, supple, kind-hearted, valorous Frenchman.[1]

In 1748, the Royal Senegal Company enabled Michel Adanson, a man of science and of Scotch ancestry, to conduct a five years' exploration of the fauna and flora of Senegambia: researches which very greatly increased the then scanty knowledge of the productions of Tropical Africa. Among other strange objects which he described and figured was the Baobab tree, named after him by Linnæus "Adansonia." His great book the *Histoire naturelle du Sénégal* teems with interest. The French continued to develop their Senegal settlements with some prosperity until 1758, when they were captured by the British, who held them until 1778, and again took them in 1783 and held them throughout the Napoleonic wars. Consequently, for more than half a century France had no foothold on the coast of Africa, except at intervals for a year or two when she was allowed to resume possession of Fort St. Louis and the island of Goree.

The invasion of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798 came as a thunderclap to Europe and Asia. It was the first bold attack on the empire of Islam, on the closed Oriental world,

[1] In the late Dr. Robert Brown's *Story of the Exploration of Africa*, p. 160, will be found a charming anecdote of Campagnon's kindness to animals.

since the abortive Crusades had died away in Charles V's unsuccessful attempts to found a Spanish empire in North Africa. Yet though the landing of Napoleon with a French army of forty thousand men at Alexandria on July 2, 1798 seemed a wholly erratic action without any connection with past purposes of the French government, in reality the idea of the conquest of Egypt had been for more than a hundred years occurring ever and again to a French king or statesman or philosopher. A French company had been created by Cardinal Richelieu in 1642 to colonize Madagaskar, and this island had been formally annexed by repeated orders-in-council of Louis XIV and of the succeeding Regency; Mauritius had been colonized in 1721, the islet of Ste. Marie (off Madagaskar) in 1750, and Bourbon (Réunion) in 1764 (the Seychelles in 1744). These acquisitions were mainly intended as stepping-stones to India, guardians of the ocean route. But they had a growing value of their own and—like India—might be more speedily reached from the Red Sea coast of Egypt than all the way round the Cape of Good Hope.

Sonnini, a young Alsatian naturalist of Italian origin, had been despatched by the French government at the instances of Buffon to explore Egypt. His journeys, which began about 1775, revealed the weak and disordered state of the country under the anarchical rule of the Circassian beys.

All these circumstances came to the mind of

Napoleon Bonaparte when he had conquered Italy, and, gazing eastward from the port of Ancona, had realized that the whole Turkish Empire was an easy prey to a modern Alexander. And above all that the occupation of Egypt was the necessary keystone of an empire dominating Europe and Asia.

He forgot, however, that the necessary corollary of an undisturbed hold over Egypt is a supremacy in sea-power. The British, possessing that supremacy, expelled the French from Egypt and prevented their achieving the conquest of Syria : an event which might have forestalled by more than a hundred years the regeneration and civilization of the Muhammadan world. But though Napoleon failed in his enterprise his invasion of Egypt "brought the Valley of the Nile into close touch with the thought of the West." His expedition was accompanied by a body of archæologists and naturalists; their discovery of the Rosetta stone with its trilingual inscriptions furnished the key to the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, and by degrees unlocked the wonderful history of ancient Egypt. The impetus thus given to the development of Egypt and its detachment from the stupid, know-nothing sphere of ignorant fanatical Turkish Muhammadanism was scarcely diminished by the departure of the French troops. The renewed irrigation of Egypt, the foundation of a strong dynasty, the conquest and opening up of the Sudan, the cutting of the

Suez Canal, the vast improvement in the condition of the patient Egyptian peasantry and their corresponding increase in numbers: all these were the consequences, direct and indirect, of Napoleon's strange crusade, which opened a new era in the history of Africa.

It was not until the year 1817, when the British Government restored all the posts on the Senegal and adjoining coasts to France, that the French resumed their work as explorers in West Africa. But from this year—1817—they lost no time; for within twelve months Mollien had discovered the sources of the Gambia and De Beaufort had explored the country of Kaarta through which Mungo Park had travelled, to the north-east of the Senegal river. In 1827 a remarkable young Frenchman of Poitou, René Caillié, who had explored Senegambia between 1818 and 1824, started with a hardly-gained sum of eighty pounds, to find his way to Timbuktu. He did not derive much assistance or encouragement from the French, but, curiously enough, was helped by the British administration of Sierra Leone. He left the Guinea Coast at the river Nunez, near the colony of Sierra Leone, and travelling by a circuitous route, crossed the Upper Niger, reached Jenné, near the Bani-Niger confluence, from which point he descended that river as far as Timbuktu. During this journey he passed as a Muhammadan and professed to be an Egyptian Arab

returning to Egypt. From Timbuktu he actually succeeded in accompanying a caravan across the desert to the south of Morocco whence he contrived to reach the French consulate at Tangier. In the first half of the nineteenth century the French settlements on the Upper Senegal and their advance towards the Niger were threatened or obstructed by the rise of the Fula and the Tukulor power under the great conquerors, Sheikhu Ahmadu and Al Haj Omar. Fula arms by degrees completely blocked the way between the Senegal settlements and the Niger. And beside this barrier French attention until 1854 turned away from Senegal to be concentrated on a North African enterprise, the capture of Algiers and the conquest of Algeria.

The Algerine pirates, or corsairs, like those of Sali and Rabat in Morocco, Tunis and Tripoli in Eastern Barbary, had been intermittently a terror in the Mediterranean since the beginning of the sixteenth century. They were equivalent to the privateers of British and French naval warfare in later centuries. That is to say, they were bold pirates whose enterprise was not reproved (or was even sanctioned) by the governing authority of their country, provided it was convenient to do so. They were to some extent called into existence by the aggressive attitude of Charles V, king of Spain and emperor of Germany, who, not content with

expelling the last of the Moors from Spain, had attempted between 1535 and 1560 to found a Spanish empire in North Africa. Charles V, as already related, failed; but the Arabs, Berbers and Turks of the North African littoral, found their privateering so profitable that they extended it in all directions. Moorish pirate ships frequently raided the coasts of Ireland, of western France, and even of the English Channel. Italy, perhaps, was their favourite prey, because it was near at hand and wealthy, and Italian slaves proved excellent material for the workshops of North Africa, or very frequently, like the Greeks, were persuaded to adopt the Muhammadan religion, and then became useful officers in the service of the state. In fact, some of the most dreaded of the Barbary pirates were really Europeans in origin—Slavs, Italians, Greeks, Spaniards or Frenchmen. There were even English and Scottish *renegados* [1] who played important parts in the development of Tunisian or Moorish industries. Such European powers as attempted by naval force to smash the pirates' strongholds in North Africa or defeat their fleets, met with but poor success until the nineteenth century; and usually the European powers preferred to enter into treaties of friendship with the different deys, beys and sultans of Barbary, and even subsidized them to keep the peace.

[1] Those who were renegades, or who denied their faith.

After the Napoleonic wars were over Great Britain, in conjunction with Holland, decided to put a stop to this nuisance as far as their own subjects were concerned; and an allied British and Dutch fleet bombarded Algiers in 1818, while a British fleet soon afterwards, without bombardment, induced Tunis to renounce in future the principle of enslaving Christians or making any attacks on the commerce of friendly powers. The United States had been obliged to take similar action in regard to Tripoli in 1802–5 and 1815. But France had not solved the question, no doubt through her loss of a fleet during the Napoleonic wars. The dey of Algiers quarrelled with the French consul about the question of a French inheritance, and losing his temper struck him lightly in the face with a fan. This occurred in 1827, but three years elapsed before the French could despatch a punitive expedition to enforce their demands for reparation. It has been asserted that the French government of the dying monarchy of Charles X intended merely to batter the fortifications of Algiers, bring the dey to terms, and then withdraw. But this is doubtful in view of the time and interest taken in preparing the expedition and the attaching to it of several of the Frenchmen learned in Arabic and Muhammadan customs, who had served in Egypt more than thirty years previously. It is probable that the loss of Egypt which rankled much in French

memories was to be atoned for by a conquest of Algeria.

The French troops captured Algiers on July 5, 1830, after a three-weeks' siege. The dey was allowed to leave the country with his private fortune. The monarchy of the Bourbons was succeeded by that of the junior house of Orleans. After four years' delay spent in gauging the strength of British opposition the French determined to conquer Algeria. They had already in 1830–1 seized all the principal ports on the coast from Bona on the east to Oran on the west, a policy to which the agricultural natives of the mountains and the interior were indifferent, having been accustomed from time immemorial to see the coast ports in the hands of foreigners. But as soon as the French attempted to extend their administration inland they aroused native apprehensions, especially in the warlike regions of western Algeria, where the people, more akin to those of Morocco, were less inclined to put up with foreign domination. Such tribes found a leader in Abd-al-Kader, a young Arab of good family, who had already acquired a great reputation amongst the people of western Algeria by his bravery, piety and eloquence. He was proclaimed Amir (prince) at Maskara in 1832.

In 1834 the French established a governor-general for the French possessions in the north of Africa. Abd-al-Kader then advanced east-

wards and defeated the French near Algiers. In turn he was defeated by another French army under Clausel. Till 1847, however, the French were at intervals fighting with Abd-al-Kader and with the tribes whom he had raised against them. This dragged them into a war with Morocco, ended quickly by French victories, and finally in 1847 Abd-al-Kader surrendered, and after being kept prisoner for some years in a French fortress was released and allowed to live at Damascus, where he died in 1888. By 1848 the French had conquered the last independent potentate — the bey of Constantine — and had declared all Algeria from the frontiers of Tunis and those of Morocco to be divided into three departments, which were to be ruled as part of France with the right of representation in the French Parliament. Under the Second Empire, however, this constitutional government was put aside in favour of a military despotism which was to ally itself as much as possible with the administration of powerful native families or chiefs in the interior. But as European colonists began to settle in Algeria this unenlightened rule of the military was found intolerable, and in 1858 Algeria was erected into a dependency something like the Indian Empire is to Britain, and was to be governed by a ministry established in Paris. This plan, however, proved a failure and was abolished in 1863, military despotism being again resumed.

But Algeria was seized with discontent and unrest, and in 1870 one of the last acts of the empire was to call together a commission to suggest a form of government in Algeria which might prove successful. The finding of this commission, supported by a vote in the French Parliament, decided in favour of civil rule, and its recommendation would have been carried into effect but for the outbreak of the Franco-German War and the great insurrection which followed in the eastern part of Algeria. Military government consequently was continued, although Algeria was permitted to send deputies to the French Parliament and the franchise for the election of these deputies —then held only by Europeans, and still withheld from the indigenous Arabs and Berbers—was extended to the Jews, a measure which at first excited great anger both in France and Algeria and which has only recently ceased to be unpopular.

Between 1848 and 1880 numerous attempts were made to induce French people to settle in Algeria, while at the same time some encouragement was offered to the subjects of other powers. At one time young soldiers would be selected from the French army who were married to poor girls dowered by the state, and then sent to Algeria with promises of land. In 1871 about 11,000 natives of Alsace-Lorraine, who disliked the idea of becoming German subjects, were granted land in Algeria, and subsequently another 25,000

French colonists were established at an outlay of over half-a-million sterling.

It has been the custom to laugh at most of these experiments, and certainly at first they gave poor results. Large areas of Algeria though pleasant to the eye and endowed with a fairly good climate (from the European point of view) were exceedingly malarious, because they were undrained and the stagnant water bred innumerable mosquitoes which conveyed various germ-diseases to the blood of Europeans. Algerian agriculture proved to be very different to the tilling and planting of fields in Northern and Western Europe. Lions still existed in some numbers, and panthers were numerous, together with hyenas, and these beasts attacked the livestock of the European settlers, while their fowls were killed by wild cats. Locusts and many forms of beetle ravaged their crops. A despairing drought would be followed by a devastating flood: it was in fact the now familiar history of similar attempts to open up not only Africa but all ground new to European ideas. It is only now as one begins to look back that one can see that these colonizing efforts on the part of France have had a distinct measure of success, especially where the Alsatians were concerned. One meets with Alsatians—many of them still retaining the use of the German language—all over all Algeria, even in the most remote parts—cheerful, healthy, sober, industrious people. At the present time there

are about 279,000 colonists of French or Alsatian descent in Algeria. Still more numerous, however, are the Europeans descended from other nationalities. Spanish is more commonly the language of Oran and the neighbouring coast towns than French; and Italian is as much spoken as French at Bona, Constantine, and even as far inland as Tebessa. There are something like 205,000 Spaniards or people of Spanish descent in the western part of Algeria. They are not a high-class people as a rule, and are chiefly restricted to menial occupations. Still, physically they seem to thrive, and they certainly increase and multiply. They are taking up more and more land, and have a great future before them if they give themselves up to agriculture. The eastern part of Algeria had attracted about 125,000 Italians and Maltese, nearly all of whom have become naturalized as French subjects. There are 65,000 Jews, of Italian and Spanish origin and also of ancient settlement in North Africa. An increasing intermixture is going on between the French, the Italians, the Spaniards and the Jews on one hand, and the native races on the other. The Arabs and Berbers in the settled parts of the country are approximating more and more in their mode of life, and even in their costumes, to Europeans, and, as in Tunis, the Berber is tending to dissociate himself somewhat from the Arab and draw nearer to the European with whom physically

he is nearly allied. Yet owing to the trade in slaves encouraged by the Turks, there is a very considerable element of black blood in Algeria, and this, by its permeation under the protection of the Muhammadan religion, which recognizes no racial inferiority due to colour, will tend to keep the fused population of Algeria a people of somewhat dark complexion.

The growth of the French empire in Algeria naturally caused France to think of extensions to the east, west and south. Tunis was coveted during the 'sixties of the last century, the more so as at that period this Turkish regency was becoming somewhat Britannicized owing to the proximity of Malta and the importation of Englishmen to construct and manage waterworks, gasworks, railways and lighthouses. At the same time the unification of Italy gave that power a greater say in Mediterranean matters. The regency of Tunis was situated close to Sicily and large numbers of Italians were wont to resort to the coast of Tunis as artisans, traders and fishermen. In fact, Tunisia was the first colony the Italians thought of when they had established their complete independence of Austria and France. But in informal discussions which took place between various statesmen and the Emperor Napoleon III it was generally recognized that Tunis must fall eventually to France; and in 1878, at the Berlin Conference, the ill-humour of France at the British acqui-

sition of Cyprus was calmed by a hint that no opposition would be put in the way of her acquiring Tunis. Consequently, advantage was taken of a pretext in 1881 (the unrest amongst the frontier tribes) and a French army marched across the regency of Tunis along the line of the newly-made French railway and established a French protectorate over that regency.

In 1883 a further treaty with the bey of Tunis brought the government of that state completely under French control, while the powers of Europe surrendered their consular jurisdiction and recognized that of the French courts, following up that action later on by the abandonment of their commercial treaties with the bey in favour of direct arrangements made with France. From the commencement of 1898 Tunis—though it is still regarded as a protectorate and the native dynasty of beys (descended from a Turkish soldier who acquired command of the country in 1718)—has been as much a part of the French Empire as Cochin China. It is also an example of unqualified success in French colonial administration, and at the present day its population of Berbers, Arabs, Jews, and over 100,000 Europeans is quite contented with French supervision. In fact, Fate has done justice at last to North Africa, and through France had restored the beneficent aspects of Roman rule which fifteen hundred years ago had made all Tunis and Algeria one

of the most flourishing parts of the world, filled with beautiful cities, irrigated with abundant water, and covered with olive woods, orchards, timber forests and prairies of waving corn.

It is to be hoped sincerely that no international jealousies will withhold from France the same opportunities in regard to Morocco, a country which has scarcely been a year without civil or foreign war since the break-up of the Roman Empire, and yet which possesses an indigenous population that under proper management should become one of the finest races in the world in physique and in intelligence. It is magnificently endowed by nature with mineral and even vegetable resources. Its snow-capped, glaciated mountains diffuse a moisture which makes the western parts of North Africa more favourable to vegetation than the centre or the east. Under the rule of Spain in the north and the supervision of France over all the rest of its turbulent tribes and misused lands, Morocco should become one of the wealthiest, healthiest and best populated regions of the earth's surface.

On the Senegal river and in Senegambia the French made a notable advance when, in 1854, General Faidherbe was sent to Senegal, in quasi-exile, as governor-general. He was a man of great enterprise and intelligence, and set himself to work to study the people and languages and the commercial possi-

bilities of this part of West Africa. He led expeditions which inflicted well-deserved punishment on the Moorish tribes dwelling to the north of the Senegal river, tribes which besides their unprovoked cruelties to European explorers had perpetually ravaged the settled country inhabited by industrious agricultural negroes. By 1855 Faidherbe had annexed the Wuli country between the Senegal and the Gambia and had defeated and checked the Tukulor (hybrid Fula) conqueror Al Haj Omar. Shortly afterwards, Faidherbe extended the colony of Senegal to near the mouth of the Gambia and took over for France a great deal of what was vaguely known as Portuguese Guinea, between the Gambia and Sierra Leone.

A suspension of French activity occurred after the Franco-German War, but in 1880 a new interest was shown in West Africa, part of the growing feeling encouraged by Gambetta and Jules Ferry that France might seek compensation for her disasters on the Rhine by the creation of a great colonial empire in Africa. In short, domination over the Niger had become the objective of French policy on the Senegal, together with the idea of uniting the French possessions in Algeria with those of West Africa across the Sahara Desert. The advance to the Niger began in 1880. By 1883 a fort had been built at Bamaku, and in 1887 a treaty was concluded with Ahmadu, the Fula sultan of Segu. But

this was only a truce: the Fula power fought against the French advance and was defeated. The country of Kaarta (where Mungo Park once suffered so much) was occupied in 1890, the historic and famous city of Jenné in 1893. Once Jenné was in French hands an advance on Timbuktu was inevitable: that city of romantic fame surrendered to a French naval officer, six French subordinates, and twelve Senegalese soldiers, in December 1893, and has at last found peace and uninterrupted commercial development after the two hundred years of anarchy which followed the withdrawal of Moorish rule, and was chiefly occasioned by the alternate efforts of Tuaregs and Fulas to possess themselves of or to plunder the city.

The remarkable journeys of Colonel Binger (1887–9, 1892–3) enabled France to enlarge enormously her protectorate of the Ivory Coast. This region, consisting mainly of dense forest and situated between Liberia and the Gold Coast, had remained the most unknown part of the West African littoral down to the time of Binger's explorations. The first French factories were founded on the lagoons and shore of the Ivory Coast about 1700–7. In 1842, Assini and Grand Bassum were ceded to France. The region became an extensive French colony in 1893. Binger elucidated most of the mystery of the Niger Bend, bringing to light the immense extent of the basins of the Black and the White

Volta rivers, and thereby diminishing the area of drainage formerly attributed to the Niger. But the extension of French control over the Ivory Coast hinterland (sometimes called the mountainous countries of Kong) brought them into conflict with Samori, a great Mandingo religious leader and chief who had previously conquered the Fula of the Upper Niger. Samori was, however, defeated and finally captured in 1898.

About 1842 Marseilles trading-houses had re-established factories on the coast of Dahome and at Porto Novo, near Lagos. These grew by the assent or withdrawal of other powers into a French sphere of influence over Dahome, a celebrated sanguinary kingdom at one time under Portuguese influence or treating for a British protectorate. The orgie of blood which formed part of the court ceremonial of Dahome, the almost annual raids made by the despot of that country on his neighbours to the east and west, caused this negro kingdom, like Benin and Ashanti, to be an Augean stable which no European power was inclined to clean out, having regard to the costliness and difficult character of any far-reaching expedition. However, France entrusted this task to a brave general of English descent, A. A. Dodds, and after a short campaign in 1892, Dahome was conquered and has remained peaceful and increasingly prosperous ever since. The possession of Dahome drew France towards the

Lower Niger, and in the country of Borgu British and French interests clashed for a time: eventually Borgu was divided between them, while by similar arrangements France acquired the northernmost parts of Sokoto and Hausaland (Zinder). She had effectually occupied Kanem and Bagirmi (shores of Lake Chad) and all the principal oases of the Sahara by 1906, having in 1900 won the Lake Chad regions from the usurping and devastating rule of Rabah. Rabah was a Sudanese adventurer who in 1879 had left the Egyptian Sudan with a motley force and had conquered Dar Banda, Bagirmi, and other kingdoms. In Bornu (1893) he had dispossessed, but fortunately not exterminated, the interesting dynasty of the Kanemi sheikhs, the first representative of which — Muhammad-al-Amin-Kanemi — had first saved Bornu from the Fula conquests and secondly had accorded such a friendly reception to the explorers sent out by Great Britain, 1822–3, to reach Bornu and Lake Chad. This Kanemi dynasty was subsequently restored by the British.

The last conquest of France in the central Sudan has been Wadai: the last stronghold of the slave-trade, the region of Africa wherein the Muhammadan negro and negroid are most bitterly opposed to the non-Muhammadan white man. Wadai until two or three years ago was almost unknown in its geography. It had been crossed by Nachtigal

in 1873, but most of the other Europeans who entered this territory were murdered. With the complete occupation of Wadai by French forces the last slave-producing area of Negro Africa is closed to the Nubian, Arab and Moorish purveyors of negro girls and eunuchs to the harims of Tripoli, Turkey, Arabia and Persia.

At present the bulk of the French troops, stores, and officials reach Wadai and Bagirmi not across the Sahara or from the Niger, but by way of the Congo. When during the reign of Louis Philippe, France participated in the suppression of the oversea slave-trade, she attempted to create a freed-slave colony at the mouth of the Gaboon estuary, a broad river-mouth on the coast between the Kamerun and the Congo. Gradually the Gaboon settlement ceased to be a home for freed slaves and became a French trading colony. It was extended to the Ogowé river, and the ascent of the Ogowé and its tributaries brought French explorers like De Brazza (of Italian origin), to within a few marches of navigable streams flowing into the great Congo above Stanley Pool. This was in 1880, when H. M. Stanley was attempting to create the Congo state for the king of the Belgians. The rivalry between an Italian acting on behalf of France and a Welshman representing the king of the Belgians was very keen, but it resulted in France securing much of the western basin of the Congo; and

the whole course of its great northern affluent, the Mubangi-Welle, as the southern boundary of the vast French sphere in Central Africa, a sphere which was afterwards easily extended to the White Nile until the battle of Omdurman and the Anglo-French Agreement of 1898 gave the basin of the Nile to Great Britain.

From the Congo and the Mubangi, French explorers like Crampel, Dybowski and Gentil, crossed into the basin of the Shari and its complex tributaries, and by 1899 the French Congo territories were linked up with those of the Shari and Lake Chad. The development of these forested countries of West Equatorial Africa under the flag of France has not been so happy and comparatively peaceful as the fate of French Nigeria and Senegambia. The bad example of the king of the Belgians was followed; and French, like Belgian, Congo was divided up amongst a number of concessionnaire companies without any regard for the rights of the indigenous natives or the free-trade principles established by the Congress of Berlin within the conventional basin of the Congo. But, elsewhere, in Africa—not forgetting the great island of Madagaskar which France conquered from the selfish and often cruel rule of the Hova tribe in 1895-6—the future writers of history who have carefully studied the records of the Africa of the nineteenth century will be able to accord France a very honour-

able rôle in the opening up of Africa, viewing these achievements not only from the point of view of gains to science and commerce, but of the material and mental welfare of the indigenous races.

CHAPTER XI

THE BRITISH WORK IN AFRICA

About 1550 there came to Southampton a Portuguese named Antonio Anes Pinteado, a native of Oporto, who had been a pilot or master of a ship trading frequently between Lisbon and West Africa. He conceived himself to have been treated most unjustly by his king and desired in revenge to sell his services to English traders and bring them out to West Africa to contest the Portuguese monopoly. The expedition which he led to the Benin river turned out disastrously owing to the ravages of malarial fever, and Pinteado lost his life, but from that time onwards English ships went in increasing numbers to the west coast of Africa to trade for gold, ivory, gum, civet perfume, hides, beeswax, cotton goods, dyes, and, above all, spice and pepper. After the assumption of the Portuguese crown by the king of Spain, more Portuguese came to England and offered their services as guides and pilots to British ships, and were indirectly the cause of Queen Eliza-

beth granting charters and monopolies to British companies of adventurers to trade with Morocco and West Africa. In Elizabeth's reign also British sea-captains sailed their ships round the Cape of Good Hope to India and took cognizance of the island of St. Helena on their way.

During the reign of James I ships and merchants were dispatched by English companies to the Gambia and the Gold Coast, the Gambia river more especially being thoroughly explored by a remarkable pioneer, Captain Richard Jobson. As early as 1562 Sir John Hawkins had purchased or captured negro slaves at various places along the West African coast between the Gambia and the Gold Coast, visiting especially the peninsula and river of Sierra Leone. But after these adventures the British took no further interest in the slave-trade until the growth of their North American and West Indian colonies and their quarrels with the Dutch in the middle of the 17th century made it necessary for them to do their own slave-trading on the west coast of Africa. Under Charles II a chartered company was firmly established on the Gold Coast and on the Gambia, and from its operations began, without any interruption, the growth of the immense British West African empire of the present day.

When the feeling of the nation began to turn against the slave-trade a new interest was felt in the opening up of Africa. It was

sought by practical philanthropists to substitute an honest commerce for the traffic in slaves. This impulse not only led to the foundation of the settlement at Sierra Leone (primarily for the repatriation of freed American negroes), but the search for the Niger river. A powerful association was founded in England for African research (a body which afterwards developed into the Royal Geographical Society of to-day), and this association dispatched Mungo Park by way of the Gambia to discover the Niger and trace its course to the sea, a feat which, in the direct service of the British Government, he nearly accomplished at a later date, losing his life at the Rapids of Busa. Under either this association or the direct action of the British Government the Congo was traced from its mouth upwards to the Rapids of Isangila by the Tuckey expedition, and Major Alexander Laing (who had already in an expedition from Sierra Leone located approximately the source of the Niger) was dispatched in 1825 to find his way across the Sahara Desert from Tripoli to Ghat and Timbuktu. He reached that far-famed city, and the Northern Niger, but on his return journey was assassinated in the desert by the Tuareg.

In 1818–19 the regency of Tripoli and Fezzan were explored by Consul Ritchie and Captain George Lyon, R.N. In 1821–22 they were succeeded by a still better equipped expedition conducted by Dr. Oudney, Com-

mander Hugh Clapperton, R.N., and Major Dixon Denham. Oudney died in Bornu, after the discovery of Lake Chad, but Denham penetrated to the Shari river, and Clapperton travelled through Hausaland and Kano to Sokoto, and obtained much information about the Lower Niger. Thus Lake Chad and the Shari river were discovered by Britons first of all Europeans, at any rate since prehistoric times. Clapperton, in a second expedition, reached the Lower Niger from the Lagos coast and died at Sokoto. His companion, Richard Lander, afterwards returned with a brother and traced the Niger from Busa —where Mungo Park had died—to its outlet in the Gulf of Guinea.

British interest in the Nile may be said to have begun in that great revival of science and learning which marked the reign of Charles II. The books published by the Jesuit missionaries in Abyssinia were translated into English and eagerly read. Scholarly British travellers, such as Pococke, had visited Egypt in the early part of the eighteenth century, and gradually the enigma of the Nile haunted the imagination not only of English scholars and philosophers, but of such British statesmen as the first Lord Halifax. This minister encouraged and assisted the Scottish traveller, James Bruce (who already, as a consul, had explored Algeria and Tunis), to trace the Nile to its ultimate source. Bruce started in 1766 for Egypt, accompanied

by an Italian artist-assistant. He ascended the Nile to the First Cataract, then crossed to the Red Sea coast, and, after a circuitous journey by way of Arabia, landed at Masawa, the port of Abyssinia, and thence made his way to the capital of the emperor, who received him with great favour, and enabled him to reach the source of the Blue Nile. Bruce, like the Portuguese missionaries, was convinced that the head-stream of the Nile was the Blue River of Abyssinia, which rises in Lake Tsana. He followed the Blue Nile downstream till he reached its confluence with the White Nile at the site of Khartum. Not long after his return to England (in 1775) he wrote a pamphlet pointing out the importance of establishing a British control over Egypt in view of the development of the East India Company's possessions in India and the consequent necessity to control Egypt as a half-way stage on the necessary overland route to the East.

But any ideas which the British Government may have begun to entertain of exercising a special influence over Egypt were interrupted, and yet at the same time precipitated, by the descent of Napoleon Bonaparte on that country in 1798. The British forces eventually obliged the French to evacuate Egypt, but when in 1807 an attempt was made to substitute a British military occupation of that country the revived and consolidated power of the Turk under that

remarkable soldier of Fortune, Muhammad Ali, defeated the attempt.

Friendly relations, however, grew up between the new Egyptian dynasty of Muhammad Ali and his successors; and though Frenchmen first and Germans later had encouraged Muhammad Ali and his adopted son, Ibrahim, to explore and occupy the White Nile beyond Khartum, once it had become possible by organized transport to reach Khartum with comparative ease and to put together boats and steamers on the Upper Nile, the British, perhaps, became even more keenly interested than the French in the solution of the Nile mystery. British trading consuls like Petherick established themselves at Khartum, and by their journeys revealed the Bahr-al-Ghazal and the Sobat affluents, and discovered that strange bird, the Whale-headed Stork (*Balæniceps rex*). Great sportsmen, like Sir Samuel Baker, revealed the magnificent mammalian fauna of the eastern Sudan. At intervals through the first half of the nineteenth century, British explorers visited Abyssinia; and the Church Missionary Society having sought to establish Protestant missions in that country, complications finally arose which obliged the British Government to send a military expedition into Abyssinia in 1867–68, to rescue a British consul and a number of Europeans who were held captive by King Theodore, a usurping emperor of Ethiopia.

Amongst the missionaries who had striven under the ægis of the Church Missionary Society to establish Protestant Christianity in Abyssinia, were two natives of Württemberg, Krapf and Rebmann. These men, finding their attempts at establishing a Protestant mission in Abyssinia quite fruitless, sought the protection of the sayyid or sultan of Zanzibar. Already Zanzibar and its continental coast-belt had come under the special notice of the British Government on account of the journeys and reports of Henry Salt in 1800–1803, and the surveying voyage of Captain William F. Owen in 1825; of its growing trade with India; and, lastly, an anxiety that the French should not establish any hold over East Africa which might embarrass the sea-route to India. [The Captain—afterwards Admiral—Owen here referred to carried out between 1820 and 1825 a most remarkable survey of the coasts of Africa between Morocco and the Red Sea, round the Cape of Good Hope. For the first time the coast of Africa was correctly demarcated and the opening up of the great continent to maritime commerce much facilitated.]

Consequently these German missionaries in the employ of an English society received some backing from the British agent at Zanzibar, and were able to establish themselves on the east coast of Africa near Mombasa. Their journeys into the interior enabled them not only to discover the snow mountains,

Kenia and Kilimanjaro, but to hear from Arabs and natives of the wonderful inland lakes—Nyasa, Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza—which they conceived to be one huge inland sea. The upward exploration of the Nile from Khartum had for a time come to a stop in the vicinity of Gondokoro, owing to rapids and hostile natives. It therefore occurred to great adventurers like Richard Burton (then an officer in the Indian army), that the best way of reaching the source of the Nile might be by a direct journey inland from the East Africa coast.

At first Burton thought of trying a route through Somaliland, and chose as his companion a brother officer, John Hanning Speke. The hostility of the Somalis stopped his expedition a short distance from the coast. Appealing, however, to the Royal Geographical Society, Burton and Speke obtained the funds for a bigger expedition, and started from the mainland opposite Zanzibar. They travelled due west, and reached the shores of Lake Tanganyika. On the return journey Speke made a rapid march to the north and discovered the Victoria Nyanza. Another expedition, under Speke and Grant, not only reached the north-west coast of the Victoria Nyanza, but traced the Nile more or less from its exit on the north shore of that lake to the Albert Nyanza, another lake which had just been discovered by Sir Samuel Baker and his wife, who, under the most tremendous

difficulties had forced their way up the Nile from Gondokoro.

The Nile mystery was solved in the main, and it only required the details to be filled in by other explorers, a task which was not completely accomplished until about 1904. As the basin of the White and Mountain Nile had been mainly revealed in its geographical features by Englishmen, it was not inappropriate that the khedive of Egypt should entrust the equatorial province of the Egyptian Sudan to English governors, such as Sir Samuel Baker and the celebrated Charles George Gordon. In their administration, however, they employed officers of various nationalities, American (Chaillé Long), Italian (Gessi, Casati), German (Emin Pasha), Austrian (Slatin Pasha), and numerous Greeks; besides Frank Lupton, an Englishman. The excellent work done by these Europeans in the Egyptian Sudan was brought to naught by the crash of the Mahdi's successful revolt in 1882.

The Suez Canal was opened with great ceremony in November 1869. Before long it intensified the degree of British interest in Egypt, because it was used to ever greater extent by British shipping; and the safety and neutrality of this passage (nearly one hundred miles long) between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea became an indispensable link in the communications of the British Empire. In 1875 the British Govern-

ment became a very considerable shareholder in the Canal.

In 1877, conjointly with France, Great Britain was obliged to intervene in the financial chaos of the Egyptian government. This intervention led in time to a native revolt under a colonel of the Egyptian army, Ahmad Arabi. To restore and affirm the khedive's government, a British army under Sir Garnet Wolseley (Lord Wolseley of Cairo) landed in Egypt in September 1882, and after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir achieved this purpose. Since then, it has been found necessary to continue the British military occupation in order to support the khedive's government in the great task of re-creating the long-vanished prosperity of Egypt. It is a matter of common knowledge that the supremely difficult task of representing Great Britain in Egypt during the anxious and critical period between 1883 and 1906 was filled by Sir Evelyn Baring (Earl Cromer), in a way which has left as deep a mark on the history of Egypt as any one of the reigns of her greatest Pharaohs or Ptolemies.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan—in full revolt after 1882 against the government, or misgovernment, of the "Turks" (as the negroes style the Egyptians)—was at first abandoned after Viscount Wolseley's futile, though ably conducted expedition of 1884–85, and the death of General C. G. Gordon in Khartum. For thirteen years it was given up to all the

horrors and devastations of the Mahdi's rule and that of his lieutenant and successor, the Khalifa Abdallah. But in 1897–98 it was recovered for civilization and for the joint rule of Britain and Egypt by Lord Kitchener of Khartum and Sir Reginald Wingate. The thirteen years of Arab rule in the Egyptian Sudan (during which more than half the population perished, and many districts relapsed into desert and thorn scrub), is a potent object-lesson for those who wish Africa left to herself.

Among the great feats of peace, or rather of warfare with Nature, which have been achieved by the British in the Sudan, has been the cutting of the sudd—the immense accumulation of floating vegetation in the sluggish labyrinth of waters of the Bahr-al-Ghazal and Mountain Nile. This sudd completely blocked, or grievously hindered the navigation of these important waterways. With its subdual steamers can now penetrate from Khartum into the very heart of Africa.

In Egypt proper, the engineering works constructed by British engineers, with the co-operation of the khedive's government, have multiplied almost a hundredfold the cultivable area of Upper and Lower Egypt; have not only increased greatly the wealth and welfare of the peasantry; but have caused (with other reforms), the population of Egypt to have nearly doubled since the beginning of the British occupation in 1882. British

and French archæologists (with some American and German assistance), have restored to sight and knowledge forgotten monuments of ancient Egyptian art, architecture, religion and knowledge. If there is any consciousness beyond the tomb, many a dead and gone Pharaoh, minister-of-state, and high priest must be devoutly thankful for the renaissance of their glorious country which is being effected under the British ægis.

In succeeding the Dutch as rulers in South Africa, the British (assisted by some German immigration) soon extended the scope of Cape Colony to the Orange River on the north. The Boers, who were discontented with British rule, together with some adventurous English and German settlers, founded with the consent of Great Britain, two independent republics to the north-east of Cape Colony: that of the Orange Free State and of the Transvaal (South African Republic.) The present State of Natal was conquered from the Zulus by the Boers, but the coast region was simultaneously acquired by Great Britain, and, after a short dispute, it became a British colony.

By 1840 the Orange River and the Limpopo had been more or less laid down on the map, but beyond the High Veld, which occupies the centre of South Africa, lay in one direction the Kalahari Desert and in another Matebeleland, in the possession of warlike and not well-disposed Zulus; and infested with the tsetse fly, which soon killed off the

oxen and horses of the explorers' transport. But the more westerly part of Central South Africa was still to a great extent under the control of Bechuana chiefs, who were well-disposed towards the British (they disliked the Dutch), and especially to British missionaries. Through these Bechuana information reached settled South Africa of Lake Ngami (the size of which was much exaggerated), and of flowing rivers and rich forests beyond the Kalahari Desert. Amongst the British missionaries of that period was David Livingstone, sent out by the London Missionary Society and established in Bechuanaland. He yearned to reach the "regions beyond" with dense populations waiting to be christianized.

He lacked nothing but the funds, and these at last were mainly supplied by a generous English hunter of big game—William Cotton Oswell. Livingstone and Oswell together reached the central Zambezi at Sesheke in June 1851. Livingstone then returned, perfected himself in the taking of astronomical observations, obtained what funds he could from various sources, and made a wonderful journey into Central Africa from the south, first of all tracing the Zambezi upstream to near its source, and discovering the southernmost affluents of the Congo, and then crossing Angola to St. Paul de Loanda. After a brief rest in that city he retraced his steps to the central Zambezi, and followed that stream as far as he was able eastwards until

he reached its delta at Quelimane. He had thus laid bare the main facts regarding the origin and course of the Zambezi. Two or three years later he returned with (Sir) John Kirk and a large expedition, explored the Zambezi from its delta up to the vicinity of the Barotse country, and then turned up the Shire river and thus discovered Lake Nyasa —discovered it so far as scientific geography was concerned, though the lake had probably been visited several times by Portuguese traders in the eighteenth century.

A third time Livingstone returned to the basin of the Zambezi, on this occasion (1866) from the Zanzibar coast. He crossed Lake Nyasa, resolved to see what lay to the far west of that lake, a region where mighty rivers and numerous other lakes were reported to exist. Thus he discovered Lakes Bangweulu and Mweru, and the south end of Lake Tanganyika, and above all, the upper course of the Luapula-Lualaba-Congo, which he believed to be the head-stream of the Nile, dying in that belief near Lake Bangweulu in 1873. His work was taken up first by the man who came to his rescue—Henry Moreton Stanley—and secondly by another relief expedition under Commander Verney Lovett Cameron, R.N. Cameron marched right across Central Africa on foot from the Zanzibar coast to Angola, but did not add very much to our knowledge of the great problems of African geography. Like Livingstone, he

was stopped by the falls of the Congo north of Nyangwe.

To these same falls came another man of harder grit—afterwards to be known as Sir Henry Moreton Stanley, a Welshman by birth. Stanley, who had set all doubts at rest regarding the Victoria Nyanza (by circumnavigating the lake), and had begun the discovery of the Ruwenzori mountains, determined to follow "Livingstone's river" to its outlet in the sea; and in spite of almost insuperable difficulties—cutting his way through hundreds of miles of forest and battling with the canoe fleets of cannibal tribes—he traced the wonderful northern sweep of the majestic, lake-like Congo till it curved south-westwards to the Crystal Mountains; and then—hardest task of all—struggled over two hundred miles of cataracts and rapids till he reached the estuary of the river and thus passed out into the Atlantic Ocean.

A few years afterwards, a Scottish explorer, Joseph Thomson, marched from the Mombasa coast direct to the Victoria Nyanza, discovered Lake Baringo and Mount Elgon, and pointed the way to further revelations in East African geography which were made soon after by Austrian and British explorers. The writer of this book made treaties in the East African interior, in 1884, which laid the foundation of the rights of the British East Africa Chartered Company. But he and others were more or less directed in their ideas or

actions by Sir John Kirk, the real originator of the British Empire in East Africa. Sir John—as Dr. Kirk—had accompanied Livingstone on the government expedition to the Zambezi and Lake Nyasa in 1859–68. Since 1866 he had been consul and consul-general at Zanzibar, and had striven hard to indoctrinate the Arab government of Zanzibar with the right ideas of governing and developing the region of East Africa between the Indian Ocean and the great lakes. But the clash of European ambitions, the entry of Germany and Belgium into the field, made his plans abortive, and he had to turn instead to the securing for British control of the lands more especially discovered and opened up by British explorers. The East African and Uganda Protectorates are the ultimate result of his initiative, and of the personal labours of H. M. Stanley, Joseph Thomson, F. J. Jackson, Sir Frederick Lugard, Sir Gerald Portal, Sir J. R. L. Macdonald, Colonel Roderick Owen, Sir Harry Johnston and others: not forgetting the Church Missionary Society and those who engineered the Uganda railway.

But the British government and people had not neglected through all this wonderful nineteenth century the geography of West and West-central Africa. No sooner had the brothers Lander traced the Niger from Busa to the sea than one of them returned with a commercial expedition which put light-draught steamers on the Niger, and opened

up a vigorous trade with Inner Africa by that means. In the 'forties of the nineteenth century, a government surveying expedition was sent to the Lower Niger, which, though it lost many lives from fever and mismanagement, greatly increased our knowledge of that stream. The Benue had been discovered in its upper waters by Dr. Heinrich Barth in 1853. Barth, a native of Hamburg, was the only survivor of another scientific expedition sent out under Consul James Richardson, by the British government, to cross the Sahara Desert from Tripoli and explore Central Africa. Barth had succeeded in reaching Timbuktu, and leaving that city alive had helped to fill up gaps in our knowledge of the Central Niger, and had immensely increased our knowledge of the Nigerian Sudan.

During the 'sixties occurred a marked slackening of interest in West Africa, owing to the ravages of malarial fever amongst settlers, traders, missionaries and explorers, less able than now to understand the secret of preserving one's health in the African tropics. Yet, during this period, Dr. W. B. Baikie did some admirable exploring work on the Niger, Benue, and in Hausaland. In 1873 occurred the war with Ashanti, and British trading interests in West Africa grew apace, owing to the need for palm oil occasioned by the immense development of railways and machinery, and the growing demand for soap. By 1882 the Niger delta

and the Kamerun were ripe for taking under the British flag, and though this action was deferred till 1884–86 (and thereby the Kamerun was lost to Germany) nevertheless most aspirations of the few far-sighted men who then cared for West Africa were satisfied. The creation of a vast British empire over Nigeria was largely due to the formation of the Royal Niger Chartered Company under Sir George Taubman Goldie, and the treaties made by that company's agents, one of whom was the celebrated Joseph Thomson who had laid the foundations of British East Africa. Southern Nigeria was added to the British Empire between 1884 and 1888 by treaties concluded by two consular officials, E. H. Hewett and (Sir) H. H. Johnston. The blood-stained rule of Benin was extinguished (1897) by an expedition under Admiral Sir Harry Rawson. At the same time, the colonies of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast were enlarged very considerably, advancing in a few years from mere strips or patches on the coast to territories 4000, 29,000, and 90,000 square miles in extent, respectively.

Between 1811 and 1880 the British government in South Africa had to wage several wars with the Kafir-Zulu tribes, with the Basuto and the Bapedi Bechuana (Northern Transvaal). The most serious of these struggles was that of the Zulu War (1879–80), after which Zululand broke up as an independent state and was finally annexed to the colony of Natal.

Nevertheless, the relations between the British and the negroes in South Africa must on the whole have been favourable to the latter, since their numbers have increased enormously under British control or rule. At the same time, education is spreading amongst them in a very notable degree.

The growth of British interests in South Africa led to two wars (1881 and 1899–1902) with the Boers, that section of the Dutch-speaking colonists who had formed themselves into two independent republics: the Orange Free State and the South African Republic. The three-years' war of 1899–1902 ended in a hard-won victory for the British, and, in all probability, a complete settlement of the racial question amongst white men in South Africa, a settlement by fusion.

Four British governors played leading parts in moulding the destinies of the sub-continent: Sir Benjamin Durban, Sir George Grey, Sir Bartle Frere and Lord Milner. They made mistakes, perhaps, but they laid the foundations of the mightiest state in Africa of the future.

The pioneer work of Livingstone in the more central regions of South Africa had led to the establishment of large protectorates over what is generally called British Central Africa (that region north of the Zambezi and south of the Congo basin). Cecil John Rhodes, an Englishman who had amassed enormous wealth in the diamond and gold mines of

South Africa, was one of the chief agencies in promoting the expansion of the British empire beyond the Limpopo and Bechuanaland, though his share in the work has been somewhat exaggerated. He contributed a good deal of money to the enterprise, but was not himself one of the pioneers who brought this region under the British flag, some of whom worked quite independently of Rhodes and his Chartered Company, though all were in sympathy with the desire to create a British empire across Africa which might stretch from the Cape to Cairo. The actual consummation of this idea by the attempts of Sir Harry Johnston, Sir Alfred Sharpe and A. J. Swann to join the protectorates of Uganda and of North-eastern Rhodesia was checked by the interposition of Germany.

The sketching-out of the new British spheres in Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was more or less complete by 1890. Then came the difficult task of conquest from recalcitrant Zulu and Arab invaders. In the south and centre the lands of the Zambezi basin had been terrorized for three-quarters of a century by Zulu hordes, chiefly those known as the Matabele and Angoni. The last named were very powerful and numerous, but they were decisively beaten in 1893 by Sir L. S. Jameson (Dr. Jameson). Lake Nyasa and much of the upper Shire was more or less in the power of the Arab slave-

traders and their Muhammadan Yão allies. These were the devastators so strongly denounced by Livingstone; and the Maskat, Persian Gulf and Zanzibar Arabs, by 1879, had reached the heart of the Congo basin, and were becoming a great power for evil there, and also on Tanganyika. On Lake Nyasa their dominion was only crushed and rooted out after six years of strenuous warfare, wherein Sir Harry Johnston with the aid of a force of Indian troops and British officers, and officers from the Royal Naval Reserve, at last drew this thorn from one of Africa's many wounds. Sir Alfred Sharpe (who had brought much of Central Zambezia under the British flag) and Sir William Manning settled the Angoni trouble, and completed the organization of the Nyasaland protectorate.

A glance at the map of Africa will show that the British people have been amply rewarded for their enterprise between 1600 and 1900, and have secured British control over a very large share of the African continent. Amongst them, moreover, have arisen several teachers, who have shown very conclusively that the annexation of Africa has its duties as well as its gains, and that amongst those duties is the education of the indigenous peoples and the full recognition of what rights they may possess to the soil and its products. The achievements of British pioneers have been stupendous, and already great victories have been gained over recalcitrant Nature—such

victories as the construction of the railway from the shore of the Indian Ocean at Mombasa to Uganda, from Lagos on the Gulf of Guinea to Kano in the heart of the Central Sudan, from Wadi Halfa and from the Red Sea to Khartum, from Capetown across the Zambezi to the upper waters of the Congo, from Freetown in Sierra Leone to the dense forests of innermost Liberia: the bridging of the Zambezi, the damming of the Nile. But these gains have been nearly balanced by set-backs, by the appalling growth of African diseases, more especially those due to germs. The opening up of the continent has carried the terrible sleeping sickness from one or two patches of Congoland over much of Uganda, German East Africa and British Central Africa. Similar diseases have swept away the greater part of a colony's supply of cattle or horses; locusts, floods and droughts have here and there ruined agriculture for a season; but slowly the white man is achieving the mastery over Nature, to the ultimate benefit of the black, brown and yellow men, as well as their white-skinned brother: who has been the chief agent in the opening up of Africa.

CHAPTER XII

BELGIUM, GERMANY, AND ITALY

Down till about 1875 the only European nations who had been actively engaged—as a

national work—in African discovery, were Portugal, Holland, France and Britain. Germans had been exploring and developing Africa from the beginning of the seventeenth century, but usually in the pay or under the protection of some other nationality—Holland, Britain or Turkey. But when Cameron returned from his journey across Africa the then king of the Belgians, Leopold II, attempted to form an international association with its seat at Brussels for the opening up of Africa, and the suppression of the slave-trade. Stanley's arrival a year or two afterwards with his still more amazing discovery of the course of the Congo, caused Leopold II to throw himself eagerly into African enterprise. With the subscriptions he had raised and with his own resources he sent out Belgians to explore what is now German East Africa, and later employed Stanley and many Englishmen to open up the Congo basin under the Belgian committee. In this way he was successful in creating the huge independent state of the Congo, of which he made himself sovereign.

His position in the world and his professions deceived every one into believing that his enterprise was purely philanthropic, or if it had a commercial side, was merely directed to the creation of a legitimate trade between Belgium and Africa. But probably on account of the immense fortunes which were being made by Cecil Rhodes and others in

the opening up of Africa, he conceived the idea of deriving similar wealth from his Congo enterprise. To effect this he broke the whole pledge and spirit of his contract with the Powers, and debased himself in history by the exploitation of the position conferred on him at the Congress of Berlin. His agents were allowed to inflict indescribable misery on millions of unhappy savages in the heart of the Congo Forest so that Leopold II might make a vast fortune out of Congo rubber and ivory, a fortune which he spent partly on his mistresses and illegitimate children, partly on the beautification of Belgian towns, and also (it must be admitted) on the promotion of scientific research in Africa. Nevertheless, in spite of this strange aberration on the part of the king of the Belgians, many of his officers have done great and good work in the opening up of Africa. Captain Storms (1882–85) helped to rid the shores of Lake Tanganyika of Arab slave-traders; and Baron Dhanis, with Belgian and other European officers and a negro army, completely destroyed the newly-founded Arab slave state on the Upper Congo, and checked the devastation of the Bahr-al-Ghazal by the dervishes of the Egyptian Sudan.

The Germans have always been interested in African discovery, though it was not until 1884 that that interest was definitely associated with the creation of German colonies and protectorates. In 1884–85 they con-

cluded treaties with African chiefs, which together with arbitrary annexations and agreements with other European powers gave them Togoland (Western Dahome) and the Kamerun in Equatorial West Africa; 822,500 square miles of rather arid, sparsely-inhabited land in South-west Africa, and the great domain of German East Africa (862,000 square miles). German East Africa was mainly founded by Dr. Karl Peters, Count Pfeil, Hermann von Wissmann, Dr. Franz Stuhlmann and Count von Götzen. The Germans have had the usual wars with the natives, and have made the mistakes so common in the abrupt contact between white and black. But science has benefited enormously by the German investigation of Africa, and it has now become patent that the rôle of Germany in the opening up of Africa is to be taken very seriously. She has secured a mountainous tract in West Africa—Togoland—which is likely to be of great commercial importance. In the Kamerun there lies vegetable and mineral wealth of incalculable value; already diamonds and copper in South-west Africa are atoning for lack of rainfall, while in German East Africa we are about to see a remarkable development in tropical agriculture and in the rearing of livestock, besides perhaps more diamond-mining.

Although Germany is only at the commencement of her task in the development and administration of nearly one million square miles of African territory, no history of the

opening up of Africa would be complete without an allusion to the work of individual Germans in geographical discovery, ethnological, linguistic, botanical and zoological research. Germans have been studying Africa from the early part of the seventeenth century onwards. A good deal of our early knowledge of Abyssinia was obtained through the subsidies to German scholars of a duke of Saxe-Gotha, reigning about 1640–70. The Moravian Church was practically a German institution, so, indeed, has been the splendid Basel Mission of the Gold Coast, though nominally Swiss. At the end of the eighteenth and for the first eighty years of the nineteenth century, German explorers and missionaries frequently worked for the British government or for various British scientific, missionary or commercial societies. Friedrich Hornemann entered the service of the African Association in 1796, and made a wonderful journey from Tripoli to the Niger, dying in the country of Nupe, which he reached first of all Europeans. The travels of Barth and Vogel in the employ of the British Government contributed much to our knowledge of North-central Africa. The researches of Krapf and Rebmann revealed the Snow Mountains of East Africa, and attracted British explorers in that direction, with the ultimate result of the great East African protectorates. But Germans also went out to Africa for German societies or on scientific expeditions, assisted by the German

government. Baron Karl von der Decken, a Hanoverian nobleman, in 1861–62, made a remarkable survey of Mount Kilimanjaro—the very existence of which had been denied since Rebmann's discovery—and first advocated the foundation of a German colony in the Zanzibar dominions. The celebrated Dr. Georg Schweinfürth continued the exploring work of Petherick, and practically revealed to the world the geography of that south-western basin of the Nile, the Bahr-al-Ghazal, besides reaching the upper waters of the Welle-Mubangi. Karl Mauch explored South-east Africa, and, acting on information given by the Boers, discovered the wonderful Zimbabwe ruins. Next to Stanley, and perhaps Grenfell, Germans were the most noteworthy revealers of Congo geography, more especially Boehm, Pogge, Wolf, von François, and the chiefest of them all, the gallant Hermann von Wissmann, afterwards the conqueror of German East Africa. Amongst such noteworthy German contributions to the opening up of Africa should not be forgotten the early zoological research of M. H. K. Lichtenstein in South Africa (1800–10), of Dr. Wilhelm Peters in Mozambique (1840–50), and above all the work of a great philologist, Dr. W. J. Bleek, a Prussian, who became curator of the Library at Capetown and who founded the study of the Bantu family of languages.

Italian aspirations perforce have lain in regions not greatly coveted by stronger

European nations. Italy aspires some day to control the Tripolitaine, and restore that portion of North Africa to the prosperity and welfare it knew under the sway of Greece and Rome. Whether Fate will accord her this privilege yet remains to be seen. Meanwhile, though she has met with many checks, defeats and disappointments, she has done much to develop the coast-lands of Abyssinia and of the eastern Somali country. Her subjects, as traders, professional men, agriculturists, and artisans, range widely over North and North-east Africa from Eastern Algeria and Tunis to Egypt, to the coast-lands of the Red Sea and of East Africa.

Greeks also, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, have played a considerable part in the commercial development of Egypt and of the Egyptian Sudan, and now frequent most of the seaports of East Africa.

CHAPTER XIII

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN AFRICA

One of the greatest forces in modern times in the opening up of Africa was the invasion of that continent by missionaries of the Roman and the Protestant Churches of Christianity. During the Middle Ages, and down to the beginning of the Renaissance, there was only one idea in the minds of Christian popes and kings: and that was, to smite the infidel with a sword and implant Christianity on

Muhammadan Africa and Asia by force. The Crusades failed, however, to produce any permanent effect: on the contrary, they rather affected Christianity for the worse in Africa and Western Asia, making the Muhammadans more militant against the religion of Christ. The last crusades, indeed, brought about the extirpation of what Latin Christianity remained in Tunis and the Greek Christianity of Nubia.

But the new birth of science and art in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries led to relations being opened up between the Christians of Europe and the non-Christians of Asia, and even of North Africa, on more genial lines than those of conquest by force of arms. Italian missionaries of Christianity penetrated to the farthest east through Tartar and Mongol hordes, tolerant of new ideas in religion. When the great fifteenth century drew to a close, and the mariners of Italy, Spain, Portugal, England and France, were revealing new worlds across the Atlantic and beyond the Sahara, the propagandist spirit of the Roman Church took on the form of persuasion rather than alliance with the mailed fist. From the close of the fifteenth century, missionaries went out in the ships of the Spaniards and the Portuguese.

As early as 1491 Diego Cam conveyed priests to the mouth of the Congo, who converted the vassal chief who ruled the coast province of Sonyo and were escorted by this

last to the capital of the kingdom of Congo two hundred miles from the coast, which was forthwith named the City of the Holy Saviour (São Salvador). Here the king, queen and heir to the throne were baptized with the names of the then king, queen and crown prince of Portugal. For about a century, the Ba-kongo were, superficially, Christians of the Roman Church, though they soon mixed the elements of their own religion with such fragments of Christian dogma as they had been able to assimilate. But in the middle of the sixteenth century the kingdom of Congo was invaded by a devastating horde of Jaga warriors (the Ba-jok, or Va-kiokwe), and although the Portuguese assisted to expel these invaders they became later on suspected of wishing to conquer the country for themselves. Consequently, as in the case of the Japanese, Christianity became a religion too much identified with the pushing European. In the eighteenth century French and Italian priests attempted to reconquer the western Congo for Christianity. But they met with indifferent success, and the unhealthy conditions of life so weakened the mission that it gradually died away, leaving finally little results behind but the adding of the cross and images of the Virgin and Child to the numerous fetishes of Congoland.

Jesuit priests accompanied Portuguese military expeditions to the Zambezi and the south-east of Africa during the sixteenth

century. These priests chiefly directed their efforts to the conversion of the still powerful empire of Monomotapa, but with relatively little success. However, they left their traces on Zambezia in the most marked manner, by founding settlements during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on that river, and even as far inland as the still little known Batonga country, where their former presence is attested to this day by the groves of fruit-trees which they introduced. Tete, the modern capital of Portuguese Zambezia, began as a missionary station, and Zumbo, at the confluence of the Zambezi and the Luangwa, had the same origin. But the Jesuit missions in Zambezia came to an end when the Portuguese government quarrelled with that order in the middle of the eighteenth century and expelled its representatives from their colonies.

Abyssinia had remained a Christian kingdom so far as the affiliations of its religious practices were concerned. It had adopted a debased form of Greek Christianity, wholly unfitted to be associated with the name and teaching of Christ, and remained faithful to this creed in spite of the Muhammadan conquest of Egypt, Nubia and Somaliland. In 1520 the Portuguese dispatched a fleet round the Cape of Good Hope and the Red Sea to Masawa with an embassy, which remained in Abyssinia for six years and was accompanied by two priests, Bermudez and Alvares. These

two pioneers of the Latin Church strove hard to replace the corrupt Greek Christianity of Abyssinia by the dogmas and teaching of Rome, and therefore aroused a strong opposition against all European intervention on the part of the native Abyssinian priesthood. But for a time the Portuguese dominated the councils of the kingdom owing to their trading connection between Abyssinia and India. Moreover, the Muhammadan forces, partly on account of Portuguese doings, were massing for the attack of the mountain-kingdom. Islam found its champion in a certain Muhammad Granye, a Somali chief who ruled the country round about Tajurra Bay (now-a-days French Somaliland). Assisted by the Arabs of southern Arabia and by the Turks, he ravaged the greater part of Abyssinia with the deliberate intention of extinguishing for ever Christianity in Ethiopia. He would probably have succeeded in his purpose but for the intervention of the Portuguese, to whom the Emperor David of Ethiopia managed to send emissaries imploring the assistance of the king of Portugal. The result was a wonderful expedition (considering the times, and the means of this little kingdom). Four hundred Portuguese under the command of Cristoforo da Gama landed at Masawa armed with firearms, then strange weapons to the Muhammadans of North-east Africa. Cristoforo da Gama (son of the celebrated Vasco) was an heroic figure, an ideal crusader. With his

four hundred Portuguese he inflicted reverse after reverse on the thousands of Somalis and Arabs that followed Muhammad Granye, then practically master of Abyssinia. Nevertheless, Cristoforo da Gama, badly wounded, was captured and beheaded by Muhammad Granye. But the few Portuguese heroes, who remained, assisted the emperor of Abyssinia and made a successful stand against the Muhammadans, and Muhammad Granye was finally killed in battle by a certain Pedro Leon, who had been body-servant to Cristoforo da Gama. After the death of their leader, the Muhammadan forces melted away, and Abyssinia was saved—perhaps for ever—from inclusion with the states of the Muhammadan world, though it must be admitted truthfully, that its type of Christianity is perhaps a greater bar to progress than the faith of Islam. The political importance of this achievement of the Portuguese, however, is that Abyssinia has generally taken sides with the world of Europe in the politics of North-east Africa in spite of two serious conflicts with civilized powers, namely, the British expedition of 1867–68 and the War of Independence against Italy in 1896; while, on the other hand, the retention of Christianity as the state religion has done a great deal to save the independence of Abyssinia by securing the sympathies and political intervention of various European states.

Portuguese missionaries remained in Abyssinia till about 1638, having during the one hundred and thirteen years of existence of this mission amassed a wonderful amount of geographical information regarding the rivers, mountains, lakes, fauna and flora of that country. But they were never cordially received by the Abyssinians, partly out of suspicion as to the political intentions of Portugal, and partly because their Latin Christianity was so alien to the debaucheries of the Abyssinian priests.

From one cause and another, chiefly the dislike to the order of the Jesuits on the part of most European Powers, Rome grew disheartened about the conversion of Africa at the close of the eighteenth century. South Africa had come into the possession of the Dutch, who in those days were vehemently opposed to Catholicism. They had also taken from Portugal several footholds on the coast of Guinea from which Catholic missionaries once started on their despairing task of converting brutish negroes, whose chiefs in those days were entirely absorbed in the profitable slave-trade. It was now the turn of the Protestant Churches to attempt to spread Christianity amongst the coloured races of Asia, Africa and America. The great Moravian Church started on its wonderful career as a missionary body in 1732. With the permission of the Dutch it began to evangelize the Hottentots at the Cape of

Good Hope about 1785, and astonished the Dutchmen by insisting on treating these unfortunate serfs as fellow-men fitted for baptism. The British Wesleyan Church commenced work at Sierra Leone in 1787 as soon as that settlement of freed slaves was established. The British occupation of Sierra Leone gave another tremendous impetus to Protestant propagandist work. It brought about the creation of the London Missionary Society (1795) and the Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies (1796–97). In the closing year of the eighteenth century the Church Missionary Society was founded. All these four bodies, in addition to the Wesleyans, began sending missionaries to Sierra Leone and the adjoining parts of West Africa.

The final occupation and eventual purchase of Cape Colony, which began in 1806, launched these missionary bodies on to South Africa, with results that can only be described as tremendous in the opening up of the continent; for the missionaries paid little heed to the remonstrances and advice of stiff-necked military governors. They entered with wonderful rapidity into amicable relations with the native tribes, who had hitherto only looked upon the white man as a deadly foe. Almost as by magic, a few years after landing they appear as the advisers and ministers of powerful native chiefs beyond the limits of the explored country. The Kaffirs offered no opposition whatever to

Christian propaganda, whether they agreed with it or not. They grasped at the Wesleyan, the Presbyterian, the Congregationalist and the Church of England missionaries as men who would educate their young people, who would introduce a wholesome form of trade, and would stand their friends in the arguments with the Dutch, German and Irish settlers, and the hot-tempered, autocratic military governors. The missionaries soon got beyond the sickly Hottentots and furtive Bushmen, amongst the big, black, Bantu negroes and the regions along the Orange and Vaal Rivers and far up into Bechuanaland on the healthy open veld with its half-dried streams. The nineteenth century was not very old before they had established themselves amongst the warlike Zulus. In fact, their journeys northwards were only checked by the prevalence of the tsetse fly, of malarial fever, and the harsh desert conditions of the Kalahari.

The wonderful travels of David Livingstone have been already alluded to, and need not further be described here, except to say that Livingstone's verbal attack on the Arab slave-trade in Central Africa led directly to the extirpation of that devastating agency. After the death of Livingstone, in 1873, there was a great outburst of zeal on the part of the Protestant Churches of Britain and Ireland, especially in Scotland. This resulted in the re-creation of missionary settlements

in Nyasaland which led to the establishment of a protectorate over that region. Similarly, the pioneer work of the Church Missionary Society in Uganda led to the Uganda protectorate, and the agents of the same society did much to bring about the foundation of British control over Northern and Southern Nigeria.

French Protestant missions civilized, with the happiest results, Barotseland, the region of the Upper Zambezi. American Protestant missions did a little to open up Liberia, and still more to explore the French territory of the Gabun. Here in 1847, they discovered the gorilla. Other American Protestant missionaries have done much to bring civilization into the southern and central parts of Angola. The work of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in the Congo basin (the French Catholics have also done much work in Uganda and on Lake Tanganyika) was the great counterpoise to the unscrupulous conduct of King Leopold II. The greatest amongst all these Congo missionaries in the opening up of Africa was George Grenfell, a member of the British Baptist Missionary Society, and a man in many respects parallel to Livingstone. It was mainly through the complaints and remonstrances of these Protestant missionaries—American, Swedish and British—in the basin of the Congo, that the misdeeds of King Leopold's concessionaire companies were brought to light; and proclaimed to the

world by the unwearied efforts of Mr. E. D. Morel, who, although not a missionary himself, has been a very potent force in moulding public opinion in the direction of respect for the rights of the natives of the soil. Another "lay missionary" of British nationality was Mary Kingsley, whose views, though occasionally erratic, had a far-reaching effect in arousing sympathy and even respect for at any rate a proportion of the native customs, beliefs, and for the attempts of the negro to cope with the vast difficulties of his African surroundings.

Posterity will realize the value of Christian mission work in Africa during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, not only in ethics but in contributions to science, more especially to geography, ethnology, zoology, and, above all, the study of African languages.

CHAPTER XIV

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

By the year 1911 there remained very little of the surface of Africa which had been completely unexplored, except in the sandiest parts of the Sahara and Libyan deserts, in the mountain range of Tibesti and in southern Galaland; and in all probability no new human tribe, no new mammal, bird, reptile, or freshwater fish of importance, or striking novelty,

will be discovered in further investigations. But we may expect many startling revelations in the ancient history of African men and beasts by the digging up of fossil or archæological remains. In fact, the scientific study of Africa, past and present, is only just commencing.

The real commercial development of the neglected continent scarcely took place before the 19th century. Prior to that era, the commerce of Africa mainly consisted in the export of slaves and of a little gold from the Gold Coast and Senegal; gum from the western Sahara and Egypt; ambergris from the Atlantic coasts; ivory from West, South, and East Africa; leather and hides from West Africa; salt from the western Sahara; pepper and spice, dye-woods, indigo and ebony from West Africa, and ostrich feathers from Morocco, Tripoli, Egypt and Cape Colony; besides sugar from Mauritius and Bourbon.

To the African Association, founded in England in 1788, is due enormous credit for its persevering efforts to create a legitimate commerce in the natural and cultivated products of Africa which might take the place of a trade in slaves. From the initiatory work of this association started the trade in palm oil, and in the oil from the kernels of the Oil-palm (*Elais*) which has gone far to make the fortune of West Africa. There followed the increased export of dye-woods (*Baphia* genus), of castor oil, sesamum oil, benniseed oil, indigo, cotton, ground-nuts, timber (from West

Africa), *karita* or Shea vegetable butter, kola nuts, piassava (*Raphia*) and *Sanseviera* fibre, rubber (*Landolphia*, *Funtumia*, *Clitandra* and *Carpodinus*), tobacco (Egypt, Tunis, Nyasaland, South Africa), maize (Egypt, West and South Africa), fruit (West Africa, South Africa, Canary Islands, Algeria), gold from South and South-central Africa and from the Gold Coast and Egypt, Madagaskar and the North-east Congo, tin from Nigeria, hematite iron (South Africa), copper from South-west Africa and South Congoland, diamonds from South and South-west Africa and from Liberia, emeralds from Egypt, petroleum from Egypt and Nigeria, and phosphates from Tunis, Algeria and East Africa. The Africa of the twentieth century also exports an increasing quantity of dates (Morocco to Tripoli), cotton (Egypt, East and West Africa), sugar (Egypt, Mauritius), coffee (Mauritius, Seychelles, Abyssinia, Liberia, Nyasaland, Congo), cacao (West Africa), barley (North Africa), hides and skins (Madagaskar; East, West, and South Africa), and ostrich feathers (South Africa, Egypt).

When the difficulties of its climate and its germ diseases are better understood and overcome Africa may turn out to be the richest continent in the world.

GLOSSARY

MAURETANIA is the name given to all that part of North Africa north of the Sahara Desert, which includes Morocco, Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli. In Roman times the name was limited to what we now call Morocco.

MALAYSIA indicates the Malay Peninsula and the great islands of the Malay Archipelago.

MUSLIM, ISLAM—Muhammadan, Muhammadanism.

WEST AFRICA—All that part of Africa south of the courses of the Senegal and Niger rivers and west of the longitude of the Congo mouth.

SENEGAMBIA—The region between the courses of the Senegal and Gambia rivers.

GUINEA—in the narrowest sense, the coast belt between the Gambia river and Liberia.

SUDAN—The region of Negro Africa north of the great equatorial forest belt and south of the Sahara and Libyan deserts and west of Abyssinia and Galaland.

TEDA or TIBU—A negroid people of semi-Caucasian physique inhabiting the regions of the Sahara Desert between Fezzan and Lake Chad. The KANURI of Bornu are allied to them in language.

ANGONI—The Zulu-speaking tribes north of the Zambesi.

LIBYANS—The more or less white-skinned people of North Africa from western Egypt to the Atlantic coast of the Sahara who speak Libyan languages. The Libyans are nowadays divided into two groups, the semi-nomad Tuareg of the desert and the settled agricultural Berbers of North Africa.

NEGRITO—The dwarfish ancient negro type (now extinct) of Lower Egypt and North (perhaps also South and Central) Africa: more nearly related to the Asiatic negritoes of the present day.

BUSHONGO—A remarkable civilised negro people dwelling in the centre of Congoland, between the Sankuru and the Kasai.

BARBARY—The general designation of North Africa (Morocco to Tripoli) under Muhammadan rule between the twelfth and the nineteenth centuries.

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