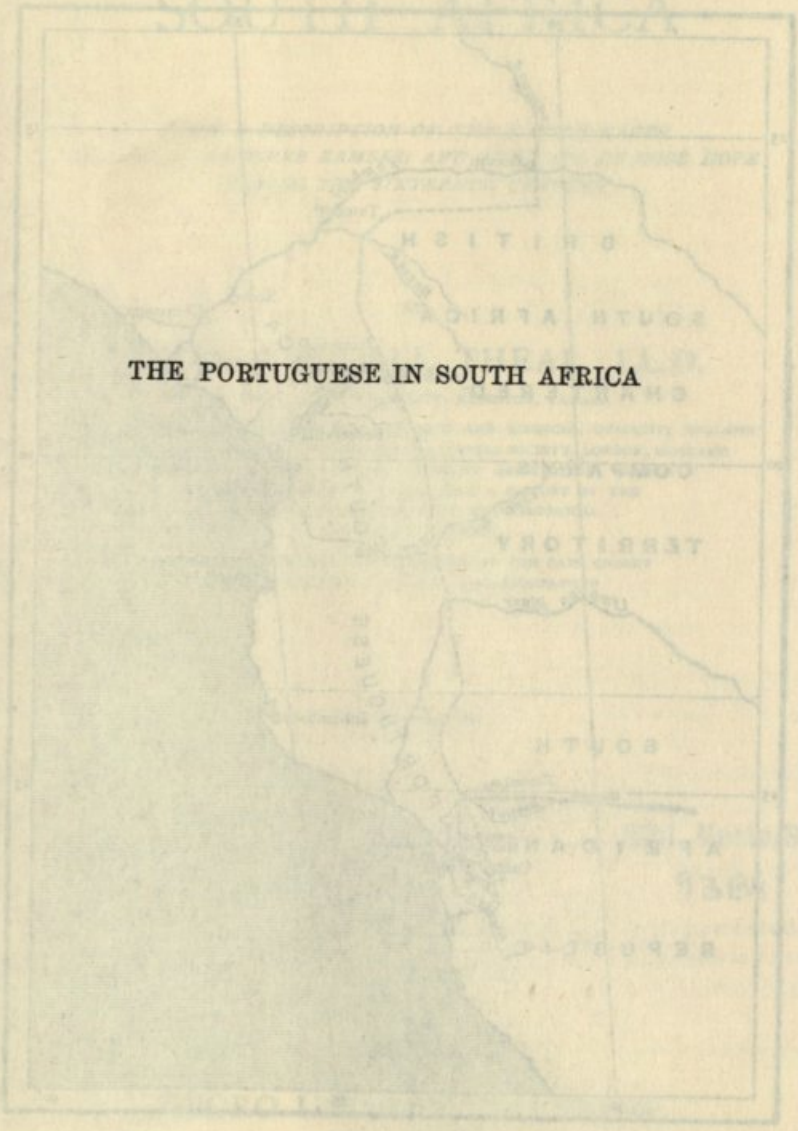
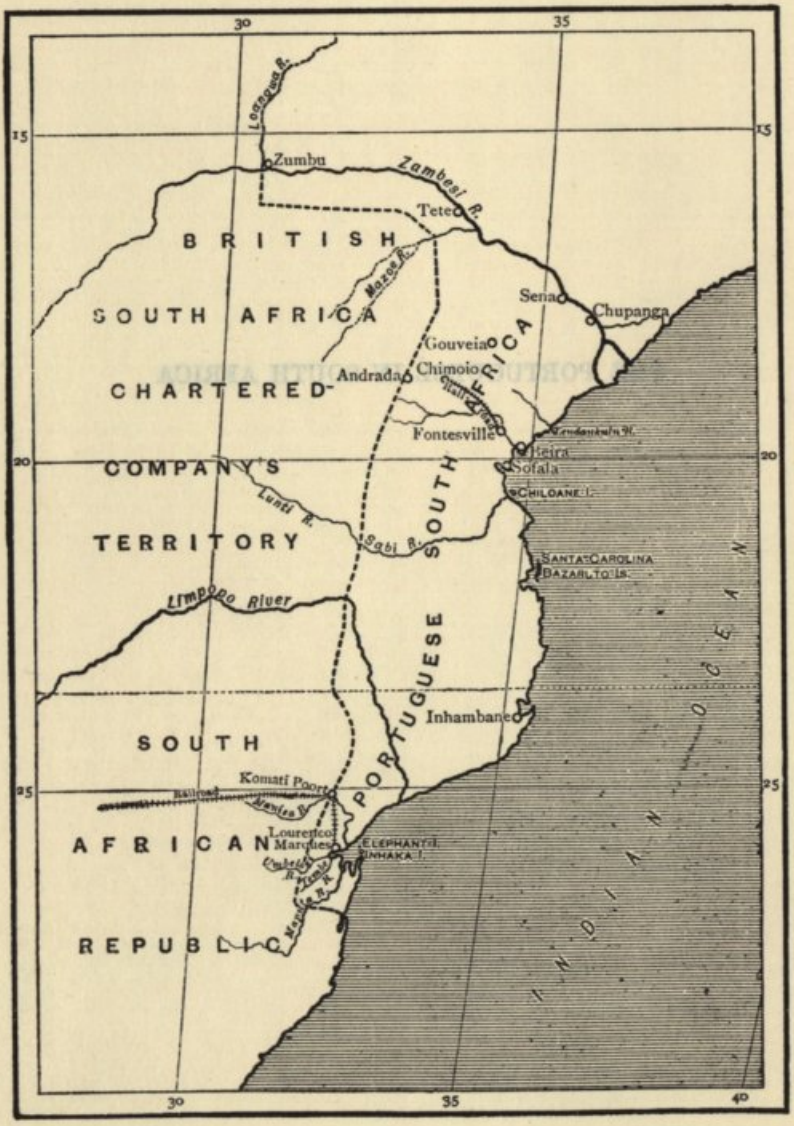


THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH AFRICA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THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH AFRICA

WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE NATIVE RACES BETWEEN THE RIVER ZAMBESI AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY

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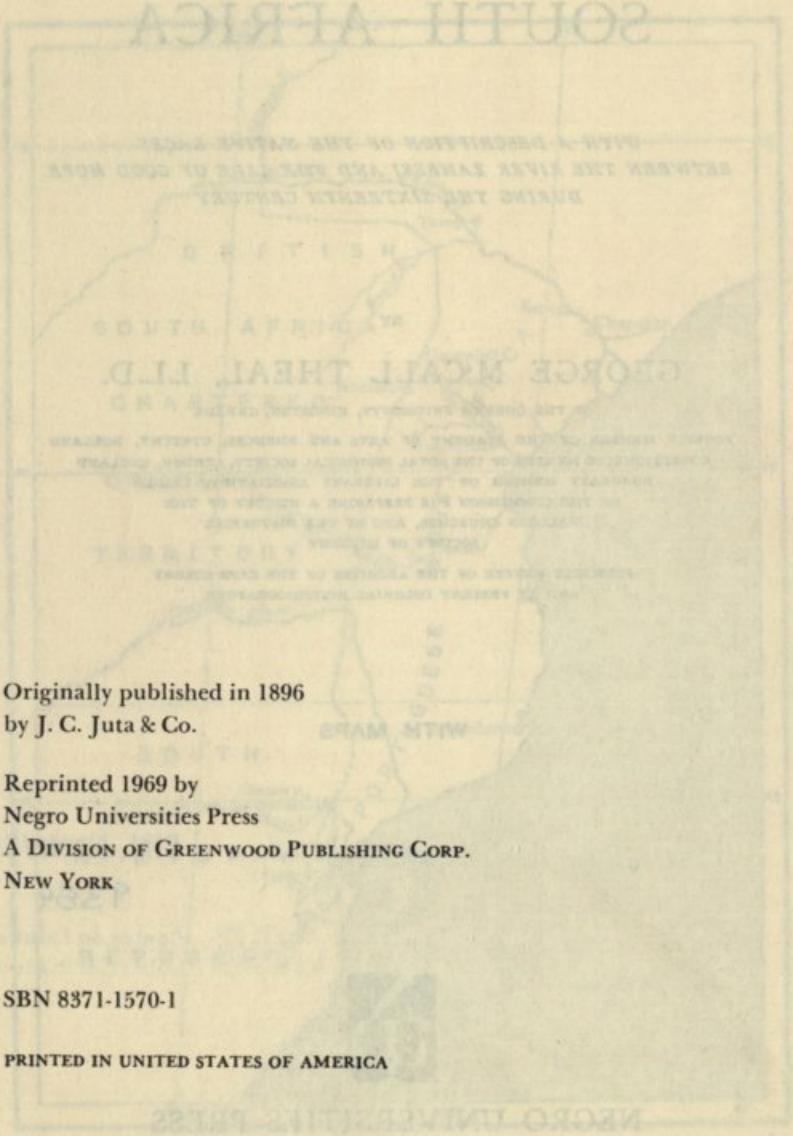

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PREFACE

A VERY few years ago, when I prepared my large History, the expression "South Africa" meant Africa south of the Limpopo. Mainly through the ability of one man—the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes—that expression to-day means Africa south of the Zambesi. The event which I took as an initial point—the arrival of Van Riebeek in Table Valley in April 1652—has thus come to be incorrect for that purpose, the true starting-point now being the arrival of Da Nhaya in Sofala in September 1505. I have therefore written this volume, in order to rectify the beginning of my work.

As Bantu tribes that were not encountered by the Dutch, and that differed in several respects from those south of the Limpopo, came into contact with the Portuguese, it was necessary to enlarge and recast the chapters in my other volumes descriptive of the South African natives. I need not give my authorities for what I have now written concerning these people, for I think I can say with truth that no one else has ever made such a study of this subject as I have.

The Portuguese in South Africa are not entitled to the same amount of space in a history as the Dutch, for they did nothing to colonise the country. I think that in this little volume I have given them their just proportion. In another respect also I have treated them differently, for I expended many years of time in research among Dutch archives, and I have obtained the greater part of my information upon the Portuguese by the comparatively trifling labour of reading and comparing their printed histories. I should not have been justified, however, in issuing this volume if I had not been able to consult the important documents which the Right Honourable C. J. Rhodes caused to be copied at Lisbon for his own use.

With this explanation I commit the volume to the good will of those who are interested in South African affairs.

GEO. M. THEAL.

CAPETOWN, *January*, 1896.

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CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF SOUTH AFRICA: BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOTS.

In the present condition of geological knowledge it is impossible to determine whether South Africa has been the home of human beings as long as Europe has been, but it is certain that men have roamed over its surface from an exceedingly remote period. Stone implements shaped by human hands have been found in situations where they must have lain undisturbed for a very long time if reckoned by years. None of these implements—whether arrowheads, scrapers, knives, axes, or digging weights—were ground or polished, as chipping and drilling comprised all the labour that was bestowed upon them. They were the products of the skill of man in the lowest stage of his existence. Workshops where they were manufactured have been found in various places, and to some of these the raw material, or unchipped stone, must have been brought from a considerable distance. The artisans may have lived there permanently, or, what is more probable, some superstition may have been connected with the localities. At these factories a quantity of stone from which flakes have been struck, some raw material, a very few finished articles, and a great many broken

ones usually lie wholly or partially hidden by drift sand or mould, and it is generally by accident that they are discovered.

The most ancient implements were as skilfully made as those in use by one section of the inhabitants—the Bushmen—when Europeans first visited the country, showing that at least in the mechanical arts there had been no advance during many centuries. This is not surprising if the physical condition of South Africa be considered. The land rises from the ocean level in terraces or steps, until a vast interior plain is reached. Deep gorges have been worn by the action of water, in some places internal forces have caused elevations, in other places depressions, and everywhere along the margins of the terraces distortions may be seen. There are no navigable rivers, and the coast is bold and unbroken. The steep fronts of the terraces, which from the lower side appear to be mountain ranges, and the absence of running water in dry seasons over large surfaces tended likewise to prevent intercourse, not only with the outer world, but between the different parts of the country. The rude people were left to themselves, without that stimulus to improvement which contact with strangers gives. There was no necessity to exert the mind to provide clothing or habitations, for the climate is mild, and even on the elevated interior plain, though the nights in winter are sharp and cold, snow never lies long on the ground. Like the wild animals, man on occasions of severe weather could retire from exposed situations to sheltered and warmer localities.

At length, however, another class of human beings

appeared on the western and southern coasts. Where they came from no one can say, nor how they reached South Africa. Completely isolated, few in number, in many respects differing greatly from Bushmen while in others closely resembling those people, their presence here is as yet an unsolved mystery. That their occupation is only modern is, however, tolerably certain: that is the time that has elapsed since their arrival is but short compared with the long period that Bushmen have been living in the country. The probability seems to be that a party of intruding males of some light-brown or yellow race took to themselves women of Bushman blood, and thus gave origin to the people whom Europeans term Hottentots. There are difficulties to be encountered by this supposition, as, for instance, the possession of oxen and sheep by the Hottentots; but, upon the whole, it offers a more likely solution of the mystery than any other conjecture yet made.

At a period still later than the coming of the Hottentots, a gradual pressure of the Bantu tribes of Central Africa into the southern part of the continent began to take place. When they crossed the Zambesi cannot be determined, but probably it was earlier than the commencement of the Christian era by some hundreds of years. They did not extend beyond the Limpopo, however, until a much later date. The traditions of all the tribes south of that river, none of which can be more than a few centuries old, point to a distant northern origin, and in some instances particulars are given which prove the traditions to be in that respect correct.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century of our era

when Europeans first had communication with natives of South Africa, the belt of land comprising the lowest and the second terrace along the western coast from about Cape Cross southward to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence eastward to the Bashee river, was occupied — though thinly — by Hottentot tribes. The same people were to be found about the lower courses of the Vaal and Modder rivers and along the banks of the Orange from the junction of the Vaal to the sea. They were not known either on the eastern side of the continent or elsewhere in the interior.

The Bantu at that time occupied the choicest parts of the country north of a straight line from Cape Cross to Port Natal, and extended south of that line into the territory now known as Basutoland and also along the eastern coast as far as the Bashee river. They were not to be found in the remaining portion of South Africa.

Bushmen roamed over the entire country south of the Zambesi from sea to sea, and were the only inhabitants of the rugged mountains and arid plains between the Hottentot and Bantu borders. As they could hold their own fairly well against the Hottentots, they were more numerous along the western and southern coasts than along the eastern, where the Bantu had better means of exterminating them.

The skull measurements show great differences in the three races, though the number—especially of Hottentot skulls—carefully examined by competent men is as yet too small for an average to be laid down with absolute precision.

What is termed the horizontal cephalic index, that is the proportion of the breadth of a skull to its length,

is given by Professor Flower, conservator of the museum of the royal college of surgeons of England, from thirteen Bantu specimens as 73 to 100. The highest in this series is 76·8, and the lowest 68·4. Dr Gustaf Fritsch, from thirteen specimens, gives the average as 72 to 100. The highest in this series is 78, and the lowest 64·3. M. Paul Broca, the French authority, gives the average of his measurements as 72. Thus the Bantu are dolichocephali, that is people whose skulls average in breadth less than three-fourths of their length. The average horizontal cephalic index of white people is 78·7.

Of Hottentots, only four that are certainly genuine specimens are given in Professor Flower's volume. The average horizontal cephalic index of these is 72·7, the highest being 75, and the lowest 70·3. Dr Fritsch had also only four skulls which were certainly those of Hottentots. The average horizontal cephalic index of these he found to be 72·6, the highest being 77, and the lowest 65·9. M. Broca gives this index from his measurements as 72. The Hottentots are thus certainly true dolichocephali.

Of genuine Bushman skulls, Professor Flower gives the measurements of five. The average horizontal cephalic index is 76·6, the highest being 78·4, and the lowest 75·7. Dr George Rolleston, professor of anatomy in the university of Oxford, in an appendix to Oates' *Matabeleland*, gives the measurements of six Bushman skulls in the museum of the university. The average horizontal cephalic index he found to be 75·7, the highest being 81, and the lowest 70. Dr Fritsch measured five Bushman skulls, and found the

average horizontal cephalic index 74·2, the highest being 78·5, and the lowest 69·5. M. Broca found the average of his measurements as low as 72, but it is doubtful whether his specimens were not Hottentot skulls. It would appear that the Bushmen are on the border line separating the dolichocephalic from the mesaticephalic races, the breadth of skulls of the latter averaging between three-fourths and four-fifths of the length.

The cranial capacity, or size of the brain of each, is given by Professor Flower as: Bantu 1485, Hottentot 1407, and Bushman 1288 cubic centimetres. The average brain of a European is 1497 cubic centimetres in size. Dr Rolleston found the average cranial capacity of his six Bushman specimens as low as 1195 cubic centimetres, and all other recorded measurements place these people among the extreme microcephalic or small-skulled races. The Hottentots in this classification are mesocephali, a name applied to races whose average cranial capacity is between 1350 and 1450 cubic centimetres, and the Bantu, like Europeans, are megacephali or large-skulled.

The alveolar index, index of prognathism, or the slope of a line from the top of the forehead to the point in the upper jaw between the insertion of the front teeth, is an important characteristic. According to the angle which this line makes with the horizontal plane of the skull, races are classified as orthognathous, mesognathous, or prognathous. In this classification the Bushman comes nearest the European, his face being much more vertical than that of either of the others. Between the Hottentots and the Bantu there is scarcely any difference.

A very marked feature of the Bushman skull is the smallness of the lower jaw and the want of prominence of the chin. In this respect he is among the least advanced of all races. The lower jaw of the Hottentot is much better formed, but is not by any means as massive as that of a member of the Bantu family or a European. The skulls of these South African races also differ from each other and from those of Europeans in many particulars which are only intelligible to professional anatomists. This subject can be studied in special works, and it is not necessary therefore to enter more deeply into it here.

The greatest differences between the three divisions of people who lived in South Africa in ancient times are now believed to be in the constitution of their minds, but early observers did not detect these. The variations which they noticed were chiefly the following:

Bushmen: frame dwarfish,[1] colour yellowish brown, face fox-like in outline, eyes small and deeply sunk, head dotted over with little knots of twisted hair not much larger than peppercorns, ears without lobes, stomach protuberant, back exceedingly hollow, limbs slender; weapons bow and poisoned arrow; pursuits those of a hunter; government none but parental; habitations caverns or mats spread over branches of trees; domestic animal the dog; demeanour that of perfect independence; language abounding in clicks and in deep guttural sounds.

[1] Occasionally among the Masarwa, or Bushmen of the Betshuana country, individuals over five feet and a half in height are found, but these are to a certainty mixed breeds. They show Bantu blood in their darker colour as well as in their general form and size.

Hottentots: frame slight but sometimes tall, better formed than Bushmen, but back hollow, head scantily covered with little tufts of short crisped hair, cheeks hollow, nose flat, eyes far apart and often set obliquely, hands and feet small, colour yellow to olive; weapons assagai, knobkerie, bow and poisoned arrow, shield; pursuits pastoral and to a very limited extent metallurgic; government feeble; habitations slender frames of wood covered with skins or reed mats; domestic animals ox, sheep, and dog; demeanour inconstant, marked by levity; language abounding in clicks.

Bantu: frame of those on the coast generally robust and as well formed as that of Europeans, of those in the interior somewhat weaker, head covered closely with crispy hair, cheeks full, nose usually flat but occasionally prominent, hands and feet large, colour brown to deep black; weapons assagai, knobkerie, shield, and among the northern tribes battle-axe and bow and arrow; pursuits agricultural, pastoral, and metallurgic; government firmly constituted, with perfect system of laws; habitations strong framework of wood covered with thatch; domestic animals ox, goat, sheep, dog, barnyard poultry; demeanour ceremonious, grave, respectful to superiors in rank; language musical, words abounding in vowels and inflected to produce harmony in sound.

THE BUSHMEN, TERMED BY THE HOTTENTOTS SANA, BY THE BANTU ABATWA.

The pigmy hunters, who were the oldest inhabitants of South Africa, received from the first European colonists the name of Bushmen, on account of their

preference for places abounding in bushes, where they had a wonderful faculty of concealing themselves.

Their language has not been examined very carefully, except by the late Dr Bleek and by Miss L. Lloyd whose researches have only partly been published. It is known, however, to be very low in order as a means of expressing any but the simplest ideas, and to be divided into a great number of dialects, some of which vary as widely as English from German. Many of its apparent roots are polysyllabic, but there is a doubt whether some of these are not really composites. It is so irregular in its construction that the plural of nouns is often formed by reduplication, as if we should say "dog dog" instead of "dogs," and sometimes a plural idea is expressed by a word which has nothing in common with the one which expresses the singular. Yet there is an instance of a dual form in the first personal pronoun. In none of the dialects has any word for a numeral higher than three been discovered. Dr Bleek and Miss Lloyd found that the language could be represented in writing, though to the ear it sounds like a continuous clattering combined with hoarse sounds proceeding from the depths of the throat.

The Bushmen inhabited the mountains and deserts, and carried on incessant war with the Hottentot and Bantu tribes. A cave with its opening protected by a few branches of trees, or the centre of a small circle of bushes round which skins of wild animals were stretched, was the best dwelling that they aspired to possess. Failing either of these, they scooped a hole in the ground, placed a few sticks or stones round it, and spread a mat or a skin above to serve as a roof.

A little grass at the bottom of the hole formed a bed, and though it was not much larger than the nest of an ostrich, a whole family could manage to lie down in it.

The ordinary food of these people consisted of roots berries, wild plants, locusts, larvæ of ants—now commonly called Bushman rice by European colonists—reptiles, birds, and mammalia of all kinds. No chance of plundering the pastoral tribes of domestic cattle was allowed to escape them. They were capable of remaining a long time without food, and could then gorge immense quantities of meat without any ill effects. They were careless of the future, and were happy if the wants of the moment were supplied. Thus, when a large animal was killed, no trouble was taken to preserve a portion of its flesh, but the time was spent in alternate gorging and sleeping until not a particle of carrion was left. When a drove of domestic cattle was stolen, several were slaughtered at once and their carcasses shared with birds of prey, while if their recapture was considered possible, every animal was killed. Such wanton destruction caused them to be detested by all other dwellers in the land.

Their weapons were bows and arrows. The bows were nothing more than pieces of saplings or branches of trees about four feet in length, scraped down a little, and strung with a thong of raw hide or a cord formed by twisting together the sinews of animals. The arrows were from twenty to thirty inches in length, made of reeds pointed generally with bone, but sometimes with sharp stone flakes, and with triangular iron heads whenever these were taken from Hottentot enemies. The arrowhead and the lashing by which it

was secured to the reed were coated with a deadly poison, so that the slightest wound caused death. The arrows were carried in a quiver made of the bark of a species of euphorbia, which is still called by Europeans in South Africa the kokerboom or quiver tree. They were formidable solely on account of the poison, as they could not be projected with accuracy to any great distance, and had but little force. In after years the colonists considered their clothing ample protection at fifty yards distance. The Bushmen made pits for entrapping game, and also poisoned pools of water, so that any animal that drank perished.

They used stone flakes for various purposes, but took no trouble to polish them or give them a neat appearance. Their knives, scrapers, and awls for piercing skins were commonly made of horn or bone. There was a stone implement, however, which was in general use. It was a little spherical boulder, from three to six inches in diameter, such as may be picked up in abundance all over the country, through the centre of which the Bushman drilled a hole large enough to receive a digging-stick, to which it gave weight. With the tools at his disposal, this must have required much time and patience, so that in his eyes a stone when drilled undoubtedly had a very high value. On it he depended for food in seasons of drought, when all the game had fled from his part of the country. Drilled stones from an inch to three inches in diameter have occasionally been found in tracts of country once inhabited by Bushmen, but from which those savages have long since disappeared. None so small as these have been noticed in use in recent times. It is

conjectured that they were intended as toys for children.

There is no record of a European having ever seen a Bushman manufacturing stone implements, and no one appears to have made inquiry into the matter until it was too late to derive any information from the people themselves. When they were first met, they had such implements in use, and wherever they lived such implements are still to be found, hence it is assumed that they made them.

But a few weapons of stone much larger than those ordinarily used by Bushmen have been picked up in South Africa in situations where it is supposed they cannot have been left by individuals of the stronger Hottentot race, though not in places indicating that they were of great age, and these have given rise to an opinion that the country may once have been occupied by more robust savages. Traditional stories have been gathered from Bushmen themselves, in which they speak of an older race. But weapons made by Hottentots for their own use could have been taken from them and removed to a great distance by their puny enemies, and the traditions probably refer to the supplanting of one horde by another in a particular locality. There is no other evidence that the Bushmen were not the earliest inhabitants of South Africa, and this seems altogether too slight a foundation to build a theory upon.

People in a low condition of society do not use clothing for purposes of modesty, but to protect themselves against inclement weather. And as the Bushmen were hardly affected by any degree of either heat

or cold that is experienced in this country, whether on the plains in midsummer or on the mountains in midwinter, the raiment of the males was usually of the scantiest, and in the chase was thrown entirely aside. At the best it consisted merely of the skin of an animal wrapped round the person. Adult females wore a little apron, and fastened a skin over their shoulders in such a way that an infant could be carried on their backs. Both sexes used belts, which in times of scarcity they tightened to assuage the pangs of hunger, and whenever they had the means they rubbed their bodies with grease and clay or soot, which made them even more ugly than they were by nature.

When the men expected to meet an enemy, they fastened their arrows in an erect position round their heads, in order to appear as formidable as possible. But they never exposed themselves unnecessarily to danger, and tried always to attack from an ambush or a place that would give them the advantage of striking the first blow before their adversaries were aware of their presence. A poisoned arrow, shot from a little scrub in which a Bushman was lying concealed, often ended the career of an unwary Hottentot traveller.

The Bushmen wore few ornaments, not because they were careless about decorating their persons, but because it was very difficult to obtain anything for the purpose. They were without metal, and in the vast interior, as they knew nothing of commerce, they could not obtain sea-shells. Yet some of them contrived to make necklaces, which were worn by the men and women, not by the children. They cut little circular disks of tortoise and ostrich egg shells, drilled holes in them, and

strung them on thongs. It requires some reflection to realise the amount of patient labour expended upon a single ornament of this kind, manufactured with stone implements. In other cases they made grooves round the teeth of animals, and then strung a number together.

A consideration of how much value such a simple implement as a tinder-box would have had to these people may aid in enabling a European to comprehend the life that they led. They knew how to procure fire by twirling a piece of wood round rapidly in the socket of another piece, but the preparation of the apparatus took much time, and a considerable amount of labour was needed to produce a flame. Under these circumstances, it was a task of the women to preserve a fire when once made, and as they moved their habitations to a large animal when it was killed, instead of trying to carry the meat away, this was often a very difficult matter. Sometimes it necessitated carrying a burning stick fifteen or twenty miles, or when it was nearly consumed, kindling a fire for the sole purpose of getting another brand to go on with. No small amount of labour would therefore have been saved by the possession of a flint and a piece of steel.

These wild people lived in small societies, often consisting of only a couple of families. They were vindictive, passionate, and cruel in the extreme. Human life, even that of their nearest kindred, was sacrificed on very slight provocation. They did not understand what quarter in battle meant, and as they never spared an enemy who was in their power, when themselves surrounded so that all hope of escape was gone, they

fought till their last man fell. Their manner of living was such as to develop only qualities essential to hunters. In keenness of vision and fleetness of foot they were surpassed by no people on earth, they could travel immense distances without taking rest, and yet their frames were so feeble as to be incapable of labour.

They possessed an intense love of liberty and of their wild wandering way of life. Hereditary chieftainship was not recognised by them. It sometimes happened that the bravest or most expert of a party became a leader in predatory excursions, but his authority did not extend to the exercise of judicial control. Each man was independent of every other. Even parental authority was commonly disregarded by a youth as soon as he could provide for his own wants.

They were firm believers in charms and witchcraft, and were always in dread of violating some custom—as for instance avoiding casting a shadow upon dying game—which they believed would cause disaster. A Bushman would not make a hole in the sandy bed of a river in order to obtain water, without first offering a little piece of meat, or some larvæ of ants, or an arrow if he had nothing else, to propitiate the spirit of the stream. And so with every act of his life, something had to be done or avoided to avert evil.

Their reasoning power was very low. They understood the habits of wild animals better than anything else, yet they believed the different species of game could converse with each other, and that there were animals and human beings who could exchange their forms at will, for instance that there were girls who could change themselves into lions and baboons that

could put on the appearance of men. The moon, according to the ideas of some of them, was a living thing, according to the notions of others it was a piece of hide which a man threw into the sky. In the same way the stars were once human beings, or they were pieces of food hurled into the air. As well might one attempt to get reasons for their fancies from European children five or six years of age as from Bushmen: the reflective faculties of one were as fully developed as of the other.

Dr Bleek and Miss Lloyd obtained from several individuals prayers to the moon and to stars. But everything connected with their religion—that is their dread of something outside of and more powerful than themselves—was vague and uncertain. They could give no explanation whatever about it, and indeed they did not all hold the same opinions on the subject.

It is difficult to conceive of a human being in a more degraded condition than that of a Bushman. In some respects, however, he showed considerable ability, and there was certainly an enormous gulf between him and the highest of the brute creation. He possessed extraordinary powers of mimicry. Enclosed in a framework covered with the skin of an ostrich, he was in the habit of stalking game, and, by carefully keeping his prey to windward, was able to approach within shooting distance, when the poison of his arrow completed the task. He could imitate the peculiarities of individuals of other races with whom he came in contact, and was fond of creating mirth by exhibiting them in the drollest manner.

He was also an artist. On the walls of caves and the sheltered sides of great rocks he drew rude pictures in

profile of the animals with which he was acquainted. The tints were made with different kinds of ochre having considerable capability of withstanding the decay of time, and they were mixed with grease, so that they penetrated the rock more or less deeply according to its porousness. There are caves on the margins of rivers containing paintings which have been exposed to the action of water during occasional floods for at least a hundred years, and the colours are yet unfaded where the rock has not crumbled away.

In point of artistic merit, however, the paintings were seldom superior to the drawings on slates of European children eight or nine years of age, though there were occasional instances of game being delineated not only in a fairly correct but in a graceful manner, showing that some of the workmen possessed more skill than others. In none of them was any knowledge of perspective or of shading displayed. Two colours were sometimes used, as, for instance, the head or legs of an animal might be white, and the remainder of the body brown, but each colour was evenly laid on as far as it went. In short, the paintings might have been mistaken for the work of children, but for the impressions of the hands often accompanying them, and the scenes being chiefly those of the chase.

In some places, where the face of the rock was very dark, the Bushman drew an outline of a figure, and then chipped away the surface within it. The labour required for such a task, without metallic implements, must have been great, and the workman was undoubtedly possessed of much patience. He was a sculptor in the elementary stage of the art.

These wild people possessed too a faculty—it might almost be termed an additional sense—of which Europeans are destitute. They could make their way in a straight line to any place where they had been before. Even a child of nine or ten years of age, removed from its parents to a distance of over a hundred miles and without opportunity of observing the features of the country traversed, could months later return unerringly. They could give no explanation of the means by which they accomplished a task seemingly so difficult. Many of the inferior animals, however, have this faculty, as notably the dove, so that it is not surprising to find the lowest type of man in possession of it.

The life led by these savages was in truth a wretched one, judged from a European standard. They had no contact with people beyond their own little communities, except in war, for they were without a conception of commerce. If a pestilence had swept them all from the face of the earth, nothing more would have been left to mark where they had once been than the drilled stones, rudely shaped arrowheads, rock paintings, and crude sculptures. Their pleasures were hardly superior to those of dumb animals. They had a musical instrument like a bow, with a piece of quill attached to the string, but the sounds produced from it could hardly be termed harmonious. Their dancing was a mere quivering of the body and stamping of the feet. The games that they practised were chiefly—if not entirely—imitation hunts, in which some or all of them represented animals. In this pastime they displayed much cleverness, whether they acted as men or as lions in pursuit of antelopes. But it was not often

that they engaged in play, for the effort to sustain existence was with them severe and almost constant.

At early dawn the Bushman rose from his mat or bed of grass in a cavern on the side of a hill, and scanned the valley or plain below in search of game. If any living thing was within range of his far-seeing eye, he grasped his bow and quiver of arrows, and with his dog set off in pursuit. His wife—he had but one, for he was a strict monogamist—and his children followed, carrying fire and collecting bulbs and anything else that was edible on the way. At nightfall, if they were fortunate, they collected about the body of an antelope, and there they remained till nothing that could be consumed was left. And so from day to day and year to year life passed on, without anything of an intellectual nature to ennoble it.

It can now be asserted in positive language that these people were incapable of adopting European civilisation. During the first half of the present century agents of various missionary societies made strenuous efforts for their improvement, many persons who were not missionaries tried during long years to induce them to abandon their savage habits, and there were even experiments in providing parties of them with domestic cattle, in order to encourage a pastoral life, but all were without success. To this day there has not been a single instance of a Bushman of pure blood having permanently adopted the habits of a white man. They could not even exist in presence of a high civilisation, but dwindled away rapidly, and have now nearly died out altogether. It would seem that for them progress was possible in no other way than

by exceedingly slow development and mixture of blood in successive stages with races always a little more advanced.

THE HOTTENTOTS, TERMED BY THE BANTU AMALAWU.

The Hottentots termed themselves Khoikhoi, men of men, as they prided themselves upon their superiority over the other race with which they were best acquainted, and in fact they were considerably more advanced towards civilisation than the Bushmen, though a stranger at first sight might not have seen much difference in personal appearance between the two. A little observation, however, would have shown that the Bushmen were not only much smaller and uglier, but that their faces were broader, their eyes not nearly as full and bright, their lobeless ears rounder in shape, and their chins much less prominent. Their wild expression also was not observed in the Hottentot face.

The investigations of the late Dr Bleek have shown that the languages of these two classes of people were not only different in the words, but that they varied in construction. That spoken by the Hottentots was free of deep guttural sounds, and though it was accompanied by much clapping of the tongue, the clicks were not so numerous as in Bushman speech. Some words were composites, but most were monosyllables, as were all the roots. The liquid consonant *l* was wanting. There were many dialects, but these did not vary more than the forms of English spoken in different counties. It was inflected by means of affixes only, which placed it

in contrast with the Bantu language, as this was inflected chiefly by prefixes. It had three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. Its system of notation was decimal, and was perfect at least up to a hundred.

No difficulty has been experienced by European missionaries during the present century in reducing this language to writing, and some religious literature has been printed in it. Words to express ideas unknown before were formed from well-known roots according to its grammatical structure, and were at once understood by every one. This is sufficient to show that it was of a high order. It is now, however, rapidly dying out, as the descendants of the people who once used it have long since learned to converse in Dutch, and by force of circumstances nearly all have forgotten their ancestral speech.

The Hottentots were divided into a number of tribes, each of which was usually composed of several clans loosely joined together. The tribes were frequently at war with each other. Every clan had its own chief, whose authority, however, was very limited, as his subjects were impatient of control. The succession was from father to son, and in the absence of a son to brother or nephew. The several heads of clans recognised the supremacy in rank of one of their number, who was accounted the paramount chief of the tribe, but unless he happened to be a man of more force of character than the others, he exercised no real power over them. The petty rulers were commonly jealous of each other, so that they could only unite in cases of extreme danger to all. The government was thus particularly frail, and a very slight shock was sufficient

to break any combination of the people into fragments.

The principal property of the Hottentots consisted of horned cattle and sheep. They had great skill in training oxen to obey certain calls, as well as to carry burdens, and bulls were taught not only to assist in guarding the herds from robbers and beasts of prey, but to aid in war by charging the enemy on the field of battle. The milk of their cows was the chief article of their diet. They did not kill horned cattle for food, except on occasions of feasting, but they ate all that died a natural death. The ox of the Hottentot was an inferior animal to that of Europe. He was a gaunt, bony creature, with immense horns and long legs, but he was hardy and well adapted to supply the wants of his owner. He served instead of a horse for riding purposes, being guided by a riem or thong of raw hide attached to a piece of wood passed through the cartilage of his nose. The sheep were covered with hair instead of wool, were of various colours, and had long lapping ears and tails six or seven pounds in weight. The milk as well as the flesh was used for food. Children were taught to suck the ewes, and often derived their whole sustenance from this source. The only other domestic animal was the dog. He was an ugly creature, his body being shaped like that of a jackal, and the hair on his spine being turned in the wrong direction; but he was a faithful, serviceable animal of his kind.

In addition to milk and the meat of oxen and sheep, of which they rejected no part except the gall, the food of the Hottentots consisted of the flesh of game obtained in the chase, locusts, and various kinds of

wild plants and fruits. Agriculture, even in its simplest forms, was not practised by them. They knew how to make an intoxicating drink of honey, of which large quantities were to be had in the season of flowers, and this they used to excess while it lasted. Another powerful intoxicant with which they were acquainted was dacha, a species of wild hemp, and whenever this was procurable they smoked it with a pipe made of the horn of an antelope. That its effects were pernicious was admitted by themselves, still they could not refrain from making use of it.

Their women were better clothed than those of the Bushmen, but the men were usually satisfied with very little covering, and had no sense of shame in appearing altogether naked. The dress of both sexes was made of skins, commonly prepared with the hair on. When removed from the animal, the skin was cleansed of any fleshy matter adhering to it, was then stretched and dried, and was afterwards rubbed with grease till it became soft and pliable. The ordinary costume of a man was merely a piece of jackal skin suspended in front, and a little slip of prepared hide behind. In cold weather he wrapped himself in a kaross or mantle of furs sewed together with sinews. The women wore at all times a headdress of fur, an apron, and a wrapper or a girdle of leather strings suspended from the waist. In cold weather, or when carrying infants on their backs, they added a scanty kaross. Children wore no clothing whatever. Round their legs the females sewed strips of raw hide, like rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved.

Both sexes ornamented their heads with copper trinkets, and hung round their necks strings of shells, leopards' teeth, or any other glittering objects they could obtain. Ivory armlets were worn by the men. From earliest infancy their bodies were smeared with grease and rubbed over with clay, soot, or powdered buchu, and to this partly may be attributed the stench of their persons. The coat of grease and clay was not intended for ornament alone. It protected them from the weather and from the vermin that infested their huts and clothing.

Their dwellings were oval or circular frames of light undressed wood, sometimes covered with skins, but usually with mats made of rushes. They were not more than five feet in height, and had but one small opening through which the inmates crawled. In cold weather a fire was made in a cavity in the centre. The huts of a kraal were arranged in the form of a circle, the space enclosed being used as a fold for cattle. They could be taken to pieces, placed on pack-oxen, removed to a distance, and set up again, with very little labour and no waste.

The weapons used by the Hottentots in war and the chase were bows and arrows, sticks with clubbed heads, and assagais. They usually covered the head of the arrow with poison, so that a wound from one, however slight, was mortal.

The assagai could be hurled with precision to a distance of thirty yards. The knobkerie, or clubbed stick, was almost as formidable a weapon. It was rather stouter than an ordinary walking cane, and had a round head two or three inches in diameter. Boys were

trained to throw this with so accurate an aim as to hit a bird on the wing at twenty or thirty yards distance. It was projected in such a manner as to bring the heavy knob into contact with the object aimed at, and antelopes as large as goats were killed with it. The bow was a weapon of little force, and the arrows would have been harmless to large game if they had not been poisoned.

The Hottentots were acquainted with the art of smelting iron, but were too indolent to turn their knowledge to much account. Only a few assagai and arrow-heads were made of that metal. Horn and bone were ready at hand, were easily worked, and were commonly used to point weapons. Stone was also employed by some of the tribes for this purpose, but not to any great extent, though the weights for digging sticks were the same with them as with the Bushmen. Masses of almost solid copper were obtained in Namaqualand, and this metal was spread over the neighbouring country by means of barter and war, but was never used for any other purpose than that of making ornaments for the person.

It is thus noticeable that in South Africa there were no intermediate stages between the use of unpolished stone implements and implements of iron, as there were in Europe, where polished stone and bronze intervened. Whether the Hottentots acquired from another race a knowledge of the manner of smelting iron, or whether they made the discovery themselves, is doubtful. The same difficulty arises here as with their possession of oxen and sheep. If, as has been supposed by some writers—notably by Dr Bleek on the ground

of affinity of language,—one branch of their ancestors was of North African origin, they could have obtained their domestic cattle and have learned how to smelt iron from the Bantu tribes through whose territories they passed; but as they occupied no other part of South Africa than the margin of a lengthy coast and the interior banks of a single river, if this theory is correct they must have moved downward close to the sea, and then, instead of expanding inland as they increased in number, they must gradually have taken possession of the shore for a distance of over fifteen hundred miles. This is certainly possible, but as they cared so little for the sea that they never made even a rough canoe, it does not seem very probable.

These people manufactured earthenware pots for cooking purposes, which, though in general clumsily shaped and coarse in appearance, were capable of withstanding intense heat. Milk was kept in skin bags or in large bowls made by hollowing out blocks of wood. Ostrich egg shells and ox horns were used for carrying water and other domestic purposes.

Some small and weak clans of Hottentots who had lost their cattle in war or by disease lived along the shore, and depended for existence upon the produce of the sea. They had neither boats nor hooks, but they managed to catch fish by throwing spears from rocks standing out in deep water and by making stone walls across gullies in order to enclose considerable spaces which were nearly dry at low tide. Shell-fish also formed a portion of their food, and occasionally a dead whale would drift ashore and furnish them with a feast. Shell and ash heaps made by these people are found in

many places along the coast from Cape Cross to the Kei river. They contain ordinary implements, in rare instances human skeletons, and generally bones of animals obtained in the chase, always broken in order that the marrow might be extracted. In this respect they resemble the kitchen middens of Europe, but nothing indicative of great antiquity has yet been found in any of them. On the contrary, they all appear to be quite modern, that is their age seems to be only of hundreds, not of thousands of years.

Hottentots were found living in the manner here indicated when Europeans first came to the country, and on the coast of Namaqualand there were some existing in a similar state after the middle of the present century. As far as food, clothing, and lodging were concerned, they were in no better condition than Bushmen, but there was always the hope before them of acquiring cattle by a successful raid, in which case they would at once revert to the ordinary mode of living of their race.

All the shell-heaps found on the South African coast, however, were not made by impoverished Hottentots. A few—possibly a good many—were made by Bushmen, as is proved by the paintings on rocks overhanging the deposits. There must also have been mixed breeds along the coast in olden times, as there are to-day in the territory about the lower Vaal river, and some of the remains may be due to them. These mixed breeds arose from the union of Hottentot men with captured Bushwomen, for though the races were constantly at war, young females were generally spared by the less savage of the two.

The Hottentots were a superstitious people, who placed great faith in the efficacy of charms to ward off evil. They believed that certain occurrences foreboded good or ill luck, that a mantis alighting on a hut brought prosperity with it, and many other absurdities of a like nature. They lived in dread of ghosts and evil spirits. They invoked blessings from the moon, to whose praise they sang and danced when it appeared as new. They also invoked blessings from dead ancestors, to whose shades sacrifices were offered by priests on important occasions, and they implored protection and favour from a mythical hero named Heitsi-eibib, whose worship consisted in throwing a bit of wood or an additional stone upon a cairn. Cairns of considerable size raised in this manner are to be found at the present day within territory occupied by Bantu tribes, showing, like many other indications, that the Hottentots once occupied a larger area than when Europeans became acquainted with them. They made offerings also to a powerful evil spirit, with a view of averting his wrath. Their system of religion could not be explained by themselves, what they understood being little more than that the customs connected with it had come down to them from their ancestors. They had not the faintest expectation of their own resurrection or conception of a heaven and a hell.

A more improvident, unstable, thoughtless people never existed. Those among them who had cattle were without care or grief, and usually spent the greater part of the day in sleeping. They delighted, however, in dancing to music, which they produced from reeds. Active in this exercise and in hunting, in all other

respects they were extremely indolent. Their filthiness of person, clothing, and habitation was disgusting. They enjoyed eating food that would have turned the stomach of the least delicate of Europeans, for the sense of smelling with them—as with all people of a low type—was extremely dull.

They were in the habit of abandoning aged and helpless persons as well as sickly and deformed children, whom they allowed to perish of hunger. But they regarded this as mercy, not as cruelty. Better that a helpless wretch or a cripple should give up life at once than linger on in misery. For the same reason, when a woman giving suck died, the child was buried with its parent.

The Hottentots were polygamous in the sense that their customs admitted of a wealthy man having more wives than one, but the practice was by no means general. There were many kraals in which there was not a single case of polygamy. It was customary with some, perhaps with all, to take wives not from their own but from another clan. The marriage customs required that cattle should be given by the bridegroom to the nearest relatives of the bride, but temporary unions were common, and indeed a system almost as bad as that of free love prevailed, for chastity on both sides was very lightly regarded.

The women were more nearly the equals of the men, and were permitted to exercise much greater freedom of speech in domestic disputes, than among most savages. They were mistresses within the huts. The stores of milk were under their control, not under that of their husbands, as was the case with the Bantu tribes. The

men tended the cattle, but their daughters milked the cows.

Among some—not all—of the Hottentot clans there was a custom which, though described by many early observers, has within the present century without sufficient investigation been regarded by most writers as so utterly incredible that they have not noticed it. Yet it is practised at the present day by people who are certainly not of Hottentot blood, but who must have derived their language as well as many of their customs from Hottentot conquerors in times long gone by. It stands to them in the same relation that circumcision does to many Bantu clans, that is among them a youth cannot enter the society of men or take to himself a wife until he has become a *monorch* (μόνορχις). A custom so extraordinary shows what force habit and superstition have among savages.

With all their degrading habits, the Hottentots possessed large powers of imagination. They speculated upon objects in nature in a way that no Bantu ever did, and their ideas on these subjects, though seemingly absurd, at least bore evidence of a disposition to think. They were excellent story-tellers. Seated round fires of an evening, they told tales of the doings of men and of animals—usually the baboon or the jackal—which produced boundless mirth. These stories generally contained coarse and obscene expressions, or what Europeans would regard as such, but their sense of delicacy in these matters was naturally low.

The evening with them, as probably with all barbarians, was the time for enjoyment. What could be more cheerful than the dance in the bright moon-

light or listening to a merry tale by a fire under a starry sky? Then the young men tried their strength in wrestling matches, or in lifting one another from the ground, while the young women looked on and applauded the successful competitors. Then, too, they played games which, though apparently suited to the capacities of little children only, afforded them much amusement. The commonest of these games was adopted by the Bantu on the eastern border when they conquered the Hottentots there, and is performed by adults among them to-day, though the people with whom it originated have long since forgotten it.

It was played by two persons or any number exceeding two. The players sat on the ground, and each had a pebble so small that it could easily be concealed in a folded hand. If there were many players they formed themselves into sides or parties, but when they were few in number one played against the rest. This one concealed the pebble in either of his hands, and then threw both arms out against his opponent, at the same time calling that he met or that he evaded. His opponent threw his arms out in the same manner, so that his right hand was opposite the first player's left, and his left opposite the first player's right. The clenched hands were then opened, and if the pebbles were found to meet, the first player won if he had called out that he met, or lost if he had called out that he evaded. When there were many players, one after another was beaten until only two were left. These two then played against each other, when the one who was beaten was laughed at and the winner was applauded. In playing, the arms were thrown out

very quickly, and the words were rapidly uttered, so that a stranger to the game might have fancied there was neither order nor rule observed. Young men and boys often spent whole nights in this childish amusement, which had the same hold upon them as dice upon some Europeans.

Probably, if intellectual enjoyment be excluded, the Hottentots were among the happiest people in existence. They generally lived until old age without serious illness. They did not allow possible future troubles to disturb them, and a sufficiency of food was all that was needed to make them as merry and light-hearted as children at play.

They were capable of adopting the habits of Europeans, though the process required to be so gradual that the training of two centuries and a half has been very far from sufficient to complete it. They have learned to cultivate the ground, to use the same food as white people, to wear European clothing, and to act as rough handicraftsmen, but there is no instance of one of them having ever attained a position that required either much intellectual power or much mechanical skill. Since they came in contact with Europeans and African slaves, however, their blood has been so mixed that very few pure Hottentots are in existence now, and every successive generation sees the number become smaller.

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BANTU TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Chapter II.—*Contents.*

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CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BANTU TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE third variety of human beings found by white men at the close of the fifteenth century in occupation of a great part of South Africa is now usually termed the Bantu, in accordance with a proposal of the late Dr Bleek. These people had no word except tribal names to distinguish themselves from other races, *ntu*[1] in their language meaning a human being or person of any colour or country; but ethnologists felt the want of a specific designation for them, and adopted this as a convenient one. In the division of mankind thus named are included all those Africans who use a language which is inflected principally by means of prefixes, and which in the construction of sentences follows certain rules depending upon harmony of sound.[2]

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[1] In the dialect of the Tembu, Pondo, Zulu, and other coast tribes: *um-ntu* a person, plural *aba-ntu* people; diminutive *um-ntwana* a child, plural *aba-ntwana* children; abstract derivative *ubu-ntu* the qualities of human beings, diminutive *ubu-ntwana* the qualities of children. In the Herero dialect: *omu-ndu* a person, plural *ova-ndu* people. In the dialect of the Basuto: *mo-tho* a person, plural *ba-tho* persons. The pronunciation, however, is nearly the same, the *h* in *batho* being sounded only as an aspirate, and the *o* as *oo*, *baat-hoo*.

[2] This definition is of course only a general one, and must be subject to exceptions, because races cannot be grouped by means of

Tribes occupying for many generations the greater portion of a country of such extent as Africa south of the Zambesi, and not having much intercourse with each other, naturally developed differences, and there were circumstances connected with the Bantu which increased the tendency towards variation. First there was the *hlonipa* custom, by which women were obliged constantly to invent new words, so that each dialect underwent gradual dissimilar changes. Next, and more important still, was an influx of Asiatics at some remote time, who mixed their blood with that of the people on the eastern side of the country, and brought about great improvements in their mental condition.

In a general description, such as this, it will be sufficient to classify the tribes in three groups, though it should be remembered that there are many trifling differences between the various branches of each of these. In the first group can be placed the tribes along the eastern coast south of the Sabi river, and those which in recent times have made their way from that part of the country into the highlands of the interior. The best known of these are the Amaxosa, the Abatembu, the Amampondo, the Amabaca, the Abambo (now broken into numerous fragments), the Amazulu, the Amaswazi, the Amatonga, the Magwamba, the Ma-

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language alone. Thus the people called Berg Damaras, who live in the tract of country along the western coast north of Walfish Bay, are certainly Bantu by blood, though they speak a Hottentot dialect, and resemble Bushmen in their habits. They must have been subdued in remote times, and forced to adopt the language of their conquerors. This may also have been the case with tribes in other parts of the continent.

tshangana, and the Matabele. This group can be termed the coast tribes, though some members of it are now far from the sea.

The second group can include the tribes that a century ago occupied the great interior plain and came down to the ocean between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers. It will include the Batlapin, the Batlaro, the Barolong, the Bahurutsi, the Bangwaketsi, the Bakwena, the Bamangwato, all the sections of the Makalanga, and the whole of the Basuto, north and south. This group can be termed the interior tribes.

The third will comprise all the Bantu living between the Kalahari and the Atlantic ocean, such as the Ovaherero, the Ovampo, and others. These have no mixture of Asiatic blood. They are blacker in colour, coarser in appearance, and duller in intellect than the others, if an average is taken. The dialects spoken by them are also more primitive. This group can be dismissed with a very few words, because it has only recently come into contact with Europeans, and has taken no part in South African history. The feuds between its different members, if they could be accurately traced, would be of no interest, and no lessons could be drawn from them. It will be sufficient therefore to say of these western tribes that their language, laws, mode of living, and customs generally were similar to those of their kindred of the interior and the eastern coast, but were in many respects lower in order.

The individuals who composed the first and second named groups varied in colour from deep bronze to black. Some had features of the lowest negro type:

thick projecting lips, broad flat noses, and narrow foreheads; while others had prominent and in rare instances even aquiline noses, well developed foreheads, and lips but little thicker than those of Europeans. Among the eastern tribes these extremes could sometimes be noticed in the same family, but the great majority of the people were of a type higher than a mean between the two. They were of mixed blood, and the branches of the ancestral stock differed considerably, as one was African and the other Asiatic.

Those who occupied the land along the south-eastern coast were in general large without being corpulent, strong, muscular, erect in bearing, and with all their limbs in perfect symmetry. Many of them were haughty in demeanour, and possessed a large amount of vanity. The men were usually handsomer than the women, owing to the girls being often stunted in growth and hardened in limb by carrying burdens on their heads and toiling in gardens at an early age.

Though at times they presented the appearance of a peaceable, good-natured, indolent people, they were subject to outbursts of great excitement, when the most savage passions had free play. The man who spent a great part of his life gossiping in idleness, not knowing what it was to toil for bread, was hardly recognisable when, plumed and adorned with military trappings, he had worked himself into frenzy with the war dance. The period of excitement was, however, short. In the same way their outbursts of grief were violent, but were soon succeeded by cheerfulness.

They were subject to few diseases, and were capable

of undergoing without harm privations and sufferings which the hardiest Europeans would have sunk under. Occasionally there were seasons of famine caused by prolonged drought, when whole tribes were reduced to eat wild roots, bulbs, mimosa gum, and whatever else unaided nature provided. At such times they became emaciated, but as long as they could procure even the most wretched food they did not actually die, as white people would have done under similar circumstances. Nor did pestilence follow want of sustenance to the same extent as with us.

They were probably the most prolific people on the face of the earth. All the females were married at an early age, very few women were childless, and in most of the tribes provision was even made by custom for widows to add to the families of their deceased husbands.

The language spoken by the Bantu was of a high order, subject to strict grammatical rules, and adequate for the expression of any ideas whatever. Its construction, however, was very different from that of the languages of Europe. It was broken up into many dialects, so that individuals from the western coast, from the interior, and from the eastern coast could not understand each other, though the great majority of the words used by all were formed from the same roots. In the south-eastern dialects the English sound of the letter *r* was wanting, while in some of the others the sound of our *l* was never heard. In all there were combinations of consonants which it was very difficult for strangers of mature years to master.

There were clicks in only a few dialects of the

language spoken by the Bantu family. These were derived in the south from Hottentot, and elsewhere probably from Bushman sources. They were introduced by females who were spared when the hordes to which they belonged were conquered, as is evident not only from tradition, but from the words in which they occur being chiefly those pertaining to the occupations of women. There is this peculiarity in the language, that some of the dialects on the opposite sides of the continent bear a closer resemblance to each other than to those between them. The tribes seem to have been scattered and mixed together again by violent convulsions in some long-forgotten time.

The Bantu tribes were composed of a number of clans, each under its own chief, but all acknowledging the supreme authority of one particular individual. Sometimes the heads of the clans were the minor members of the family of the paramount chief, in which case the tribe was a compact body, every individual in it having a common interest with every other; but it often happened that clans broken in war were adopted as vassals by a powerful ruler, and in these cases the cohesion of the different sections was much less firm.

Most of those living along the south-eastern coast derived their titles from the name of their first great chief or founder, thus the Amahlubi were the people of Hlubi, the Abatembu the people of Tembu. A few were called after some peculiarity of the people, but in such cases the titles were originally nicknames given by strangers and afterwards adopted by the

tribe itself. Both of these forms were found among the people of the interior, but with them a more common custom was to use the plural of the name of the animal which the tribe held in fear or reverence. Thus the Bakwena were the people of the crocodile, the Bataung the people of the lion, the Baphuti the people of the little blue antelope. Each tribe of the interior had its own *siboko*, or object of veneration, which it "danced to," but did not actually worship. The members of the tribe would on no account harm the animal thus venerated, and took great trouble to avoid even coming in contact with it, though they had no respect for the animals held in regard by others. The people who lived along the south-eastern coast had no *siboko*.

In times of peace the government of the supreme chief was in ordinary matters hardly felt beyond his own kraal. Each clan possessed all the machinery of administration, and in general it was only in cases of appeal or serious quarrels that the tribal head used his authority. In war he issued commands to all, and on important occasions he summoned the minor chiefs to aid him with advice. The members of the ruling family, even to the most distant branches, were of aristocratic rank, and enjoyed many privileges. Their persons were inviolable, and an indignity offered to one of them was considered a crime of the gravest nature. Even the customs of the people were set aside in favour of the chiefs of highest rank. A common man of the coast tribes, for instance, could not marry a blood relative, no matter how distant, but a great chief could, though connections nearer than

fourth or fifth cousins were very rare. Such a marriage by a commoner would have been regarded with horror, but was overlooked in the chief's case, in order to obtain a woman of suitable birth to be the mother of the heir in the great line.

With regard to the common people, the theory of the law was that they were the property of the rulers, consequently an offence against any of their persons was atoned for by a fine to the chief. Murder and assaults were punished in this manner. Thus in theory the government was despotic, but in practice it had many checks. The first was the existence of a body of councillors about the person of each chief, whose advice he was compelled to listen to. A second was a custom that fugitives were to be protected by strangers with whom they took refuge, so that an arbitrary or unpopular ruler was in constant danger of losing his followers.

The law of succession to the government favoured the formation of new tribes. The first wives of a chief were usually the daughters of some of his father's principal retainers ; but as he grew older and increased in power his alliance was courted by great families, and thus it generally happened that his consort of highest rank was taken when he was of advanced age. Usually she was the daughter of a neighbouring ruler, and was selected for him by the great council of the tribe, who provided the cattle required by her relatives. She was termed the great wife, and her eldest son was the principal heir. Another of his wives was invested at an earlier period of his life, by the advice of his councillors and friends, with the title of wife of the right hand, and to her eldest son some of his father's retainers

were given, with whom he formed a new clan. The government of this was entrusted to him as soon as he was full grown, so that while his brother was still a child he had opportunities of increasing his power. If he was the abler ruler of the two, a quarrel between them arose almost to a certainty as soon as the great heir reached manhood and was also invested with a separate command. If peace was maintained, upon the death of his father the son of the right hand acknowledged his brother as superior in rank, but neither paid him tribute nor admitted his right to interfere in the internal government of the new clan.

In some of the tribes three sons of every chief divided their father's adherents among them. In the latter case the third heir was termed the representative of the ancients or the son of the left hand. This disintegrating process was to some extent checked by frequent feuds and wars, but whenever there was comparative peace it was in active operation.

The Bantu had a system of common law and perfectly organised tribunals of justice. Their laws came down from a time to which even tradition did not reach, and those which related to ordinary matters were so well known to every member of the community that trials were mere investigations into statements and proofs of occurrences. When complicated cases arose, precedents were sought for, antiquaries were referred to, and celebrated jurists even in other tribes were consulted. If all these means of ascertaining the law failed, and the chief before whom the case was being tried was not a man of generally recognised ability, it often happened that no judgment was given, for fear of

establishing a faulty precedent. From the decisions of the minor chiefs there was a right of appeal to the head of the tribe.

The law held every one accused of crime guilty, unless he could prove himself innocent. It made the head of a family responsible for the conduct of all its branches, the kraal collectively in the same manner for each resident in it, and the clan for each of its subdivisions. Thus if the skin of a stolen ox was found in a kraal, or if the footmarks of the animal were traced to it, the whole of the residents were liable to be fined. There was no such thing as a man's professing ignorance of his neighbour's doings: the law required him to know all about them, or it made him suffer for neglecting a duty which it held he owed to the community. Every individual was not only in theory but in practice a policeman.

A lawsuit among these people was commonly attended by all the men of the kraal where it took place. Nothing was more congenial than to sit and listen to the efforts of the querists to elicit the truth, or for the ablest among them to assist in the investigation. The trial took place in the open air. The person charged with crime or the defendant in a civil suit underwent a rigorous examination, and anything like warning him against criminating himself was held to be perversion of justice.

The accuser or plaintiff or a friend prosecuted, and a friend of the individual on trial conducted the defence; the councillors, who acted as assessors, put any questions they chose; and the mass of spectators observed the utmost silence and decorum. At the con-

clusion of the trial, the councillors expressed their opinions, and the chief then pronounced judgment.

There were only two modes of punishment, fines and death, except in cases where an individual was charged with having dealt in witchcraft, when torture, often of a horrible kind, was practised. In this class of trials every one was actuated by fear, and was in a state of strong excitement, so that the formalities required on other occasions were dispensed with. The whole clan was assembled and seated in a circle, the witchfinder, who was fantastically painted and attired, went through certain incantations; and when all were worked into a state of frenzy he pointed to some individual as the one who had by bewitchment caused death or sickness among the people, murrain among cattle, blight in crops, or some other disaster. The result to the person so pointed out was confiscation of property and torture, often causing death. The number of persons who perished on charges of dealing in witchcraft was very great. The victims were usually old women, men of property, persons of eccentric habits, or individuals obnoxious to the chief. Any person in advance of his fellows was specially liable to suspicion.

No one except the chief was exempt, however, from being charged with dealing in witchcraft. The cruelties practised upon the unfortunate individuals believed to be guilty were often horrible, but a single instance, which occurred in July 1892, will be sufficient to exemplify them. A wife of the Pondo chief Sigcawu being ill, a witchfinder was directed to point out the person who caused the malady. He declared that Mamatiwane, sister of the Pondomisi chief Umhlonhlo

and widow of Sigcawu's father, was the guilty person, and that she had a lizard and a mole as her servants in the evil work. By order of Sigcawu, a number of young men then seized Mamatiwane, stripped her naked, fastened her wrists and ankles to pegs driven in the ground, and covered her with ants irritated by pouring water over them. She suffered this torture for a long time without confessing, so they loosed her, saying that her medicines were too strong for the ants. They then lashed her arms to a pole placed along her shoulders, and taking her by the feet and the ends of the pole, they held her over a fire. Under this torture she confessed that she was guilty, but as she could not produce the lizard and the mole, she was roasted again three times within two days. No European could have survived such a burning; but she was ultimately rescued by an agent of the Cape government, and recovered. This woman had taken care of Sigcawu after the death of his own mother, yet on the mere word of a witchfinder she was thus horribly tortured. And instances of this kind were common occurrences in the olden times.

The Bantu were seen in the most favourable light at the ordinary lawsuits before the chiefs and councillors, and in the most unfavourable light at trials for the discovery of wizards and witches. In the one case men were found conducting themselves with the strictest gravity and propriety, in the other case the same people were seen as a panic-stricken horde, deaf to all reason, and ready to perform most atrocious acts of cruelty, even upon persons who just previously were their companions.

The sentences pronounced in ordinary cases were often such as would have seemed unjust to Europeans, but that was because our standard of comparative crime is not the same as theirs, and because with us there is supposed to be no difference of punishment according to the rank of the criminal. With them the ruling families in all their branches had the privilege of doing many things with impunity that commoners were severely punished for. Bribery was not unknown, but in courts as open as theirs, and where there was the utmost freedom of enquiry, it could not be practised to any great extent. When a case was talked out, every one present was usually acquainted with its minutest details.

The religion of the Bantu was based upon the supposition of the existence of spirits that could interfere with the affairs of this world. These spirits were those of their ancestors and their deceased chiefs, the greatest of whom had control over lightning. When the spirits became hungry they sent a plague or disaster until sacrifices were offered and their hunger was appeased. The head of a family of commoners on such an occasion killed an animal, and all ate of the meat, as the hungry spirit was supposed to be satisfied with the smell. In case of the chief or the community at large being affected, the sacrifice was performed with much ceremony by the tribal priest, an individual of great influence, who had as another duty to prepare charms or administer medicine that would make the warriors who conducted themselves properly invulnerable in battle.

An instance may be given to illustrate the operation

of this religion. Upon the death of Gwanya, a chief of great celebrity in the Pondomisi tribe, he was buried in a deep pool of the Tina river. The body was fastened to a log of wood, which was sunk in the water and then covered with stones. The sixth in the direct line of descent from this chief, Umhlonhlo by name, to save himself from destruction by an enemy became a British subject at his own request, but in October 1880 treacherously murdered three English officials, and went into rebellion, which resulted in his being obliged afterwards to take shelter in Basutoland. In 1891 one of Umhlonhlo's sons ventured into the district where his father had lived, and there committed an assault, for which he was arrested and sent before a colonial court to be tried. It was a time of intense heat and severe drought, which the tribe declared were caused by the spirit of Gwanya, who in this manner was expressing displeasure at the treatment accorded to his descendant. As a peace-offering therefore, cattle were killed on the banks of the pool containing his grave, and the flesh was thrown into the water, together with new dishes full of beer. The prisoner was sentenced to pay a fine, which was at once collected by the people for him. A few days later rain fell in copious showers, which of course confirmed the belief of the tribe that what was right had been done, and that the spirit of Gwanya was appeased.

When a person was killed by lightning no lamentation was made, as it would have been considered rebellion to mourn for one whom the great chief had sent for. The Bantu had no idea of reward or punishment in a world to come for acts committed in this life, and no

one troubled himself with thinking of his own immortality.

Deep in their minds was the germ of a belief in the transmigration of souls. A species of snake was regarded with great reverence, because they supposed that the spirits of their ancestors sometimes visited them in that form. A man would leave his hut in possession of such a snake if it entered, and every one would shudder at the thought of hurting it. This belief was more highly developed among the coast tribes than among those of the interior, but traces of it were to be found everywhere among the Bantu.

When common people died, their corpses were dragged a short distance from the kraal, and there left to be devoured by beasts of prey; but chiefs and great men were interred with much ceremony. Usually a grave was dug, in which the body was placed in a sitting posture, and by it were deposited the weapons of war and ornaments used in life. When the grave was closed, such expressions as these were used: "Remember us from the place where you are; you have gone to a high abode; cause us to prosper."

The tribe adjoining the Hottentot border on the south-east had a dim belief in the existence of a powerful being, whom they termed Qamata, and to whom they sometimes prayed, though they never offered sacrifices to him. In a time of great danger one of them would exclaim: "O Qamata, help me," and when the danger was over he would attribute his deliverance to the same being. But of Qamata nothing more was known than that he was high and mighty, and that though at times he helped individuals, in general he did

not interfere with the destinies of men. They were not given to enquiry or speculation upon matters of this kind. Recent investigations have shown that the belief in Qamata did not extend far among the Bantu tribes, and it is now supposed to have been acquired from the Hottentots. Not that the Hottentots venerated a deity under that name, but that a knowledge of some other object of worship than their own ancestral shades having been obtained through Hottentot females whom they took to themselves, this name was given to the unknown divinity.

Nearer than the spirits of deceased chiefs or of their own ancestors was a whole host of hobgoblins, water-sprites, and malevolent demons, who met the Bantu turn which way they would. There was no beautiful fairyland for them, for all the beings who haunted the mountains, the plains, and the rivers were ministers of evil. The most feared of these was a bird that made love to women and incited those who returned its affection to cause the death of those who did not, and a little mischievous imp who was also amorously inclined. Many instances could be gathered from the records of magistrates' courts in recent years of demented women having admitted their acquaintance with these fabulous creatures, as well as of whole communities living in terror of them.

No days or seasons were considered more sacred than others, though there were times marked by particular events when it was considered unlucky to undertake any enterprise, and even movements in war were delayed on such occasions. Each ruling family had its own priest. When a community was broken in war and

compelled to become a vassal clan of some other tribe, it retained its priest until by time or circumstances a thorough incorporation took place. That was a process, however, not usually completed until several generations had passed away. As a factor in the government of a Bantu tribe, religion, in consequence of these circumstances, was more powerful than in any European state. The fear of offending the spirits of the deceased chiefs, and so bringing evil upon themselves, kept the clans loyal to their head. He was the representative, the descendant in the great line, of those whose wrath they appeased by sacrifices. A tribe all of whose clans were governed by offshoots of the family of the paramount chief was thus immensely stronger in war than one of equal size made up of clans thrown together by chance. In the one case the religious head was the same as the political, in the other they were separated.

The belief in witchcraft was deep-seated and universal. The theory was that certain evil-disposed persons obtained power from the demons to bewitch others, and so to cause sickness, death, or disaster of some kind. They were believed often to use snakes, baboons, and other animals as their messengers. They could only be discovered by individuals who went through a very severe novitiate, and to whom the necessary knowledge was imparted by people who lived under water. Undoubtedly some of the witchfinders were impostors; but many of them were really monomaniacs, and had the firmest conviction in their ability to do what they professed.

Occasionally a person believed that he had received revelations from the spirit world. If his statements

were credited, his power at once became equal to that of the highest chief, and his commands were implicitly obeyed. Crafty chiefs sometimes made use of such deranged beings for the purpose of exciting the people to war, or of inducing them to approve of measures which would otherwise have been unpopular.

There were individuals who professed to be able to make rain. There were also persons who were skilful in the use of herbs as remedies for diseases, and who were well acquainted with different kinds of poison. It often happened that the three offices of witchfinder, rainmaker, and herbalist were combined in the same person, but this was not always the case, and the occupations were distinct. When practising, these individuals attired themselves fantastically, being painted with various colours, and having the tails of wild animals suspended around them.

Charms were largely depended upon to preserve the wearers against accident or to produce good luck. They were merely bits of wood or bone, which were hung about the neck, and were regarded just as lucky pennies and fortunate days are by some silly Europeans. But the belief was firm in charms and medicines which gave to an assagai the property of hitting the mark, to an individual the property of winning favour, and such like. The issue of warlike operations was divined by revolting cruelties practised on animals. The tribes of the interior were more superstitious than those of the coast, as they were guided in half their actions by the position in which some pieces of bone of the character of dice fell when they were cast on the ground.

Some events, which to us appear natural, were regarded

by them very differently. A girl, for instance, would fancy that the spirit of a stream was calling her away from her companions, would plunge into the water, and be in danger of drowning. An alarm would be raised, when the people who were attracted by the noise, instead of making an effort to save her, would rush away frantically in search of cattle, which they would drive hastily into the river, hoping that the spirit would be satisfied with an ox and release the girl. Cases similar to this still occur frequently, even among those who have been in contact with civilisation for many years. A man, before crossing a river, would pick up a stone and throw it upon a heap to propitiate the spirit of the stream.

The Bantu knew of no other periods in reckoning time than the day and the lunar month, and could describe events only as happening before or after some remarkable occurrence, such as the death of a chief, a season of famine, or an unusually heavy flood. The rising of the Pleiades shortly after sunset was regarded as indicating the planting season. To this constellation, as well as to several of the prominent stars and planets, they gave expressive names. They formed no theories concerning the nature of the heavenly bodies and their motions, and were not given to thinking of such things. In later times, if questioned by a European, they might venture to remark that the sky was smoke which had risen from fires, but in such cases it would be evident that the effort to find a solution to a query of this kind was new to them.

They had no knowledge of letters or of any signs by which ideas could be expressed. There were old men

who professed to be acquainted with the deeds of the past, and who imparted their knowledge to the young, but their accounts of distant times seldom corresponded in details. They touched very lightly upon defeats sustained by their own tribe, but dilated upon all its victories. Thus their narratives often conveyed incorrect impressions, and little was beyond question except the genealogies of the great chiefs, which were carefully preserved for ten or twelve generations.

Their folklore was neither of a moral character, nor did it convey any useful lessons. The actors in it were animals which spoke as human beings, persons who were bewitched and compelled to appear as beasts, individuals with magical powers, fantastic creatures, imps, cannibals, young chiefs, girls, etc., etc. There was nothing that partook of the nature of true poetry or that led to elevation of thought in any of these stories. To European minds there is very little that is even amusing in them, but they gave a large amount of pleasure to those among whom they passed current. Many of the proverbs in common use, on the contrary, conveyed excellent lessons of prudence and wisdom.

When about fifteen or sixteen years of age boys were circumcised. The rite was purely civil. By it a youth was enabled to emerge from the society of women and children, and was admitted to the privileges of manhood. Its performance was attended with many ceremonies, some of a harmless, others to European ideas of a criminal nature. At a certain period in every year, unless it was a time of calamity or the chief had a son not yet ready, all the youths of a clan who were old enough were circumcised. Thereafter for a couple

of months or longer they lived by themselves, and were distinguished by wearing a peculiar head-dress and a girdle of long grass about the loins, besides having their bodies covered with white clay. During this period they had license to steal freely from their relatives, provided they could do so without being caught in the act. After returning to their homes, they were brought before the old men of the tribe, who lectured them upon the duties and responsibilities which they had taken upon themselves. Presents of cattle and weapons were afterwards made by their friends to give them a start in life, and they could then indulge in immorality without let or hindrance from their elders.

In case a scion of the ruling house was growing up, the performance of the rite of circumcision was generally allowed to stand over for a year or two, so that he might have a large number of companions. These were all supposed to be bound to him by a very strong tie. In after years they were to be his councillors and attendants, and in case of danger were to form his bodyguard. In modern times no instance has been known of any one who was circumcised at the same time as a chief afterwards proving unfaithful to him, but numerous instances have come under the notice of Europeans where such persons have sacrificed their lives for him.

With some—if not all—of the interior tribes at the time of circumcision the youths were formed into guilds with passwords. The members of these guilds were bound never to give evidence against each other. The rites of initiation were kept as secret as possible, but certain horrible customs connected with them

were known. One of these was the infusion of courage, intelligence, and other qualities. Whenever an enemy who had acted bravely was killed, his liver, which was considered the seat of intelligence, the skin of his forehead, which was considered the seat of perseverance, and other members, each of which was supposed to be the seat of some desirable quality, were cut from his body and baked to cinders. The ashes were preserved in the horn of a bull, and during the circumcision ceremonies were mixed with other ingredients into a kind of paste and administered by the tribal priest to the youths, the idea being that the qualities which they represented were communicated to those who swallowed them. This custom, together with that of using other parts of the remains of their enemies for bewitching purposes, led them to mutilate the bodies of all who fell into their hands in war, a practice which infuriated those whose friends were thus treated, and often provoked retaliation of a terrible kind.

Females who arrived at the age of puberty were introduced into the state of womanhood by peculiar ceremonies, which tended to extinguish virtuous feelings within them. Originally, however, among the coast tribes the very worst of the observances on these occasions was a test of discipline. The object of the education of the males was to make them capable of self-restraint. They were required to control themselves so that no trace of their emotions should appear on their faces, they were not to wince when undergoing the most severe punishment. In olden times a further test was applied, which has now degenerated into the

most abominable licentiousness. It will be sufficient to say that the young women who attended the revels on these occasions were allowed to select temporary companions of the other sex, and if they declined to do so, the chief distributed them at his pleasure. As the first edition of this chapter was being prepared, a chief, who was regarded as being more advanced towards civilisation than most of his people, came into legal collision with the European authorities for distributing a large number of girls in this manner in a district within the Cape Colony.

But degrading as this rite was among the coast tribes, among some of those of the interior it was even more vile. All that the most depraved imagination could devise to rouse the lowest passions of the young females was practised. A description is impossible.

The Bantu were polygamists, and women occupied a lower position than men in their society. Marriage was an arrangement, without any religious ceremony, by which in return for a girl cattle were transferred to her relatives by the husband or his friends. It did not make of a woman a slave who could be sold from hand to hand, nor did it give her husband power to maim her. In its best aspect this method of marriage was a protection to a woman against ill usage. If her husband maimed her, or treated her with undue severity, she could return to her father or guardian, who was allowed in such cases to retain both the woman and the cattle. In its worst aspect it permitted a parent or guardian to give a girl in marriage to the man who offered most for her, without the slightest reference to her inclina-

tions. A woman was a drudge, upon whom the cultivation of the ground and other severe labour fell, she could inherit nothing, and she was liable to castigation from her husband, without protection from the law. Wealth was estimated by the number of wives and cattle that a man possessed, and the one was always made use of to increase the other. The husband was head or lord of the establishment, and the wives were required to provide all the food except meat and milk. Each had a hut of her own, which she and her children occupied, and the husband used his caprice as to which of them he associated with at any time.

Yet the women were quite as cheerful as the men, and knew as well as Europeans how to make their influence felt. In times of peace, after working in her garden a great part of the day, towards evening a woman collected a bundle of sticks, and with it on her head and a child on her back, trudged homeward. Having made a fire, she then proceeded to grind some soaked millet upon a quern, humming a monotonous tune as she worked the stone. When sufficient was ground, it was made into a roll, and placed in the hot ashes to bake. Meantime curdled milk was drawn by the head of the household from the skin bags in which it was kept, and the bags were refilled with milk just taken from the cows. The men made a hearty meal of the milk and the bread, with sometimes the flesh of game and different vegetable products, and after they had finished the women and children partook of what was left. Then the men gathered round the fire and chatted together, and the young

people sat and listened to the stories told by some old woman till the time for sleep arrived. Different games were also played occasionally, but as the only artificial light was that of burning wood, they were usually carried on in the daytime.

Chastity in married life was exceedingly rare among the coast tribes. By custom every wife of a polygamist had a lover, and no woman sank in the esteem of her companions on this becoming publicly known. The law allowed the husband a fine from the male offender, and permitted him to chastise the woman, provided he did not maim her; but in the opinion of the females the offence was venial and was not attended with disgrace. Favoured guests had female companions—who were, however, generally widows—allotted to them. Still, chastity had a value in the estimation of the men, as was proved by the care with which the harems of a few of the most powerful chiefs were guarded. It might be thought that the framework of society would fall to pieces if domestic life were more immoral than this, but in point of fact a kraal on the coast was a scene of purity when compared with one in some parts of the interior.

There it was a common occurrence for a chief to secure the services and adherence of a young man by the loan of one of his inferior wives either temporarily or permanently. In either case the children belonged to the chief, who was regarded by the law as their father. Another revolting custom among them was that of polyandrous marriages. A man who had not the requisite number of cattle to procure a wife, and whose father was too poor to help him, obtained

assistance from a wealthy individual on condition of having joint marital rights.

In some of the tribes women used for many purposes different words from those used by every one around them. This arose from a custom which prohibited females from pronouncing the names of any of their husband's male relatives in the ascending line, or any words whatever in which the principal syllables of such names occurred. The violation of this custom was considered as showing a want of proper respect for connections by marriage. Women avoided meeting their husband's male relatives in the ascending line, whenever it was possible to do so, and never sat down in their presence.

The Bantu were agriculturists. A species of millet, now called by the European colonists kaffir-corn, was the grain exclusively grown. They raised large quantities of this, which they used either boiled or bruised into a paste from which bread was made. They were acquainted with the art of brewing, and in good seasons turned much of their millet into beer. Among the coast tribes a supply of grain sufficient to last until the next season was preserved from the attacks of weevil by burying it in air-tight pits excavated beneath the cattle-folds. When kept for a long time in these granaries, the grain lost the power of germinating, and acquired a rank taste and smell, but it was in that condition none the less agreeable to the Bantu palate. The interior tribes preserved their grain either in earthenware crocks or in enormous baskets, which were perfectly watertight, and which could be exposed to the air without damage to their contents. Pumpkins,

a species of gourd, a cane containing saccharine matter in large quantities, and a sort of ground nut were the other products of their gardens.

As food they had also milk and occasionally flesh. Milk was kept in skin bags, where it fermented and acquired a sharp acid taste. As it was drawn off, new milk was added, for it was only in the fermented state that it was used. The art of making butter and cheese was unknown. Two meals were eaten every day: a slight breakfast in the morning, and a substantial repast at sunset. Anyone passing by at that time, friend or stranger, provided only that he was not inferior in rank, sat down without invitation or ceremony, and shared in the meal. So great was the hospitality of the people to equals and superiors that food could almost have been termed common property. Boys before being circumcised were permitted to eat any kind of meat, even wild cats and other carnivora, but after that ceremony was performed the flesh of all unclean animals was rejected. In the south-east they did not use fish as food, though with some of the tribes elsewhere it was an ordinary article of diet.

The Bantu had an admirable system of land tenure. The chief apportioned to each head of a family sufficient ground for a garden according to his needs, and it remained in that individual's possession as long as it was cultivated. He could even remove for years, with the consent of the chief, and resume occupation upon his return. He could not lend, much less alienate it. But if he ceased to make use of it, or went away for a long time without the chief's permission, he lost his right. Under the same conditions he had possession of

the ground upon which his huts stood, and of a yard about them. All other ground was common pasture, but the chief had power to direct that portions of it should be used in particular seasons only. No taxes of any kind were paid for land, air, or water.

Kraals were usually built in situations commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, and always on ground with good natural drainage. The brow of a hill, with a clear flowing stream at its base and fertile garden ground beyond, was the site most favoured. Sanitary arrangements, even of the simplest kind, were unknown and uncared for, as the sense of smell was much duller with these people than with Europeans, and an impure atmosphere did not affect their health. Their superstition too required them to remove their residences whenever a man of importance died, so that kraals seldom remained many years on the same site.

The huts of the tribes along the coast were shaped like beehives, and were formed of strong frames, thatched with reeds or grass. They were proof against rain or wind. The largest were about twenty-five feet in diameter, and seven or eight feet in height at the centre. They were entered by a low, narrow aperture, which was the only opening in the structure. A hard and smooth floor was made of antheaps, moistened with water and then kneaded with a round stone. When this had set, it was painted with a mixture of cowdung and water, which was the material used ever afterwards for keeping it in good order. In the centre of the floor a fireplace was made, by raising a band an inch or two in height and three or four feet in diameter, and slightly

hollowing the enclosed space. Many women bestowed a great deal of attention upon their fire-circles, often enclosing them with three bands, a large one in the centre and a smaller one on each side of it, differently coloured, and resembling a coil of large rope lying between concentric coils of less thickness. Against the wall of the hut were ranged various utensils in common use, the space around the fire-circle being reserved for sleeping on. Here in the evening mats were spread, upon which the inmates lay down to rest, each one's feet being towards the centre. Above their heads the roof was glossy with soot, and vermin swarmed on every side. It was only in cold or stormy weather that huts were occupied during the day, for the people spent the greater portion of their waking hours in the open air.

The habitations of the people of the interior were much better than those of the people of the coast. With them the hut had perpendicular walls, and consisted of a central circular room, with three or four small apartments outside, each being a segment of a circle. It was surrounded with an enclosed courtyard, but was destitute of chimney or window. On the coast no effort was made to secure privacy.

Horned cattle constituted the principal wealth of the Bantu, and formed a convenient medium of exchange throughout the country. Great care was taken of them, and much skill was exhibited in their training. They were taught to obey signals, as, for instance, to run home upon a certain call or whistle being given. Every man of note had his racing oxen, and prided himself upon their good qualities as much as an English

squire did upon his blood horses. Ox racing was connected with all kinds of festivities. The care of cattle was considered the most honourable employment, and fell entirely to the men. They milked the cows, took charge of the dairy, and would not permit a woman so much as to touch a milksack. The other domestic animals were goats, large tailed sheep in the north, dogs, and barnyard poultry.

The descent of property was regulated in the same manner as the succession to the chieftainship. But the distribution of wealth was more equal than in any European society, for each married man had a plot of garden ground, and younger brothers had a recognised claim upon the heirs of their father for assistance in setting them up in life.

The Bantu of the south-eastern coast belt were warlike in disposition and brave in the field. Their weapons of offence were wooden clubs with heavy heads and assagais or javelins, and they carried shields made of ox-hide, which varied in size and pattern among the tribes. The assagai was a slender wooden shaft or rod, with a long, thin, iron head, having both edges sharp, attached to it. Poising this first in his uplifted hand, and imparting to it a quivering motion, the warrior hurled it forth with great force and accuracy of aim. The club was used at close quarters, and could also be thrown to a considerable distance. Boys were trained from an early age to the use of both these weapons.

The dress of these people was composed of skins of animals formed into a square mantle the size of a large blanket, which they wrapped about their persons. The skin of the leopard was reserved for

chiefs and their principal councillors, but any other could be used by common people. Married women wore a leather petticoat at all times. In warm weather men and little children usually went quite naked. They were fond of decorating their persons with ornaments, such as necklaces of shells and teeth of animals, arm-rings of copper and ivory, head plumes, etc. They rubbed themselves from head to foot with fat and red clay, which made them look like polished bronze. Their clothing was greased and coloured in the same manner.

Their manufactures were not of a very high order. Foremost among them must be reckoned metallic wares, which included implements of war and husbandry and ornaments for the person. In many parts of the country iron ore was abundant, and this they smelted in a simple manner. Forming a furnace of clay or a boulder with a hollow surface, out of which a groove was made to allow the liquid metal to escape, and into which a hole was pierced for the purpose of introducing a current of air, they piled up a heap of charcoal and virgin ore, which they afterwards covered in such a way as to prevent the escape of heat. The bellows by which air was introduced were made of skins, the mouthpiece being the horn of a large antelope. The molten iron, escaping from the crude yet effective furnace, ran into clay moulds prepared to receive it, which were as nearly as possible of the same dimensions as the implements they wished to make. These were never of great size, the largest being the picks or heavy hoes required for gardening.

The smith, using a boulder for an anvil and a

hammer of stone, next proceeded to shape the lump of metal into an assagai head, an axe, a pick, or whatever was wanted. The occupation of the worker in iron was hereditary in certain families, and was carried on with a good deal of mystery, the common belief being that it was necessary to employ charms unknown to those not initiated. But the arts of the founder and the blacksmith had not advanced beyond the elementary stage. Instead of an opening for inserting a handle in the hoe, it terminated in a spike which was driven into a hole burnt through the knob of a heavy shaft of wood. The assagai was everywhere in use, and in addition the interior tribes made crescent-shaped battle-axes, which were fastened to handles in the same manner as the hoes. On these implements of war they bestowed all their skill, and really produced neatly finished articles. They worked the metal cold, and were unable to weld two pieces together.

In the manufacture of wooden articles, such as spoons, bowls, fighting-sticks, head-rests, etc., they were tolerably expert. Each article was made of a single block of wood, requiring much time and patience to complete it, and upon it was frequently carved some simple pattern.

Skins for clothing were prepared by rubbing them for a length of time with grease, by which means they were made nearly as soft and pliable as cloth. The interior tribes excelled in the art of dressing skins, and were able to make beautiful fur robes, which they stitched with sinews by the help of an awl.

In their department the women were equally skilful. Earthenware vessels containing from half a pint to fifty gallons were constructed by them, some of which were almost as perfect in form as if they had been turned on a wheel. Though they were frequently not more than an eighth of an inch in thickness, they were so finely tempered that the most intense heat did not damage them. These vessels were used for beer-pots, grain-jars, and cooking utensils.

Baskets for holding corn, rush mats, and grass bags were made by the women. The bags were so carefully and strongly woven that they were used to hold water or any other liquid.

Of the use of stone for building purposes, the coast tribes knew nothing, and the interior tribes very little. None of them ever dressed a block, but the cattle-folds, which along the coast were constructed of branches of trees, in parts of the interior were made of round stones roughly laid together to form a wall. The quern, or handmill for grinding corn, which was in common use, consisted of untrimmed stones, one flat or hollow and the other round or oval.

When not engaged in the trifling industries that have been mentioned, the men were habitual idlers. A great portion of their time was passed in visiting and gossip, of which they were exceedingly fond. They spent days together engaged in small talk, and were perfect masters of that kind of argument which consists in parrying a question by putting another. Though not pilferers, they were inveterate cattle thieves. According to their ideas, cattle stealing

except from people of their own clan was not so much a crime as a civil offence, and no disgrace was attached to it, though if it was proved against a man the law compelled him to make ample restitution. But anyone detected in the act of lifting cattle might be killed with impunity by the owner, and a chief could punish with death any of his subjects whose conduct as a robber from other clans had a tendency to involve his own people in war.

The interior tribes were the more advanced in skill in such handicrafts as were common to them all. Their government also was less despotic, for matters of public importance were commonly submitted to a general assembly of the leading men. The males aided the females in agriculture, though the hardest and most constant labour was by them also left to the women. But with these exceptions, all comparisons between the tribes must be favourable to those of the coast. The Bantu of the interior were smaller in stature and less handsome in appearance than the splendidly formed men who lived on the terraces facing the sea. In all that is comprised in the word manliness they were vastly lower.

Truth is not a virtue of barbarian life. In general if a man could extricate himself from a difficulty, escape punishment, or gain any other advantage by telling a falsehood, and did not do so, he was regarded as a fool. Many of the chiefs of the coast tribes, however, prided themselves on adhering faithfully to their promises; but the word of an interior chief was seldom worth anything.

The deceptive power of all these people was great.

But there was one member which the coast native could not entirely control, and while with a countenance otherwise devoid of expression he related the grossest falsehood or the most tragic event, his lively eye often betrayed the passions he was feeling. When falsehood was brought home to him unanswerably, he cast his glances to the ground or around him, but did not meet the eye of the man he had been attempting to deceive. The native of the interior, on the contrary, had no conception whatever of shame attached to falsehood, and his comparatively listless eye was seldom allowed to betray him.

The native of the coast was brave in the field: his inland kinsman was in general an arrant coward. The one was modest when speaking of his exploits, the other was an intolerable boaster. The difference between them in this respect was very great, and was shown in many ways, but a single illustration from an occurrence of the present generation will give an idea of it. Faku, son of Gungushe, chief of the Pondos, by no means the best specimen of a coast native, once wished to show his regard for a white man who was residing with him. He collected a large herd of cattle, which he presented with this expression: "You have no food to eat, and we desire to show our good will towards you, take this basket of corn from the children of Gungushe." An inland chief about the same time presented a half-starved old goat to his guest, with the expression "Behold an ox!"

There was a very important difference in their marriage customs. A man of the coast tribes would

not marry a girl whose relationship by blood to himself could be traced, no matter how distantly connected they might be. So scrupulous was he in this respect that he would not even marry a girl who belonged to another tribe, if she had the same family name as himself, though the relationship could not be traced. He regarded himself as the protector of those females whom we would term his cousins and second cousins, but for whom he had only the same name as for the daughters of his own parents, the endearing name of sister. In his opinion union with one of them would have been incestuous, something horrible, something unutterably disgraceful. The native of the interior almost as a rule married the daughter of his father's brother, in order, as he said, to keep property from being lost to his family. This custom more than anything else created a disgust and contempt for them by the people of the coast, who termed such intermarriages the union of dogs, and attributed to them the insanity and idiocy which were prevalent among the inland tribes.

Among the coast tribes the institution of slavery did not exist, but there could be no more heartless slave-owners in the world than some of the people of the interior. Their bondsmen were the descendants of those who had been scattered by war, and who had lost everything but life. Of all human beings probably they were the most miserable.

This was the condition of the Bantu at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Europeans became acquainted with a section of the race, and it is the condition of the great majority of them to-day, except

where their customs have been modified by the authority of white people. The opinion of those who have most to do with them now—four hundred years after their first contact with Caucasian civilisation—is that an occasional individual is capable of rising to a high standard, but that the great mass shows little aptitude for European culture. In mission schools children of early age are found to keep pace with those of white parents. In some respects, indeed, they are the higher of the two. Deprived of all extraneous aid, a Bantu child is able to devise means for supporting life at a much earlier age than a European child. But while the European youth is still developing his powers, the Bantu youth in most instances is found unable to make further progress. His intellect has become sluggish, and he exhibits a decided repugnance, if not an incapacity, to learn anything more. The growth of his mind, which at first promised so much, has ceased just at that stage when the mind of the European begins to display the greatest vigour.

Numerous individuals, however, have emerged from the mass, and have shown abilities of no mean order. A score of ministers of religion might now be named equal to the average European in the kind of intellect required in their calling. Masters of primary schools, clerks, and interpreters, fairly well qualified for their duties, are by no means rare. One individual of this race has translated Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* into the dialect of the Xosa tribe, and the translation is as faithful and expressive as any that have been made in the languages of Europe. Plaintive tunes, such as the converts at mission stations love to sing, have been

composed by another for a considerable number of hymns and songs in the same dialect. Still another edits a newspaper, and shows that he has an intelligent grasp of political questions.

As mechanics they do not succeed so well, though an individual here and there shows an aptitude for working with iron. No one among them has invented or improved a useful implement since white men first became acquainted with them. And the strong desire of much the greater number is to live as closely like their ancestors as the altered circumstances of the country will permit, to make use of a few of the white man's simplest conveniences and of his protection against their enemies, but to avoid his habits and shut out his ideas. Compared with Europeans, their adults are commonly children in imagination and in simplicity of belief, though not unfrequently one may have the mental faculties of a full-grown man.

CHAPTER III.

ASIATIC SETTLEMENTS AND PORTUGUESE CONQUESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

CHAPTER III.—*Contents.*

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CHAPTER III.

ASIATIC SETTLEMENTS AND PORTUGUESE CONQUESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

At some unknown period in the past people more civilised than the Bantu, but still very far from reaching the level of modern Europeans, made their appearance on the central tableland of Africa south of the Zambesi. They were almost certainly Asiatics, and they must have come down in vessels to some part of the coast, and then gone inland, for no traces of them have been found in the north. They constructed buildings of dressed stone without cement or mortar, some of considerable size, the ruins of which remain to the present day, and they were gold miners on a very extensive scale. They carved rude figures of birds and other animals in a soapstone which when quarried was almost as soft as moistened clay, but which hardened upon exposure to the air. Their abandoned mines—often of considerable size—are found throughout a vast extent of territory, so that they must not only have been numerous, but must have occupied the country a very long time. Their civilisation was not of a high order, however, as their buildings, though circular in form, were not perfectly round, nor were any of the walls absolutely perpendicular. They knew how to cut

stone, to sink deep pits, to run underground galleries and remove gold-bearing quartz, but they were not sufficiently refined to appreciate mathematical correctness of form.

In all probability these people mixed their blood with that of the African natives, and lost their separate existence in course of time by the amalgamation becoming complete. Written records and tradition alike are silent concerning them.

About the middle of the eighth century of our era an Arab tribe that had been defeated in a civil war fled southward and settled on the coast below the gulf of Aden. Their race was at that time in its highest vigour, and the fugitives, whose leader claimed to be a direct descendant of Mohamed, were full of energy and enterprise. They opened up a trade with all the countries bordering on the Arabian sea and Persian gulf, and within a couple of centuries extended their settlements down the African coast as far as Sofala. Each of these settlements was governed by a sheikh or chief of its own, but on the mainland the native tribes were not as a rule interfered with. The strangers appeared as traders, and only needed sufficient ground to live upon, which the Bantu made no objection to their taking. Thereafter each party was subject to its own rulers and its own laws, just as two native clans would be whose kraals were intermingled. On the islands, however, the Arabs became supreme.

They built mosques and stone houses with flat roofs, planted groves of palm trees, and made large and beautiful gardens. They introduced the cultivation of rice and various kinds of fruit unknown before in

Africa. Because the Bantu did not profess the Mohamedan faith, they termed those people Kaffirs, that is Infidels, an epithet which was adopted in later years by Europeans, and is still in use.

Soon after their settlement on the African coast they began to deteriorate in blood, through taking native women into their harems, and, although they were constantly receiving accessions of strength from the lands bordering on the Red sea, as time went on their decline became ever more rapid. At the commencement of the sixteenth century many of those who called themselves Arabs were undistinguishable in colour and in features from the ordinary Bantu, and a pure Asiatic who was not a recent immigrant was rarely met with except in the islands. The majority were of every shade between black and light brown. It followed, too, that while those in whom the Asiatic blood was predominant were strict Mohamedans, the others were almost indifferent in matters concerning religion.

They still lived, however, chiefly from commerce. Taking advantage of the monsoons, they sailed to and fro between Africa and India in their clumsy vessels, and visited all the ports on the northern coast. Their trade indeed was small compared with that which passed from India either up the Persian gulf and thence by caravans to the shore of the Mediterranean, or up the Red sea and then overland to Cairo, where the produce of the East was obtained by the Venetians to be distributed throughout Europe; but it was regularly carried on, and was not subject to much fluctuation. There was thus a well-established route across the Arabian sea before a European ship was seen in its waters.

In the early years of the fifteenth century the Christian nations were little acquainted with distant countries, America and Australia were entirely unknown, Eastern Asia was very imperfectly laid down on the maps, and the greater part of Africa had never been explored. This continent might have terminated north of the equator, for anything that the most learned men in Europe knew to the contrary. The Portuguese were at this time the most adventurous seamen of the world, and they were the first to attempt to discover an ocean highway round Africa to the East. Under direction of a justly celebrated prince of their royal family, Henrique by name—known to us as Henry the Navigator—fleets were fitted out which gradually crept down the western coast until the shores of Senegambia were reached. In 1434 Cape Bojador was passed for the first time, in 1441 Cape Blanco was seen by Europeans, and in 1445 Cape Verde was rounded by Diniz Dias.

Then, until after the death of Prince Henrique—13th of November 1460—discovery practically ceased. The lucrative slave trade occupied the minds of the sea captains, and ships freighted with negroes taken captive in raids, or purchased from conquering chiefs, frequently entered the harbours of Portugal. The commerce in human flesh was regarded as highly meritorious, because it brought heathens to a knowledge of Christianity. But never has a mistake or a crime led to more disastrous results, for to the introduction of negroes as labourers in the southern provinces of Portugal the decline of the kingdom in power and importance is mainly due.

The exploring expeditions which Prince Henrique never ceased to encourage, but which the greed of those

who were in his service had turned into slave hunting voyages, were resumed after his death. In 1461 the coast of the present republic of Liberia was reached, and in 1471 the equator was crossed. King João II, who ascended the throne in 1481, was as resolute as his grand-uncle the Navigator in endeavouring to discover an ocean road to India. In 1484 he sent out a fleet under Diogo Cam, which reached the mouth of the Congo, and in the following year the same officer made a greater advance than any previous explorer could boast of, for he pushed on southward as far as Cape Cross, where the marble pillar which he set up to mark the extent of his voyage remained standing more than four hundred years.

In August 1486 two vessels of fifty tons each and a storeship still smaller, fitted out by the king's order, sailed from Portugal towards the south. The chief in authority was named Bartholomeu Dias, João Infante was captain of the second vessel, and Pedro Dias, a brother of the commander, was captain of the storeship. The last, which was unfit for a long voyage, was left with nine men to take care of her at a place on the western coast not far from the equator. The other two kept on their course, and passed the farthest point reached by Diogo Cam. Sailing along a barren shore covered the greater part of the time with a thick haze, Dias came to an inlet or small gulf with a group of islets at its entrance. There he cast anchor, and for the first time Christian men trod the soil of Africa south of the tropic.

The inlet was the one known ever since as Angra Pequena or Little Bay. A more desolate country than

that on which the weary seamen landed could hardly be, and there was no sign of human life as far as they wandered. Refreshment there was none, except the eggs and flesh of sea-fowl that made their nests on the islets. It was no place in which to tarry long. Before he left, Dias set up a marble cross some six or seven feet in height, as a token that he had taken possession of the country for his king. For more than three hundred years that cross stood there above the dreary waste, just as the brave Portuguese explorer planted it. The place where it stood so long is called Pedestal Point.

From Angra Pequena Dias tried to keep the land in sight as he sailed southward, but for the first five days the wind was contrary, which caused him to tack about without making much headway. Owing to this circumstance he named an opening in the coast, Angra das Voltas. There is no gulf in the position indicated, but the latitude given (29° S.) is not to be depended upon, and the expedition may have been far from the point at the mouth of the Orange river called by modern geographers Cape Voltas, in remembrance of that event.

The wind now veered round and the sea became rough, so that Dias stood away from the land under shortened sail, and when after thirteen days the breeze moderated and he steered eastward, the coast was not to be found. Then he turned to the north and reached a bay which he named Angra dos Vaqueiros, owing to the numerous herds of cattle which he saw grazing on its shores. The position of this bay cannot be fixed with certainty, and it may have been any of the curves in the coast between Cape Agulhas and the Knysna. The natives gazed with astonishment upon the strange

apparition coming over the sea, and then fled inland with their cattle. It was not found possible to have any intercourse with the wild people.

Sailing eastward again, Dias reached an islet upon which he erected another cross, and where he obtained a supply of fresh water. The islet is in Algoa Bay as now termed—the Bahia da Lagoa of the Portuguese after the middle of the sixteenth century,—and still bears in the French form of St Croix the name Ilheo da Santa Cruz, which he gave it. By some of his people, however, it was called Penedo das Fontes—the Rock of the Fountains—because two springs of water were found on it, and by this name it is often mentioned in ancient books. It may serve to show how defective the instrument for determining latitudes was in those days to state that while the position of this islet was placed by Dias in 33¾° S., by a later navigator it was stated to be in 32½°. Here the seamen protested against going farther. They complained that their supply of food was running short, and the storeship was far behind, so that there was danger of perishing from hunger. They thought they had surely done sufficient in one voyage, for they were fourteen hundred miles beyond the terminus of the preceding expedition, and none had ever taken such tidings to Portugal as they would carry back. Further, from the trending of the coast it was evident there must be some great headland behind them, and therefore they were of opinion it would be better to turn about and look for it.

Dias, after hearing these statements, took the principal officers and seamen on shore, where they joined in the rites of religion, after which he asked their advice

as to what was the best course to pursue for the service of the king. They replied with one voice, to return home, whereupon he caused them to sign a document to that effect. He then begged of them to continue only two or three days' sail farther, and promised that if they should find nothing within that time to encourage them to proceed on an easterly course, he would put about. The crews consented, but in the time agreed upon they advanced only to the mouth of a river to which the commander gave the name Infante, owing to João Infante, captain of the *S. Panteleão*, being the first to leap ashore. The river was probably either the Kowie or the Fish, as known to us. Its mouth was stated to be twenty-five leagues from Penedo das Fontes, and to be in latitude 32⅔° S., which would have required a course almost due north from the islet, instead of a little to the northward of east.

But now, notwithstanding their error as to their correct position, there should have been no doubt in any mind that they had reached the end of the southern seaboard, which in a distance of five hundred miles does not vary ninety miles in latitude. The coast before them trended away to the north-east in a bold, clear line, free of the haze that almost always hung over the western shore. And down it, only a short distance from the land, flowed a swift ocean current many degrees warmer than the water on either side, and revealing itself even to a careless eye by its deeper blue. That current could only come from a heated sea in the north, and so they might have known that the eastern side of Africa had surely been reached.

Whether the explorers observed these signs the Portuguese writers who recorded their deeds do not inform us, but from the river Infante the expedition turned back. At Santa Cruz Dias landed again, and bade farewell to the cross which he had set up there with as much sorrow as if he were parting with a son banished for life. In returning, the great headland was discovered, to which the commander gave the name Cabo Tormentoso — the Stormy Cape — afterwards changed by the king to Cabo de Boa Esperança—Cape of Good Hope—owing to the fair prospect which he could now entertain of India being at last reached by this route. After nine months' absence the store-ship was rejoined, when only three men were found on board of her, and of these, one died of joy upon seeing his countrymen again. The other six had been murdered by negroes with whom they were trading.

During the remainder of the reign of João no ships were sent out to follow up the discovery of the southern point of the continent, but a court attendant named Pedro de Covilhão was directed to proceed overland to India by the way of Egypt, and endeavour to learn something about the countries bordering on the Arabian sea. He was conversant with the Arabic language, and was able to travel over a vast extent of territory with which his countrymen were previously unacquainted. Covilhão visited Calicut, Cannanor, and Goa on the Malabar coast, from Goa he crossed over to Sofala, and touched at Mozambique, Kilwa, Mombasa, and Melinda on the way to Aden. Then, after sending information of his discoveries to Portugal, he proceeded

to Abyssinia, and died there many years later.[1] There now remained untraversed little more than a thousand miles between the farthest point of Dias and the most southern point of Covilhão, and it was almost certain that there was an uninterrupted ocean way between the two.

King João died in 1495, and was succeeded by his cousin Manuel, duke of Beja, who possessed a full measure of that fondness for prosecuting maritime discoveries which for three-quarters of a century had distinguished the princes of Portugal.

Soon after the accession of Manuel the subject of making another attempt to reach India by sea was mooted at court, but met with strong opposition. There were those who urged that too much public treasure had already been thrown away in fitting out discovery ships, that no adequate return had yet been made, and that even if a route to India should be opened, it would only bring powerful rivals into the field to dispute or at least to share its possession. Those of the nobles, however, who were anxious to please the king favoured the design, and at length it was resolved to send out another expedition.

For this purpose four vessels, the largest of which was about one hundred and twenty-five tons burden, were made ready, Bartholomeu Dias giving all the assistance which his experience enabled him to afford. Vasco

[1] In an account of Covilhão's journeys written after his death by his confessor, it is stated that he went from Goa to Ormuz and thence to Toro and Cairo, but farther on it is affirmed that he had also been in Sofala. It is not easy to reconcile this route with that given by the early Portuguese historians, but all agree that he visited Sofala and transmitted a report to the king before he went to Abyssinia.

da Gama, a man of proved ability, was placed in chief command. Under him in the *S. Gabriel* were Pedro d'Alanquer, who had been with the preceding expedition, and as journalist Diogo Dias, a brother of Bartholomeu; in the *S. Rafael*, Paulo da Gama; in the *Berrio*, Nicolao Coelho; and in the storeship Gonçalo Nunes. The crews comprised one hundred and seventy men, all told. The king showed a very warm interest in the undertaking, and when the preparations for sea were completed, he bade farewell to the principal officers with unusual ceremony and marks of regard.

On the 8th of July 1497, not quite five years after Columbus sailed from Palos to discover a new continent in the west, Vasco da Gama put to sea from the Tagus. In his company was a fleet bound to the coast of Guinea, in which Bartholomeu Dias was a captain. After fifteen days they reached St Jago, where they procured some refreshment. Dias then pursued his course to S. Jorge da Mina, and Da Gama sailed southward until he reached a curve in the African coast about one hundred and twenty English miles north of the Cape of Good Hope, to which he gave the name St Helena Bay. Here he landed to seek water and measure the altitude of the sun at noon, in order to ascertain the latitude. In those days the instrument for measuring vertical angles could not be used at sea, as it required to be mounted on a tripod.

While Da Gama was busy measuring the sun's altitude, two natives were observed, who appeared to be gathering herbs, and as he was desirous of learning something about the country, he caused them to be quietly surrounded, when one was made captive. His

language was unintelligible, and as he was greatly terrified, two boys, one of whom was a negro, were brought from the ships and placed in his company. These offered him food, and shortly succeeded in removing his fear. Da Gama understood from signs which he made that there was a kraal of his people at the foot of a mountain at no great distance. Some trinkets were given to him, and he was then allowed to return to his friends, signs being made that he should bring them to receive like presents.

Next day about forty natives with their families made their appearance. They were well received, and when they left, a soldier named Fernão Veloso accompanied them, with a view of obtaining a better knowledge of the country. The crews of the vessels were then employed in collecting fuel, and in catching crayfish, which were found in great abundance. Some fish were also secured with the hook, and a whale was harpooned, which in its struggles nearly caused the loss of a boat's crew.

Veloso kept with the natives till they reached their first resting place, when, being disgusted with some food which they offered him, and probably concluding that they were cannibals, he suddenly began to retrace his steps. The natives hereupon returned with him, and he, not knowing whether their intentions were friendly or hostile, but fearing the latter, made all possible speed towards the beach, at the same time calling loudly for help.

The Portuguese had gone on board, when Veloso was seen coming hastily over a hill, whereupon some men went ashore to bring him off, Da Gama accompanying

them. Springing from the boat to the relief of their countryman, whom they believed to be in danger, the Europeans attacked the natives, and a skirmish took place in which Da Gama and three others were wounded with assagais.[1] The commander then embarked with his men, and directed the ships' artillery against the savages on shore.

Such was the first intercourse between Europeans and Hottentots.

On the 17th of November 1497 Da Gama set sail from St Helena Bay, and three days later doubled the Cape of Good Hope without difficulty. Turning eastward, he anchored next within a bend of the coast which he named Agoada de S. Braz, the present Mossel Bay. There he found a great number of natives similar in appearance to those he had first seen, but who showed so little symptom of alarm that they crowded on the beach and scrambled for anything that was thrown to them. From these people some sheep were obtained in barter, the trade being carried on by means of signs, but they would not part with any horned cattle. The Portuguese listened with pleasure to the tunes which they played with reeds, and took as much notice as was possible of their manner of living. At this place the voyagers remained three days, and then, having taken on board the fresh meat obtained, they again set sail.

A storm on the 6th of December greatly terrified

[1] This word, now commonly used by all Europeans in South Africa, has been adopted from the Portuguese. Latin *hasta*, Portuguese *azagaya*, a javelin or dart. Those used by the Hottentots in this encounter were pointed with horn.

the seamen, but did no damage to the ships. Keeping within sight of the shore, the striking contrast between the tree-clad mountains and grassy hills on the eastern side and the sterile wastes on the western side of the continent must have been noticed by all on board. To the beautiful land that they passed by on the 25th Da Gama gave the name Natal, in memory of the day when Christian men first saw it.

On the 6th of January 1498 the fleet reached the mouth of a river to which the name Rio dos Reys, or River of the Kings, was given, the day being the festival of the wise men or kings of the Roman calendar. It is uncertain what river this was, for the early Portuguese maps are very incorrect and the description of it in the narratives of the voyage is vague, but most probably it was the Limpopo. Here the Portuguese landed, and found a friendly people, who brought copper, ivory, and provisions for sale. From the Hottentots previously met they differed greatly in appearance and in speech. One Martim Affonso visited a kraal, and was very well treated by the residents. About two hundred men, dressed in skin mantles, returned with him, and shortly afterwards their chief followed to see the ships and the strangers. During the five days that the expedition remained at this place, nothing occurred to disturb the friendly intercourse between the Portuguese and the Bantu.

Sailing again, Da Gama next put into a river which he named Rio dos Bons Sinaes, or River of the Good Tokens, because he found there clothing of Indian manufacture, vessels with mat sails, and a man who could converse in broken Arabic. Both banks of the

river were thickly peopled, and among the inhabitants were many who appeared to have Arab blood in them. The river is the one now called the Kilimané or Quilimane, which bounds the delta of the Zambesi on the north. The people acted in a friendly manner towards the Portuguese. One of the ships, which was somewhat damaged, was here repaired, but the crews suffered much from sickness, and many cases ended fatally. Da Gama had with him ten men sentenced to death in Portugal, but whose lives had been spared on condition that they could be set ashore anywhere, and when the fleet sailed two of them were left behind to learn something of the country and its people.

On the 1st of March the fleet reached Mozambique, where were found trading vessels and a town of Arabs and blacks governed by an Arab named Zakoeja. At first the Portuguese were well received, and one of them, who could speak Arabic, gathered a great deal of information concerning the Indian trade, of Sofala away to the south, and of the gold that was to be obtained in commerce there. Without any difficulty Da Gama engaged two pilots to take him to Calicut. But when the Arabs became acquainted with the fact that the strangers were Christians and the hereditary enemies of their race, all friendliness disappeared. The pilots, who were on board, made their escape, quarrels arose, some skirmishing took place, and though a nominal peace was made with Zakoeja, a bitter feeling remained. An Arab who wished to go to Mecca, however, went on board, and under his guidance on the 7th of April the fleet sailed.

The next place visited was Mombasa, an important

town containing some good stone houses. There the crews were refreshed, and peace was maintained, though the strangers were regarded with jealousy. Hostages were offered by Da Gama as assurances of his friendship, and under this pretence two of the convicts were delivered to the authorities of the place.

The day after leaving Mombasa an Arab vessel was captured, out of which some men were taken, who piloted the fleet to Melinda. There everything went on well, vessels with Nestorian Christians on board were found, and an Indian pilot was engaged.

It is not necessary to follow Da Gama to Calicut, nor to relate what transpired at that place. When returning to Portugal he touched at Magadoxo, and as the Arabs there showed themselves hostile, he bombarded the town and destroyed the shipping. At Melinda he was well received, as before. His brother's ship, the *S. Rafael*, was here condemned as unseaworthy, and was destroyed, her crew being divided between the others. Taking on board an envoy from the ruler of Melinda to the king of Portugal, Da Gama sailed again, and touching at Mozambique and Agoada de S. Braz on the passage, without anything of importance occurring, he reached Lisbon in August 1499. Of the hundred and seventy men who left that port with him, only fifty-five saw their homes again.

The ocean highway to the rich lands of the East had now at last been traversed from end to end, and great was the satisfaction of King Manuel, his courtiers, and his people. It was indeed something to rejoice over, though at this distance of time the exploit of Da Gama does not seem more meritorious than that of Dias.

The earlier navigator had uncertainty always before him, yet he traced fully fourteen hundred miles of previously unknown coast, and he doubled the southern cape. From his farthest point to the Kilimané river, Da Gama sailed over twelve hundred miles of unexplored sea, but he could be tolerably certain that there were no impediments in his way, he was going towards a land that was known, and he had more and larger ships. From the Kilimané his voyage was as easy and as free from uncertainty as if he had been in the Mediterranean. But he reached the object sought for so long, and so he became a hero in the eyes of his countrymen. Honours were heaped upon him, and his name was made to occupy a large and proud place in the history of Portugal, while Dias was left almost unnoticed and entirely unrewarded.

Preparations were commenced almost at once for sending out another fleet, and in March of the year 1500 thirteen ships sailed under Pedro Alvares Cabral as captain-general. In one of them was Nicolao Coelho, who had been with Da Gama, and in another was Bartholomeu Dias, who was instructed by the king to make an inspection of Sofala. The sailors and soldiers were twelve hundred in number, and there were no fewer than seventeen ecclesiastics on board, eight of whom were Franciscan monks who were to remain in India and endeavour to make converts to Christianity.

After discovering the coast of Brazil and encountering a great storm in which four ships were lost—one being that of which Bartholomeu Dias was captain,—Cabral doubled the Cape, and did not anchor until he reached Mozambique. Before his arrival there he cap-

tured an Arab vessel from Sofala with a quantity of gold on board, but upon learning that his prize belonged to a near relative of the ruler of Melinda, he released her, in consideration of the friendship shown by that individual to Da Gama.

At Mozambique Cabral was well treated, and there he obtained a pilot who took the fleet to Kilwa, or Quiloa as the Portuguese wrote the word. This town was the oldest Arab settlement on that part of the coast, and was then governed by a man named Ibrahim, whose ancestors had acquired great wealth by trading for gold at Sofala. On this account he was regarded as the first in rank and most powerful of all the potentates for a considerable distance north and south, the sheikh of Mozambique, with others, being among his dependents.

Ibrahim received the Portuguese in friendship, and supplied them with provisions; but when after a time Cabral requested him to adopt the Christian faith and to give up a portion of the gold trade at Sofala, his conduct changed. He collected his forces, fortified his town, and showed such a feeling of hostility that he was regarded thereafter as an enemy. Cabral, however, did not attack him, and left without any blood being shed.

The fleet next touched at Melinda, where the Portuguese were very well received. The Arab chiefs on the coast were frequently at war with each other, and there was a strong feeling of jealousy among them, otherwise the strangers could not have accomplished what they did. The ruler of Melinda at this time was at war with the sheikh of Mombasa, and was anxious

to secure the alliance of the Christians against men of his own faith. A declaration of close friendship was made between them, but no actual aid was given by Cabral. Two convicts were set ashore here, with instructions to try to find their way to Prester John—a mythical personage who had long been sought for,—and large rewards were promised to them if they succeeded. Two Indian pilots were then engaged, and the fleet sailed for Calicut.

When returning from India Cabral touched at Mozambique to refit his ships, and from that place sent one of his captains named Sancho de Toar in a small vessel to execute the task that the king had confided to Bartholomeu Dias. De Toar explored the coast to Sofala, and then kept on his course to Lisbon, where he arrived about the same time as the captain-general.

In 1501 a fleet of four ships, under command of João da Nova, sailed from Portugal to India, but nothing of any importance connected with South Africa occurred in this voyage, except that when returning home Da Nova discovered the island of St Helena.

Vasco da Gama sailed from Portugal on the 30th of January 1502 on his second voyage, with twenty ships. When off Cabo das Correntes one of these, which was commanded by Antonio do Campo, got separated from the others, and in a disabled condition drifted south-westward until she was able to put into a deep and capacious bay. Three large rivers flowing from different directions,—known now as the Maputa, the Espirito Santo, and the Maniça,—discharge their waters in this inlet, and as it was incorrectly understood that the central one of these, or rather the central of the tribu-

taries now called the Tembe, the Umbelosi, and the Matola, which have as their estuary the Espirito Santo, had its source in a great lake far in the interior, the Umbelosi and Espirito Santo were named Rio da Lagoa and the bay was termed Bahia da Lagoa, or Alagoa as the word was often written in the olden times when it had the same meaning that lago (lake) has now. After being treated in a friendly manner by the natives, Do Campo kidnapped several men and took them away with him. He was detained so long on this part of the coast that by the time he reached Melinda the north-east monsoon was setting in,—it often commences there as early as the middle of September and continues until the middle of April,—so that he could not proceed to India, and was obliged to remain for the season at that friendly port.

When Da Gama reached the latitude of Sofala off the East African coast he sent the greater part of his fleet to Mozambique to refit and to put together a caravel which was brought in pieces from Portugal, and with four of the smallest ships he proceeded himself to visit the port of gold.[1] He was aware, from the descriptions

[1] This is the principal occasion on which I have related anything concerning the early voyages to the East that is not corroborated by Barros. The particulars of the visit of Da Gama to Sofala and the loss of one of his vessels on the bar are drawn from Osorius. Barros merely states that Da Gama with four small vessels went there by order of the king, and that he purchased some gold from the Mohamedan residents. His account is very brief: "*Na qual té o parcel de Sofala teve alguns temporaes, que lhe desapparelhdram algumas ndos; e chegado dquelle parcel na paragem della, mandou a Vicente Sodré seu tio que se fosse a Moçambique com todalas ndos grossas, em quanto elle hia dar huma vista a Sofala com quatro navios*

of Pedro de Covilhão and Sancho de Toar, of the shoals that extend along this coast for many miles out to sea, and which, on account of the shallowness of the water on them at low tides, make navigation dangerous for any but small vessels. He knew also that the town was situated on the northern bank of a river, not far from its mouth; but beyond that his only information was what had been gathered from Arabs at Mozambique and elsewhere.

He found the entrance to the estuary more than half a league wide, but across it was a shifting bar of sand, and inside were so many shoals that a vessel under sail was always in danger. The land to a great distance was low and swampy, and the banks of the estuary were fringed with belts of mangrove.

Farther in the interior the stream was of no great size, but it was always bringing down material to add to the deposits of sand and mud above the bar. Such was the port of Sofala, famous throughout the eastern world for the gold which passed through it, but a hotbed of fever and dysentery. Its sole redeeming feature was a high rise of tide, often nearly twenty feet at full moon, so that when the wind was fair it was accessible for any vessels then used in the Indian sea.

The Arabs who occupied the town gave the strangers a friendly reception, for they were behind no people in hospitality, provided their rights and their customs were respected. The information that was needed concerning the trade was obtained, and everything went

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pequenos, por lho ElRey mandar em seu Regimento. Na qual ida elle Almirante não fez mais que algum resgate de ouro com os Mouros, que estavam no povoacão."

well, except that when leaving one of the vessels ran aground on the bar and was so much damaged that it became necessary to abandon her.

After a brief stay at Mozambique, Da Gama continued his voyage. On the 12th of July 1502 he anchored in the grand harbour between the mainland and the island on which Kilwa was built, and demanded from Ibrahim submission to the crown of Portugal and a hostage of rank as security for good faith, on account of the enmity displayed towards Cabral. His force was too great to be resisted, so the Arab professed to submit, and sent one Mohamed Enkoni on board as a hostage. This man was the second highest in rank in the place, but it was soon discovered that Ibrahim was jealous of him and would have been pleased if the Portuguese had put him to death. He was therefore released when the first instalment of the tribute, which was fixed at a certain sum yearly, was paid. In this manner the Portuguese dominion on the eastern coast of Africa began.

The force which the Christians brought into the Indian sea appears so small as to be altogether inadequate for the destruction of the Arab power; but the men were accustomed to war, their arms were superior to those of their opponents, and they were full of religious zeal, believing that the Almighty was with them in warfare against infidels. Deeds that to us look like piracy and murder were to them heroic and glorious acts. Thus when Da Gama after leaving the African coast met a great ship owned by the sultan of Egypt with pilgrims on board, he regarded it as praiseworthy not only to plunder the vessel, but

to put to death every man on board, over three hundred in number.

The Arabs, too, were divided into little parties always quarrelling with each other, most of them were of mixed blood and without much enterprise, and their ships were not armed for battle. A Portuguese vessel could discharge cannon at them, and was herself perfectly safe if she could keep their boats from boarding her. They left the coast of India richly laden, and with no other instrument than a compass crossed over before the monsoon, offering prizes which the adventurous Portuguese regarded as rewards given by the Most High.

In 1503 three fleets, each of three ships, were sent out, respectively under Francisco d'Albuquerque, Affonso d'Albuquerque, and Antonio de Saldanha. The last named was instructed to cruise for some time off the entrance to the Red sea, and destroy all the Arab commerce that he could before proceeding to India. When near the Cape of Good Hope Saldanha's ship got separated from the other two, and as the commander did not know where he was, he entered a deep bay and cast anchor. Before him rose a great mass of rock, nearly three thousand six hundred feet in height, with its top making a level line more than a mile and a half in length on the sky. This grand mountain was flanked at either end with less lofty peaks, supported by buttresses projecting towards the shore. The recess was a capacious valley, down the centre of which flowed a stream of clear sweet water.

The valley seemed to be without people, but after a while some Hottentots made their appearance, from

whom a cow and two sheep were purchased. The natives were suspicious of the strangers, however, for on another occasion some two hundred of them suddenly attacked a party of Portuguese who had gone on shore, and Saldanha himself received a slight wound. Before this affray the commander, who was in the full vigour of early life and filled with that love of adventure which distinguished his countrymen in those days of their glory, had climbed to the top of the great flat rock, to which he gave the name Table Mountain, the ravine in its face pointing out the place of ascent then, as it does to-day. From its summit he could see the Cape of Good Hope, and so, having found out where he was, he pursued his voyage with the first fair wind. The bay in which he anchored was thenceforth called after him Agoada de Saldanha—the Watering Place of Saldanha—until a century later it received its present name of Table Bay.

The commander was still behind when a ship of his fleet, under the captain Ruy Lourenço Ravasco, an utterly fearless adventurer, reached the latitude of Zanzibar, and in a cruise off that island captured and destroyed a great number of Arab vessels. Ravasco even ventured to attack the coast, and won a battle in which among others the heir to the government of the island was killed. The ruler then begged for peace, and agreed to pay tribute yearly to the king of Portugal. Ravasco next relieved the friendly town of Melinda from a Mombasan army which was besieging it, and afterwards attacked Brava and compelled it to become tributary to Portugal.

While his captain was performing these exploits,

Saldanha himself was not idle. He too destroyed a great quantity of Arab shipping, but he made peace with Mombasa without subverting the independence of its ruler. He then proceeded to India.

A fleet of thirteen ships was sent out in 1504 under command of Lopo Soares d'Albergaria. The only event of any importance connecting this fleet with South Africa was that one of the ships, commanded by Pedro de Mendoza, when returning home ran ashore at night some distance west of the Watering Place of S. Braz, and was lost. The wreck was seen the following day by the people of another vessel, but no help could be given, and the crew were left to perish.

In 1505 a fleet of twenty-two ships was sent out under Francisco d'Almeida, who had the title and authority of viceroy of India. D'Almeida anchored before Kilwa, and sent a friendly message to Ibrahim as a vassal of Portugal. But the Arab ruler, who was in arrear with his tribute, declined to meet the viceroy, and the evidences of his hostility were so plain that preparations were made to take possession of the town by force. Upon the Portuguese landing, however, the place was found almost abandoned, for Ibrahim with the most devoted of his people had fled to the mainland, and had taken the greater part of their treasure with them. But slight resistance therefore was made, and the town was occupied with no loss on the part of the invaders. Mohamed Ankoni was appointed governor by D'Almeida, and it was arranged that he should rule his people in his own way, without interference as long as he acted in a friendly and loyal manner and paid the tribute punctually. A fort was built—the

first occupied by the Portuguese on the East African coast,—and as soon as it was completed D'Almeida sailed, leaving Pedro Ferreira Fogaza with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men and two small vessels of war behind.

The viceroy next appeared before Mombasa, 13th of August 1505. The ruler of that place was summoned to declare himself a vassal of Portugal, but instead of doing so, he prepared for defence, and set the Christians at defiance. Thereupon a strong force was landed, and after a desperate resistance by the Arabs, who contested every inch of ground and hurled weapons upon the invaders from their flat-roofed houses until the last one was stormed, the town was taken. Fifteen hundred of its defenders perished. Mombasa was plundered and given to the flames, but as no force was left to occupy it, the Arabs resumed possession of the ruins as soon as the Christians retired.

Then, after calling at Melinda and greeting its friendly ruler, the viceroy proceeded to India.

Rumours concerning the gold of Sofala were at this time fascinating the minds of men in Portugal. Those rumours greatly exaggerated the quantity of the precious metal actually obtainable, and in them all the difficulties of acquiring it were lost sight of. It was believed that nothing needed to be done except to replace the Arabs with Christian traders, when enormous wealth would flow into the national treasury.

Accordingly a fleet of six ships was fitted out to take possession of Sofala and to establish a fort and factory there. This fleet, in which the first European occupiers of any part of Africa south of the Zambesi

embarked, was under command of Pedro da Nhaya, and sailed from Lisbon on the 18th of May 1505. On the passage out the ships got scattered, and two of them, commanded by Francisco da Nhaya and Manuel Fernandes, reached their destination some time before the others, so they anchored off the port and waited for their companions.

One of the missing ships, of which João de Queiros was master, put into Delagoa Bay in distress. De Queiros with twenty of his officers and men landed on an island to endeavour to obtain some provisions, and as the natives immediately fled, they followed, making signs of peace. But they had not proceeded far when the natives turned and attacked them, and only four or five badly wounded men managed to escape. Thus was avenged the treacherous act of Antonio do Campo three years before. The ship was left without officers capable of directing her, but fortunately one of her consorts put into the bay and supplied that want.

Before reaching Sofala these vessels picked up a boat containing five half-famished men, who had a tale of terrible suffering to tell. They were part of the crew of a ship that had been lost at Cape St Sebastian, and their boat had been built of materials saved from the wreck. As many men as she could contain had then embarked in her in hope of reaching Kilwa, and the others—sixty in number—had at the same time left the scene of the disaster to try to march overland to some port in the north. Of those in the boat all had perished but themselves.

At length the four laggards of Da Nhaya's fleet reached Sofala, and the commander made his final

arrangements. Leaving the two largest ships outside on the 4th of September 1505 with the others he crossed the bar into the inner harbour, and with a strong body of men landed at some distance from the Arab town. This consisted of a large building containing many spacious chambers occupied by the ruler of the place, several small flat-roofed houses, and about a thousand beehive-shaped huts close behind. The sheikh was a venerable-looking Arab, of brown complexion, over seventy years of age, and quite blind. His name was Yusuf.

The people of Sofala had heard of the occurrences at Kilwa and Mombasa, and were divided in opinion as to how they should act. Mengo Musaf, a son-in-law of Yusuf, was at the head of a party that wanted to resist the Christians by force, but another party was filled with fear, and the old chief thought it wiser to rely upon the climate rather than upon arms.

The Portuguese were therefore received in an apparently friendly manner by Yusuf, who was reclining on a couch in a room hung with silk tapestry. Most of the so-called Arabs who clustered round were dark-skinned men, naked to the waist, with calico girdles and silk or calico turbans, and were armed with ivory-handled sabres; but a few of higher rank were lighter in colour, and were better clothed. Da Nhaya spoke to the chief of the advantages to be gained by the establishment of a Portuguese trading station, and by his coming under the protection of the king of Portugal, taking care to draw his attention to the fact that his town had often been pillaged by Bantu clans in the neighbourhood. Yusuf professed to agree with what

was said, and gave his consent to the erection of a factory. He stated that he was a friend of Europeans, and as a proof twenty Portuguese whom he had rescued from starvation were brought forward by his order and restored to the society of their countrymen. They were the survivors of the sixty who had left the wrecked ship at Cape St Sebastian, and who had gone through almost incredible suffering in their overland journey.

Da Nhaya immediately engaged a number of Bantu who were at Sofala, and on the 21st set about building a fort on a sand-flat on the northern bank of the river near its mouth. A moat was dug, and the earth taken out was formed into a wall, which was supported by stakes and beams of mangrove wood. A tower at each corner completed the defensive works. Inside a store and dwelling-houses were built, and the merchandise, munitions of war, and necessary provisions were then landed. When all was completed, which was within three months after his arrival, Da Nhaya sent the three largest ships to India, and kept the three smallest to cruise along the coast and support the garrison.

There was living at Sofala at this time a man named Yakote, an Abyssinian by birth, who had been made a captive when he was only ten years of age, and who had embraced the Mohamedan faith from necessity rather than choice. He was now possessed of much influence, and was regarded with jealousy by Mengo Musaf, Yusuf's son-in-law. Early in January 1506 he informed Da Nhaya that the Arabs had come to a determination to wait no longer for fever to do its work, but to drive away the Christians at once; and as

they were afraid to make war themselves, they had persuaded a Bantu clan to attack the fort.

This information proved correct, for shortly afterwards a horde of savage warriors appeared, and tried to take the place by storm. They filled up the moat on one side, and then attempted to scale the wall, all the time pouring in a shower of arrows and assagais. Fever had laid most of the Portuguese low, and at this time there were only thirty-five men capable of bearing arms, but Yakote came to their aid with a hundred of his people, and they had two powerful dogs, to which animals next to divine providence they afterwards mainly attributed their preservation. The storming party was beaten off with heavy loss. During three days, however, the blacks continued their attacks occasionally, but then, suddenly imagining that the Arabs had incited them to this contest purposely to destroy them, they turned upon Sofala, plundered the town, and marched homeward with their booty.

Da Nhaya now sallied out with some of his men, and proceeded to the residence of Yusuf, where in a skirmish he received a slight wound in the throat. Immediately afterwards the blind chief's head was struck off by a soldier, and the Arabs then fled in dismay. On the following morning they attacked the fort, but were beaten off, and as they began to contend among themselves concerning a leader, nothing more was to be feared from them. One of Yusuf's sons, Soleiman by name, offered to become a Portuguese vassal, and as he was a friend of Yakote, who warmly recommended him, Da Nhaya appointed him ruler of the Arab com-

munity. He proved faithful to his engagement, and thereafter did good service for the Europeans.

On the 19th of November 1505 two ships sailed from Lisbon, commanded by Cyde Barbudo and Pedro Quaresma, who had orders from King Manuel to endeavour to ascertain the fate of Pedro de Mendoza and his crew, to search along the South African coast for traces of the missing ship in which Francisco d'Albuquerque had left India, and to take supplies to Sofala. They put into the Watering Place of Saldanha, where they obtained refreshment, and then continued their course until they arrived off the part of the coast where Mendoza's ship was wrecked. The weather was fine, so they cast anchor, and sent two convicts on shore to make a search. The convicts were away seven days. Then they returned, and reported that they had seen traces of the wreck, which had been set on fire by the natives to get the iron, but they had learned nothing of the lost crew. They had encountered a band of Hottentots, who had robbed them of their clothing, but had not otherwise harmed them.

The missing ship of Francisco d'Albuquerque was not seen, nor was she ever afterwards heard of. Upon arriving at Sofala, Barbudo and Quaresma found the remnant of the garrison in the last stage of distress. Pedro da Nhaya and the greater number of his people had died of fever, and Manuel Fernandes, who had taken command of the few sick men who were left, was dependent for existence upon the friendship of Yakote and the good faith of Soleiman. As many men as could be spared were therefore landed, supplies of food and munitions of war were conveyed to the fort,

and Pedro Quaresma with his ship remained for further security.

In July 1506 Barbudo proceeded from Sofala to Kilwa. There he found that Mohamed Ankoni had been murdered by a nephew of Ibrahim, and that the Arabs were besieging the Portuguese fort. Fogaza, the commander, managed to convey intelligence to him that the garrison could hold out for a good while, so, as he could render no assistance, he hastened to India, and reported the condition of affairs to the viceroy.

D'Almeida immediately sent a sufficiently strong force under Nuno Vas Pereira to suppress the revolt at Kilwa and to relieve Sofala. Upon the arrival of this officer at the first-named place, he found the Arabs divided into parties quarrelling with each other, so he had no difficulty in restoring Portuguese supremacy and in setting up a puppet ruler over the Mohamedan community. Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos was placed in command of the fort. Kilwa, not being in the territory treated of in this history, need not be referred to again. It will be sufficient to say here that its civil wars broke out afresh, that the town—once the best built and most wealthy on the coast—was completely destroyed, and that the Portuguese, after severe losses from fever, abandoned it in 1512 as being no longer of importance for either military or commercial purposes.

In September 1507, shortly after Pereira's arrival at Sofala, a fleet of four ships commanded by Vasco Gomes d'Abreu appeared there. D'Abreu was commissioned by the king to cruise against the Arabs on the East African coast, and also to act as commander-in-chief of

Sofala. At Cape Verde on the passage out he had lost one of the five ships with which he left Portugal. As soon as he made his commission known, Pereira transferred the government to him and left for Mozambique.

D'Abreu provisioned the fort, placed a strong garrison in it, put everything in order, and then sailed with his four ships on a cruise. Not one of them was ever heard of again. When all hope of the safety of the fleet was lost, Ruy de Brito Patalim took command at Sofala until the pleasure of the king could be ascertained. In 1509 Duarte Teixera arrived as factor, or chief trader, and thereafter vessels were sent yearly from India with coarse calico, beads, and other articles for sale. Antonio de Saldanha, who was appointed captain of Sofala by the king when it was known that D'Abreu had perished at sea, arrived in September 1509, and remained there three years. In 1512 he was relieved by Simão de Miranda de Azevedo, to whom Christovão de Tavora succeeded in 1515.

Sofala, however well adapted for a trading station, was of no use as a port of refreshment for ships passing to or from India. Sometimes fleets were detained on the African coast for months together, waiting for the change of the monsoon, and often ships damaged in storms were abandoned or destroyed because there was no place where they could be repaired. The king therefore, acting on information supplied to him by the most experienced seamen, selected Mozambique as a suitable place for a naval station, and sent out a strong force to occupy it. Mozambique is a low flat coral island lying in the centre of a deep bay, and has an excellent harbour easy of access. The locality is

subject to violent hurricanes, but their devastating effects are only experienced at distant intervals, often of many years.

In September 1507 the expedition, which was commanded by Duarte de Mello, arrived, and at once set about the construction of a fortress on the site now occupied by the governor's residence. This was completed in March 1508, and though it was of no great strength, it answered its purpose for more than half a century. As soon as it was finished, a church, dedicated to S. Gabriel, and a commodious hospital were built. The position was an excellent one, but it had the great disadvantage of being so unhealthy that after a few years it was said to be the principal graveyard of the Europeans in the East.

In 1506 the Arabs suffered some crushing defeats from the Portuguese on the eastern coast of Africa. There was a feud between Oja and Melinda, and Tristão da Cunha, who was on his way to India with a fleet of fourteen ships, to please the friend of Portugal took Oja by storm, plundered it, and burnt it. The people of Brava, who were in arrear with their tribute, fortified their town anew, and bade the Christians defiance. Da Cunha attacked them, and after a desperate resistance, in which forty-two Portuguese were killed and over sixty wounded, Brava was taken. The spoil was immense. The plunder of the houses had not ceased when the town was set on fire, and several of the Christians perished in the flames. At that time the rules of war permitted a general massacre after a town was taken by storm, but did not allow the mutilation of female prisoners. In this instance the

commander was unable to restrain his men from acts of the most barbarous cruelty, and they even cut off the hands of the Arab women to get the silver arm-rings which those unfortunate females wore. The pious journalist who recorded the events of the conquest, and who regarded the butchery of defenceless Mohamedans as meritorious, did not doubt that the loss of a boatload of goods and the drowning of a number of soldiers was a manifestation of God's wrath upon the evil doers for their excesses in mutilating the females.

Fortunately for the Portuguese, the great Mohamedan powers of the day—Turkey, Egypt, and Persia—were at variance with each other, and were therefore unable to give effectual assistance to the Arab communities on the shores of Africa and Hindostan. The sultan of Egypt, however, made an effort to recover the trade through his dominions which the Christians were destroying. He fitted out a great war fleet, which he placed under command of an able naval officer, the emir Husein, who sailed down the Red sea, and thence to the Indian coast. The viceroy instructed his son Lourenço d'Almeida, who was in command of a Portuguese squadron, to prevent the junction of Husein's fleet with the fleet belonging to the Mohamedan ruler of Diu, but this could not be done.

Lourenço d'Almeida then attacked the combined force, which proved too strong for him, and his squadron was defeated and captured. The young commander—he was not twenty-one years of age—was killed in the battle. At the commencement of the action one of his legs was badly hurt by a cannon ball, but he caused it to be hastily bandaged, and then took

a seat by the main mast of his ship and continued to issue orders until he was struck in the breast by another ball, when he fell back dead.

For a short time the Egyptian flag was supreme, but the viceroy collected all his ships of war, and with a much stronger force than his gallant son had commanded, he sailed against his foe. On the 2nd of February 1509 a great naval battle was fought off Diu, which ended in the complete destruction of the Mohamedan fleet. Thereafter the supremacy of the Portuguese in the Indian ocean was assured, for until the appearance of other Europeans there they never again had an enemy so powerful at sea to contend with, though in 1538 the sultan of Turkey sent a strong fleet against them.

Affonso d'Albuquerque, who succeeded D'Almeida as viceroy, in 1510 made Goa the capital of Portuguese India, in which the eastern coast of Africa was included. And now for nearly a century the commerce of the East was as much a monopoly of the monarchs of Portugal as it had previously been of the Arabs. It was carried on by the state, and private individuals were not permitted to take part in it. Lisbon became the centre from which spices and silks, cotton cloths and ivory, with many other articles of value were distributed over Europe, and into the treasury there was poured all the gold collected in South-Eastern Africa.

In returning homeward with the fleet which left India towards the close of the year 1509, the retired viceroy D'Almeida put into the Watering Place of Saldanha for the purpose of refreshing his people.

When the ships came to anchor some natives appeared on the beach, and a party of Portuguese was sent ashore to endeavour to barter cattle from them. The traffic was successful, bits of iron and pieces of calico being employed in trade, and it was carried on in such a friendly manner that several of the Portuguese did not fear to accompany the natives to a kraal at no great distance. But unfortunately a quarrel arose between the parties, and two of the white men were severely beaten. As soon as this was known by the officers of the fleet there was a clamour for vengeance, in order to insure respect for Europeans thereafter, and D'Almeida was persuaded to attempt to punish the savages.

At daybreak next morning, 1st of March 1510, he landed with one hundred and fifty of his people, armed with swords and lances. They marched to the kraal and seized the cattle in the fold, which they were driving away when the Hottentots, supposed to be about one hundred and seventy in number, attacked them. The weapons of the Portuguese were found to be useless against the fleet-footed natives, who poured upon the invaders a shower of missiles. A panic followed. Most fled towards the boats as the only means of safety; a few, who were too proud to retreat before savages, attempted in vain to defend themselves. D'Almeida committed the ensign to Jorge de Mello, with orders to save it if possible, and immediately afterwards was struck down with knobbed sticks and stabbed in the throat with an assagai. Not far from him fell Antonio do Campo, the first European that entered Delagoa Bay. Sixty-five of the best men in the fleet, including twelve

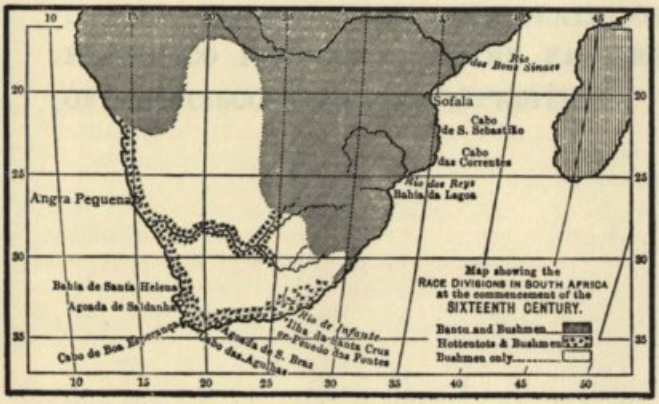
captains and several of noble blood, perished on that disastrous day, and hardly any of those who reached the boats escaped without wounds.

Jorge de Mello succeeded D'Almeida in the command of the fleet. When the natives retired he landed and buried the slain, whom he found stripped of clothing, and as soon as this duty was performed he set sail.

In 1512 Christovão de Brito, when returning homeward, put into the Watering Place of Saldanha to visit the grave of his brother, who had fallen with D'Almeida. An officer who had witnessed the disaster was with him, and pointed out the place where the bodies were buried. De Brito raised a mound of earth and stones over it, and placed a wooden cross at the top, the only monument that it was in his power to erect. It would be interesting to know the exact site, but the description of the locality given by the Portuguese writers is so defective that it cannot be identified. It was probably somewhere between the sloping ground at the foot of the Devil's peak and the sandy beach near the mouth of Salt River.

By this time all the prominent capes and many of the bays on the coast had been named by Portuguese captains, but these cannot all be identified now. There were then no means known for determining longitudes, and the instrument commonly used for measuring vertical angles required to be firmly fixed on shore, so that the latitudes given by seamen who did not land to take observations were usually very incorrect. On this account it cannot be stated with certainty, for instance, whether the river Infante was the present Kowie or the Fish, for its inland course as laid down

on the maps was purely imaginary. And so with many other names. Still a considerable number can be determined with exactitude, and remain in use to the present day, though generally in an English form. Such are the following: Cape Cross, Angra Pequena, St Helena Bay, Cape St Martin, Table Mountain, Cape of Good Hope, False Bay, Cape Agulhas, St Sebastian's Bay, Cape St Francis, Cape Recife, Natal, St Lucia Bay, Cabo das Correntes, and Cape St Sebastian. Besides these, a good many corrupted Portuguese words are found on most modern maps of South Africa, but they do not always represent names given by the Portuguese to the places indicated.



CHAPTER IV.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI FROM THE DEATH OF FRANCISCO D'ALMEIDA TO THE FAILURE OF FRANCISCO BARRETO'S EXPEDITION.

CHAPTER IV.—*Contents.*

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CHAPTER IV.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI FROM THE DEATH OF FRANCISCO D'ALMEIDA TO THE FAILURE OF FRANCISCO BARRETO'S EXPEDITION.

For a long time the only place occupied by the Portuguese south of the Zambesi was the fort and trading station at Sofala. They had no inducement to make a settlement anywhere on the coasts of the present British and German possessions, because nothing was to be obtained in commerce there, and the Hottentots, after the slaughter of D'Almeida and his people, were regarded as the most ferocious of savages, with whom it was well to have as little intercourse as possible. The wealth of India was theirs to gather, and on it all their thoughts were bent. They had no surplus population with which to form colonies in South Africa, and so it was only accident, or stress of weather, or want of water, that brought their ships to any of the curves in the coast below Delagoa Bay after the refreshment station at Mozambique was established.

Sofala was a very unhealthy post, for the country about it was low and swampy and the air was hot and close,

so that fever carried off a large proportion of the garrison every year; but the profits in trade were great. To it were brought all the ivory collected over a vast territory west, south, and north, all the gold gathered by the Bantu in the same region, a few slaves made prisoners in intertribal wars, and all the pearls found in the oyster beds at the Bazaruto islands and along the coast north of Cape St Sebastian. The Arabs did the retail trading still, they went inland and bartered the ivory and gold and slaves for Indian calico and glass beads and other wares, they directed the pearl fishing and searched the coast for ambergris, which was much more plentiful then than now, but their Portuguese lords required everything that had value to be brought to the king's warehouse, for the factor there was the only wholesale merchant in the land. He it was who fixed the price of everything, under instructions from his government, and it was so fixed as to leave an enormous profit on his side. Sometimes the Asiatic blood would show its pride and give trouble for a season, but it was so diluted as to be very weak, and the Portuguese power in comparison was enormously strong.

The fort was governed by an officer appointed by the king, but who usually received his instructions from the viceroy of India. His direct authority, however, extended only over the Christians. The Mohamedans who lived in the houses and huts close by paid tribute, and were permitted to take only a subordinate part in trade, but in most matters they were ruled according to their own laws by an individual whose appointment was confirmed by the Portuguese authorities. When

they did anything to offend the Europeans, however, they were summarily tried and punished by the captain of the fort. The Bantu were absolutely independent, and the Portuguese, in order to keep on friendly terms with them, found it necessary to make yearly presents to the chiefs, as with their good will that of their followers also was secured. These presents usually consisted of beads, bangles, squares of coarse calico, and other inexpensive articles, so that the value of the whole was trifling. In return, the chiefs sent a tusk or two of ivory, which was often worth as much as what they received.

The predominant people in the country between the rivers Sabi and Zambesi were at that time the Mokaranga as termed by the Portuguese, or Makalanga as pronounced by themselves, a word which means the people of the sun. This tribe occupied territory extending far to the west, but just how far it is impossible to say. Along the southern bank of the Zambesi and scattered here and there on the sea coast were clans who were not Makalanga by blood, and who were independent of each other. South of the Sabi river lived a tribe named the Batonga, whose outposts extended beyond the cape das Correntes.

There are people of this name in various parts of South Africa still, but it does not follow that they are descended from the Batonga of the sixteenth century. The country has often been swept by war since that time, and of the ancient communities many have been absolutely destroyed, while others have been dispersed and reorganised quite differently. There is not a single tribe in South Africa to-day

that bears the same title, has the same relative power, and occupies the same ground, as its ancestors three hundred years ago. The people we call Mashona are indeed descended from the Makalanga of the early Portuguese days, and they preserve their old name and part of their old country, but the contrast between their condition and that of the tribe in the period of its greatness is striking. Internal dissension, subjection, and merciless treatment from conquerors have destroyed most of what was good in their forefathers.

This tribe—the Makalanga—was the one with which the Portuguese had most to do. Its paramount chief was called by them the monomotapa, which word, their writers state, meant emperor, but in reality it was only one of the hereditary titles originally given by the official praisers to the great chief, and meant either master of the mountain or master of the mines. The Portuguese were not very careful in the orthography of Bantu names, and in those early days they had not discovered the rules which govern the construction of the language, so that probably monomotapa does not represent the exact sound as spoken by the natives, though most likely it approximates closely to it. About the first part of the word there is no uncertainty. In one of the existing dialects *mong* means master or chief, in another *omuhona* has the same meaning. The plural of *mong* is *beng*, and one of the Portuguese writers gives the word as *benomotapa*, evidently from having heard it used by natives in a plural form. Another Portuguese writer, in relating the exploits of a chief named Munhamonge, says that word meant master of the world, and his statement is perfectly correct.

Thus monomotapa meant chief of something, but what that something was is not so certain.

It seems on analysing it to be chief of the mountain, and there are other reasons for believing that to be its correct signification. The great place, or residence of the monomotapa, was close to the mountain Fura, which he would never permit a Portuguese to ascend, probably from some superstition connected with it, though they believed it was because he did not wish them to have a view over as much of his country as could be seen from its top. The natives, when going to the great place, most likely used the expression going to the mountain, for the Portuguese soon began to employ the words *à serra* in that sense, without specially defining what mountain was meant. In our own times one of the titles given by the official praisers to the Basuto chief Moshesh was chief of the mountain, owing to his possession of Thaba Bosigo, and the Kalanga chief probably had his title of monomotapa from his possession of Fura.

But there is another possible explanation of the word, which would give it a much more romantic origin. It may have meant chief of the mines, for the termination, slightly altered in form, in one of the Bantu dialects signifies a large hole in the ground. In this case the title may have come down from a very remote period, and may have originated with the ancient gold-workers who mixed their blood with the ancestors of the Kalanga people. This is just possible, but it is so unlikely that it is almost safe to translate the word *monomotapa*, *manamotapa*, or *manomotapa*,—as different Portuguese writers spelt it,—chief of the mountain. In

any case it signified the paramount or great chief of the Kalanga tribe, and was applied to all who in succession held that office.

Some interest is attached to this word *Monomotapa*, inasmuch as it was placed on maps of the day as if it was the name of a territory, not the title of a ruler, and soon it was applied to the entire region from the Zambesi to the mouth of the Fish river. Geographers, who knew nothing of the country, wrote the word upon their charts, and one copied another until the belief became general that a people far advanced in civilisation, and governed by a mighty emperor, occupied the whole of South-Eastern Africa.

Then towns were marked on the chart, and rivers were traced upon it, and men of the highest standing in science lent their names to the fraud, believing it to be true, until a standard map of the middle of the seventeenth century was as misleading as it was possible to make it. Readers of Portuguese histories must have known this, but no one rectified the error, because no one could substitute what was really correct.

And even in recent years educated men have asked what has become of the mysterious empire of Monomotapa, a question that can be so easily answered by reading the books of De Barros, De Couto, and Dos Santos, and analysing the Kalanga words which they repeat. Such an empire never existed. The foundation upon which imagination constructed it was nothing more than a Bantu tribe. The error arose mainly from the use of the words emperor, king, and prince to represent African chiefs, a mistake, however, which was not confined to the Portuguese, for it pervades a good

deal of English literature of the nineteenth century, where it has done infinitely more to mislead readers than those expressions ever did in times gone by.

The Kalanga tribe was larger and occupied a much greater extent of territory than any now existing in South Africa. It was held together by the same means as the others, that is principally by the religious awe with which the paramount chief was regarded, as representing in his person the mighty spirits that were feared and worshipped. There was always the danger of a disputed succession, however, when it might not be certain which of two or more individuals was nearest to the line of descent and therefore the one to whom fealty was due. How long the tribe had existed before the Portuguese became acquainted with it, and whether it had attained its greatness by growth or by conquest, cannot be ascertained, but very shortly afterwards it was broken into several independent communities.

The tribe belonged to that section of the Bantu family which in general occupies the interior of the country. It was divided into a great number of clans, each under its own chief, and though all of these acknowledged the monomotapa as their superior in rank, the distant clans, even with the religious bond of union in full force, were very loosely connected with the central government. There was one peculiar custom however, that prevented them from forgetting it: a custom that most likely had a foreign origin. Every year at a certain stage of the crops a command was sent throughout the country that when the next new moon appeared all the fires were to be put out, and they could only be lit again

from the spreading of one kindled by the Monomotapa himself.

The chiefs of the principal branches married their near relatives, even their nieces, and when they died these women were obliged to accompany them to the spirit world. The custom of slaughtering great numbers of people at the death of a powerful chief, in order to provide him with a suitable retinue, was not altogether unknown among the tribes south of the Sabi, but was rarely practised there, though north of that river it was generally carried out. It showed that the religion common to all was more developed in the north, and there were other circumstances that proved this as well. Thus there was a yearly sacrifice to the shades of the dead, performed with much ceremony at the burial places of the chiefs, instead of an occasional sacrifice in time of trouble, as was the practice in the south.

The form of trial by ordeal in criminal cases was common among the Makalanga, where the accused were required to prove their innocence by licking hot iron or swallowing poison, the supposition being that if they were free of guilt they would suffer no harm. This also indicates an advance beyond the southern tribes.

Another proof of a slightly higher degree of progress was shown in their manufacture of a coarse kind of cloth. In the south the fibre of bark was used to make cords to fasten the reeds of mats together, but the Makalanga converted the same material into clothing, though of a very rough kind.

With these exceptions, their customs, mode of living, and religious observances, as described by the early

Portuguese writers, were the same as those mentioned in the second chapter of this book.

Of the various Bantu tribes south of the Zambesi they appeared to have a larger proportion of Asiatic blood in their veins than any of the others, which will account for their mental and mechanical superiority. Almost at first sight the Europeans observed that they were in every respect more intelligent than the blacker tribes along the Mozambique coast. But they were neither so robust nor so courageous as many of their neighbours. Like their near kindred the Basuto and Bapedi of to-day, they were capable of making a vigorous defence in mountain strongholds, but were disinclined to carry on aggressive warfare, and could not stand against an equal number of men of a coast tribe in the open field. Their language was regarded by the Christians as being pleasanter than Arabic to the ear. The residence of each important chief was called his zimbabwe, which the Portuguese writers say meant the place where the court was held, though the buildings were merely thatched huts with wattled walls covered with clay. The word was equivalent to "the great place" as now used, though the roots from which it was derived are not absolutely certain.

The ruins now called Zimbabwe were known to the Makalanga, who had no traditions, however, of their origin. Some Arabs, too, had seen them in their trading journeys inland, and there was a report among these people that above a gateway certain characters—evidently of the nature of writing—were traced, but which could not be deciphered. They believed the ruins to be the place where the workmen of either

Solomon the king or the queen of Sheba lived, and they knew that gold was found not far off. But their accounts were either incorrectly given, or incorrectly written down by the Portuguese, for the largest building was described by them as square, and the tower and numerous small buildings were mentioned separately.

When the Portuguese in 1505 first came in close contact with the Makalanga, the tribe had been engaged in civil war for twelve or thirteen years, and was in a very unsettled condition. A monomotapa, Mokomba by name, had made a favourite of the chief Tshikanga, one of his distant relatives, who was hereditary head of the powerful clan which occupied the district of Manika. Some other chiefs became jealous of the privileges conferred upon this man, and took advantage of his absence on one occasion to instil in the monomotapa's mind that he was a sorcerer and was compassing the death of his benefactor. Thereupon the monomotapa sent him some poison to drink, but instead of obeying, he made an offer of a large number of cattle for his life. The offer was declined, and then in despair he collected his followers, made a quick march to the great place, surprised Mokomba, and killed him.

Tshikanga then assumed the government of the tribe. He endeavoured to exterminate the family of his predecessor, and actually put twenty-one of Mokomba's children to death. Only one young man escaped. After four years' exile, this one, whose name is variously given as Kesarinuto or Kesarimyo, returned and collected a force which defeated the usurping monomotapa's army. Tshikanga then took the field

himself, adherents gathered on both sides, and a battle was fought which continued for three days and a half. On the fourth day Tshikanga was killed, when his army dispersed, and Kesarimyo became monomotapa.

But Tolwa, Tshikanga's son, would not submit, and with his ancestral clan kept possession of the Manika district, and carried on the war. To this circumstance the Portuguese attributed the small quantity of gold that was brought to Sofala for sale. In course of time the war was reduced to a permanent feud, Tolwa's clan became an independent tribe, and Manika was lost to the monomotapa for ever.[1]

Throughout the greater part of the territory occupied by the Makalanga gold was found, and particularly in the district of Manika. No other mode of obtaining it was known—at least as far as the Portuguese and the Arabs could ascertain—than by washing ground either in the rivers or in certain localities after heavy rains. Extracting quartz from reefs and crushing it was not heard of by the traders, and if practised at all could only have been carried on in remote localities and to a very limited extent. The gold, unless it was in nuggets of some size, was not wrought by the finders, as they were without sufficient skill to make any except the roughest ornaments of it. For a very long time, however, its value in trade had been known. It was

[1] The particulars of Tshikanga's revolt are not given by Barros, but are contained in a long report from Diogo de Alcaçova to the king, dated 20th of November 1506. Alcaçova went to Sofala with the expedition under Pedro da Nhaya, and obtained his information there.

kept in quills, and served as a convenient medium of exchange until the Arabs got possession of it.

Copper and iron were also to be had from the Makalanga. The iron was regarded as of superior quality, so much so that a quantity was once sent to India to make firelocks of. Though the smelting furnaces were of the crudest description, this metal was obtainable in the greatest abundance, just as it is to-day among the Bapedi farther south.

Before the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese had effected their principal conquests in the East, and the valour which distinguished them when they first appeared in the Indian sea was rapidly giving place to a boundless greed for wealth. They were extending their commerce into regions unfrequented by traders before, but unfortunately corruption was becoming rife in all their forts and factories. On the eastern coast of Africa they were particularly active.

In 1544 the factory of Quilimane was founded on the northern bank of the river of Good Tokens, about fifteen miles from the sea. In the same year the captain of Mozambique sent two men named Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira on an exploring voyage to the southward in a pangaio, that is a vessel of which the woodwork was sewed together, such as the Arabs commonly used. They inspected the lower course of the Limpopo river, and ascertained that copper in considerable quantities was to be obtained there from the natives. Then they sailed to the Espirito Santo, and examined that stream. On the banks of the Umbelosi, which flows into the Espirito Santo, they

saw a great number of elephants, and purchased tusks of ivory from the natives at the rate of a few glass beads for each.

In the neighbourhood of the Maputa river, which they next visited, elephants were also seen, and ivory was plentiful. The chief of the tribe that occupied the country between this river and the sea was very friendly to his European visitors. Though quite black, he was a fine looking old man, with a white beard, and as Marques and Caldeira fancied his features bore some resemblance to those of the governor Garcia de Sá, they gave him that official's name. We shall meet him again in the course of this narrative, and shall find that his friendship for white people was not a mere passing whim.

The inspection of the country around the bay of the Lake was followed by a change of names. The Umbelosi river was thereafter termed by the Portuguese Rio de Lourenço Marques, though geographers of other nations continued to term it the river da Lagoa, until the restoration in recent years of its Bantu name. The bay—previously Bahia da Lagoa—now took the name among the Portuguese of Bahia de Lourenço Marques, though to all other Europeans it remained known as Delagoa Bay, and it is still so called. The old name was transferred to the curve in the coast now called Algoa Bay, but the exact date of the transfer, by what individual it was made, and the cause that prompted it, cannot be ascertained.[1]

[1] In the *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, of Duarte Pacheco, written before the death of King Manuel, a bay named Alagoa is mentioned, which

From this time forward a small vessel was sent every year from Mozambique to the bay of Lourenço Marques to obtain ivory. During their stay the traders usually resided on the island of Inhaka, on the eastern side of the bay, where some rough huts were built for their accommodation, and as soon as all the tusks that had been collected by the natives were purchased, they returned to Mozambique. No permanent factory or fort was built at this place until a much later date.

At Inhambane, or Nyimbana as termed by the natives, which is about two hundred and thirty miles farther up the coast, a similar trade was carried on. This is one of the best ports on the Indian seaboard for all but very large ships. There is good anchorage in the bay or estuary, but the Portuguese were accustomed to sail ten or twelve miles up the river, which has always for that distance a deep channel, though there are many sandbanks bordering it. Where the village of Inhambane now stands, on the right bank of the stream, they built a hut for a temporary trading station, and bartered beads and trinkets and coarse calico for ivory. This place has always been regarded as the healthiest station in the Portuguese possessions in Eastern Africa, but the country around it is not very productive.

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is said to have been so called on account of a lake which was there in a marsh. It is described as having a small island in it, covered with seals and seabirds, but its position is given as fifteen leagues east of the Watering Place of S. Braz, that is the locality of the Knysna inlet. This designation for that particular sheet of water was probably lost soon afterwards, as no other trace of it is to be found, and it does not appear to have had any connection with the naming of the present Algoa Bay.