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THE LAND OF ZINJ

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DOORWAY OF OLD PERSIAN MONASTERY AT LAMU.

[*Frontispiece.*

THE LAND OF ZINJ

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF BRITISH EAST AFRICA,
ITS ANCIENT HISTORY AND PRESENT
INHABITANTS

BY

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"THE GAME OF BRITISH EAST AFRICA," "TO ABYSSINIA THROUGH AN UNKNOWN LAND,"
ETC., ETC.

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PREFACE

DURING several years spent in trekking about British East Africa, I have endeavoured to keep careful notes of all that struck me as interesting concerning the country, the natives, their languages, ways and customs.

My data being then almost entirely compiled from personal observation and native information, I have tried to draw my pictures of the country and its inhabitants as much as possible from the native point of view rather than from that of the white man. That is to say, I have tried to see the native as much as possible as he is before contact with the European has changed his habits.

The absorbing topics of the "future of the country" and local politics I have left to those more fitted to discuss them.

The notes from which this book was prepared were completed at the beginning of 1909, but from one cause and another their arrangement in book form has been delayed till now.

I am indebted to M. Guillain's work, "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale," for much of the matter contained in Chapter I., and to the War Office for permission to make use of the General Staff Map of British East Africa.

My thanks are due to my aunt, Mrs. Edgar Clark, who has developed my photographs for this and other books.

They are also due to all those natives who have, either consciously or unconsciously, supplied the material for the text.

C. H. STIGAND.

REJAF,

SUDAN.

1912.

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PRONUNCIATION OF NATIVE WORDS

WITH Bantu words the recognised spelling has been used, as adopted by Bishop Steere and others. The values of letters are:—

Vowels.

- a as a in father.
- e as a in fate.
- i as i in fin.
- o as o in lo.
- u as oo in fool.
- ó as aw in law.

Diphthongs.

A curved line joining two vowels denotes a diphthong.

\widehat{ai} as ai in aisle.

\widehat{oi} as oi in soil.

but ai as ai in pa ill.

oi as oi in so ill.

Consonants.

ng' as ng in singing.

ng as ng in single.

sh as sh in shawl.

s-h as sh in is heard.

ch as ch in church.

c } do not occur.

q }

n } before another consonant are nasals, in other cases pronounced as

m } in English.

w } have always the value of consonants as in win and yacht, and never

y } as in law and any.

th generally as in the, but sometimes as in thin.

l and r are often interchangeable.

Remaining consonants, much as in English.

With Masai and cognate languages Hollis' spelling is used, which is much the same as above except that ñg is used for ng' and n and m do not occur as nasals.

The diphthongs above are not often distinguished in writing Swahili, but are of importance in Masai.

With Arabic words the actual transliteration of the Arabic letters is given. Values as in Forbes' Arabic Grammar. I have not attempted to distinguish the more subtle sounds such as the various t's in pure Swahili. To do so would entail long explanations as to the exact pronunciation.

The accent in Bantu words generally falls on the penultimate syllable. Where this is not the case and it is very marked I have marked it ', as it may make all the difference in making the word understood. I was vainly asking natives which were the Lorógi Mountains and could not make myself understood till I found that they were really called the Lorogâi.

THE LAND OF ZINJ

CHAPTER I

ANCIENT HISTORY FROM ARAB, PORTUGUESE AND OTHER SOURCES ¹

THE following pages consist of brief extracts and notes from the writings of old Roman and Arab geographers, Portuguese travellers and other historical sources.

Historical events as appearing in old Swahili records, make but little mention of the day of the Portuguese and other foreign powers on the coast, so are rather one-sided in character.

However, they are most interesting in that they are practically unknown to the outside world, so I have kept them separate from the better known histories as related chiefly in European records, and since there appear to be no books of reference on the subject except the old documents of the coast, I have gone into them with fuller detail in the subsequent chapters.

There is no doubt that there was a very ancient and very advanced civilisation in the N.E. corner of Africa, dating from about 1000 B.C., and perhaps even much farther back.

There was an old empire embracing both sides of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, the Hamyaritic empire, in which there was free intercourse between Abyssinia and S. Arabia.

This was followed by the Axumite dynasty in Abyssinia, the capital of which was the city of Axum whose ruins still exist in Northern Abyssinia.

Civilisation advanced from ancient Egypt, S. and S.E., and gradually spread amongst the black and savage peoples in the interior.

¹ Most of the information contained in this chapter is culled from Guillain's "Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale." See acknowledgment in the Preface.

After this period of civilisation there was a decadence, and Abyssinia was cut off by Muhammadan invasion from the outside world.

The old civilisations of S. Arabia, Egypt and Persia pushed out trading routes in all directions and gradually spread down the east coast of Africa as far as Sofala.

Not only was trade an inducement to found settlements and towns on the coast, but also the intrigues and internal strife which always accompanied Oriental aggrandisement, induced many of the chiefs and great men, defeated and put out of power by changes of government, to seek refuge with their followers in distant towns on the coast where they founded new kingdoms.

As this thin line of civilisation was unable to cope with the hordes of savages of the interior, the settlements consisted of fortified towns on the sea shore, or, where possible, islands just off the mainland where the inhabitants were free from attack. Such places are the islands of Pate, Manda, Lamu, Mombasa, Pemba, Zanzibar, Kilwa and Mozambique, peculiarly suited to the requirements of the ancient colonists whose weapons gave them little, if any, superiority over the savage inhabitant.

About the date of origin of these settlements, there is no definite information, and the ancient geographers gave this part of the world but scant attention. The earliest mention of these trading routes and settlements are brief notices implying that the towns on the coast were already well known and had long been extant.

About the earliest definite hint we have of trade routes down the coast of Africa is the passage in the Bible referring to the ships of Solomon and Hiram of Tyre trading with Ophir.

The name of Ophir cannot be traced in modern geography, so we are in ignorance of its locality. Some think that it only meant Abyssinia, but the burden of evidence seems to point to Sofala being the old Ophir, and that it was the mines of that place which produced the gold brought back by Solomon's ships.

The only two places in Africa that produced any gold in the old days were Abyssinia and Sofala.

It was unlikely that trade with any country so near as

Abyssinia should be described as such a novel incident, for intercourse between Arabia and Abyssinia must have been quite ordinary in those days for the Queen of Sheba to pay a personal visit to Solomon. The old kingdom of Sheba is supposed to have extended to both sides of the Gulf of Aden.

Of the other things brought from Ophir to Solomon, we have ivory, apes, and peacocks. The first two might have been brought from either Abyssinia or Sofala.

It is thought that the word "peacock" is a mistake in translation as this is the only mention made of this bird in the Bible. The two chief reasons for thinking that no peacocks were ever brought to Palestine are: (1) that this bird breeds readily in captivity, and we hear no further mention of it; (2) that neither did Solomon nor any other of the Hebrew poets dilate on the beauty and splendour of this bird, a fact that would hardly escape mention, had these birds existed in Palestine.

It is supposed that "parrot" is intended to be conveyed by the Hebrew word. A parrot does not breed in captivity, and is, unlike the peacock, a product of Africa, and might well have been brought from Sofala. Solomon gave the Phœnicians a port on the Red Sea so that they might open up a trade with the East. It is supposed that these mariners visited Mozambique and Sofala about this date. However, the Arabs probably long before this date carried on a trade down the east coast, and it was in all probability Arab mariners and pilots who showed the Phœnicians the way down the coast.

We hear no more of the east coast till 455 B.C. when Herodotus describes a journey circumnavigating Africa made by Egyptians. Some are inclined to think that such a journey was never made, but there is one significant fact narrated by Herodotus, that as they doubled what must have been the Cape of Good Hope the sun was on their right. That is to say, that the northern mariners who had always been accustomed to have the sun south of them noticed that the sun was to their north. Not enough was known of the movement of the sun and the shape of the globe in those days for them to be able to guess that such a state of

things would exist in a very southern latitude, so it is almost certain that the fact must have been noted from practical observation.

That such a journey was made also seems probable because from this date it was known to the ancients that it was possible to circumnavigate Africa. A number of expeditions started with the idea of carrying out the same journey as made by the Egyptians, but, as far as we are able to discover, without success.

Xerxes sent Sataspes to make this journey, and executed him because he failed to accomplish it.

Amongst other unproved journeys round Africa were those of Heraclides and of Hannon the Carthaginian.

Alexander the Great was also anxious to circumnavigate Africa, but never had the opportunity to make a start.

Although the limited accounts of the African coast left to us from this date are chiefly from European sources, it is probable that the coast was well known to the Arabs of South Arabia, and had already at this date been for a long time visited by them, and probably also Arab settlements had sprung up already on some of the islands.

But from Arab sources we have no records of this date.

To return to the northern geographers, Aristotle conceived the idea that the earth was round, an idea which was derided by many of his contemporaries. At about 200 B.C., during the reign of the Ptolemys, the bonds uniting Egypt and Abyssinia must have been very close, and it is possibly about this epoch that some Egyptian blood made its way southwards, and thus accounts for some of the non-Bantu elements in North African races, such as those north of Rudolf in parts of Southern Abyssinia.

In 47 A.D. Hippale visited the east coast of Africa, but nothing of real interest concerning the coast occurs until the publication of the "Periplus."

The "Periplus of the Erythean Sea" is a manuscript in Greek of uncertain date, but which was supposed to have been written between 77 and 210 A.D. Some attribute this work to Arrien in the reign of Trajan. It is a pilot's guide to the Indian Ocean, and although most of the places described are difficult to

recognise, it is considerably more accurate in its descriptions than many contemporary works, such as those of Ptolemy and Marin of Tyre. It was written in Greek, probably by an Alexandrian Egyptian.

The southermost place on the coast described with any degree of accuracy by the "Periplus," is the town of Rhapta on the river of this name.

From the distances of sailings given and other details, it is generally supposed that a town on the banks of what is at present called the Rufiji River in German East Africa is the site of the old "Rhapta." The canal described as "the new canal" is without doubt the "Mkanda" ¹ between the island of Manda and the mainland, a mangrove-lined narrow channel. The word "new" is probably used to denote that at that date it was but recently navigated by ships; prior to this date probably they used to pass round the seaward side of Manda.

The "Isles of Pyralaon" are without doubt the islands of the Lamu Archipelago, while the "Isle of Menouthesias" is probably Zanzibar. About 150 A.D. lived that enlightened geographer Ptolemy, whose maps were extraordinarily good and accurate for that date.

The beginning of the Christian Era marked a retrograde movement in geography, and the enlightened views of such men as Aristotle and Ptolemy were knocked on the head.

Cosmas in the sixth century refuted the idea of the ancients that the world was round. This writer made a journey as far as the mouth of the Gulf of Aden, but on arrival near Guadafui he met a bad monsoon outside the gulf, so hurriedly retreated and reported that the end of the world was close by that cape.

The stagnation into which geographical knowledge and discoveries had fallen during the beginning of the Christian Era at last gave place to a new epoch. The dawn of the Muhammadan Era reopens East Africa to our view.

After the withdrawal of the Romans from Arabia, the Abyssinians conquered and ruled the Yemen. In 601 A.D. Sef bin

¹ See p. 159.

(thu) Yezin, the Hamyaritic Sultan, asked help from the Persian King Chosroes II. to deliver Yemen from the Abyssinians, and the latter were expelled after having occupied the country for seventy-two years.

Once free of the Abyssinian yoke, the Arabs set themselves again to trade with Socotra and the East African ports.

The coming of the Prophet stopped to a great extent internal strife and laid the foundations of the expansion and aggrandisement of Arabia. After the Prophet's death internal dissensions followed, especially in the Oman and Yemen. These internal strifes were largely responsible for the springing up of the East African coast kingdoms, for the defeated parties, in many cases deposed Sultans, or chiefs with their followers, emigrated to the already well-known ports of the coast, and there founded little kingdoms.

Abdul Malik, fifth Khalif of Ommyades, reigned 65 to 86 of the Hejra. His son Hamza ¹ is reported to have carried Muhammadan law to East Africa.

In 39 A.D. (122 Hejra), after Zeid bin Ali, a relation of the Prophet, had been killed, his partisans the Emozeids emigrated to East Africa and settled on the Banadir coast.

A few notes from Bagdad history of about this date are here interesting in that they show that a large force of black troops drawn from East Africa was in the service of the Khalifs, proving the connection existing between this country and the east coast.

It is related that at the beginning of the reign of the Khalif Abu el Abbas ² about 749 A.D. (132 Hejra) his brother Yahia massacred 11,000 men, women and children. Amongst the army who executed this massacre were 400 Zinjs or blacks.

In 870 or 871 A.D. (256 or 257 Hejra) the Zinjs, who formed a considerable part of the Khalifan army of Bagdad, invaded Mesopotamia, and at another time took and sacked the town of Bassorah.

This word "Zinj," meaning "a black," was generally used to

¹ Compare note on Jafari bin Mangi Mangi, p. 30 ; also see p. 167.

² The Abassides dynasty followed that of the Ommyades.

refer to the blacks of the East African coast. Our word "Zanzibar" is derived from the Arabic "Zangibar," meaning "the country of the blacks." It was originally used to refer to the greater part of the coast which was called the country of Zinj or Zenj, but is now restricted to the island of Zanzibar.

Zinj or Zenj, the Zingium of Cosmas and Zingis of Ptolemy, was originally the country south of the "Berbera" country as far as Sofala, roughly Juba River to Zambezi River, though different writers assigned it different limits.

The country of "Berbera"¹ was situated between Abyssinia and Zenj, and so consisted of the whole of Somaliland.

Masudi, perhaps one of the first Muhammadan writers to describe these countries, writes, about 304 Hejra, "From the country of Zenj come tusks of 150 mann (?)² each. These are sent to India and China,"³ thus showing trade with those countries at that date.

He himself visited the island of Kambalu, possibly the Comoros, and talks about the coast as if it was well known down to Sofala.

Masudi also says that the natives of Zenj ride cattle both in peace and war, they are as fast as horses and are ridden with bridles. (Some of the present-day natives of the interior do occasionally ride on cattle.)

Joan de Barros, a Portuguese writer, narrating the history of the origin of Mogadishu, says that seven brothers fled from El Hasa (?) in the Persian Gulf, and came to the Banadir coast, founding the towns of Mogadishu and Barawa (Brava), the former of which became a powerful State.

Later he says that the country was governed by a body of twelve elders, the issue of these seven brothers. There are seven tribes at Brava perhaps descended from these brothers.

The Emozeids, referred to above, who had already taken up a position on this coast, would not submit to this new power, and

¹ Berbera to-day is used to denote but a single town on the north coast of Somaliland.

² The Indian maund = about 80 lbs., whilst the Madras maund is 25 lbs., both of which would make the tusks impossible weights.

³ The Chinese are supposed to have visited the East African coast some time prior to this, and Chinese coins have been found at Magadishu and Kilwa.

so, about 330 Hejra, they retired to the interior, with the natives of which they intermarried.

Another story says that in 400 Hejra there were seven brothers, sons of Sultan Hassan. Of these one Ali was the son of an Abyssinian slave, while his brothers were sons of a Persian princess. He fell out with his step-brothers, and so left Hormuz in the Persian Gulf and set out for the African coast. He passed Mogadishu and Brava, at which places he found Arabs of different sects, and continued his journey till he arrived at Kilwa.

Here he bought land and fortified the place, gave it the name of Kilwa, and subsequently enlarged it by annexations, and then called himself Sultan.

Whether this story has any connection with the last is not known, but according to Kilwa records the first Sultan was called Ali, and his successors are known.

He augmented his kingdom till it reached from Pemba to Sofala, and took the Sofala gold trade out of the hands of Mogadishu, who then had the monopoly.

Successors of Ali held the throne of Kilwa till 1500 (906 Hejra) when the Portuguese Cabral arrived at that place.

Another version gives 295 Hejra as the date of the foundation of Mogadishu, and 365 as that of Kilwa. However, long before the former date it is probable that there were settlements on the Banadir coast, but they had not assumed the proportions of a powerful State.

From now onwards we get frequent mention of East Africa in the writings of Arab geographers, but where names differ it is often difficult to follow exactly what localities they refer to owing to their rather curious ideas of geography.

Most of them were convinced that there was a magnetic mountain on the coast which attracted ships to destruction, and their efforts to make this mountain fit in with the actual line of coast as reported by pilots leads to confusion.

Another misleading idea they clung to was that the Nile split up, and one branch of it debouched on the east coast.

Abu Zeid Hassan reports that Alexander the Great sent Greeks

to occupy Socotra. These Greeks, who settled there subsequently, became Christians.

Idrisi, who wrote about the twelfth century, mentions the Christian inhabitants. Socotra was then a dependency of Yemen and produced, he states, aloes unequalled elsewhere.

This geographer also mentions many other places on the coast. He talks of the country of Berbera, to which belonged, he says, three dependencies. The inhabitants lived on turtle which they call "lebeh."¹

He also mentions Marka, Malindi and Mombasa, and a river which from the description must be the Webbe, stating that it passed two marches from the coast, and its banks were sown with dhura.

Berbera was at this time under the Abyssinians. The dependencies he mentions are perhaps Hafun, the Banadir, and perhaps the Juba.

Idrisi says that Malindi is a big town of Zinj at the mouth of a river (the Sabaki). The inhabitants fish and hunt leopards and other ferocious beasts. Iron mines also existed in the neighbourhood.

The King of Zinjibar lived at Manisa (perhaps error for Mombasa) and that there also were iron mines. Mogadishu, Marka and Brava were then Muhammadan towns, while the remaining towns consisted of infidels.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Yakut wrote a dictionary of places in which occurs "El-Jub, a town of Zenj exporting giraffe skins."

Ibn Sa'id wrote about the middle of the thirteenth century. He describes the Comoros and Madagascar as one island. All these old Arab geographers thought that the coast of Africa trended round towards the east. As they did not allow also for the convexity of the earth, they made the south of the continent on their maps come round towards China, while the Comoros and Madagascar were made to extend south of Ceylon, and near the Malay Archipelago.

¹ Libah baded? The Somali for "shark," the flesh of which is much prized by Arabs and Somals.

Ibn Sa'id states that the "Berbers" of Berbera had then become Islam, as had also the inhabitants of Marka near Hafun. The King of Zinj lived at Mombasa, while N.E. of Mombasa was a mountain extending 100 miles into the sea, half iron mines and half magnetic. West of Mombasa was a gulf 300 miles long.

Remembering that the Arabs made the east coast of Africa run east and west, the mountain referred to might possibly be Kilimanjaro. Natives even to-day tell wonderful stories concerning it, but in the old days before the mountain had been discovered native rumour concerning it must have been very misleading. What the gulf can be I do not know, unless it is the creek running inland from the coast.

Ibn Sa'id goes on to say that between Mombasa and Sofala is a great desert (perhaps the Taru Desert). He also talks of the mountains of Kamr in terms so vague that it is impossible to locate them.

As Kamr in Arabic means "moon," it is possible that he refers to the Highlands of the Wanyamwezi country, mwezi also meaning "moon." "The Zenj," says Ibn Sa'id, "have idols of stone and wood covered with fish oil. They have gold¹ and iron utensils, and wear leopard skins. They have no horses."

Pemba was called by the Arabs Jezirah el Khodora. In the time of Idrisi and Ibn Sa'id the Malays had already come to Madagascar.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century or end of the thirteenth, the inhabitants of Zanzibar are reported to have already embraced Islam.

All the descriptions of the Arab geographers have so far been based on hearsay evidence, reports of captains and pilots, etc.

In 1330 A.D. (731 Hejra), Ibn Bathutha himself made a trip down the coast and has left us a description of his journey.

He reached Zeila, and from there, after fifteen days' sail, arrived at Mogadishu. "At this place," he says, "are manufactured stuffs exported to Egypt and elsewhere." The Sultan was a "Berber" called Sheikh Abu Bakr bin Omar.

¹ See the Wavaa Ng'andu, p. 43.

This Sultan treated him very well, and presented him with robes of honour. In the houses were carpets and stuffs of Egyptian and Jerusalem make.

The people, whom he says were very fat, spoke in Arabic and a local tongue. They also wore sandals. A silk canopy surmounted by a gold bird, was carried over the Sheikh when he walked abroad.

On the mosque at Mogadishu was an inscription showing that the minaret was commenced in 636 Hejra (1238 A.D.) in the month of Maharam.

The last Sultan of the Mogadishu kingdom was Fikar el Din. In his reign there was an invasion of the Abgal tribe, at the end of the thirteenth century, from which time this town dated its decadence.

Of Mombasa Ibn Bathutha says, "No grain is cultivated on the island, but comes across from the mainland. The food of the inhabitants consists chiefly of bananas and fish. The mosques are of wood (wattle and daub) with wells at the door at which the feet are washed. The inhabitants are all barefooted, they are of the Shafi'a¹ sect, chaste and virtuous."

Of Kilwa he says that the town was well built and fine, made almost entirely of wood.

The Zinj of this place were very black.

The inhabitants were of the Shafi'a sect and were engaged in a Jihad (religious war) against the surrounding infidels. The Sultan Abu el Mozhaffer Hassan, nicknamed Mewahib (the generous), had performed the Haj (pilgrimage). At his court were Arabs from Irak and Hedjaz. On the death of this Sultan his brother Daud reigned about 743 Hejra. He was as stingy as his brother was generous.

One hundred and thirty years before Ibn Bathutha, who visited Kilwa 731 Hejra, there was a stone fortress built by Suleiman Hassan as well as other stone buildings not mentioned by this writer.

Abu el Mahassan tells of an individual he met when making

¹ The Somalis and the inhabitants of Mombasa are to-day of this sect, whilst those of Zanzibar are chiefly of the Bayadhi sect.

the Haj in 1441 A.D. (839 Hejra) called the Kadhi (judge) of Lamu. The Kadhi, who was born in 780 (1383 A.D.), told him that since the year 800 (1402 A.D.) baboons had taken possession of the city of Mogadishu, and used to rob the inhabitants of their food.

Once he said, when the officers were prostrating themselves according to custom before the Sultan who was standing at his window, they looked up and found that the Sultan had been ousted by a baboon, who had taken his place.

Of other things told by the Kadhi he mentions that ambergris thrown on the coast always became the property of the Sultan, and that once a piece weighing 1,200 ratels was found. Bananas of many sorts were found and one of immense length (perhaps the big banana now referred to by the Swahilis as *mkono wa ndovu*—the elephant's trunk). He also speaks of the town buried under the sand.¹

The writer seemed impressed with the fact that Lamu could produce a man like the Kadhi, so well advanced and learned in religion and jurisprudence.

We will now turn to Portuguese records for the next stage in the history of the east coast.

In 1484 Diego Cam discovered the Zaire or Congo River. Three years later Bartholomew Dias, after having been driven before a tempest, made land and found that he had rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Payva and Covilham in the same year travelled across country to Arabia, and then reached Aden. Payva went to Abyssinia, in which country he was murdered.

Covilham visited Calicut and Goa and then went to Sofala to examine the gold mines.

He then set out to return to Europe. On reaching Cairo he heard of the death of his comrade, and so went back and entered Abyssinia.

There he was well received by the King, and finding difficulties in the way of his return, decided to remain in Abyssinia.

Rodrigo de Lima, sent in 1525 as an ambassador to Abyssinia, found the old explorer still living in that country.

¹ See p. 151.

Covilham wrote many letters to the King of Portugal, and informed him that there was a route to India by sea round the Cape which was well known to Arab and Indian mariners.

In 1497 Vasco da Gama commenced his first voyage to the African coast. In 1498 he cast anchor before Mozambique, then a dependency of Kilwa.

The inhabitants of Kilwa at first mistook the Portuguese for Muhammadans from the north of Africa, and gave them two pilots to take them to Calicut.

When they found that they were Christians, they became hostile, so da Gama set sail, taking the two pilots who were on board. He put in at Malindi where he was well received. Here he got new pilots in place of the old ones, and with them reached Calicut.

On his return journey he put into Malindi again and received an ambassador from the Sheikh who was to visit Portugal. He touched at Zanzibar, and finally reached Portugal again at the end of 1499.

In 1500 Pedro Alvares Cabral visited Mozambique and Kilwa, with a well-armed fleet. He found that there were many inhabited islands in the neighbourhood subject to the Sultan of Kilwa, and an Arab chief called Ibrahim who also governed Sofala.

He was at first received well by the Kilwa Sultan, but subsequently the under chiefs intrigued against him. He then set sail and reached Malindi, bringing with him the ambassador who had been to Portugal and now returned with rich presents from King Emmanuel. The old Sheikh of Malindi received Cabral well and tried to keep him to help him against his powerful neighbour the Sheikh of Mombasa.

The latter, owing to the friendly relations established between Malindi and the Portuguese, had, since the passage of da Gama, fought the Sheikh and killed many of his men. Cabral sent some men from Malindi to go to Abyssinia and find out about the country. He himself did not stop, but went on to India and then returned to Portugal.

In 1502 Vasco da Gama with ten ships made his second voyage. He touched at Sofala and Mozambique; at the latter place he was well received, as the former chief was dead. He was joined by his brother Estevam da Gama with nine ships, and they went to Kilwa where they made the Sultan Ibrahim a prisoner. He was subsequently released on his promise of payment of a sum of gold, and a hostage was left in his place. On his release he refused to pay, but the hostage left in his place finally paid the ransom.

Vasco da Gama then proceeded to Malindi. On his way he met an Egyptian vessel loaded with spices, captured her and killed all on board save children. At this time numerous fleets had left Portugal, among others those of the Albuquerque.

The Portuguese blocked the Gulf of Aden, whilst others looted Arab vessels near Zanzibar.

The Sheikh of Zanzibar made an attack on one of these fleets under Ravasco, but was defeated and had to agree to pay an annual tribute to the King of Portugal.

Ravasco then went to Mombasa, captured more ships, and made a treaty receiving tribute from this town. Mombasa then made peace with Malindi.

In 1505 Dom Francisco d'Almeida marched into Kilwa with 500 men, deposed Ibrahim and put a new Sultan in his place as a vassal of the Portuguese. He built the fortress of de Santiago.

After this he took and burnt Mombasa, and was made the viceroy of the east coast.

Another Portuguese, Nhaya, seized Sofala, occupied the fort, and put in a new Sultan subject to Portugal. Owing to the change of Sultans in Kilwa, internal disorders took place, and many of the inhabitants emigrated to Mombasa and Malindi.

In 1507 Kilwa fort was abandoned by the Portuguese, who erected another on the island of Mozambique.

Kitao¹ is mentioned about this date as having been formerly a great city, but now in ruins.

¹ See p. 42.

Tristram da Cunha about this time obtained the submission of Lamu, and caused a tribute of gold to be paid. He then took and pillaged Barawa.

In 1511 Albuquerque took and sacked Maskat, but was repulsed from Aden.

Albuquerque also tried to make a scheme for the Abyssinians to turn the Nile into the Red Sea, and so obtain the subjugation of Egypt.

The east coast of Africa was now somewhat neglected by the Portuguese who were engaged in conquering India, the Malay and China.

In 1522 Dom Pedro de Castro took and burnt Kirimba which was then a dependency of Mombasa, the most independent of East African ports.

In 1528 Mombasa, always irrepressible, sprang into prominence again, and made trouble with Malindi, the Portuguese dependency.

It was attacked by Nuno da Cunha, helped by 150 Malindi men. The Mombasa Sheikh brought 6,000 black bowmen from the mainland into Mombasa, but in spite of this help da Cunha took the town. The inhabitants took to the bush and kept up a guerilla warfare, so Nuno sent to Malindi for aid, and the Sheikh of that place sent him his nephew with 500 men.

Pemba, Zanzibar and other towns sent presents to Nuno to show their appreciation of being delivered from the formidable oppression of Mombasa.

The Malindi reinforcements drove the inhabitants from the island of Mombasa on to the mainland, but small parties still returned at intervals and made trouble.

Nuno then declared his intention of burning the town and cutting down all the cocoanut palms, one of the chief sources of wealth, if this did not cease. The Sheikh of Mombasa then agreed to become a Portuguese vassal, to pay a big ransom and a yearly tribute.

When they came into the town, however, to ratify the treaty, they heard that most of the Portuguese were sick or dead, and

so temporised till at last Nuno, urged on by his men who had been prostrated by the climate, burnt the city and left.

On his return to Goa he passed Malindi, at which place he left twenty-four men to help the Sheikh against any reprisals on the part of Mombasa.

Portugal had now complete control of the coast from Cape Corrientes to Brava (Barawa). They had also established friendly relations with Abyssinia, and during the next forty years there was peace on the coast and religion was introduced.

Before this, in 1517, the Turks had taken Egypt.

In 1560 the King of Monomotapa, which is the country now known as Portuguese East Africa, was converted to Christianity.

A great part of this country was rich in mines, the possession of which the Portuguese coveted. The Portuguese now penetrated into the Jao (Yao ?) country. In 1569 Francisco Barreto with a thousand men arrived off Mozambique for the purpose of making an expedition into the interior. On his way from Goa he had punished the Sultan of Pate who had revolted against Portugal.

He left his lieutenant at Mozambique and sailed up the Zambezi River, and then started overland for the mines. His lieutenant intrigued against him, on hearing which Barreto returned, and on his second trip up the river he only got as far as Senna, and there died. Vasco Homen now commanded the expedition and he returned to Mozambique without having reached the mines.

Vasco then made a second expedition and penetrated as far as Zimbaze, and then on to Chikanga. He found some mines, but could not work them, and so retired leaving 200 men there. These men were, after his departure, ambuscaded and all killed.

In 1586 a Turk called Ali Bey started from Mokka with two ships. These were so rotten that one was lost on the way, but with the other he reached Mogadishu. Here he pretended that he was the forerunner of a large Turkish fleet, and so imposed

on the inhabitants that they declared themselves allies of the Sultan of Turkey. Intrigue against the Portuguese quickly spread down the East African coast, and by the treason of a chief a Portuguese vessel fell into Ali's hands. The crew fled to Lamu, but the Sheikh of this place delivered them up to Ali, and they were taken to Constantinople where they died in slavery.

A similar thing happened at Pate, till Ali Bey obtained a small fleet of captured Portuguese ships. He persuaded Faza, Lamu, Mombasa, Kilifi and Brava to submit to the Sultan of Turkey; only Malindi, the old ally of Portugal, remained faithful.

This clever scoundrel, Ali Bey, who had only had twenty-four men to start with, now returned to Arabia, while a Portuguese fleet sailed from Goa, visited the east coast, punished the rebel towns, and burnt Mombasa.

The Zimba, a powerful tribe of barbarians who lived N.E. of Tete on the Zambezi, are now first heard of in these parts.¹

In 1588 they invaded Kilwa, and the next year passed up the coast and invaded Mombasa.

In this year, 1589, Ali Bey set sail again from Mokka with a fleet of five ships and attacked loyal Malindi, but without result.

Coutinho, the Portuguese governor of India, sent his brother with twenty vessels to drive away Ali Bey. He visited the coast ports till he came to Mombasa, and there he found a large horde of Zimba on the mainland opposite Mombasa.

These people had devastated the Kilwa mainland and then invaded Kilwa Island conducted by a traitorous Arab. They had ruined the town and killed and eaten 3,000 Arabs.

The Mombasa people with Coutinho on one side and the Zimba on the other, accepted the latter's offer of help, and admitted them to the town. The Zimba, far from rendering them any help, turned on their allies and slaughtered a great number, while other of the Mombasa people fled into the sea only to be killed by the Portuguese.

The Portuguese here captured Ali Bey whom they took to

¹ The Zimba are reputed to have defeated and eaten the Portuguese captain of Senna in 1542. After this there was a big unsuccessful expedition against them.

Lisbon and converted to Christianity. Coutinho then punished rebel Lamu and beheaded its Sheikh.

Pate, Siu and Faza were made to pay an indemnity, while Manda was sacked and its palm trees cut down.

The Zimba then made their way to Malindi, but were driven off by the Portuguese together with the Malindi people and their native allies the Wasegeju. The island of Pemba now revolted against the Portuguese. The Sheikh remained faithful, and the insurrection was quelled but then sprang up again; the Sheikh was deposed and went to Mombasa where he married a Portuguese woman and became a Christian.

Some Portuguese with Malindi and their native allies took Kilifi, after which the Mombasa people marched against Malindi, but on the way met the Malindi allies, the Wasegeju, who defeated them and took Mombasa.

Mombasa fort was built in 1594 by order of the Viceroy Mathias d'Albuquerque.

In 1597 two Dutch vessels made their first arrival on the east coast.

In 1607 Van Caerdán with eight vessels arrived at Mozambique, and effected a landing. The Portuguese, however, held out in the citadel and the Dutch admiral retired.

In 1608 they again attacked Mozambique, but were defeated and retired.

In the same year the English Captain Sharpey visited Pemba, and the next year another Englishman, Captain Rowles, visited Zanzibar. The inhabitants of Pemba and Zanzibar, instigated by the Portuguese, treacherously attacked the English on shore.

After the Wasegeju had taken Mombasa the Malindi Sheikh was installed at that place.

In 1614 Mombasa was given to Melo Pereira to govern, and he treated the Malindi Sheikh so offensively that the latter took refuge at Rabai, which was then inhabited by his slaves.

The Portuguese governor is said to have had him murdered there, and he sent his head to Goa.

The Portuguese, who had formerly established friendly rela-

tions with the natives, at this epoch treated them with such brutality that rebellion was rife in all their East African possessions. It is to this cause that the loss of their possessions is largely attributable. 17/c

In 1614 they lost the mines of Monomotapa owing to their ill-treatment of the natives, and also to intrigue amongst themselves.

About 1620 the Shah of Persia, backed by the British, took away Hormuz in the Persian Gulf from Portugal, one of their richest possessions.

Ahmad, the first Malindi Sultan of Mombasa, left a son called Yusuf. After the death of his father Yusuf was sent to Goa to be educated. He was there baptised under the name of Dom Geronimo Chingulia.

In 1630 (1040 Hejra) he was made Sultan of Mombasa where he was subject to the usual indignities at the hands of the Portuguese captain. Although he had been made a Christian, he secretly paid Muhammadan rites at the grave of his murdered father. He was seen by a Portuguese one day and reported to the Portuguese governor as having reverted to Muhammadism. The latter threatened to have him deported to Goa, which threat came to Yusuf's ears.

He took 300 faithful followers, and on pretence of paying a visit to the governor Pedro Leytam de Gamboa, entered the fort and killed the governor with his own hand while his followers massacred the other Portuguese. A few escaped and took refuge in St. Augustine's convent, where they held out for seven days.

Yusuf promised to spare their lives if they surrendered, but when they opened the gates and came out, he had the refugees, men, women, and children, shot down.

Yusuf then publicly renounced the Christian religion. On hearing of these occurrences the Indian Viceroy, Dom Miguel de Noronha, sent a flotilla with 500 men under his eldest son and Francisco de Moura.

In 1632 they touched at Faza, where they heard a fuller account of the events which had occurred, and then sailed for Mombasa.

At this place they were joined by three ships and a hundred men sent by Ruy Freire Andrade, governor of Maskat, as well as about 200 men from other places, making a total of 800.

After three months of fruitless effort they abandoned the siege and returned to Goa, leaving two ships to blockade the mouth of the harbour. The crew left these ships during the monsoon, and during their absence the Mombasa people captured them.

Yusuf, knowing that the Portuguese would not long suffer him to remain unmolested at Mombasa, put his cannons and goods on board these ships, and after having cut down all the fruit trees and destroyed the town, set sail for Arabia.

The Portuguese captain of one of these ships who had gone to Zanzibar, on receiving news of these events returned and occupied Mombasa which he found deserted.

Yusuf, after resting in the Yemen, in 1636 took refuge in an Arab colony on the coast of Madagascar; this town had been originally founded by people from Pate.

Roque Borges took an expedition from Mozambique against the renegade Yusuf, but could not break into his stronghold, although he managed to capture some guns and stores and so regained the Portuguese *amour propre*.

After Mombasa's rebellion, the surrounding towns threw off the Portuguese yoke.

Francisco de Sexas e Cabra is said to have rebuilt the fortress at Mombasa and punished the cities of Malindi, Manda, Pate, Pemba and a few other places.

From this time, however, Portuguese influence rapidly declined on the coast, while that of the Maskat Arabs sprang into prominence.

Let us turn from East Africa for a moment and take a retrospective glance at the Oman.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century Oman of the interior was governed by Abu Muhammad, living at a place called Nazua, while the sea coast of Maskat was subject to the Sultan of Hormuz.

In 1500 (906 Hejra) during the reign of Muhammad bin Ismail, the seat of the Imam (hereditary ruler and religious head) was transferred from Nazua to Bihla.

In 964 Hejra Sultan bin el Mohassen bin Suleiman took Nazua.

His son succeeded him and extended his authority to all parts of the Oman.

In 1507 Albuquerque had taken the ports of the Oman, and Portuguese governors were put into the towns.

Eight years later Hormuz was taken by Portugal, and the Sultan became a vassal of Dom Emmanuel, King of Portugal.

About 1043 Hejra, the Imam Nasur rose against Portugal and successfully drove them out of all ports except Maskat itself, in which they held out.

In 1649 (1059 Hejra) this Imam died.

He left no heir, and so was succeeded by Sultan Sef bin Malik, the second Yorubi Imam.

Sultan conquered the town of Maskat in person and expelled the Portuguese.

Sultan then created a fleet, and took the offensive against Portugal on the east coast, and also carried war against them to Bombay.

Mombasa asked him to help them, and about 1660 (1071 Hejra) he undertook the siege of their fort at that place. After five years of siege he finally took the fort, and put in as governor Muhammad bin Mbaruk.

Subsequently the Portuguese retook the fort and treated the inhabitants with great brutality.

Sultan died in 1668 (1079 Hejra) leaving two sons, Belarub and Sef. The former first reigned, and then came a period of civil wars in the Oman till finally Sef became Imam on his brother's death. Sef carried on the war against the Portuguese and was asked by the people of Mombasa for help the second time.

Sef captured Mombasa 1698 (1110 Hejra) and subsequently exercised suzerainty over Zanzibar and Kilwa.

After this reverse the Portuguese were driven from most parts of the East African coast by the inhabitants of the various towns.

Mogadishu, which had up to now remained independent, became a dependency of the Oman.

Sef restored the citadel at Mombasa and put in a garrison. This was the only place on the coast which he occupied, other towns having voluntarily placed themselves under his protection.

Oman continued to expand, and at this period her fleet numbered two dozen ships with eighty cannon.

Sef died 1711 (1123 Hejra) in the month of Ramadhan. His son Sultan, the fifth Yorubi Imam, reigned, and fought with the Persians, who had tried to regain their foothold in the Oman.

He drove them from Hormuz and several other places.

Sultan died in 1719 (1131 Hejra) leaving a son Sef. As Sef was too young to reign, a regent was made, and various disturbances occurred while the different regents tried to get control of the kingdom.

Sef defeated the regent, but various other claimants to the throne caused trouble till in 1728 (1140 Hejra) Sef was publicly proclaimed Imam.

Civil wars, however, continued till 1738 (1151 Hejra), during which period the Arabs of the Oman were unable to cope with affairs in East Africa. The consequence of this was that the Portuguese once more obtained temporary ascendancy on the East African coast, while the fort at Mombasa came into possession of Arabs who rebelled against the Imam.

In 1728 the fleet of Louis Mello de Sampayo recaptured the coast from Pate to Kilwa and also, for the last time in East African history, the Portuguese captured the fort of Mombasa which they had originally built.

They availed themselves of the bad feeling existing between the Arab garrison of the fort and the inhabitants of Mombasa to gain a footing in the town.

On a fête day, when all the Portuguese garrison were in the town, the inhabitants brutally massacred them, and so the fort passed out of the hands of Portugal for the last time. The

inhabitants then made over the fort to the Imam, who sent ships to Mombasa and a new garrison for the fort.

The Imam had helped Bwana Tamu to the throne of Pate, and so Pate was at this time favourably disposed towards him. Bwana Tamu's son, Fumo Bakari, now reigned, and Pate reckoned among its dependencies Lamu, Manda, Pemba, and the coast of the mainland from the Juba to Kilifi.

In 1739 (1152 Hejra) the Mazaru'i were put in as custodians of the Mombasa fort.

In 1742 (1154 Hejra) the Imam was deposed, and another Imam placed on the throne.

The Persians again invaded the Oman, this time as partisans of the deposed Sef. Sef still held the forts of Maskat, and the Persians wanted him to hand them over to them. This Sef refused to do, so the Persians made him drunk, and then took his signet ring from his finger with which they signed a document transferring the forts of Maskat to themselves.

The last Yorubi Imam, Sultan bin Marshid, was killed in battle against the Persians, and then Ahmed bin Sa'id was made Imam. Ahmed drove the Persians out of the Oman and himself became master.

Some of the Arabs then raised a man called Belarub Imam in opposition to Ahmed. Belarub suddenly marched against Ahmed, and taking him by surprise, besieged him in a small fort near Maskat. Ahmed escaped in disguise, collected men and then marched against Belarub, defeating him and killing him in battle. Ahmed, to strengthen his position, allied himself by marriage to the family of the old Yorubi Imams.

During these internal disorders there had been no time to attend to the East African coast, and rebellion had been started there. Muhammad bin Osman, governor of the fort of Mombasa, declared himself independent of the Imam. Ahmed sent a man called Sef bin Khalif with six accomplices to Mombasa. They pretended to be friendly to the governor, and one day murdered him and kidnapped his brother, Ali bin Osman, and then took the fort.

Ali escaped, and with the aid of the Wanyika, recaptured the fort, and in 1746 made himself governor.

At this time Pate shook off their allegiance to Oman, but Zanzibar alone amongst the coast towns acknowledged Ahmed's rule and received a garrison from Oman.

A difference then sprang up between Pate and the Mazaru'i of Mombasa over the division of taxes from Pemba. Pate took Kilindini and besieged the fort, but subsequently came to an understanding with the Mazaru'i and withdrew.

The Mazaru'i then made an expedition against Zanzibar and had practically taken the island when intrigue started amongst themselves, and Ali, the Mazaru'i governor of Mombasa, was murdered by his nephew. This disorganised the expedition and it withdrew.

Pate at this time made an expedition to Barawa to claim certain rights on the Juba river. Internal troubles once more broke out in Pate, profiting by which the Mazaru'i sent an expedition to the island and forced Pate to receive a Mazaru'i governor, who, however, was afterwards ejected.

In 1783 (1198 Hejra) Imam Ahmed died and his eldest son Sa'id reigned. His youngest son Sef obtained some ships and started for the east coast. In 1784 he landed at Zanzibar and tried to make them shake their allegiance to his brother Sa'id and declare in favour of himself. Sultan, another brother of Sa'id and Sef, arrived with a fleet and persuaded him to abandon this project. Sef retired to Lamu where he died.

Sultan, accompanied by his nephew Ahmed, a son of Imam Sa'id, after quieting down things in Zanzibar, set out to visit the other ports to consolidate the Imam's power. Ahmed visited Mombasa incognito and went up to the fort where he was recognised and treated with respect.

He asked to whom the town belonged, and the governor, out of politeness, said, "To the Imam of Maskat." Ahmed asked for a written statement to this effect which he received. Pate in 1776 (1190 Hejra) agreed to recognise the Imam's rule.

In 1791 (1205 Hejra) after the death of Ahmed, Sa'id's son

rebelled against his brother. He put himself at the head of an army of Bedawin, amongst whom he had always been popular, and took Maskat from Sa'id. He, however, allowed his brother to remain Imam in name, while he himself virtually controlled affairs.

In 1802 (1215 Hejra) Sa'id died, and Sultan was asked to become Imam in name.

Sultan was killed in battle in 1804 (1219 Hejra) leaving two sons, Seyid¹ Salem and Seyid Sa'id, the latter born in 1790 (1204 Hejra). Sa'id, who was of a pushing disposition, took precedence over his brother. Sa'id was only fifteen at the date of his father's death, and with his approval his uncle Badr was made regent.

In 1806 (1221 Hejra) Badr was assassinated and Sa'id was proclaimed Imam.

In the year of the death of Sultan Fumomadi of Pate, 1807 (1221 Hejra), trouble arose between Pate and Mombasa, and then between Pate and the Oman.

The Mazaru'i governor brought troops to Pate and helped Sultan Ahmed to the throne of Pate, and then put in a Mazaru'i governor named Ali bin Abdallah.

The Sultan favoured by a party in Lamu was Fumoluti, but he was taken off to Mombasa by the Mazaru'i when they put Ahmed on the throne, and Fumoluti's partisans then emigrated to Lamu.

The Mazaru'i then attacked Lamu, but were repulsed. Lamu, however, fearing another attack, asked Sa'id to help them. So in 1811 (1226 Hejra) Sa'id sent a governor to Lamu, and built the fort at that place.

The Mazaru'i, fearing this alliance, sent a deputation to Bombay to endeavour to secure the goodwill of the British.

In 1822 (1238 Hejra) Sa'id ordered the Mazaru'i to leave Pate, and on their refusal sent a fleet under his general, Hamad, who took Pate, Siu and Faza.

¹ "Seyid," a title used by Imams of Maskat and their descendants, meaning "Lord" or "Ruler." Generally pronounced "Sayid" or "Sayidi" on the coast.

Sa'id's governor at Zanzibar, availing himself of the absence of the Mazaru'i governor, managed to capture Pemba Island about the same time.

The Mazaru'i sent an expedition to retake Pemba, but after they had landed, a second expedition left Zanzibar and captured all their ships, so, left on land without means of getting back to Mombasa, they capitulated. They were allowed to return to Mombasa on agreeing to give up claim to the island of Pemba.

A second Mazaru'i expedition attempted to retake Pemba, but effected nothing. On their return in 1823 (1238 Hejra) Abdallah, the Mazaru'i governor of Mombasa, died, the cause of his death being attributed chiefly to his sorrow at losing his possessions. On his death civil war broke out amongst the tribe.

In 1823 an English officer, Captain Vidal, of Captain Owen's coast hydrographic survey, anchored off Mombasa. The Mazaru'i, fearing a blockade of their port by Sa'id's navy, approached this officer with a view to becoming a British dependency. Vidal said that he must refer the matter to the authorities at the Cape and Bombay, and that he himself could give no definite answer.

After his departure Maskat vessels arrived and blockaded the port of Mombasa. During this state of things Captain Owen arrived and found Arab ships blockading the port, while over Mombasa the British flag was flying. He then made a treaty with Mombasa to the effect that the Mazaru'i should be installed again in their ancient possessions, in return for which slavery was to be abolished, the customs were to be divided with the British, and the latter were to have the right to enter the interior.

Owen also managed to establish friendly relations with the Maskat squadron. In 1826 (1242 Hejra) the British flag ceased to float over Mombasa as the treaty had not been ratified, so Mombasa was once more open to Sa'id's machinations.

A fleet left Maskat commanded by Sa'id in person on board the "Liverpool" with a force of 1,200 men, and arrived at Mombasa in 1828 (1243 Hejra).

Partly by a display of force and partly by bribes and intrigue,

Sa'id obtained possession of the fort and put in a garrison. He then visited Zanzibar, but had to return hurriedly to Maskat owing to internal strife arising in that place.

His fleet followed him back and on the way took possession of Mogadishu.

The Mazaru'i, helped by the inhabitants of Mombasa, then besieged the fort. Sa'id, who was occupied by the troubles in Arabia, could not send reinforcements at once, and when they arrived, they found the fort once again in the hands of the Mazaru'i.

In 1829 (1245 Hejra) Sa'id with another Maskat fleet and 1,400 men, came to Mombasa. He had stopped an expedition in which he was engaged in Arabia so as to attend to East African affairs. After seven or eight days of fruitless fighting Sa'id made peace with Mombasa, and went to Zanzibar. The renewal of disorders in Arabia, however, forced him to return again hurriedly to Maskat.

When peace was restored in that quarter in 1833 (1248 Hejra), Sa'id returned to Mombasa with another expedition and landed. The Mazaru'i attacked him, both in front and rear, but owing to a lack of combination in the two attacks, they were defeated in detail and driven off. However, Sa'id was able to effect nothing, so again retreated from Mombasa.

Siu then rebelled against his authority, and asked the Mazaru'i to help them. Sa'id made an expedition against Siu, but was unable to take it.

Later Sa'id, after having intrigued with the people of Kilindini, and profiting by dissensions amongst the Mazaru'i, landed at Kilindini. He then intrigued with factions of the Mazaru'i so successfully that in 1837 (1252 Hejra) he induced them to give up the fort, and himself put in a garrison of 500 Arabs and Beluchis.

Sa'id then went to Zanzibar and asked Rashid, the Mazaru'i governor, to visit him there.

He then brought pressure on him to induce him to give up Mafia Island or pay a yearly tribute to him.

Rashid refused, and returned to Mombasa.

He and about twenty of the leading Mazaru'i were there treacherously captured by Sa'id's agents and brought to Zanzibar, from which place they were deported to Bandar Abbas and put in chains.

The deportation of these Mazaru'i removed the last seeds of rebellion from the coast. Mombasa then submitted to Sa'id's rule, and without further difficulty he extended his kingdom, till it embraced the whole coast as far as Cape Delgrado.

With the exception of a few minor troubles he held these possessions peacefully to the end of his reign, and so consolidated the Zanzibar empire, which was only broken up by the partition of Africa by the European nations.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT HISTORY FROM SWAHILI SOURCES

THE following histories are culled from old Pate records. They were communicated to me by Bwana Kitini who is a direct descendant of the Pate Sultans, and looked on locally as the authority on historical matters. For some reason or other I was not allowed access to the original documents, except one relating to recent Zanzibar history and evidently not much prized.¹

My informant, who, like most Orientals, had a prodigious memory for learning by rote,² made notes and visited me daily for some months. I wrote the text down from his dictation and subsequently translated it as literally as possible.

The reader must please pardon the peculiar phrasing sometimes adopted so as to keep as near as possible to the Swahili.

The beginning of these coast towns,³ he who first made them was a ruler called Abdul Malik bin Muriani. The date was the Hejra
77. seventy-seventh year of the Hejra. He heard of this country, and his soul longed to found a new kingdom. So he brought Syrians, and they built the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa.⁴

¹ The Rev. W. E. Taylor, the greatest living authority on Swahili, told me that he also heard of these documents, but was unable to obtain access to them.

² Although learning is at a low ebb on the east coast, the retentive memory which enables a literate Arab to become a Hafiz is evident. A Hafiz is one who can repeat the Koran by heart from cover to cover.

³ Ancient history only deals with the coast, as the interior was unknown.

⁴ The following towns are said to have been built or commenced by Abdul Malik. In each town or group of towns he had a Luwali (Governor).

Mukadisho (mui wa mwisho=the end city), Marika, Barawa, Tula, Twavae, Koyama, Vumbi, Kismayu, Omwi, Ndao, Kiwayu, Pate, Paza, Shanga, Emezi (now Wangi), Magagoni (Tukutu), Amu (Lamu), Manda, Taka, Kitao, Komana, Uziwa, Shaka (said to be named from Persian Shah), Mea, Ozi, Malindi, Watamu, Mvita, Wasini, Kilwa, Tungi, Ngazija (the Comoro Islands).

After that Abdul Malik died, and his sons who reigned did not care for the work of founding towns, and so they left them.¹ Now Abdul Malik's tribe was the Bani Omaiya, and of these fourteen kings reigned. After this the Bani Omaiya dynasty went out, and there ruled the Bani al Abbas. The third of this dynasty was Harun al Rashid,² who reigned in the year 170.

Hejra
170.

This Sultan heard that Abdul Malik had built in Africa, and he was pleased to call people and give them much wealth where-with he sent them to build houses on the coast. The people he sent were Persians.

Hejra
601.

In the year 601 came the Nabahans to the coast coming forth from the Oman (Maskat). Now the origin of the Nabahans leaving the Oman is this. In the beginning at Maskat four tribes ruled. First reigned the tribe called the Kharusi. After that they were robbed of their kingdom by the Nabahans. A Nabahan Sultan called Imam³ Muthafar took the kingdom and ruled over the whole of Oman. After him came his son Suleiman bin Muthafar, and then the latter's son Suleiman bin Suleiman.

Then occurred a quarrel between the Arabs and the Nabahans amongst the two tribes of the Henawi and Ghafir. Then the Yorubi fought the Nabahans and they gained strength and defeated the ruling Nabahan. So he went forth and fled away and came to the Sawaheli⁴ coast with some of his tribe, whilst others went to Jebel Riami; they are there at Riami until now. He who went to the Sawaheli coast was he who had been Sultan of Maskat.

He landed at Pate and the inhabitants of Pate were those people who had been sent by Khalif Abdul Malik bin Muriani.

So he remained in Pate with his people for he had arrived with many men and ships and much wealth. Presently they sent gifts to the chief of Pate and to every big man in Pate

¹ A legend on the coast says that his son Jafari ruled and died at Kiwayu (see p. 6).

² This was the Haroon al Rashid of the "Arabian Nights," who ruled at Bagdad.

³ "Imam, the hereditary title of the Maskat rulers."

⁴ Swahili from Ar. Sawahil = coast.

they made a present, and even to the small men of the town they gave goods. Then the people, both great and small, perceived the goodness of the Sultan who had come from Maskat.

After this he went to Is-hak, the chief of Pate, and asked for his daughter in marriage, and Is-hak gave him his daughter and he married her, and he rested with her the seven days of the honeymoon.¹

On the seventh day he came forth and went to see his father-in-law.

When he came Is-hak said to him, "Your marriage portion is the kingdom of Pate."

So Suleiman ruled, and he had a son by that woman and he called him Muhammad.

Till in the year 625 Suleiman bin Suleiman died, and his son Muhammad bin Suleiman ruled and took possession of all his people, his wealth and his soldiers. It was he who first took the name of Sultan of Pate, and this by right, for his father came forth from their country bearing the title of Sultan. Hejra
625.

The people of Pate loved him much for his own goodness, and because he was a child of the town, for his mother was of their kin.

Now Sultan Muhammad remained with them twenty-five years, and then he died leaving three sons, Ahmad, Suleiman, and Ali. Hejra
650.

It was Ahmad who took his father's place. The townspeople, those people of Pate, wished to make trouble, and so they said to his brothers Suleiman and Ali, "Why does this one take the kingdom? Do not consent to it."

So rebellion was stirred up in the country and the townspeople then went to Sultan Ahmad and said, "These brothers of yours are makers of mischief."

So discord arose between them, Suleiman and Ali on one side, and Sultan Ahmad on the other, but Sultan Ahmad was together

¹ On marriage the bridal couple remain indoors for a period of seven days, called "Fungate."

with those people whom his grandfather had brought from Arabia. Now these people of Pate purposely egged them on one against the other, so that they should waste their strength and then they might get back their country, for they regretted the arrangement made by their elders giving the kingdom to the Nabahans.

Sultan Ahmad's mother was a Pate woman, and she said to her son, "Understand that you must go and agree with your brothers. This is for your good, for my relations, the people of Pate, design to urge you on one against the other, until such time as you may expend your strength. Then they will turn you out and retake their country that its greatness may be restored to them."

"So you, my son, take my advice, and come to an agreement with your brothers here to-day."

Sultan Ahmad called Ali bin Othman bin Sef bin Muthafar, an old man who had been with his father, and sent him to his brothers according to the advice his mother had given him.

So Ali bin Othman went to Suleiman and Ali, they took his advice, and he brought them secretly by night to their brother, and the Pate people had no knowledge of this.

Till in the morning when day broke they perceived that there was no longer war in the town.

They knew then that their plan had failed, and so they went to Sultan Ahmad and said to him, "We rejoice exceedingly that you are acting as a guardian to your younger brothers—it is indeed good news."

Then they went to those brothers and said, "And for you to own allegiance to your elder brother is indeed proper."

In those days lived a man who strung some verses symbolical of the wiles of the Pate people which began,

"The Pate people weave discord, then it is unravelled and they ask, 'Who is it that began the quarrel?'"

So Sultan Ahmad lived in accord with his brothers, and placed many soldiers in the country, and enriched his subjects. The Pate people seeing this, gave allegiance to him, and peace came

to the country and he made it prosper. He benefited that country much, making plantations, digging wells, building stone houses, and sending expeditions by land and sea, till that country flourished exceedingly.

In the year 690 Sultan Ahmad died, leaving two sons, Omar and Muhammad, and two daughters, Mwana Khadija, and Mwana Mimi.¹ Hejra
690.

Muhammad bin Ahmad reigned, the third of the Nabahans,² and this Sultan was the first who was called by the name of Bwana Fumomadi,³ and he was given the name of "The Great."

This Sultan was a very fine man, both in appearance and disposition; he was moreover very generous. He still further established the country and conquered the whole island of Pate, and fought with the people of Shanga, a country near Pate on the side of the rising sun. This country,⁴ which is even nearer to Siu, he conquered in war, plundering it and killing the males. The youths and the old women and maidens they made prisoners.

There was a maiden sitting on the ground grinding frankincense, and a soldier entered and seized her, intending to rob her of her goods and clothes and make her a captive.

This maiden said to the earth, "Open, that I may enter," and the earth opened and swallowed her up, leaving only the border of her upper robe above ground. Now this is the truth, which has been obtained correctly from the people of those days who beheld the miracle, for this maiden was a God-fearing person.

That soldier, when he saw that, gave up the profession of arms, for he perceived that this calling did not lead to great things, saying, "I am a soldier and I am unable to say to the ground — 'Open, that I may be swallowed up.' Even my Sultan is

¹ "Mwana." meaning "child" in present day Swahili, also meant "Queen" in old Swahili. When this child was born, it is said that the grandmother clasped it, saying, rather ungrammatically, "Mwana mimi" = my child.

² The first was Muhammad bin Suleimani. Suleimani bin Suleimani, who came from Maskat, is not counted in the dynasty.

³ Bwana = master. Fumo = a chief (derived from old Swahili word meaning "a spear"); madi = abbreviation of "Muhammadi" (Swahili for "Muhammad").

⁴ The Swahili called every little town with a chief a "country."

unable to do this thing. This maiden is able to do this because she obeys her Master who created her. I also will obey him truly."

So this soldier led a devout life until he died.

Sultan Muhammad when he heard the news about this damsel went to the place and there saw the border of her garment. He tried to dig her up but was unable, so he built a shrine over the spot to honour her as a sign to posterity.

That soldier he put in the shrine to live there performing the services, and to light the lamps at night, and pluck up the grass growing in the doorway.

When their father died, his sons tended the mausoleum, and their tribe was the Watui, but now there are no more of that tribe.

After Sultan Muhammad had conquered the country of Shanga, trouble arose between him and the people of the country originally called Rasini, but which is now called Faza.

So he made war against them and they fought together for many days. And it came to pass that the people of Pate were unable to go outside the town to draw water after the sun had risen for fear of those people of Rasini.¹

For it was the custom of those people to arrive daily as the sun commenced to mount in the heavens.² Till the women in their houses used to tell their slaves, "Go quickly and draw water before the sun mounts and those of the mounting sun have come."

So the people of Faza (or Paza) were called "those of the mounting sun." This is the origin of the word "Wapaza," for after a while the word "sun" was dropped out, and they were called "those of the mounting" (= "Wapatha" in Pate Swahili). After many days had passed the name of Wapaza stuck to them.

Later on when the country of Rasini had been taken by the Sultan of Pate, it remained uninhabited till the Watikuu came

¹ "Rasini," meaning "cape" or "promontory." Arabic "Ras."

² Their town being four hours distant from Pate.

asking for a place in which to settle. The Sultan of that date told them that they could have the place of the Wapatha. That is why they are now called Paza (or Faza).

Now after the Sultan of Pate and the Sultan of Faza had warred together many days they made peace with each other and agreed each one to remain in his own country.

Then Bwana Shakwa, the Faza Sultan, married his daughter to Omar, the son of the Sultan of Pate, and they lived together at Faza for many days.

After that Omar took his wife and brought her to Pate secretly. When the girl's father heard in the morning he was very angry, and his son followed after his sister with a big expedition and came to Pate.

Omar said to his brother-in-law, "There is no need for you and me to quarrel, for your sister herself wished to accompany me her husband. So you go your way and she will rest here seven days and then I shall send her home."

The Sultan of Faza's son returned home to await the agreement made with Omar, but after seven days his sister had not come back, and he was very angry and swore to conquer the country of Pate.

So he warred again against Pate going and returning daily for many days, and every day as the sun mounted the heavens at nine o'clock, the people of Faza had come, and the people of Pate were no longer able to leave the city to draw water.

So they fought for many days, the people of Faza coming to Pate, and at other times the people of Pate going to Rasini. Then the Sultan of Faza's son registered a vow not to shave his head¹ till he had entered the town of Pate. So he went many times to fight at Pate till one day fortune favoured him, and he entered the city of Pate, seizing a whole quarter of the town. Then he had a chair placed outside the mosque and there his head was shaved, and so he consummated his vow.

Meanwhile they were still fighting and the people of Pate

¹ Arabs and Swahilis do not cut their hair, but shave their heads when the hair is too long.

held out in one side of the town, and they took counsel of a sage who said to them, "Do not go now into the fight, but wait till two o'clock has passed. If you fight then you will drive them out of your country, but you must follow them and kill of their number in the way, and retake your property which they have looted till they reach their home, when you will take their town also."

Now the Rasini people when they had captured part of the town were content to rest and loot, thinking that they would take the rest of the city when the sun had declined.

When two o'clock was past the people of Pate fought them and turned them out of the town, for they were carrying much loot and were unable to fight. So the Pate people followed them till they reached the town of Paza. The Rasini people entered the city and barricaded the gates while the Pate people besieged them closely, so that a man might not come out or enter in.

They besieged them for seven days, and each day they were losing strength by reason of lacking water to drink.¹ Now in the town of Faza was one of the captains of the troops called Haji Mwetha, and he said to the others, "My fellow captains, if I tell you my plan will you follow it?" They answered, "We will follow it."

Then Haji Mwetha said, "The reason that the Pate people drove us out of their town was that we found ourselves amongst their wealth, and they fell upon us when we were unable to fight because of the loot that we had taken.

"Now my plan is to make a small breach in the wall and leave one part of the town for them to loot. When they see our property there together with the things we have taken from them, they will leave off fighting and remain there.

"We shall remain with our women and children in the other part of the town, and when they withdraw with their loot we will fall upon them. The way out will be narrow so we shall kill and capture them and retake our property."

¹ The principal wells of these towns are generally outside the city.

So the people of the town took his advice and they broke part of the wall.

When the Pate people saw this the chiefs and ameurs said to the captains and soldiers, "Do you perceive this matter? It is a ruse, so now everyone who enters the town must seize neither thing nor person. Everyone he meets he must smite whether it be man, woman, or child, and when we have finished conquering the town we will obtain all their property. Any people who are then left we will make our slaves."

So they acted on this advice and entered the town smiting all they met with.

When the people of Faza looked on the faces of those who had been killed, they ran away and wished to open the gates and fly, but the Pate men had surrounded the whole town so there was no way out.

They then desired quarter, but the people of Pate refused to give quarter except to those of them who had friends amongst the people of Faza; each man seized his friend and the remainder they killed or made slaves. The town and the houses they broke up leaving neither thing nor person.

For this reason the Swahilis say to anyone who gives advice which is not good, "Your advice is like the advice of Haji Mwetha."

From the day that the town of Faza was destroyed no man lived there till the coming of the Wतिकु, ¹ and the only inhabitants left alive were those who were made captive and men who were not present at the fight such as fishermen and those on a journey.

Even to-day there are descendants of these at Siu, Amu, the Mrima, Zanzibar and other places and they call their tribe the Mafazii.

Later on the Sultan Muhammad of Pate pardoned the captives and they were scattered abroad, every man living where he pleased.

Sultan Muhammad conquered the island of Pate from Yaya

¹ When the Wतिकु came to Faza they still found some of the houses inhabitable.

and Shanga as far as Mtangawanda—that is the length and breadth of the island. After that he sent expeditions to Kiwayu and Ndao, and the people of Kiwayu, when they saw the strength of Pate, did not fight with them but declared allegiance to them and paid tribute to them. Each chief man of his tribe had to give a slave and twenty dollars to every Sultan of Pate, and if there was any matter or case they sent written petitions to the Sultan who ordered their affairs for them.

When the people of Kiwayu made allegiance to Pate they became soldiers of the Sultan, and the Sultan fought and conquered all the countries beyond Kiwayu, viz.: Kiunga, Tula, Koyama, Kismayu, Barawa, Marika and Mukadisho. He installed a governor at Mukadisho ¹ for in those days this was an important place.

After conquering all these places Sultan Muhammad died in the year 740, and his son Sultan Omar (Fumomari) ² reigned. It was he who fought the towns of the coast, Manda, Uthiwa, Komwana, Malindi and the Mrima and Kilwa till he came to Kirimba. ³

Hejra
740.

Now the Sultan of Manda, ⁴ when he saw that the kingdom of Pate had become great, wished to place a governor over them, for before the coming of the Nabahans Pate used to be under his rule.

The people of Pate did not agree to this and so trouble arose between them.

Till during the north-east monsoon if a man was building a vessel in Pate harbour, when he hammered a nail to drive it into a plank, an order used to come from Manda, "The master is sleeping; do not make a noise." ⁵ It came about that a person was unable to work at boat-building save morning and evening.

¹ All these places are to the north of Pate in order.

² "Mari" abbreviation for Swahili Omari = Omar in the same way as (Fumo) madi is an abbreviation for Muhammadi.

³ These are all to the south of Pate in succession.

⁴ Manda was a much older city than Pate.

⁵ Manda is S.W. of Pate, but too far to hear any sound. The order was given presumably to impress the people with his importance. A very rare tense is used here in the original. "Ulele" meaning "he is in the act of sleeping" as opposed to "analala" or "yualala" = "he is sleeping."

To this the Pate people did not agree, so war arose between them and they fought together many days.

Till after a space of time had elapsed one day the elders of Manda were sitting in council, all the big men of the town, every tribe with its representative. However, one of their head men, Bakiumbe, was not present, for he had gone to sea fishing and they had not told him that there was to be a meeting.

So all the elders assembled except Bakiumbe and someone said, "Let us wait," but others said, "There is no necessity to wait for him; these words are not for fisher folk but for elders."

So they transacted their business, and when Bakiumbe returned from the sea he was told of this matter by his relations, for he was the chief of the fisher-clan. Then he spoke and said to his clan, "These men have treated us fishermen as lowly folk like unto slaves, and we are all as well bred as they, save that every one follows his calling. This one hoes, another is a smith, and another a palm-tapper. This is our town and every one has his house, his property and his dependants. I will make a plan that I may pay back this insult that has been offered us till even those who come after us will not be able to scorn a man again."

Even to-day if there is an assembly people will speak together, and if one man is left out they say, "Do not leave out one man from amongst our people for he is our brother even though he is a lowly person. Did not Bakiumbe break up Manda for this reason, choosing to leave his property and his children without leaving even his name to the end of the world." ¹

Now this is the story of Bakiumbe and what he did. After having heard about the council he took his canoe and went over to Pate and demanded private audience of the Sultan. Then he said to him, "I want to give you the country of Manda without trouble or war and with but little expense. Will you follow my advice?" The Sultan said to him, "I will follow it; tell me what it is."

Bakiumbe said, "Whenever I ask for ambergris I want you

¹ Meaning that he did not leave his name through his descendants.

to give me the amount I ask for. About the third or fourth time I will give you the town of Manda."

The Sultan of Pate said to him, "I have agreed, but you, for what reason do you desire to break up your country in which are your children and your property? Tell me your reason that I may recognise for myself whether it be true or false."

Bakiumbe related to the Sultan the whole story of how he had been treated by the elders of Manda. At that time the Sultan knew truly that he would do as he said, for he was seized with anger, and if a man is seized with anger he loses all wisdom.

So he consented and gave him the ambergris that he required.

Bakiumbe set out and when he arrived at Manda it was late at night. He knocked at the gate, but the officer would not open it; because of the war with Pate all the gates of the city were closed at night. So he slept there outside, and the ambergris he put in his fish basket and poured water over it. In the morning he was permitted to enter and he went to the Sultan of Manda and gave him the ambergris.

The Sultan said, "Why did you leave the ambergris to get wet and why did you put it in your fish basket?"

Bakiumbe said, "I came last night and when I knocked at the gate your officer would not open it for me. This is my reason, for I slept on the shore and did not get a receptacle to put it in, so I poured out my fish and put this ambergris in my fish basket."

So the Sultan said to him, "If you get any more bring it to me and I will treat you very well."

Bakiumbe said, "I want permission to enter the gates at whatsoever time I shall come and you must tell your door-keeper to open to me. So if I get any at any time I will bring it to you, for you are my master and my Sultan, and at whatever you give me I will rejoice exceedingly."¹

So the Sultan agreed, and Bakiumbe was glad in his heart, saying, "I have already attained my desires."

Then he remained for the space of one month and again he

¹ Ambergris has always been royal property wherever found.

brought him ambergris bigger than the first. After that he remained more than a month and brought him some again.

Then he waited more than three months and again he brought him a piece.

After this he went to the Sultan of Pate and said to him, "Make ready—the work is finished. To-morrow night at two o'clock I will come to fetch you. Have soldiers ready, a few I shall take myself and many must follow behind me."

They arranged after this manner till, when night had come and two o'clock was passed, Bakiumbe went to the Sultan of Pate and found soldiers ready as he had desired.

He took them and came with them to Manda, and coming to the gate he knocked. The officer of the watch thought that this was Bakiumbe coming according to his custom with ambergris for the Sultan.

He unfastened the gate, and Bakiumbe entering with the soldiers seized the guard and killed them and straightway went to the Sultan's palace while other soldiers seized the gates of the city.

The Sultan, when he heard Bakiumbe's voice, descended from upstairs and said to the door-keeper, "Open quickly, for this is Bakiumbe," and his heart was exceeding glad.

When the door was opened Bakiumbe entered together with the Pate soldiers with naked swords held ready. When the Sultan saw the swords he wanted to run away, but there was no way in which he might run.

The soldiers struck him and killed him together with those of his people who were there in the house. The people of the town heard shouts so they came to the house of the ruler of the city. When they came, they met the people of Pate who had already seized the house.

Other people went to the gates, but the Pate men had already seized them.

So when dawn came, the townspeople had made no plan for assembling together or fighting because wherever they went they found Pate men already in possession. Thus it was that

Pate conquered the country of Manda in one day, and when it dawned they seized as prisoners both the men and women, and all their property, silver and gold.

Now the Manda people had many gold ornaments, for which reason they were called "Wavaa ng'andu"¹ (the wearers of gold).

So Pate obtained much wealth, and they took both property and prisoners back with them to their city.² Half of the Pate troops went on to Taka and broke into the city.

The people of Kitao, when they heard that both Manda and Taka had fallen, sent their elders to Pate to sue for peace.

The ruler of Kitao was a woman called Mwana Inali. When she heard that her elders, fearing war, had gone off to sue for peace with Pate, she said, "It will not do for me to live any longer. There is no cause that I should await the arrival of the Pate people, for they will kill me or make me captive, and treat me with every kind of abasement. Therefore it is better to die first."

So she arose and put on her gold ornaments, pearl buttons and ancient jewellery, and went out behind Cape Kitao, and threw herself into the sea.

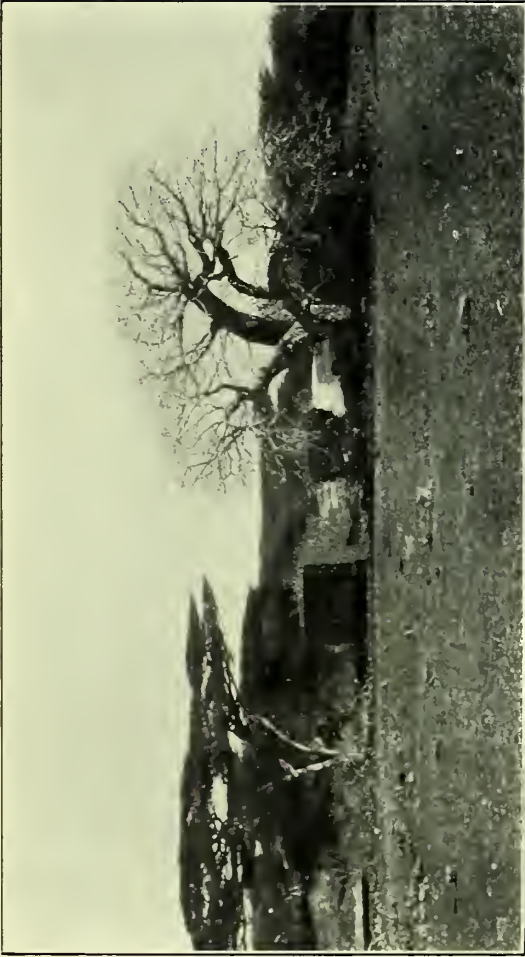
When her people heard that their Queen was going down to the shore, they followed after her, but did not see her again; even a sign of her clothes or body they saw not.

This is the story of Kitao, Taka, and Manda, and the people of Pate took prisoners of the two countries Manda and Taka, but the people of Kitao got peace because they made allegiance to Pate before the war reached their country.³

¹ Old Swahili.

² Another story relates that Bakiumbe, the fisherman, came to the Sultan of Pate for a reward. The Sultan said that he was too clever a man to be allowed to live, for he might one day betray Pate as he had betrayed Manda, so he was executed.

³ Taka may have had its old power broken at this time, but, unlike Manda, it was still inhabited, and not finally abandoned till a much later date. There were people living at Taka as late as 1094 Hejra. Kitao was probably abandoned before this. Another story of the breaking up of Kitao attributed to the same date is that on a Friday a chicken came rushing into the congregational mosque at Kitao. A man rushed in after it and tried to seize it, saying that it was his. Another man



RUINS OF TAKA.

So they were left in their country, but everyone who cultivated land had to pay three loads of produce for every gang of slaves.

Since that time the Sultan of the Nabahans taxed their subjects a kikanda (about 180 lbs.) for every gang of slaves,¹ and who first made this tax was Sultan Omar.

Now the captives of Manda were taken to Pate and put on the east side of the city, and a wall was built round making it one with the city of Pate.

This quarter was called "Weng'andu"² by reason of those people, "the wearers of gold," being there.

Now at the time of the building of the wall of this quarter the captives, both men and women, were made to carry the stones.

There was one woman of the people of Manda who refused to carry stones, so a soldier beat her and that woman wept.

There was a second Manda woman there and she said to her, "Friend, do not weep," and then she said the following couplet:—

"Tuli kwetu Manda twali tukitenda
Yeo tukitendwa twakataa kwani?
Hutupa ukuta wathipetapeta
Kutwa ni kuteta hatuna amani."

(When we were at our home in Manda it was we who were doing—to-day if we are done to, why should we refuse? They

rushed up and said it was his. They began fighting about it, and others joined in. It being a Friday, all the inhabitants of the town were coming to the mosque, so finally nearly everybody in the town was engaged in the fight.

After this the conflicting parties would not be reconciled, and so they split up; some went to Amu, some to Pate, and some to Ngoji (Bukini). Those that went to Amu and Pate afterwards came to Shela. Mwana Inali, the Queen of Kitao (said in above story to have drowned herself), went to Pate, and the Sultan of that place honoured her greatly, and gave her a house to live in. The ruins of this house are still pointed out at Pate, and called Nyumba ya Kitao (the house of Kitao).

Another legend says that Taka was not broken up by Pate, but that the Pate troops came to attack it and could not find it, as it had been made invisible by the Waanachuoni (Seers or Soothsayers).

¹ A curious word is used here in the original, "cha," meaning "a group of slaves more than two in number."

² The ruins of the Weng'andu quarter are still pointed out in the ruined city of Pate.

give us the wall to build winding hither and thither; all day it is quarrelling—we get no respite.)

So the people of Manda lived in the quarter of Weng'andu; this is the account of them till at last they were sent to Shela by Sultan Abubakr; its history will be related further on.

So Sultan Omar reigned on the coast, it was he who was the Sultan to conquer Manda, Taka, Kitao and Emezi on the mainland and Tukutu. After this he fought Mea, Kiongwe and Komwana and the seven towns between Komwana and Shaka.¹

The Sultan of these latter towns was called Liongo,² and he subdued the country from Mpokomoni to Malindi, and this district was called Ozi.

Now Sultan Omar fought with these towns for many days, and when he perceived the difficulty of taking them, he went to Magogoni, the harbour of Tukutu, and stayed there.

Every hour he sent out an expedition and he remained at Magogoni fifteen years till he got a son called Ahmad.

It was this son who finally overcame the towns of Ozi, and then sent the news to his father. So his father returned to Pate and then he went and fought Malindi.

When he and his troops reached Malindi there was a God-fearing man who invoked Allah against them so that the Pate soldiers became sick.

So they returned to Pate and Omar said to his son, "Now rest till we have seen about this sickness."

So they rested, and after that the people of Malindi came to offer allegiance to the Sultan of Pate, and so they remained seven years without war.

Afterwards Sultan Omar collected many troops and made many ameers, and passed over to the mainland to go and fight against the towns there.

They passed on to Malindi and traversed the country in peace and then came to Mombasa.

¹ This town is supposed to have been founded by Persians, and is called after Persian "Shah."

² The famous Liongo, poet and bowman, of whom many tales are told. I have in my possession copies of some of his poems.

The Mombasa people hid themselves in the interior and that is the origin of the place being called Mvita,¹ from "mfitu" (one who hides).

Afterwards this place prospered exceedingly and became a very important place at the time the Portuguese came, for many tribes lived there.

Then the Pate people passed on overland and fought the whole of the Mrima coast from Wasini and Pangani to Saadani, Tanga, Kilwa and Kilwa Island and the Mgao coast. They passed on, and in every place that they took they put a chief.

That was the origin of the Jumbes of the Mrima coast, so called because they were slaves of the Yumbe² (the Sultan of Pate's palace).

So the Pate troops proceeded till they reached Kirimba; these were the ends of the Nabahan kingdom, Mukadisho and Kirimba, so Sultan Omar conquered the whole of the Sawahili coast except only Zanzibar he did not get because at this time this town had no fame.

In the year seven hundred and ninety-five Sultan Omar died and his son Muhammad bin Omar (Fumomadi the Great) reigned. Hejra
795.

The sons left by Sultan Omar were this Muhammad and that Ahmad, who had been a soldier, and Abubakr. Sultan Muhammad lived in the country of Pate and made it prosper, making plantations and building vessels called Gharabs which are now called Jahazis.³

Now in those days Arab and Indian vessels used to come to Pate harbour.

Sultan Omar had a nephew who was very fond of travelling. On his first journey he set out for India, but was completely lost, and his ship sank, and he himself, after meeting with great hardships and difficulties and losing everything, returned home. He remained at home for a year, but the next year he wished to

¹ Mvita is the native name for Mombasa.

² A small chief is even now called Jumbe on the Mrima coast. The ruins of the Yumbe are still to be seen in Pate.

³ "Gharab" (from Arabic for "raven") is a craft which appears in the Persian gulf. "Jahazi" from the Hindustani for a ship = Jahaz.

travel abroad again. His mother said, "Ah, my son, do not travel again. You have been greatly afflicted, why do you want to travel? Money to spend is here; if you want anything or any matter, tell me."

He said to her, "I want neither thing nor matter. My soul longs to travel, and if I do not get leave from you, my father and mother, I will travel away as best I can."

As they were unable to stop him they made up a fleet of seven ships for him, and he voyaged away and wrecked all his ships. He returned alone, and he had nothing and no one with him.

His father and mother said to him, "Now you will not be able to travel any more." So that youth stopped at home a year, and by the second year he had no more desire to travel by reason of the trials through which he had passed.

Till one day he went to the bathroom at night and saw a cockroach climbing the wall. When it had climbed a little it slipped down, then it rose up again, and again it slipped down. But it rose a third time and climbed up till it reached the top and passed out of sight.

That youth said, "I have been outdone by that cockroach, for it fell twice and tried a third time. I was not able to try a third time. God has sent it to teach me a lesson. I must set forth again."

In the morning he said to his parents, "I must set out again, and this time I want much wealth with me. If you do not give me a fleet according to my wishes you will not see me again."

His parents and his relations and friends all besought him not to travel again, but he did not agree. When his parents found that they were unable to prevent him, they gave him a fleet according to his wishes.

So he set out and arrived in India where he traded and made much profit. During the return they were lost at sea for many days till from the vessel on board of which he was they saw an island near them.

So they disembarked as they were in need of water, and that

youth wished to rest from the discomforts he had suffered. He lay under a tree and told his servants to cook his food and bring it him there.

They sat down to cook, and when the fire blazed up they saw the sand of that place melt and run away. When it had gone a little from the fire it cooled in separate little pieces.

The cooks told this to their master and he came to look at it and recognised what it was. However, he only said, "Cook food quickly," till after he had finished eating he called the captain and sailors and said to them, "Do you recognize here that our home is near?" They said, "We do not know this place, we have now come to this island for the first time, nor have we before even heard tell of it."

He answered, "I have made a plan; will you follow it?" They said to him, "Whatever you desire, that will we do." So he said, "I want to unload our food and everything we have on board leaving food and water for fifteen days only. Whatever is over and above this let us leave behind and let us load up our ship with this sand till she can carry no more, for this sand is silver ore, and we cannot help getting from it a return greater than from these other things we are carrying."

So they took his advice and unloaded all their goods and filled up with sand for three days till the ship could carry no more. They sailed away, and on the third day they met a bad storm and lost all hope of escape. The sailors jettisoned the sand till, when the boat was half empty, that youth stopped them, saying, "Have patience first."

Afterwards they got a safe and favourable wind and arrived home. When they arrived they found that those other vessels of his had arrived first, and on shore was a mourning for him.

He said to the captain and sailors, "I want you to hide the news about this sand till I know truly if it be silver ore, for if it is not so people will think me a fool, throwing away wheat and food and loading sand." They said to him, "Very good."

So the youth landed with great joy and his parents were overjoyed to see him.

He rested for three days, and then at dead of night he brought some of that sand and put it in a store in his house.

Then he called skilled workmen and showed them a little, and when they made an ornament out of it they found that it was very pure silver.

Now it was at this time that the Portuguese arrived in Pate, and first they came in friendship.

Afterwards he showed the ore to the Portuguese and they asked him where he got it. He told them the story from first to last because of his joy when he knew that it was real ore.

Those Portuguese wanted him to show them the spot, and they went together with the captain and searched for six months and returned again without finding it.

When he arrived back in Pate he found that Sultan Muhammad had died, and that his father Abubakr was now Sultan. The name of that youth was Bwana Mkuu.

Hejra
825.

So Sultan Abubakr reigned in the year 825.

The Portuguese came and they stayed at Pate and Dondo and they were in friendship with Sultan Abu Bakari (Swahili for "Abubakr"). Their influence grew great in the town of Pate, and they taught people how to excavate wells in the rocks by means of gunpowder.

The Portuguese built houses on the rock and made an underground passage to Pongwa rock.¹

For a long time they lived together in friendship and traded with goods and every kind of thing.

The Portuguese said to Abubakr, "Your kingdom is very great, but there is no profit. Why do you not make taxes?"

So they made a customs house at a place in Pate harbour called Fandikani; in the language of the Portuguese it means "customs."²

Hejra
855.

Afterwards Sultan Abubakr died in the year 855. The Bwana

¹ The Pate people believe that this underground way still exists, but they have been unable to find its entrance.

² Portuguese Alfandega. In Swahili the "-ni" is only a locative postfix.

Mkuu reigned and he had much wealth, and traded much till the whole country of Pate became very wealthy.

They made large houses and put in them brass lamps with chimneys, and they made ladders of silver to climb up into bed with, and silver neck chains. Into the pillars of the houses they beat silver studs and nails of gold on top of them.

The Portuguese lived on the coast and they set in order Dondo and Mombasa. Their governor lived at Mombasa, and there they built a fort which is there to this day.

So Bwana Mkuu reigned without falling out either with the Portuguese or with his own subjects.

In the year 903 of the Hejra he died, leaving seven children, of whom Muhammad reigned, and he was called Bwana Fumomadi the Second. Hejra
903.

There came about trouble between the people and his brother, a Nabahan called Bwana Miti, nephew of the Sultan Omar. They made war and defeated him, and so Sultan Muhammad reigned at peace with his subjects. He set the country of Siyu in order; this place was there before that time, but it had no power.

At that time was the beginning of the Wafamao coming to an agreement with the Portuguese governor; some accounts say that the Wafamao are Portuguese, and other that they are the Arabs originally sent by Abdul Malik.

That was the origin of the Siyu people.

Now they are called Swahilis and their clan is the Banu Sadi.

Afterwards trouble arose between the people of Siyu and Pate by reason of Portuguese intrigue. They fought together and Siyu was defeated, and the town broken into. Their chief went and complained to the Portuguese and they came and made peace and took the prisoners who had been made and returned them to Siyu. So they stayed in allegiance to Pate.

In the year 945 Sultan Muhammad died, and Sultan Abubakr, son of Bwana Mkuu, reigned. Hejra
945.

Now at this time the Portuguese conquered the whole Swahili

coast. They instituted a tax, and afterwards their subjects would not agree to the tax.

Sultan Abubakr was of one accord with his people, and strife arose between him and the Portuguese. The Portuguese came and fought with Pate, and the people of Pate were grievously afflicted.

Now at that time there was a Sherif¹ of Arabia in a country called Inati. So the Sultan of Pate sent a man to desire his supplications, for he was a very holy man, saying, "Pray to Allah on our behalf that he may deliver us from our enemies." When he went to him, he gave him his two sons, and they were brought to Pate.

He said, "The Portuguese will not get your country again by the grace of Allah." So his sons came and settled at Pate and married there. It was after these Sherifs that the quarters of Sarambini, Inati and Shindoni were named, for these were the names of their houses.

Now at that time the ships of the Portuguese came round the Cape and they attacked Pate and afterwards there was a truce for six months.

The Portuguese always came during the season of the greater rains, and this time, after the six months' truce, they came in great strength and stationed their ships in the neighbourhood of Pate. There is a small island near Pate which even to-day bears the name of Shaka Mzungu (the white man's Shaka) because of the Portuguese staying there.

They seized also the harbour of Mtangawanda and Shindakasi, and they blockaded the island of Pate, landing by way of Shindakasi. They fired cannons on the town and fought with the inhabitants.

The shots from their cannons passed overhead without damage by reasons of the supplications of the holy man Sheikh Maulala Abubakr bin Salim.

When they saw that the shots did not hit they made channels in the ground of Shindakasi so that they might pump water into

¹ "Sherif," a descendant of the Prophet.

the town. When they had made these and brought water from the shore it would not rise. When they saw that they were not able to do this they made peace and came to an agreement with the Sultan of Pate.

Afterwards Sultan Abu Bakari died and his son Sultan Bwana Mkuu reigned in the year 995. Hejra
995.

At this time foreigners came into the country of Pate and they were called Wabarawa.

At one time they used to live at Barawa, but they were Arabs and their tribe is called Hatimii, a tribe renowned in Arabia, and their country was formerly Andalusia.¹

They arrived in Pate with much wealth, and they bought houses and even bought firewood and wells.

So the country of Pate prospered exceedingly till in the year 1010 Sultan Bwana Mkuu died, and Sultan Ahmad, the son of his cousin, reigned. He was a very good man and loved his subjects much. He reigned seven years without rain falling, and then he abdicated of his own free will and gave the throne to Sultan Muhammad, the son of Sultan Abubakr. Hejra
1010.

Hejra
1017.

Sultan Muhammad quarrelled with the Portuguese and they turned him out of the throne and gave it to a son of Bwana Mkuu called Abubakr, and he agreed with the Portuguese very well. Hejra
1018.

The Portuguese then had trouble with the people of Amu, and they fought and defeated them utterly, making many people prisoners.

Sultan Abubakr, by reason of his friendship for the Portuguese, desired them to give up these prisoners, and he returned them to Amu. From that date the people of Amu made allegiance to Pate.

Sultan Abubakr loved to travel about and visit every place. Whilst he was on his travels, there behind him in Pate the people intrigued, and put Sultan Muhammad, the son of his brother, on the throne in the year 1040. Hejra
1040.

¹ Some of the Arabs of the coast claim descent from Andalusians. See an Arabi book called "Fatuh al Baladin" ("The Opening up of the Countries"), p. 239.

When Sultan Abubakr returned he landed at Amu; he was not able to get to Pate again. He and the Portuguese went together to fight Pate, but they were utterly defeated and so made peace, and Sultan Abubakr remained at Amu. He married at Amu, and later the people of Pate and Amu combined against the Portuguese who lived at Dondo, but they were not strong enough for them.

At Pate Sultan Muhammad married his son to the daughter of Abubakr. The name of the son was Bwana Mkuu.

Bwana Mkuu had not yet taken her to put her in his house when the people of Pate and Amu and the Portuguese intrigued together and brought back Sultan Abubakr, and Sultan Muhammad they locked up.

Sultan Abubakr then said to Bwana Mkuu, "Enter the house and take your wife. I am your father, do not be angry with me for locking up your father—it was the subjects and the Portuguese who wanted it."

So Bwana Mkuu took his wife and lived in peace with his father-in-law till Sultan Muhammad died.

The people of the town told Bwana Mkuu that his father had received poison and that presently he also would be poisoned. Bwana Mkuu did not listen to these tales, so the people went to the Sultan Abubakr and said, "Your son-in-law is about to kill you in revenge for his father's death, and the kingdom, he says, is his."

Sultan Abubakr believed their words and so made a plan with the Portuguese, saying, "When your governor comes from Mombasa I will pretend to be ill and will send my son-in-law Bwana Mkuu and forty great men in my stead.

Honour them greatly and feast them. Give them food of quality and strong drink. When they have finished getting drunk, hoist sail and carry them away that they return no more. For these are troublesome people; I am not able to reign while they are here."

The Portuguese took Sultan Abubakr's advice and did as he suggested.

When the Pate people came to know that these men had been taken away at Sultan Abubakr's instigation, they were at first silent and acted as if the matter had not reached their ears.

Sultan Abu Bakari¹ said to his daughter, "Your husband has gone to Goa—after six months he will return."

So she awaited her husband and meanwhile gave birth to a son. When her son had reached three years of age she knew that her father's words were false. Now at that time her father made a fête for the circumcision of his sons and told her that he would have her son circumcised at the same time.

She replied, "I do not want that, I will have him circumcised separately."

Sultan Abubakr replied, "You have joined in the intrigues of the other people; perish, both of you."

Now it was necessary that at these festivities the royal horn should be blown and there was but one horn.

So his daughter came to borrow the horn of the Amu people secretly, but the Amu people would not give it for fear of the Sultan.

When she could not obtain the horn she called to her secretly a man in Pate called Mwenyi Baenyi, one well versed in skilled work.

She said to him, "I want you to make me a horn secretly that no man may know, and what you ask that will I give you." He said, "Very good," and so she put him in her house and gave him an elephant tusk² and everything he required, and he made a fine horn.

When he had finished she asked him what wages he required, and he replied, "My wages are the gifts given to the blower." She said, "Take them," and she gave out the horn and he sounded it through the town and people showered gifts on him.³

¹ Abu Bakari, Swahili pronunciation of Abu-bakr.

² This horn is beautifully carved, and is now at Amu. It must have been made of two tusks.

³ It was the custom of the people on hearing the horn to make presents to the

So she held the ceremony and rivalled her father.

After this the people of Pate made intrigue and rushed in on Sultan Abubakr, smiting him and his brother Bwana Madi—killing them both.

blower. The old horn of Pate is said to have been lost at sea, while the old horn of Amu, which is of brass, and not ivory, is now in the possession of a descendant of the man whose office used to be to blow it on ceremonial occasions.

CHAPTER III

ANCIENT HISTORY FROM SWAHILI SOURCES (*continued*)

AFTER the events described in the last chapter, another Sultan Abubakr was placed on the throne in the year 1060. His nickname was Bwana Tamu the Great. Hejra
1060.

Then there arose strife between the Portuguese on one hand, and the whole Swahili coast together with the Yorubi Imam of Muskat on the other.

So they combined and fought the Portuguese on the whole coast, leaving Mombasa alone.

Afterwards the Imam sent word to the Sultan of Pate to drive the Portuguese out of the fort of Mombasa, and that he was to proceed about the matter with care and great guile.

So the people of Pate and Mombasa made plans together and the Pate men went to Mombasa in small parties of tens and twenties till many were gathered together at Mombasa. They waited for a Sunday¹ and then rushed in on them suddenly, killing them and gaining possession of their fort and of their property.

Since that time the Portuguese have not had possession of any place on the coast.²

Afterwards Sultan Bwana Tamu sent a letter to the Yorubi Imam saying, "I have finished taking the fort and have turned out the Portuguese." So the Imam answered, "Give me the fort and I will send men to put in it, and you and I will combine that we may follow and drive out the Portuguese wherever we find them."

So the Imam sent a tribe called the Mazaru'i, and they came with their soldiers and chief and seized the fort. This was the

¹ Presumably on a Sunday so as to attack them when they were at church.

² The Portuguese have received but little attention in this history. The Pate historians appear to have magnified the part that they themselves played in east coast history, to the belittlement of the doings of others.

beginning of the Mazaru'i coming to this coast. Later the Imam found himself in difficulties as there were no receipts, only disbursements.

Then the Mazaru'i said to him, "This will not do—leave us to find our own expenses and the fort shall remain yours in name."

Later the Imam sent other people, seven men of the name of Sef, who were called the Seven Sefs. They rebelled against the Imam, so he came and fought them and the Mazaru'i commanded his troops. They took the fort, but in the taking many of the Mazaru'i were killed. After this the Imam gave the fort to the Mazaru'i that they should govern the fort without reference to Maskat.

So the Mazaru'i stayed in the fort and conquered the country of Mombasa and its mainland.

There they stopped till they were ejected by Sa'id bin Sultan, but the account of this will come further on.

Now it was in the days of Bwana Tamu the Great that the Watikuu and Wakatwa came wanting a place in which to live, for formerly on the mainland there was war between the Mkilio and the Wakatwa.

So the Watikuu were given the country of Faza and they live there to this day.

Hejra
1100.

Bwana Tamu lived at peace with his subjects and they loved him well till in the year 1100 he died, and Sultan Bwana Mkuu, the son of Sultan Abubakr, reigned.

Sultan Bwana Mkuu loved the country of Amu very much, and he went to Amu and married a wife there, and he also built a mosque, and made Amu the harbour for the trading vessels brought in by the north-eastern monsoon. His mother also was an Amu woman.

He lived at Amu and the Amu people loved him well. He was much given to trading and doing business. He made friends with the Mazaru'i and they divided together the taxes from the island of Pemba, each taking half.

They also made the Sabaki River frontier between them on the mainland.

Sultan Bwana Mkuu died in the year 1125,¹ and Bwana Tamu the Younger reigned. Hejra
1125.

The Bwana Tamu was the son of that Bwanu Mkuu who was carried away to Goa.

Now it was this Sultan who fought with the Yorubi Imam. The end of it was that he took the allegiance of the Imam and Maskat soldiers were put in Pate.²

Now this Sultan fought with the people of Amu twice, and the reason for war was that the Amu people unearthed some guns belonging to the Portuguese which had got buried on Hedabu Hill.³ When the Pate Sultan heard this he wanted to get them from the Amu people.

The Amu people met together and took counsel together and they were all of one counsel, and answered him, "We will not give them to you, and we will no longer acknowledge you as our chief."

When he received this letter he made war on them, coming by two routes.

He embarked some soldiers in ships and sent them by way of Shela, and others in dhows and mtepes he sent by way of the Mkanda.⁴

When they came forth they fixed the guns on board their ships, but they were too heavy for the ships and sank them.

When the Amu people saw that their ships were sinking, they pressed the Pate men hard and overcame them utterly, capturing some of their vessels.

Others fled away and returned to Pate.

When the Amu people had ensured their own safety they said, "We must certainly go to Pate and fight them even in like manner as they came to our town." The elders said, "This is

¹ These dates are probably only approximate. They are all multiples of five, which looks suspicious. They do not agree with those in Chap. I.

² Sef bin Sultan, a Yorubi bearing the ambitious title of Kaid al Aradh (lord of the earth), is said to have been the first man to bring Arabs to Amu.

³ A sand hill between Shela and present-day Lamu. The ruins of old Lamu are supposed to lie under here.

⁴ A narrow channel between Manda and the mainland.

not a good counsel. What we have accomplished here in holding our own country is no small matter."

However, the leaders of war would not profit by the advice of the elders and so they made a big expedition on their own account.

They went to Pate and landed their forces at a harbour called Ungwi.

The Pate people were very angry that the Amu people should try to capture their country and they came forth with all their might and fought them. A great battle was fought and the Amu people were defeated, many of them were killed, and they were spoiled of many vessels.

They were scattered in the mangrove swamps, while those who were left got vessels and retired to Amu.

When they arrived the elders said, "Did we not tell you after this manner? Now you will have to fight for your country, for the Pate chief will not leave us alone; he will come to fight us again. It were better that we swear allegiance to him as heretofore."

The captains of war did not agree to this.

The Pate Sultan waited six months and then made war again. He made a dhow in the harbour of Magogoni and it was taken overland till they came with it to Kikoni.

This dhow carried soldiers across from the mainland whilst others came by way of the Mkanda.

When the Amu people saw these latter arriving on the shore they went down to fight them and did not leave a single man in the town, for they had not the tidings of the dhow at Kikoni.

They had no knowledge of this and so as they were fighting on the beach the Pate people entered the town and seized it.

At that time they were unable to make any dispositions, and so they were defeated and their country conquered.

The Pate people took forty of their chief men and brought them to Pate.

The elders who were left in Amu wrote to the Mazaru'i and

asked them to intercede for them with the Sultan of Pate, saying that they were ready to return to his allegiance.

The Mazaru'i went to Pate and received those forty men whom they returned to Amu, and the Amu elders returned to the Pate allegiance, saying, "Whilst we are alive there will be no more trouble between us."

After these events were finished trouble arose between Sultan Bwana Tamu and the Yorubi Imam. The latter made intrigue in Pate so that at his instigation the Sultan was stabbed with a dagger at a levée and was killed.

This was in the year 1135, and Bwana Bakari his son reigned.

Hejra
1135.

Now this time was the beginning of the Abusa'id dynasty of Maskat.

For the Yorubis had reigned many years in Maskat until there came to the throne one man who was very bad.

Now at this time there was a man of the Abusa'idi Arabs called Hamed bin Sa'id, who kept a shop in the village of the Oman called Adam.

The chief of the village one day entered his ship and ate some Halwa,¹ and took things out of the shop, refusing to pay for them.

Hamed bin Sa'id then killed the chief. He then asked his relations to support him, but they refused as the chief was a great man in that place, so Hamed fled to the chief of the Yorubi at Nazua in Maskat.

He told him, "I have quarrelled with a man and killed him."

When the relations of the dead man came to claim Hamed, the Sultan paid blood money for him and kept him at his court.

Hamed entered the service of the Sultan as a herdsman and afterwards became a soldier till he rose to be the head of the soldiers, and then became the Sultan's Wazir.

Afterwards he sent him as governor of a province called Sahari.

Now that Sultan behaved very badly to his subjects, robbing

¹ An Arab sweetmeat.

them of their wives and becoming intoxicated with Indian hemp (Bhang).

When the subjects were much oppressed they sent to Hamed bin Sa'id saying, "We are unable to live with this Sultan any longer."

Hamed replied, "If you are able to kill him, do so." The people answered, "We will kill him, but you must consent to govern."

He consented, and so they killed the Sultan and Hamed bin Sa'id ruled and was called Imam of Maskat.

He lived at Nazua and was a very good man, and when he died he left two sons, Sa'id and Sultan. This was the beginning of the Busa'idi dynasty.

Of these we will relate their history farther on.

Now when Bwana Bakari came to the throne of Pate the Mazaru'i had become very powerful, and they had entered Pate in friendship, but had become more powerful than the Nabahans.

Bwana Bakari stayed at Amu and the Pate people did not like him and made a plot to dethrone him.

In the middle of this strife Sultan Bwana Bakari died, and his brother Sultan Ahmad reigned in the year 1150.

Intrigue arrived between the Mazaru'i and the people of Amu and of Pate, and both these people loved Sultan Ahmad.

Now at this time the Busa'idi Arabs used to come to the coast; they had got hold of Zanzibar through making friendship with the people, but had not yet taken it entirely.

The Mazaru'i went to Zanzibar and they fought together.

The Mazaru'i governor was intrigued against by his nephew till one day that nephew of his struck his uncle with a dagger and killed him. Those Mazaru'i who were present fell on the youth and killed him. It thus happened that the Mazaru'i expedition to Zanzibar failed, and they returned to Pemba and then to Mombasa.

There they made another chief, but from that time they did not get to Zanzibar again.

Then they wanted to seize Pate and Amu and to take the

kingdom of the Nabahans, but they were unable. So they lived with them in friendship and in guile, thinking, "If we get a chance we will take their kingdom."

In the year 1177 Sultan Ahmad died, and a Queen Mwana Khadija, sister of Bwana Tamu the Younger, reigned. She reigned seven years, and after that the Mazaru'i intrigued with the Pate people and they put Sultan Omari on the throne. Hejra
1177.

Then there were two rulers in one country and they fought together for five years inside the city. Afterwards Sultan Omari was defeated and he fled to the Bajuns at Faza.

Mwana Khadija sent her soldiers and ameers to fight him at Faza and he fled again and took a dhow and made for Barawa.

He fled secretly, but the soldiers of the Mwana Khadija followed him and came up with him in the way in their dhows.

When he saw that he would be seized he wrote on a piece of paper and threw it into the water, and at that place there sprang up behind his dhow a shoal of sand.

Even to-day it is there, and the Bajuns call it Sultan Omar's shoal.

The reason was that he was a great medicine man, but magic does not stay the decree of Allah and his luck was small. So he went to Barawa and stayed there one year till he gained strength to return to Pate of one accord with the people of Pate and the Mazaru'i.

He entered Pate and seized his house, called Diwani, and half the town. Then war returned to Pate, and after one year they broke into his house at Diwani and he was killed.

His brother's son, called Fumoluti, took his place and fought with Mwana Khadija.

In the year 1187 Mwana Khadija died.

So Sultan Fumoluti reigned, for the people of Pate saw that it was better to leave off strife because of the trials they had endured for many days. So he reigned over the whole town and all were of one accord, the people of Pate, the Mazaru'i, the people of Amu and Siu, and even the Bajuns. Hejra
1187.

The people of Pate said, "It were better that we leave off

fighting and that he reign over the whole country, for our town has been laid waste.”

For in the time of Sultan Omari and Mwana Khadija everybody cut down the cocoa-nut palms and fruit trees, everybody destroyed the property of his neighbour. For five years they were not able to cultivate or to trade or to do any work whatsoever. So a great famine raged till people ate oats and the skin seats of chairs. For this reason they were pleased that peace should reign and that their country might rest.

So they remained two and a half years, and after that time the great men who were of Mwana Khadija's faction made intrigues. These people said, “What sort of a Sultan is this? We do not want him, for he is of lowly origin.”

For the mother of Sultan Fumoluti bin Sheikh was of humble birth, and her father's profession was that of a fisherman.

This fisherman had three daughters, one of whom was called Mwana Sukari binti Kae.

One night during Ramadhan her father was lying in his plantation and his daughter was fanning him, when the star of destiny¹ passed over them.

Her father pointed it out to his daughter and said to her, “My child, Allah will bless you so that you give birth to Sultans.”

On the next evening the father of this Sultan Fumoluti passed the house of the fisherman and saw his daughter and loved her very much. He demanded her of her father and married her and took her to his home. She gave birth to this Sultan Fumoluti and one girl, who became Bwana Fumomadi's mother, and another boy, so she had three children.

Now from that time no other has reigned at Pate save descendants of that woman whose father prayed to Allah on her behalf.

So now by reason of the humble origin of his mother the Pate people refused to be governed by this Sultan Fumoluti, and the great men of Pate took counsel and made plans to destroy him.

¹ This is a star called “the star of the night of divine decree,” or the night on which the Prophet ascended to heaven, a vision of which is, according to Arabs, vouchsafed only to very holy persons.

Now the Sultan was a man of great strength and a brave warrior, so they said, "Who will confront him and smite him?"

They were in the midst of saying these words when a man called Fundi Suleimani, a craftsman, came forth. He drew near to the counsel of the free born.

They said to him, "What do you want here? You have no manners to disturb our privacy." He replied, "The secret thing you desire I will do it for you." They said to him, "You are a lowly person, you will not dare do the thing we wish to do." He replied, "I will do what you want and more."

Now the reason was this: the artisan Suleimani had had a very beautiful wife. Long ago Sultan Fumoluti when a youth had taken her from him. Now that he had obtained the status of a free man he said to himself, "Now I will take my revenge that I may cure the old sore that is in my heart."

When the elders heard this, they knew that he would do truly as he said. So they said to him, "If Allah will we will attend the levée and you must come and stand behind the Sultan. When the Mazaru'i governor enters the levée the Sultan will stand up for him, then strike him and we will be ready to seize his house."

Next day they went to the levée according to their agreement. When the Mazaru'i governor entered the Sultan rose, placing his hand on his sword. Suleimani struck him a sword cut, and the blow severed five fingers, and striking the regal chair cut off its arm.

Sultan Fumoluti's sword fell on the ground and he stooped and picked it up with his left hand.¹ Now Suleimani's sword was broken with the blow, and there remained only the stump, with which he struck the Sultan on the right arm.

When Fumoluti had seized his sword in his left hand he struck Suleimani, who ran away and fell, outside, split in two halves.

Then the Pate people attacked Sultan Fumoluti, and he drew

¹ The sword was worn, of course, on the right side, according to Arab custom.

nigh to them and smote them with his left hand and killed twenty-five men. So they fled away, and two of their number hid themselves under a cow.¹ Everybody fled, and his brother was killed there. When they had fled he went to the door and fastened it, and his own people and Bwana Sheikh his son were not present.

When they received tidings they came running and passed in by the back way, and Bwana Sheikh entered and found his father exhausted from loss of blood.

He said to his son, "Listen, my son, I give you my dying exhortation that you may act on it. I am finished and you after me they will kill you."

"Now if you want my counsel go and take Bwana Fumomadi and put him here in my place. It is he who is able to avenge me, for the soldiers here belong to his father and his aunt. When these soldiers see him as ruler of the town they will come to their master. If you refuse to follow my advice you will die before me, for they will come again at once and come up into this house."

As they were in the midst of saying these words Bwana Fumomadi and his friends arrived. For when he had received the news he was not able to wait patiently because Fumoluti was his younger maternal uncle.

When Sultan Fumoluti and his son saw Bwana Fumomadi they said, "This is indeed Sultan Bwana Kombo."²

So Fumoluti spake and said to Bwana Kombo, "I gave this your brother just now my dying exhortation to obey you. Now I give you my dying request. Do not follow the counsels of the Pate people. Stand by yourself and avenge me, and Allah will give you a great kingdom, and you will defeat your enemies.

"Also follow the counsel of this your brother, Bwana Sheikh, for he is wise, moreover he is a valiant man and will be of

¹ It was usual to keep a few cows outside in the courtyard to give milk to the household, while the remainder were taken outside the city to graze.

² From Kombo = scraps, meaning that he was left over from the general slaughter. Kombo ya Simba = the lion's leavings, is a nickname often bestowed on a man who has been mauled by a lion.

service to you against your enemies. So you must love him and help him to a high place in your kingdom, and I will then be pleased with you, for he has nothing now."

When the Nabahans and the Pate people knew that Bwana Kombo had been given the kingdom by his uncle, and that the uncle was still alive, they made an attack on the house.

So Bwana Sheikh and Bwana Kombo and their soldiers and relations fought well and resisted them.

Then the Pate people took Bwana Fumomadi's brother and made him Sultan in their quarter in place of Mwana Khadija his aunt.

They fought three days till on the fourth day, at night, Sultan Fumoluti died.

Some people said that he put his arm into burning oil, and others that he said, "There cannot be a Sultan with a stump for a right arm for how can his hand be kissed? Moreover, I will not live to be called Sultan 'stump-arm,'" and so he died.

So in the year 1190 Sultan Bwana Fumomadi reigned.

Hejra
1190.

When Fumoluti was dead Sultan Bwana Fumomadi told a crier to beat the horn¹ in the town the same night and proclaim that the Sultan was dead, and that he had taken his place, and that this was the Sultan's dying bequest. Moreover, that he who wanted war must make war with the new Sultan, and he who wanted peace must come early in the morning to the burial.

So when the morning had dawned Bwana Fumomadi and his clan buried his uncle.

Those people of the other quarter did not come, so Bwana Fumomadi knew that they were still wanting to make war.

Now of those in that quarter there were two of Bwana Fumomadi's brothers; one was he whom they had set up as Sultan, and the other followed his brother.

Now this faction was the strongest, but half of the people

¹ The criers in the old days used to issue proclamations of the Sultans and parade the city beating a horn with a stick. The Swahili expression "kupiga pembe" is ambiguous, as it is sometimes used for "blowing a horn." However, the ceremonial blowing has a separate word.

and soldiers, when they saw how Bwana Fumomadi reigned, came over to him because they loved him most, and they were in the beginning soldiers of his father.

So Bwana Fumomadi, when he had gained strength, fought the other faction and took their town, leaving only forty houses in the whole town. After that he seized all these houses till there was left only forty people in one house, and these were very great men.

Then he wrote a letter and sent it to his two brothers who were there, saying, "I have pardoned you, come out from there and leave me to fight it out with the remainder. You will order this kingdom equally with me, but to me will be left the name of Sultan only." They answered him, "If you want us to come out you must make peace with us together with these forty people of ours. We cannot leave them."

When their letters came, Bwana Fumomadi consulted with his cousin Bwana Sheikh, and the latter said, "If you leave these people they will make trouble again directly they have gained strength. It will not do to leave them."

"Now if your brothers have refused to come out it is best that you treat all these alike and eradicate this evil that our country may be saved, for it has suffered troubles for many days.

So he asked his brothers again to come out and they refused.

So Bwana Fumomadi did not hesitate, he sent soldiers to assault the house from back and front, and they killed everybody. Then he took either by stratagem or force every man who had been a ringleader amongst the rebel soldiers of Pate, Amu, Siu or Ozi, and killed him.

For this reason he obtained a great kingdom and sat on the throne for thirty-three years without there being trouble anywhere in his kingdom.

The whole outlook became clear, so that even now women say when the sun comes out and there are no clouds, "To-day the heavens are refulgent like the sovereignty of Bwana Fumomadi."

So the country of Pate flourished, and he turned out the

Mazaru'i and they had no concern with it any more. Since they had come to Pate no one had been able to govern any more without their aid, but Sultan Fumomadi put an end to this state of affairs.

Now he was the last of the great Sultans of the Nabahans; after him there came not anyone who obtained a kingdom like his, for he restored the grandeur of the ancient kingdom with his own hands.

He loved his subjects and his soldiers and he spent much money. He was a clever man, powerful and brave, and he did not consent to have his subjects oppressed.

In his time towards the end of his reign there was a man of Amu called Abdallah bin Hafithi, a great man, who said, "This year I will not pay my tax of three loads of produce."

The Amu people said, "What will you do, then?" He replied, "This year I will not cultivate, and I will make all my slaves cut planks."

Bwana Fumomadi heard this and he waited till the time of the paying of the "kikanda" tax and then he held a levée and called his ameurs and officers and the big men of his kingdom, and told them about Abdallah bin Hafithi. They asked him what was his wish, and he said, "I want a man to go at once to Abdallah bin Hafithi and bring me back one of three things. Either a thousand dollars as a fine or he himself or his head, but he must not excite the country of Lamu, and no one must know of it till one of these three things has been brought."

There was a captain among the Nabahans, a great warrior and also a friend of Abdallah bin Hafithi. This man said to the Sultan, "In the morning, if Allah wills and we are all alive, I will give you here at your levée one of these three things."

So that captain, Ahmad bin Othman was his name, went forth and took twelve good men from amongst his soldiers.

He then procured a canoe and twelve fishermen with oars and set out from Pate at sunset till when eleven o'clock had come he had arrived at Kitopemba in Lamu.

He landed and instructed the fishermen not to allow the canoe

to beach itself with the ebbing tide. Then he entered the town and went, with his twelve soldiers, straight to the house of Abdallah bin Hafithi. The door was bolted, so he put four soldiers on either side and four at the door, telling them to let no one whatsoever pass in the way.

He knocked at the door and a slave girl opened it, and he entered in.

Abdallah when he saw his friend said, "Welcome, stranger. By what vessel have you arrived this time of night and what is the news? For this is not your wont, for when you come you first send me a letter and to-day you have not sent me one."

He said, "To-day I have not come on my own business—I have come by order of our Sultan, and I am to bring him one of three things."

He asked him, "What is the first?" He replied, "For you to give me a thousand dollars." "The second?" "That you go yourself to Pate." "And the third?" "If you refuse I must take your head."

Abdallah replied, "Very good, I hear and obey. Draw near, rest and go to the bathroom. Sleep here till morning and then I will give you a thousand dollars. There is no cause for me to quarrel with my Sultan over a thousand dollars."

He replied, "This will not do. You must not even leave here to go inside. Tell your wife to bring a thousand dollars to us here outside at once or you take my life or I will take yours."

Abdallah bin Hafithi said to him, "Gently, do not get angry. The money is ready. I shall give it you. Take water and drink first."

He replied, "I have no need of water, nor have I leave from my Sultan to drink water or to delay." Then he said to Abdallah's wife, "Bring a thousand dollars quickly that you may save your husband's life and mine. It is indeed best that we obey the order of our Sultan or I will fight your husband now."

The slave girl who had opened the door told her mistress

that there were soldiers outside, and when she heard this she took a bag of a thousand dollars and gave it to the Pate captain.

He took charge of it and said to her, "You have behaved very wisely to save your husband's life and mine."

So he went forth with his soldiers and returned to Pate, arriving there before it had dawned.

He slept at his house, and next day he brought the bag of money to the levée, and many people were there. He gave it to the Sultan who thanked him and said, "I have no need of the money, keep it," and he also gave him as much again.

When the people of Lamu and all his subjects heard about this they were all very frightened and paid up the "kikanda" tax; even those who had hidden it gave it this year.

For this reason the women sing a song.

"Bwana Tauthe says to the Palace, 'There are not enough receptacles for the tax millet at Ndambwe.'"

Near the end of the reign of Bwana Fumomadi there was trouble with the people of Lamu and an elder called Bwana Zahidi Mgumi.

When Bwana Fumomadi heard about it he set out for Amu, and on reaching the Mkanda channel as the tide had ebbed he slept there the night.

Now Bwana Zahidi had a friend amongst the wazirs of the Sultan who told him of the approach of Fumomadi. When he heard that he was in the Mkanda he came to the Sultan and prostrated himself before him and said, "The Amu people in their letters have told you that I am the cause of all the trouble, so now I have come to you; kill me or pardon me as you think fit."

Bwana Fumomadi said to him, "Since you have come to my feet alone I pardon you, be those words which have been said about you true or false."

He then gave him a thousand dollars, and he returned that same hour, and the Amu people had no knowledge of this.

When Bwana Fumomadi arrived at Lamu in the morning the elders and great men went to meet him on the shore. He entered

the town, and after he had rested the chief elder of the town came to him and said, "Here much intrigue has been caused by Bwana Zahidi. You must kill him or there will be no peace."

He answered, "Bwana Zahidi has already come to me as far back as in the Mkanda, and I have already pardoned him. I cannot break my word to him." The elder said, "That man has deceived you as you will finally perceive. Now I will give you another piece of advice. Do not go from here until you have put in here soldiers and a governor or you will lose the land of Lamu. For the people are resolved that they shall be governed no longer. I have now become an old man and they do not hearken to my words; they look upon me as if I have become foolish."

Now this was the origin of making the fort of Lamu which still stands.

Bwana Fumomadi began to dig the foundations. After that he was seized with illness there at Lamu, so he set out and went to Pate before he had yet built one tier of the fort. On the ninth day after setting out Bwana Fumomadi died.

After that, in the year 1224, his son-in-law, Sultan Ahmad bin Sheikh, reigned by the testament of Bwana Fumomadi.¹

Now Sultan Ahmad was a man of great strength and bravery, and he was able to cut through a cocoa-nut with his sword. He was a nephew of the Sultan Fumoluti who had had his arm cut off.

Now the youngest of Bwana Fumomadi's sons called Fumoluti made intrigue against the Sultan his brother-in-law. Now Fumomadi had begotten fifty children both male and female, but some had died before him.

Now Fumoluti said to his brothers, "Our father dies and we his sons are many grown-up men; why shall another reign?"

"Why does not one of us reign? Another reigns with our

¹ This was to restore the kingdom to the rightful line, viz., the heir of Fumoluti. It will be remembered that when Fumoluti was wounded he gave the kingdom to Bwana Kombo.

soldiers under him and dispenses our property. This is a counsel of fools."

His brothers answered him, "Who did this was our father, and he told his wish to Bwana Mkuu who on his death took this Sultan Ahmad and put him on the throne saying, "This is the counsel of our father." Leave it thus and do not make trouble, for the Mazaru'i have already cast envious glances on your country and the allegiance of the people of Lamu is unsteady. If they see you fighting amongst yourselves they will find an opportunity, and the Mazaru'i will enter in and seize a quarter of Lamu."

Fumoluti Kipunga said to them, "I do not agree to this folly. I cannot relinquish the grandeur of my father. I am a full-grown man in health and strength."

So trouble arose between Sultan Ahmad and Fumoluti, and it was Sultan Ahmad who had brought up Fumoluti, for he had married his elder sister, and taken the place of his father.

Fumoluti Kipunga went to him and said, "I make it clear that I do not consent to you being my Sultan. Give up the title of Sultan and I consent to have you as my father as it was you who brought me up. You must arrange in three days, give up the throne and sit with Bwana Mkuu in the council of elders. Give the throne to Bwana Sheikh or another of Bwana Fumomadi's sons, and if they do not want it I want it myself.

"If after three days you have not made this arrangement I shall fight you. I am not able to let the kingdom go, for we are many children, and when people hear of this thing they will say that we are impotent and witless persons."

Afterwards Sultan Ahmad called Bwana Mkuu, Bwana Fumomadi's heir, and all his children and told them about Fumoluti Kipunga.

They answered him, "This is an irresponsible youth, foolish and without manners. It were better that you seize him and imprison him until he learns manners, or else he will make trouble for us with our enemies."

When Fumoluti heard of their advice to imprison him he

collected his father's officers and fought against them, and there was war in the city for many days.

Hejra
1227.

In the year 1227 there began the trouble which led to the war called the battle of Shela.

When the position was serious the Mazaru'i came to Pate thinking that they had clearly obtained their desires.

Then the people of Pate went to Fumoluti Kipunga and told him to leave off fighting till the Lamu war was over, saying, "Wait, and presently you will become Sultan, for this Sultan Ahmad is like your father, he has become old and, moreover, he has a malady of the heart.

"Soon he will die and all your brothers have agreed to leave the kingdom to you after Sultan Ahmad, so do not make trouble till the Lamu war is over. If you do not do this you will destroy your own Sultanate. You say that you want the kingdom; when you have destroyed it how will you get it again?"

Fumoluti Kipunga followed the advice of the townspeople and went with them and made peace with Sultan Ahmad, and the plan of campaign against Lamu was left to him.

They made friends with the Mazaru'i governor and planned with him that the Mazaru'i should go to Lamu and pretend that they had quarrelled with Pate. Then they were to go on building the fort at Lamu, and when they had built two or three tiers¹ they were to put in their soldiers and send word to Pate. At that time Pate was to send soldiers to act in concert with the Mazaru'i and to seize the country of Lamu; having done which they were to divide the taxes as they did in Pemba, half to Pate and half to the Mazaru'i.

When the Lamu people heard that the Mazaru'i and the Sultan of Pate had agreed together they were afraid, thinking that they were not equal to either of them alone, still less when they were combined together. Therefore they made a plan to give their country to the Mazaru'i thinking that then they would

¹ By a tier (kiti) is meant the height to which a man can build a wall while standing on the ground. The second tier is built from scaffolding the height of the first tier, and so on.

quarrel with Pate, and that when the two fell out they would both lose strength.

So they went to the Mazaru'i and said, "We want you to take our country and then we will be able to resist the strength of the Pate chief."

The Mazaru'i then thought that they had obtained their desires, so their governor said, "I am not able to keep the country of Lamu unless I build a fort and put my soldiers in it. Then shall I know that the country is mine, and I shall quarrel with the Pate chief to some purpose, for now he is my friend. I cannot fall out with him if you are to desert me afterwards."

So the Lamu people agreed, and the Mazau'i came to Amu with their vessels and their soldiers, and the people of Lamu kept to their agreement and built their fort.

Now the Mazaru'i used to sleep at night on board their ships, and in the morning they used to land and build the fort in conjunction with the people of Lamu.

Now at that time there were at Lamu two factions; one was the party of Sudi and the other of Zena, and one party liked the Pate people which the other did not.

When the Mazaru'i landed each day they used to form together and march up together.

Now when they were marching up, a Lamu man said to them, "Now you have got a fine country."

There was one man amongst the Mazaru'i who answered, "What sort of country is this? a closet in Pate is better than your country."

When the Lamu people heard this they were silent and they went and told their elder Bwana Zahidi Mgumi,¹ saying, "We were praising up our country to those strangers of ours so as to please them and one man amongst them answered, 'Better is a Pate closet than your town.'"

The elder said, "Be silent, do not get angry with them, but continue to please and entertain them till our work is finished."

¹ The same man who had made trouble before, but who now was the chief elder of Lamu.

At that time, however, Bwana Zahidi Mgumi knew that they had not come in good faith, and that they had some stratagem with Pate or they would not have said these words.

So he called a fisherman and gave him a letter and told him to take it to the Mazaru'i governor at night and to pretend that he had been sent secretly by the Pate chief and that he was to wait for an answer.

In the letter he wrote, "Since going to Lamu till to-day we have not received an answer yet to our agreement. Answer me speedily that we may be ready. Greetings."

When night had come the fisherman took his canoe and went by way of the Mkanda and made as if he had come from Pate.

He came to the governor's ship and said to the soldiers quietly, "I want the master, for I have a letter." They said, "Give it to us."

He replied, "I am not able to give it to anyone else, I must give it into the master's own hand."

When they told the governor he was called, and the governor said to him, "What sort of a man are you?"

He answered, "I am a Pate man. I have been sent secretly with this letter from the Pate chief, and I want an answer quickly that I may return without meeting any of the Lamu fishermen."

The governor read the letter and answered it, saying, "Soon I will send you news. Wait, for there is first a little work to finish. When I am able to enter the fort I will send you word."

So he gave the fisherman this letter without recognising that it was a ruse.

When this letter reached Bwana Zahidi, he collected his fellow elders that night and said to them, "Beat the horn in the morning so that every male comes to the shore when the Mazaru'i land. Every man must come with his weapons ready."

In the morning the Mazaru'i governor landed with but a few soldiers, and went to the fort having no fear because the Lamu people had wanted to give him their country.

When he had sat down Bwana Zahidi, the Lamu chief, paid him respect according to custom.

After that he took out the letter and gave it him.

When he saw his letter he knew that a trick had been played on him and he was not able to control his anger.

Then Bwana Zahidi said to him, "Is that how Arabs behave?"

The governor arose and went down quickly to the shore to enter his vessel. Lamu was then in an uproar with shouts and the blowing of warhorns, whilst many soldiers were on the shore and he knew that it meant war.

So he went to his boat, and Bwana Zahidi said to the people of Amu, "Do not fight him, for it would be a disgrace for us to commence, for did we not ask him to come here? To-day we have learnt that he has deceived us—let him go his way. When he comes to fight us be ready, for then it will be war again."

So they made their dispositions for war and the Mazaru'i chief went to Pate in great dudgeon.

When he told Sultan Ahmad, the Pate chief said, "What is it you wish?"

He replied, "I want war now at once."

Sultan Ahmad said, "The plan of campaign is not with me, it lies with your friend Fumoluti Kipunga and the elders of the country. Bwana Mkuu, Bwana Madi and Bwana Tamu, they have the final decision."

So the Pate people met together, some wanted war and others did not, but Sultan Ahmad was not able to dissuade the Mombasa¹ governor from his desires because of the friendship existing between him and the elders of Pate since the time of Fumoluti.

So they gave him troops, but Bwana Mkuu and Fumoluti did not like it because they feared the Mazaru'i who were at that time very powerful. For they thought that they would take Lamu for themselves and then turn round on Pate aided by the Lamu people and so obtain the rulership of the whole Swahili coast.

For at this time the people of Pate had no longer the power they had formerly because of the devastation of their country during the time of Mwana Khadija and Sultan Omari.

¹ The Mazaru'i were then still holding Mombasa.

Hejra
1227.

So in the year 1227 the Mazaru'i together with Pate attacked Lamu.

They came to Shela and landed, and seized Shela and came to the Hedabu Hill.

When the Lamu people saw that war had entered their country the two factions joined together, and they went forth and fought fiercely, but the troops of Pate and the Mazaru'i were pressing them grievously.

But there was a Lamu man called Mwenyi Shehi Ali who was versed in magic. He made a brass pot and a brass gong and buried them underground. When he had made this charm the Pate people and the Mazaru'i were driven back and utterly overcome.

So they ran away and came to the shore there at Shela, and they there found that their vessels had been stranded by the ebbing tide, so very many people were killed.¹

So they went to Ntayu and made a zeriba there, and of those who were left some held out there and some in their stranded ships. So those who remained fought till their vessels floated and they returned to Pate.

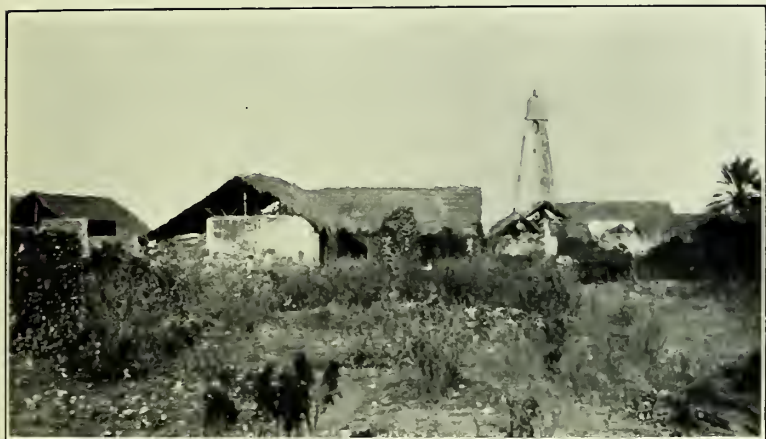
Now those that were killed were very many people. It is narrated that it came to pass that forty men bearing one name² were killed.³

¹ Their bones may still be seen on Shela Hill.

² Meaning that among the dead there were forty Sa'ids or Muhammads or some other name.

³ An old inhabitant of Shela, aged 104 (Muhammadan years), named Bwana Bakari, has given me the following details of the Shela war, which occurred when he was seven years old :—"The Mazaru'i, who were friends with the people of Siu and Pate and the Watikuu, sent word to Lamu that they were coming to attack them. They came in dhows, and passing by Lamu went to Siu and Pate to obtain people to help them. They then returned to attack Lamu, bringing with them witchcraft in the shape of one dog and one chicken. Directly they arrived some people came off the boats to sacrifice the dog and chicken on the beach, so as to make favourable medicine for their attack.

"The wise men of Amu made counter witchcraft, and despatched two men, Bishale Haji and Nyebuyu Faki, to kill the witchdoctors who had brought the dog and chicken ashore. They shot them with their matchlocks, which nullified their witchcraft, and also the Amu witchcraft paralysed the enemy so that they could not fight.



MINARA OF SHELA.



SITE OF OLD BURIED LAMU.

So afterwards there was a great mourning at Pate, and the Mazaru'i returned to Mombasa and there held a mourning.

In the year 1229 Sultan Ahmad died.

Hejra
1229.

So Sultan Fumoluti Kipunga reigned, and the people of Pate rejoiced exceedingly to think that it was Bwana Fumomadi's son who reigned. They thought that he would be as fortunate as his father, and that their power would return to them as formerly. So they requested him to take vengeance on the Amu people for the Shela war.

So Sultan Fumoluti made ready on the mainland soldiers from the Watikuu from Siu and Ozi, and he made every warlike preparation.

Now after the Shela fight, although they were victorious, the Amu people mistrusted Pate because the island was near them, and they governed the same mainland, and, moreover, Pate was an old kingdom.

So because of this fear they sent to Maskat to get help from the Arabs of the Busa'idi dynasty.¹

"All those who were on the shore were killed, and the remainder went off in their vessels. They were armed with spears, bows, matchlocks, and swords.

"After this they sailed round to the south, entering the creek behind Lamu by the Mlango wa kiungani, and landed on the west of the island. Here they cut down a number of cocoa-nut palms and built a zeriba.

"My informant thought this a most heinous crime. They were surrounded in this zeriba by the islanders of Lamu and were not able to go outside it.

"After a few days here they re-embarked and returned home without further fighting.

"The Mazaru'i then retaliated on the Amu people by catching any man they could find on the trading ships passing down the coast and executing him at Mombasa, each execution being celebrated by the firing of a cannon."

What is supposed to have really happened is that the invading forces landed in a muddy part of the shore, and that their progress was impeded by deep mud. Then they charged up the steep sand dunes of Shela, and what with the mud and the sand they arrived at the top scattered and blown, and were killed in detail, while the remainder fled and then found that some of their ships had stranded.

¹ For origin of the Abusa'id dynasty (generally called Busa'idi on the coast), see p. 59.

CHAPTER IV

ANCIENT HISTORY FROM SWAHILI SOURCES (*continued*)

Now at that time there was at Maskat, Sa'id, son of Sultan,¹ and he was the first of the Busa'ids who reigned here on the Swahili coast.

Before this his father Sultan had already been to Zanzibar as far back as the time of Bwana Fumomadi. He who first came was Sa'id, Sultan's elder brother.

Now he had two nicknames; the first was Wadishah² and the second Hubub al Ghabshah.³

It was he who got a footing in Zanzibar by making friends with the people. He was the first governor of Zanzibar, and this was the beginning of the taking of the island after Sultan put in an officer there called Johar.

Now the people of Lamu, when they went to Maskat, said to Sa'id, "Come and take our country that you may resist for us the counsels of Pate and the Mazaru'i."

So he came and they gave him the country, and he put a governor there and soldiers in the fort.

When Hamed bin Sa'id died his eldest son Sa'id became Imam. Sa'id died, and the second son of Hamed, called Sultan, reigned. In the year 1200 (Hejra) Sultan's son Sa'id was born, and twelve years later Sultan died.

As Sa'id was too young to reign his uncle Badr bin Sef was put in to act as regent. After two years' time Sa'id thought that his uncle wanted to get the throne himself. One day the boy

¹ This was Sultan, brother of Sa'id, and son of Hamed bin Sa'id, the first Busa'id Imam, referred to on p. 60.

² Wadi shah (or walad ishad)=goat's son, because his mother died when he was a baby, and he was suckled by a goat

³ Hubub al Ghabshah=the tempest of dawn, so called as it was his practice in war to fall on his enemies before or at dawn.

Sa'id wept, and his uncle Badr seeing him called him a woman. This angered the young Sa'id and he killed his uncle with a sword. Another story says that he seized Badr's dagger from his waist and stabbed him with it.

This was the beginning of the Arabs taking Lamu and the reason that the Pate chief lost Lamu for ever.

When Pate and the Mazaru'i saw that Busa'idi had come to the coast they still further strengthened their union, for they thought, "This is a new power, and it were better that each of us take care not to lose his kingdom, and it will not do to make war again."

Now after this Sa'id said to the Arab of Mombasa, "This fort belongs to me. Take my soldiers and my flag and place them in the fort and you yourself remain there as my governor."

The Mazaru'i did not agree to this and Sa'id then said to him, "I have a document of your father's which he wrote for my father Sultan bin al Imam proving that the fort was his."

Now the origin of this document was this:—

Those Mazaru'i, as has been narrated, first came to the fort by order of the Imam Sef of Maskat, a Yorubi Sultan. They then held the fort in the name of the Imam.

Then when the Yorubi Imam was killed by his subjects, because he was a bad man, Hamed, governor of Sahari, became the first Busa'id ruler of Maskat.

When he became ruler of Maskat he sent a letter to the Mazaru'i desiring them to come to Maskat and appear before him and give him their allegiance.

The Mazaru'i answered him, saying, "You were sent to govern the Sahari, and we were sent to govern here at Mombasa. Both of us were then governors under one ruler. To-day you have seized Maskat and possessed yourself of its rulership. Leave us then here on the coast and do not worry us. We are both Arabs so we will be as friends, but do not ask us to become subject to you."

When the Imam received the answer of the Mazaru'i he had no leisure to deal with them, having the whole of the Oman to

conquer, and so they remained having no one in authority over them.

Till in the time of Sultan bin al Imamu¹ when he came to Zanzibar he passed Mombasa, landed suddenly and walked straight into the fort.

Arriving there he found the gate open, and the door-keeper seeing him and his men thought that they were trading Arabs who had come down with the monsoon.

So Sultan entered the fort without the knowledge of the governor till he suddenly appeared at his levée and he had but few soldiers present.

Now the governor, called Ali, recognised Sultan bin al Imam when he saw him and rose from his seat and showed him great respect.

When Sultan had seated himself he asked the governor, "Whose is this fort?"

He replied, "It is yours."

Then Sultan said, "Give me a certificate to that effect."

So he gave him a document written with his own hand to the effect that he held the fort for Sultan.

Sultan then arose and took leave of him and returned to the shore accompanied by the governor. Then he took from his waist his gold-hilted dagger and presented it to the governor of Mombasa.

Soon after he had departed the Mazaru'i returned to the fort and when they heard what had happened, they blamed their relation, asking him why he had given to Sultan a document stating that the fort was his.

He replied, "I had no alternative, for he came in here suddenly with many soldiers and you were far away. I perceived that if I did not give him the document he was able to seize the fort for himself, barricade the door and prevent you from entering.

"For that reason I gave him a piece of paper so as to avoid the evil of that hour.

¹ Sultan bin al Imamu = Sultan son of the Imam (Imamu = Swahili for Imam). He was Sultan bin Hamed properly speaking.

If they come again wanting to take the fort, we are grown-up men and each man has his weapons."

Now when Sa'id bin Sultan claimed the fort from the governor who was at this time Ali's son, the governor replied, "The fort is not yours."

Sa'id answered him, "I have a document signed by your father which he gave to my father saying that the fort was his."

Now Sa'id left Maskat to go to fight with the Mazaru'i, and he stormed the fort three times and after much trouble took it. Then the Mazaru'i complained to the white man at Bombay, and the white man demanded of Sa'id why he had robbed them of their fort.

Then Sa'id produced the document and showed it to the white man, so the Mazaru'i did not win their case.

Now this is the story of the fort, and the remainder will be related each matter in its place.

Now at that time Sa'id first sent a hundred Sudanese and a governor called Muhammad bin Nasir, and it came about that he took over the country of Lamu.

In the year 1233 the Lamu people seized one of the Nabahans called Fumoluti wa Bayae and wanted to make him their ruler. He was a youth of Amu, for his mother was a Lamu woman, but some of the Lamu people did not want him and the Pate people did not care to be governed by him because of his Lamu birth.

Hejra
1233.

Subsequently the people of Lamu poisoned him.

When the news of this reached Pate, his aunt conducted the mourning and made the following little rhyme as a warning to the Pate people:—

Old Swahili.
Mwamu mwofu
Thongo ni alifu
Hoyo mpotofu
Uya kaa iye ?

Modern Swahili.
Mwamu mnyofu
Matata ni alifu
Mwamu mwovu
Ataketije ?

"A good Lamu man has a thousand wiles,
So a bad Lamu man, what will he be like?"

For this reason people even now say if a man enter into any

destiny with a Lamu man, "Do not be guided by a Lamu man, for has it not been said, 'A good Lamu man,' etc."?

Hejra
1230.

In the year 1230 the Mazaru'i governor had come to Pate because he had received tidings that Sultan Fumoluti Kipunga was very ill.

So he came to await an opportunity to seize the country, but the Pate people suspected his reason for coming.

Fumoluti's brothers came to Lamu to Sa'id's governor to make friends with him. They agreed with him that they should keep Pate, but that they must turn the Mazaru'i out of Pate. After they had made a compact with him they returned to Pate asking him to follow them.

The people of Lamu sent to tell Sultan Fumoluti that his brothers Bwana Sheikh and Bwana Ahmad had made an agreement with the governor of Lamu.

Then they went to the governor and told him that Bwana Sheikh and his brother were deceiving him and that each in reality wanted the throne of Pate for himself. Therefore it was necessary to seize them by stratagem and to imprison them.

Now at this time had just arrived as Sa'id's governor in Lamu a certain one Hamad Maftaha. He sent a letter to Pate and invited Bwana Hamad, one of Fumoluti's brothers, over to Lamu. When Hamad had arrived the governor without telling him went over to Pate.

Now at that time the Sultan of Pate was very ill.

When he heard that Hamad Maftaha had arrived, he told his people to tie his turban for him and to give him his sword and put him on the throne.

Then he posted his brothers and wazirs and soldiers round him and said, "Let Hamad Maftaha come into the reception room."

So he came in and Sultan Fumoluti was not able to rise to him.

Hamad Maftaha, when he had looked upon Sultan Fumoluti, realised that he was very ill and would shortly die.

He did not stop long, but took leave, saying, "I will return to Lamu and come back again when you are better that we may make plans.

When Hamad Maftaha had gone out Sultan Fumoluti Kipunga said to his brothers, "Do not accompany him out of the town; stop at the gate, for this Arab's face shows the evil which is in his heart."

Hamad Maftaha, when he reached the gate, said to Bwana Sheikh, "I want a private word with you and Bwana Mkuu. Here is the gateway, there is no privacy. Let us go to my boat, and stop your soldiers from following."

Now at that time the tide was ebbing and his boat was on the water far away.

So they left their soldiers in the mangrove swamp, and they entered the boat.

When they had got in Hamad Maftaha ordered his soldiers and fishermen to row away quickly, and so he took them both to Lamu, saying that it was the command of Sa'id.

When he arrived at Lamu he took Bwana Hamad who was there and these two and imprisoned them all three.

There behind the soldiers of Pate saw their masters being taken away, and were unable to do anything, for the tide had ebbed.¹

They returned to the town and told the tidings to Sultan Fumoluti, who said, "I told them not to accompany the Arab to the shore, but they did not follow my advice, so I have now no further advice to give."

Now at that time there was trouble on the Lamu mainland between Lamu and Pate, so that people were unable to cultivate because of fighting.

On account of this trouble the Lamu people went to Hamad Maftaha and asked him to release the prisoners to save further trouble, saying, "It were better that you ingratiate yourself slowly with the people of Pate until, when you have a hold on them, you will be able to get their country."

He replied, "They must each give me a thousand dollars ransom." The Lamu people informed Sultan Fumoluti, and he sent 3,000 dollars as the ransom of the three. When

¹ When the tide ebbs it leaves an expanse of mud on which the boats are usually left stranded.

the money arrived Bwana Hamad had already died in the prison, so he took the money and released the other two who were alive, Bwana Sheikh and Bwana Mkuu.

Now during all these events the Mazaru'i governor of Mom-basa had been present at Pate with 500 soldiers.

Hejra
1233.

In the year 1233 Sultan Fumoluti Kipunga died. When he died all the people of Pate assembled to bury him.

After the burial they went to Bwana Mkuu to take counsel about the man to reign.

Now at that time the people of Pate had no power; they were unable to follow any counsels except those that the Mazaru'i wished.

When they went to Bwana Mkuu for advice, he said to them, "Go and call the Mazaru'i Liwali Hamed that we may arrange with him as to who should succeed." When Liwali Hamed arrived he said to them, "Whom do you yourselves want?" They said, "We want Bwana Sheikh, son of Bwana Fumomadi."

Liwali Hamed said, "He will not do. Fumoluti bin Sheikh must reign."

The reason for this was that he was a friend of the Mazaru'i, and so the Liwali thought that by putting him on the throne he would be able to take over the country before Busa'id got it.

All the people of Pate who were present, the Nabahans and the great men, said, "We do not agree to Fumoluti reigning."

The Mazaru'i said, "And I do not want Bwana Sheikh to reign."

Now at that time Bwana Mkuu was the chief elder of Pate, and there was no man like him in any matter. He said, "Be silent, do not make a noise in my vestibule before people." When they were silent he said to them, "Follow the counsel of the Liwali Hamed, it is that with which I am in favour myself."

They answered him, "If you wish it we will have it so, for you are our father."

So at that time at nine o'clock they made Fumoluti bin Sheikh the Sultan.

When Fumoluti and the Liwali had gone Bwana Mkuu said

to the people of Pate and the Nabahans, "I did not want us to fight just now here, for there is no use in coming to an agreement and commencing it by fighting.

"But now I am at one with you. I do not want Fumoluti; the Sultan is Bwana Sheikh. Take him and escort him to the palace and place over him many soldiers, seize the city gates and in every big house put soldiers. Munitions of war are ready here; take them. I will now write to Liwali Hamed and tell him that I will give him a respite of six hours from now, but before the six hours have passed he and Fumoluti must leave the country. Failing this that we shall fight them."

When he had received the letter Liwali Hamed said to Fumoluti bin Sheikh, "What shall we do now?"

He said, "My advice is that we go out, for we are not able to remain here; I have no munitions nor provisions and your country is Mombasa which is far away and Sa'id's Liwali is at Lamu.

These Pate people, when they have defeated us, will call in the Arabs from Lamu who will seize you at once. It is best that we go forth to Siu to Bwana Mataka."

Now at that time Bwana Mataka was the Sheikh at Siu, and he was like a Sultan.

So in the evening they asked for leave to go out and the Siu gate was opened for them, and they went to Bwana Mataka at Siu.

Sheikh Mataka said to them, "What is your plan?"

The Liwali said, "I have come to you together with your Sultan Fumoluti. We have been turned out of Pate and have come to ask your advice."

He answered, "I have no advice; I am not able to keep you because the people of Pate have made an agreement with Busa'id.

"He will send Arabs from Lamu to-morrow with munitions of war and they will join forces with the people of Pate and the Bajuns.

"I am by myself and your country is far away.

"Here are no munitions, neither is there food for your soldiers.

How can we fight them? My advice then is, stay and rest for three days, and after that I will ship you and Sultan Fumoluti and land you on the mainland and you must go overland to Mombasa. When you have arrived at Mombasa, if you get powerful enough come again that we may fight."

Now at that time at Pate and Siu there was a great famine; millet cost a dollar for three kata! ¹ For this reason the Mombasa Liwali went away overland and returned to Mombasa. After that the Pate people put Sultan Bwana Sheikh on the throne, and he made friends with the Maskat Arabs and Sa'id, who put 500 soldiers into Pate, Mazindigali and Beluchis. After that Sa'id went to Pemba and there fought the Mombasa Liwali Hamed together with Fumoluti bin Sheikh. At that time the chief Liwali of the Mazaru'i was Abdallah, Hamed's brother.

Hamed was at Pemba with Fumoluti's brother, called Bwana Madi wa Sheikh.

Sa'id's leader in war, Ameer Hamad, went and fought them at Pemba and overcame them completely and captured their food, water and fortifications while they were left in their strongholds only, and they were unable to get food and water.

Liwali Hamed, when he suffered these privations, asked for and was granted peace by the Ameer Hamad on condition that they should be shipped to Mombasa and that he should there entreat his brother Liwali Abdallah to enter Sa'id's allegiance.

They made an agreement after this manner:—

Bwana Madi wa Sheikh said to Hamed, "These Arabs, when they have embarked us on our vessels, will make us captive and send us to Sa'id at Maskat. Now we are great men and Sultans; to be made captive is a disgrace. It were better that we fight that we may once and for all die or conquer."

This was Bwana Madi's advice.

Liwali Hamed said, "How shall we fight when we have no food or water? We have no strength to hold our weapons; it will not do to fight. Wait till we obtain water and food. When

¹ "Kata," a measure of 4 old vibaba. One kibaba equals about 1½ lbs. grain nowadays. The old kibaba, however, is said to equal 1½ modern ones.

they take us on their ships you and I must get on board the same boat.

“When we have quite recovered our strength we will fight on board the vessels, and we will get their property and their vessels and take them to Mombasa.”

That was Liwali Hamed's advice and they agreed to do this.

So Ameer Hamad embarked them on his ships, they and 700 men after having given them food and water sufficient for them and over and above.

When they had embarked Bwana Madi wa Sheikh said to the Liwali, “Come on, we have eaten and we have had water. Now we have strength to fight. Let us carry out our agreement.”

Liwali Hamed said, “It will not do; we are Arabs and we have given our promise to the ameer, to break it will be a great disgrace. Even to our children and grandchildren, its disgrace will reach them.”

Bwana Madi wa Sheikh said to him, “There is no disgrace greater than that 700 able-bodied men with their arms should be captured. So if your need was first of all food and water because you lacked strength, now you have got both food and water. You are afraid, you are not able to die here, you would rather suffer the disgrace of being captured.”

Liwali Hamed answered him, “A grown-up man is he who looks to to-day and to-morrow.¹ If we die here to-day what good have we done? We shall but please our enemies and Sa'id still remains at Maskat. These are his soldiers, and if these die he will send others. You are a fool. I am not afraid, but for what reason must we lose our lives?”

Bwana Madi answered, “You are afraid. For me there is no disgrace, for my home is not here. I am a stranger. The great disgrace is yours; for me it does not matter.”

So they went with the ameer, they and their 700 men to Mombasa.

¹ A Swahili proverb: “to-day and to-morrow” are “the present and the future,” meaning that he looks far ahead and does not let the exigencies of the hour warp his judgment.

He landed them on the beach with all their property intact, and he himself remained in his ship to await the answer of the agreement he had made with Hamed.

Now when Hamed went to see his elder brother he got no opportunity of persuading him to enter Sa'id's service, for he received from his brother very bad words because he had consented to become a captive.

Afterwards Ameer Hamad, when he heard that Hamed had got nothing out of his brother, knew that it was not his fault, and that he had not deceived him.

So he went off to Maskat.

After that Liwali Abdallah died and his brother Hamed made a friendly peace with Sa'id.

Hejra
1236.

Later, in the year 1236 the Pate people made an agreement with Sa'id and they removed Bwana Sheikh from the throne.

At the instance of Sa'id they then put Sultan Bwana Wazir, son of Bwana Tamu, on the throne. He remained three years, after which the Pate people wanted Bwana Sheikh, and so they removed Bwana Wazir and Bwana Sheikh returned.

After this Bwana Wazir wanted Sa'id to send him soldiers, whose wages he was to pay himself, so that he might regain his kingdom.

Hejra
1240.

So in the year 1240 Sa'id sent them, and Bwana Sheikh was ejected and Bwana Wazir returned.

While Bwana Wazir was reigning Liwali Hamed of Mombasa gave Sultan Fumoluti soldiers and money and he returned to Siu.

So he came to fight with Bwana Wazir who had a treaty with Sa'id while Fumoluti was in agreement with the Mazaru'i and Bwana Mataka of Siu.

So they fought together, and it was in this campaign that Ameer Hamad first came to fight on the Swahili coast.

Sultan Fumoluti was defeated, and he and Bwana Mataka left the town and went to Kang'ee and Deloo on the mainland.

They remained there while Bwana Wazir sent Arabs to Siu and they seized the town of Siu and broke the city wall.

Afterwards in the year 1242 Bwana Mataka and Fumoluti returned to Siu. Hejra
1242.

Then they fought the Arabs and overcame them and they built another wall.

Now at that time a great famine arose at Pate, and Sultan Fumoluti said to Ali Koti, a great poet, "I want to send a load of millet to Pate and you must compose verses dividing this one load amongst all the people of Pate not leaving out one."

So Ali Koti composed the verses of "the load"¹ and one load of millet was left secretly by night outside the wall of Pate bearing these verses.

Sultan Fumoluti stayed at Siu and fought for three years, after which he died.

Bwana Wazir and Bwana Mataka then combined and submitted to Sa'id, but it was not true allegiance.

Later Bwana Wazir killed Bwana Mkuu. Then Bwana Mkuu's three heirs, Bwana Simba, his son, Bwana Fumobakari, son of Bwana Sheikh, and Bwana Kitini, son of Bwana Hamad, combined and killed Bwana Wazir.

Then Bwana Fumobakari bin Sheikh took the kingdom, helped by the other two heirs and the elders of Pate.

He became very powerful and turned the Arabs out of Pate, Siu and Faza, even as far as Tula.

The Arabs, however, remained at Amu.

Now in the year 1245 Sa'id took troops and fought with the Mazaru'i until he drove them out of Mombasa fort. He put his soldiers in the fort, while some of the Mazaru'i went to found Takaungu, and others with the Liwali lived in the town of Mombasa.

These Mazaru'i who stayed in Mombasa made a plan in conjunction with the people of Mombasa and regained their fort, about which a little story is narrated.

There was a Pate man of the Abdisalam, called Muhammad bin Nasir, who intended to go at this time to see Sa'id bin Sultan at Zanzibar.

¹ I have this poem, which mocks at the starving people of Pate.

He passed by way of Mombasa and there he went to the levée of the Mazaru'i Liwali, whom he found sitting in audience, he and all his kin.

When Muhammad bin Nasir had entered the audience chamber, the Liwali paid him respect, and then sat down. He then stood up his sword and rested his head on its hilt as he sat. Then he raised his head and sighed.

When he sighed all the Mazaru'i who were present drummed on their swords with their fingers.

Afterwards Muhammad bin Nasir went to Zanzibar and there saw Sa'id. Sa'id asked him, "Did you pass Mombasa?" He replied, "I passed it."

"What news have you from there?"

So he said to him, "The Mombasa news is that the Mazaru'i have retaken their fort."

Sa'id was very angry and said to him, "Why do you speak falsely, for there are no tidings of such an event?"

He replied, "When I passed Mombasa the fort was occupied by your soldiers and the Mazaru'i were in the town." Sa'id then said, "Why do you say then that they have taken the fort?"

Muhammad answered, "I went to their levée and saw the Liwali put his head on his sword, then he raised it and sighed.

All his kin then drummed on their swords. It was for that reason that I told you that they had retaken their fort."

Sa'id asked, "What is the meaning of it?"

Muhammad answered, "The meaning is this. The Liwali rested his head on his sword and then sighed; that sigh was from the bitterness of thinking about the fort and as much as said to his kin, 'Oh! our fort has been lost to us.' They answered him and beat their swords, meaning 'We will retake it with these swords we have here.'"

"When they all beat together I perceived them as if they were hammering on the fort and had already entered inside.

"It was then that I said to you that the Mazaru'i had retaken their fort."

Sa'id said to him, "Stay here; you have not permission to depart. If your words do not come to pass, I will know you for a mannerless person and will then teach you manners.

"If they come to pass, I will know that your counsel is that of a man of great perception."

After three days came the news that the Mazaru'i had retaken their fort, so Sa'id called Muhammad bin Nasir and gave him money and great honours.

He then sent him to Pate to Sultan Fumobakari to ask him to make a treaty with him to which he agreed.

From that time Sa'id blockaded the fort till after many years he captured it in the year 1252, and he has been in possession of the fort ever since.¹ Hejra
1252.

Some of the Mazaru'i ran away, but of the great men he seized twenty-five and sent them to Jaalani.

Now a little before this, trouble had arisen between Sa'id and the chief of Pate. Sa'id sent his son Khalid with an expedition, but he was unable to take Pate, so he left.

Next year Sa'id came himself with his Liwali Muhammad bin Nasir,² who was the leader of his troops.

He went to Kiwakani in Rasini harbour and he landed troops there.

On the first day they were utterly defeated and Muhammad bin Nasir was driven away.

At that time the Bajuns strung a song:—

"Muhammad wa Nasir, disembark and fetch your
Mother's dowry in a closed basket. Fumobakari
Is not your brother, he was not born with you."³

After that Muhammad bin Nasir landed and he himself was killed and his troops utterly defeated.

Then Sa'id made peace with Sultan Fumobakari by the help of the great men of Lamu.

¹ Mombasa and the coast line are leased by us from the Sultan of Zanzibar.

² Not the man of this name in the story above.

³ "Closed basket," meaning that he did not know what fate was in store for him. The Bajuns were friendly to Fumobakari, Sultan of Pate.

So peace was made, but Sa'id was not allowed to garrison Pate.

After that the Amu people arranged that Sa'id should pay some money to Fumobakari, and that he should then become Sa'id's vassal. He then quarrelled with his brother Bwana Kitini; each one wanted the kingdom by reason of Sa'id's intrigue and the plans of the Amu people.

Sultan Fumobakari lived at Pate and his brother lived at Siu, and they fought together.

One year later Sultan Fumobakari seized his brother Bwana Kitini and killed him.

For this reason the people of Pate hated him, and so the Amu people said to Fumobakari, "It were better that you go to Sa'id at Zanzibar, for people here have intrigued against you." So he went to Zanzibar.

The Amu people then said to Sa'id, "Seize him and then you will have got possession of the whole Swahili coast." So Sa'id seized and imprisoned him.

Hejra
1259.

When the Pate people heard this they took Bwana Madi, son of Sheikh, and put him on the throne in the year 1259.

The Pate people were in agreement with Sheikh Mataka of Siu, but the Bajuns were on Sa'id's side.

When Sa'id heard that Sultan Ahmad¹ was on the throne of Pate and was allied to Sheikh Mataka he released Sultan Fumobakari and gave him money.

Then Sa'id and Fumobakari, together with the Amu people, made war on Siu and Pate. Sa'id was defeated,² and he came again and was again defeated.

Again he came, and Sa'id himself disembarked at Rasini, he and Ameer Hamad with all his wazirs and great men.

He went to a place called Kijangwa cha mpunga, and there he sat on his shield while he sent his troops to Siu. He instructed Ameer Hamad to build a zeriba at every hundred paces.

¹ Bwana Madi was called Sultan Ahmadi (Ahmad) when he came to the throne.

² During one of these expeditions, however, he built a fort at Siu, and Bwana Mataka bin Mbaruk fled to the mainland. Subsequently Mataka returned and ejected Sa'id's soldiers from the fort.

Ameer Hamad did not follow Sa'id's instructions, for when he met the Siu people he defeated them and pursued them hotly. They entered the town and shut the gates, so Ameer Hamad seized dhows, turned them over and made them into forts, firing at the town so that they were not able to open the city gates again.

Then the people of Siu thought that their country would be captured.

At that time there was a Sherif at Siu called Mwenyi Sa'id Mohothar. The people went to him to ask his advice as to whether they should abandon the country of Siu. He replied, "Wait, I will ask the advice of my namesake." So he called a man and told him to go to the sepulchre of his grandfather, who was also called Sherif Mwenyi Sa'id, and say, "Your namesake sends greetings, and asks must he go forth?"

So he asked after this manner, and a voice answered, "He must not go forth."

So the Sherif told the people of Siu not to leave the country.

When they heard this news they opened the rear-gate and two captains went out; their names were Bwana Madi bin Omar and Bwana Madi, nicknamed Ngoma. Bwana Madi Ngoma inclined towards the side of the artillerymen, and the other captain went a different way and met Ameer Hamad in the way with only seventy men.

When he saw him he recognised him, fell upon him and killed him and all his soldiers.

The captain, Bwana Madi Ngoma, went and fought the artillerymen, and killed their chief and took the guns. All the soldiers who were left fled, and those in the dhows heard that Ameer Hamad had been killed, and so they ran into the mangroves and died in the mud.

The Siu women when they went for firewood saw them and struck them with axes.

When Sa'id heard of the death of the Ameer and defeat of his troops he arose and got into a boat and went off to his ship, and he spoke to no one till he reached Manda.

The Amu people came to see him, but he did not receive them until the next day.

Hejra
1273.

Afterwards he returned to Maskat and did not come back till his last journey, when he died at sea and was landed at Zanzibar and was buried. He was then seventy-three years old, and had reigned for fifty-eight years.

His son Sayid Majid reigned on the coast, while at Maskat his son Sayid Thuen reigned.

Sayid Majid fought with his brother Sayid Barghash for Zanzibar, and Barghash was defeated and went to Bombay.

Sayid Thuen then prepared an expedition against his brother Majid, but when he reached Ras al Had the white man of Bombay made him return to Maskat.

It was then agreed that Sayid Thuen should rule at Maskat and Sayid Majid should reign at Zanzibar and pay a yearly tribute of 60,000 dollars.

About that time Sheikh Mataka died, and his son Bakari bin Sheikh reigned.

He agreed with Majid who gave him troops with which to fight Sultan Ahmad of Pate.

The first time he fought was at Wangi, and he was defeated.

The second fight was at Siu, and Bakari was seized and taken to Pate and killed.

After he had been killed his brother Mwali Muhammad bin Sheikh seized the throne. He allied himself to Sayid Majid and Sultan Fumobakari, and fought with Sultan Ahmad.

When he heard that Fumobakari had come to Rasini with soldiers of Majid and with the Liwali Sefu Muru, Sultan Ahmad wanted to throw a garrison into Siu. So he set out from Pate to seize Siu before these soldiers had yet arrived.

He got to a place called Mashimoni where he met Muhammad bin Sheikh of Siu, and in a fight a bullet hit him in the hip and a spear in the heel. He was taken back to Pate, and Sultan Fumobakari came to Siu with Sayid Majid's soldiers. They then went and seized Pate, but at mid-day they were turned out again.

Hejra
1272.

After this Sultan Ahmad went to Ozi where he stayed till he died.

The Sayid Majid placed soldiers in Siu and it remained subject to him.

After that trouble arose between the people of Siu and Pate and they fought together twice.

The people of Siu came with the intention of seizing the country of Pate and stealing all the women and children captive and killing the grown-up men.

The first time they came by way of the Siu gate and were defeated, and their leader Bwana Dumia was shot. They fled and came again a second time by the Shindakasi gate, and their leader Maulana, son of Ishakulu, was killed. So they were defeated and utterly routed, many being killed.

Even to-day their bones and heads are to be seen at Gomeni.

At that time there was no Sultan at Pate; Fumobakari was at Lamu.

The elders of the country were three in number. Bwana Simba, Bwana Rehema and Bwana Nasiri. These were those who conducted the war and Allah helped them.

When Sheikh Muhammad of Siu saw that his expedition was routed he made peace with Pate.

Then he said to Bwana Simba ¹ (his name was Muhammad bin Bwana Mkuu), "I want you to reign at Pate," for Bwana Simba was at that time a great man in Pate, like a Sultan.

He answered, "I do not wish to reign."

Then Sheikh Muhammad said, "Give me another Sultan then from amongst your children."

So he said to him, "Go and take my namesake Sultan Ahmad Simba."

Now at that time Sultan Ahmad had already died at Ozi, near Kao, and his brother's son had taken his place and was called Sultan Ahmad Simba.

¹ This was his nickname, meaning "lion." My informant says that this man made a speciality of ancient history, and used to narrate to him (Bwana Kitini) old stories and traditions for hours at a time.

Hejra
1280.

In the year 1280 Sheikh Muhammad sent for Sultan Simba and had him brought to Pate.

Now Muhammad, son of Bwana Mataka, broke up Sayid Majid's fort at Siu. So Sayid Majid came in force and fought Pate and Siu for many days both by sea and land.

He blocked the entrance to Siu harbour so that vessels could not pass in with food.

Afterwards he made peace, and Sheikh Muhammad sent his brother Omar to Sayid Majid's ship to present himself before him. Later Sheikh Muhammad went himself and received pardon.

Sayid Majid said to him in Arabic, "I pardon you for the great offence, *but* breaking the fort is before us a disgraceful thing."

Those who were present recognised that Sayid Majid had not wholly forgiven him or he would not have said "but."

Sultan Ahmad went to Kao and stayed there; afterwards Sheikh Muhammad sent his son Sheikh Mataka to Zanzibar.

Sayid gave him much wealth and sent a letter to his father, saying, "Do not you come to Zanzibar. It will suffice if you stay there at Siu as my vassal."

Sayid's Wazir Bwana Suleiman sent a letter to Sheikh Muhammad, saying, "Come, for the tree does not fall on him who is absent."¹

So the next year Sheikh Muhammad went to Sayid at Zanzibar taking with him many great men.

Sayid wished to pardon him, but Wazir Suleiman did not agree, saying, "We must seize him and so do away with the evil on the coast."

So they seized him together with upwards of thirty of his people and put them on a ship called the *Africa*, and imprisoned them at Mombasa in the fort.

There he remained till he died.

¹ This, like so many Swahili proverbs, bears a sense quite opposed to that which it would in English. The idea is that the falling tree rains fruit on those near.

When his son heard of his capture he fled from Siu and went to live at Mongoni.

After this Sayid Majid sent an order to his Liwali at Lamu, Sa'id Sudi, to seize Sheikh Muhammad's brother Omar at Faza.

Sa'id Sudi was unable to seize Sultan Ahmad at Kao, so he made peace with him and took his cousin Fumobakari and his Wazir, Muhammad bin Hassan, and went with them to Zanzibar and they returned together to Lamu. Then Sayid sent an order to have these two imprisoned, and Sa'id Sudi shut them up.

The Wazir died in prison; some people say that Sa'id Sudi killed him. Fumobakari was afterwards released and lived with Sa'id Sudi and then ran off and went to Witu. For at that time Sultan Ahmad had already founded the town of Witu because of being harassed by the Arabs.

Sa'id Sudi sent a man called Hamad Usi who made friendship with Sheikh Muhammad's son and had him murdered while he slept.

Then Sa'id Sudi went to fight Sultan Ahmad, going by way of Matomo, but he was defeated and returned to Lamu.

Next year he went by way of Kao and brought war against Sultan Ahmad and defeated him, killing his Wazir Baka Hassan, brother of Muhammad bin Hassan.

So Sultan Ahmad made peace and lived at Witu in allegiance to Sayid Majid.

Now by the year 1282 Sayid Majid had conquered the whole Swahili coast, islands and mainland. Hejra
1282.

Sa'id Sudi became his chief Liwali, and was as a Sultan ruling from Kismayu to Amu, doing as he pleased.

Now Sultan Ahmad remained in allegiance to Sayid Majid until he died, and then he swore allegiance to his successor Sayid Barghash.¹

In the year 1297 trouble arose between the people and some bush-dwellers whose village was called Katawa.² Hejra
1297.

¹ Sayid Majid died in the year 1287, and Sayid Barghash reigned. The latter visited Makka and also Europe.

² This was a colony of Watoro, or runaway slaves. Many villages now found near Witu were founded by Watoro.

The Amu people went to fight them according to their instructions from Sa'id Sudi, but they were completely defeated and many were killed including Sheikh Omar Wenyikae and Bwana Maka Bereki's son.

These two were the principal Sheikhs of Amu.

So they returned to Amu in abasement and bitterness.

Next year Sa'id Sudi was sent by Barghash to fight Sultan Ahmad at Witu, so as to remove that source of worry.

He was defeated by the Witu people, and he then made peace with Sultan Ahmad.

He then desired of Sultan Ahmad, his cousin, that he might take him with him to Zanzibar and so wipe the shame of defeat from his face.

When they arrived at Zanzibar Sayid Barghash was angry with him and did him no honour, and at first Sa'id Sudi had been a great man even as the Sayid himself.

Next year he put Sa'id Sudi out of office and sent Sa'id bin Hamed to Amu, and Abdallah bin Hamed he put at Malindi.

He behaved very badly to Sa'id Sudi taking away his property and sending him to Pemba. Afterwards he sent him to Sayid Turki at Maskat. Later Sayid Barghash was ashamed and brought him back and restored part of his property.

When Sayid Khalifa came he gave him back all his property.

The next year Sayid Barghash sent his Liwali, Sa'id bin Hamed, to Witu with a big expedition, saying to him, "Do not return, but break into Witu or die. I will send you more soldiers and munitions of war every day even if I have to sell the turban on my head."

When Sa'id bin Hamed had gone the Germans sent to Sayid Barghash, saying, "If you fight Witu we will fight Zanzibar. Recall your troops, do not so much as break the leg of a chicken at Witu."

So the Sayid sent to his Liwali, saying, "When you have read this letter return quickly and exercise great caution that you do not destroy anything of the Witu people's property."

Afterwards the Germans came in three ships and Sayid Barghash sent General Mathews and he divided the kingdom. The mainland from Kiwayu to Mkokoni he gave to Witu, while the islands and every place surrounded by creeks became Sayid Barghash's.

At last, in the year 1305, Sayid Barghash died and Sayid Khalifa reigned. Hejra
1305.

Now at this time the kingdom of the Nabahans was flourishing to such an extent that a person might think that it would return to its former greatness. Great disorders occurred in the towns; people were of two factions—one side were subjects of the Sayid and the other sought protection from Sultan Ahmad.

Till in the year 1306 Sultan Ahmad died, and he left his kingdom in the beginning of its aggrandisement. His cousin, Sultan Fumobakari, reigned. Hejra
1306.

In the year 1308 trouble arose between the Germans and the people of Witu. Hejra
1308.

There was a German called Küntzell who lived at Witu and taught the soldiers military exercises. There were about thirty who knew their drill, and the Sultan intended giving him many more to teach.

Küntzell went off to Europe and returned with ten Europeans and many tools and instruments for the purpose of clearing the forest and doing other work.

They had agreed with the Sultan to bring these things, but when he saw ten Europeans and many things he grew afraid and thought that eventually, when they had settled there, they would seize his country.

So he refused to let the forest be cut down, and Küntzell quarrelled with him and wanted to put his Europeans with their arms in the town.

Till one day the Sultan robbed them of all their arms by a stratagem!

When Küntzell went and found his comrades with no arms he was very angry and went to look for the Sultan without finding him.

He said to his comrades, "Let us go out." When they went to the gate ¹ soldiers stopped them and Küntzell shot two men.

Then the soldiers, without an order from the Sultan, when they saw that two of their friends had fallen, fired on the Europeans.

They killed all the Europeans, but not before Küntzell had hit nine people.

This was the origin of the Witu expedition. Now at Mkunumbi and Ongoni there were white men.

These were killed at the instigation of Bwana Heri Makatwa and Bwana Ali Majesa, the Liwalis of Mkunumbi and Hidiyo.

When the British Government heard the news the consul and admiral came with fifteen ships, and they sent a letter to Sultan Fumobakari, saying, "Come to the ships at Shela; we will judge fairly between you and the Germans, and we will make an advocate for your side and you will be dealt with only according to law and equity."

The Sultan answered, "It is customary with us that if a man reigns he does not undergo judgment any more."

They answered, "Send us one man from amongst your brothers, and Bwana Heri and Bwana Ali Majesa that they may be tried for the white men who died at Witu; there is no case as they began the affray. The other two white men, however, who were killed did not shoot any one first, so it is necessary to judge those Liwalis. The Germans have left these things in our hands for judgment, so send them."

He did not send them, and that was the cause of the Witu expedition.

On the third day they stormed Hidiyo and Mkunumbi, on the tenth day of the sixth month after Ramdhan. On the eleventh at night the Witu people came to Kipini, so they fought them in the way at a place called Shaka la Simba at half-past twelve at night.

¹ It is said that there was one entrance to the town through a narrow low gate. The Europeans came in one by one, and as each got inside he was robbed of his arms without the others outside being aware of it.

In the morning they went up to Witu and fought from two o'clock till five, and the Witu people slept in Witu and fastened the gates, and the white men slept at a place called Chakamba.

At seven in the morning they came to the town and fought together, and the Witu people were driven away, and the white men seized the town and set fire to it and broke the houses and set fire to the powder and percussion caps for the matchlocks which were stored there.

So the Witu people ran away and entered the bush and went to Jogeni and Pumuni and Katawa.

So the white men stopped in Witu, and in the evening returned to Kipini.

Afterwards they put 200 Sepoys and Sudanese soldiers in Kipini and two officers, one of whom was Mr. Rogers.

After that Sultan Fumobakari died, and after two months his brother Bwana Sheikh sat on the throne.

After three days they made him abdicate and his brother Fumomari sat. He fought with Mr. Rogers twice and made peace again.

After that he swore allegiance to the British Government.

He obtained powder and rifles on the plea that he lived in the same country as the Somalis. Afterwards he hid a supply in the bush, and Bwana Rogers heard of it from some Waboni ¹ who took him to it. He then seized Fumobakari and bound him and sent him to the Consul-General at Zanzibar. He stayed there till he died suddenly on the day of the bombardment of Zanzibar.

After that, at the advice of Bwana Rogers, the British Government put Omar Madi on the throne in the year 1312.

Hejra
1307.

He had at one time been one of their soldiers, and he is Sultan of Witu to this day.

At Zanzibar Sayid Khalifa reigned till the year 1307, and he died, and his brother Sayid Ali reigned till he died in the year 1310.

Hejra
1307.

Hejra
1310.

¹ These are a hunting tribe.

Sayid Ali was the Sultan of Zanzibar who first came under British protection.

On his death Hamed bin Thuen reigned; he was the son of Sultan Thuen of Maskat.

Hejra
1314.

In the year 1314 he died, and Sayid Khalid, son of Sayid Barghash, wanted to reign.

The English fought him and he fled to Dar as Salaam, and Sayid Hamud bin Muhammad reigned.

Hejra
1319.

In the year 1319 he died, and Sayid Ali reigned, and it is he who is now Sultan of Zanzibar in the year 1326 of the Hejra and 1908 of the Europeans.

CHAPTER V,

MOMBASA—ARABS AND ISLAM

MOMBASA is a coral island but a mile or two broad, situated in the mouth of a creek. It is separated from the mainland by channels on three sides, while its fourth side only is exposed to the open sea. The channel on the north side of the island is called Mombasa harbour. On this channel is situated the town of Mombasa itself.

On the opposite side of the island is Kilindini, a magnificent harbour, bigger and deeper than Mombasa, and so it is this that is used by the bigger liners.

Westwards the island is now joined to the mainland by a fine bridge, one of the show sights of the Uganda railway, while formerly its connection was dependent on numerous ferries.

The name by which Mombasa is known to the natives is Mvita. The inhabitants of Mombasa itself say that this name is derived from the Swahili vita=war. The people of Pate, however, say that the origin of the word is mfitu=one who hides, the origin being as follows: Long ago an army from Pate conquered the various little towns down the coast till it came to Malindi. It then passed on to Mombasa which at that time had but a few inhabitants. These people fled from the Pate forces and hid in the bush, and were thus named "the hiders."

As my Pate informant said, "A man does not like to remember anything to his discredit, and so they say that their name comes from vita=war."

Personally I think that the Pate derivation is more probably the correct one, although the other is the universally accepted derivation.

My reasons for thinking this are these: In the pure Swahili language as spoken in the old days at Mombasa, and at the present day in many of the coast towns, there are no less than five different "t's," the differences in the pronunciation of which are at once apparent to the educated Swahili ear, and which amongst true Swahilis of Mombasa, Malindi, Amu, Pate, and several other places, are never confused. One of these is the Arabic letter "L." Of the other four, two are dental and two are cerebral. Of each of these two, one is aspirated and one non-aspirated.

The dental "t's" are Arabic in pronunciation while the cerebral are African.

Changes in words often cause either a dental or a cerebral "t" to become aspirated, but do not convert a dental into a cerebral "t," *i.e.*, an Arabic into an African "t."

Now in these two words "vita" has the cerebral "t," and "mvita" has the dental "t." So, from the Swahili point of view, these two words possess letters as different as if one was spelt with a "t," and one with some other letter.

"Mfita," on the other hand, possesses a dental "t," while "f" is a letter which in several words changes to "v" in dialectic differences.

So a derivation from "vita" means bringing about a change of letters which does not take place, while a derivation from "mfita" means exchanging two letters which do occasionally change. Moreover, the prefix of "m" to "fita" makes a natural derivation from the verb "fita," but not from the noun "vita."

"Kilindini" means in Swahili "on the channel" or "deep water," the old name of the town on the opposite side of the island to Mombasa. Two other towns whose names bear the same meaning are Malindi and Kilifi.

The most interesting building in Mombasa is the fort which has changed hands so often and been the scene of many assaults and sieges. In Swahili there are two names for a fort. "Ngome" is a fortress such as Mombasa Fort or Edinburgh Castle, *viz.*,

a rock converted into a place of defence; while "gereza" is the ordinary castellated building rising off level ground, such as the forts of Amu and Siu.

From the fort the main street, called after the celebrated Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, leads to the custom house, through the old part of Mombasa closely packed with houses old and new built in the Arab style.

Here are the shops, Government offices, Arab and wealthier Swahili residents. The European dwellings are situated on higher ground on the way to Kilindini, or on the point facing the sea and entrance to Kilindini harbour.

The numerous Africans of different races and poorer Swahilis are congregated in a large town of wattle and daub huts, roofed with cocoa-nut leaf, situated behind the old town, and from there stretching towards Kilindini, rather back from the road. These rectangular huts roofed with makuti (plaited cocoa-nut leaf) are characteristic of the Swahili coast towns, in contra-distinction to the circular grass-roofed huts of inland Africa.

Most of these huts are also provided with hinged doors made of bits of planking,¹ whereas the inland hut has in place of a door a hurdle or piece of matting, or a number of cross-poles which fit between the doorway and a pair of upright posts planted in the ground.

The makuti roofs are made of dried leaves of the cocoa-nut, cut in half and having the fronds plaited flat. These, when affixed overlapping each other, as in thatching, form a watertight and very efficient roof. A roofing of bits of flattened kerosene oil tins arranged like tiles is sometimes seen.

The inside of the hut is partitioned off into several small rooms, while on the opposite side from the door is generally a cistern made of baked clay or cement to hold water for the needs of the household. On either side of this cistern is a

¹ This planking is, if of native construction, made by dressing a log with an adze until it assumes the proportions of a rough plank. This process entails a great waste of material. Nowadays deal boards from old packing cases, etc., are much used.

screening wall, called Sitiri, behind which the inmates can make their ablutions.

Noticeable amongst the coral and stunted bush of the island are the large stemmed baobabs and shade-giving mangoes. Two quarters of the native town take their names from these trees Mbuyuni and Miembeni, viz., "under (or about) the baobab" and "at the mangoes."

All the main streets in Mombasa, as at Beira, are laid with trolley lines, and every resident has a roofed trolley on which he whirls down to his work in the morning or to the club in the evening, a most exhilarating form of transport.

The climate of Mombasa, as on most of these coral islands, is dry, and, for a tropical country, healthy. The heat is never excessive, such as it is further south and north, and in the cold weather the air is delightful.

Fish is cheap and excessively good at Mombasa. That uncommon animal, the dugong¹ (Swahili "nguva") is occasionally caught on the coast and its flesh sold in the town, being much prized by Swahilis and Arabs. The Swahilis in their description of it exaggerate to a ridiculous extent its very slight likeness to a human being. I have several times heard it being described to an inland native, who has never seen one, as being so like a woman that it is almost impossible to tell the difference.²

Occasionally whales are stranded on the coast, and their flesh is much appreciated also by the people of Mombasa.

As these animals count as fish according to Muhammadan law, it is not considered necessary to halal them.³

In the old days before the rupee was current, all ordinary trade used to be done by barter for small purchases.

¹ Often incorrectly described as the manatee.

² "Hæc bestia (Halicore dugong), ut ferunt, mulieri omnibus partibus—mammis, umbilico, pudendis,—mire similis est. Mihi autem ipsi ab Arabibus relatum est, necesse esse apud eos ut, si quis viscera ejus emere voluerit, piscator primum jurejurando obstrictus neget se cum eâ in mari amore commixtum esse."

³ Halal = to cut the throat in the prescribed manner in the name of Allah, which alone makes the meat lawful to Muhammadans. Swahili = ku-chinja.

Clothes used to be bought with mtama (millet). For large purchases or buying and selling the riali, the old dollar, was used, there being no smaller change.

There are a good number of Arabs in the town of Mombasa. The Arabs on this coast are mostly Maskati, a very illiterate and poorly educated lot as a rule. There appear to be practically no Arabs of learning and culture in this part of the world. Most of the Arabs are pleasant and agreeable, but they are seldom well-read or well-informed men, such as one meets with in other Arab centres.

The Mazaru'i, the old ruling Arabs of Mombasa, were driven out by Sa'id bin Sultan some time back and are now resident at Takaungu. There appear to have been Arab settlements on the coast, and a flow of Arabs from Maskat and Persian Gulf, from the earliest times. The descendants of the very early arrivals on the coast have developed into Swahilis; the present Arab of the coast is either a late arrival or else a member of some tribe like the Mazaru'i, who came in a body and have kept themselves apart from the other people of the coast.

The Arabs of this part of the world are chiefly conspicuous through having been always fighting, squabbling, and back-biting one against the other. This seems to have occupied the whole of their time, and so they have had no leisure to penetrate the interior here after the same fashion as have done their kinsmen of Zanzibar and the Mrima.

The Muhammadans of this coast, including Swahilis, Somalis and Banadirs, are of the Shafi'a sect. Islam has till lately been solely responsible for civilisation and culture in East Africa, and almost entirely for the opening up of the interior.

In Somaliland the Mad Mullah taught people in the interior to read and write, which was more than the people of the coast could do.

Praying and educational boards were found in all his deserted camps.

Islam stopped the practice of burying live men and women in a dead Sultan's grave, as was done in many places in Central Africa.

It is narrated that the old Yao chiefs of the neighbourhood where that unhealthy station Fort Johnston now stands, in Nyasaland, were buried in this way up to the reign of Kumasangano.

After him came Chemkata, and he would have been buried after the same manner had not the succeeding chief, Selafi, who had embraced Islam, refused to permit it.

Selafi and some of his people fled to Portuguese territory during British occupation, and Mponda was put in his place.

Selafi recently died and now his son Mbwana is the Sultan.

The Makoa used to indulge in the same practice and their chief, Mkumi, is said to have been buried with ten men and ten women.

When a chief died the whole population of a village used to fly into the bush to avoid this fate. Many of the other barbarities practised by the savage African, such as those of Nyamtupi, the handless chief of the Makoa, have been put an end to or lessened by Arab influence.

However, Arab influence has not extended very far from the coast in British East Africa. Swahili trading caravans used to push up by the ordinary trade routes to purchase ivory and bring it to the coast, but no occupation of the country or foundation of Arab or Swahili settlements seem to have been made as was the case in what is at present German East Africa, Portuguese East Africa and Nyasaland.

In German East Africa there was a chain of posts, and settlements of Arabs or Swahilis almost the entire breadth of Africa.

The Arabs of Mombasa support themselves by carrying on a certain amount of trade, but most of the trade has passed into the hands of the Indian traders. The latter come chiefly from Cutch,¹ and they are called locally "banyani." I do not know what the origin of this word is or whether it is a corruption of the Hindustani "bania," a shopkeeper. It is used all down the east coast, and they are called by this name by Burton, so presumably the name, whether a corruption or otherwise, has a precedent for its use.

¹ They are Bhattias.



NGALAWA CROSSING A CREEK.



NATIVE SHIPPING IN HARBOUR.

The chief means of support of the Arab, however, appears to be the proceeds from cocoa-nut shamba(s)=plantations, and some of them own a considerable amount of land. Although labour is scarce nowadays the freeing of slaves does not affect these Arabs as seriously as it might, for the work on a cocoa-nut plantation consists chiefly in the initial planting and tending of the young cocoa-nuts. Once this has been done, it requires comparatively few workers to attend to the shamba. Those who have already profited by the slave days in having large plantations started are now able to live on the proceeds without requiring much labour. However the life of a cocoa-nut is not infinite, fresh trees must be planted and tended to replace the old and worn out ones, and labour for this work is difficult to obtain.

The owning of cocoa-nut shamba(s) is an occupation which suits the temperament of the Arab. He has his town house in which he transacts a certain amount of business, and his country house on a smaller scale in his plantation. In the cool of the afternoon he mounts his Maskat donkey and rides out to inspect his shamba, strolls round and then sits awhile and rests on the verandah, refreshing himself with milk from the dafu, or young green cocoa-nut.

In the evening he rides back again to the town or, as in Mombasa, takes the ferry back from the opposite shore of the harbour or the evening train back from Changamwe.

Occasionally he spends week-ends in the country to rest himself from the arduous duties entailed by city life, such as the making up of accounts or entertaining of friends.

When the cocoa-nuts are ripe they are gathered by an adventurous individual called the mgema. The mgema has been brought up to the life of climbing these trees, and considers it quite an ordinary way of earning a living.

Sometimes very tall trees have notches cut all the way up to assist the climber, but this practice spoils the tree and so he generally has to climb without their aid.

Some wagama (cocoa-nut climbers) fasten the end of a piece of rope to either ankle, leaving just enough slack between the

feet to pass halfway round the tree. Then, placing a hand on either side of the tree and seizing it between the palms and forearms, they raise and draw the feet up the tree. The friction of the rope prevents them from slipping down again.

Some climb without a rope by passing the arms round the tree and locking the fingers, then, doubling up the body, walk with their feet up the tree, slipping their hands up higher when the feet are level with the hands. On reaching the top he throws the ripe cocoa-nuts down, or taps the tree for palm wine. On the completion of his work the mgema receives as pay one cocoa-nut for every tree he has climbed.

The cocoa-nuts are then stored, and later the husk is torn off by means of an iron bar called *mtaimbo*. Cocoa-nuts are worth locally an *anna* each. As a good tree will bear as many as fifty or sixty in a year, a *shamba* of several hundred trees is the source of quite a nice little income to a native.

The value of a *shamba* is assessed by the number of ripe trees it contains, not by the acreage. The value of one tree varies considerably—ten rupees being a good price for it.

The inside of a cocoa-nut is taken out after breaking it by means of an iron hook called *mbuzi*=goat.

Another sort of profit accruing from the cocoa-nut is the *toddy*, which is tapped by cutting slits in the fronds of the tree and affixing cups of half cocoa-nuts under the slits to catch the liquid as it oozes out. The immature fronds intended to produce the nut are bound at the end, which prevents them bearing, and the stalk tapped.

A lemur, probably the *galago*, causes great consternation and indignation amongst the owners of *shamba*(s), as it acquires the habit of emptying these little cups at night before they have been visited by the *mgema*. This animal generally lives in the leafy tops of the palms.

Tapping cocoa-nut palms for *toddy* (*tembo*) is said to be ruinous to their productive capacities.

The leaves, plaited ready for the *makuti* hut-roofing, are sold at the rate of thirty for the rupee.

The Arabs of this coast appear to be very lax in religion and morals when compared with those of Arabia. Africa appears to have a degenerating effect on most peoples, the native inhabitants included, and laxity in religion and other matters is common to an extent that would not be tolerated elsewhere.

The coast seems always to have been the hot-bed of intrigue, strife and double-dealing. Ancient history in the last chapters has shown what it used to be in the past. In the present it is exactly the same except that it must now be confined to words, accusations and slander, instead of being settled by murder and strife as formerly.

The Arab has generally had a reputation for intrigue, but in his own country he is fairly honourable and straightforward. The Arabs and higher class Swahili are not as strict in the observance of the hours of prayer as they might be.

That common sight in Aden and other Arab cities of believers observing the hours of prayer when they occur at whatever place they happen to be in—in the streets, on the roof tops, in their rooms, on the beach, in the desert—is never seen on this coast. The higher class inhabitants appear to pray only at the mosque or in the privacy of their houses.

Arab time is observed on the coast, viz., sunrise commences the day and sunset closes it. Sunrise is twelve o'clock of the night, sunset twelve o'clock of the day; six o'clock is midday, and six o'clock of the night is midnight.¹ The month observed by the Arabs is the lunar month, dating from the new moon and lasting till the next new moon appears.

The year consists of twelve lunar months or about 354 days, and thus falls short of our year.

The months commence with Ramdhan, the fasting month, and

¹ The night takes precedence to the day in the native mind. Therefore to-night (usiku wa leo—the night of to-day) is really last night.

A native will say that a place is two days distant. He means that two nights must be slept on the road, therefore the place is really three days' march, a mis-comprehension of which irritates the European traveller, especially when the native maintains that he was right.

In case the times as given above are not clear, add or deduct 6 hours from European time and Arab time is arrived at.

in Swahili the succeeding nine months are called the first, second, third, etc., relaxing of the fast, viz., Mfunguo mosi, Mfunguo pili, Mfunguo tatu, Mfunguo nne, Mfunguo tano, Mfunguo sita, Mfunguo saba, Mfunguo nane, Mfunguo tisa.

The last two months are called by their Arabic names in Swahili form, viz., Rajabu and Sha'abani.

The year 1327 was an unlucky one as it started on a Friday, a fact which portends war and disorder.

Years starting on a Wednesday are also unlucky, and children born in such years are undutiful and intractable.

Amongst the months the unlucky months of the year are Mfunguo tano and Mfunguo nane. Swahilis will not marry or start on a journey during these months.

Mfunguo tatu is the month of the pilgrimage (Swahili "Hija" and "Haji," Arabic "Haj").

Mfunguo nne is the month during which Husseni, son of Muhammad, was killed, and amongst the Khojas is observed by lamentations and beatings of the breast.

Mfunguo sita was the month during which Muhammad was born on the night of the 12th. From this date to the end of the month the mosques are decorated, and people adjourn for reading and prayer and listen to exhortations, which are carried on for the greater part of the night. This festival is called Maulidi.¹

The shamba(s) belonging to the inhabitants of Mombasa are situated mostly either on the mainland opposite the town of Mombasa or near the first and second stations up the line. A train leaves Mombasa daily in the morning and returns in the evening, affording an opportunity to the owners of visiting their plantations at Changamwe.

The coinage in use in East Africa and Uganda is the rupee. The cent has lately been introduced in place of the anna and

¹ Another difference in Swahili reckoning is that time in months or years is reckoned by the number of months or years broken into by a period, viz., two years and one day is called three years. It often happens in a case that a native stoutly maintains that he has served, say, two months, whereas he has only done a few days over a month. The European, not knowing this reckoning, promptly puts him down as a liar.

pice, as subdivisions of the rupee. This change is very popular in Uganda, especially as the authorities have been wise enough to devise a coin with a hole in the centre which can easily be strung together on a string.

The decimal system was already in vogue in that country in the shape of cowries at 1,000 to the rupee, carried about strung on strings of a hundred or fifty. As ten cowries go to a cent the natives easily understand the new coinage and find it easier to carry about, while the cowry still remains as a subdivision of the cent.

Strangely enough this change of coinage when introduced was much opposed by the Indian traders of the coast. One would have thought that the facilities offered by the introduction of a new coinage for a little sharp practice by naming his price in pice and then calculating rather over the equivalent in cents, would have endeared it to the heart of the Indian. For the brainless and unmathematical African is careless with his money, and unsuspecting of fraud, and would readily have paid what he was told was the equivalent till he learnt by experience the rate of exchange.

However, for some reason I could not follow, the Indian traders did not take this line, but many of them refused at first to have anything to do with the new coinage, refusing to sell for anything but pice and annas. Others took the line of saying that they did not want cents, but if the buyer insisted on paying cents he must pay for the privilege of so doing. Thus they would say an article was four annas, but if it was to be paid in cents it would cost six annas. This was most annoying at first, as in out-of-the-way places one's boy would return from the market or store and say that he was unable to buy anything with the cents with which he had been provided, whereas to proceed against the trader was generally impossible unless one had the time to wait and thrash the matter out.

Arab women in Arabia can seldom write. On the coast, however, women appear to occupy a higher status than they do in Arabia.

Amongst the pure Swahilis many of the women are well educated in reading and writing, while in the Lamu Archipelago they are often better than the men in versifying and writing poems.

However, poetry has fallen to a low ebb nowadays in these parts, being almost entirely confined to love or indecent verse.

Although some of the Swahili women are as well or better read in the Koran than men, they are unable to go in for public devotion as they must never visit the mosques, except during the "maulidi."

At Siu things are different, for here, sole exception on the Swahili coast, women are accustomed to go to the mosque covered up in the "shiraa."¹

¹ A kind of portable tent, which will be described in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VI

THE SWAHILI

WHO are the Swahili? Are they a race, a tribe, a mixture, or what?

A black "boy" with negroid features, slightly flattened nose and black, African curly hair in patches on his head, comes up to ask for employment. "What is your tribe?" you ask. He answers, "Swahili." "What was your mother?" "A Makoa" (a tribe in Portuguese East Africa). "And your father?" "Oh, he was killed long ago in a war at home, and then my mother was brought to Mombasa while I was still a child." He does not mention that she was a slave. "Well then, if both your father and mother were Makoa, you are a Makoa." "Yes, that was my origin. We Swahilis are all like that; each one is a Swahili, but he has his own tribe as well. I have been a Swahili as long as I can remember." "What is your name?" "Jamezi (James). I was educated in the mission."

Now let us tackle a reverent-looking old gentleman, dressed in a long flowing joho and turban, as to his antecedents.

He has a grey beard of straight hair and the light complexion of an Arab. Under his arm is a Koran, as he is making his way to the mosque to read and pray.

"Good evening, Sheikh." "Good evening, master." "What is your name?" "Ali bin Fullani bin Fullani" (Ali, son of So-and-so, son of So-and-so). "Oh, you are an Arab?" No, I am a Swahili," he says with some pride. "What is your descent?" "I am sprung from the Nabahans; my grandfather was Bwana Mkuu of Pate. See, here is my descent from the time that the Nabahans left Arabia," and he produces a slip of paper from his Koran, showing a line of ancestors reaching back to a date about level with Magna Charta.

Now ask him if Jamezi is a Swahili, and he says, "No, he is a slave from the savages of the interior." Ask Jamezi if this man is a Swahili, and he says, "No, he is an Arab."

If Jamezi's father had been an Arab or a true Swahili, Ali would have said, "Yes, he is a Swahili," in spite of the fact that his mother was an African slave, but then his name would not have been Jamezi, but he would be called by an Arab name, and also bear his father's name.

A Swahili, then, in the more confined sense of the word, is a descendant of one of the original Arab or Persian-Arab settlers on the coast. In the broader sense of the word it includes all who speak a common language, Swahili.

But the Swahili of Ali bin Fullani is not the Swahili of Jamezi.

Swahili is a mixture of Arabic and different Bantu tongues. The grammar is Bantu; the vocabulary is partly of Arabic and partly of Bantu derivation.

Ali bin Fullani speaks with a slightly Arabic accent, speaks grammatically, has a very big vocabulary, and draws copiously on the Arabic language for words to express things, ideas, and sentiments foreign to the savage African.

Jamezi has a pure Bantu accent; although he may try to mimic Arabic pronunciation occasionally, has a much smaller vocabulary, speaks ungrammatically and uses slang words. Most of the very common words in Swahili are pure Bantu, while more civilised ideas, articles and sentiments, and words connected with sea and coast, are expressed by words of Arabic derivation.

For a proper understanding of Swahili it is essential to have studied Arabic and a pure Bantu language independently.

A comparison of a few words will give an idea of the relations existing between words of Bantu and Arabic origin.

The words for which there are Bantu names are on the left, and Arabic on the right.

Bantu derivation.

Hut.
 Grass roof.
 Roofing pole.
 Zeriba.
 Mat.
 Field.
 Spear.
 Knife.
 Clay pot.
 Chief.
 Woman.
 Hill.
 Pool.
 River.
 Meat.
 Canoe.
 Porter.
 Strength.
 Goods and chattels.
 To consider.

Arabic derivation.

Stone house.
 Stone roof.
 Beam.
 Fort.
 Carpet.
 Garden.
 Rifle.
 Dagger.
 Metal pot.
 Governor.
 Lady.
 Cape.
 Harbour.
 Sea.
 Fish.
 Ship.
 Stevedore.
 Power.
 Merchandise.
 To think.

The following are words for which there are no Bantu equivalent in Swahili:—

To reign, to wash ceremonially, to dethrone, to judge, learning, allegiance, book, pen, cards, auction, pound (wt.), religion, paper, signature, deposit, tax, debt, debauchery, six, seven, watch, box, captain, thousand.

The following words have substitutes of both Bantu and Arabic origin:—

God, wind, heart, light, ten, five, space of time, to carry, to want.

There are a number of different dialects of Swahili, the chief being the dialects of the Lamu Archipelago, Mombasa, Zanzibar, the Mrima (or German East Africa), The Comoro Islands, Kilwa and Mozambique.

Amongst these dialects the words of Arabic derivation generally remain the same, while the Bantu words often differ.

Thus the Bantu words in the Lamu Archipelago bear the stamp of the Giriyama language, that of Mombasa, Kinyika that of Zanzibar of the old black inhabitants of the island, the Wahadini that of the Comoros, and Mozambique of Mokoia.

However, many of the Bantu words are common throughout all or many of the dialects, which bespeaks a common origin for all these dialects, as such words are generally very common, well-used ones.

It might thus be conjectured that the Bantu words which differ in different dialects were gathered into their special dialect after the original language had formed.

Pate or the Lamu Archipelago is generally acknowledged as the birthplace of Swahili, and the language originated there, presumably mainly by the mixture of Arabic and Giriyama, with a sprinkling of words from other languages, such as Somali, Portuguese and Galla, and a few words from the languages spoken by slaves, such as Yaos.¹ The language thus originated was gradually carried down the coast from the more ancient towns in the archipelago, and this language subsequently became modified in each place by the influence of the nearest Bantu tongue, and also by the accent of the existing inhabitants.

The tongue of the archipelago is the cleanest and purest, and the further one goes from this place, the more corrupt and the less clearly pronounced is the language. For instance, the people of Amu and Pate find no difficulty in pronouncing any two vowels successively, while the people down the coast talk thicker and thicker the further down one goes.

Take the dialects down the coast in order: Amu, Kimvita (Mombasa), Kimrima (German East Africa), and Kimngao (Kilwa).

¹ The word *tembo*=elephant, is supposed to have been derived from the Yao "ndembo" and imported by Yao slaves. "Ndovu" is the purer Swahili word for this beast.

The following words with two consecutive vowels occur in Amu:—

Mtee, kae, guu, pua, chooko, mbaazi, lia, kwea.

When you reach Mombasa you find that the first words have become “ mtele ” and “ kale,” but the remainder are the same.

When you reach the Mrima you hear, “ guru,” “ pura,” “ choroko,” “ mbarazi,” but the last two remain the same; while in Kingao you even hear “ lira ” and “ kwera.”

Another point of difference is that in the purer and cleaner spoken archipelago dialects one gets more Arabic and dental letters and greater fineness in pronunciation: sounds which are lost further down the coast.

Thus in Pate, Amu and Mombasa, we have five different “ t’s,” which may be shown by (1) the Arabic letter ط , (2) the Arabic letter ت , (3) the last aspirated, (4) the English cerebral “ t,” (5) the last aspirated.

In Zanzibar we get only two “ t’s,” while further down the coast we get but one.

In the archipelago we get two “ d’s ” and two “ r’s,” while in Zanzibar and down the coast both “ d’s ” and one of the “ r’s ” are all replaced by a cerebral “ d.”

This “ r ” is generally shown by the letter “ d ” in Roman characters, and by the letter “ r ” in Swahili. It only occurs when following the nasal “ n.”

Examples of the “ d’s ” are (1) without “ n,” Arabic dental “ d,” “ Dodori.” (2) “ Nd ” as in “ vunda.” (3) “ Nd ” as in “ ndani ” (spelt “ rani ” in Amu Swahili and “ dani ” in Zanzibar).¹ All these three letters are pronounced in Zanzibar by a cerebral “ d.”

Arabic is a written and so a more stable language. It is perhaps for this reason that the Swahili words derived from this language appear to be more or less permanent, while the Bantu part of the language changes both as to vocabulary and grammatical form, not only with places, but at different ages.

¹ Nasal “ n ” is omitted in Swahili writing.

Presumably the unwritten Bantu languages change rapidly, acquiring, forming, and borrowing new words and dropping old. Of other Bantu languages we have no record of former and older forms. In the Bantu portion of Swahili, however, a certain number of ancient forms, grammatical construction and words, are preserved either in writings or by tradition.

From these it would appear that within historical times there have been extant no less than two quite distinct forms of the Bantu part of Swahili, in addition to that now talked. The newest of these two older forms is Kikae or the old language, and this differs more from modern Swahili than does Chaucer from modern English. Older than this is Kingovi, and this language differs as much from Kikae as the latter does from modern Swahili.

Thus it appears that within historical times, say the last thousand years or less, there have been no less than three different forms of the Bantu part of the Swahili language, whilst the Arabic portion has remained much the same.

Before leaving the subject of the language one cannot help remarking what a pity it is that practically all the exercises, grammars and treatises on the Swahili language have been written in Roman and not in Swahili characters.

Those that have chiefly concerned themselves with the language have aimed at substituting Roman characters for the Arabic, and have mostly completely ignored the latter.

Their contentions in so doing are that (1) these characters suit the language better; (2) that as the unwritten Bantu languages of Africa are being reduced to writing in Roman characters, it would tend to greater uniformity if Swahili was to adopt the same characters. These arguments in their way are perfectly correct, but I fail to see how they can affect the question.

Swahili is learnt roughly for two purposes. Firstly, as a *lingua franca*, a medium of conversation with a number of people of different tribes, who through intercourse with each other or the coast, have picked up a little Swahili. Such people have their own language, and as a rule their knowledge of Swahili is very

limited, and they can neither read nor write this or any other language.

A very brief study of Swahili will teach one enough to converse with these people, and, moreover, enough to show one that the average speak very badly and ungrammatically. If one wants a smattering of Swahili for this purpose it does not seem to matter much what characters one learns the language in, provided they are characters with which one is familiar. To learn new characters for the purpose of talking to people who can neither read, write, nor talk grammatically, would be manifestly waste of time.

Secondly, one learns Swahili to talk to the Swahili himself and to make oneself understood by him.

It seems rather absurd, if one learns the language for this purpose, to learn it in characters which the native does not use, and so when learnt, it does not permit you to read his writing or books, or permit him to read your letters.

It seems to be, moreover, such a lazy way of learning a language. No one but the laziest man or one who never intended to gain more than a smattering of the language, would attempt to learn Hindustani, Arabic, or Persian in Roman characters.

Roman characters may be more suitable to the language, but as they are not used, they are not Swahili. Esperanto may be a more suitable language than Swahili, but as the Swahili do not speak it, it would be useless to learn it in place of Swahili.

Ex-slaves of the Jamezi type have learnt at the mission how to write very badly misspelt Swahili in Roman characters. They have also possibly learnt to write a little English as well. As Jamezi is not a Swahili and speaks Swahili of the lowest and most incorrect kind, he is a person to be avoided by anyone trying to learn the pure language.

As Jamezi says that Ali is not a Swahili, and the latter says that Jamezi is not, it is for a disinterested observer to decide which of the two is correct.

If being a Swahili is a matter of descent, Ali is correct, but if the term includes all who speak a common language, Swahili,

whether of a pure or corrupt form, both of these people should be considered Swahilis.

The origin of the word "Swahili" comes from the Arabic word "Sawahil," meaning "coast" or "shore," and the east coast was thus called by the Arabs "Sawahil," which in pure Swahili becomes "Sawahili" or "Sawaheli."

So the word primarily meant the coast, and subsequently those that lived on the coast, and as such would include Jamezi and all the slaves on the coast, as well as the old Arab inhabitants.

The dress of the high-class Swahili man is much the same as that of the Arab, viz., the long white shirt, the khamis¹ of the Arabs called here "kanzu" ("kandu" in Amu dialect), coloured waistcoat or long-flowing Joho, a robe something like a dressing-gown, a coloured turban or red fez, and Arab leather sandals.

The women's dress, however, differs materially from that of the Arab women. It consists generally of two big robes of Manchester cotton bearing the same device. Of these, one is worn folded round the chest and reaching to the ankles, while the second is worn either thrown over the shoulders or head as a shawl.

These robes bear all manner of strange devices, every mail nearly brings a new assortment, and the old ones go out of fashion.

The new arrivals are sold at a price of from two to six annas more than those of patterns which have been in vogue for some time past.

The commonest kinds are white with a coloured border. Different devices on this groundwork are, palm trees, bunches of three oranges, motor cars, monkeys climbing poles, a lion in a cage, horses, cashew apples, pineapples, red fezzes, and every conceivable object which could possibly appeal to the coast natives.

Other robes are in different colours, one in narrow stripes

¹ Hence origin of "chemise."



“SWAHILI” WOMEN.



KADHI OF SHELA.

called the "zebra," and another in broad stripes called the "mkeka," the striped mat of coloured grass made on the coast.

Other kinds of robes are of thin flannelette, muslin, or silk.

Nearly every one of the hundreds sold has a special name of its own.

The black bui bui, a robe like a cloak covering head and face, used in Zanzibar, is seldom seen at Mombasa. The women's turban as worn in Zanzibar, made of a woollen shawl, is also not often seen on the coast.

The Swahili women bore and extend the lobe of the ear, a custom they must have borrowed from the inland African tribes, as it is not done by the Arabs, but extensively by different inland tribes. In the extended lobe is worn an ornament about the size of a crown piece, made like a drum hollow inside. Round the outside edge is a groove like the bare rim of a bicycle, into which the extended lobe fits. These ornaments are of ornamented gold or silver.

The poorer inhabitants of the coast wear rounds of tightly rolled tissue paper in place of these ornaments.

In the nose is worn a small gold or silver button or ornament as amongst the Arabs.

The hair is tightly plaited in ridges on the top of the head, unless the lady has a considerable amount of Arab blood and the hair is long and straight; then it is worn combed and parted as with Arabs. Cocoa-nut oil is used for oiling the hair.

For coolness and cleanliness the hair amongst both sexes is often shaved completely off.

With the men this does not show particularly, as they wear either fez or turban. Amongst the women, however, it looks most unpleasing and unsexing.

The Swahili is very superstitious, a weakness he derives chiefly from his African ancestors, although this trait is also present in a smaller degree in the Arab.

The common mass of Swahili believe implicitly in the existence of snakes which will swallow a caravan of a hundred men, of Jini and devils living in big trees, lakes, the sea, etc.,

snakes which promenade with jewels in their mouths, birds which lay jewelled eggs, and all manner of wonders.

I will explain in a later chapter how entirely the native fails to distinguish between hearsay and direct evidence, and how he relates hearsay news with all the apparent truth and conviction of an eye-witness. He will relate any story he has heard as if it had occurred to himself, and thus one is able to get at first hand the relation of so many marvels, all of which the narrator alleges to have seen for himself. I will now relate a few of the everyday marvels which occur to the Swahili.

I am told that it is the custom for all good people to close their doors in Mombasa before ten o'clock, and after that not to answer or speak with anyone who knocks at their doors. It is common for a Jini to promenade the town at night and knock at people's doors and call them by name. If one answers one dies at once. As proof that this is true there was the wife of So-and-so who was found dead in the morning, and this must have been the cause of her death.

There is a certain baobab in the centre of the native town of Mombasa in which lives a female Jini who can frequently be heard nursing and crooning to her child at night.

A Jini fell in love with a horse I had once, and plaited a few hairs of its mane one night.

When the telegraph boat ran on a reef just off Zanzibar I am told that the white men were very anxious to find out what it had struck, and so went out in a boat and sent a native diver down to look. He went down and saw nothing, and came up again. He was sent down again, and found a female Jini sitting on a rock and plaiting her hair. She asked him what he wanted and told him not to come down again.

When he came to the surface he was afraid to say what he saw, and so said he saw nothing. He was sent down again, and was never seen again. As he had not mentioned what he had seen, it was clever of the narrator to guess!

A large safari once left the coast. One morning they saw what they thought was mist ahead, but it was really the open mouth

of the great snake called "nondo." The whole safari walked into his mouth, after which he closed it and they were never heard of again. Again the relater does not say how the news was obtained, but as proof that this was true, the whole of Rabai wept for two months for the selfsame safari.

Another safari incident. A whole safari headed by a white man walked into a hole in the side of a hill, which then closed on them. The only person who escaped was the boy of the gun-bearer who had been lagging behind. He ran back and told the news and the white men came out and looked for many months for their companion, but never found him.

There is a very bad devil which lives near the fort at Mombasa, and no native inhabitant would be very anxious to pass there alone at night. To be devil-struck (kumbwa na sheitani) at night is quite an ordinary occurrence, and accounts for many otherwise inexplicable illnesses.

This is quite different from being possessed by a spirit (pagawa na pepo) which causes the unfortunate who has been possessed to lose his reason entirely for the time being. By paying much money to the professional exorcisers of demons, it is possible to eject these evil spirits.

The professional exorcisers examine the victim and pronounce their opinion as to the exact means to be employed to eject the unwelcome intruder.

The usual means are the sacrifice of certain curiously marked animals, such as two white cocks, a spotted goat, a brindled ox, and the holding of an ngoma (dance and beating of drums) night and day for a certain number of days without cessation.

As the exorcisers perform the ngoma for which they receive good pay and good food, they naturally state as the amount requisite the maximum number of days to which they think their patrons' finances will extend.

The ngoma is carried on ceaselessly for the agreed time, and at the end of that period the evil spirit gets so bored with the incessant banging of drums that it flies away and seeks repose

and quiet elsewhere, and with it also go, I am sure, the sympathies of any unfortunate European who is living in the immediate vicinity of the ngoma.

Astonishing to relate, the victim of the "pepo" almost invariably regains sanity at the expiration of the ceremonies, a fact the reason for which I believe medical and other scientific men are unable to explain.

Amongst the Swahilis are known a few good drugs made from roots and barks of different trees and plants, and sometimes from leaves.

However, for every medicine of any value, there are perhaps a hundred medicines of no value whatever, which are administered by alleged doctors. The doctor (mganga) also administers equally charm medicines and drugs, the former being considered as requiring the greater knowledge to prepare, and also as being more effective.

Such is the credulity of the Swahili, that he firmly believes that he can be cured of all manner of diseases, wounds, aches and pains, by the reading of a chapter of the Koran with proper unction and ceremony, the jumping over lines scratched on the earth, tying of tightly rolled verses from the Koran round neck or arm, or wearing of other charms.

The disease and the cure are sometimes determined by the casting of pebbles, beads and curious trinkets out of a gourd. The doctor at once detects the medicine to be used by the manner in which these fall, and for this purpose it is not even necessary to see the patient.

I once consulted a number of medicine men concerning alleged ailments, and gained much diversion by hearing them expound their views and receiving their prescriptions.

Most of the medicines produced were gnarled and twisted bits of root to be pounded or flaked, and mixed with water. Those were, however, comparatively dull compared with the more magical remedies.

Commonly-used medicines and much prized are lion's fat and monitor's fat. These are rubbed on the afflicted part for

rheumatism and most aches and pains. Powdered turmeric is plastered on the head for headache.

A common remedy for cataract or bad eyesight is to bind a bit of string tightly round a finger near the top, and then, pricking the tip of the finger with a pin, apply the blood which spurts out to the defective eye.

Skin cuts, cupping and burning with hot irons, are very common remedies. These are sometimes applied to the spot which is painful and often then afford relief; on the other hand, gashes or scars are often made in quite different parts of the body, such as a gash in the leg to cure an ache in the head, and so on.

Very learned magicians and doctors, it would appear, are in possession of ancient tomes in which are written prophecies, and also in which the ailments and remedies of every future applicant for medical relief are already inscribed.

Instances of these sages and their books of prophecy occur in the "Thousand and One Nights" (*see* Duban the sage). "Kupiga mbaruga" (ramli or bao) is the foretelling of medicine or events by the casting of pebbles, sticks, etc. The first word is generally used in Mombasa, and is of Kinyika origin.

The sage throws his pebbles out of a gourd, and then, after deliberation and seeing how they fall, gives his decision, prophecy or prescription.

Other wise men predict and foretell by gazing at sand, mixing tobacco and ashes and smelling it, throwing sticks, or interpreting dreams.

There is no end to the quaint medicines which these waganga devise by the alleged interpretation of the fall of the mbaruga. The more strange and out of the way is the medicine, the greater is the faith with which it is taken, and hence acumen accruing to the mganga. In one Swahili story I heard, there was a prescription of leopard's milk.

Sacrifices are commonly resorted to, both for the curing of ailments and also to produce favourable future events, such as the birth of a son. I have often wondered to what extent these

magicians believe in their own magical powers, and to what extent they know themselves to be frauds. No doubt most of them are as superstitious as the rest of the people, and even if they have doubts about the efficacy of their own magic, they have no doubt that some form of magic is the correct remedy for most complaints.

The prediction of omens and great events, such as the foretelling of the birth of an heir to the throne, or the forecasting of rain, falls more especially to the province of the Waanavyuoni (literally school children or scholars, but in reality old men or sages).

Before leaving the subject of magic and charms, I must mention *viapo* and *tego*, or charms for the safeguarding of property and wives.

The *kiapo* is generally some sort of charm put in a plantation or field to prevent strangers stealing the produce. It may consist of a snake in a tree, a spell cast over the fruit or cereals to make them poisonous to all but the owner, or charms like scarecrows placed in prominent places which inspire the would-be thief with awe.

The most efficient *kiapo*, however, which does not need a magician to arrange is the planting of a belt of a special plant, called "mbiriwiri," round the plantation. This plant drops on the ground quantities of such nasty spiky little seeds that it is practically impossible for any barefooted person to pass through the belt.

The *tego* (derived from *ku-tega*=to entrap) is a snare left to entrap the would-be adulterer in the absence of the husband.

Of these there are a variety of different kinds, such as the *tego ya mkeka*, *punda*, *mbwa*, etc. These it would perhaps be more polite to describe in Latin.¹

¹ "Hæc sunt tria carmina :—

I. *Tego ya mkeka* ; unde fit ut stragulum posteriori parti corporis adulteri adhæreat, donec maritus feminæ domum redierit.

II. *Tego ya mbwa* ; unde fit ut adulter cum feminâ more canino cohæreat, neu membrum suum retrahere possit.

III. *Tego ya punda* ; unde fit ut adulteri membrum usque ad instar asini tumeat."

There are special sorts of charms to prevent strangers using wells which make the water poisonous to others, but innocuous to the owners.

The houses, both stone and "makuti" of the Swahilis and Arabs, have already been described. The wealthier Arabs, as elsewhere, accumulate all sorts of gaudy and generally useless furniture and ornaments in their houses, such as chandeliers, Ormulu vases, pier glasses, various large and imposing-looking hanging lamps, generally broken, and purely ornamental in function, musical boxes, etc., and more useful articles in the shape of chairs, couches, etc.

The makuti house is divided inside into several compartments, in each of which is generally a charpoy¹ with coloured pillows at both head and foot of the bed.

If two or more people occupy one partition, the different beds are screened off by hanging leso, or women's robes, in front of the beds.

A common object on the seashore of Lamu is a number of these charpoys anchored on the beach, so as to be covered by sea water at high tide, for the purpose of relieving them of their insect inhabitants.

The other articles of furniture in the huts are a chair or two, rough deal tables with a few cups, saucers and other bits of crockery or tin ware scattered about, a picture of their Majesties the King and Queen, a sifting or winnowing basket, a cheap sieve and a few cooking pots, and mkindu straw dish covers.

Under the bed will be a tin box containing the clothes and valuables of the owner, or perhaps an Arab black coffer resplendent with brass studs, hoops and lock; and possibly there will be found amongst the crockery a few pieces of the old and valuable pottery of Lamu.

A few words now as to the character of the Swahili.

¹ The Indian charpoy is a bed consisting of a framework of roughly cut wood, across which is plaited rope or string, the whole supported on legs. It is called "kitanda" here.

As for a proper understanding of the Swahili language, it is necessary to have learnt Arabic and a pure Bantu language independently; so to properly understand the Swahili, it is helpful to know both the African and Arab nature.

The Swahili is cheerful and happy-go-lucky as the African; fond of humour, intrigue and power as the Arab.

Like the Arab, but to an even greater extent, he lives in two separate worlds, one of words and one of deeds.

If you judge him by his sentiments, you find a man of noble aspirations, lofty ideals, intelligent thoughts, devout, kind, sympathetic and honourable.

If you judge him by his actions, however, you find him a man low, sordid, cunning, theiving, slanderous, callous and ignorant. For instance, he will say, "A man's mother is his second God," and then will disown his mother entirely because she is not of the same class as his father, and perhaps beat her if she comes near him.

For the proper understanding of the savage African, one must not look on him as a human being, but as a rather superior kind of animal. Looked on from this point of view, many of his actions and ways of thought are intelligible, where otherwise they are inexplicable. To judge the African side of a Swahili nature he must be looked at from this standpoint. However, he has another side, the Arab side, a much more complex quantity to understand.

It is comparatively easy to understand the workings of the mind of the savage by imagining something much inferior to ourselves, and approaching the animal, differing chiefly in the matter of articulate speech from the animal creation.

When the European, however, tries to understand the Oriental, he has before him a very different task. For here we have people of an older civilisation than ourselves who are no longer on the plane of the animal, who had developed and civilised themselves, while we were still in the animal stage, but on such a very different plan to our Western ideas that it is practically impossible for us fully to understand them.

They have strict codes of honour, morality, etiquette, government, religion, and equity, but they are not the same as our codes. They have their ideas of good and bad, beautiful and ugly, learned and ignorant, but they differ from ours. Their dress, manners, food and customs, songs and dances, laws and crafts, ornaments and art, are not really very much less civilised than are our own, but so different are they, that they mostly appear to us uncouth and barbaric.

CHAPTER VII

NATIVE SHIPPING

THE average European and even the native longshoresman, be he Arab or African, dismisses any native vessel he sees under the generic term of "dau" (dhow). Even one born in a coast town like Mombasa or Zanzibar often expresses surprise on hearing that there are more than two or three different kinds of vessels which are accustomed to visit his port.

In reality there are an infinite variety, far too many to describe at length in a brief chapter like this, and in addition almost every little coast town turns out a local make or pattern of some well-known type.

The Arabs have long been famed as mariners, and when we were walking about dressed in skins (or the more scanty costume of woad sometimes adopted) or were paddling about the Fens in coracles, they or their ancestors were navigating the waters of the Indian Ocean and trading at numberless ports down the east coast of Africa, as far as the Zambezi River.

It will be remembered that even up to the Middle Ages the seafaring Moors were the scourge of the whole Mediterranean, and up to the last century almost every European nation was paying tribute to them.

The Phœnicians and the Hamyarites were noted navigators and traders, the latter being an old civilisation of Southern Arabia, who have left us as records of themselves and their doings many monuments and inscriptions.

Such writings, although in strange characters, are capable of being transliterated into what is more or less intelligible Arabic.

These ancient mariners have left traces of themselves in many distant parts of the world, old mines attributed to them having

been found in places as wide apart as Cornwall and the middle Zambezi, not so far from where the Portuguese town of Tete now stands.

That wonderful old geographer, Ptolemy, collected from these mariners and other sources, what was then the most extraordinarily accurate information about East and Central Africa. His map, crude as it was, although produced about 150 A.D., was not materially improved on till recent times.

In fact, so remarkable was the information he amassed, that before the discoveries of the sources of the Nile by Speke and Burton, Ptolemy's theories as to the Central African lakes were in a great measure accepted and have to a certain extent subsequently been proved correct.

Of other old writings concerning this coast we have the "Periplus," a work possibly of older date, which gives much information concerning the Indian Ocean, Zanzibar and the mainland.

From the descriptions given in this book it would appear that some of the craft of those days have descended almost unaltered to modern times.

In Eastern waters it was the Arab trader who was almost entirely responsible for the opening up of a large part of the interior of Africa and the carrying into these places of a certain amount of primitive civilisation. Seyid Sa'id of Maskat, who, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was practically the founder of that great Zanzibar empire under the protection of Maskat, which embraced Zanzibar, Pemba and most of the east coast of Africa, reaching far into the heart of the continent, was a notable sailor as well as a soldier, and when not fighting on land (which was seldom), he was engaged in maritime conquests.

He numbered in his navy various types of British warships, corvettes and frigates, some of which he bought whilst others were presented to him.

He drew his sailors principally from Maskat Arabs and Lascars. The last remnant of the Zanzibar navy was the *Glasgow*, sunk by H.M.S. *St. George* at the bombardment of Zanzibar in 1896, and its masts still stand above water in

the harbour as a memento of the bombardment and as a future warning.

The above brief summary should be sufficient to convince the reader as to the important part played in history by Arab shipping in both old and comparatively recent times.

To come to the various types of vessels in use, we have first the most primitive form of water-conveyance, the dug-out, called by the Swahili "mtumbwi."

This is merely the trunk of a tree, felled and roughly hewn into shape and hollowed out by native axes, and is common all over tropical Africa, being the usual and generally the only form of conveyance on all the big inland rivers.

Its usual mode of propulsion is by means of a pole, but on the bigger rivers and lakes, too deep to pole, a short paddle with a round flat blade, the size of a dinner plate, is common.

At Zanzibar and on the coast they are generally only big enough to hold one or at most three persons, and they are chiefly used as a portable form of ship's boat to some bigger craft; but on the big rivers and lakes inland they often permit of carrying twenty or forty passengers, their size being only limited by the girth of the trees available.

Such a dug-out is commonly seen as a ferry with which to cross large rivers, as the upper waters of the Congo.

They are generally leaky, filthy, dirty and uncomfortable to one unused to them, for the smaller ones, at any rate, are too narrow across the gunwales to permit of sitting down with ease and they are too unstable to sit above the sides.

The proper method of sitting in them is to squat as a native on the heels, and if one is unable to do this for any length of time, one has perforce to seat oneself in a few inches of water not of the purest mixed up with mud, fishes' heads and other curios.

The reason that they generally leak is that the wood, being unseasoned, splits, or else a false stroke with the axe during its manufacture sends a hole through the bottom and this has to be stuffed with mud and grass.

A new one is seldom seen, as the indolent native does not go to the trouble of making another while there are a few pieces of the former still holding together.

I remember a case in which a village, on the bank of a stream, boasted of only one very old and leaky canoe for the purpose of crossing to the other bank.

This canoe would hold two men at most, and to cross (I was going to say dry-shod but this word would hardly be applicable) it was necessary to empty out the boat on one bank and, hurriedly getting in, shove off as rapidly as possible, and the other bank could just be reached before the boat sunk.

The occupants leapt out quickly and a moment later it sunk to the bottom, and when next required it was necessary to send men in to dive for it.

This state of things lasted for one year, after which the village at last set itself to the construction of a new boat.

The illustration opposite page 109 shows the ngalawa, virtually the same as the mtumbwi, but provided with outriggers to give it stability.

These are made by lashing a couple of poles across the dug-out and fastening to their ends a board, plank or log of wood, which prevents it from capsizing as readily as the other.

This is presumably the savage's first attempt at bettering his craft into more of an ocean-going concern, having found it impossible to leave the immediate neighbourhood of the shore with the simple dug-out.

Having advanced thus far in the science of naval architecture, it is not immediately apparent why he should ever revert again to the more primitive type, but the explanation is simple enough.

There is not room for the outriggered boat to come up the narrow waterways between the houses on the foreshore, nor is it so convenient for the narrow creeks or the navigation of a small river.

Moreover, the mtumbwi is handier and less bulky for stowing on board a vessel, and for this reason most of them carry one.

The outriggered ngalawa is much used by native fishermen, who often manage to get several miles from the shore in this craft; on a calm day they can be seen in all directions plying their trade in these quaint little boats.¹

As the rough-hewn bottom does not slip through the water in the same way as does that of a smooth-planked vessel it is spread over with a concoction of shark's fat, called "sifa," which is said to increase considerably the rate at which it travels.

The fishermen's ngalawa is generally fitted with a mast and small lateen sail.

There is another form of dug-out sometimes seen on the beach, and that is one of Indian origin, known in these parts as "hori."

These are, as a rule, wider across the gunwales than the dug-out of local manufacture and are generally painted, red for preference, and have been brought over as ships' boats in trading vessels.

In Zanzibar and Pemba dug-outs are almost always made of the trunk of a mango tree, no other large trees being available, and this tree being very common on these islands.

On the mainland various other large trees are used which grow on the banks of rivers.

The mashua is the usual fishing-boat, and is provided with one mast and a small lateen sail.

The same type of boat provided with oars, instead of sail and mast, is that which usually conveys passengers between the shore and their steamers in all East African ports.

The Swahilis also refer to any small ship's boat of European make by the same name.

The mashua has a rudder (usukani), and rudder-lines (ujari), and a long bow, while the mtumbwi is, of course, innocent of anything like a rudder attachment.

This boat is also used for local traffic round the coast, and especially in the island of Zanzibar where it serves such purposes as conveying the coral rag of which the roads and

¹ I once possessed one of these boats that had travelled from Kismayu to Zanzibar and back (not with me in it, I am glad to say).

the majority of the houses are made, or bringing into the town firewood, composed of drift and mangrove wood from along the coast.

Slightly bigger than the mashua and also used for local traffic is the kidau.

This, as its name denotes, is a smaller edition of a dau, and has a pointed stern unlike the mashua which is square-sterned. However, the kidau is always open, whereas the dau has closed stern cabins.

It is generally caulked with cocoa-nut fibre or cōir by the simple process of stuffing it into any crevices.

A tishari or lighter, sometimes pronounced tishali, is a large hulk used for conveying cargo to and from the sea-going vessels and slowly propelled by natives standing round the edge with paddles or long poles.

The only other small boat of any note which is commonly seen besides the mashua and kidau is the dau ya samaki, or fishing dau, the Swahilis having dropped their old word for fish in favour of the Arabic word "samak."

This boat bears points of resemblance to both the others, but is on the whole more like the mashua, except for its slightly pointed stern.

Before touching on the sea-going vessels it would be as well to explain that the voyages of nearly all of them depend entirely on the trade winds, and thus they can make only one trip down the coast and the return voyage during the course of a year.

At the start of the N.E. monsoon, called the "kasikazi," which begins in November or December, the ships leave the northern ports in the Persian Gulf, Gulf of Cutch, Oman and South Arabia, such as Makalla and As Shahr, and come down with the monsoon to such ports as Mukadisho, Kismayu, Lamu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Saadani, Pangani, Kilwa, etc.

They bring down such goods as clothes, rice and ornaments from India, coarse silk-woven garments from Persia and Maskat, dates and salt fish from the Persian Gulf and Arabia.

The salt fish is generally shark's flesh, a flourishing trade

in which is kept up between the Gulf of Aden and the south, this food being much appreciated by Africans and the wondrous conglomeration of races dwelling in the coast towns.

About March the N.E. monsoon dies away, and shortly afterwards the S.W. monsoon starts, enabling vessels to return to the northern ports carrying such cargoes as grain, ivory and other goods. :

The output of ivory is, of course, very much less than it was ten or twenty years ago and is still on the decrease, but is made up for to a certain extent by its increased value. The great proportion of ivory off this coast instead of finding its way home to England to make billiard balls, as is popularly imagined, goes into the Indian market from whence it gradually finds its way to China and Japan to make the many beautiful articles produced in those countries out of this material.

It may be news to some to know that the Chinese themselves used actually to trade and send their junks as far as this coast not many hundred years ago.

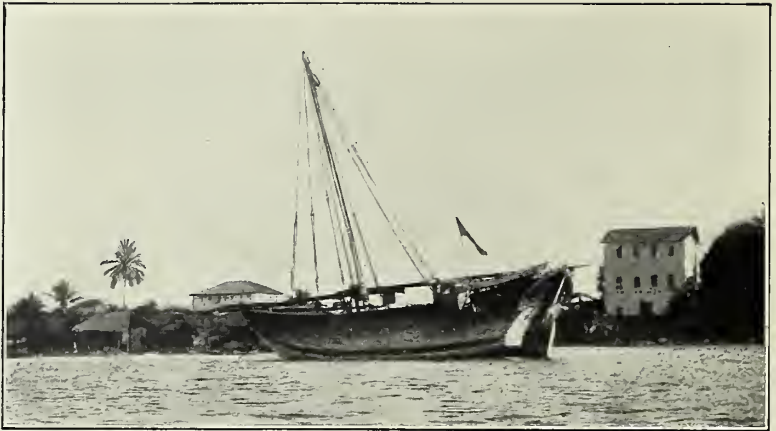
Another valuable product of these shores, though usually only found in small quantities, is ambergris, a disgusting-looking odoriferous substance, but without its aid it is said that no perfume or blending of scents can be made.

This substance is found on the sea shore of North-East Africa, where it has been washed up by the tide and is the outcome of a growth or disease which occasionally attacks whales.

Cloves are the principal export of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, but the greater part finds its way to Europe or America in European ships.

The most valuable cargo produced by these coasts in former days, slaves, are now, to the regret of the Arab, things of the past. .

When one has seen the intricate winds and creeks running inland from Mombasa harbour, and the numerous lagoons, harbours, inlets and archipelagos which abound on this coral coast, it is easy to understand what difficulty was experienced in running to earth numberless small craft with little draught, and



ZANZIBAR BAGHALAH.



BEDENI FROM PERSIAN GULF.

a perfect knowledge of all the recesses of the coast, waiting to run their precious cargo across to Zanzibar or up the coast to Arabia.

To return to the monsoons, by September the S.W. monsoon gives way to a period of variable winds called by the natives "tanga mbili," or the two sails.

The illustration opposite page 109 gives an idea of the number of native craft which are brought into port during the first part of the N.E. monsoon.

One of the most common types of these trading boats is the baghalah, often mistakenly called "buggalow" by Anglo-Indians, meaning in Arabic a "she-mule," probably from the analogy of its being the beast of burden of the sea, in the same way as we call the camel the "ship of the desert."

These baghalahs are broad, clumsy boats, generally coming from Maskat and the Persian Gulf.

Their high poops and massive bulwarks give them at a distance something of the appearance of an old wooden man-of-war.

They often amount to as much as 200 tons, which is a respectable size for a native boat, and reach a length of nearly 100 feet, with a beam about a quarter of this distance and carry a main and mizzen-mast both lateen-rigged, as indeed are nearly all Eastern craft.

Some are built with an exterior and an interior wall, the space between enclosing a mixture of lime and other materials which serve to make the vessel perfectly watertight when this mixture has hardened inside.

There are several local builds of baghalah, some of which have only one mast.

Zanzibar, Maskat and Somaliland all turn out local makes of this craft. The Maskat type has a short, stunted, curled bowsprit adorned with carving, while the Zanzibar type has no bowsprit at all.

The masts rake well forward as they do in all Eastern craft.

There are large and roomy stern cabins, where in port the nakhoda, or captain, a dignified old Arab, will welcome his

friends to a drink of Yemen coffee and a pull at the hookah.

When winds are unfavourable these sea-mules are often driven far out of their course, and are hard put to it for food and water.

Regulations exist in Zanzibar as to the amount of water per man native boats must have on board before they are permitted to leave port, but those coming from native ports, having no such rules, often arrive in a distressing condition for want of water.

One arrived on the east coast not long ago in which the men had been three days without water, and some ponies on board had not drunk for five days.

Such cases are common, and the sufferers soon get over their discomfort and are as ready as ever to sail away again without sufficient water on board, having gained nothing in providence.

Ponies are often brought down by these boats, but seldom find their way farther than the Somali coast.

These ponies sometimes have a strain of Arab, but are probably more often Kadishes and Indian country bred.

The photograph opposite page 139 is of a boat coming from the Persian Gulf, called by the Arabs "badan," this name when converted into Swahili appearing as "bedeni."

Its most noticeable feature is the enormous rudder-head looking in the distance like the prow of a gondola.

The rudder, called "usukani" or "sukani" (the latter word being also used for a "pilot"), is worked by a tiller, called "kana."

These bedeni are broader in proportion to their length than the dau or the mtepe, which is perhaps the origin of their name "badan," which means "body" or "corpulence."

They are considerably faster than the baghalah and much better finished, their planking and sides being beautifully smooth and well curved.

One of the most interesting vessels seen on this coast is one

of local build, called the "mtepe" and known to the Arabs as "muntafyah."

This, as Burton describes it, is, "a lineal descendant of the *Ploaria Rhapta*" (*Naviculæ Consutæ* "Periplus," Chap. XVI.), that floated upon these seas twenty centuries ago.

Rhapta was a town shown on Ptolemy's map as being situated at the mouth of the river Rhaptus, possibly what is now known as the Tana River, which is near the principal place of its production to this day, viz., Maguniani and the town of Faza in the island of Pate.

It is more generally supposed, however, to be the Rufiji River. Other places where it is built are Tikuni and Siu.

The mtepe has a long projecting stern and long, graceful prow, and differs from the ordinary run of the ships of this ocean in that it is square-rigged and is unlike almost any ship in that its sails are made not of canvas, but of coarse matting.

The most curious part of these boats is that they are made entirely without the aid of iron, not a bolt, nail or rivet being used in their construction.

The whole boat is fastened together with wooden pegs, and the boards stained and warped close against one another with coconut fibre rope.

Such a boat was well calculated to withstand the influence of the "Mountains of the magnet" referred to in the "Thousand and One Nights," which the old Arab geographers solemnly asserted to exist on this coast in the midst of what they called the "Bad sea," and the "Enchanted breakers" which were supposed to be round Ras Hafun.

The mtepe needs no caulking as its cracks and joints are stuffed with coir (makumbi) pulled tightly together with cord and shrunk together.

The mariners of these craft are even more superstitious than the majority, and the whole ship is plentifully decorated with flags and talismans to counteract the evil influence of the sheitani wa bahari, or sea-devils.

The mtepe, unlike most of the other craft, has a comparatively

long bowsprit made generally of mkandaa wood, and its principal use seems to be the attachment of a row of charms, called "mzima," composed of alternate branches of the split and dried leaves of the mkindu and mvinji trees, the former being the wild date and the latter a kind of fir.¹

A little aft of the mainmast is a pole in alternate black and white bands which bears the flag, while at the top of the tall mast is a white pennant.

To conclude with the mtepe, it can sail as close to the wind or closer than any of the vessels of this coast, it is swift and steady, and does not have to lie idle during the greater part of the year waiting for favourable winds, as does the baghalah, while the elasticity of its make allows it to stand any amount of bad weather and hard usage.

Next we come to the Arab dau, which is perhaps the most common of any vessel seen east of Suez, and is familiar to many as the boat seen scurrying across the straits of Bab al Mandeb or the Gulf of Aden in front of an eastern-bound steamer or spoiling the run of a homeward-bound vessel by putting out signals of distress and demanding water and food off the south coast of Arabia.

Although the crews of these craft are often hard pressed for these necessaries of life, this is often only a ruse for obtaining a cheap meal, for no big steamer is going to spoil its run more than can be helped or arrive late with mails for the sake of sending men on board to verify the state of affairs, so a few bags of rice and a cask or two of water are hastily thrown to these mendicants of the ocean and the steamer hurriedly resumes her journey.

The dau, like all Arab vessels, has a mast raking forward, and, like most Eastern craft, is lateen rigged; that is to say, it has a long triangular sail attached to a yard which is hoisted at an angle to the mast.

This yard, called "foromali," is often very long and heavy,

¹ In the Lamu Archipelago the bowsprits of the mtepe bear small flags=ziberamu, and festoons of miaa (a palm)=zipepo.

being composed of two or three lengths of a kind of fir-tree wood spliced together, and is sometimes almost equal to the total length of the boat itself. Naturally on a big vessel it is with great difficulty that the crew manage to hoist this cumbrous yard, more especially as blocks are not smooth-running as with us, so the hoisting of this yard is a lengthy process accompanied by much song, garrulity and invoking of the name of the Prophet.

The dau, like the mtepe, has probably come down to us little changed, and, as Burton says, dates probably from the Phœnicians. It has two masts and a high poop and fo'c'stle, and is usually caulked with shahamu, a mixture of lime and a kind of oil or fat, called "mafuta ya uto."

A local build is made at Charawa on the east coast of Zanzibar. Zanzibar, by the way, is not so-called by the Arabs, being "Zingibar," derived, as stated before, from the Persian "zing" or "zang," a negro and the Arabic "bar" meaning land, the whole being almost identical in meaning to the word "Sudan," *i.e.*, the land of the blacks.

The Swahili, however, call this island "Unguja."

This word "bar," meaning "land" or "continent," is supposed, curiously enough, to be incorporated in the word "Briton," this name being derived from the Arabic "bar et tanak," the "land of tin."

Between the dau and the mtepe there are various intermediate types, called "dau ya mtepe," while the smaller relations of the dau, the kidau and the dau ya samaki, we have already touched on.

The dau ya mtepe is built at Maguniani, near Lamu.

It has a flag in front, but no mzima, or charms.

It, however, shows its resemblance to the mtepe in that it is also nail, bolt, and rivetless.

We now come to another series of boats, called "jahazi," which word is derived from the Hindustani "jahaz" meaning "a ship" in general.

The jahazi, like the baghalah, has various local builds differing slightly from one another, the chief kinds being those

built at Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, Pemba, Saadani and Dar as Salaam.

Unlike the last three boats, the jahazi has a square stern, and it is also smaller than these others.

There is a boat used in the Red Sea, called "sambuk," which bears points of resemblance both to the jahazi and the dau.

Before setting sail, the crew of a dau or a jahazi hold a dance, in the same way as do most uncivilised people before making any venture, and as do the savages of the interior before starting on a journey or a hunt.

This dance is supposed to appease the water-demons and bring luck to their venture, while another thanksgiving dance is held on their safe arrival.

The crew of the mtepe, amply provided as they are with a host of charms and talismans, find it unnecessary to indulge in any such performance.

Of other less-used craft, a pattamar is a vessel that does not often reach as far south as Zanzibar, generally only plying round the Indian coast.

This boat has a main and mizzen lateen-rigged, and is generally distinguished by a very long yard.

Another type of Persian Gulf vessel is that variously described as "batela," "batelo" and "batili," with high stern and roomy poop.

An ukarara is another type of boat hailing from Choli, in German East Africa.

The kachi is an Indian-built vessel something like a big jahazi.

Many of these vessels, especially the few last mentioned, are painted in green, white and red paints, showing peculiar designs and eyes painted on either side of the bow, which were perhaps the forerunners of our hawser holes.

Another craft is the jalbuti, with short, curled bowsprit.

This bowsprit, which is called "dasturi" (a word also meaning "a custom"), is made in one piece with the fore part of the boat and so does not unfasten.

There is a smaller edition of this boat called a "buti."

Of other vessels we have the ganja built at Cutch, from which neighbourhood come the enterprising Bhattias who have spread all over this coast as store-keepers and merchants, and are here called "Banyans."

The grab or ghurab, meaning "raven," comes from the same part of the world, while of locally built craft we also have the chombo.

A European sailing vessel of whatever kind is referred to as "manchani," a word of which I have not been able to hear the derivation, the names for "steamer" and "warship," however, are easy to see, being "meli" and "manowari," the Swahilicised form of "mail" and "man of war," and such well-used words that most Swahilis imagine them to be pure Swahili.

The Arabs call a battleship "markab harbi" and sometimes "barigah," the former being like our word, "markab," a ship, and "harb," war, while the latter word is derived from the same source as a "fortress" or "castle."

A sailing ship they call "markab kulu."

Other Arab craft are the kayik, filuka and sandal, but these latter are made by the North African and Egyptian Arabs.

A voyage in one of these vessels is by no means an enjoyable excursion to our European ideas.

In a heavy sea the waves break over the sides and wet the occupants, while the most comfortable couch securable may be a few bags of dates which grow stickier and stickier as the voyage proceeds, and the unseasoned passenger lives in fear lest the boat will capsize, alternated by hopes that it will sink quickly and relieve him of his misery.

The parts of the ship are "omo," the prow, called in Arabic "mukkadam"; "tezi," the poop, in Arabic "muakhar"; and "katikati," amidships, Arabic "wasat"; while "sath" are the sides or bulwarks.

The sailing master is called "muallim," meaning "one who knows."

Masts (milingote) for the ships of Zanzibar make usually

come from the Mrima coast, in German East Africa, a place called Simba Uranga being noted for them.

The three principal trees used are the mkoko, mkandara or mkandaa and the mvinji; the last two being also found plentifully near Lamu are used for the ships built there.

Cords and rigging are made of cocoa-nut fibre or bast of trees.

Many of our English nautical words are supposed to have been borrowed from the Arabs, among which are "anchor," from Arabic "angar" (called in Swahili "nanga"); and "admiral," from Arabic "al amir," "the commander"; while the compass (Swahili "dira") is supposed to have been invented by the Arabs.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAMU ARCHIPELAGO

THE little group of islands known as the Lamu Archipelago is, historically speaking, the most interesting part of the Protectorate.

These islands consist of coral patches, on which grow a low, thick thorn-scrub, surrounded by mangrove swamps. In favourable spots sand blows up and accumulates into dunes, which are, as a rule, the only high ground on the otherwise flat surface of the land.

Once these sand-hills commence to form they quickly augment and encroach on the interior or cover up the towns.

On the exposed seaward sides of these islands or the mainland is found either a bare coral rock shore, or these dunes, rising from a sandy beach on the open sea.

Except at these spots a belt of mangrove lies between the shore and the sea, and the approach to land is made through creeks and inlets often impassable at low tide, at which time they become expanses of mud.

These mangrove swamps, or "nyangwa" ¹ as they are called, are a great feature of the coast and have played a not inconsiderable part in the history and life of the inhabitants.

The nyangwa is at high tide a belt of mangrove growing in shallow water, and is intersected with creeks, inlets and channels.

These waterways are then navigable by canoes and dhows of shallow draught.

At low water they become expanses of soft mud, the home and playground of multitudinous little black crabs, bearing one huge

¹ "Yangwa," Mombasa Swahili.

pink claw as big as the rest of the body, while the second claw is small and rudimentary.

The creeks and inlets are at this time generally either mud expanses, like the nyangwa which encloses them, or, at any rate, too shallow to pass.

As many of the towns are situated at the head of creeks, they offer difficulties to attack by an enemy, while the inhabitants are isolated from the rest of the world and the neighbouring communities.

In Chapters I. to IV. we have seen how from this cause a number of little kingdoms sprang up in close proximity to each other, and how difficult it was to attack or surprise a neighbouring community.

Lamu is situated on an open beach, but the approach to it from the ancient towns of Pate and Manda was either by a circuitous route passing round the side of Manda exposed to the open sea, a route dangerous to dhows full of armed men, or through the narrow channel, called the "Mkanda."

We have seen how useful this circumstance was to Lamu in handicapping the approach of an adversary (p. 69 "History").

An enemy must come at high tide through this channel, and in the event of defeat no opportunity to retreat was offered till the next high tide.

This isolation of the towns has had the effect of establishing different dialects amongst the different communities, and keeping these dialects, once formed, separate one from another. Every little town, formerly a kingdom of its own, has a dialect which it cultivates, and of which it is still very tenacious, although communication between them is more open than formerly.

The island of Lamu, or "Amu" as the inhabitants call it, stands in a concave curve of the mainland shore, the mainland being close to it on the west and north and only separated from it by a narrow channel.

To the east of Amu is the island of Manda, and this island too is on the north side separated only by a narrow channel, the Mkanda, from the mainland.

At the east end of the Mkanda the mainland curves round to the north, making space for the island of Pate, which is situated to the north of Manda.

North of Pate and practically in the same island is Siu and Faza, and north again are in order the isles of Uvondo, Ndao and Kiwayu.

The last named is the most northerly, and hence its name Kiwayu=Kiwa (cha) yuu, or the upper island, "Kiwa" being ancient Swahili for the modern "Kisiwa."

The name of "Kismayu" is similarly said to be derived from Kisima (cha) yuu=the upper well.

The chief towns in the archipelago are Amu and Shela on the island of Lamu, Faza and Siu on the island of Pate, and also the remains of the old town of Pate in which there are now but few inhabitants.

These old towns, together with the more recent Witu on the mainland a few hours inland from Mkunumbi, are intimately connected with Swahili history. Of other places there is Kao on the lower Tana River and Kipini near its mouth, Mkunumbi on the mainland opposite Lamu, Shanga opposite Siu, Dodori and Kiunga.

Although so close together the inhabitants of each of these towns differ in customs and dialect from their neighbours, and to a large degree in origin and descent.

Most of these places seem to be decreasing in population, and must have declined very seriously in point of prosperity in recent years.

In the old days they seem to have possessed no industries, and their source of wealth must have been derived almost entirely from dealings in slaves.

The freeing of slaves has reduced most of the freeborn inhabitants to a sad state of poverty, and, moreover, those with property and cocoa-nut shambas find it difficult or impossible nowadays to find sufficient labour to attend to the needs of their plantations.

I fear that there is, then, but little hope of their ancient

prosperity returning to them, for they have no arts, large industries or resources on which to fall back.

Fishing is an occupation which is still followed by freeborn inhabitants, and it appears also from ancient history that it was not looked down upon in the old days as an ignoble calling.

Fish in these parts are exceptionally good and cheap, as good or better than at Mombasa and cheaper. The best kinds are perhaps the kipungu, tazanda and taa.

The dugong is occasionally caught in seine nets, and is, as at Mombasa, much prized. Its flesh has more the constituency of meat than fish, but is more tender than the tenderest veal.

Red dye or logwood is made from the bark of the mangrove, and the collection of this bark is an occupation which supports many of the inhabitants. This dye is used in the tanning industry, and also, it has been whispered, with how much truth I do not know, for the coloration of port.

Ambergris is occasionally found on the stretches of coast exposed to the open sea, but it is here of but rare occurrence.

Further north it is found less seldom. The months of May, and June are the months in which this valuable disease of the whale is liable to be washed ashore by the waves of the monsoon called "kusi."

During these months there is in some parts a rush for the beach before dawn, and people fight and squabble over the patrolling of likely places.

Another product of the beach is the kauri, which is bought by the Indian traders for a few pice a hundred.

Poor women and children pry about on the beach and in the creeks collecting these shells and so making enough to buy a little food for themselves.

The *bêche de mer* is found in fair quantities on this coast, and an attempt was made to collect and dry these sea-slugs for the China market. This was not a success, chiefly, I believe, because they were not dried or sorted in the proper manner.

The only people of these islands who seem to do any serious work are the inhabitants of Faza, who are a nautical people



LAMU FORESHORE.



SHELA.

and build those curious vessels the idau or mtepe. These people travel to most of the East African ports with their strange craft and cargoes of boriti, or thatching poles, as far as Kilwa and further. Of these people more presently; now we will visit these islands in turn, commencing with Lamu, the most important and the seat of the district commissioner.

The local boat, the Juba, visits this place twice a month on its journey from Mombasa to Kismayu and twice again on its return.

The people of Lamu or Amu are largely of Persian descent. This was one of the original towns founded by Abdul Malik, but even before this there were settlements on the coast and possibly here of people from the civilised countries of South Arabia, Hamyarites or Phœnicians, and probably this coast was visited from time to time by trading ships from Arabia and India.

However, in the old days it was considered quite a lesser town in these islands and one of comparatively recent birth.

The present name for the town and island of Lamu is Amu; the old name was Kiwa Ndeo, or the island of Ndeo.

The word "Lamu" is said to be derived from the Banu Lami, an Arab tribe from the Persian Gulf, members of which long ago settled in this island.

The present town is situated to the north of the hill of Hedabu, but the old town extended further southwards. The hill of Hedabu is a group of sand-hills of recent accumulation which has completely buried the old city, and in some places there must be fifty feet of sand over the old buildings.

On the beach beneath, where the sand has been undermined and washed away by the sea, the broken ends of the walls of the old houses can be seen projecting in places (see photo opposite p. 76).

There numerous bits of broken pottery can be picked up on the shore, fragments of the old pottery of Lamu which has now grown so valuable.

Instances of the rapidity with which the sand accumulates can be seen in many places. The town of Shela is at present

undergoing the same fate as the old city of Lamu, for the sand is gradually advancing on the town and has already buried part of it.

Not far from Shela is a group of old palm trees buried in sand all but their tops, so that it is now possible to gather the cocoa-nuts while standing on the ground. Assuming the age of the palms to be about fifty years, this would mean that sand has accumulated thirty to forty feet high during that time.

Native legend, which always seeks marvellous rather than simple explanations of natural phenomena, says that the old city was buried in a single night. A similar fate is assigned to the ancient city of Iram, in Southern Arabia, said to be lost in the sands near Imad.

The houses of Lamu are made of coral rag, the more ambitious with flat roofs, two storeys of rooms built round a central courtyard after the Arab style, and the more lowly of small dimensions roofed with makuti (plaited cocoa-nut leaves).

The Arab houses are cool and airy; the rooms are long and narrow owing to the shortness of the rafters obtainable. The windows are variations on the usual Arab lattices. The walls are thick and made of coral and lime. The roof is also of the same material and supported on rafters. One of these Arab-built houses near the shore is pointed out as having been occupied by Rider Haggard and as that in which "She" was written.

The huts of the less well-to-do have walls generally of small bits of coral stuck together with clay, and the usual Swahili roof of plaited cocoa-nut leaves supported by roofing poles called "boriti."

These boriti are made out of trees growing in the swamps. They are cut in the nyangwa and exported to different towns on the coast where they meet with a ready sale.

The streets are narrow after the manner of Arab towns, a feature which is often unjustly abused by Europeans. Such Arab streets are quite sufficient for the pedestrian or donkey-riding Arab. They are certainly as a rule smelly, but they are cool and shady which is the chief requisite of a street in any place

where the sun is hot and powerful and the houses white and glaring. All the expense lavished on the broad and open streets of towns like Calcutta and Bombay fail to produce on the midday pedestrian any effect more noteworthy than an aching behind the eyes and a pain in the head.

One of the first features that will strike the stranger in the streets of Lamu is the shiraa, or tent, carried over free women, a custom of which I omitted to ascertain the origin.

This is usually made of a couple of leso,¹ as the kanga or women's robe is called at Lamu, with a couple of sticks tied in front and a couple behind. A slave walks in front holding up one end of the shiraa with a stick in each hand, another walks behind supporting the other, while the lady herself walks in the middle. The whole procession then looks like nothing more than a party of children playing at elephants under the tablecloth. If the lady has no slaves she carries the sticks herself, two in each hand spread out fanwise. If she has one slave the slave walks in front while the mistress holds the two sticks behind.

The inhabitants of the place consist of (1) Arabs from Maskat either temporarily or permanently settled in the place; (2) Swahilis or Waungwana (freemen), the old inhabitants of the place, people of mixed Persian, Arab and African blood, though the latter admixture is not very evident. The black blood has crept in from the consorting with black concubines, but the Swahilis of this part of the coast are of almost as pure blood as the Arabs; (3) Watumwa, or slaves, some of these also having a certain amount of Arab blood in them, while most are pure Africans of every kind of race or mixture of races. In addition to these are various visitors or foreign residents, such as Indians, Somalis, Gallas, etc.

Many of the Swahilis have a distinct Persian cast of feature, while some of the ornaments still manufactured are of Persian device.

¹ This word was formerly used in Mombasa, but has now been supplanted by the Zanzibar "kanga."

The ruined building shown in the photo opposite p. 163 and frontispiece is supposed to be an old Persian monastery.

I have sought for a trace of Persian in the language, but have not been able to discover any. Perhaps if I had been better acquainted with the latter language I should have done so. I thought at one time that the word "Faza" might have some connection with Fars=Persia, but it appears that it is not so. I was most excited one day when I heard a slave called by the name of "Fanusi," the Persian for "a lantern," till I recollected that that word is also occasionally used in Arabic.

Amongst the ornaments of the Swahili women the most conspicuous are the large gold circular discs, called "majasi," about the size of a crown piece worn in the expanded lobe of the ear. On the right side of the nostril is worn a gold stud or button, called "shahasi," smaller and less distorting to the nostril than the kipini, or large silver or solder ornament, worn by Yao women. The latter is forced into a large and distended hole in the nose, whereas the shahasi is attached by a small hook like that of the ordinary earring.

Other ornaments are the necklaces and bracelets of alternate coral and gold, the latter almond or bead-shaped. The old ornaments of this kind now uncommon are made of a coral no longer obtainable of exactly the same form and colour. Mikufu (silver chains), silver bracelets and other ornaments are worn.

The women's dress consists of the usual Swahili robes, two of the same pattern, one worn fastened round the chest and the second as a shawl. On State occasions a short bodice, of doria (ribbed muslin), fastened with four large silver buttons the size of half-crowns is worn above, and a cotton or silk robe beneath. Beneath this again, with only the ends showing, a pair of the tight bell-bottomed Swahili trousers appears. Over the head and shoulders is worn a shawl of muslin or other thin material.

Round the ankles large silver or gold anklets are worn, and on the feet a pair of Arab sandals of the kind known in Arabia as "mada'as."

The men wear much the same as the usual Swahili, viz., the

white shirt, called "kandu" ("kanzu," Mombasa), over which is worn the coloured sleeved waistcoat, kizibao (kisibao), or an ordinary serge short reefer coat. On State occasions the long joho and sword are worn. The head is clothed in a turban or fez.

The wealthier inhabitants have white trotting donkeys from Basra or Maskat, on which they ride backwards and forwards to their plantations. These donkeys are capital goers. The rider sits well back on the haunches, takes the single rein of bell-rope-like cord in his hand and they speed off at a brisk trot, a pace which they will keep up for several hours at a time.

A good Maskat donkey will fetch here as much or more than a pony from the Somali or Banadir coast, and is much more serviceable than the latter.

There was in the old days an ancient pottery said to have come from China or the Malay. Characteristic of this is a little round green plate about the size of a saucer. This pottery can only be obtained nowadays with great difficulty, and I doubt if there is any still in use. The inhabitants have learnt its value, and under stress of poverty nearly all of it has been parted with to collectors.

In Amu there is a Unyago school for the initiation of young girls on reaching puberty, a custom which the Swahilis do not share with the Arabs.¹

The people of Amu are practically all voluptuaries, opium and bhang (Indian hemp) smoking and drinking is common, while such civilised vices as pederasty and lesbianism are rife.

The chief article of cultivation in the island is the cocoa-nut, which thrives at Lamu, if properly attended to, and grows to a great age, whereas on the mainland opposite and on the lower Tana they grow up quickly for the first few years, and soon after they begin to bear they commence to decline and die.

At Lamu the soil is but coral and sand.

Cattle are kraaled round different trees alternately every night to manure the soil round them.

¹ "Haec Sacra ('unjago') septem dies celebrantur. Tympanis pulsatis, discipulæ a matronis veteribus motus coëuntium suis gestibus imitare ad modos docentur."

Many of the cocoa-nuts have been ruined by tapping excessively for tembo (palm toddy), a proceeding which impairs their growth and lowers their prolificacy. On the Tana River a palm wine is made by tapping the borassus.

The date is also cultivated to a less degree as are also a few other plants and flowers, these being watered from wells by irrigation.

The voluptuous smelling yasmini (jasmin) is the principal flower cultivated. Its flowers remain shut up during the day and open towards sunset.

It is picked by the slaves and made up into garlands, necklaces and zikuba by the women, being strung on strips of palm leaf (miyaa), and also spread on the couches to scent them for the night.

The kikuba is made of two strings of tightly-rolled jasmin bound with a strip of the sweet-scented mkadi leaf, and these little bunches are worn round the neck.

In Mombasa mtundaufu (Amu afu), wild jasmin, is used.

The small dog-rose is also cultivated in the plantations as well as the lime and pomegranate.

The climate of Lamu is dry and healthy on the sandy parts and there are but few mosquitoes and little sickness.

Elephantiasis appears common as it also is in Zanzibar, and there is a little leprosy, but other diseases and ailments appear scarce.

Before leaving Amu we must take a look at the fort, although it is of no very ancient date. It is situated just behind the customs house. It is supposed to have been commenced by the Portuguese, while the Arabs built the upper part.

South of Amu town, reached by an hour's walk along the beach at low tide or by the path over Mount Hedabu at high tide, is situated the little fishing village of Shela.

The history of this place is this. After Manda had been taken by the Sultan of Pate, the other towns on the island of Manda, Taka and Kitao, were broken up and the inhabitants took refuge elsewhere.

The accounts as to the reason for these places being deserted differ. However, either because they were afraid of sharing the same fate as Manda or for some other reason, the inhabitants, or the greater part of the inhabitants, of these towns moved to Amu for safety.

They lived in the town of Amu for some time, perhaps 200 years, after which period they obtained leave to found a community of their own at Shela.

In Amu they were strangers and apparently did not mix much with the remaining inhabitants, but were not able to live altogether as they would wish.

After they had founded Shela the people of Amu looked with distrust at the town springing up in close proximity to their own and feared that one day they would declare themselves independent of Amu and cease to be under its protection. So an order was given by the Sultan of Amu, Bwana Zahidi Mgumi, that no stone building was to be erected at Shela. This was done so that it would be impossible for the people of Shela to fortify themselves against the guns and matchlocks of the people of Amu.

For this reason all the buildings of Shela have makuti roofs.

To this day there is a slight difference in the dialect of the people of Shela and Amu, although the two places are in close proximity to each other, and are constant in their intercourse, and in spite of the fact that their ancestors for 200 years were resident in Amu.

This seems to prove that the old inhabitants of the ancient towns of Manda Island must have kept themselves very aloof from the people of more recent Amu, even though dwelling in their midst, no doubt regarding them as upstarts and themselves as the old aristocracy of a more ancient *régime*.

The only stone building of any size in the town is the mosque; its minara is shown opposite p. 151.

This building is of quite recent date, less than a hundred years old, and built more in the Turkish style.

The name "Shela" is said to be derived from the Portuguese "Chela."

There were remains of a Portuguese chapel on the rocky spit jutting out in front of Shela, but this unfortunately fell down and into the sea about four years ago.

There is also the remains of an old Arab battery and Arab guns on the foreshore.

A peculiarity about the dialect of Shela is that in some things it is just half-way in small dialectic differences between the dialects of Pate and Amu, a circumstance which puzzled me till I had heard the history of its founding.

When one considers that it is in reality the dialect of Manda Island this circumstance explains itself.

To the south of Shela is a sand-hill which is gradually encroaching on the town and has already buried a small portion of it. On the seaward side of this hill white bleached bones lie scattered about, said to be the remains of the Mazaru'i who fell in their attack on Shela.

On the shore of Lamu Island and to some distance back from it are situated plantations, and the huts of slaves and workers on these are dotted about.

Behind these again is a waste of sand and short bush stretching across to the other side of the island.

Here the cattle are driven to graze, and poor enough the grazing appears to be.

When there is nothing else to eat, as is the case sometimes in Pate Island, they have to subsist on mikoko¹ the trees of the nyangwa or mangrove swamps.

The water of Lamu is sweet and good whereas that of the neighbouring islands is practically always saline to a greater or less extent.

Opposite Lamu, as I have said before, is the island of Manda.

On the point opposite Shela is another Arab battery; north of this, a long creek only navigable for canoes at high tide runs up into the island, at the head being the site of the old town of Taka. Buildings of unmortared coral rag, once they cease to be inhabited, quickly fall to pieces.

¹ "Mkoko" (mikoko) is the tree, while the swamps are often referred to as "makoko."

Still the general arrangement of the town and the foundations of the many buildings can be seen standing, some in the open, and some overgrown by bush (see photo opposite p. 42).

Except for the occasional bushes and trees now and then growing out of a cracked wall, the ruins of these old towns on the bare and jagged coral surface remind one much of the ruins of Pompeii.

The remains of the mosque and the walls are amongst the least decayed of the buildings, and traces of the wall which used to surround the town can still be seen.

The most striking object is the grave of the Sheikh of Taka, Sheikh Fakihi Mansuru.

This is kept in a good state of repair.

A stone tablet bears as far as can be deciphered the following inscription:—

(عبد)الله محمد علي

(المترو) في سنة ١٠١٤

“(Abd)allah Muhammad Ali
(died) in the year 1094.”

The parts in brackets are guessed at.

This fixes the date of the final exodus from Taka as not much more than 200 years ago, as it is related that the remaining inhabitants left the place on the death of their sheikh. Long before this, however, it is supposed that a great part of the inhabitants left, namely, those who came to Amu.

Periodical ziyara, or pilgrimages, are made from Shela to visit this grave. Just east of Taka is the seaward coast of the island, a coral reef-bordered bay once the port of the town.

On the point opposite Shela was situated the town of Kitao, of which a few graves are about the only remains.

Let us now turn from Taka and take another trip.

We will leave Lamu and journey up the narrow creek called “Mkanda” which is possible at high tide, while at low tide it is in places but a mass of mud connecting Manda with the mainland.

On either side of this narrow channel a wall of mangroves

rises straight up out of the water broken only at a few places where there are landing places on the mainland.

Emerging from the Mkanda a sandy foreshore on a promontory in front of us breaks the monotony of the mangroves. This was the beach of the old town of Manda. Although now but a solitary canoe can be seen drawn up on the beach, once probably rows of fishermen's drag nets had their place there, daus from India and Arabia were moored off the shore, while perhaps on the beach itself the shipwrights were busy with mallet and adze constructing ships destined to sail far and wide, and to visit many places on the coast of the Indian Ocean.

Turning northwards here we see the island of Pate before us, a long line of trees seemingly growing out of the sea.

The ancient town of Pate is situated up the usual mangrove creek.

Coming from Manda one coasts up the west side of Chongoni, an island to the south of Pate, and then turns up the channel which separates that island from Pate till one reaches the opposite side of the islands, shortly after which one turns into the Pate creek.

There are no inhabitants on Chongoni; a great part of it is under water at high tide. Waticuu come here from time to time to look for kauris.

In Pate there are now but a few inhabitants living in some of the dilapidated and ruined buildings.

The supposed origin of the word "Pate" is said to come from Pa ate=leave the place.¹

The Arabs call the place "Bata," the name, it is said, being derived from the name of the Arab tribe Batawe, members of whom left the Hadrumut and settled in Pate.

Pate was not such an ancient town as Manda; the inhabitants of Siu claim that their town is also older.

¹ Before there was a town at Pate the son of a Sultan of Manda went to hunt there and met a beautiful gazelle. When he wished to return there his father always said "Pa-ate."

It is said that the island was then only inhabited by a few wild bushmen.

However, Pate was at one time the hub of the little group of kingdoms in this part of the world, and it has more interesting remains and more history to show for itself than any other part of the archipelago.

It is now but a crumbling mass of ruins with a few of the least dilapidated of the houses patched up for the present occupants.

Local history necessarily exaggerates the size and importance of this place in the old days. As to size, comparing it with a known ruined town, I should say it was perhaps half or a third the size of Pompeii. It is difficult to judge this accurately as these coral houses and the city wall crumble rapidly away and soon become little raised above the ground level and are then often concealed by bush.

The number of houses may be roughly estimated by the number of mitaa, or quarters, for which names still exist.

These are, together with the meaning of the words, as far as I can gather:—

1. Ng'andu, S.E. of town abb. of Wavika ng'andu=the wearers of gold. Built by the Manda prisoners.
2. Salambini, N.E. Sherifs and Sheikh's quarter.
3. Gongwa, called after the Queen, Mwana Gongwa.
4. Shindoni. Sheikhs' quarters.
5. Manoni. Quarter of the Wapate, or Pate people proper, cockneys.
6. Kiunguni, from Kilinguni (Barawa dialect)=Darini (Swahili)=upstairs. Presumably, then, this was a quarter of houses of two storeys inhabited by people originally coming from Barawa.
7. Kibirikani=at the little cistern. Batawe Arab quarter.
8. Pwani, S.=the shore. Customs house and probably fishermen's quarters.
9. Kandaani=in the pressure=houses close together.
10. Kitokwe, from kituka=a copse or wood (situated on its former site).
11. Kiungulimani, from kiunga mlimani=the plot on the hill.
12. Yumbe, central=the sultan's palace and its precincts.

13. Kivundoni=in the crowd, or the quarter of many people.
14. Inati, named after the Queen, Mwana Inati.¹
15. Utuku kuu=the big bazaar. The quarter of shops.
16. Ratibuni=much business, jostle, turmoil and people.
17. Sumbukoni=of the afflicted. A poor quarter.
18. Tutwae nipole=Take us (or treat us) gently. A poor quarter.
19. Maskati, N. About the house of Maskat.
20. Magogoni, from gogo, a log=people with barazas (or dais, verandahs) of raised poles. The merchants' quarter.
21. Jitheni, S.E., from jitha (Kipate for "giza"=darkness). The quarter of darkness. Here is situated the present utuku, or bazaar, of only a few shops.
22. Mtende tini=under the date tree.
23. Mali yambo.

An mtaa, or quarter, contained from twenty to sixty houses, perhaps averaging forty to fifty houses.

Allowing that I have omitted or that there is no trace of about two quarters, we have the number of quarters about twenty-five, and thus the number of houses in the town was 1,000 to 1,250.

These houses must have been fairly crowded after the manner of Arab houses, with the master, his wives, concubines, slaves and children.

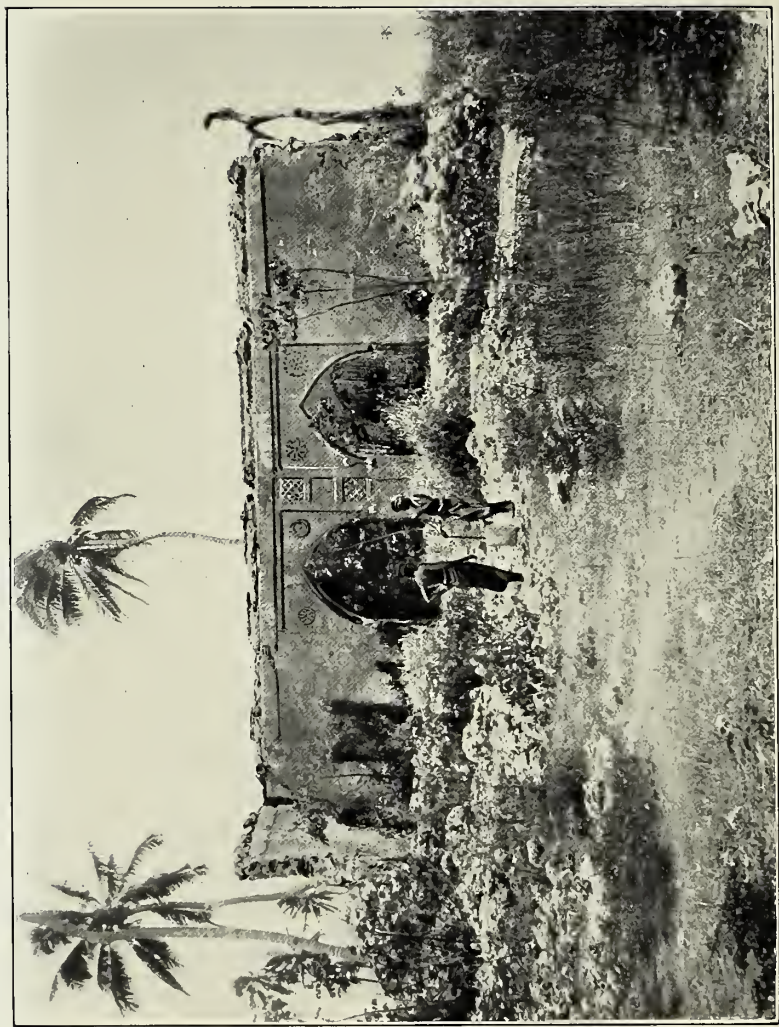
Therefore, we get roughly, calculating ten to twenty persons per house, about 20,000 inhabitants as the possible size of the old town within the walls.

No doubt, however, outside the walls were congregated native huts of slaves, etc., of which no trace would be left.

I have not ascertained how many gates there were to the town. The names of four were:—

1. Lango fandikani, from Portuguese al fandega=customs.
2. Lango la shindakazi said to be derived from Portuguese.
3. Lango la Bwana Mtitu.
4. Buruji ya kanoni=the watch-tower of kanoni.

¹ But see p. 50, where it is stated that this quarter was named after the house of one of the original sherifs. Not to be confused with Mwana Inali. See note to p. 43.



RUINS OF OLD MONASTERY AT LAMU.

The first two were on the shore, while the fourth is situated at the S.E. corner of the town watching the road from Siu and Faza. It must have been from this watch-tower that the daily advent of the Wapatha yua must have been watched for (see p. 34 of "History").

Of the buildings in Pate the least ruined are about the old quarter of Jitheni, while the Palace (Yumbe) and the Baruji ya kanoni still stand, the latter a tower in the wall which surrounded the city.

The windows of the old houses were slits like loopholes, the usual Arab lattices which are seen in some of the few houses now occupied having been let in at a recent date.

There are a number of tombs and mausoleums in a fair state of repair, the best being, as is usually the case, those of sherifs.

The sherifs of Pate are descendants of the original two sherifs who were brought over to help the people of Pate against the Portuguese (see p. 50 of "History").

The inscriptions on the older tombs are undecipherable, as the surface of the soft coral tablets soon wears when exposed to the elements.

I made out the following three inscriptions of more recent date:—

1. Abu Bakari (year 930).
2. Sharifu bin Othmani bin Ali bin Musa (date undecipherable).
3. Year 1024 of Hejra.

Sultan Muhammadi bin Sultan Abu Bakr bin Sultan.

Bwana Mkuu Nabahan al Batawi.

Wednesday the 22nd of Jumaa dil Akhir (or in Swahili "Mfunguo tisia").

The first two are of the tombs of sherifs and the last of the Sultan Muhammadi.

The original inhabitants of Pate are supposed to have been savages like the present waboni, hunters of the mainland. When Pate was visited by the son of the Sultan of Manda (note, p. 160), it is related that he met some savages there who ran away at sight of him.

If this little story is correct Manda must have been founded before the days of Abdul Malik, and it is quite likely that this is the case, for at several places on the east coast there were supposed to be Persian, Phœnician or Arab settlements before this time.

Pate was probably, then, first founded by Abdul Malik, and is not such an old town as several other places on the east coast. East of Pate is an island called Ndao Pate. On this once stood a town, and there are still a few inhabitants there.

Leaving ruined Pate by the Baruji ya kanoni we follow the track to Siu. In passing the watch-tower we notice that part of the wall is in a fair state of repair, and the loopholes can be seen, denied to the enemy, for they are placed high in the wall. To allow the defenders access to them rough banquettes were made of sticks lashed across posts.

Passing the watch-tower we follow the Siu road, leaving on our right another old town on the seaward side of Pate, called "Kitaka."

After about three hours' walk we arrive at Siu, a fairly big town of mud, makuti-roofed huts.

Most of the old stone town has fallen into ruins, as the inhabitants are too poor to keep them up.

The name "Siu" is said to come from the old Swahili "wasiu" ("waovu" in present-day Swahili)=the bad people.

The word is spelt indiscriminately "Siu" and "Siyu" in Swahili, viz., ^{سُو}سو, and ^{سِيُو}سيو, while in Arabic it is ^{سِيَوِي}سيوي ("siywi").

One of the most interesting of the old buildings here is the old mosque still used as the Friday or congregational mosque.

This is sadly in want of repair, only the inner part still remaining roofed. Round the inner part is a cloister, having on the south side a long trough of water in which the believers make their ablutions.

At either end is a well from which the trough is filled.

Here is seen an instance of how eastern peoples strictly regard the letter of the law while entirely disregarding the spirit which prompted the letter. For side by side with the wells are thoo¹

¹ Thoo (Kisuu)=vyoo of Mombasa and Zanzibar dialects=privies.

polluting the water destined to remove from the feet of the faithful the few specks of dust which may be adhering to them.

The whole mosque is bigger than that of Amu. On the walls are some well-worked Arab designs.

Amongst the many graves and mausoleums scattered about the outskirts of the town one of the best preserved is that of the Sherif Sa'idi Musa.

In the walls pieces of the old pottery of these parts have been let in. Some of these have fallen out, but some in the shape of small plates still remain fixed in the wall.

Two of the quarters of the town are Shindayua to the S.W. and Kithiwani to the E.

Leaving the town of Siu we cross a creek by a long low wooden bridge about a hundred yards or more in length and come to the most noticeable feature of the town, the remains of the Arab fort. Part of this has been restored to form a dwelling for officials visiting the town.

This fort is a castellated building of fairly recent date. The old fort erected by Sultan Sa'id was captured by the inhabitants of Siu, the garrison ejected and the fort pulled down. Subsequently they were forced by Sayid Majid to rebuild it at their own expense.

Below the bridge we have just crossed is a creek leading down to the sea, and it was across this creek that the people of Siu fastened chains to prevent the entrance of Sayid Majid's ships, and at an earlier date built a wall to prevent the entry of Sa'id bin Sultan's fleet.

Beyond the fort are ruins and many wells, the former part of the old town. The wells, it is said, are of Portuguese sinking.

The people of Siu claim that their town is older than that of Pate.

The first inhabitants are said to have been Wतिकuu and Somali coming from Dondo and Burakao (Port Durnford).

The Portuguese are then said to have taken possession of it. During the reign of Bwana Fumomadi of Pate the Portuguese left Siu, and Fumomadi then took it.

The town, although taken under the protection of Pate, was governed by its body of wathée, or old men, for it was not the custom of the Nabahans to put in liwalis (governors).

When the Zanzibar kingdom was being formed, Sa'id bin Sultan tried to take the town with his ships, but was frustrated by the inhabitants, as they built a wall across the creek and prevented the entry of his ships.

He then attacked them overland from Faza, and, without the aid of his ships and guns, was badly defeated.

Subsequently, however, he gained possession of the place, built the fort in which he placed a liwali and garrison to govern the place.

Later, after obtaining promise of support from Pate, the bad people (wasíu) turned out the garrison of the fort, who fled to Lamu. The fort was then pulled down.

As we have seen above, the Sultan Majid finally obtained possession of the town again.

The dialect of Siu is just half-way between that of Pate and that of Faza.

It possesses many of the local words and different grammatical constructions of Faza, while it also contains many of the peculiarities of Pate.

As the original inhabitants were of the same origin as the people of Faza the likeness of their dialect to Kitikuu is natural. Their separation from the Watikuu took place possibly many hundred years ago, and it was only of recent years that the Watikuu of Faza were again their neighbours. For the long period preceding this they were close neighbours with Pate and at times under their protection, during which time the impress of the Pate tongue was stamped on their dialect.

There is one thing I do not understand, and that is how the old people of Faza, the Wapatha yua, could have been daily fighting Pate without any mention of the people of Siu being made in the story or these people being embroiled in the quarrel, for the road from Faza to Pate passes through Siu.

If these people of Siu settled at so early a date as they say

in these parts, they were, perhaps, quite a small settlement of fisherfolk on the creek.

The women of Siu affect more the style of dress of the Bajuns, that is, a robe fastened over one shoulder crosswise, generally of a dull mottled red and black colour, and not the variously-coloured cotton robes that the majority of Swahili women affect.

At Siu are made funny and characteristic little four-legged stools painted with bright colours with a skin shelf below, and the top designed to take a large brass sinia, or tray.

Opposite Siu on the mainland is the old town of Shanga.

To proceed from Siu to Faza we cross a small arm of the creek. This creek at high tide splits the island of Pate into two, the northern part being called "Rasini" from the Swahili form of the Arab "Ras" put into the locative case. "Ras" means a "cape" or "point." On this part of the island is the north promontory of the island of Pate.

About three hours' walk takes us to Faza, situated in a small creek, but quite visible from the sea which is not the case with Siu and Pate.

This place has had a very chequered career.

The first stranger alleged to have arrived in these parts is Jafari bin Abdul Malik, said to have been the son of Abdul Malik who founded so many east coast cities. He was called Jafari bin mangi mangi (sifa yake lakini maana yake indopotea—a complimentary title of which the meaning has been lost).

He is said to have come to Kiwayu, where he ruled and died. He married Mwana Manubi of Shanga.

About this individual nothing more seems to be known, and even this little is possibly untrue, as I could obtain no corroboration of the statement.

The first arrivals in Faza itself are said to have been the Portuguese, who settled here and were later driven out by the so-called Wapatha. These latter were defeated by the Pate people, who took their town, while those of the inhabitants who were not killed were taken prisoners to Pate. All that remained

of the inhabitants were a few fishermen and others who were on the sea at the time at which the town was captured.

The site of the town was then left unoccupied until the coming of the Bajuns about 300 years ago. These people, although but recent arrivals in Faza, are ancient settlers in Africa.

They were called Watikuu=of the mainland, by the other inhabitants of the island. The name of "Bajuni" is said to be derived from Bani Juni=the children of Juni. The tribe is said to have sprung from a single man, Juni bin Katada of Medina.¹

His descendants left Arabia and passed through the Bab al Mandeb ("Mandam" my informant called it), and came to settle at various places on the Banadir coast.

There are said to be still Bajuns in the neighbourhood of Hodeida in S.W. Arabia.

The first place at which they are supposed to have settled on the Banadir coast is Mukadisho.

From here they spread down the coast to the place they call Bura-kavo (Burakao).

After this they met with the Somali tribes of Vutila and Wakilio, with whom at first they fought and afterwards combined.

Probably a lot of Somali blood was infused into the Bajun race at this juncture.

Finally they spread down the coast from Gobwen to Kiunga, and still spreading they asked leave of the Sultan of Pate to come to Pate. He gave them leave, and told them to settle on the old site of Paza (now called Faza).

When they arrived in this place they found the remains of the old town left with many of the houses still inhabitable.

Now there are none of these old houses left, but a few graves are said to date from the Wapatha. One of these in the centre of the town had once borne an inscription, but I tried in vain to decipher it.

¹ It is said that shortly after the death of the Prophet's son Hussien, one Isafah, of the Bani Omaya, a Koreish, killed most of the asharaf (notables) of Medina and drove out the Bani Yuni (Juni). This would probably be in the year 50 of Hejra.

This grave is situated in a small garden in the midst of the town; close to it stands a fig tree.

Later Faza appeared to become for a time a dependency of Pate, for the Bwana Mkuu wa Shehi appears to have been put in by Pate as Liwali of Faza by his brother Bwana Waziri, Sultan of Pate.

A few years later, however, Mwana Mtiti is alleged to have had seventy old men of Faza executed by having their throats cut, and after this Faza broke away from Pate.

Now the only stone buildings of any size in Faza are the Government house, the liwali's house and the mosque.

The rest of the town nearly entirely consists of makuti huts.

The people are of mixed Arab, Somali and Portuguese blood. We have seen how the Arab and Somali admixtures came about, but at what period the Portuguese blood was absorbed I am unaware. Undoubtedly, however, there is a considerable strain of the latter, and many of the types of faces are distinctly Portuguese.

Very noticeable are some of the great, strapping, straight-limbed women to be seen here, with limbs on them like prize-fighters, upright gait and a swagger as they walk swinging their robes from side to side.

The people of Faza are distinguished in the reputation of being the most foul-mouthed people in this not over-prudish neighbourhood. In spite of this, or perhaps by reason of this, the peculiar vices known to the cleaner-speaking people of Amu are not found amongst them.

In Faza a considerable amount of work is done, the people being not so indolent as those of the neighbouring towns.

Here is the home of those curious boats, the mtepe, already described. Although known by this name far and wide, here in their own home they are called not "mtepe" but "idau," this word being the equivalent to the ordinary Swahili "dau" (dhow).

Nearly all the local traffic of the neighbouring ports and the lower Tana is performed by the people of Faza, and they have a

not inconsiderable traffic with the ports of Zanzibar, German East Africa, and even Mozambique.

Boriti (roof poles) for Swahili huts are cut here in the mangrove swamps and transported to these various ports.

The women of Faza affect kerchiefs tied about the head, either of the red bandana type or black as amongst the Somalis.

Before leaving Faza I must notice a peculiar medical fact. These people aver that they can determine the sex of a child before birth, with how much truth I do not know.¹

Just off Faza is a little isle called "Shendambe," said to contain a well of fresh water.

The landmark of this isle is an mchende² (date tree) a tree which is seldom seen in these isles outside Lamu.

All the islands except Amu have brackish and unpleasant water. I do not know if this well is really of sweet water.

There was an old town called "Chundwa" ("Tundwa" in ordinary Swahili) close to Faza in which Bajuns also lived. These two towns fought together as recently as forty or fifty years ago.

The Liwali of Faza, Mzee Sefu, lead the Faza people and Sheikh Shakari those of Chundwa.

Chundwa has now merged into Faza, and the Sheikh Utiro, son of the Sheikh Shakari, is the present Liwali of Faza.

North of Faza are the islands of Uvondo, Ndao and Kiwayu. Ndao is called "Ndao mwathi" to distinguish it from Ndao Pate.

The island of Kiwayu is peculiar in that it is a hilly island of quite a different type of country from the remaining islands. Here is found the lesser kudu, an animal which does not occur in the others.

The chief animals found in the other islands are a few bush-buck, dik dik and bushpig.

Partridges are also found in small quantities.

Monkeys and baboons abound in the mangrove swamps.

¹ "Ferunt fetum mare in leavâ uteri parte, femineum in dextrâ, a matre ante partum geri."

² "Mtende" in Amu Swahili.

On the mainland are found buffalo, topi and lion.

Some six hours by water from Faza is Dodori on the mainland, and north of this is Kiunga, the south limit of the Bajuns on the mainland.

Before leaving this part of the world let us take a look at the last stronghold of the Nabahans and old kingdom of Pate, namely, Witu.

To reach this place the best way is to take a dau from Lamu, and passing through a series of channels and creeks come to Mkunumbi.

This is an undistinguished little place in the middle of mud swamps. The inhabitants are mostly of the slave type or else Gallas¹ with a sprinkling of Swahilis.

Here a certain amount of tanning of skins is done, a rare accomplishment for African natives.

From here it is about five hours' walk to Witu, and a most unpleasant walk too during the rains, though no doubt pleasant enough in the dry season.

The country is very flat, and after heavy rain there is hardly a dry spot to be found between these two places, but it is necessary to wade practically the whole way.

The inhabitants of Witu also are chiefly of the watoro (run-away slaves) type. There is a sprinkling of Swahilis and a number of Gallas living here.

The town is of the usual mud and daub, makuti-roofed Swahili huts. There is quite a nice tin-roofed house in which dwells the genial Sultan of the place.

Situated near the town is a large cocoa-nut plantation, the property of the Sultan, and a certain amount of cattle exist in the district.

In the country round about are numerous little settlements of escaped or freed slaves, a circumstance which affords an explanation of the poverty of the inhabitants now living in the old towns.

¹ See note on "Gallas," p. 179.

We can return to Lamu by another route by crossing to Kao on the Tana, a few hours from Witu and taking a Bajun boat from there should there be one returning.

Kao is a little group of huts standing on a mud patch on the bank of the Tana and surrounded by cocoa-nut plantations and cultivation, also growing in mud gardens.

Making ourselves comfortable on the poop of the idau, if a favourable breeze is blowing, the great mat sail will be hoisted amidst much shouting of directions and orders, and we will sail down the Tana, pass Kipini and round the point by Shela, and sail up the channel towards Amu, while all hands will beat drums or gongs, blow horns and make various other music, celebrating their arrival in port, to the detriment of the handling of the ship.

CHAPTER IX

THE COAST BELT

BRITISH EAST AFRICA is naturally divided into three belts or zones. First is the tropical and less healthy zone, which is adjacent to the coast. Above this are the healthy highland and mountainous regions described as "a white man's country." Beyond these the country falls again to the inland lowlands of the shores of Lake Victoria and Uganda, considerably less healthy and more trying in climate than the coast.

Some of the coast towns with their inhabitants have already been described. These form, as it were, a narrow fringe of old Swahili and Arab civilisation bordering the thick bush and uncivilised native tribes of the interior.

I shall now endeavour to give a short description of the country which lies immediately inside this civilised fringe, and of the people who inhabit it.

First of all, as regards seasons. There are on the coast as in most parts of tropical Africa a very wet season and a very dry season. However, these do not divide the year into equal portions as in many parts of the continent. There are the *mwaka*, or rains of the year, which raise the crops; they begin in March or May, and last three or four months; and again the *mchoo*, or lesser rains, occurring about September, which latter during a good year are sufficient for light crops.

Back from the coast there is in the south a desert region called "the Taru Desert," which divides the coast from the highlands. In the north, viz., Jubaland, the desert region stretches right back, dividing the highlands of East Africa from the mountains of Abyssinia, and continues westwards across Africa till it meets the swamps of the Nile and Sobat Rivers. The southern

and narrow desert, the Taru, is intersected by two big rivers—one, the Sabaki, having its origin in Kilimanjaro and the Masai highlands; and the other, and bigger river, the Tana, supplied by the well-watered Kikuyu country and Kenya.

In the north, but one river reaches the sea, the Juba, which originates in the mountains of the Borana and Abyssinia, while the Webbe Shebeli, or Leopard River, which springs from the highlands of Eastern Abyssinia, almost reaches the ocean near Mogadishu in Italian Somaliland before losing itself.¹

As I know nothing of the eastern part of Jubaland, I will not speak of this country till I come to Lake Rudolf and the Borana, the western part.

Just back from the mangrove-lined, or coral-bound seashore of the southern coast line there is generally a thick bush belt, wherever the country has not been cleared to make way for plantations.

Behind this the country rises some 700 feet in a series of low hills, grass-covered, and affording fairish grazing in certain places, as in the Shimba Hills and near the railway line, about Mazeras.

Behind these again is a country covered with red earth and thick thorn, the Taru Desert. In the dry weather this red dust is raised in powdery clouds by the passing train, pervading the compartments, covering everything and filling the eyes, nostrils, hair, and pores of the skin with its fine dust. In the hot season passengers emerge from the train at Mombasa station looking like red Indians, and for a day or two afterwards traces of the Taru appear as red streaks on the towel when one dries one's face.

Now of these four divisions into which I have divided the coast belt longitudinally, I have already tried to give an idea of the first, the seashore, either mangrove-lined, or of coral rock and sand dunes.

¹ There is a certain amount of cultivation on the Webbe, as also on the Juba. Near Kismayu there are a few Huerti with villages and crops. Practically the whole of the rest of Jubaland is, like northern Somaliland, a country of nomadic Somalis, who do not cultivate.

N.B.—Mogadishu = Mukadisho (Swahili).

The next in order is the low bush belt such as is found in the centre of the islands of the Lamu Archipelago, and for a few miles back from the shore of the mainland. In some parts this bush belt seems to merge into the desert without the intermediate layer of grass-covered hills. Such is the case near the Tana River.

In this country there are but few inhabitants except near the coast towns or along the banks of the Sabaki and Tana.

There are two little-known hunting tribes inhabiting this tract, the Wasanya and the Wachoni, who live much as do the Waboni of Jubaland. They are both numerically very small tribes. Possibly they are some of the remains of the original inhabitants of this country, as are said to be the Midgans of Northern Somaliland and the Waboni of Jubaland, both hunting tribes.

I have never met any of these people with the exception of the Midgans. I am indebted, however, to the District Commissioner of Malindi for the information that the Wasanya and Wachoni of that neighbourhood practise the rite of clitoridectomy, and that the women wear their hair plaited. The former rite is carried out not after the manner of the Masai, but as performed by the Somali.¹

These customs appear to me to be most interesting, as they differ entirely from those of the adjacent tribes, and correspond with those practised by the Midgans, while their manner of living would also appear much the same.

Now the customs of the Unyago and the extending of the lobe of the ear practised amongst Swahilis, alluded to before, are foreign to the Arab, and have evidently been borrowed from the original African inhabitants of the coast. Similarly, it is not improbable that the customs of plaiting the hair and clitoridectomy, customs foreign to the alleged ancestors of the Somali, have been borrowed from the original inhabitants of their country, the Midgans. Even to-day it is the heathen Midgan

¹ "Virginum clitore abscissâ, labella vaginæ ita consuuntur ut bina inter se brevi tempore coalescant, parvulâ rimâ omissâ. Deinde, nuptiis puellæ celebratis, cuticulæ junctura tenuis, quæ accrevit, rite discinditur."

woman who is called upon to perform the latter operation on the Muhammadan Somali girl.

Bearing these facts in mind, and remembering that a hunting tribe is apt to become thinly distributed over a very wide area, as is the case with the Wandorobo of the highlands, it is within the bounds of conjecture that these four small scattered tribes, the Midgans, Boni, Sanya and Choni, are of nearly allied if not common origin, and that they all represent some very old inhabitants of the country, who lived in Somaliland and Jubaland before the coming of such tribes as the Somali, Galla, and many others.

It is believed by the Swahili that before the founding of the coast towns, the inhabitants were wild men of the bush, like the Boni.

A comparative study of the languages of these four hunting tribes might decide how much truth there is in these conjectures.

With regard to the game of the coast belt, there is not the variety obtainable in the highlands, but the game that is found is as a rule uncommon elsewhere, and worthy of being hunted, in that, in this kind of country, it needs skill and patience to obtain a decent bag.

If I were going to East Africa for the sake of sport alone, I should certainly not follow in the wake of the hundreds of sportsmen who flock up to Nairobi and jostle each other round the Athi, Lemek and Guas Ngishu plains like golfers on a crowded links.

I should search out some quiet little nooks in the coast belt, and every day congratulate myself that there were no other sportsmen within reach, while each hardly-earned specimen in a very small but very refined bag I should consider worth a hundred of the cheaply-earned, plain-dwelling animals. I should hope to include in my little bag two elephants, small tusked, but shot under very difficult circumstances, one old male buffalo, one or two bush lions, more wary and difficult to catch napping than their plain-dwelling kinsmen, a leopard, two *Oryx callotis*, two lesser kudu, three or four nice-sized bushbuck, two Hunter's antelope, two topi, a few duiker and dik dik, and perhaps a

sable; while of birds, not being a shot-gun shot, I should hope to pick off enough guinea fowl, spur fowl, florican and partridge with a miniature rifle to keep a good stock-pot fairly well replenished.

On my return journey to England I should be indifferent alike to the jeers or the sympathy of brother sportsmen who numbered their bag in hundreds or perhaps even in thousands, for I would have the satisfaction of knowing that each one of my little bag of trophies had been a wary animal, hunted, tracked and outwitted with conditions all in its favour.

However, reader, do not take my advice, because you will get fever, and you will get scratched by thorns, and a very bad backache from stooping and crouching through the narrow, obstructed bush paths. Perhaps you will even think I am a terrible romancer to say that there is any game at all in these horrible places.

Before going on to the higher country of the coast belt, let us take a look at the lower Tana River and its riverine population, the Pakomo.

This river appears to have near the mouth a considerably less volume of water than it has higher up, no doubt caused by wastage passing through the Taru Desert.

However, it is generally deeper here than it is before it enters the desert tract.

It is navigable for some 300 miles up from the coast, but the multitude of snags and waterlogged trees in its course are constantly damaging the propeller of the little river launch which ascends it. The old mouth of the Tana used to be some distance south of its present mouth at Kipini. The old course leaving the new at the Mbelezoni Canal now only contains water during the rains.

This old course was a much more direct entrance to the sea. It now follows a course parallel to the sea coast, and only a few miles distant from it, from Mbelezoni to Kao, and the sand-hills of the shore can be seen from the river as one passes in a canoe.¹

Near the mouth of the river a certain amount of rice is grown,

¹ Belezoni to Kipini was the old Ozi River, whilst the Tana mouth was twenty

which appears to do well, although the natives are too lazy to pay much attention to it. If this industry were developed, the product could be easily transported by river and sea transport to Mombasa, at which place there is a considerable demand for rice which now has to be brought from India and Burma, and also from the Lake Victoria. The rice from the latter place is of an inferior quality; it is locally known as "Muanza" rice.

The soil close to the Tana appears wonderfully rich and fertile, and crops grow rapidly, while the ground can be flooded during the rains and would be easy of irrigation at other seasons.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, the richness of the soil, cocoa-nuts do not do well. They spring up quickly and flourishingly at first, but then rapidly decline, soon after they commence to bear. Possibly their roots strike something at a certain depth which does not agree with them.

There are excellent fish to be obtained on the river.

The Pakomo inhabit the banks of the river from almost as high up as it is navigable, to the mouth; they plant their crops on the bank and ply their canoes up and down the stream with great dexterity. The canoe is generally propelled by two men, one seated in the stern with a paddle, and one standing in the bows with a long pole forked at the tip. With this he dexterously propels the canoe by poling, now at the bottom of the stream where shallow, now shoving the bank, and now catching a group of reeds or a mangrove root with the fork and shoving away from it. Meanwhile his comrade in the stern with the paddle keeps the canoe close into the bank so as to allow the poler to make use of the marginal vegetation, for the river is generally too deep and the fall of the bank too abrupt to allow him to pole at the bottom of the river.

In plying upstream the paddler lazily sits in the stern taking a stroke every now and again to keep the canoe in to the bank, while his comrade propels the boat.

miles south of Kipini. Sultan Ahmad, some time prior to 1892, had a channel cut by forced Pokomo labour from the Tana to the Ozi River. The change in the course of the Tana has had the effect of making it more navigable as the old mouth was silting up.

However, the canoe must make frequent crossings of the river, so as to always keep to the bank with the least current; that is to say, generally the concave side of the numerous bends. Then the paddler paddles for all he is worth to reach the opposite bank with as little loss of way as possible.

Coming downstream of course the reverse is the case, as the canoe will pass from side to side of the river, or even remain in mid-stream wherever the current is greatest.

Many of the Pakomo are said to be converted to Islam, while the missionaries are busy with those who still hold their old pagan religion.

There is supposed to have been a discovery of coal on the Tana River near Mafano, but as yet one has heard little or nothing about it.

The Galla stretch down as far as the coast by Witu, and occur on the left bank of the Tana. The Galla and Borana, both talking the same language with slight variation, cover an area only less than the Somalis, stretching from Wollo in Abyssinia to the coast here.¹

Behind the thin belt of coast bush there is, as before stated, in the south part of the Protectorate, a country of grassy hills.

This is a pleasing-looking country of green downs and hills, dotted with clumps and patches of bush, but is unhealthy, and the water supply is bad and poor.

This is the country of the Wanyika, a tribe from whom the Mombasa Swahili has borrowed many words, customs, and superstitions.²

They inhabit the country west of Kilindini Harbour and south of the railway line between Mombasa and Mazeras.

They are a finely developed people, though of primitive manners and customs.

The women wear many-pleated kilts of calico round the waist,

¹ The Galla, on and near the Tana, although identical in language and customs with the northern Galla, here call themselves "Warde"; they are divided into two sub-tribes, Bara rata (Amu) and Wajoli (Tana).

² However, it is still more indebted to the Giriama, a tribe living alongside the Nyika.

but from the waist upwards are nude. The kilt is not a made-up kilt, but is carefully pleated afresh from time to time, as I had occasion to notice whilst camped in a Kinyika village. The lady whom I had the audacity to watch making her toilet had one end of a very long strip of calico fastened to the wall of the hut, while she was carefully folding and pleating it from the other end. After an immense amount of trouble spent in getting the pleats equal and symmetrical, she donned the kilt, pulled and pleated it here and there, took it off again, rearranged it, pirouetted and looked over her shoulder at the fall in the rear. It was a tremendous time before she was satisfied with the hang of the skirt.

“Nyika” in the Swahili language means “forest and thorn bush country,” generally a dry thorn country, and it is very probably derived from the same source as the name of this tribe, for they lived partly in thorn country and partly in the Shimba Hills.

They own a certain amount of cattle, and, as with most of the coast peoples, do not take their cattle out till the heavy dew has dried from the grass. About eight or nine o'clock is called by the Swahilis for this reason “Mafungulia ng'ombe,” or “cattle opening time.”

No such precautions are taken in the highlands, and although the dews are there heavy, they do not appear to exercise the evil effect on the cattle that they do on the coast.

North of the Wanyika country and the other side of the railway line is Rabai, occupied by a small community of that name who speak a language differing both from Swahili and Kinyika. South of the Wanyika are the Waduruma and the Wadigo, the former living near Gasi on the coast.

We next come to the Taru Desert, the flat red earth and thick thorn desert commencing on the line just after Maji ya Chumvi (salt water) station, and reaching to about Makindu. About this place it begins to give place to less wooded country, gradually rising and growing more open until the highlands are reached.

The greater part of this desert is uninhabited, for there are

no nomadic or camel-owning tribes suited to the requirements of life there.

Toward Taveta, however, live the Wataiita, a tribe paler than the Wakamba and Wanyika, but not so pale as the other Kilimanjaro tribes.

Both sexes file the teeth to a sharp point, as do the Wakamba.

On the road from Voi to Taveta the Seringeti plains form a break in the dense thorn of the bush. These plains are well known to sportsmen, who visit them generally during the wet season, as at other times lack of water prevents them moving about. During the rainy period of March and the following months game is numerous and lions are said to abound.¹ Here are found Waller's gazelle and the fringe-eared oryx, both animals suited to life in waterless regions.

Game is not very plentiful in the thick thorn recesses of the Taru, but in parts, especially in the little-known parts back from and north of the line, lesser kudu and oryx are said to be numerous.

To return to the south side of the Taru Desert. Kilimanjaro is reached *viâ* Voi and Taveta.

This mountain appears all the more majestic in that it rises from a lower level, and not from such elevated country as Kenya. It is able to carry on its broad back a very massive amount of snow, and this, coupled with the fact that it is 2,000 feet higher than Kenya, makes no comparison possible between the amount of snow visible on the two summits. Perhaps Kenya is the most beautiful, but there can be no heavy accumulation of snow on its pointed summit, and so the glaciers push down to a comparatively short distance.

It is strange that natives never seem to realise what it is that shines white on the top of these mountains, and refer to it as silver or white rock or diamonds. Kilimanjaro is, of course, the home of a devil, and all kinds of magic, according to the natives. Its top consists of pure silver which is occasionally

¹ Mbuyuni (at the Baobab tree) is the name of a waterhole on these plains celebrated for game.

changed by Satanic agency to gold or blood. Add mother-of-pearls, opals, and a few other precious stones, and this is a fair description of the colours assumed by the snowy dome under varying conditions of sun and moon.

No wonder that the natives think that if one could only reach the enchanted top, jewels and precious stones can be had for the picking up.

The Jin who inhabits the mountain resents strongly any intrusion in its domains, but is not wholly an evil spirit, as the following little story will reveal:—

Once upon a time a caravan of porters was passing the mountain. There was a youth, the boy of one of the porters, who had hurt his leg, and came limping along behind the caravan. At last he was unable to go any further, so the porters, with that kindly solicitude for the afflicted and distressed which characterises the African native, abandoned him without food or blankets, and continued on their way rejoicing.

The youth, with whom we do not sympathise so much, as one knows that he would have done the same to a weaker fellow under similar circumstances, struggled to the foot of the mountain, and there lay down cold and hungry, till sleep overcame him. In his sleep he dreamed that the spirit of the mountain came to him and brought him unlimited wealth on one condition; that was, that he was not to divulge how he obtained it.

When he awoke in the morning, he discovered lying beside him a jewelled casket, which he picked up and brought back to his own country, and from this he draws as much wealth as he likes.

Many people have tried to make him tell where he obtained the casket, but to all he replies, "Oh, I just bought it."

It would appear, according to native legend, that a certain white man, name unknown, was not so discreet. He reached the summit of the mountain, and there received a similar gift under condition that he was to tell no one that he had successfully accomplished the ascent.

On his return he gave a banquet with the wealth that he had

accumulated, during which he became talkative, and at last said, "It has been declared that no one can reach the summit of Kilimanjaro, but I have reached it, and see what the Jin of the mountain has given me," producing his jewelled casket. The following morning he was discovered dead in his bed, and the casket was missing, having flown back to its home.

The natives who inhabit the base of the mountain are very pale for African natives. The Taiita are paler than most East African tribes, but some of the people of the mountain, the Wapari and the Wachaga, if it were not for their woolly hair, might be almost mistaken for Arabs.

These last tribes do not file the teeth like the Taiita, but they remove one tooth from the centre of the bottom jaw.¹

These people, I am told, hold the mountain in great veneration, and certain of their old men (corresponding to Druids) occasionally ascend to the snow level to perform sacrifices.

Before leaving the coast belt, just a word about the possibilities from the white man's point of view.

The towns of the coast contain the usual types to be found in tropical countries, viz.: the white official and the white merchant, both temporary residents and dependent on leave every few years to Europe to maintain their health. The merchant's chief trade lies in ivory, copra, logwood, cotton and a few other things as exports, and calico, cotton robes, etc., as imports. The ivory chiefly comes from Uganda and the Congo, while the other three exports come from the coast.

There is now, however, another kind of white man on the coast, rapidly increasing in numbers, the planter. I do not wish to go into the heated arguments as to whether the highlands of East Africa are a "white man's country" or not, or even into what is the exact meaning of this phrase.

There are hundreds of men willing to stake their last farthing that there is a "great future" before the country, but though this phrase has been in vogue some years, no definite hint has yet been given as to what that future will be.

¹ See Chapter XI., "The Masai," for removal of teeth.

It seems to me that foreign countries as fields for the white man's energies, other than official, fall into two easily distinguished classes.

One is the healthy country where a man goes with his whole family, and stops for good, such as Canada, Australia, etc. In these places he does not expect to get rich in a few years, but he slowly builds up an estate which subsequently his children and children's children can enjoy and subsist on. His riches are not of a movable character, but are attached to the country.

The second class of country is the tropical and unhealthy country where a man expects, to use a Swahili expression, "After toiling in the sun, to rest in the shade."

That is to say, that after a certain number of years' struggle against adverse conditions of health and climate, he hopes to have made enough to enable him to retire to England and enjoy a comfortable old age.

The coast belt comes under this second class. The climate is not especially bad or trying, and the conditions of life can be made comfortable enough for a temporary sojourn, but on the other hand, the profits at present do not appear to be very considerable.

However, if not great, they are at all events discernible and steadily increasing.

The chief products are cotton, by way of a start, and then rubber and hemp, while judicious investments in cocoa-nut plantations, I believe, can be turned to good account.

The coast planters are men, many of them of modest means, who have had the sense to hold themselves aloof from the wild rush to grab land in the highlands, and have grasped the present, leaving the future to develop in the hands of the more wealthy experimental farmers.

The planters of the coast are the men who are laying the solid foundations of a structure on which the future prosperity of the country may be based, and so my good wishes go out to them, and I trust that after "toiling in the sun" they will, like the Swahili, be enabled to rest comfortably in the shade.

CHAPTER X

THE UGANDA RAILWAY

Now, reader, I am about to take you up to Nairobi. First I will let you into a secret which may repay you for the money you have squandered in buying this book.

Extra luggage is an expensive item on the Uganda Railway, but if you book your spare luggage on the day before the train starts, when the goods waggons are being made up, you will be charged only half price for it, while it will still travel up in the same train with you.

I do not know if this is a very great secret, but I was some years in the country before I discovered it.

A few more tips. Take some warm blankets in the carriage with you, for you will feel it very chilly in the early morning when you reach an altitude of 3,000 feet or so, after being at sea level.

The train vibrates a good deal, and if you look at the lines you will see that they are wavy, a condition, I believe, caused by the great expansion of the metal under the tropical sun. Therefore reading is tiring, so if you are a card player, take a pack of cards with you with which to beguile the time.

Take also a few bottles of soda and a little whisky; even if you do not need them yourself you will find yourself popular with fellow travellers who have not been equally provident. Failing this, take a corkscrew, as someone is sure to have a bottle and no corkscrew; lending yours will establish a claim on his hospitality. Also take some light provisions, as if you play cards at night you may feel hungry after a rather early dinner at Voi. Moreover, in the morning if you feel too lazy to turn out to an early cup of tea and a boiled egg at the usual place—Kiu, I believe it is—you can be independent of it.

If you elect to make your own tea or cocoa in the morning, hot water may be obtained in two ways. In both cases the preliminaries are the same, that is, you take a teapot or kettle, and when the train stops, proceed to the engine and stand near the waste pipe or whatever the end of a pipe projecting on the near side is called. From this point onwards the two methods differ. The first is to make yourself very agreeable to the driver, and then inadvertently show him the teapot. The second method is, concealing the pot from his view, to make remarks calculated to raise his anger. If you do either of these things sufficiently, well, the driver will probably find that he can dispense with a little steam and water, and turn on some handle inside the machine.

Only if you have practised the first method, though, will he warn you to stand clear, which will be a sign to have the pot ready.

If you intend to crane your head much out of window to look at the game, a pair of goggles are useful to keep the dust and also the sparks from the wood fuel out of your eyes. Do not forget to take a pillow or bolster to use at night, and if you are a man of luxury, a few cushions and bolsters or bundles of rugs to rest the elbows and back against are comfortable during the day.

If you intend making up a bridge four, two camp stools and a camp table or drawing-board should be taken, and then people can sit in normal positions. Otherwise two players must sit side by side, leaning away from each other, saying in duet, "Hold up your hand, please."

But I have given away enough lucrative tips for one chapter, and the train is just starting, so we say goodbye to Mombasa and steam off, pass Kilindini, and then wind slowly on to the magnificent bridge connecting Mombasa Island with the mainland. From here there is a splendid view of the harbour and creeks running up into the mainland.

A few miles out of Mombasa the observant traveller will notice some of the abominable tall elephant grass which makes travelling so hideous in most central parts of this continent. If he



ANKOLE CATTLE.

is new to Africa he should take a good look at it and feel thankful that nearly the whole of East Africa is free of it. For after a few miles it will cease altogether, and will not be seen again till Uganda is reached.

The train passes through cocoa-nut plantations and past little makuti-covered huts like those at Mombasa, while occasional views of the creeks below are seen as the train winds up the foot-hills, a very picturesque country.

Presently, after much puffing and blowing the train arrives at its first stop, Changamwe station, surrounded by cocoa-nut trees.

Here the traveller, if new to the railway, will wonder if he is the only passenger who is proceeding any further, for everybody alights.

The train stops ten minutes or so at every station, so as to allow the guard to finish an altercation with the station master, commenced on the downward journey, and so the passengers alight and walk up and down to stretch their legs.

It is not considered good form to get in again until some few minutes after the train has commenced to leave the station.

At Changamwe and the next station, Mazeras, there is generally a good assortment of fruit to be bought, the shaddock (chungwa) and Mandarin orange of Zanzibar (chenza), mangoes, bananas, pineapples and limes, according to season.

With a few Parthian remarks fired at the station master, punctuated by blasts on a whistle, the guard returns to the train. Meanwhile we continue serenely to pick out the best of the oranges offered for sale, or contemplate the scenery, knowing that there is as yet no hurry, for the engine driver must be found, and the engine has got to make a few remarks on its whistle before it can be got under way.

The engine driver appears, and the fireman on seeing his approach, causes the engine to bid its parting adieu, but just at this moment the station master has thought of a fitting repartee to the guard's last remarks some minutes before, and rushes out of his office, his hands full of papers and documents, saying,

“I no responsible without written order from traffic manager. I cannot receive.” The guard treats the latter remarks with the silent contempt they deserve, and renews his efforts on his whistle.

It appears that the bone of contention is a large iron tank bearing the superscription of the station and clearly intended for this place. However, the station master thinks that it should wander backwards and forwards in the train between Kisumu and Mombasa, until such time as he gets orders concerning its disposal.

The engine once more bids farewells with such vigour that it takes away the wind of the Westinghouse brake, which gasps for breath.

At last the train pulls slowly out of the station, the passengers hop on to the footboards, and the guard and station master devote themselves to the study of scathing remarks with which to renew hostilities on their next encounter.

The orange man has played the confidence trick on us. He has gone to get change for our rupee and can now be seen running as if anxious to give us our change, but taking care not to overtake the train. But he is defeated, as the signalman has forgotten to put down the signal, and the train stops again!

I must explain, however, that these long delays at unimportant stations are more or less necessary on a single line without intelligent signalmen and pointsmen. They are, I believe, safeguards to prevent the native staff running you into another train.

After Changanwe we still wind up, obtaining every now and then as we turn broadside on, a glimpse of the harbour sparkling in the sunshine, and now far below us.

The cocoa-nut plantations end, and occasionally we catch a sight of a tall, strapping Mnyika woman holding herself very erect, the effects of carrying a full water jar on the head, or a glimpse of a few huts, now of the round, grass-roofed Bantu type, or a lad herding cattle and sheep.

So on past Mazeras, and the country becomes more open and

less populated till Maji ya Chumvi is reached, and now we begin to enter the waterless tract. Presently we will come into the red earth and thorn of the Taru, the thorn scattered at first, but growing thicker and thicker as Voi is reached.

At this place we adjourn to the Dak bungalow for dinner.

If the complaint book of this place is referred to, it will be found that the quality of this dinner is one of the burning questions of the moment in the Protectorate, and one on which people are fanatically divided. It would appear as if many a true friendship must be broken at Voi, husband and wife parted, or father must disown son over this controversy.

Read the ecstatic remarks written in the book by this one. "Never has he eaten such a dinner out of Europe, and but once has he been better served, whilst dining in the city. The chef is a true artist, etc., etc."

And now this one, a member of the same party. "Excepting of course the food served on German liners, never has he tasted such filth, etc., etc."

What is one to say, then, about the dinner? I have never known it soar to the heights attributed to it by some of its admirers, but, on the other hand, I consider it a base slander to mention it in the same breath as the German liner.

The one thing, however, that strikes me most forcibly at this place, a point apparently overlooked by the many, is that there is always a pungent smell of garlic pervading the room.

Perhaps all this is changed now, however, as the railway themselves have taken over the catering, whereas it used to be contracted for by private caterers.

However, we are travelling up prior to this change, so let us exchange the garlic-laden air of the interior for the sweet air of the night, and enjoy our cigars on the verandah, till we are told to hurry back to the train.

Here we fail to recognise our carriages as our boys have been busy preparing our beds, and they present a transformed appearance with shutters pulled up and bunks let down. We must

now either go to bed at once or unmake them again and fold back the upper bunks, as it is impossible to sit as they now are.

If it is a clear moonlight night there is, however, a third and very pleasant alternative. That is to sit on the footboard outside and watch the thorn desert flitting past, waiting for a view of the summit of Kilimanjaro.

The railway is divided into sections, at each of which there is a change of guards, drivers, etc. Voi was the first landmark in the journey; Makindu, the next, will be reached in the early hours of the morning. It is just after this station that lions are constantly met with, and even run down by the train, just before dawn, as they use this part of the line as a road to and from their hunting grounds and lying-up places.

When dawn breaks we should be at about Simba station, already the highlands, but here clothed with sparse and stunted acacia, which will presently give place to open plain.

From here on to Nairobi, the distance of 100 miles, the line will traverse the great Kapiti and Athi¹ plains. During practically the whole of this distance, game is never out of sight, and large herds may generally be seen in all directions, paying little heed to the train, being too busy grazing.

Some even allow it to pass within 150 yards of them, merely looking up curiously and then resuming grazing. Were the train, however, to stop, they would at once take the precaution to move a little further off.

The amount of game seen depends largely on the time of year; sometimes the plains are absolutely swarming, and at other times only small isolated herds are seen dotted about the landscape.

It will be noticed that the game is thicker on the left of the line; this side is the game reserve, and the animals have learnt by experience that here they are not molested.

It is such open plains as these, forming such a large part of the highlands of the country, that makes British East Africa essentially the shooter's country. I use the word "shooter," as the phrase "big-game hunter" hardly applies to the sport

¹ Pronounced like the English words "are the."

indulged in here. For on these plains it is only a matter of shooting when a tolerably good chance occurs, and your bag will be in proportion to your proficiency as a long-range shot, and the amount of ammunition you expend.

Hunting and a knowledge of bushcraft are unnecessary on the plains, and stalking is reduced to a minimum in point of art. For, provided he can shoot a little, without knowledge or experience of any kind, the shooter will be able to obtain with comfortable ease all the following trophies (this is, of course, provided he visits the right parts of the country):—

Rhinoceros.
Hippopotamus.
Giraffe.
Hartebeest (three species).
Topi.
Wildebeest.
Oribi (Haggard's Abyssinian).
Steinbuck.
Waterbuck (two species).
Kob.
Impala.
Gazelle (three species).
Eland.
Wart Hog.
Zebra.
Lion.
Cheetah.

Moreover, if chance favours him he may also obtain one or more of the following, though if he particularly wants these species he should know something about hunting and tracking, or have some native with him experienced in bushcraft:—

Elephant.
Duiker (three species).
Hunter's Antelope.
Dik-Dik (four species).

Suni.
 Klipspringer.
 Reed Buck (two species).
 Gerenuk.
 Roan.
 Oryx (two species).
 Bushbuck.
 Buffalo.
 Bush pig.

However, unless he is an expert hunter or has some very good native hunters and trackers with him, he will not obtain all these species, nor will he get the following:—

Sable.
 Bongo.
 Kudu greater.
 Kudu lesser.
 Leopard.

But of these plains more presently.

Wending tortuously over the plains, the train, like some gigantic snake, finally arrives in the great tin city of Nairobi.

This place receives its name from the stream which flows through it, the Nairobi (Engare e robi), meaning in Masai literally "cold or fresh water" (not salt).¹

There are two things worth seeing in Nairobi, or rather, from it.

One is, standing on the camp hill where are the military lines, the view of the mighty plains rolling up to the foot of the hills like a vast sea.

Looking over the game reserve, there is not a sign of any human habitation, save perhaps a solitary Masai kraal.

The second is the glimpse of the great mountains one gets occasionally in the early morning or evening, when the snowy top of Kilimanjaro can be seen towards the south, and appearing

¹ Compare Swahili Maji ya baridi = fresh water (lit. "cold water")

to come forth from the mists and clouds, while as if to greet its gigantic comrade, the rocky summit of Kenya to the N.E. emerges from cloud. N.W. the mass of Kinankop and the Aberdares are seen.

Having seen these let us depart as soon as possible from this horrible place. So from here we will start on Safari.

CHAPTER XI

THE SAFARI

THERE is no word in English to describe the usual kind of travelling in Africa. The word "caravan" is not expressive enough in its usual sense, and even this word is Eastern in origin.

So in different parts of the continent we have to borrow local words. We have, in South Africa, "a trek," or "to go on trek." In Central Africa we have "ulendo" and "to go on ulendo"; while in East Africa we talk of "safari."

A safari is a caravan, either of porters, or donkeys, or whatever animals or goods one treks with.

It also means a journey. "To go on safari" is to go on trek.

In British East Africa, especially near the railway line, luxury and comfort can be enjoyed on safari to an extent only limited by the purse of the traveller. To my mind, champagne, arm-chairs, and seven or eight-course dinners with goanese cooks and every modern luxury are out of place, and spoil the charm of the wilds.

When one goes further afield, the consideration of food for the men often seriously cuts down the number of porters it is advisable to take. The ideal safari is one carrying sufficient rough comforts and food to keep one fit and well, yet not big enough to hamper one's movements. The *personnel* depends on the kind of country to be traversed.

For trekking in most parts of Africa the humble porter is the only transport available, and where grass is long, paths precipitous and tortuous, and tsetse plentiful, he is the only one feasible.

Certain parts of East Africa are especially adapted to com-

bined porter and donkey transport, and, in fact, it is necessary in some parts to have donkeys, as there is no food available for men. So in this combined safari the donkeys carry food for the men, and any loads which readily make up into suitable bundles; while the men carry the more bulky and angular loads, such as tent poles, chop boxes, etc.

In waterless country camel transport becomes imperative, and these animals do not impose the same limitations as to size of loads as do donkeys.

Of porters there are two distinct types: (1) The professional porter who makes his living by carrying loads and who, directly he has blown the pay accruing to him from one trip, writes on for another.

(2) The unprofessional porter, who is run in for a month's work or for several months just to make enough to pay for his hut tax.

The best porters are undoubtedly the Wanyamwezi, a race of professional porters who come from Unyamwezi in German East Africa. Tall, broad-shouldered men, with deep bass voices, they form ideal porters. Not too intelligent, and yet intelligent enough to tumble to the ordinary duties of camp life, cheerful, willing and untiring.

Next come the Manyema, refugees from the Manyema rebellion in the Congo, generally short, sturdy men, strong and plucky, but quarrelsome and truculent.

Lastly, come the "Swahili" porters, men of mixed African slave races, perhaps with a little Swahili blood in them, who come from the coast.

First it would be advisable to choose your headman or Mnyam para. Although plenty of men will offer themselves for this billet it is very hard to obtain a really good one. A really good headman is the making of a safari, as he is the go-between 'twixt yourself and the men. Only too often after one has started one finds that he is only a figurehead; he may be hard-working enough and anxious to please, but possessing no authority over the men. Either he will make himself too familiar with them

when they will not respect him, or he will always be trying to get them into trouble, trumping up accusations against them to suit his own private ends.

Somalis undoubtedly make good headmen, but their idea of the value of their services is exorbitant, and they are apt to be too overbearing to the ordinary porter. Perhaps the best Mnyampara is a Swahili, one who probably commenced his safari days as a porter in the old Swahili ivory caravan days and has a thorough knowledge of safari life, but who is a cut above the ordinary porter in education.

Such a one, after starting as a lad and hanger-on to one of the old Swahili caravans, has passed through the stages of porter, under-headman, and part owner of a caravan. He will probably be able to read and write (in Swahili) and talk a little Kikuyu and Masai.

Having secured your headman, you will now have to write on your porters. If it should be in the thick of the shooting season it may be difficult to get together a good lot of men, but at most times of the year there are plenty from whom to choose.

The headman will go into the bazaar and haunts of the porters in Nairobi and soon will roll up with a number to select from.

The porters should be carefully picked, and, if possible, medically examined, otherwise you will probably find on your first march that you have several cripples and permanent invalids, including, perhaps, a man with only one leg who has written on to get his advance of pay. I have never actually met with this latter contingency, but I can imagine it as being quite possible.

For the purpose of writing on, all the Wanyamwezi will have invented names for themselves after the usual fashion of Africans. The Swahili generally give their own names, but most African savages on entering a new vocation or service give themselves a fresh start with new names.

I have often seen absurd difficulties and mistakes occur from this prevalent practice. In Nyasaland the soldiers used to omit to tell their relations the name under which they had enlisted in His Majesty's service. When Private Tabilo (table) and

Private Sopo (Soap) sent remittances to their villages to pay for their wives' hut taxes everybody in the village, from the chief downwards, would disclaim any knowledge of these gentlemen, as they were known there by the more unsophisticated names of "Cheuzi" and "Mpondo."

Sometimes gangs of porters enlist for a month's work at a station, and at the close of the time have forgotten what their names are. As their number on pay-day is probably swelled by friends and relations, it requires great patience and perseverance to discover who are entitled to the sums to be disbursed.

The Wanyamwezi generally choose absurd names for themselves, such as:—

The white man's wealth: Mali ya bwana.

The European mule: Nyumbu ya ulaya.

Who sleeps in the way: Mlala Njiani.

Eight pice: Pesa nane.

Load up: Bandika.

Two o'clock: Saa mbili.

Having written on the porters, the next thing is to make them an advance, and they go off to have a final burst before starting and also to lay in little stores (akiba) for the journey, such as tobacco, cigarette papers, salt, etc.

On the day of departure each professional porter will turn up (rather late) with his rope to do his load. Blankets, water-bottles, cooking-pots, and tents will be given out, and also probably a proportion of knives and axes.

Loads will be allotted, and all will be turmoil and confusion.

It is hopeless to try to make a long march the first day; a hundred and one things have to be adjusted, altered, and purchased at the last moment, and all sorts of difficulties will arise. The great point is to try to get off somewhere, if it is only a few miles away, so as to start fair on the morrow.

Finally, blankets will be wound up into a kind of turban (kata) on which to rest the load, and the men will straggle off only to stop again and rush off to bid last adieux to their lady friends, leaving their loads in the middle of the road.

Once a start has been made, however, with good porters, little further difficulty arises, everything runs smoothly, and everyone knows his job.

This is the white man's safari. In the old days of Swahili trading-caravans, with little attempt at any organisation, this starting process must have occupied days of wrangling. Finally, perhaps, when the start had been made, some incident would happen which would be interpreted by the superstitious Swahili as an unfavourable omen, and so the whole caravan might return to await more favourable portents.

The Swahilis always talk about the bush (*pori*) as a most horrible place, peopled with all kinds of fierce animals, demons, and fabulous monsters.

I often wish that I could embark on the *pori* with the childish imagination of a Swahili, for to him it is always the land of the unknown, where any adventure may befall him. He may meet with seven-headed dragons, rescue fair damsels in distress, find enchanted palaces, mountains of pure gold, or wander on for ever into lands of unexploited myth and fortune.

For me, I know that I must pay for a game licence and only shoot certain animals on it, amongst which dragons are not included. Although I may pass out of the limits of civilisation for a short time, I know that whichever way I go I must eventually run up against it again. In spite of these limitations I think the *pori* a fascinating place, but oh! for the imagination of a Swahili! Yet the Swahili, brought up on its threshold, thinks it an evil place and one to be avoided if possible.

I am told that there is a certain bird which makes it his special duty to watch over the welfare of the safari and warn it of any evil in the way. He comes and chirps, "Tua! Tua! Tua!" ("put down your load"), and at once the Swahili halts and camps wherever he may be, knowing full well that there is danger in the way. In the morning they go to look for the bird, and if he says, "Tweka! Tweka! Tweka!" ("load up"), they know that the danger is past, and so proceed on their way.

The stony-hearted European takes no notice of this still, small voice, and presses on to his doom unheeding.

However, the natives recognise that there is something about even the meanest European which acts as an antidote to black magic. Thus they would not hesitate to follow him in spite of a warning of this kind, whereas by themselves they would never dare to proceed.

Other ill-omened events are the breaking of an earthenware vessel or a jackal crossing the route of the safari. The former denotes quarrelling or fighting, whilst the latter means bad luck.

One of the first considerations of the porters will be to cut themselves serviceable sticks. These are used to prop up the load when carried, for a change of position on the shoulder, to help them across fords and to feel the way in the dark. In a narrow or grass-covered path, roots and stones in the way are tapped by those in front to warn those behind not to trip over them.

Sometimes a notch is cut on the stick every night by which the number of days on trek is calculated. Another purpose for which the stick is used is for the periodical fights which occur between the Wanyamwezi and Manyema porters.

The endurance of the professional porter is very great, and he will carry his eighty-pound load for fifteen miles or so, day after day, when in countries suited to him. Should longer marches be contemplated the load should be reduced to sixty pounds, when he will perform twenty miles and at a pinch even thirty. On arrival in camp, he will immediately set to work to pitch the tents, draw water, and fetch firewood. He will then cook his food, and after that, instead of retiring to a well-earned slumber, he will commence to sing and dance.

This singing is generally improvised topical verses dealing with the events of the trek. The dance is a slowish, stately dance of the "du Ventre" type; the choruses are sung to the accompaniment of two primitive, noise-producing instruments, the upato and kaiamba.

The former is, in its highest form, a kind of gong, but its usual safari prototype is a tin beaten by a stick.

The kaiamba is a rattle made of an exterior case of reeds enclosing seeds or grain.

A more elaborate instrument, called a "zeze," is sometimes carried. This consists of half a gourd attached to a handle down which are stretched three pieces of gut.

This instrument is perhaps the forerunner of the banjo, as it occurs over the greater part of Africa.

Another evening amusement is story-telling. Some of the porters' stories are really highly entertaining, and I often listen to their quaint folk-lore and other tales with immense enjoyment.

The story-teller requires frequent interjections and affirmations from his hearers to enable him to proceed. After each sentence he expects to hear, "Indeed!" "Dear me!" "Oh!" or similar remarks. If these remarks are not forthcoming he asks repeatedly, "Do you hear all right?" "Have you ears?" etc.

The hearers often prefer an old and well-worn story to a new one, and sometimes the same story is told night after night, the hearers being able to correct the story-teller if he goes wrong or finish off his sentences for him. Very often there is a refrain or chorus which occurs in the story from time to time, and in this the listeners join.

In the evening games are often resorted to. Some of these, played with a ball or the round fruit of the sodom apple, are:—

(1) To tee up one apple on a little mound of earth and bowl at it with others from a given mark, trying to knock it over.

(2) To try to bowl an apple into a hole like a golf hole dug in the ground, the players to stand behind a certain mark.

(3) To place four apples on the back of the hand and jerk them on to the ground so that they lie as close to one another as possible, but there must be over a finger's breadth between any two, or the player forfeits his turn.

He then flicks No. 1 ball with his finger and tries to cannon No. 2 with it. This done, he tries to cannon No. 4 with No. 3 in like manner. If he succeeds with both these he is allowed

another turn and counts two to his score. If, however, he can cannon two others with his first flick of No. 1 he counts three to his score, or if he cannons the remaining three with his first shot he counts four to his score.

The time at which the porters show up to the least advantage is perhaps when any meat is killed. They then usually behave just like wild animals. They fight and wrangle over cutting up the body like a party of hyenas on a kill. It is difficult to ensure a fair distribution as, unless dealt with very firmly, they steal and conceal the tit-bits.

Finally, when the meat is distributed, if there is sufficient, they gorge themselves to such an extent that they are in a semi-comatose state for several days.

I always make it a rule that all meat shot is brought in and laid out in camp. Until every bit is forthcoming, no meat is dealt out. Then it is divided up by myself or the headman and apportioned to the different porters' camps.

One of the most trying duties of camp life is that of sentry at night. That is often necessary for a variety of reasons—to guard against theft, wild animals, or to ensure rising at the proper time in the morning.

This duty is generally performed in a manner which fills me with admiration.

Lions very rarely visit a camp, especially on the open plains where there is plenty of game, but there is always the chance of a lion or a rhino coming along. On a pitch, dark night, with lions roaring, a solitary vigil by the camp fire is most unnerving. Yet the men never shirk their duty, and it is the most exceptional thing to find a man has gone to sleep at his post or returned to his tent.

Next, to take the unprofessional porter. He may be drawn from any of the tribes in the country except Masai and a few others, the men of which will never carry loads. The porter who is not a professional will, as a rule, carry only sixty pounds, and will not march as far as the Wanyamwezi.

Perhaps the best are Kikuyu, who are exceptionally good in

hilly country, their own country being a land of steep ascents and descents. A Kikuyu, if he takes to the life of a professional porter, will often become every bit as good as an Mnyamwezi.

In their own country they always carry loads resting on the small of the back and buttocks, and supported by a leather band passing round the forehead. The Masai women carry firewood in much the same way, except that the leather band passes round the chest instead of the forehead.

This method of carrying a load on the back is especially suitable for a hilly country. It also possesses the further advantage of enabling the porter to sit down and stand up again with his load instead of having to get another man to hoist it up for him as is often necessary for those carrying loads on the head. However, continual carrying of loads in this position is apt to make them stoop and cramp the chest.

The Wakamba also make fairly good porters, but both these and the Kikuyu are generally unreliable. Not much can be said in favour of any other tribe as porters, although occasionally a good man is obtained from the Kavirondo.

When travelling far, especially in the grainless parts of the country, it is essential to take donkeys to carry food for the men.

The best donkeys in the country are those of the Masai, but they are practically unobtainable, as these people do not sell their donkeys, but on the contrary are generally buying them from elsewhere.

The greatest donkey-breeders in the country are the Turkana, who supply these animals to most of the surrounding tribes.

Their donkeys are cheap, but if not obtained with care may subsequently be found to be inoculated with tsetse.

Saddles are easily made out of sacking stuffed with ribs of grass or straw. These are fastened with girths and secured to the chest and hind-quarters of the animal with webbing, allowing plenty of play. The strain only comes on the latter in going up or down hill, when they prevent the saddle riding forward or slipping back.

A pair of large saddle-bags made of sacking are useful. These are put on over the saddle, and a load of goods may be placed in the bag on each side. In the low thorn-country, such sacking bags are soon torn to pieces and must then be replaced by others made from the skins of animals shot.

One of the great secrets of getting donkeys to travel well is to arrange the loads on either side to balance exactly. Sometimes it may be necessary to put a small stone on one side or the other so as to make a perfect balance.

A small zariba is generally made for the donkeys at night. Where there is not sufficient thorn for this they must be picketed. A picketing rope is attached to two pegs firmly driven into the ground or to trees, and the donkeys are tethered by ropes passing round a forefoot. Half the animals should be placed one side and half the other, facing each other, so that if they are restless at night they pull against each other and not all against the pegs.

Donkeys, especially those of East Africa, are very useless in hilly country.

When going on a distant safari it is necessary to take a certain amount of trade-goods, for the purchase of food and local stores; also for payment of the guides, and making presents to chiefs, etc. For this purpose the exact requirements of the natives in the parts to be visited must be known, or the chances are that your trade-goods, however valuable, will be regarded by the natives as valueless.

For journeys still farther afield, such as in the Borana or Jubaland, camels are necessary. These animals are in places cheap enough, but difficult to obtain, as their masters do not wish to sell them.

CHAPTER XII

THE MASAI

THE origin of the Masai (or Masae) is a subject of speculation, as nothing definite can be traced as to the country or stock from which they have sprung, or the time at which they arrived in their present quarters.

Sir Harry Johnston is of opinion that they are the result of a mixture of the Nilotic negro and the Gala-Somali, and assigns their country of origin as the highlands west or north-west of Mount Elgon.

Affinity of language goes to prove that they are nearly allied to the Latuka of the Nile, while such affinity of language also classes Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Ogiek, Kipsikisi, Kavirondo, Bari, Dinka, Latuka, Acholi, and a few other tribes in one group, called "Nilotic."

It is known that there was an ancient civilisation embracing both sides of the gulf of Aden during the time of Solomon, of which Sheba, from the Queen of which place Menelik claims descent, was a province in South Arabia.

Remains of this civilisation are found in the shape of Hamyaritic inscriptions in South Arabia, and the ruins and inscriptions of Northern Abyssinia. The present civilisation of the highlands of Abyssinia, a civilisation which is conspicuous amongst the savagery of the surrounding tribes, is probably also a relic.

So little research has at present been made with regard to the inscriptions of South Arabia and the ruins and inscriptions of Northern Abyssinia, that but little is known concerning the old Hamyaritic and Axumite dynasties of these countries. The little that is to hand would seem to prove, however, that, on the African coast at least, the civilisation was of an advanced order, since when there has been a retrograde movement.

It is, I believe, unknown how far south these kingdoms spread, but it appears that they embraced part of Somaliland and Gallaland, from the former of which countries there was a trade of gum and spices with Egypt and Syria, and in the latter country old inscriptions are reported.

Many thousand years before this, ancient Egyptian civilisation pushed down into Abyssinia, and probably extended far up both the White and Blue Niles.

The Ptolemys, about 200 B.C., used to have hunting camps on the borders of Abyssinia, and it would be unlikely that they should constantly visit these places unless their settled dominions reached considerably S. and E. of these places.

It is very plausible to assume that all those races who are not negroid or negro, and now living on or within the borders of ancient civilisations, are some sort of admixture between the negro or negroid element, and the Hamite or Egyptian.

The Nilotic peoples bear, as has been said, a likeness to each other in language, as also in physique and customs, conspicuous amongst the latter being the nudity of the male sex.

The Galla, Abyssinian, and Somali cannot be considered as Nilotic as to language, but in physical characteristics they are much more like these people than they are akin to the Arab on the one hand, or the Bantu on the other.¹

The nudity of the male sex is a custom which they might easily have possessed till lately, while the advent of Islam and Christianity is quite sufficient to account for it no longer being practised amongst Somalis and Abyssinians. There are two remarkable customs which are met with amongst all these peoples, viz., Nilotic and Hamite, and practically never elsewhere. One is the habit of resting standing on one leg, a custom which has often been mentioned by writers. The second, though it has been observed, I have never seen referred to as a point of resemblance between these peoples, viz., the manner in which meat is eaten. A large piece is held in the left hand, the end

¹ The Masai has a very Hamitic cast of face, and is not very unlike the Somali, the nose is as a rule long and thin, but occasionally quite a Hebraic nose is seen.

placed in the mouth and cut across with a knife while being held between the teeth.

I have seen this done by Somali, Abyssinian, Masai, Ogiek, Rendile, Bari, Alui, and Madi, but never by a Bantu native.

To descend to more modern times, it seems certain that the Masai have occupied their present quarters for at least several hundred years, for two important reasons.

The first is that Masai traditions, which extend back perhaps 150 years or more, give no hint that they have come from any other country. The second is the evidence of the cattle tracks cut deep in solid rock in most parts of the country inhabited by Masai, viz., Ngong and Rift Valley. Although the rock is often soft, yet it must have taken several hundred years to cut tracks two feet or more in depth, as is seen in certain places, notably in the Kedong Valley.

As for recent events within the memory or mouth-to-mouth tradition of the people, the Masai seem to have occupied five districts as long as their traditions go back.

Viz.: (1) Guas Ngishu, (2) Laikipia, (3) Naivasha, (4) Athi and Kapiti Plains, (5) near Kilimanjaro and German border. Of these the first two sections have now ceased to exist.

The Guas Ñgishu people are said to have been at war with the other Masai, and have been finally defeated and their women and stock taken either by the other Masai or, on their being broken up, by the surrounding tribes, such as the Nandi.

With regard to the old Laikipia Masai, the Loikop, Sir Charles Eliot says that the Laikipia Masai were said to have died out on account of the loss of their cattle from rinderpest. He and Mr. Hollis also speak of the old Guas Ñgishu Masai as having been agriculturists. These authorities have information derived from sources more trustworthy than those to which I have had access, but the information I have received from Masai, Samurr, Rendile and Borana, concerning the old Laikipia Masai, may be worth recounting.

According to my informants, the country north of Gilgil and extending from this place to the Borana was in the old days

called "Laikipia," a name which is now confined to the plateau between the north of the Aberdares and the Lorigai Mountains.

The Masai inhabitants of this tract were called "Loikop," or "the people of the country called Laikipia."

The name still survives in the Rendile word "Lokkob," used by them to denote any *cattle*-breeding tribe, such as the Samburr or Masai, in distinction to a camel breeder.

I have never heard any suggestion that these Loikop of Laikipia were agriculturists, although undoubtedly the two settlements south of Baringo of alleged Guas N̄gishu Masai, are at present agriculturists, although they may have only taken to this life since the loss of their cattle, or their flight from their old country.

As to the Loikop, they seem to have become very powerful, and their raids are alleged to have extended eastwards into Somaliland. Anyhow, it is certain that they raided down to Ngong, and the Borana say that they reached as far as Dirri, east of Lake Stephanie, at which place the Borana were on the verge of falling back still further before them, when they decided to make a last effort. So collecting all available men from far and wide, and many horses, they managed to drive them back out of their country.

Re their final extinction, I have heard two versions, the second being, no doubt, a mythical perversion of the first.

The first is that they decided to attack and completely overwhelm the southern Masai, and were going to kill all males, and capture the whole of their women and stock that they might cease to exist as a tribe. With this in view, they started down the Rift Valley, and as they feared being raided by their adversaries of the north whilst the warriors were away, they brought the whole of their stock, women, children and belongings, with them.

When the southern Masai heard that they were coming, they combined together and came forth to meet them. They met the Loikop north of Nakuru, and the invaders leaving their women and cattle in zaribas, launched themselves in attack.

After a desperate encounter, the Loikop were gradually driven backwards in a westerly direction. Not knowing the country, they were unaware that the crater of Menengai, whose wall drops sheer off the plain, was behind them.

When near the brink, the southern army redoubled the attack, and the Loikop turned suddenly to fly, and fled over the brink of the crater, those who were not killed by the enemy being precipitated to the bottom.

The southern Masai then captured all their stock, and women and children, and the Loikop ceased to exist.

The other version is that the Loikop, having been successful in all their battles, ate meat till they were full, and then called on Engai (God) to witness that they had defeated every one, and that there was nothing further to do, and so might the earth swallow them up. This prayer was granted, and they were swallowed up in the crater.

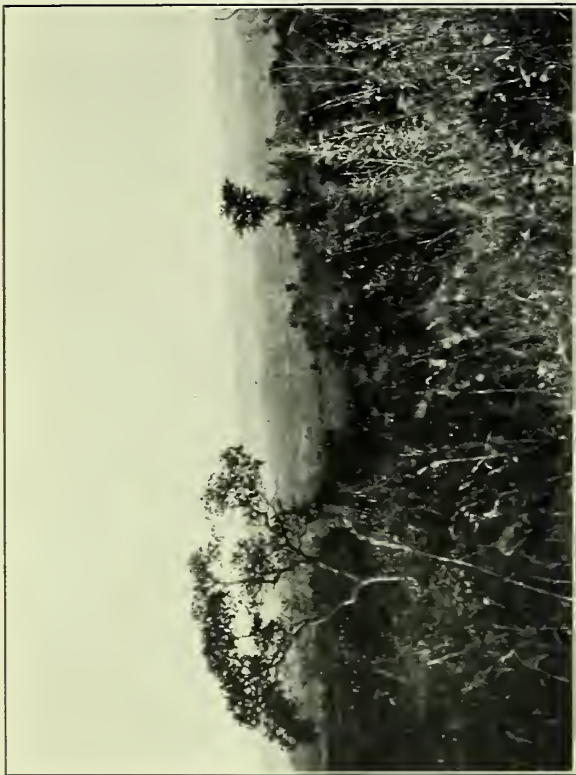
The extinction of the Loikop Masai was possibly not more than twenty years ago.

To come down to recent and more authenticated history, the earliest travellers in British East Africa found the Masai a powerful tribe who held undisputed sway on the plains, raided all the surrounding tribes, and demanded tribute from all who passed.

The rinderpest broke out about twenty years ago, and devastated the cattle, while at the same time small-pox broke out amongst the people, both of which events were said to have been predicted by the old chief, Mbatian.

Many of the Masai died of hunger on the loss of their stock, while many more took refuge with surrounding tribes, such as the Kikuyu and Wakamba, amongst whom they were often treated kindly, allowed to settle down, intermarry, and become as of the tribe. Masai types can often be seen now amongst these tribes. Others took to a hunting life, and joined the Torobo or Ogiek, a hunting tribe.

The Masai at this date were sadly reduced in numbers, and although they maintained their position as a powerful tribe,



MENENGAJ CRATER FROM ABOVE.

they have never been able to raid and loot the surrounding tribes as before.

With regard to the British occupation of the country, they undoubtedly might have made things very unpleasant for us in the old days, when East Africa was but a road to Uganda. However, they have always played the game with us, and never given much cause for trouble.

Once only did they kill a white man, and then only because he had looted some of their cattle.

They have, however, occasionally cut up porters, and once a whole caravan of paid-off porters returning to the coast was murdered in the Rift Valley between Lonogot and Ngong. These events were instigated by the young warriors, and were not countenanced by the laibon of the tribe, and he himself had no knowledge of them, being in Fort Smith at the time with a British official.

On the death of the great chief and medicine man Mbatian, his two sons Ol-onana and Sindeyo fell out. The latter retired to the German border and collected followers against his brother. After several years of war, in which both sides lost a considerable number of men, Sindeyo retired to German territory, where he was attacked and lost most of his cattle.

He afterwards made peace with his brother and came to settle down near him. He is now living but a few miles from Ol-onana.

He is fat and drunken, whereas Ol-onana is thoughtful and reserved. However, many of the Masai love Sindeyo best, as they say that he is open-handed and kindly, whereas Ol-onana is silent and uncommunicative.

Some even say that Sindeyo is the virtual chief in all matters except such as concern certain medicines and rites. It is said that he has to be consulted in all matters, however small, concerning the purchase, disposal, sickness or killing of cattle, and in most other matters.

When the Rift Valley began to be occupied by settlers, the "Masai Problem" arose. This was as to what was to be done

with the Masai in this part, for it was impossible for them to live side by side with European settlers and planters.

Sir Donald Stewart hit on a very satisfactory solution to the problem, and probably the only suitable solution.

He convened a meeting of the Masai chiefs, and after discussing the affair with them, they were quite of his opinion that difficulties were sure to arise if they lived mixed up with white settlers. At his request they voluntarily agreed to withdraw from the Rift Valley, thereby leaving it quite free for settlers. In return for this they had the southern reserve, which a section then occupied, and the Laikipia Plateau handed over to them and their children "for all time."¹

Both parties were satisfied with this arrangement, as the Masai had a definite promise of never being molested as long as they should keep to these territories, whereas the whole healthy part of the Rift Valley was thrown open to white settlers.

The southern reserve is a game reserve, and has but little water. As the Masai do not molest the game, and the country would be most unsuited to white settlers, it is admirably adapted to the double function of a game and Masai reserve. The Laikipia Plateau is a rich grazing ground, there is plenty of water at the southern edge, viz., the Aberdares, and the Uasin Ngiro flows through it. However, to the north, water is scarce, and the country is only suited to semi-nomads, like the Masai, who move their kraals to fresh pools as the old dry up, and the grazing gets exhausted.

The two Masai reserves, north and south, were to be connected with a strip of land to serve as a road on which the Masai might pass with cattle backwards and forwards between the two reserves. The removal of a section of the Masai to this northern reserve concludes the important events of Masai history in recent years.

¹ Since this was written I hear that the Masai are being turned out of Laikipia in favour of white settlers. "For all time," then, covers a period of a few years.

COUNTRY.—The country inhabited by the Masai at the present day in British East Africa is:—

The Laikipia Plateau.

The southern game reserve.

Kinangop Plateau.

Enjamusi, S. of Lake Baringo.

North of Nyeri.

There is also a section of Masai in German territory, just over the border, called the "Loikop Il-lumbwa" or "hard-teeth," who are said to be partly agricultural. These are not to be confounded with the Loikop or old inhabitants of Laikipia now exterminated.

DISTRIBUTION.—With regard to the Masai at present living in British territory, it is rather difficult to follow from Mr. Hollis's map of their distribution exactly what the sections are, and where they live, as he includes the old sections, no longer extant, and also there have been several minor changes since then.

The chief sub-divisions I have met with in the country, and those which seem to hold themselves apart from others are:—¹

1. Ol-Burrugu, present occupiers of Laikipia Plateau.
2. En-Naivasha, south of Naivasha.
3. Loita, southern reserve.
4. Ol-Oitoktok, north of Kilimanjaro.
5. Just under S. and S.E. end of Ngong Mountain live the Lolaisir clan, from which spring the medicine men of the whole tribe. These do not move from the close proximity of the mountain. Lunana (Ol-onana), the present chief of the Masai, lives here and is of this clan.
6. There are also a small and rather diseased and depressed sub-division of Masai who live north of Nyeri. These have but few cattle, and build their huts generally with grass roofs.
7. There are also Masai living on the Gwas Ngishu Plateau.
8. A small group living on the Kinangop Plateau, W. of the Aberdares, probably from the En-naivasha.

¹ For more scientific classification see "The Masai" (Hollis), p. 260.

9. Also there are said to be two villages of agricultural Masai at Enjamus, S. of Baringo.

The Masai used to extend E. of Ol-doinyo Sapuk, and the Tana, S. of Embu, as is recorded by tradition and can be seen by the grass rings of the kraals, with a few scattered stones lying about.

ORGANISATION.—Males are divided into:—

Ol-laiyoni = boy (before circumcision).

Ol-muran = warrior (after circumcision).

Ol-moruo = old man (after leaving ranks of warriors).

Females are divided into:—

En-dito = girls (before clitoridectomy).

E-siangiki = girls (after clitoridectomy).

E-ngoroyoni (koko) = woman.

The Masai assumes the rank of warrior after circumcision, which will be about the age of thirteen to seventeen, according to how well-developed he is. Circumcisions are alternately right-handed or left-handed. Each circumcision consists of three circumcisions spread over three or four years, those ready during the first year being circumcised in the first, and those not yet ready during the next two circumcisions. This finishes a right or left-handed circumcision, and all those who have been operated upon during this time belong to the same age.

An interval of about four years then elapses, and a new circumcision is held on the opposite side.

When the members of the new circumcision take up the rank of warrior, those of the former circumcision as a rule retire to the ranks of the old men.

Warriors thus may serve for from seven to ten years, according to whether they have been circumcised at the beginning or end of a circumcision.

Two ages make one generation.

Warriors elect a chief from amongst their number. The chief of a section or clan is always an old man (moruo), and his son is often circumcised very young, and allowed to pass through the

warrior's stage in a year or two, so as to be quickly admitted to the counsels of the old men.

However, the old chiefs have little power or authority over the warriors, who make war on their own account, only asking for the old chief's blessing on departure.

In a big war the chief of each group of warriors is responsible for the presence of his men.

The military organisation of the tribe is distinctly good, forces being divided up into sections and parties under different leaders, and each man knows his place and takes his part without delay or argument.

The Masai have helped us in all our small expeditions now for a number of years.

Tribute of honey wine, or stock in lieu, is collected by Ol-onana on festive or important occasions such as circumcision, etc.

The insignia of Ol-onana is an iron club borne by a man whose duties correspond to a wazir or adjutant. This is sent as a sign that a message has come from Ol-onana.

LANGUAGE.—The language of the Masai, as has already been said, is Nilotic, nearly allied to that of the Latuka of the Nile.

Amongst nearer tribes it has a resemblance to the languages of Nandi and Ogiek, and, more distantly, those of Turkana and Kavirondo.

MODE OF SUBSISTENCE.—The Masai live entirely on the blood, meat, and milk of their flocks. Those in British East Africa, with the exception of the two villages, Great and Little Enjamusi, are purely pastoral. Their cattle have now recovered from the devastation of the rinderpest, and enormous herds of cattle can be seen in parts such as Laikipia. In fact, there is now danger of their being overstocked, as they will never sell and will seldom kill and eat any of their animals.

Cattle come out at 6 a.m. to graze for an hour, and are then taken back to milk in their kraal, and go out again after being milked.

They are generally watered about noon and brought in again at sunset, when they are milked for the second time.

Calves are generally herded separately, so as not to drink the milk during the day.

The early morning dew does not appear to have a bad effect on the cattle as it does on the coast.

The practice of giving cattle bells, which must be of very ancient origin, prevails here as it does all over the world, but only the big bulls are given them.

Sheep and goats do not leave the kraal till eight or nine o'clock, that is, after the cattle have been brought back and milked.

When meat is required it is more usual to kill a male sheep or goat, for the male cattle are used for obtaining the supply of blood which forms a part of their food. This blood is generally drunk hot and frothing, unlike the practice of some Kikuyu, who mix it with milk and put it by till evening.

Stock are driven from time to time to salt licks, should the water at the drinking-place be fresh. However, many of the drinking-places on the plains are either brackish, or the mud and earth under the surrounding vegetation affords salt earth, which is pawed up and eaten by the beasts.

Meat is almost universally roasted over the fire, and not boiled, as amongst the Somalis.

For this reason there are, as a rule, no cooking places in their huts for no pots are used.

Masai do not eat the meat of game, except occasionally when on the warpath, or when trekking with white men.

They sometimes live for months together without touching meat, being averse to killing their stock.

They are very fond of honey wine. This is drunk by the old men (*il-moruo*). It is purchased largely from the Kikuyu.

During a drought, when all the grass is dead and dry, the sheep can be fed on the leaves of the *ol-leleshwa*, or camphor tree, which keeps them going till the rains.

A poisonous plant, called "*ol dule*," is found on some of their grazing grounds. When this or the leaves of a kind of tulip which is poisonous when dead are found, the finder hangs it up in a tree to warn all who visit the spot.

The former is fatal when eaten by goats and horses, but is not touched by cattle. The latter is eaten by, and is fatal to, cattle.

As most of the country occupied by the Masai is very dry, it is generally necessary to change quarters from time to time to obtain fresh grazing and water. The few household belongings are carried by women and donkeys.

The Masai donkeys are peculiarly hardy, and much more valuable than those of the Turkana, though by far less numerous.

As there is but little vegetation on the plains, it is often necessary to transport the branches with which to make the kraal from the old spot to the new camping ground.

Cattle and grass are both held in high esteem by the Masai. The loss of a cow is considered as a great misfortune even to a rich man. When lion appear near the kraal at night the warriors turn out and kill or drive them away. The loss or mauling of a warrior is considered of less consequence than the loss of a cow.

Cattle mean food, riches, wives and position to a Masai. As cattle are dependent on grass, this herb is looked on with great respect. It figures in many of their customs, such as being offered as a token of respect, peace, or to bring luck.

Women pray for rain and grass.

Grass is put on an elephant's skull by the passer-by, as a token of respect to the mighty dead.

This custom must have originated with cattle-raising people, but it appears to have been copied by some of the agricultural peoples.

Cattle are killed by being stabbed behind the neck.

Sheep are killed by having the mouth and nostril held till they are suffocated. This is so that the blood should not be lost. It is drunk when the animal is cut up.

Blood from live cattle is drawn by fastening a rope tight round the neck, and then shooting a certain shaped arrow into a vein. It then spurts out into a gourd.

They are addicted to the use of snuff. This is generally

obtained from the Kikuyu and is carried in a miniature gourd or hollowed section of bamboo closed with a leather cap and hung round the neck attached to a chain.

MEDICINES.—Of these I believe there are quite a number. The only two I was told about, however, were the juice of the candelabra euphorbia as a purgative and emetic and the bark of a large tree, called “sogonoi,” used for diarrhœa.

WEAPONS AND CUSTOMS OF WAR.—The weapons of the Masai warrior consist of spear, shield, sword and club.

The spear has a long iron blade about two feet long, and at the other extremity an iron point so as to permit of the spear being stood upright in the ground when the warrior stands or rests.

The wood used for joining the iron blade to the point is but a short haft. It is made out of the same tree favoured by the Somals for their spears, viz., isiteti (Somali=debi).

Warriors, wherever they halt, if only for a few seconds, plunge the end of their spears into the ground, standing them upright.

This they do in two motions with a military smartness, cutting the hand away sharply to the side.

On entering a hut, they generally transfer the spear to the left hand, and plunge the end in the ground outside the hut close to the left-hand side of the doorway as they go in.

The reason for this is that in case of alarm, the spear will be ready to hand, and on the right side as they emerge from the hut.

A tuft of black ostrich feathers, called “sulsul,” is worn on the point of the spear.

This is a sign that the bearers are on a peaceful errand.

The shield (lông) is large and oval in shape. It is generally made of ox hide, but buffalo is more prized and in great demand.

The edge of the shield is bound with thongs of hide. At the back is a handle through which the forearm is slipped. On the front of the shield are quarterings and devices, showing the age and clan of the warrior.

These quarterings are in three different colours, viz.:—

RED.—Made from a special red earth.

WHITE.—Made from a kind of chalk found on Mount Eburu.

BLACK.—For central line, made from charcoal of ol bugoi tree, and for devices from ol oiriyen tree.

The sword is worn on the left side, is of soft steel and about two feet long. It is enclosed in a leather sheath, and is often shaped like a Roman sword.

It has been mentioned before that Arabs and Swahili wear their swords on the *right* side. In the case of the Masai no doubt they would hamper them in a free use of the spear if worn on that side. It is so usual to find that natives do things in exactly the opposite way to Europeans that any exception is noteworthy. Arrows are usually fixed from the *left* side of the bow, the arrows being as often as not taken from a quiver hung on the back.

The wooden club is held in the left hand under the shield.

The weapons of the old men and boys are bows and arrows. These are only used in case of grave emergency, such as an attack on the kraal.

Watches are kept at night by the women. This is to allow the warriors to turn out fresh in case of alarm. For this purpose the porches of the huts have the doorways arranged so as to face the entrances to the zariba, so that the women may sit in the shadow of the porch and watch the weak spots in the fence.

War is made to loot cattle from other tribes, or to prevent a raiding party looting their cattle.

It is considered necessary to celebrate circumcision ceremonies with raids.

The Masai attack in the usual savage formation of a long single row of spearmen, advancing with shouts and noise intended to frighten the enemy.

They are undoubtedly much pluckier than the ordinary Bantu native of the country. In the old days the only people who ever

got any change out of them appear to have been the Wakamba, a numerous tribe who live in bush country and are used to bush tactics.

The Masai always inhabit the open plains, and are not of much use in the bush.

It is related that on one occasion the Wakamba inveigled them into thick bush, and meanwhile sent a party round who attacked the kraal the Masai had left, capturing some girls and cattle, much to the disgust of the Masai who had been unsuccessful in inciting them to battle.

All iron work, such as spears and swords, is forged by smiths who live apart from, though amongst, the Masai.

They generally live just outside the zariba.

They do not intermarry with the Masai, and are treated as a lower class, in this respect being exactly analogous to the Tumals amongst the Somali.

The iron ore is roughly smelted. However, nowadays railway lines, fishplates, etc., are so cheap that it is hardly worth while smelting.

In time of war the warriors scout to the distance of a few miles round the kraals, so as to give warning for the cattle to be driven in.

CUSTOMS.—The divisions of the community have already been noted. The laiyni (boys) have no privileges until they have been circumcised. This operation, which is performed in public, is accompanied by feasting and dancing.

After this they are dressed in women's clothes, and shaved all over the body.

When they take off these clothes they become il-muran (warriors), and the hair of the head is, when it grows again, plaited in a pigtail, adorned with red earth and fat.

No warrior is allowed to be married, but the il-muran live with the in-doiye (girls). When he leaves the ranks of the warriors to become an ol-moruo (old man) he marries.

The number of wives a man has depends on his wealth.

When a woman wishes to be married she is taken from the

ranks of the e-siangiki and undergoes the operation of clitoridectomy, subsequent to which she may be married. The husband pays her father for her in cows. When a woman gives birth, her husband presents her with an ox or a sheep to eat, according to his wealth and according to whether it is a male or a female child, the latter only requiring a smaller present.

After giving birth a woman becomes a matron, and wears certain ornaments to show that she has reached this state.

Fines are paid for murder and theft, the fine for the latter being about three times the value of the thing stolen, which is generally stock. This is about the only thing that would tempt a Masai to thief.

Salutation amongst the Masai is varied according to whether an old man addresses a warrior, or a warrior a married woman, and so on.

The usual salutation between warriors is "Sabai." "Father" and "Big woman" are terms of respect used by the younger to the elder.

Children salute elders by butting them in the stomach with their heads.

Dead are not buried except in the case of chiefs. The latter are placed in a small trench, and a cairn of stones is built over them. Then all who pass by forever afterwards add a stone to the top of the pile.

The Masai have no belief in a future state for any but chiefs. The ordinary individuals, after being wailed over, are taken out and laid on their right side, facing west, a common manner of laying out the dead in Africa, and are then left to be taken by hyenas.

Some say that chiefs pass into snakes. However, the great chief, Mbatian, said that when he died he would send those Masai who followed out his dying instructions, more cattle from the next world, a promise he is supposed to have fulfilled, so that there is evidently a belief in some future state for chiefs at least.

Also, I have been told not to mention Mbatian's name at night,

as he can overhear all that is said and might appear. So it would seem that he still exists in another state.

The leaves and branches of the ol leleshwa are used for making beds, as also the leaves of a plant called "ol-matisir" for the sake of their perfume.

Milk is kept in calabashes or gourds ornamented with cowries and beads. These are periodically cleaned out with the charred wood of the loiyie tree.

This gives the milk a smoky taste, and it makes it quickly curdle. Milk is often mixed with that of the day before to induce it to curdle, and sour and curdled milk of many days old is highly appreciated, as amongst most African tribes.

ARCHITECTURE.—The hut is a long, low structure made of sticks and cow-dung, often roofed with cow-dung plastered on skins. It is about five feet in height, and divided into several partitions joined together by narrow holes as doors.

There is, as a rule, but one exterior doorway, which is often constructed as a kind of porch, opening to the side, so that the door faces along the front of the hut, and not outwards.

The door is very narrow and short, so that it is necessary for a broad man, like a European, to crouch in sideways.

Inside it is pitch dark, being lighted only by a small window the size of a watch high up the wall.

The back wall of the hut makes part of the exterior wall of the kraal, and a number of huts in a row are joined together, thus forming a good part of the zariba.

The roofs have generally to be replastered after rain. The work of building the huts is done entirely by women. Inside there is a rough hearth, three large stones forming three sides, and the fourth side being left open to push in the sticks. As cooking in pots is not required, there are no stones on which to rest pots, as amongst grain-eating tribes. The fire is purely for warmth.

As there is no ventilation and no exit for the smoke except by percolating the cow-dung roof, the air inside is pungent.

Broad low beds are made of branches, and the warriors and girls sleep on these in rows.

There are low wooden stools to accommodate the elders.

Occasionally a chief's hut is built inside the outer ring of huts.

The part of the zariba circle not bounded by huts is joined up by a thorn hedge, two doorways being left—generally on opposite sides of the kraal. These are, of course, closed at night. Inside this ring live the cattle, while there is generally an inner kraal or partition for sheep and goats.

ARTS.—The Masai have practically no arts or crafts. Iron ore is smelted, and their weapons are made for them by a lower, dependent people, as already described.

Their snuff and honey wine is chiefly bought from the Kikuyu.

The skins worn are not tanned, but only scraped and softened with oil and red earth.

They appear to be poor mathematicians, if one is to judge from the women selling firewood or other things. I once tried to buy some eggs from a Masai koko. She agreed readily to the price to be paid for one egg, but I could not make her understand that if one egg was to be sold for two pice, then six eggs would be twelve. At last one of my men, who had been watching, came forward and said, "That is not the way to buy from a Masai woman; you must do it like this." He then laid the eggs in a row on the ground, and on each egg placed the sum to be paid for it. After a brief conversation about each egg, in which it was demonstrated that its right price was on top of it, the woman went away quite happy.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS, ETC.—The dress of the men is generally a square patch of skin hung from the shoulder.

A skin cap, made from the stomach of a goat, is worn both by warriors and old men occasionally. With the former it saves their carefully greased and mud-daubed pigtaails suffering from rain.

In war paint a head-dress of lion's mane is much prized, while circlets of ostrich feathers are also worn round the head.

Old men prize a robe of hyrax skins trimmed with beads, as it keeps them warm.

The women wear skirts of skins in the "directoire" style, showing the leg above the knee as they walk.

Over the shoulder is thrown a skin which is wrapped round the chest and fastened. Gourds of milk and babies are carried on the back inside this. Round the waist this skin is fastened with a thong to prevent these articles slipping down.

The heads of women are generally shaven.

Loads, such as firewood, are carried on the back and bound by a leather thong passing across the chest. In this they differ from Kikuyu women, who pass the strap round the forehead.

Blue and red "Masai" beads are the most usual necklaces for both men and women.

Giraffe tail hairs are prized for stringing these beads.

The women are very extensively decorated in brass wire (surutyai).

The young girls often have the legs almost completely enveloped in this from ankle to knee, and can hardly waddle. Married women wear enormously heavy coils round the neck, and pendent from the extended ear lobes.

Old men, on reaching a certain age, have women's ornaments attached to the ears, but before this they generally wear little horse-shoe pendants.

Warriors and young men wear occasionally large pieces of wood, six inches long or so, or a large ball of clay, fastened in the extended lobe of the ear, so as to stretch it.

It is the laiyni generally who wear these balls of clay, as their ear lobes are not fully extended. Older men often have long pieces of carved wood, bone or ivory, with a notch at each end, worn transversely in the extended lobe.

The ear when not being extended in this way has its long loop hung over the top part of the ear.

Two front incisors of the lower jaw are extracted when young. This is said to be as a safeguard against starvation when suffering from tetanus.

CHAPTER XIII

MASAILAND

WEST of Nairobi, and distant about a day's march, stands up a conspicuous four-peaked hill, forming the tail end of the Kikuyu escarpment. This is generally known to Europeans by the name of Ngong Mountain, the name being derived from Engongo Bagasi, the Masai name for the source of a stream rising near its foot.

The Masai themselves call this mountain "Ol-doinyo Lam-wea," or "Ol-doinyo loo l'aisir," the latter word meaning "the mountain of the Aiser," the leading clan of the Masai, from amongst which their chief medicine man, or Laibon, is chosen.

The present laibon is called "the Lunana" (or "Ol-onana"), his kraal being situated at the south-west end of this mountain.

Although the Masai, as a rule, trek about considerably according to the exigencies of grazing and water, the Aiser always remain in the close vicinity of Ngong Mountain.

A day's trek westwards from Nairobi will take us through the Ngong forest, intersected with open spaces, to the site of old Ngong fort, now deserted, but marked by a clump of tall blue gums.

From here a few hours' march southwards will bring us to the Lunana's kraal, a large circular enclosure of thorn branches. The country through which we pass to reach this follows the foot of the lower slopes of the mountain through a grass country studded with short, thick trees, giving one the impression of an English orchard.

Ol-onana's kraal is rather bigger than the usual Masai manyata (kraal), but constructed on the same lines. Round the edge are situated the long, low huts of his people, while the

remainder of the enclosure is devoted to the cattle when they are herded inside.

When we arrive they will be out grazing, and the inside of the enclosure will resemble a large circular arena with tanned floor, the tan being represented by old and well trampled cattle dung.

The huts, which are built by women, are the usual long, low structures of wattle, plastered with cow-dung. The walls inside are very strong and hard, and last for a year or more. Inside, this long hut is divided into compartments by interior walls, the different rooms being connected by narrow doors. Olonana's hut is built in the same style as the usual hut, but is slightly bigger, and situated inside the kraal instead of at the edge of the zariba.

Lunana is the laibon of all the Masai, and is the son of Mbatian, the last great medicine man, who was undisputed chief of the Masai in both German and British territory.

He was famous as a medicine man and seer, and is supposed to have performed various miracles, as well as to have made numerous prophecies.

The following are amongst some of the prophecies alleged to have been made by Mbatian. I am indebted to the District Commissioner of Laikipia for most of them.

1. That a great snake should come to the country, and that it should be of such length that a man could not pass round the head or tail, but must needs cross it to reach the other side.

This is supposed to be a prediction of the coming of the Uganda Railway extending from the sea to Lake Victoria.

2. That a white bird should come to the country.

This is supposed to mean the white man.

3. That he feared the uncircumcised.

The Masai wondered why Mbatian should fear the Laiyoni, Kavirondo or Turkana. It is now apparent to them that he meant the white man.

4. That the Masai should prosper and increase their stock until they should have cattle in four places.

This was made when the Masai had but little stock owing to the ravages of the rinderpest.

This prophecy is supposed by some to have been now fulfilled. The four places by some are said to be:—The southern reserve, Laikipia, the Rift Valley, and the Guas Ngishu. Others say that it means that some of the Masai have so many cattle that they cannot keep them all in one manyata, but must needs use four.

5. That if a white man was killed by the Masai, they should lose their cattle, and sickness would scourge them.

The only white man who has ever been killed by the Masai is Dick, who was killed a few days after the Masai had murdered a caravan of porters returning from Uganda.¹ Just after this rinderpest broke out amongst the cattle, and small-pox amongst the Masai, a fact which impressed them very much.

6. That the white men would cross the country and continue to press on in the same direction. Eventually that they would meet with a force more powerful than themselves, which would drive them back till they left the country.

This is interpreted to mean that, having arrived in the first place at Mombasa, and having pushed forwards on the line of the Uganda Railway (north-west), the white man will finally meet with some force superior to himself in a north-westerly direction which will drive him back until he leaves the country. Being very ignorant of anything outside their own country except the vaguest hearsay, some of the Masai consider that this force will be the Pigmies. Should we ever meet with such a force, it is much more likely that it would be the Abyssinians.

This, and the previous prophecy, explain the attitude of the Masai towards the white man, for although they will never do anything to harm the white man, they will never, if they can help it, do anything to help him. It is only by bringing considerable pressure to bear on them that they can be induced to do anything of direct aid to him.

For when the white man has gone, any Masai who has

¹ See p. 266.

helped him while in the country will be looked on as a bad man, for he will have probably helped to keep him longer.

7. That there shall come a circumcision which shall be celebrated without raids, but only by song and dance. The age of that circumcision will then meet with trouble.

It has always been the custom of the Masai, whenever a circumcision takes place, for the new batch of warriors made to celebrate their assumption of martial duties by making war and raids on their neighbours, and looting cattle, besides indulging in the usual singing, dancing, and other festivities. The last left-handed circumcision was such a one as Mbatian described being unaccompanied by raids and expeditions.

For this reason the Masai are now expecting some trouble to befall this age, that is to say, the present warriors, and incidentally, perhaps, the whole tribe.

The last circumcision, therefore, refused to become *il-moruo* (old men) but are remaining as warriors until the members of this circumcision have passed through their term of martial service, when both circumcisions will become *il-moruo* at the same time.

The *il-moran* (warriors) of the last age are now watching events, and ready to take action in the event of trouble.

8. I see a great fire devouring all before it, and behind it I see everything new and young and nothing old.

The Masai are unaware of the meaning of this prophecy, and are still waiting its fulfilment.

9. Just before his death Mbatian told his clan to remain at their old quarters near Ngong Mountain, prophesying that if they left this place they should lose their cattle, whereas if they remained there, he would send them cattle from the next world to replenish their herds, reduced in numbers by rinderpest.

On his death, his two sons Sindeyo and Lunana fell out and fought together. Sindeyo subsequently trekked off to German territory, while Lunana remained near Ol-doinyo Lamwea.

Sindeyo lost nearly all his cattle fighting with his brother,

and also with the Germans, while Lunana's stock has increased and multiplied, so this prophecy is alleged to have been fulfilled.

Mbatian had two sons, of whom Sindeyo was the elder and Ol-onana the younger. Sindeyo was intended by his father to become chief laibon of the Masai after his death, but Ol-onana took away his brother's birthright, after the manner of Esau.

The following is the story exactly as narrated to me by a Masai. The story is too recent and fresh in the minds of the Masai to have been an adaptation of the story in the Old Testament.

When Mbatian felt that he was about to die, he called his favourite son Sindeyo, and said to him, "I feel that I am about to die, so, my son, come early in the morning to receive my dying injunctions, and to be initiated into all the secrets of my medicines and magic, that you may become chief laibon of the Masai."

Lunana hid himself in the calves' house close by and heard these words.

Early in the morning, before Sindeyo had arisen, Lunana came into his father's hut and said, "I am here, Father."

Mbatian, who was old and feeble with failing sight, said "Who are you?"

Lunana answered, "It is I, your son Sindeyo."

Then Mbatian taught him all the medicines and magic to make him chief laibon of the Masai, and Lunana went his way.

Presently Sindeyo came and said, "I am here, Father." Mbatian answered, "Who are you?" Sindeyo answered, "It is your son Sindeyo." "Sindeyo? but who is he to whom I gave all the medicines? Behold, Lunana has deceived me. Never mind, those I have left I will give you."

So he gave him medicines of witchcraft and magic with which to kill men.

After Mbatian's death, Lunana became chief laibon of the Masai.¹

¹ Since this was written I hear that Lunana is dead.

His half-brother, Sindeyo, became only the chief of the Loita Masai.

The Lunana and his half-brother fought together for several years, one of their biggest fights taking place near the present site of Nairobi. In this fight, which was witnessed by a European, 500 men are said to have been killed.

Sindeyo was finally worsted and retired into German East Africa, as has already been related. Finally the two brothers made peace with each other, and Sindeyo came to Ngong to live near his half-brother. Sindeyo's present kraal is on the way from Ngong fort to Ol-onana's kraal.

Lunana is thoughtful and reserved, and of spare frame. He possesses an intellectual type of face, and is said to be a clever diplomat.

It is said that Sindeyo is a great medicine man. The Masai believe that medicine men can transfer themselves to a distance while asleep. Beua, the chief of the present Laikipia Masai, said that Lunana used to visit him every night at Laikipia, a distance of about a hundred miles, and that if Lunana did not come to him, he himself used to go to Ngong.

It is also said that when Lunana and Sindeyo were fighting together they met at night in the spirit and then fixed up the arrangement by which it was agreed that they should fight no more but live alongside one another at peace.

When I visited Lunana a year or two ago, he was about to have coils of brass wire affixed to the lobes of his ears, like those worn by married women.

This was to mark his entry into the state of an elder or old man. It is said that at the next circumcision he will retire into a hut with all his medicines, and have the hut burnt over him. He himself will not be burnt, but his medicines will after this become more potent.

This ceremony has not yet been performed, as he is not sufficiently aged.

On his death his younger brother, Maru marui, is to succeed him.

When we come into his kraal after having been greeted by the Lunana and his elders, the small children come forward to pay their respects; jolly little things who come up demurely, and lower their heads to be patted instead of butting one in the stomach according to Masai custom, and then, having got over the ordeal, romp off and endeavour to entice the stranger into playing a game of hide and seek, or touch last.

I have always noticed that the children of the lower types of natives seldom or never play games of any sort, while those of a more intellectual type or of a higher plane of civilisation play much after the fashion of the European child.

The Masai children are always full of fun and frolic, and are always playing games.

They build toy houses for themselves, and make bracelets and necklets of plaited grasses, and seem to enjoy life immensely.

Outside Lunana's kraal is a hut and shed, the abode of the smiths who make the arrow and spearheads for the community. These people live in a separate community from the Masai, and do not intermarry with them.

The road by which we have come to the kraal from old Ngong fort, at right angles to the Nairobi-Ngong road, comes from Kikuyuland, *viâ* Dagoreti, the boundary station between the Kikuyu and Masai. Quite a stream of Kikuyu are sometimes seen along this road, bringing honey, red earth, and various articles for sale or exchange with their old enemies the Masai.

Also Masai women from Nairobi can be seen coming out to pay their respects to Lunana, immediately recognisable from their stay-at-home sisters, as they have adopted the cotton robes of the Swahili. Quite a number of Masai women are married to Indian traders, coolies and Swahili and coast boys.

Lunana's kraal, as has been said, is situated in an orchard-like country.

Trekking southwards from here one soon arrives in the great Athi and Kapiti plains, a vast expanse of open grazing ground stretching away to the German border to the south-west, to the more bushy country round Kiu and Simba to the south, to

Ol doinyo Sapuk to the east, and bounded here by the Ngong forest to the north, and further eastwards by the hills of Kikuyuland.

These great open plains look, when viewed from the hills above them, as flat as a table.

In reality they consist of continuous waves and undulations, and although from the top of a rise the eye can see everything apparently perfectly open as far as the horizon, there may be a herd of gnu or other game, perhaps, in a hollow but a few hundred yards distant, quite concealed from view.

Here and there on the plains is a single gnarled and weather-beaten tree, looking lonely and desolate in the midst of the open solitudes.

By day the plains are hot and glaring, and the heat haze distorts the game and other objects, giving miniature thorn bushes the appearance of moving game, and concealing objects in the far distance. By night the plains, owing to their altitude, 6,000 feet, are bitterly cold.

One of the greatest drawbacks to travel on the Masai plains, especially those of the Athi and Kapiti, are the ticks. At some seasons stalks of grass can be seen in all directions terminating in what appear to be reddish-coloured seed heads. As one brushes past these the heads come off on the clothes. If looked at presently they appear to have expanded from a common centre.

These are really masses of myriads of tiny ticks clinging together, which, after having become deposited on your clothes, gradually spread all over your body. Each individual one is so small that it is hardly distinguishable by itself, especially when nestled comfortably in some pore of the skin. These pests, as well as the larger ones, swarm on one's clothes, bed and blankets, cause intense irritation and make life scarcely endurable. On some plains, however, such as in the Rift Valley and the northern plains, they are scarce or almost entirely absent.

With the exception of a few gnarled and weather-beaten trees, conspicuous as landmarks from afar, there are no trees on the plains except the yellow-barked thorn, lining river beds such as

the Athi. As the river generally flows in a shallow valley, even these are often invisible until one reaches the slope leading down to them, and so the plains generally present an unbroken landscape of rolling veldt. In a few places, such as the "Middle pools," there are large clumps of this thorn which have in the distance the appearance of a thick forest. When reached, however, the cool, shady look they presented from afar is found to be misleading, as owing to the smallness of their leaves the shelter they afford from the sun is but little.

These river beds and clumps of thorn trees often form the mid-day retreating places of lions, whilst others take refuge in the reed beds and the caves which exist near the edge of the plains. The gorges which lead down to the plains form the retreat of numberless hyenas. In one of these caves near the Athi river there are some rude pictures scratched on the wall, but I do not know if they are ancient or modern. At the lion rocks, on the Athi towards ol doinyo Sabuk, I wounded a lion who retreated into what appeared to be but a small clump of bushes. On investigation I found that this clump completely blocked and covered over the entrance to a cave, which could only be approached by crawling under the bushes, and so probably had escaped observation before. On the floor of this cave were the broken remains of some clay pots which looked fairly old and were in small pieces. Presumably, then, this, and probably other caves, were once inhabited, but by whom and when I do not know. At this spot there are also other caves haunted by lions.

On the northern plains, such as those of Laikipia, the country is also poorly watered, but here there are at intervals what the Masai call "sogota," at which the flocks are watered. These are springs which well up in the middle of the plains for no apparent cause and form small oases. No stream leaves them, but they make little pools generally surrounded by rushes and soft earth. During the dry weather many of them cease to contain water, being either dried up by the sun or drunk up by the flocks which then have to trek off to other places.

Now a word about the Masai to finish with. They are generally considered as being truthful and honest. They are certainly more so than the majority of African tribes, but perhaps these qualities have been somewhat exaggerated. It is certainly the case that they are seldom able to resist an easy chance of sheep or cattle-stealing, either from white men or from other natives. Perhaps, however, this is more or less excusable as they are told by their traditions that all the cattle in the world originally belonged to the Masai, and so they probably excuse themselves under the plea that they are only taking back their own property. They object, as a rule, to work or to do anything for the white man, but if one really should make up his mind to serve a white master he is found to be, as a rule, intelligent, willing and ready. They, of course, make good herdsmen as that is their only walk of life. They also make very fair syces, for being fond of animals they soon learn how to groom and look after a horse or mule and take a pride in their work.



KIKUYU BOY
(wearing necklet of withies as he is
about to be circumcised).



KIKUYU OLD WOMAN.



KIKUYU YOUTH.



KIKUYU WARRIOR.

CHAPTER XIV.

KIKUYU-LAND

THE Kikuyu, Akikuyu or Wakikuyu, are the most populous tribe in the Protectorate. The area they inhabit is roughly bounded by Kenya to the east, the Aberdare Range to the west, the Nairobi-Fort Hall road to the south and Nyeri to the north.

They are roughly divided into two divisions, the Kikuyu of Marenga (including the country between Wandenge's and Mount Kenya, and the people living on the southern slopes of that mountain), and the Kikuyu dwelling in the vicinity of Kikuyu station, who are probably the result of an admixture of Masai with Bantu.

Let us leave Nairobi by the Fort Hall road. This is an excellent road the whole way, and the only good one in the country. Shortly after leaving Nairobi you pass through a corner of Kikuyu-land in the neighbourhood of Kiambu or Chiambu.¹ Here you will get your first taste of Kikuyu hills which go rolling up and down without a patch of level practically throughout the whole of the populated district. The Kikuyu appear to love hills, and to go up and down them for preference when it would be possible to avoid them. They will go up a hill with a load on their back, singing cheerily the while as if they enjoyed it, even though it is steep enough to take all the breath out of the average man. Many of their red earth paths, which go straight up and down the hills without an attempt to find the easiest gradient, are so steep that it is a matter of difficulty for the booted European to ascend at all.

It is probably the hilliness of their country which makes them always appear in such a hurry on flat ground, as they must find

¹ Near this place is a small colony of Sudanese ex-askaris from the 3rd King's African Rifles.

it very easy going. Anyhow, they are noticeable amongst other natives in that they seem to go at a run or jog trot for preference. On the road we meet men and women bringing loads of produce into Nairobi bursting into a trot at intervals, whilst others on the way home, stop for a moment to greet us, and then run on laughing as if anxious to get back as soon as possible.

The road only just touches on the corner of Kikuyu country, and then descends to the plains again, leaving the hilly country and populous district to the north.

The chief of this corner we pass through is called "Kinanjui." He is the chief of the Nairobi and Dagoreti Kikuyu, and his village is on the Dagoreti road to the west. His country goes as far as the Chania River, at which place Korori's country commences.

Some of his underchiefs are Msama, near Lamoru, Mturi, north of Msama (there is another Mturi near Fort Hall), and Njorugi, north of Escarpment station.

Kinanjui is a chief who was created by the Government, and so has not so much authority with his people as some hereditary chiefs have. He is said to be generally drunk. He occasionally visits Nairobi dressed as an admiral.

On descending to the plains after passing Kiambu, the road proceeds across the uninhabited flat, crossing many streams on the way.

These numberless streams emanate from the range of mountains called by Europeans "Kinangop" (the Masai name for the plateau to the west of this mountain), and the Aberdare Range. Different parts of this range, from south to north, are known to the Kikuyu as Nandárua, Nguzeru and Simbara.

The mass of streams flowing from these mountains pass through and water the fertile and hilly Kikuyu country. By the time they have reached the plains most of them have joined up into fair-sized streams, which we will cross on our way to Fort Hall. The most important of these are, in order from Nairobi, the Kamiti, Ruero, Thiririka, Ndurugu, Chania, Thika (or Zika), Maragwa, and finally, just beyond Fort Hall, the Maraña.

These all flow into the Tana River, or, as it is there called, the "Sedana." Higher up this river is called the "Sagana," and lower the "Kililuma."

If one was to leave the uninhabited road half-way to Fort Hall and travel northwards, one would strike, directly the plains gave way to rolling hills, a thickly populated country with alternate hill and valley, the sides of the hills densely cultivated. The journey would be bad as there appears to be no path, and many rocky nullahs would have to be crossed, the sides of many of these being so steep that much time is lost in searching for a practicable descent.

The first sign of Kikuyu-land is that the country gets more hilly, and a few out-post Kikuyu cattle zaribas are met with, there being no facilities for grazing in the crowded areas. Then a few patches of cultivation appear on the sides of the valleys which soon give place to the rolling, almost treeless, cultivated country of populated Kikuyu-land, with steep red earth paths running straight up and down the hills in all directions.

Game is left behind, and only masses of cultivation are seen, dotted everywhere with clusters of huts sheltered generally by a ring of trees planted for the purpose of protecting them from the wind.

The Kikuyu village is of the regular Bantu type, consisting of neat, round wattle and daub, grass-roofed huts, amongst which are dotted round wicker-work grain stores, raised off the ground on platforms and covered by a movable grass roof.

Where trees are obtainable near at hand, the walls of the huts are often made of rough-hewn planks of timber, imbedded upright in the earth in a circle. On this are placed the roofing poles and thatch. The crevices between the planks are stuffed with clay. These hewn planks give the house, from even a distance, a very different appearance from the ordinary wattle and daub.

A village often contains a common hut or men's club, called "Usingira," into which the men adjourn to hold their drinks of njohi. No women are admitted. The women on their part have

each their own hut into which no man, other than their husbands, is supposed to enter.

The chief of the country we have now entered is called "Njehu," and the name of the district is called "Mañgu." To the north of this country is that of Korori, already mentioned. Under these chiefs are numberless underchiefs or head men. The general arrangement is that each valley possesses an underchief. His people drink from the stream at the bottom of the valley, and he owns the slopes on either side of it.

In one of these valleys of Njehu's country, a good-sized stream, called the "Kiama," suddenly drops out of sight, and after flowing underground for several hundred yards foams out again in another part of the valley.

A beautiful Kikuyu valley reminds one of Jerome K. Jerome's description of the beautifying of German valleys to meet with the approval of German taste. The Kikuyu take a rugged, wooded valley with a torrent flowing at the bottom. First they cut down all the trees and burn them. Then they bare the whole hillside till it is nothing but a mass of red earth. Then they plant it with ground nuts, sweet potatoes, and various cereals, leaving between the fields only enough room for their steep little paths running straight up and down the hill. At the top of the hill are built a few prim little huts, and a few bushes, whose leaves are edible by goats, are planted in a semicircle to their windward side. Next they tame the torrent, levelling the rocky places with material from the river bed, till it flows quietly between two sloping banks of black earth planted with sugar cane. The transformation and beautification of the valley is now complete.

Such is the country we have got into, and so thick is the cultivation that it takes a long search to find a corner in which to pitch one's tent without damaging any of the crops. Various old men, chiefs of villages, will introduce themselves by coming to shake hands, many of them indulging in the genial practice of spitting on their hands first, as is also the case with the Masai. The custom of spitting in various ways and on various occasions

has different significations, but in few cases is it used as a method of showing disrespect.¹ Such friendly significations denoted by spitting are found amongst Masai, Wandorobo, Samburr and Rendile. Amongst the Kikuyu it is very probable that the customs have been borrowed from the Masai, as is the case with many other of their customs.

Towards sunset women may be seen returning from the fields to their homes, many of them carrying bundles of sweet potato leaves on which to feed the goats at night. This bundle will be suspended from a tree or the roof of a shelter within reach of the animals. By day they are grazed on the scrub which springs up round the fields and quickly covers a plot of land allowed to go fallow. Nearly all the small trees seen near the villages have been planted for the reason that their leaves can be eaten by goats. Such trees often serve the second purpose of being a support to the tendrils of the yam. These are planted at the foot of the tree and climb up the trunk.

The Kikuyu are essentially an agricultural people, and have but few cattle, but there are goats in every village and often sheep too. To make their fields, acres of forest land must have been cut down, the burning of which has made the soil so fertile. At one time probably the forests of Kenya joined those of the Aberdares and the whole of this area was forest land. The only sign of this now extant are various little tree-topped hills dotted over the country. Such hills are sacred, and the groves on their tops must not be cut. It is this that has preserved them from the fate of the rest of the forest.

The people eat the flesh of goats and cattle, but their diet is mainly vegetable. In their natural state they never eat the meat of game or wild animals, as it is forbidden. Some sections are more particular about the observance of this than others. Those who enlist as porters with shooting parties generally overcome this prejudice when they see all those round them gorging themselves, but many, however, will never touch game

¹ Hollis notes that the Dorobo spit towards the rising sun, perhaps the relic of some kind of sun worship.

meat even if driven by hunger. The old people do not like their sons working for white men for fear that they will be tempted in this way.

The Kikuyu are really immensely rich, as they have everything the heart could desire in abundance. I have never seen raw natives anywhere who have such copious and various supplies of food. They appear to be always either eating, laughing or singing whether walking, running, or working.

Their crops include:—

Banana.
Arrowroot.
Ground nuts.
Maize.
Millet.
Cassava.
Sweet potatoes.
Yams.
Castor oil.
Beans.
Peas.
Pumpkins.
Sugar cane.
Rape.
Eleusine.

In June and July, when the work of planting is finished, everybody has a holiday, and dances are of nightly occurrence held alternately at different villages in a neighbourhood. This lasts more or less till the harvest season, but a little additional planting is done during the latter rains about August.

On the edges of their country bordering on forest land they appear to be always extending and eating their way into the forest. They are an immensely prolific people, and will probably expand enormously in the near future. The large trees of the forest are slowly and laboriously cut down with their small soft axes at the height of about the waist from the ground. Yams (kikwa) are planted against these stumps up which the plants

climb. After a few years' time rot and termites attack these roots and they disappear. Another way more frequently used to dispose of the bigger trees is to pile all the undergrowth and smaller trees cut down round their bases. When this has dried and is fired it kills the big tree, which either falls or dies. If it only dies they wait till it is dry and then light a fire at the base and the trunk slowly smoulders through.

In the cleared country of the trees that have been planted, the mikungugu, is the commonest, and its leaves are used as fodder for goats.

A favourite beverage is njohi, made of sugar cane. The process of manufacture is as follows:—

Sugar cane is first stripped of its outer rind with knives. Then it is pounded by women to break it up and separate the fibres. This is either done in the usual African mortar, a hollowed-out section of a tree, or a large tree cut down and lying on its side, which has a number of holes hewn out of it for this purpose. A row of women may be seen standing each side of such a tree all busy pounding away. This accomplished, the women's part of the work is finished; it is considered *infra dig.* for a man to be seen pounding.

The men take a large jar, pour some water in and, placing some of the cane fibre at the bottom, stir it round. The fibre is then taken out, a handful at a time, and a cord passed round and round it in different directions till it is enveloped. It is then rinsed out over the jar by twisting the two ends in opposite directions. The water rinsed out of this, containing the juice of the cane, falls into the jar. When no more moisture can be squeezed out the cord is unwrapped, the fibre thrown away and a fresh handful treated in the same manner. When all that is in the jar is finished fresh fibre is put in, and so on, the strength of the njohi depending on the amount of fibre used and the patience of the operators. The liquid is then poured into a gourd, a stopper is put in the neck and it is placed near the fire for a day and night, after which it is ready for use. These gourds or pumpkins are grown in the fields, and when ripe left to harden

on the outside and rot inside. The neck is then cut off and the inside cleared out with a stick.

The fruit of the sausage tree (kilatina) is split and sun-dried and used in the production of spirits. If one leaves Njehu's country and follows down the Chania River, one meets the Fort Hall road again near the junction of this river with the Thika. Each river has the most beautiful falls at this place. The Chania Falls, a grand cascade, can be seen from the road itself. Those of the Thika are a few hundred yards distant from the bridge and concealed by the trees which line its bank. It is, perhaps, the prettiest of the two as the water falls in a series of jumps under a tunnel roofed with the overlapping branches of the trees on either bank.

Here one gets amongst the game again on the open plains on either side of these rivers. If camped sufficiently far from the falls to prevent them drowning all else, one often hears that grandest of sounds, the night roaring of the lion.

Following the road towards Fort Hall one reaches, in a short day's march, the fringe of Kibalabala's country, a chief of Kikuyu, though himself a Masai and an ex-sergeant-major of police. His district extends to Fort Hall. The country about his village and to the west is called Metumi. If you make a *détour* from the road to pay him a visit—for he lives someway back—he will make you most welcome, and supply you with all necessities of fuel and meat. Meanwhile various Mrs. Kibalabalas will call on you, and if they do not return home with little packets of tea and sugar it will not be for want of making their wants known.

Kibalabala himself is a fine old man, typical of the good that a long course of discipline has on even the black man. Although a Masai, he possesses great influence with his people.

There are many chiefs or underchiefs scattered about the Kikuyu country who are either pure or half Masai in origin. Formerly, before the advent of the white man, when the Masai were the dominant people, they used constantly to raid the Kikuyu "to get *their* cattle back." The Masai hold the belief

that cattle were originally sent down to them by Engai (God), and that from these original cattle all the cattle in the world have sprung.

Civilised peoples generally fight for land. In Africa there is plenty of land, and fighting is almost always for the possession of stock. The Kikuyu have never been noted as warriors, they are a timid though somewhat treacherous people. They were, it is said, terrified of the Masai, and a few Masai could chase away a whole army of Kikuyu braves. As the Masai only eat meat, and drink milk and blood, they did not covet the crops of the Kikuyu, but only raided his cattle. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Kikuyu have now so few. The site of an old Kikuyu cattle boma near Kibalabala's, under the east of Kahumbu Hill, was pointed out to me as being one of the last raided by Masai.

Then came the rinderpest, the Masai cattle died by thousands, and the Masai suffered from starvation. Many died, and many others sought refuge amongst surrounding tribes, such as the Kikuyu and Wakamba. Their old enemies took them in, fed them and treated them well. This explains the presence of Masai and Masai blood amongst Kikuyus. That so many have risen to the position of chiefs is only a proof of the superiority of the Masai.

A similar state of things occurred in the south-east of Kikuyu-land during a great famine in Ukamba. Many Wakamba took refuge with the Kikuyu, which, perhaps, accounts for the Wakamba words found amongst the south-eastern Kikuyu.

At the present day the Masai and Kikuyu are on very friendly terms. Kikuyu even lend their cattle to the Masai to herd for them while they are busy with their fields. The Kikuyu have imitated many Masai customs, and there is a constant small traffic proceeding between Kikuyu, mostly in honey which is sold to the Masai for making into their drink, and a certain red earth only found in Kikuyu-land. One of the Masai customs imitated by the Kikuyu is that of drinking cattle blood. It is not often done amongst the Kikuyu, but I have met with it on

several occasions. The animal is thrown, and its legs tied up. A specially shaped arrow is then fired into a vein of the neck, and the blood as it spurts out is caught in a half gourd. The flow of blood is stopped by a tourniquet. The blood is mixed with milk, stirred, and then put by till the evening, when it is drunk.

The hill Kahumbu, mentioned above, is one of the hills topped by sacred groves, of which there are so many in Kikuyu-land. As neither the trees nor the undergrowth may be cut, for fear of sickness visiting the land, these hills are generally surmounted by large trees arising out of a dense mass of undergrowth. This undergrowth is at Kahumbu, the retreat of a number of hyena to whom the surrounding bare and cultivated country affords little other cover.

At the top of the hill is a flat spot surrounded by thicket. This is the sacrificial place, and is called "Athuri aliakuru." When there is a famine or want of rain it will be decided that a sacrifice should be resorted to. Everybody remains in their huts, there being no leave to go out, with the exception of fourteen old men (wazuri). These, the elected priests of the hill, ascend with a sheep; goats are not acceptable to Ngai (God) on such an occasion. At the top they light a fire, and then kill the sheep by holding its mouth and nose till it dies of suffocation. It is then skinned, the skin being subsequently given to and worn by one of the old men's children.

The sheep is then cooked, a branch is plucked and dipped into the fat which is sprinkled on to the leaves of the surrounding trees. The old men then eat some of the meat; should they not do this the sacrifice is not acceptable. The rest of the flesh is burnt in the fire, and Ngai comes to eat it afterwards.

Directly this function is completed, even while the old men are descending the hill, thunder rolls up and hail pours down with such force that the old men have to wrap their clothes round their heads and run for their houses. Water then bursts forth from the top of the hill and flows down the side.¹

¹ I always narrate such customs as they were told to me by natives. They are the more interesting unshorn of miraculous or unlikely events.

The priests, called "kiama," are chosen from the oldest men, and should one of them die he is replaced by another to keep up the number. On being elected a kiama the honoured one has to pay ten sheep.

If a village is built on the side of a sacred hill it falls to the bottom and becomes a lake in which all the people perish. Such was the origin of Iraiyni on the path between Fort Hall and Korori. If any of the trees of the grove are cut down it is said that many people will die.

These groves are called "kahinga," while the sacrificial spot is called "kehalu." Chiefs and their wives are sometimes buried in these groves, as in the Kahinga ya Kahayukia, in which the old chief Kahayukia is buried. It is situated near the east bank of the Maragwa River, about a day's distance above Fort Hall.

On the west bank of the Maragwa, too, there is a kahinga called "Keshimu," and another near it called "Mutungura." Each of these has fifteen attendant kiama. There are five groves in the immediate neighbourhood of these.

If war comes into the country, or after war is over, to conclude peace a sacrifice of female goats is made on the kehalu.

Just to the south of Kenya there is a hill, called "Kitali." On this there is a kehalu situated under a solitary tree; there is no grove or thicket round this spot. On one side of the tree is a hollow blocked up with stones, and inside this is a pot in which the fat of the sacrifice is poured. Not far from this is the trunk of an old and diseased tree which I wanted to cut down so as to clear a view for survey purposes, not then knowing that there was a kehalu close by.

I called up the local chief and asked him if there was any objection to my cutting down this tree. He showed me the kehalu, and then explained that although the second tree had nothing to do with the kehalu, it must not be cut down because "Ngai walks between the two."

There is a little conical hill on the Gura stream between Fort Hall and Nyeri. It is surmounted by a kahinga which makes it conspicuous for an immense distance. It is interesting in

that it is the home of a number of colobi. These are essentially forest dwellers. Perhaps they or their forebears dwelt in a patch of forest which was cut off from the Kenya Forest by the inroads of Kikuyu fields. As the forest was cut down to make into fields, the area they inhabited became more and more restricted till now their only retreat is this one patch of thicket three days' march from forest land.

Returning to the road where we left it we pass through the Kikuyu country of Kishangira and Ngwatha and reach Fort Hall. The heat here strikes one as oppressive, and much hotter than the Athi Plains though it should not be so. Perhaps it is because it is far removed from any of the mountainous country. The prospect here is bare and unsightly, and has little to commend it.

The population northwards and north-west from here is very dense, a continuous mass of villages and cultivation stretching to Nyeri in one direction and the Aberdares in the other. Just about the station, however, there are fewer villages, while to the south the plains stretch away, without habitation, to the mountain of Ol doinyo Sapuk.¹ Under Kenya to the north-east of Fort Hall is a dense population, whilst eastwards proceeds the road to Embu near which are a few Kikuyu villages belonging to the chiefs Kesai² and Kutu. The station of Fort Hall itself lies on the last foot-hills before reaching the plains.

From Fort Hall there is a tolerably good path to Korori's village, situated several days distant on the lower slopes of Nguzeru. This is the most pleasant part of Kikuyu-land I have struck. High up, with cool, bracing air, it lies in glades and clearings in the forest, well watered with cold mountain torrents. At his village is an expanse of short lawn-like grass, with shady trees, an ideal spot in which to camp. Korori himself makes a most interesting and hospitable host. By origin he is half Masai and half Kikuyu-Wandorobo. He is, perhaps, the biggest

¹ Ol doinyo Sapuk or Sabuk = the flat mountain; "b" and "p" are interchangeable in different dialects of Masai.

² Near this place is a small colony of Swahilis.

chief of Kikuyu, having nearly all the thickly populated country to the N.W. of Fort Hall under him. He is certainly the most influential chief, he keeps his people well in hand, and is a most intelligent man. His methods of dealing with his people rather remind one of the Oriental despot. Having caught two men once thieving he had them put down and severely flogged. After this he gave them a hundred rupees that they should go away and say what a big man Korori is.

In this country markets are held which conduct a brisk trade. Natives must recognise the boon of being able to exchange or dispose of their wares so easily, and it is surprising that none of the surrounding tribes follow their example. When passing a market one day I thought I would see what their business methods were like, so sent a boy with a sheep skin for sale. The value was at once assessed, and it was paid for in the most prompt manner.

Korori manufactures, or used to manufacture, the arrows used by the Kikuyu-Wandorobo. In return they bring him the tusks of any elephant killed. A cloak of hyrax skin is a favourite garment especially worn by old men and chiefs. In Korori's district the skins of all hyraces killed are brought to him. In his village he is generally naked but for a cloak or rug of these skins hung from the shoulders. This is only pulled round the body when it is cold or at night. When he visits Fort Hall he dresses in khaki or uniform.

Korori's village is the end of Kikuyu-land in this direction. Above it are great juniper forests and masses of bamboo, and above these again the cold, bleak peaks of Nguzeru and the black precipices of Mazioiya, from which mountain flow two streams both bearing this name and subsequently joining. The Kikuyu in their outward expansion are gradually eating into these forests, but at present the only people who penetrate their depths are the Kikuyu-Wandorobo. These people find their way along elephant tracks, hunting game and looking for honey, and most of them have little huts or shelters far into the forest.

The village farthest pushed into the hills is that of Wanjohi,¹ whose people sometimes cross the range to the Kinankop and Naivasha side by an elephant track known as the "Njira Wanjohi" or "Wanjohi's Way."

Along this path, after the bamboo and forests have been passed and just on the edge of the open and bare upper peaks, is a flat shoulder known as "Biri la mbuzi." It gained this name from the fact that in old times some raiders had captured some goats from Wanjohi's people and drove them off to this spot where they probably camped. Beyond this, and at an altitude of 12,000 feet above sea-level, is a rocky ridge known as "Guzera Wanjohi." It was here that Wanjohi's people came up with the raiders, put them to flight and recaptured their stock.

To return to Fort Hall, the sections of Kikuyu in the immediate vicinity are Katuri, east and north-east, and Maranga, west and south-west of the station. Others have already been mentioned.

There is a fair but somewhat hilly path from Fort Hall to Nyeri. Half-way between these places is a rest-house, and the chief of the neighbourhood is called "Wambugu." At Nyeri we get to the northern boundary of Kikuyu-land. Beyond, to the north and north-east, open plains commence, and farther north are the plains of Laikipia, recently made into a Masai reserve.

East and south-east of Nyeri there are few people till we get to the Tana, or, as it is here called, the "Sedana" River. The other side of this river we get into the thickly populated south-western and southern lower slopes of Kenya. As one proceeds south-east through these peoples, the customs and language begin to partake more and more of Wakamba, till proceeding through the Embu and Embei one reaches Wakamba country.

The only large community of Kikuyu we have not yet touched on are those which live between Lamoru and the escarpment. At the latter place they live in the forest and have not yet divested

¹ Villages are moved so easily, and natives so constantly change their abodes, that it must be understood that my remarks may only apply to the time I crossed Wanjohi's way four years ago.

the country of trees, but they are doing their best. The reason for this is that they are comparatively new comers in this district. It is thought that the Kikuyu originally emanated from the neighbourhood of Kenya and have gradually spread westwards, cutting down the forests as they went. All the country round Kiambu was once forest land which has now disappeared. The Kikuyu advanced guard is now being pushed into the forests of the escarpment by those overcrowded behind them. Quantities of goats are found amongst the Kikuyu of the escarpment where the undergrowth of the forest is very favourable for their nourishment. One often sees here rough causeways made over the marshy beds of streams near the edge of the forest to allow the goats going to graze in the forest a feasible passage. These are made by just throwing down stones and logs of wood till the muddy bottom is firm enough to bear the weight passing over.

To conclude this chapter, I will mention some of the characteristics and customs of the Kikuyu not referred to above.

They seem to be on the whole a people of very kindly character, cheerful, happy and bright, but timid, unreliable, and at times treacherous. Cases of police being murdered occur more frequently amongst the Kikuyu than perhaps amongst all the warlike tribes of the Protectorate put together.

They are essentially a good-looking race with pleasing, round, open faces. Some of the youths have quite good features, and many women would be distinctly pretty if it were not for the (to our ideas) unsightly way part of the head is shaved over the forehead. The reason for this appears to be that loads are generally carried on the back, the weight being supported by a leather strap passing round the front part of the head.

The different ages are:—

Kihii (plural, tuhii)=youth before circumcision. After circumcision he becomes a warrior, mwanake (pl., wanake). After this stage he becomes an elder, muzuri (pl., wazuri).

The tuhii wear sticks and blocks of wood in their ears. The ear is bored and the lobe distended in the same way as amongst

the Masai, but perhaps not quite to the same extent. A *mwanake* ear ornament is a disc of wood, called "ndeve," worn in the slit of the lobe, the lobe passing round its rim like the tyre of a bicycle. The *ndeve* is made out of a tree, called "ziözioï," and is stained with black mud.

The swell *wanake* wear cocks' feathers as a head-dress (see illustration, p. 233).

Old men wear small circlets of beads in holes bored in the upper part of the ear, as do also women when they get old and abandon the larger circlets worn pendent in the lobe. Old men who are headmen and have begotten many children, wear a coil of brass wire pendent from the slit of the lobe, like the Masai; the weight of these is often partly supported by a strap of leather passing over the back of the head. Once put in, these wire coils, called "njiru," remain in the ear till the man's death.

Youths about to be circumcised may be seen for a day or two before the ceremony dancing about naked but for a waistbelt of cord tassels. The body for the last few days before the ceremony is smeared in white chalk from head to foot, and perhaps a few ornamental bells are strapped to the legs to jingle as they dance.

In Korori's country these youths wear festoons of ends and bits of skin, the ragged ends cut off from hides when they are being made up into skin clothes. This takes the place of the string tassels. Near the lower Chania, in Njehu's country, these youths wear necklets of quantities of thin withies, encircling the neck perhaps twenty times (see illustration, p. 233). The ceremonies take place about July in every fourth year.

After the ceremony both boys and girls¹ have their heads shaved bald. Those who have just undergone the ceremony can be recognised, as they will generally be carrying in their hands several sticks which are used in the subsequent dances. Dances take place immediately before as well as after the ceremonies. There are many different kinds of dances held on different occasions.

¹ "Virgines vix puberes *κλιτωρεκτόμην*, ut apud Masaos, subeunt. Antea tamen viris licet iis inter mammas incumbere, neque tamen corpori suum membrum inmittere."

There is the warriors' dance (ngure), which begins in the morning and lasts till about ten o'clock at night. The participants wear colobus skin head-dresses, hanging garments of other skins, bush buck or goat, and cover the body with white chalk in streaks.

On arrival of a party of warriors at a chief's village they arrive dancing in fours, keeping step to the rhythm of the bells on their ankles, and twiddling their spears. They sing over and over again, "Tukire kwa kiroi kwa mnene" ("We have come to the chief, to the big man").

Women hold dances standing in a circle with one or two couples in the centre walking backwards and forwards singing the solos while all join in the choruses.¹

Unmarried girls (mwaretu) wear short sticks or twigs through holes bored in the ear. Married women wear quantities of bead bangles hanging from the lobe of the ear. These sometimes number twenty or more in each ear. They pass through the slit in the lobe, but the weight is often partly supported by a strap or band passing over the head.

Amongst Kikuyu living near the Masai some of the young men imitate the Il-moran custom of wearing the hair in a greasy pigtail.

The head, body and skin clothes of both sexes are copiously smeared with a mixture of oil (made from the crushed beans of a tree, called "mbaleki") and a red earth. The latter appears to be only obtainable from two places, one near Korori's village, and the other from near Fort Hall and the Maragwa. This earth, called "thiriga," is sold by the Kikuyu to the Masai, who also use it. The mbaleki oil softens the skin robes and makes them pliable; it is also used to soften the leather bands or thongs with which loads are carried.

Loads are carried on the back attached to these leather thongs which pass round the forehead. As a large part of the weight

¹ "Quum Dux vel nobilis quidam egregio honore accipiendus est, cunctæ mulieres more suo cantantes illum accedunt; et, quoties inter singulos versus subite constiterunt, anhelitus acres, velut coëuntium, edunt."

comes on the forehead, the dents and scars made by these thongs are often seen, especially in old women. It is wonderful what immense loads of firewood these women manage to carry.

Very neatly woven bags made of fibre string are used in which to carry their produce and goods. String is made from aloe fibre and also from the bast of the mogiyo, a shrub which grows plentifully round the villages.

Men working in the fields are generally seen quite naked except for a bunch of leaves tucked before and behind into the belt of string or beads worn by most Africans round the waist.

Milk gourds are rubbed inside with the charred wood of the mutamaiyu tree. This, which is a widely spread custom in the Protectorate, gives the milk a disagreeable, smoky taste, and soon curdles it.

If a person dies in a village, that village is often burnt, and the people trek off and build elsewhere. Sometimes the whole village takes flight the same night as the death occurs. The Kikuyu seems to possess in a marked degree the savage's fear of the presence of death. I remember a case in which some Kikuyu had murdered a solitary traveller in his tent while he was ill, so as to loot his things. Having killed him they all fled from the spot, and no one dared enter the tent for some days when they were certain that the hyenas would have removed the body.

Some savages' fear of death seems much the same as that of animals. They see that some unseen power has stricken down their fellow and hasten to escape from its presence. Moreover, their very keen belief in the spirits of the departed must be remembered. For this reason sick people are often deserted. The hyena performs the office of undertaker to the general multitude. The body is just put out in the bush and left. Chiefs and important men are often, however, buried in a hole dug inside the hut, after which the hut is pulled down on the top of the grave.

Big chiefs are occasionally buried in the sacred groves.

Practically every male wears a snuff-box attached by a chain to the neck. These are of the most varied makes and patterns. The commonest consist of a small goat's horn with a cap made to



BEEHIVES.



THE PARASITIC FIGTREE.
(The lower tree is enveloping and killing the other.)

fit over the hollow end, an empty cartridge case, a miniature gourd, a section of bamboo. Of more quaint ones, one has seen them cut out of a rhino horn in the shape of a hollow ball attached to a long handle, or the tip of an elephant tusk or rhino horn hollowed out.

Iron ore for making swords and spears is obtained from Katuli Hill (above Fort Hall) and from near Ol doinyo Sapuk. This is roughly melted down by means of a goat-skin bellows and charcoal fire.

Anklets of colobus skin are worn by the young bloods, this form of ornament being highly prized. It consists of a strip round the ankle, fastening at the back, at which place it projects in a peak with a bunch of the fluffy black and white hair hanging down.

Minda, the brass horse-shoe-shaped ear ornaments worn by the Masai, are also used by Kikuyu grown-up men.

Neatly made chains of iron or brass wire are worn round the neck, and to these are attached the snuff-box, but they are made by the Wakamba and only purchased by the Kikuyu. Of these chains pretty chainwork head-dresses are worn by the women of the Metumi and Ketitu neighbourhood, but I have not seen them elsewhere.

Cattle bells are made of roughly smelted iron. Different-sized bells are put on different-sized animals, a distinction other tribes do not seem to make.

It is found indispensable sometimes to bridge the rapid mountain streams which cut through their country, but it cannot be said that the Kikuyu shine in the art of bridge building. The usual pattern is a tottering concern of old pieces of trees and poles fastened clumsily together with creepers and attached to a tree on either bank. When part of the bridge breaks a few more bits of wood are fastened over the broken part and so on. There is no attempt at rebuilding until the whole bridge falls in or is washed away by a flood. Near where the Maragwa flows into the Tana there is a wonderful series of these bridges passing over the various channels into which the stream breaks up.

Near Korori's, however, there are a few superior bridges made of large tree trunks, hewn out on one side to form a trough-like path and thrown across the stream.

The Kikuyu medicine man may be seen visiting his patients followed by an assistant with a basket full of numberless small gourds of different medicines. He himself may be carrying the gourd (mwano) of magical stones (bugu), by which he foretells events. A large trade is done in medicines to make women bear children. The medicine man is called in and, invoking Ngai to assist him, he casts the mbugu, a number of water-worn pebbles and trinkets, to see if the omens are favourable.

The woman is often given a medicine of a kind of white chalk to smear on her face and ears to help her in the production of children. This is called "ila," and is made out of powdered quartz and gypsum.

Medicines (musai iga) are generally made of ground and pounded roots.

Charms are hung in the fields to protect the crops from theft. These generally take the form of large boulders smeared with red spots and stripes, or a large bit of cassava root with eyes, mouth and nose painted on it and a feather stuck into it. I have seen a human skull stuck on a pole at one end of a field, and a human thigh bone swinging suspended between two sticks at the other, as "medicine" against theft.

Lastly, in case my reader should become possessed of a devil, I will describe a good cure. The patient must have white powder smeared on his face. The end of a horn is put in his mouth and blown down violently so as to blow out the evil spirit. The body is gashed and scarred, and a goat is killed or sacrificed on the threshold of the sufferer's door. Sometimes as many as ten goats are killed.

The bugu is cast, and if one good stone comes forth he will be cured.

You see, it really all depends on the bugu, and only the medicine man himself knows which is a good and which a bad stone.

CHAPTER XV

MOUNT KENYA ¹ AND THE UPPER TANA

IF we leave Fort Hall by the Embu road, after crossing the Maranga,² we come to a stony, bare range of hills beside the river. It is from these hills that the Kikuyu obtain iron ore for the fabrication of their spears and swords. Consequently the compass is very variable in these parts, as, indeed, it is in many other parts of the country. The sword referred to is a short, double-edged weapon, made of soft iron, which is broader near the tip than near the hilt. In fact, shaped like the old Roman sword.

After passing these hills one arrives at the Tana or Sagana River, at which place there is a good flying bridge ferry. The Tana, which rises in Mount Kenya as the Sedana stream, is at this spot bringing water from the west of Kenya and the east of the Aberdares. From this place it continues south-east till it has collected the waters of all the streams crossed on our way from Nairobi, and then turns north-east and picks up the water from the south of Kenya Mountain.

From the Tana to Embu, with the exception of the last few miles, is more or less flat country. A little hill near Embu, called "Malinduku," makes a good landmark, as it gives us the approximate direction and distance of the station.

The road passes through the territory of Kethai, a Kikuyu chief. Near here a village of square, rectangular huts close

¹ I have spelt this name "Kenya" and not "Kenia," as the former is the way the word is generally pronounced, viz., "Ke-nya," not "Keni-a." I do not know the origin of the name, and the only native word I can recollect in which this sound occurs is in Lukenya, a hill on the Athi Plains. The Kikuyu call Mount Kenya "Kirinyaga," also "Kilimara." The Swahili call it "Meru," the name of a tribe living on its east slope.

² Fort Hall itself is always known to the natives as "Maranga," from the name of this river.

to the road is very noticeable to an eye now accustomed to the round, Bantu type. They belong to a small Swahili colony which is situated on or near one of the old Swahili caravan routes. These ivory-trading caravans used to fill up with food for the porters amongst the Wakamba, cross the Tana near its junction with the Thika, pass near the site of this present Swahili village, and from there proceed by the west of Kenya to the vicinity of Nyeri, and thence by the northern slopes of Kenya to the Meru country.

The next river to the Tana of any consequence is the Ziba; this is the first stream we have met whose waters are supplied solely by Kenya. Near here lives the Kikuyu chief Kutu.

Not far beyond this the Namindi, a cold, clear mountain torrent from the snows of Kenya, flows under the road which crosses it by a natural bridge of rock. The Namindi keeps the whole length of its course, till it meets the Ziba far to the south, in a deep, rocky channel. When met with as it enters the hot plains near the Embéi country it is still clear as crystal and deliciously cold.

Two hours' march from the Namindi brings us to the deep gorge of the Lupingazi, a stream almost as clear as the former. On the opposite bank of this, Embu¹ boma is reached by a precipitous climb. I think that the view from the western side of this gorge before descending to the Lupingazi is one of the finest in the Protectorate.

Northwards towards Kenya is a belt of forest inhabited by buffalo. Between this belt and the forests at the base of Kenya is the country of the Embu tribe. They are also found to the east of the station. This tribe might be described as Kikuyu with a slight admixture of Wakamba. Their language is also practically Gekikuyu with a few Kikamba words in it.

About four miles distant to the south of the station is the little hill of Malinduku, which has been our landmark. It was to the east of this hill and just above the Rupingazi² that the tem-

¹ Shown as "Embo" on former maps.

² I have said that "l" and "r" are interchangeable in many Bantu words. It would perhaps have been more correct to say that the correct pronunciation was, in many dialects, somewhere halfway between these two letters.

porary boma of Embu was situated when this district was first taken over, being afterwards removed to its present site.

When I was at Embu there were a number of messengers and representatives of the surrounding tribes living at the station. These were used by the Assistant District Commissioner to send with messages to their chiefs or act as their representatives, each chief having his own agents at the station. A curious and wild-looking crowd they looked, painted all manner of colours, with strange head-dresses, weapons and shields.

There was also a company of the King's African Rifles there, whose parades they watched with great interest. Not to be defeated they held their own parade. Every morning when the bugle sounded the "Fall in" they were in their places, and they only fell out again when the "Dismiss" went. A comic sight it was to see the trained Askari drilling, while round and round them, backwards and forwards, describing circles and complicated manœuvres, marched about a hundred naked and painted savages armed and ornamented in the most diverse manner, and taking the matter perfectly gravely and seriously. Finally, when the "Dismiss" sounded, they would throw their spears and shields to small boy attendants with the air of having performed a real, good and satisfactory morning's work.

A strange weapon common in this country is the stone-headed *rungu*, a kind of life preserver. It is made by fastening a round stone to the end of a stick, the end of the stick being split and warped in a kind of splice round the stone. A leather cover of raw hide is then cunningly sewn round the stone and the end of the stick, and allowed to shrink on till it grips tight. These *rungus* are, as a rule, well balanced, and can be thrown accurately to great distances.

The shields seen in these parts are of much the same material as those of the Masai, but much narrower. They bear devices in white and red chalk and black charcoal.

South-east of Embu can be seen the hills of the Embéi. These people live at the foot of the hills at a place called "Bita." They are the most pleasant and hospitable people, who shower

presents on anyone who visits them, and, unlike most tribes, do not look for a return nor incommode one with begging. They are amongst the nicest people I have met in the Protectorate.

They are not, however, a warlike people, and have always lived in fear of the Wakamba, who live to their south across the Tana. Their language contains more Kikamba words than does that of the Embu. Between the Embéi Hills and the Tana is a bare plain which can be seen from afar as a white and shining expanse. Between Embéi and Embu is a country of scattered thorn, with longish grass, but directly the Ziba, now swelled by the Namindi and Lupingazi, is crossed west of Embéi, the country is bare of trees, and the grass is short. It is a curious fact also that on this plain the ticks are as bad as anywhere in the Protectorate, whereas on the opposite side of the Ziba hardly a tick is met with. The Embéi country is rich in honey, but not so noted as the Embu in this respect. Hollow drums are made of logs of wood, chiefly of a tree called "muruduku." A little honey is put in the inside and the open end blocked up, leaving an aperture for the bees to enter. These are then propped up in the branches of a tree to attract a swarm. At the right season the bees are smoked out and the honey taken (see illustration of beehives, p. 251).

The Embéi, like the Wakamba and unlike the Kikuyu, eat all kinds of meat, both domestic and game. They grow fairly plentiful crops, chiefly of millet, and the peas known to the Swahili as "kunde" and "chooko." They do not cultivate maize.

The Embu country is the best for honey in the Protectorate. A kihembe full of honey can be bought by a white man at from one to two rupees according to size, and by a native for half that sum. A kihembe, it must be explained, is a round box or drum hollowed out of a log and covered over the top or open end with a hide cap. It stands from one to two feet in height. Some of this Embu honey is obtained which crystallises at the bottom of the kihembe in a hard, yellowish white mass.

Beyond the Embu to the east is the Suka tribe, and to the north of these the Igoshi and Wembi,¹ all three reported as

¹ I am indebted to E. B. Horne for details about these three tribes.

warlike tribes. These people, having no ivory to dispose of, fortunately for themselves, and possessing a, perhaps very exaggerated, warlike reputation, were left severely alone by the Arab and Swahili trading caravans which used to push into every lucrative part of the country. In former times, I believe, several caravans were cut up in this country, and this is the reason that the old caravan route to Meru passed by such a roundabout way, viz., round the western and northern slopes of Kenya, to reach the latter country.

A curious ear ornament is met with amongst the Igoshi and Wembi made of an ox rib whittled down into a long, thin stick.

The women do not have their ears bored until immediately before the production of their firstborn, so the fact of a woman wearing ear ornaments denotes that she is a mother. These two tribes and the Suka used to be in a permanent state of war with each other. Their countries run in narrow strips outwards from Mount Kenya. Towards the Kenya end the population gradually diminished till an uninhabited no man's land is reached at the top end of all three countries.

The frontiers between the tribes are lined their whole length with zariba and game pits (or rather man pits) with stakes at the bottom. No paths pass from one country to the other, and the only way of getting between the two is by passing through the no man's land at the top end. All communications between these tribes must pass round by that way. This practice of putting sharpened stakes at the bottom of pits is uncommon. The usual game pit in East Africa slopes towards a point at the bottom; this pins in the legs of an animal falling into it and prevents it from being able to spring.

The mwaretu (unmarried girls) of these tribes appear to be as lax in their morals as the en-dito of the Masai, but after marriage settle down to a respectable life.

The girls of most tribes in East Africa have their ears pierced when young, and continue to enlarge these pierced holes by putting sticks or ornaments in as they grow up. As mentioned above, the ears are not pierced with the women of these tribes

until later in life. The circumcision ceremonies are also practised at a much later period than is customary with other tribes.¹

Further round the eastern slopes of the mountain are found the Meru. This country used to be a famous ivory country and was much visited by the old ivory-trading caravans. The Meru, besides being rich in ivory, are skilled to a certain extent in the production of barbaric ornaments, bracelets, chains and ear pendants.

There is a path from Embu to Nyeri, but it is not at all a pleasant one to follow, as it takes all the lower slopes of Kenya on the cross, so is one constant round of climbing and descending steep hills. It leaves the Fort Hall road on the right bank of the Ziba. Numberless streams are crossed; the road is picturesque and abounds in waterfalls. A fine waterfall is made by a small stream, called the "Mukengeria," met with shortly after leaving the Ziba.

As one nears the forests of the lower slopes of Kenya one passes a little hill, which I will describe, as it is typical of the shape of so many hills in the Sagana Valley. The hill itself is bare of all trees. It has a long and absolutely level top. At one end the side descends abruptly, while at the other it slopes gently to the ground level.

Much of the country round here is covered by scrub and bush which pushes up to the forest edge. It appears that all this land used to be either good grazing ground or under cultivation. The people having lost many of their cattle the undergrowth has quickly again claimed the land. Particularly is this noticeable round the little hill of Kachimba close to the forest.

From here a few paths appear to enter the Kenya forest. If they are followed and one escapes falling into any of the game pits which infest them, one will find that they only proceed a mile or two and are for the purpose of cutting firewood or grazing

¹ "Hujus gentis virgines puberes κλιτωρεκτόμην, ut apud Kikuios, non subeunt at iis nubere licet, neque nisi gravidis puellis hic ritus afficitur."

goats. It is astonishing that the crowded population living on the edge of this forest have not penetrated further in; far less have they reached the open slopes above the forest.

Proceeding on the path to Nyeri we pass to the south of us a hill, called "Iriyaini," identical in shape with that described above. On the top of this hill, however, are a few scattered trees and a Kikuyu kehalu, or sacrificial spot. To the north of the path is a village, called "Muragala," from whence starts one of the few paths penetrating into the Kenya Forest. This path is used by those who go to look for honey in the forest, and also by some who search for medicines only to be obtained from a high altitude on the mountain.

One has all this while been following the base of Kenya, but the mists may have been so heavy that the top has not been visible for days.

When a view is afforded it is a magnificent sight. Owing to the precipitous nature of its peak and the abrupt way in which it rises it appears a much grander mountain than Kilimanjaro. The different belts of vegetation are much the same as those on Nguzeru. First, at the base, is a belt of low bush and thick vegetation, but the most conspicuous plant in the corresponding belt of Nguzeru, a sort of wild tea, is here absent. Above this comes the forest belt, containing to all appearances magnificent trees. However, on closer inspection the majority of any size appear to be decayed or rotten. This is chiefly due to a bearded moss which is parasitic on such trees as juniper especially, and gradually kills them, and also to the ravages of white ants at the roots. Often a solid-looking tree will be found on cutting it down to have been hollowed out by termites and the core filled with red earth. There are also multitudinous wood-borers of every description, which prey on the trees.

Sometimes in the stillness of the night one is suddenly startled by an awful crashing and rending sound. For a moment one thinks of land slips, earthquakes or vast herds of elephant. Soon all is still again; it is one of these forest giants, perhaps weakened at the roots by termites, which has toppled over and

torn its way through the smaller trees around it till it reaches the ground.

Above the forest belt is the bamboo zone, and then the bare, open, grassy slopes bearing curious Alpine plants. Above this again is the precipitous pointed peak of rock and snow. So precipitous is this peak that large walls of rock uncovered by snow appear above the snow line.

Kilimanjaro, having an immensely broad, flat dome-shaped top, has a considerably greater surface of snow for its glaciers to draw upon. Presumably this alone would cause its glaciers to be pushed further down the hill than is the case on Kenya. In addition to that it is 2,000 feet higher, so there is 2,000 feet more of snow. The snow, then, on Kenya is inconsiderable when compared with that on Kilimanjaro.

It is curious that the natives, even those living close round the foot of the mountain, never realise that this white shining mass is solidified water, or akin to hail; nor do they know that it melts. They refer to it as the "white rock" at the top of the hill, or the "pure silver."

The summit of Kenya was reached by the Mackinder expedition, a fine feat of mountaineering.

Natives very seldom penetrate even to the bare grass slopes above the bamboo belt. Occasionally they penetrate so far in search of a certain medicine obtained from the roots of a shrub growing in this zone. Not perhaps one in a thousand, however, of the natives living close up against the foot has penetrated more than a mile or two into the forest, and I was unable to obtain anyone or hear of anyone who had reached the open belt.

It must be remembered that natives are very superstitious concerning almost any mountain, and still more so about one of this size. They all firmly believe that the upper slopes are the habitat of devils and all kinds of evil spirits. I am also told that natives who have returned from the upper slopes are not at liberty to speak about what they have seen. The idea is that they have been let off by the demons of the mountains, but if

they boast about it some evil will befall them or the evil spirits will avenge themselves.

There appear to be no Wandorobo on this side of the mountain although one would think that the locality was suited to them and that they would be able to hunt unmolested in this mass of forest. On the eastern side, I believe, there are a few, and the Meru are said to be more enterprising in exploring the mountain than the Kikuyu. Stories are told that certain of these Wandorobo who have penetrated to the bare upper slopes have brought back stories of a strange tribe of people or demons who inhabit this zone. This assumption is apparently based on tracks seen by them and alleged to be those of large goats or sheep. To the native mind this would imply that there must be an owner. It is just possible that there may be a wild sheep or goat inhabiting the upper parts of the mountain, but there is no authentic information to hand of either spoor or skins being found that would bear investigation.

If we had proceeded west and south-west from the Embéi country across the Mwea Plains we should have met the Tana River east of the Ithanga Range. This river is sometimes fordable at the old caravan crossing near the mouth of the Thika. The Tana is uninhabited from here down to Mumoni, and on both banks are good game countries. Lion, giraffe and buffalo are common, as well as the lesser kinds of game.

The banks are at first bordered by a belt of trees with but little undergrowth, and walking is pleasant and easy along the shady paths made by hippopotamus and rhino. As one proceeds downstream the belt of riverside vegetation becomes broader and more impenetrable. Soon one is forced to leave the river edge and pass outside this bush belt in order to make any progress. By the time one has reached the Schweinfurth Falls the river is enclosed by a thick screen of bush, and access can only be had to it by pushing through a network of thorn-choked rhino and hippo paths which may or may not lead in the direction one wishes.

A little further on the river splits into such a maze of small

channels that it is difficult to recognise the spot described as "Seven Forks," a description which might apply to a considerable part of the river.

Pressing on parallel to the river, through country which is now blocked with patches and belts of thorn scrub, one comes into view of the Mumoni Hills, and by the patches of cultivation knows that one is once again nearing an inhabited country.

The only people that seem ever to visit the section of the Tana or Kililuma through which we have passed are a few Wakamba hunters who occasionally find their way here from the south. The Sanya, hunters of lower Tanaland, are said to come as far as Korokoro on the river, but no further.

Below this latter place the Tana flows through a dry desert region where much of its water is lost by evaporation and percolation. The country between here and the ocean is flat, and in many parts the banks are slightly higher than the surrounding country. During the rains much of the land bordering on the lower Tana is flooded.

Some distance to the southwards of the eastern bend of the river is situated the Wakamba country, and the station of Kitwi. The Wakamba or Akamba are a large and numerous tribe of a somewhat warlike and truculent disposition. They are versed in bush warfare, and for this reason, from all accounts, the Masai, who are essentially open-country fighters, never got much change out of them in the old days.

Both sexes file, or rather chop, their teeth to a sharp point, which gives the mouth when open somewhat the appearance of that of a crocodile. This chopping process is generally carried out with a miniature axe, whilst a small block of wood is held in the mouth to support the teeth being chopped at.

These people drink the blood of cattle, like the Masai, and eat almost any kind of meat. Some sections are even said to eat the flesh of lion and hyena. It is a common practice amongst many natives to eat the heart of a lion "to make them brave," but I have never actually seen anybody eat the flesh.

They are, for African natives, a very musical people, and

sing together well in parts. Most of the barbaric chain-work seen amongst the southern Kikuyu is made by these people. The women generally wear a flap of skin hung from the front of the waist. The bottom of this is cut square, whereas the similar pieces of skin worn by Kikuyu terminate in long tapering points.

They are industrious agriculturists as well as cattle breeders.

I was encamped during the tilling season once at the foot of Mount Kanjalu, at which place are a few of the northernmost Akamba villages. Cattle were grazed on the top of the hill, and cultivation extended in patches, following the course of the few trickling streams far up the side of the mountain. Soon after sunrise the villages at the foot of the hill were deserted, and it was not till sunset or after that the majority returned from tilling or herding cattle.

The Wakamba are known to the Masai by the poetical name of "They that stink."

CHAPTER XVI

FORESTS AND ESCARPMENTS

THE Protectorate is cleft in two by the great Rift Valley which runs from north to south. This valley is bounded on either side for a great part of its length by vertical escarpments. These to the north and south are in parts of insignificant height or non-existent. In the centre, however, or that part cut by the Uganda Railway, they assume magnificent proportions, rising as walls a thousand feet in height on either side of the flat floor of the valley, sometimes bare, but often richly timbered.

The eastern or Kikuyu escarpment terminates southwards in the mountain of Ngong or Ol doinyo Lamwea, which forms a bump at the end of the long straight wall. The name of Ngong is taken from Engongo bagasi, the Masai name, for the source of the Mbagathi stream which rises near the mountain and flows into the Athi River.

This spring, to the east of Lamwea, or rather group of springs, comes out of steep cliffs covered in vegetation. At their base is a circular basin of swamp from which the stream flows, which in days gone by used to be trampled deep with the tracks of elephant long since departed elsewhere. Close to this spot is the site of old Ngong fort, the position of which can be located by a clump of blue gum trees which still flourish on the spot. This post was succeeded by Dagoreti, a station originally selected to act as a buffer between the Masai and Kikuyu. South-east of Lamwea the country is for all the world like an English orchard with beautiful green grass, grazed short by Masai cattle, dotted with short, thick-stunted trees. It is in that locality that the kraal of Ol-onana, the chief of all the Masai, already described, is situated.

There is on the Lamwea end of the Kikuyu escarpment a



SALT LICK, SCLATER ROAD.



DOROCHO WEARING CAP OF GOAT'S STOMACH.

wild geranium, with a white flower which blooms about June. The leaves in appearance are just like the geranium, and the small ones smell much the same, but the larger ones grow rank-smelling.

In May and June a wild, sweet-smelling jonquil and a wild forget-me-not are common sights.

On the lower slopes of Lamwea, especially to the east, the grazing is wonderful.

There are found many varieties of English grasses, including the quaker grass. Clover is abundant.

There is also a four-leafed water clover.

English cattle are so overwhelmed with the amount of grazing that if care is not taken, they stuff themselves full and die just after the rains when the grass comes up thick and green.

Later in the year the grass gets coarse and big. Good hay can be obtained by cutting it in this early stage before it gets coarse.

Grass well grazed over and trampled improves, and the coarser kinds become eliminated, and it is for this reason that grazing is on the whole so magnificent in the Protectorate, as it has been grazed over and manured for centuries, by countless herds of game and vast herds of stock.

Between Ngong and Nairobi is the Ngong Forest, which forms the chief fuel supply of Nairobi. It is a picturesque wood, intersected by wood-cutters' paths and dotted with open glades. The forest is the home of bushbuck, leopards, monkeys and baboons.

To return to the escarpment. Lamwea, as has been said, forms a bump at its south end; beyond that the Rift Valley opens into the great Athi Plains. The escarpment proceeds northwards from Lamwea in an unbroken line. At the Lamwea end it is bare and rises in a series of terraces. Each terrace or shelf has an inward slope towards the cliff of the next terrace. As many of these shallow valleys have no drainage, water collects at the base of the cliffs during the rains, and small swamps are formed.

There are two practicable descents of the escarpment at this end: the one to the Kedong Valley, close to the north end of

Lamwea, a steep descent which passes on the way a Masai "engorale." This is a pile of stones marking the spot probably of the grave of a chief or elder, although I have been told by a Masai that at such spots Engai (God) had been found sitting down.

The second and better descent is that of the old Sclater road, further north. On this descent your porters will probably point out to you the grave of Bwana Dick, *simba wa ulaya* (the European lion), the story of whose death appears to have made a great impression on the native mind.

As far as I can gather, the story is something as follows:—About the year 1895, when the journey to Uganda used to be performed on foot, a party of Swahili and Wakikuyu porters were returning empty-handed from the Ravine. They had brought up loads to that place, and having been paid off, were returning home. They camped on Skeleton Plain, a small open spot a little further up the Sclater road.

Being full of spirits, their journey ended, and with their pay in their pockets, some of the porters started drumming, and some Swahili fired their rifles in the air. There were some Masai kraals near, and the women, being frightened, set up a trilling as if they were being attacked.

A new batch of warriors had just been created; thirsting to distinguish themselves, they fell on the porters and killed the whole lot.

Dick, who was, I believe, once postmaster at Mombasa, happened to be near the spot with two Frenchmen, partners of his. Thinking that this would be a good opportunity, he, with the two Frenchmen and some armed porters, raided the Masai and captured some cattle. The Frenchmen and some porters drove off the cattle up the escarpment, whilst Dick and other porters remained behind to keep off the Masai who were following him.

The warriors came up with him near the salt lick, part of the way up the escarpment. Dick told his boy to run away after the rest of the party, but the boy refused to leave his master, so Dick handed him his revolver. He himself was armed with a Win-

chester, with which he accounted for a number of Masai, till it jammed, and he, in a fit of rage, threw it down on the ground.

The Masai say that they were just getting sick of it and were going to clear off, when they saw him do this. They closed round him on all sides, and one stuck a spear through his back. In the last struggle he is reported to have killed a man with his fists. He was last seen by his porters on all fours with the spear sticking in his back, and crying out, "Sasa simba wa Ulaya ameu-awa" ("Now the European lion has been killed").

Some of his porters ran up the Selater road and met another party of Masai, by whom they were killed. Some climbed up the face of the escarpment, and these escaped.

This, and the attack on the porters, was made without the knowledge of the Ol-onana, who was talking to the collector in Fort Smith (a station since abandoned) at the time of the occurrence.

The old chief, Mbatian, prophesied that if they ever killed a white man, the Masai should lose their cattle and that sickness should scourge them, and this was identically what happened, for shortly afterwards rinderpest and small-pox broke out amongst them.

Dick was the first and last white man who has been killed by Masai.

A little to the north of this spot the escarpment becomes thickly forested, especially opposite Escarpment station and the old incline. It was thought at first that it would be impossible to take the railway down the escarpment, and the line was commenced again at the bottom, and the two sections connected by an incline, up and down which trucks ran with cables.

The Escarpment station is always known to caravan porters as "Sara kedong." It is surrounded by dense forest, which to the north and north-east extends to Nandarua or Kinangop.

The Kikuyu are slowly penetrating this forest from the direction of Lamoru, but even their isolated villages do not yet reach farther than Escarpment station. Very black and rich is the soil of this forest land. In the earth mould of the forest is one of the

very few places in which I have noticed the occurrence of earth-worms in Africa.

In the forest here dwell a few Wandorobo, or, as they call themselves, Ogieg. At the other side of the Rift Valley in the Mau, and about the Ravine, there are a good number. There seems to be a slight difference in dialect between these two sections, but we will treat of them when we come to the opposite escarpment.

The Wandorobo of this side do not appear to penetrate very far into the forest here, and as far as one can make out the greater part of it is never penetrated by human beings. It consists of large trees, many of the cedar and juniper varieties, rising out of a mass of tangled vegetation, lianas and creepers crossing and recrossing in a perfect network, getting closer and closer towards the ground. Underfoot is a mass of sticks, moss, and decayed vegetation mixed with shoots. Occasionally one comes across more open patches where the floor of the forest is covered with plants or stinging nettles. Everywhere there are trunks of fallen trees, from those freshly fallen to others in every stage of rot and decomposition. The best means of moving in the forest is to hit off a well-used bongo or giant pig trail and follow its tortuous windings. Even if such a track is well used the obstacles to one's progress are multifarious. The lianas, easily pushed aside by the snout of the hog, catch one's shoulders, trip one up or lift one's hat off. Often has one to crawl under or over some obstacle such as a tree trunk, or, worse still, the masses of branches of a fallen tree. Hardly ever is one able to stand upright, but progress is made by continuous crawling and crouching. After proceeding some hours one is, perhaps, only a mile from one's starting point. Small wonder, then, that the innermost recesses of the forest remain practically in their primeval state before the advent of man.

Let me try to imagine a picture of this forest life. It is night, and pitch black. From all sides comes a shrill trilling noise; so persistent is it and so used to it do we get that one hardly notices it till there is a momentary lull, and then it breaks

out with renewed vigour. It is the trilling of the tree hyraces. A hoarse bark is repeated once or twice in the distance, the alarm cry of a female bushbuck. A grubbing and shuffling sound proceeds from close by; it is the giant hog ferreting around under the undergrowth. In the early morning a mist envelopes the forest, and it is not light till seven or eight o'clock, while the mist does not lift till ten or eleven. By this time the giant hog has betaken himself to a lair absolutely screened from view by thick curtains of creepers and lianas. The bongo who has been out all night lingers to dig up some tree root with his horns or gnaw the decayed bark of a fallen tree, and then, with head well forward and low and horns stretched back over his flanks, he forces and wriggles his way through the undergrowth till he reaches a rise in the ground and there lies down for the day, secure in the thought that he can smell or hear anything that approaches.

But the more variegated life of the forest is overhead, which swarms with baboon, colobi, and many kinds of monkeys, gennets, squirrels, hornbills, and a great variety of gaudily-coloured birds.

The croaking of colobi, squawking of hornbills, splashing of leaves and purring and squeaking of monkeys is heard first from one side and then the other.

If one is belated in the forest one is puzzled at first to see various patches of white shining out of the darkness. The mystery is solved when one stumbles against a rotting tree trunk and kicking off the bark reveals a luminous patch of phosphorescent pith.

Let us now leave this forest, and returning to the edge of the Kikuyu escarpment follow it northwards, past the hill of Kijabe till, above Naivasha, the forest has ceased except for belts and patches of juniper. Here the escarpment is in two distinct tiers, the lesser and the greater, separated from each other by a mile or two of flat.

Above the greater is the open prairie of Kinangop leading to the foot of the Aberdare Range. The Aberdares reach to the

height of 13,000 feet, whilst parts of the plain at its foot are 7,000 to 8,000 feet in height. The general arrangement of the vegetation of this range is as follows: On the west side the plains give place to a belt of bush and scrub at the base of the mountain. Above this belt, which may only be a few hundred yards in width, are the great juniper forests; above these again is the bamboo belt. Bamboo does not appear to occur in any profusion until an altitude of about 7,000 feet is reached; then it occurs in patches and at the edges of streams. The bamboo forest is still higher, being at the height of 8,000 or 9,000 feet. It does not appear to be of a very good or durable quality. All the older plants are attacked by a wood-borer. The rain and dew running down the stems enters the holes thus formed and rots the interior. Often if one cuts up such a stem one finds each section half full of water.

Stinging nettles seem to commence in profusion at about 7,000 feet. Besides the common kind one meets with a giant nettle, six feet or more in height, with long, sharp stings which will penetrate clothing. These plants are said to make even the elephant "sit up" if he touches them.

Above the bamboo belt are the bare open peaks of the mountain on which curious forms of mountain vegetation are met with, a giant kind of groundsel and other curious plants.

Practically every ridge, spur, col and neck of the range has a well-worn elephant path passing up and down the crest. Some of these are regular roads which have been worn in the rock. Elephants are very fond of mountains, and these, as also rhino paths, occur at the height of 13,000 feet on the top of the mountain.

Very useful are these paths to the honey hunters who ply their calling in these mountains, otherwise they would find it difficult or impossible to move all over the hills.

Near the summit of Kipipiri, an underfeature of the Aberdares, I have seen a well-worn path passing across a narrow col with a steep drop on either side. The path itself was only a couple of feet broad, and it would have been impossible for two

large animals to pass each other. On it were traces of both elephant and rhino. I have often wondered since what would happen if an elephant from one end and a rhino from the other met at the centre of this col with no room to turn and a precipitous slope on either hand.

In the narrow elephant paths in the bamboo, one often cannot see more than a few yards in front of one. The honey hunters silently walking along them must occasionally meet with elephant coming in the opposite direction and not be aware of their presence until a few yards apart. Fairly alert are such hunters of these hills, yet walking along one of these paths one day, the Dorobo guide in front of me stopped, having heard a slight sound. The next moment a man carrying the rough log-shaped hive of these parts appeared within a few yards, having neither heard us nor we him till that moment. The way the two men stopped and looked at each other reminded me more than anything of two dogs meeting who were not quite sure if they wanted to fight or not. "Friend or Foe?" was evidently the first instinctive feeling of each.

Now a word about these hunters of the hills. The true Dorobo or Ogieg does not appear to find his way here. The few hunters of the forested end of the Aberdares are called Kikuyu-Wandorobo. As a matter of fact they are pure Kikuyu and have no connection with the Wandorobo. However, they have either for the time being or permanently given themselves up to the Wandorobo life and so are true hunters. They speak the same language as the Kikuyu, and are of the same blood, but have developed different habits, customs and tastes. Most of them, however, return to the village life during certain parts of the year.

There are some of these people near the escarpment, and many of these are extremely light coloured, especially the women and children, and in that place they often intermarry with the true Dorobo or Ogieg. In the Aberdares, however, these hunters come from the thickly populated country to the east, from such villages as those of Wanjohi and Korori.

They earn their livelihood by setting traps and snares for

game, shooting with bow and poisoned arrow, looking for bees' nests, putting hives in trees and visiting them from time to time. In a district in which this rough form of apiculture exists each man or group of men owns a separate district. In this they set their hives and they never encroach on the rights of their neighbours, nor do they ever help themselves to the honey of a neighbour's hives when passing through his district, even if he be absent and not attending to them.

These hives are made by felling a tree (the mcharage being a favourite), and cutting off a large log or section of the trunk. This is then split in two, and each half is hollowed out in the manner of a rough-hewn pig-trough, with the exception that one end is cut open.

The two halves are then placed together again and fastened by a rope passed through holes bored or burnt in the sides and bottom. The hive is now in the form of a long drum with one end open. The open end is closed with a block of wood in which the hole is made by which the bees enter. When the honey is required the hive is smoked out and this block of wood removed. During the big rains the bees do not appear to make honey, so at this season the hunters generally stop at home and busy themselves making new hives.

The honey season opens at the beginning of July, when all the old haunts are visited, the hives put up in trees and the old and rotten ones changed.¹ In their manner of trapping and shooting these Kikuyu-Wandorobo have copied the true Ogieg, and so their customs will be described when we touch on the latter people.

North of Nandárua or the Kinangop peaks the mountain spreads out into the broad back known to the Kikuyu as "Nguzeru." The scenery here is for all the world like a Scottish moor with burns and heather. Trout have been imported into some of the streams, but it is too early to tell yet how the experiment will answer.

The Aberdares extend northwards, gradually getting less

¹ See illustration, p. 251.

forested and finally becoming bare, open down, with occasional patches of trees in the bottoms till they merge into the open plains of Laikipia.

On these plains are found Wandorobo hunters, but very different are they from those of the forests of the escarpments. Those of Laikipia hunt on the open plain, and many of them possess cattle and live for all the world like the Masai around them.

Still further north, at the other side of the Loragai Mountains and at the western end of the Lengiyō Range,¹ I was told that Wandorobo existed, but whether they were only Samburr who had lost their cattle and become hunters, or whether they were true Wandorobo I had not an opportunity to discover. Those I saw appeared to me to be identical with the Samburr.

The forests of Kenya have been referred to in a former chapter, so we will now glance at the other side of the Rift Valley. Opposite the Kikuyu is the thickly forested Mau escarpment. This appears to be practically uninhabited. Northwards of this the wall of the escarpment is broken, and there is an open, rolling country up which the line ascends to the summit of Mau. Northwards again the abrupt wall reappears as the Elgeyu and Kamasia escarpments, the summit being inhabited by people of that name. So steep is this escarpment that there are no practical paths up or down.

A little northwards of the line and back from the line of escarpment is the Eldama ravine. The country here is of alternate thick forest and open prairie, till to the north-west the open plains of the Guas N̄gishu are reached. North of the ravine, in the next valley, live the Tugen, and north of them, in a mountainous region the Kamasia, and then north-west the Elgeyu referred to above.

Very chilly are these Kamasia hills at night. To look at they are down-like with clumps of junipers in the hollows and sheltered parts. Although nearly on the equator I have had ice in my tent whilst camped amongst them.

¹ Formerly known as the "General Mathew's Range."

The Elgeyu and Kamasia speak practically the same language, and there is little difference between this and the tongue of the Nandi, Sotik, Lumbwa, and also the Suk to the north of the Elgeyu.

To return to the Ravine, this is the real country of the Wandorobo, the bongo and the giant or forest hog. The Wandorobo extend southwards in scattered communities towards the Mau.

The Wandorobo are to Masailand practically what the Midgan are to Somaliland, the Boni to Jubaland, and the Sanya to Tanaland. The name "Wandorobo" is the natural Swahili phonetic corruption of the Masai name for these people, "Torobo" prefixed by "Wa," meaning "people." Watorobo would not be an easy word for the Swahili tongue, and so it becomes Wandorobo. "Dorobo" in Masai, by the way, means a "tsetse fly."

I have generally referred to these people by their Swahili name, as that is generally known, whereas few people seem to know the name by which they call themselves. Their real name is Ogiég, or Ogiék, those of the Kikuyu escarpment calling themselves by the former and those of the Mau by the latter name. There is a similar dialectic change between northern and southern Masai of "g" for "k," *e.g.*, Kinangop and Kinankop.

The language of these people is very akin to Nandi. They themselves say that they were once the same as the Masai, and that when the latter took to a pastoral life they took to the hunting life. The Masai have a legend which says that cattle were sent down from heaven for the Masai. The Torobo did not get any, and subsequently went off and started a hunting life.

Many Masai have turned into Torobo, especially during the rinderpest, when there was great famine amongst the Masai. The reverse does not occur: a Torobo never becomes a Masai and does not intermarry with them.

The section of Ogiég living near Escarpment station are called "Ogié." Their totem is zebra.

The Ogiég generally drink from a stream on all fours, putting their mouths down to the water. Practically every other tribe drink, when no vessel is available, with the hand. They either

take up water with one hand or both, or throw water up with the right hand and catch it in the mouth. This latter is the way most caravan porters drink.

A curious kind of skull cap is worn by these people. It is called Ologarenji, and is made from the stomach of a goat. It is said to be for the purpose of protecting the elaborately greased and red-earth besmeared hair from the rain.¹ Some sections of the Ogiég, unlike the Masai, are in the habit of burying their dead.

They live entirely on the blood and meat of the game they shoot and trap. The animals are killed with arrows, even after being trapped, and the blood is drunk after the animal is killed. Small game are caught with spring nooses (mitet). Bongo are caught in game pits dug just big enough for them to fall into and get stuck. All game pits are dug narrowing towards the bottom so that the animals get wedged in. Their feet do not as a rule touch the bottom, so they cannot spring out again.

Rhino are killed by means of a weighted spear or javelin connected with a trip catch suspended from a tree. When the animal comes in contact with the trip the spear is loosed and falls on the animal's neck or back. This spear is poisoned.

When they follow the tracks of an elephant wounded in this way or by a poisoned arrow, if they see that he eats on the way they know that the poison is not taking effect. It is then useless to follow him. If, on the other hand, he walks straight on without eating they know that they will eventually get him. If when he is poisoned and comes to water he drinks it, they say that he dies at that spot, being unable to go on.

Arrows are made of bamboo splinters rounded and notched. The ravine Ogiég get their arrow poison from the Kamasia, and their iron arrow tips from the Masai.

Some sections, the northern ones, of Ogiég, are alleged to eat lion and hyena flesh like the Wakamba.

They eat meat, in the same manner as Somali, Samburr, Borana, and other Hamitic peoples, by putting the end of a

¹ See illustration, p. 265.

strip in the mouth and cutting off a piece whilst held in this position. As the knife is slashed across the strip one trembles for the nose and mouth of the operator.

The Ogiég use medicines and charms as freely as most Africans. A strong aperient is made of the roots of the mchargot tree mixed with hot water.

Medicine is taken to ensure luck before going to search for honey. The wild bees' nests are generally located by means of the honey guide, a small bird which attracts attention by twittering and then leads the way to the nest. I was, with a Dorobo, once led by this bird to three bees' nests successively in the same morning. Most natives affirm that the honey guide also takes one to find the tusks of an elephant who has died in the bush, and that they also lead one up to a lion, rhino, or big snake. I have never experienced anything of the sort, although I have often been led to honey by one of these birds.

When travelling about the Ogiég carries with him a torch made of numbers of dry chips of the Mazengera tree. Such a torch will smoulder for a whole day if necessary, and when a fire is required, dead grass or sticks are lit from it.

The Ogiég's conception of the origin of serval cats will show the reader how little faith is to be attributed to native accounts and descriptions, for he lives in the forest and should know the customs, habits and everything to do with its denizens.

He says that when the leopard brings forth she has a litter of four cubs at one time. Three of these she takes away with her and brings up, whilst the fourth she deserts. The three duly grow up to become leopards, whilst the fourth, half-starved and left to look after itself becomes a serval. This is implicitly believed.

West of the ravine is the Nandi country. As these people were constantly giving trouble by raiding and killing workmen on the railway line they had to be punished and moved back from the line. I passed across this old Nandi country from the ravine to Soba only a year and a half after the expedition. I found that the once closely grazed land intersected by paths

was a pathless tract of long rank grass choked with noxious vegetation. This is an example of how quickly a cultivated or pasture land reverts to bush in Africa and the futility of making paths.

It is not always the most moral people who are the finest amongst African tribes. The Nandi are an instance of this. Their women are notorious from Mombasa to Kisumu, yet they are a much finer people than many of the tribes around them.

CHAPTER XVII

THE VALLEY OF WONDERS

LET us take our first view of the Rift Valley from the railway line. The train stops at Escarpment station and we get out to stretch our legs. In front of us is the forested edge of the Kikuyu escarpment. The line appears to run straight to the edge of this escarpment and disappear. There seems no possible way of descending it. The whistle blows, we resume our places, the train starts, and we wait anxiously to see what will happen. Will we shoot straight off the edge into space, or will the engine driver pull up in time ?

We arrive at the edge, and the whole panorama of the Rift Valley is revealed to us. As the train winds skilfully down the face of the escarpment, just missing rocks and leaping water-courses, we see a thousand feet beneath us the Kedong Valley dotted with extinct craters and volcanic mountains, and clothed with patches of the distinctive-looking camphor tree.

At the opposite side of this valley rises the thickly forested wall of the Mau escarpment. Further to the north the floor of the valley becomes a grassy prairie studded with a chain of lakes which spring into view, shining in the sun, one behind the other. The train passes round the foot of Mount Kijabe, reaches the floor of the valley safely and rattles round Lake Naivasha to the station of that name.

The Kedong Valley takes its name from the stream that flows down the east side of the valley. This stream has in places seared its way through the soft rock, making a deep narrow chasm at the bottom of which it runs. So narrow are these chasms that in many places they can be jumped with ease. This is notably the case at the point at which the Sclater road crosses the stream, for here it is only two feet across, while the



LAVA ISLANDS NEAR MAIDAHAD.



HERD OF RENDILE CAMELS RETURNING FROM GRAZING.

stream flows twenty or thirty feet below. A few big stones have been put across to make the roadway. This I have been told was originally done by the Masai. It would be interesting to know if this was really the case, as anything in the way of bridge-making, even so simple as this, would seem to be foreign to their nature.

Not far from here is the Skeleton Plain referred to in the last chapter, so-called from the skeletons of the murdered porters which, I believe, can still be seen there. It is an open space, only five or six hundred yards across, in the midst of bush. On this little plain I often saw a Grant's gazelle bearing wide-spreading horns of the Robertii variety with a herd of three or four does. The Grant is essentially an animal of the plains and shuns bush. They always seemed to be here, and on one occasion I followed them about to see if they would bolt into the bush, but they only dodged me from one side of the plain to the other. Last time I passed I could only see the does, and fear that the male must have been shot.

The whole of the upper Kedong and the lower slopes of Kijabe and Lonoñgot are covered with the camphor tree.¹ This, which is usually partly dead and dried and partly green, is a very distinctive feature of this part of the Rift Valley, and extends in patches up to Olbollossat swamp.² It is called Ol-leleshwa by the Masai. Its dried twigs are serviceable for firewood, and the green branches are plucked to strew on their couches as they are fond of the eucalyptus-like smell.

Near the foot of the old incline on the eastern escarpment and not far from Skeleton Plain is the Kijabe gas-hole,² an aperture in a small, green depression which emits a poisonous gas, deadly to living beings. The only game which moves about much near this spot is a herd of buffalo; the bones of several of these which have been poisoned lie round the spot. When I visited this place the fresh body of a small black bird with a red head was lying by the hole. Sometimes the hole is quiescent, and a sheep may

¹ *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*.

² See illustrations, p. 285.

walk about the bottom and suffer no ill effect. At other times, according to native report, it emits smoke which eddies along the top of the grass, but does not rise. It is supposed to keep just below the level of a man's head, but rises high enough to kill a buffalo. Very possibly the so-called poisonous gas is nothing but carbonic acid gas.

Following the Rift Valley southwards it leads into the Athi Plains, and further south still, near the German border, is Lake Magadi, long visited by caravans and now exploited for its salt deposits. Magadi is, in Swahili, the white powder made of wood or leaf ash and salt or the powdered gypsum from this lake which they mix with tobacco snuff. The lake and its vicinity I have been told is a wonderful sight with its white deposits, precipitous cliffs and cañons.

Natives inform me that near Magadi is a magic mountain which fires off cannons; when you ascend it you hear the lowing of cattle and bleating of sheep, but see no man or animal. Whether this is the native explanation of the volcano across the border or not I do not know.

South of Magadi, in German territory, is Lake Natron, the water of which, like most of those in the Rift Valley, is undrinkable.

Let us return again to Naivasha, or "En-naiposha" as it is called by the Masai, and follow the Rift northwards. Naivasha Lake is fresh. The reason that most of the lakes of the Rift are salt or brackish is that there is no outlet to them. The peculiarity of Naivasha being fresh, coupled with the fact that it has so far been impossible to plumb its centre, has led to the supposition that there is a subterranean exit to the lake. In its centre are a few floating islands.

In the hills south of the lake some hot springs are situated, whilst in the Eburu Mountains¹ to the west are numbers of steam jets fizzing out of holes in the rock towards the top of the mountain.

North of Naivasha Lake is the part of the Rift given up to

¹ Shown as "Bura" on the map.

white settlers. The valley is high here and affords magnificent grazing. There is not the abundance of ticks, which make travelling on the Athi and Kapiti Plains insufferable, and there is a fair amount of wooded country. The air is dry, the rainfall small, and the country would not be well watered, as its lakes are brackish, if it were not for the higher land on either side from which emanate streams and springs. Many of these springs turn into small swamps directly they reach the level of the valley and then disappear. The heat is great during the day, from the glare off the escarpments, whilst the nights are often bitterly cold owing to the altitude which is over 6,000 feet.

In this part are the lakes of Elementaita and Nakuru, both brackish, a circumstance to which the hippopotamus in these lakes do not appear to object.

Behind Nakuru rises a wall of rock, a broken edge of Menengai, one of the biggest craters in the world. It is only on the Nakuru side that the crater wall rises above the surrounding country. On the other three sides there is a sheer drop from the level of the plain to the bottom of the crater. So abrupt is this that one might pass within a few hundred yards of this precipice without knowing of its existence. It is over the edge of this cliff that the defeated Loikop Masai are said to have been driven.¹

The bottom of the crater is a mass of lava mounds and tangled scrub and thorn. At the north-eastern end there is an easy descent, but in every other direction the walls are steep and precipitous.

Proceeding northwards past Lake Solai the country falls and becomes more bare.

Lake Hannington, named after the ill-fated Bishop who tried to enter Uganda from the east side and was murdered, is reached. This is generally known to the Safari porters as the "lake of birds," owing to the countless swarms of aquatic birds which inhabit it, amongst which are masses of flamingo. At the side of this lake is an accumulation of guano deposit which, however, would probably be useless for economic purposes owing to the

¹ Chapter XII., p. 208.

lack of phosphates from fishbones, which makes that of sea birds so valuable. The country still falls to Lake Baringo, which is, like Naivasha, a fresh water lake. On an island in this lake there are said to be hot water springs.

On the Laikipia highlands to the east of this lake are the grazing grounds of the El-burrugu Masai, in the country formerly inhabited by the old Loikop. The country is poorly watered except for the Guaso Narok and the Guas Ñgiro. The inhabitants have to trek from one watering place to another during the dry season, as the pools dry up. These pools, called "Sokota" and "Sogota" by the Masai, are small springs which crop up on the plains and form little swamps of rushes perhaps only 50 or 100 yards in breadth, but never attain the dimensions of a stream. For this reason these highlands, with the exception of that part through which the Guas Ñgiro flows, are unsuited for white settlement, but eminently fitted for a semi-nomadic people like the Masai.

North of Baringo the Rift Valley enters on a forbidding country. Lack of water, the entire absence of any food supply, and the volcanic nature of the country, combine to make it very difficult to travel through.

Near Lake Sogota there used to figure on the map a Mount Andrew, alleged to be an active volcano. No such mountain has been noticed by later travellers, but a geyser has been found in this locality. No doubt the vague native description of this phenomenon, and the account of steam coming forth, led to the assumption that an active volcano existed. At the south end of Lake Rudolf there was at one time an active volcano, discovered by and named after Teleki, but no traveller since his day has seen it in a state of eruption. Travellers, however, have been so few and far between in this locality that this does not prove that it has been quiescent all this time.

A word must be said about a magnificent mountain near the south of Lake Rudolf, Ol doinyo Ñgiro. This is a square flat-topped mountain rising abruptly to a height of 10,000 feet or so. Its base extends for a length of perhaps twenty miles, the hill

shown as Ol Lebusi on the map being part of the same mountain.¹ Water is to be found at its base on the southern and eastern sides. The country round about is stony and forbidding desert, but the flat top of the mountain would probably be found to be an ideal climate.

The water of Lake Rudolf is just drinkable, but is brackish and tastes filthy. It is especially bad at the southern end and in such places as are shallow and have been stirred up by various aquatic birds, of which there are great numbers. As the north end of the lake is reached the water becomes better owing to the inflow of the Omo River. The shores of southern Rudolf and the country to the east is some of the most desolate country on the face of the earth, uninhabited and utterly devoid of trees. There is a little belt of grass close to the edge of the lake, but back from this the country is simply a mass of volcanic débris, lumps of lava and volcanic ash. The first trees seen for a distance of about 300 miles are the dead trees noticed by Teleki on the spit of land which runs into the north end of Rudolf. The banks and delta of the Omo River, however, are well timbered.

Earlier travellers speak of groups of fishing villages at the south of the lake and at Alia Bay to whom the name of "Lokkob" was given. "Lokkob" is the Rendile corruption of "Loikop," a name they use indiscriminately in describing a cattle-breeding people or even any non-camel breeders. The Alia villagers have since been driven away and have had to take refuge in the islands in the centre of the lake.

To the east of Rudolf there are two well-defined lines of lava escarpment only a few hundred feet high, but extending for a long distance north and south. The eastern of these two passes through Koroli and probably is a hundred miles or more in length.

I discovered two hot streams issuing from this escarpment.

¹ I mention this as Ol Lebusi has evidently been put in from one of my sketches. I intended to show it as, what it actually is, an under-feature of N'giro, but perhaps my map (that illustrating "To Abyssinia through an unknown Land") is not clear on this point.

They are called "Karauwi" and "Burgi," and are situated between Maidahad¹ and Kalacha.

Lake Stephanie is shallow and salt. At certain seasons it is almost entirely dried up. Water is obtainable from the hills on its east. Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie are the limits of the Rift Valley as far as the Protectorate is concerned, but the Great Rift is still traceable north of this and it is even alleged that the Dead Sea is part of the same great natural feature.

On the west of Lake Rudolf live the Turkana, a fierce, war-like and very populous tribe much feared by their neighbours. At the present moment they are less truculent than before and would welcome a European administration of their country as they have suffered from Abyssinian raids from the north.² Of late years they appear to have spread farther southwards than formerly, and they are found at certain seasons as far south and east as the Em-barta steppe.

I was unable to ascertain the origin of this latter name—"Em-barta" means "a horse" in Masai—for there are no horses in this country at the present time. Raiding parties of the Borana have reached this spot in former days, and a great fight is said to have taken place on this steppe. Possibly this has something to do with the name, as the Borana are horse owners.

The Turkana have been exploited as a race of giants. They are certainly taller than the surrounding tribes, and appear very big when compared with the little Bantu type. I should say, however, that a man of six feet was the exception rather than the rule, and that as a race they are not so tall as some of the peoples of the Sudan.

The enormous head-dresses and chignons of plaited hair and mud surmounted by ostrich feathers add considerably to their imposing appearance. The men, like the Masai, do not wear any dress, with the exception, perhaps, of a skin hung from the shoulder. Their shields are smaller than those of the Masai.

¹ See illustration, p. 278.

² Since this was written the Uganda Government have commenced to take this country in hand.



OLBOLLOSSAT SWAMP.



KIJABE GASHOLE.
(Showing skulls of Buffalo killed by fumes.)

A curious weapon found amongst these people is a heavy bracelet with a sharp edge or, as it has been described, "a circular knife." With this a treacherous back-hander may be delivered, perhaps during the course of conversation. I cannot imagine the weapon as being of any use in open warfare.

The edge of this knife, as also the edges of their spears, are protected by neat little leather sheaths. Those on the spear only cover the edges, leaving the flat centre of the blade exposed. They are kept in place by a thong tied round the neck of the blade.

The Turkana are rich in camels, cattle, sheep and goats. Some sections are purely pastoral, whilst others are agriculturists. Their language is something akin to Kavirondo. They are the largest donkey breeders in the Protectorate, and these animals may be obtained very cheaply from them for brass wire and calico.

Droves of donkeys can be seen grazing near their kraals, apparently unherded, and I am told that they often do not trouble to zariba them at night. It is said, with how much truth I do not know, that lions are not often able to kill a Turkana donkey as a drove will put their heads together and kick lustily outwards in all directions. The lion gets tired of trying to penetrate this seething circle of hoofs and eventually makes off discomfited.

The southern Turkana are cattle owners, and, like most cattle owners, when they move their kraals their effects are carried on donkeys. Camel breeders, like the Somali and Rendile, use camels for this purpose.

South of the Turkana are the Suk, a people who might be described as half-way between the Masai and Turkana.

A curious pendant of glass or agate is worn by these people attached to the lower lip. A similar ornament is worn by the Acholi on the Nile.

Between the Lorogai-Bawa Range and the Lengiyu Range and westward of this live the Samburr, a genial, hospitable people, who live much after the manner of the Masai and talk the same

language. They are cattle breeders, but have a few baggage camels amongst them, obtained from the Rendile, with whom they are on very friendly terms. They do not make the long, low cow-dung huts of the Masai; their country being hot and waterless, such a habitation would be most unsuitable. Moreover, their habits are more nomadic than the latter people, so a more portable style of building is adopted. This consists of gypsy poles covered over by sufficient dried sheep or goat skins to afford shade, but not enough to prevent ventilation. When they trek, these poles and skins serve as pack saddles for the donkeys and camels.

The Samburr, or the "L'ol eborekeneji" as the Masai call them (meaning, "the people of the white goats"), are rich in sheep and goats, the former being of the fat-tailed variety.

These fat-tailed sheep appear to do well in the dry and arid country, and are able to endure the periods of drought and poor grazing in a surprising manner. The raw fat of their tails is eaten by Masai and Samburr as a cure for thirst. The Somalis say that a gelding rested and fed on this fat will race any animal excepting the ostrich and the gerenug (Waller's gazelle). Before a war or raid they keep their horses for a month if possible without exercise and give them mutton fat to eat.

A number of Somalis used to be engaged in trading for these sheep amongst the Samburr and Kamasia. They would buy cattle from Laikipia with trade goods and exchange these cattle for forty or sixty sheep a head and bring them down the Rift Valley to Kikuyu-land to sell them. A big sheep was often sold for as much as eight rupees amongst the Kikuyu of Lamoru.

North of the Samburr live the Rendile, a people of Somali origin who are rich in camels. Here one meets with the thick Somali guttural sounds, the Somali "h" and "'ain," extravagant exaggerations of the Arabic "ح" and "ع." In all other things, too, except only for the nudity of the males and the curious head-dress of the women, one might be in Somaliland. The herio, or camel mat, the han, or water vessel of closely plaited fibre, the hangol, forked and hooked stick for making or pulling

apart a zariba, are all identical in name and much the same in make. The camel mat, however, is smaller than that in use in northern Somaliland.

The combs or crests of plaited hair and mud worn by the matrons resemble in shape a cock's comb or a fireman's helmet. The unmarried girls, as a rule, wear their hair in ringlets. The Rendile are peculiar amongst the surrounding people in that they never use shields. They say that it is a sign of fear to use a shield. They have the reputation of having been most warlike in former days, and accounts are told of fierce battles which used to take place between them and the southern Somali, in which it is stated that one whole side would be slain. On one occasion it is stated that the Somalis attacked a company of Rendile and not a man survived on either side. I did not, however, see anything in them to make me believe that they were such fire-eaters. So perhaps this fierce military spirit, if it ever existed, has died out with those who were slain.

Very forbidding is the Rendile country and that to the north, a treeless waste of black lava and sand.

Next to the Rendile are a people who call themselves "Borana," and north of these are the true Borana who live in the Borana highlands. That country is said to be well watered, and they possess a considerable amount of cattle. A post has been established on the Abyssinian border at Moyali to administer these people.

Both northern and southern Borana talk the same language, a dialect of Galla. The southern are, however, supposed to be Somalis who formerly sought refuge amongst the Borana, having been driven westwards from Somaliland by other Somali tribes. They were made a subject people by the Borana and adopted their language and customs. Subsequently they became independent and moved southwards to their present position to the east of Koroli and Kalacha. Amongst them are a few skinny horses and a considerable number of camels. These camels appear leaner than those of the Rendile, and the grazing is certainly poorer. They live on the lava escarpments and show

an agility in ascending these places not possessed by the Rendile camels.

The old Loikop Masai, it is alleged, once drove the Borana as far northwards as Dirri, near Huri, but were subsequently driven back to their own country.

The Borana divide the northern or Abyssinian Gallas from those of the Protectorate in Tana and Jubaland.

The latter people call themselves "Warde," but are practically identical in manners, customs, language and names with the northern.

The Borana, on the other hand, possess distinctive customs, and although their language is practically the same as Galla, it differs in many things such as, notably, in the names of men and women.



KISHI VILLAGE (INSIDE THE WALL).



FORTIFICATION OF KISHI VILLAGE (SHOWING ENTRANCE GATE).

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LAKE

AFTER traversing the high and thickly forested country about Fort Ternan, the line descends to Muhoroni and the lower country about the lake. Both the country and the game are different from any we have yet seen. The line has alternately passed through the green banana, cocoa-nut palm and plantations of the coast; the rolling, wooded hill and valley of Mazeras; the flat, thorn desert and red sand of the Taru; the open prairies of the Athi and Kapiti Plains; the cultivated red hills of Kikuyu; the forests of the escarpments, and the lakes and volcanic mountains of the Rift Valley. This country is not like any of these. It might be described as a flat, rather sterile plain, orchard-like in the distribution and general appearance of its trees, and dotted with stony hills.

The most noticeable of the game are, perhaps, the Uganda or Cobus cob and the roan antelope. The cob is only found in this part of the Protectorate, while roan, fairly common here, are only found in a few other places. There are a good many on the Guas Ngishu plateau, but in the only two other spots in which I know of their existence they are extremely local, and are so few in number that they might almost be named. Other distinctive game are the topi and Jackson's hartebeest; the former, however, commences on the west side of the Rift.

Kibigori, called by the caravan porters Bagamoyo, is passed. Near this place a herd of extremely bad-tempered female elephants have taken up their abode. As the lake is neared one comes amongst the huts and cultivation of the Kavirondo.

These people are chiefly remarkable from the fact that both sexes live in a state of perfect nudity. They are supposed to be closely allied to the people of the Upper Nile. Amongst the

latter, however, such as the Bari, Madi, Acholi, and many others, the women wear two bunches of leaves suspended fore and aft. The language of the Kavirondo is described as Nilotic. One meets with words almost identical in Bari and Kavirondo, as also in Bari and Masai.

The terminus of the line is Port Florence, which is the harbour. Kisumu is the name of the Government post at this place. The climate here is perhaps as unhealthy as anywhere in the Protectorate.

Sleeping sickness has broken out lately on the lake shore. This does not affect the town of Kisumu, but has played sad havoc with the Kavirondo living at the water's edge.

An idea of the size of the lake can be gathered when one looks on the great expanse of the Kavirondo Gulf and remembers that this is only an arm of the lake itself. The shores of the bay are lined with a belt of papyrus and reeds, sometimes only a hundred yards or so in thickness, and sometimes of much greater extent. It is in this papyrus strip that the swamp-dwelling Situtunga antelope makes its home.

About two miles south of Kisumu is a wonderful haunt of aquatic birds. At their breeding season they flock in numbers to nest in this locality.

Ocean-going steamers connect Port Florence with Entebbe, and the other ports on the lake. There are also a number of native vessels¹ which ply on the lake, keeping close to the water's edge, for the lake storms are often very violent. The Government steamers also keep round the edge of the lake, calling at various ports and making the complete tour of the lake. I believe the centre of the Victoria Nyanza has never been crossed, so it is not known what may exist there. According to native report islands exist in its very middle.

The word "nyanza" is a Bantu word, meaning "an expanse of water," and also applicable to a great river. Similar words are "nyanja" and "nyasa," which might be translated as "the

¹ The prices of transport from Port Florence to Entebbe by these dhows are: European passenger, 5 rupees; native, 3 rupees; luggage per cwt. 1½ rupees. Passengers must take their own food and supplies for the journey.

water," "the great water," or "the sea." Both the Shire River and Lake Nyasa are referred to as "nyanja." Similar to this is the case of the Arabic "bahr" ("sea"), being used with reference to the rivers Bahr al Ghazal and Bahr al Jebel.

At the mouth of the Kavirondo Gulf are situated the Luchinga Islands. On these dwells, it is said, a witch, of whom wonderful native stories are current.

Good fish are obtainable from the lake; at some seasons fish are very plentiful in the Kavirondo Gulf, whilst at others there are none. The Kavirondo have an ingenious though cumbrous device for catching fish. A long arrangement of papyrus stalks is plaited together. This is attached to a raft of reeds on which the fisherman stands. He slowly poles himself along, dragging behind him this long train of papyrus. He then circles round till he meets the tail and drags the whole arrangement ashore after the manner of a seine net.¹

On either side of the gulf is a lake-side plain, dotted with Kavirondo villages and cultivation, behind which rise steep hills. These Kavirondo villages are almost exactly like the villages of the Chapeta of Nyasaland, and unlike anything yet seen in this country. They consist of circular earthwork walls of red mud enclosing a group of huts. Outside these walls is planted a thick ring of the snaky-tendrilled euphorbia, the branches of which interlace and form an effective barricade. The white, milk-like sap which exudes whenever the tendrils are broken or crushed will cause blindness if it gets into the eyes.

The women, as has been said, are as a rule perfectly naked, but occasionally a small flap of leather, a few inches in diameter is worn, and one often sees a tail attached to a string round the waist. These people are much addicted to the use of tobacco. They do not seem to chew, as do so many natives, but smoke long and ingeniously devised pipes. These generally consist of clay bowls attached to stems of reeds or hollow bone. Even the women smoke, which is uncommon amongst other tribes.

A goat-skin apparel is sometimes worn, purely for warmth

¹ See illustrations, p. 296.

and not for decency, as it is thrown over the shoulders only. At first sight one wonders to what strange animal these skins belong, as they are adorned with striking patterns of stripes and spots like the markings of a gennet or serval. The skin is almost invariably that of a goat, and these markings are burnt on to them.

The Kavirondo are, for natives, extremely moral; it is generally the well-dressed native who is less moral in his habits. The women are said to make faithful wives, and they are affectionate in their family relations.

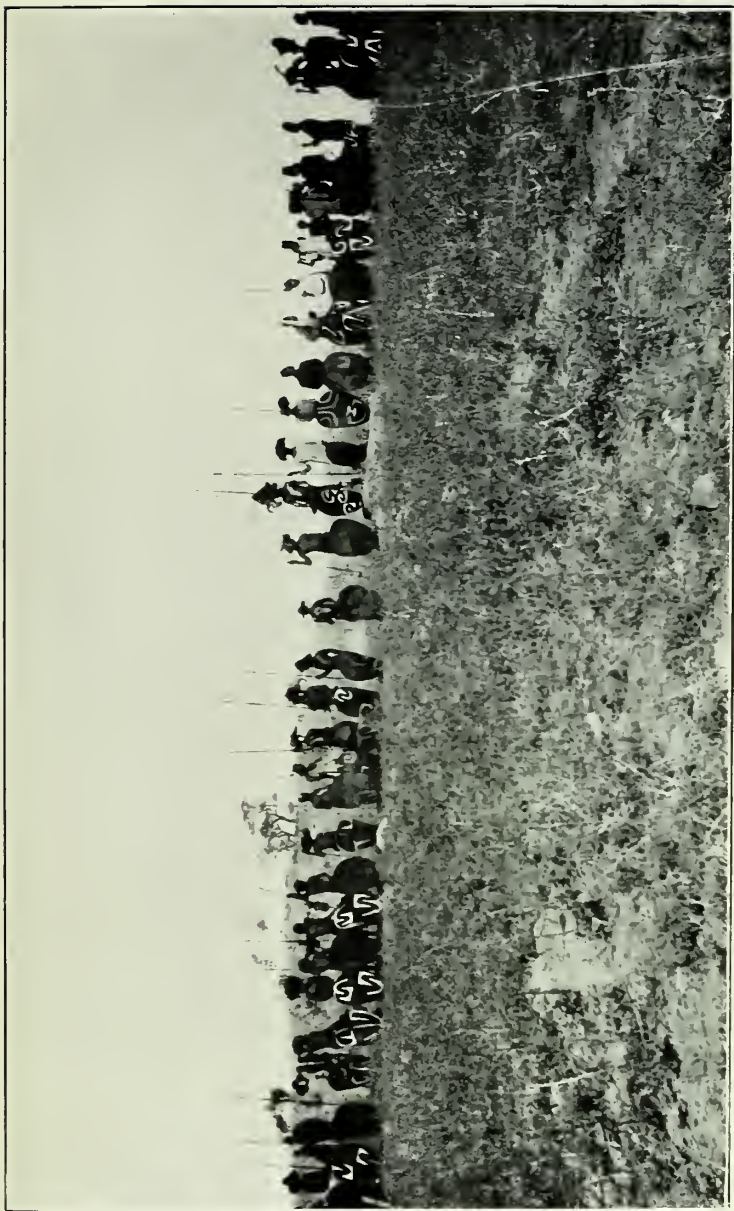
Mourning for the dead is kept up for much longer periods than is usual with savages. I have been told by other natives that the period of wailing is often extended to eight months.

North of the Kavirondo Gulf the country rises to Mumias, and behind that again to Mount Elgon, peopled by an interesting race of cave-dwellers, whom I had no opportunity of visiting or studying. Through the former place flows the Nzoia, a stream which rises near Saragoi (Sirgoit), and which might be considered, perhaps, as the actual source of the Nile.

South of the Kavirondo Gulf and the populated plain rise the Kisii Hills, a much more favoured country, well watered and containing good grazing grounds. The climate is good and the air cool. It is inhabited by the Kisii, a Bantu-speaking tribe who used to be greatly feared by their neighbours. They are enormously rich in cattle, and their country is fertile, unlike the dry and flat Kavirondo Plain.


They are armed with spears bearing long and strong wooden hafts and but short, iron blades, more like the lances of the Bedawin of Arabia than the usual type of spear seen in this country. The usual warriors' spears of the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa have short thin hafts¹ while often the iron head is half the length of the whole spear. In the case of the Nandi, however, that section bordering on the Kisii, to the north-east

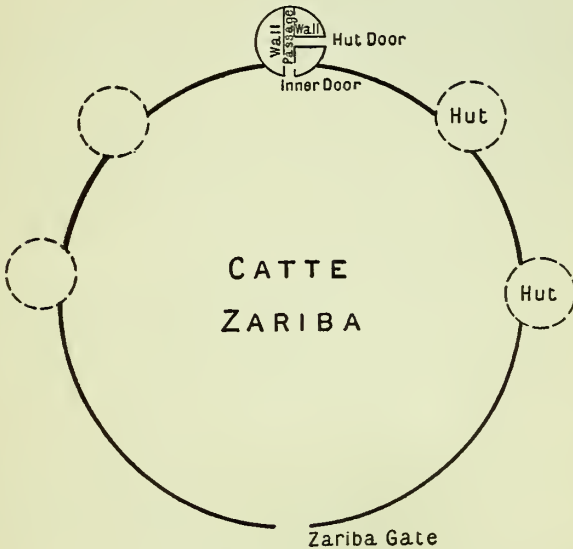
¹ These hafts, in the case of the Masai, are made of the wood of a shrub, suitable trees perhaps being difficult to obtain. The name of the shrub is, in Masai, called "isiteti." A Kisii spear is shewn in the illustration, p. 318.



KAVIRODO WARRIORS IN WAR PAINT.

of the Kisii country, have adopted a similar long spear, perhaps finding that they were under a disadvantage with their shorter spears when fighting with these people.

The Kisii shields also are peculiar in shape. They look almost exactly like the shell of a turtle's back, having a rib down the centre. Each side of this rib the shield has an outward bulge and then curves back, so that a section across would be of much the same shape as a shallow bracket .



PLAN OF KISII BOMA.

Some of the larger villages are fortified by a high wall of rubble or earth, surrounded by a ditch. These are much more formidable than the low Kavirondo earthworks. The space enclosed by this wall may be several hundred yards across, and access to the village inside is generally only to be had through one gate or low, narrow hole in the wall (see photos, p. 289).

Villages not so elaborately fortified as these consist of a thick zariba or stockade, into the walls of which the huts are built. The zariba encloses their stock which is driven in through a gate which is subsequently blocked up by thorn or poles, or a com-

bination of both. Access is then only to be had to the zariba by passing through one of the huts, each of which has a door opening outside the zariba and another inside.

The arrangement of the inside of these huts is peculiar. From the outside they appear to be Bantu huts of the ordinary type. Inside they are divided into partitions by two passages running at right angles to each other. The passage which is entered from the outside door turns at right angles into the passage leading to the interior or zariba door.

These partitions and passages have a low ceiling, which prevents one from standing upright. Above this ceiling and under the thatch is a kind of loft, which is entered by a hole in the ceiling of one of the partitions. It is here that the owner of the hut sleeps, and from this coign of vantage he is able to spear any enemy who attempts to enter the door by driving his spear into his back as he stoops to enter. There is a slit in the ceiling over the door for this purpose.

In time of war the paths are choked by pulling thorn branches from zaribas across them, a serious impediment to a bare-footed native. Sharpened stakes are stuck in the road concealed by grass and branches, and pointing towards the direction from which the enemy is expected.

Grass is offered or thrown at an enemy as a sign of peace. This is a very general custom amongst pastoral people, and perhaps originates in the affection they have for grass, as the substance on which their cattle get fat.

The men wear long tails of skin hanging from the waist. During a little expedition in that country I once saw an old man trying to drive off some cattle undetected by proceeding on all fours. In the distance, with his tail swinging, he made a very serviceable imitation of a calf.

A curious belt is worn by the Kisii, made of rows of iron beads. This is also sometimes seen amongst the Kavirondo, but I believe that they have obtained them from the Kisii. Each bead is about the size of a small hazel nut, and its manufacture by hammering between stones must be a laborious process. Two

or more of these rows are worn, completely encircling the waist. One of these rows is said to be valued at the price of a heifer.

South of the Kisii is a country little known and practically uninhabited; owing to its hilly nature and the lack of paths it would be difficult to traverse. Eastwards of the Kisii are the Sotik and Lumbwa, or "Kipsikisi," as they call themselves. They are people much like the Nandi.

Between Sotik and Njoro is a good shooting country, and south of the Lumbwa are the Lemek Plains, celebrated for game.

Now let us just run over to Entebbe and back so as to look at the great Lake Victoria. The steamer leaves the Kavirondo Gulf and steams round the northern shores of the lake. The waters are clear and black, and extend as far as the eye can reach, apparently as limitless as the ocean. Patches of black hover over the water like rain clouds. These are caused by myriads of "lake fly," masses of which are swept about by the breeze, especially about the beginning of the rains. If we strike one of these clouds, the deck will become covered with them, and the cabins must be shut up. Directly they touch any solid matter they die and their corpses lie thick on the deck. These swarms often blow over Entebbe and make life intolerable for the time being.

The lake is not very deep; it is said that the maximum depth is 250 feet in the parts navigated. Steamers can, therefore, anchor anywhere, and it is the common practice to anchor at night in bad places rather than attempt the passage of spots studded with rocks and islands.

As we approach Jinja we pass the most beautiful fiords and bright green islands, alternating with rocky capes and promontories. When we learn that this part is uninhabitable because of sleeping sickness, the beautiful prospect and the bright green of the shores and islands assume almost a sinister look.

Violent and sudden storms often sweep up on the lake as rough almost as any on the sea, perhaps owing to the shallowness of the bottom.

At Jinja the Victoria Nile flows out of the lake over the Ripon Falls, a fine chute of water, but nothing to compare with the magnificent Murchison Falls lower down the river. Although the landing at Jinja is only a mile or so above the falls no surface current is visible.

The canoes seen here are certainly the most graceful I have ever seen in Africa. In place of the rough dug-out, almost universal in the tropical parts of this continent, we here see long, slim, well-formed canoes, with graceful prows and sides painted red and white. The natives indulge in a kind of "fly fishing." The rods are made of light, well-tapered bamboo, to which is attached a fine line. The "fly" is a grasshopper which is flicked out, rather than cast, and worked up and down to imitate the movements of the animal kicking.

The people here are Busoga, a miserable-looking race. It is from Jinja that the new extension of the line is starting to link up the navigable part of the Nile below the Ripon Falls and rapids with the lake. From the end of the line the passenger is to proceed by steamer through Lake Kioga and the Nile. The Nile is again unnavigable before Lake Albert is reached, and an eventual extension of the railway will bridge over this gap. It will then be possible to proceed by rail and steamer from Mombasa to Nimule. Between Nimule and Rejaf there is another unnavigable section of the Nile to be linked up to complete through communication between Mombasa and Cairo.

Sleeping sickness occurs at Jinja, and indeed most of the way round the lake. It has been combated by moving the inhabitants back from the water's edge, and in places it is necessary to occupy, such as Jinja itself, clearing all trees, scrub and grass in the vicinity of the post.

The tsetse fly is unable to live or remain long in the open, and even if it follows any one into an open patch, soon flies back in search of shade, and so these measures are fairly successful in keeping the station free.¹

The steamer next visits Munyonyo, the port for Kampala.

¹ I speak only of the black tsetse, viz.: *Glossina palpalis*.



BOOMING OUT.



ENCIRCLING THE FISH.—KAVIRONDO FISHERMAN.

From the latter place starts the old route for Nimule, overland past Hoima to Butiaba, and thence by steamer down Lake Albert and the Nile. This route will eventually be superseded by the Jinja-Lake Kioga route.

The first impression of Uganda is that it is a country coloured bright green and brick red. The green is produced by the banana groves and the red by the soil of the roads and paths. Uganda is a country of good roads; even before our occupation the natives made roads for themselves and causeways to pass over the many swamps. One can ride a bicycle over the greater part of Uganda.

The next thing that strikes one is the reed fences bounding the road, surrounding fields and villages. After the very hazy ideas about proprietorship of land and the rude boundary marks of a stone in a fork of a tree, as noted in East Africa, it comes as an astonishment to see small areas of property enclosed and fenced off in this manner.

Bananas are one of the staple articles of diet, and everything almost bought and sold appears to be done up in neat little packages of banana leaf.

The Baganda are well clothed, those who cannot afford cotton robes, shirts or trousers, wearing bark cloth, the old costume of the country. This is made of strips of bast, or inner bark of certain trees, pounded and rubbed with oil to make them soft. The people's morals are as scarce as their clothes are profuse.

Another thing the stranger notices is that the telegraph wires are hung on living trees. The telegraph poles are made from a certain kind of wild fig or sycamore, which when planted grows readily and survives the attacks of the white ants or termites, which would soon demolish them were they of dead wood.

The climate is bad and depressing, the water nearly everywhere filthy, and during a great part of the year the tall grass and elephant reeds block the view in every direction.

Thunderstorms during the rains are of daily occurrence and of excessive violence, sometimes two or three storms passing over in one night. The country is cursed by sleeping sickness and spirillum fever. The latter is caused by the bite of a tick which

lives in wood or the walls of old huts. So much is this insect feared in Nyasaland that on its discovery in a village the whole village is burnt and the inhabitants move off elsewhere. In Uganda the natives seem to treat it more lightly, probably owing to its greater prevalence and the fact that it does not seem to affect them so badly as it does some tribes.

In spite of all these drawbacks Uganda is a prosperous and progressive country. The natives are extraordinarily intelligent and are ready to turn their hands to almost anything. They had a decimal coinage of their own before our occupation, their money being cowries, which were strung in necklaces of tens and hundreds, a thousand being valued at a rupee. The introduction of cents has somewhat done away with the cowry and facilitated exchange, as the possessor of a few rupees need not now go to market festooned from head to foot in cowries. These shells are, however, still in use as small change, ten being equal to a cent. Living is very cheap, as may be imagined when it is said that the smallest coin, one cowry, has a value of about one-sixteenth of a farthing.

From Munyonyo the steamer proceeds to Entebbe, the capital of Uganda. Opposite this place are the Sese Islands, which used to be inhabited by Situtunga in large numbers. More recently these islands came into prominence as they were made the headquarters in which the Sleeping Sickness Commission carried on their researches.

The steamer returns to Port Florence by way of the German ports to the south of the lake or *vice versâ*, coming to Entebbe from the south and returning the way we have come.

The reader has now travelled over the greater part of the Protectorate, and so it only remains to take him back by train to Mombasa and there bid him adieu.

CHAPTER XIX

THE AFRICAN

I HAVE often tried to picture to myself what the mind of the African is like, what is the point of view from which he reviews any given situation, what his thoughts are and how the ordinary events of life strike him. There are a few exceptions who are capable of consecutive ideas, but I believe the mind of the average savage is in a nebulous, hazy condition, incapable of concentrated thought. From this hazy mist, present and near-at-hand objects stand out fairly clearly, but distant and abstract matters remain clouded or absolutely invisible. I believe that he can sit for hours at a time without a thought of any sort occurring to him. It never occurs to him to demand the why and the wherefore; he just accepts what he hears and sees as facts.

In compiling the notes from which the former chapters were written I found that it was not possible to interrogate any single raw native for more than an hour at a stretch. The mental effort of bringing his mind to bear on my questions, questions which had never occurred to him before, was so great that after a short time brain-fag and lassitude possessed him, his attention wandered more and more, and his answers became more incoherent.

To them the answers to such questions needed a real mental effort. One would ask, "Why do your people put pulse on little platforms beside the road?" The native would think a bit and then reply, "It is a medicine."

"What is it a medicine for?" Another great brain effort. Perhaps it had never occurred to him that it was a special medicine for anything; he had seen other people do it, and so presumed it was a good thing to do. At last he might answer, "Perhaps for someone sick in the village."

“Does anyone eat it afterwards?” He would think a bit, and then brighten up at the remembrance of something he had once heard, and reply, “God eats it.” “Does He always come and eat it?” Now he has got a definite idea into his head, it saves trouble to stick to it, so he says, without hesitation, “Yes, always.” “Why is it put on a platform?” “Oh, we always do it like that.” “Would it be all right if it was put in the fork of a tree?” An alternative method has never occurred to him, so this problem requires deep thought; at last he may say, “The sticks of the platform are part of the medicine.”

Perhaps after this you try another native, who may tell you something quite different. If one tells him the answers of the first native he will probably say, “Yes, he had heard that too.”

A native can hold at the same time two absolutely opposite beliefs. He can believe in both of two conflicting statements. He does not compare or analyse them; he just believes in that uppermost in his mind at the time. A little later he will believe in the second, but his faith in the first remains unshaken. For instance, he may give you at different times two different versions of the origin of his people; perhaps one is that they all came out of a certain tree, and another that a single man and a cow were put by God in a country and from them descended all the people and cattle now in the tribe. He has heard both stories from old men, and as he readily accepts anything he hears they must both be true. He has never compared them.

The laws of evidence and proof, as understood by us, are to the native quite unknown quantities. Hearsay evidence is to him every bit as good as any other. Often a native who has told a story as having been an eyewitness admits on cross-examination that as a matter of fact he did not quite see it himself, but that he heard it from so and so, who heard it from someone else, but he knows that it is quite true. He does not think that this admission will throw any doubt on the credibility of his statements.

Your cook will come and tell you that the dripping is finished. As proof of his statement he will bring the empty tin to show

you. This is supposed to be conclusive proof that not only all the dripping that has been taken from the tin has been used, but also that it has been used in cooking your dinner and not in anointing his hair or for any other purpose.

The native understands equity, but not justice as interpreted by a lengthy law process. As regards the former, he expects equity with regard to himself from the white man, but he is generally incapable of showing it to others. He can appreciate to a certain extent kindness when it is shown to himself, but he does not, as a rule, show it to others. If you want to give a black man a real bad time you should put him under another black man.

The African is not, however, of an intentionally cruel nature. I do not ever remember seeing an act which I attributed to innate cruelty. He is merely callous and brutal. He will, perhaps, knock his wife over the head with a club and half kill her in an angry moment, but he would never think out any scheme of irritating her, nor would he tie her up and torture her. Once the first outburst of passion was expended all anger would die out.

He is not revengeful. A man might retaliate in hot blood for any injury inflicted on him. If he did not do this he would probably go away and be quite friendly afterwards whatever the nature of the injury. He is very forgiving, or, perhaps rather, forgetful of injury. Africans are, as a rule, very violent-tempered when once aroused, but the fit only lasts a short time, and the cause of irritation is soon forgotten. Often natives have burst in upon me in the most violent state of agitation to accuse some fellow of all kinds of misdeeds, perhaps of attempts to kill, poison or rob him. By following the well-worn African maxim of never doing to-day what can be put off till to-morrow, one almost always saves oneself the trouble of investigating the case at all. It is only necessary to say that one is too busy to attend to it at once, or that it is not the proper time of day for hearing cases, but that to-morrow it will be investigated in full.

On the next day no plaintiff appears, and if a search is made

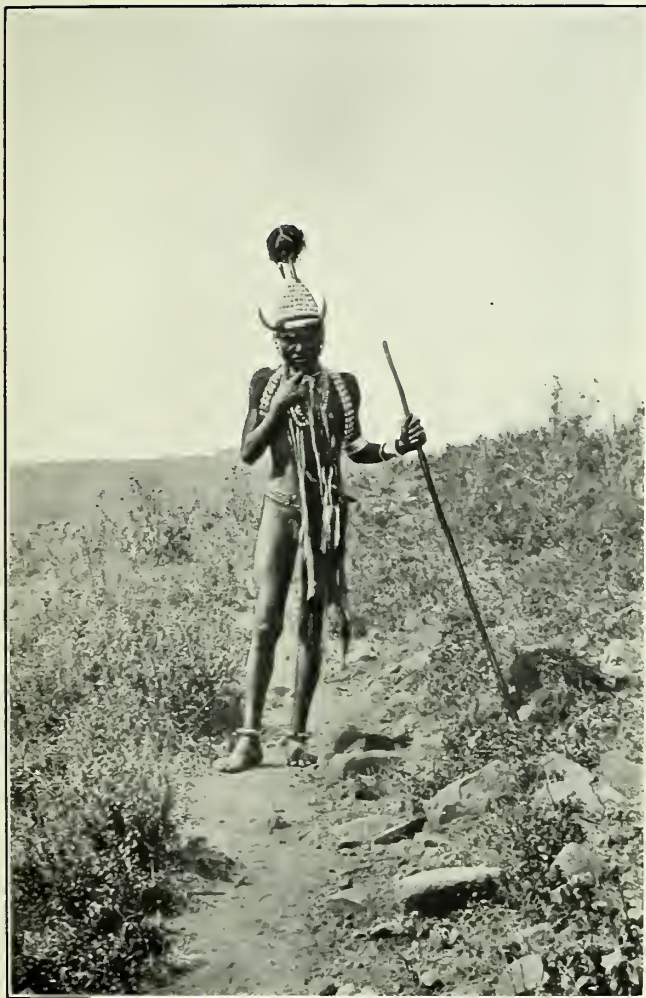
he will probably be found sharing a meal with the defendant, or they may be seen holding each other's hands, fast friends.

With animals, again, the native is not cruel intentionally, but he is horribly brutal and callous. He would not lift a finger to help an animal in pain. On the other hand, the thought of giving an animal pain would never occur to him unless the animal annoyed him. He ill-treats every animal he has to deal with, but only through expediency. For instance, he will carry chickens tied by their legs and hanging head downwards all day in the sun just because it was the easiest way of carrying them. He would never think that they were in pain. If he stopped to drink he would never think that they were thirsty too. However, if he did this often and the chickens arrived dead at their destination, it might occur to him that he had suffered loss, and next time he might give them water, not because they were thirsty, but so that they should not die.

The native dog is, amongst most peoples, never fed. He lives on what he can steal and by hunting. If the dog tries to snatch at something, such as a bit of meat when an animal is being cut up, he is given a kick or a stone is thrown at him. The native does this because he has noticed that it makes the dog go away. If such a heavy stone were thrown that it broke the dog's leg nobody would mind. On the other hand, if the dog got away with a large piece of meat and eluded the stones, no one would be annoyed or angry. They would just laugh and go on cutting up the meat.

I once had a headman who was genuinely kind to animals. It was not only from the selfish point of view of the pastoral people, who take great care of their animals so as to have them fit and well. This man did not like to see an animal in pain, and always remonstrated with anyone he saw ill-treating an animal. However, such a man is almost unique.

The African is essentially good-humoured and is easily amused. Anything that would amuse a child will, as a rule, appeal to the African. A thing which strikes him as irresistibly funny is anything getting broken or destroyed. It is seldom that your



KISH BEAU.

boy can conceal a grin, however hard he may attempt to, when coming to break the news of some breakage or other amongst your effects.

It is not always the most moral tribes who are the finest or the most intelligent; rather the reverse, *e.g.*, the Masai and Nandi in East Africa, the Baganda in Uganda and the Yao in Nyasaland, all of which are much above the average native of the country in intelligence though notoriously lax in morals.

As a rule, pastoral Africans seem more intelligent, better organised and more courageous than agriculturists. Perhaps this is because most pastoral people are of Hamitic stamp, and for that reason superior to the Bantu African. In the Protectorate we have the Somali, Rendile and Masai, who are all nomadic and pastoral people. They are undoubtedly superior in intellect and courage to the average tribe of the country. However, owing to their nomadic and patriarchal habits they are of little service to a progressive and civilising power, as little can be done with them.

There is small doubt that there is a retrogressive tendency in Africa. The ordinary black savage tends to retrogress more than to progress. As Sir Harry Johnston puts it, it is only continued invasions from the north and the flow of northern and Asiatic blood southwards that keeps the mid-African savage from retrogressing to a state much akin to the ape. One has seen this retrograde action in play even on Europeans, Indians and Arabs in the short span of one generation. The European who has spent his life in Africa, unless of very strong will, retrogrades in his morals and character. Sometimes he adopts native customs and manners of living. He often becomes uncleanly in his ways and crooked in his dealings.

Still more noticeable is it with Indians and Arabs. Those that live long on the coast often drop their mother tongues in favour of the easier expressed Swahili. Burton was of opinion that there was hardly a well-educated and erudite Arab on the coast. This applies equally well to the present day, the majority being unread and illiterate.

This northern blood has from time immemorial penetrated into the darker parts of the continent, been engulfed in a sea of black blood, forced back again, but only for a time, when the stream would flow south again. The principal evidences of it at the present moment are seen in the Hamitic races, the Abyssinians, Gallas and Somalis, and the Hamitic leaven which reaches far south and crops up in such peoples as the Baganda. Another stream of Asiatic blood followed the eastern coast, the evidences of which are the Swahili and the settlements on the coast.

If it had not been for European intervention in Africa possibly hybridism would have led to the eventual rising and civilising of Africa. It is a condition from which most great nations have sprung in the early days of their advance. The hybrid between the Arab and the black possessed many good points. He retained in a great degree the intelligence and refinement of the Arab, and the hardihood and courage of the black. The old Swahili slave dealers and ivory traders were in their way very fine and enlightened men. However, to-day they seem to have fallen on bad times, and have lost that adventurous spirit which made them such successful pioneers.

There is one trait which has for ever prevented the native from attaining any power. Their utter lack of the power of concerted action. The raw savage has no conception of the advantages to be obtained from division of labour and mutual co-operation, whilst the more civilised, directly they get any power or authority, commence squabbling amongst themselves. It was ever thus with the ancient Swahili kingdoms. They wasted all their strength in fighting amongst each other when as one people of united purpose they might have obtained a certain measure of greatness. It was thus amongst the Masai who broke their strength one section against another even before they were scourged with rinderpest.

It is this trait that makes the white man's task of ruling so easy. One white man with a few police can rule a large tract of country just because there is no concerted action to be feared,

and if left to themselves the people, even of one tribe, would commence to quarrel amongst themselves.

The African has no sense of chivalry; he treats his women, as a rule, as beasts of burden, and he will not go out of the way to help a fellow creature. A guide with a load would never think of kicking a stone out of the way or removing a fallen thorn-branch so as to allow a long string of porters behind him to pass more easily. I think it is Swayne who speaks of strings of camels for countless ages making a *détour* of a stone or other obstruction in a path which a child might have moved out of the way, just because no one will take the exertion for the benefit of his fellows.

However, in their attention to the white man they show something akin to chivalry. Actions quite foreign to their nature, and which are not performed for friend, wife or even chief, are readily performed for the white man, and that without any suggestion on his part. Never was cavalier more attentive to his lady than are some of these clumsy and odoriferous savages to the white man. They will pick minute thorns out of his way, forgetting that to his booted feet they are innocuous, break off branches which stretch across the path, rush to support him down slippery slopes, leaving him covered with red grease off their arms, pick burrs off his putties, erect a shade for him to sit under, and perform a hundred and one little offices without any idea of gaining a reward.

The African is, within limits, most extraordinarily tough and hardy. He can, of course, stand the sun on his bare head without feeling any ill effects. He can, as a rule, travel great distances, and is capable of sustaining long-continued exertion. However, he is incapable of any very great effort. All his work seems to consist of the doing of small things for great lengths of time. If he wishes to cut a tree down he takes his little axe and commences with ridiculous little taps which seem to make hardly any impression. Yet he will continue with these same little taps till the tree falls. There is no doubt that he is very patient. Perhaps, however, it is less of patience, as we

understand it, than an ability to detach the mind entirely from the work in progress. He is hardy and wiry, his bones are small, and he is generally very light. His frame is well adapted to a small effort long continued. He is, however, as a rule, ridiculously weak, especially in the arms, and is absolutely incapable of any one concentrated effort, such as lifting a big weight. Of course, to this there are exceptions; there are some natives and even some whole tribes who are enormously strong and have magnificent muscles. As a rule, the best training to give a native to prepare him for a period of exertion is to let him sit and do nothing, provided it is not for too long a period. This is also the best training for a camel.

Although so hardy and wiry, the native is in many ways very delicate. He is accustomed to live on a very sparse and monotonous diet, yet if he does not get exactly what he has always been accustomed to it is to him a very real hardship, and often makes him ill. He is very susceptible to change of climate and conditions, and gives in at once if subject to any strange conditions.

The very raw savages, perhaps owing to their uncleanly habits, but probably due more to their entire lack of antiseptics, suffer very much from sores and ulcers, some of which they carry their whole lives unhealed. This, however, is a matter which differs largely with different tribes; amongst some peoples almost every one met with bears some old festering sore and the scars of a few more. These sores often arise in the first instance from most trivial circumstances, a cut or graze which festers. It is never washed or dressed, and the flies get into it, and, perhaps, pass on the infection to the next sore place they sit on. In the same way arise epidemics of ophthalmia carried by flies.

One reason, perhaps, why the African has never been forced into any progressive movement is that he has never felt the struggle for existence in its severest form. There is always plenty of room in Africa to graze his flocks and to make his plantations—room and to spare. One of the greatest stimulants

to advance is a crowded state. It forces people to economise in space and time and to try to do better than their neighbours.

Another trait of the Bantu African is his absolute want of providence or forethought, chiefly induced by a want of imagination. He is lavish and wasteful, and never takes thought for the future. If he had two days' rations given him, and was told that he would get no more till the third day, the chances are that he would eat both, or eat one and give away the other, and never give the matter a thought till he felt hungry next day. Porters returning from long safaris will often dispose of the whole pay accumulated for months in a few nights spent in Nairobi.

There is one point that generally strikes the European on first contact with the black man, and that is his shifty look. Even the finest and most fearless of savages appears to find it absolutely impossible to look the white man squarely in the face. I do not know for what reason, but the native always appears to be uncomfortable if he sees that a white man's eyes are fixed on him; he will shift from one leg to the other and cast furtive glances to see if he is still under observation, and behave in the most self-conscious manner. Another point which strikes the traveller is that natives are full of greeting on his arrival at a place, but seldom come to say good-bye on his departure. In fact, in many languages there is no word for "good-bye."

The points that chiefly strike the traveller in East Africa coming from other parts of Africa are:—The nudity of the male sex. This is also noticeable in the southern Soudan; but in most parts of Africa some sort of clothes are worn with the maximum amount of decency of which the size of the garment will admit.

Next, the enormous size and weight of the ear ornaments. In other places the ears are often bored, but not disfigured or stretched to such an extent. However, on the other hand, the enormous kipini, or nose stud, as seen amongst Yaos and others, is not met with. Neither is the mperere, or pelele, the hideous lip ornaments of the Makoa and Atonga, seen. The

Bume of the River Omo wear a similar lip ornament made of wood, but these people are outside our sphere.

Some of the natives, such as Akamba and Wataita, file their teeth. This indeed is a widespread practice amongst Africans, and is performed by certain tribes as far apart from each other as the Awisa (Bangwedo), Makoa (Portuguese East Africa) and many tribes in the Congo.

Wages, especially of servants, are high in the Protectorate. A boy who has an elementary idea of the relative positions a knife and fork should occupy when laid on the dinner table and a hazy idea that he must not finger the food until his master's back is turned, demands and obtains about twice the pay of an Indian bearer who will attend to all one's wants.

In his way, however, the African when compared with the Indian is perhaps the more lovable. The genial, jovial, harum-scarum, happy-go-lucky, faithful black, at one moment going to the most frightful trouble to minister to your comfort, and at another forgetting altogether to give you your dinner. His faults are due to his ignorance and his innate animal nature. His virtues are that he is cheerful, generous, forgiving, devoted and often courageous.

CHAPTER XX

THE AFRICAN'S FUTURE

ON coming home from different parts of the Dark Continent, a question I am frequently asked is, "What do you think about the native?" or "What are the natives like, and is there any hope for them?"

Such questions as these defeat me absolutely. In the course of my wanderings I have met a hundred or more different tribes; probably nearer two hundred. I might be able to answer such queries more or less coherently with regard to one or another of these. To jumble together all these different peoples, having different languages, customs, characteristics and beliefs, and make the answers fit them all is quite beyond me. It leaves my mind in a nebulous state of conflicting ideas perhaps something akin to the normal condition of the savage himself in reviewing the ordinary matters of life.

Again, I do not understand what is meant by "Is there any hope for the native?" Hope for what? The answer would of course be, "Becoming civilised"; but what is civilisation when applied to a black man? It seems to me that the real question intended is, "Is the black man ever going to become sufficiently trained and advanced to become useful and paying to us white men?" This is the real idea, although it is veiled by a pretence that we are really working for the black man's good and not our own.

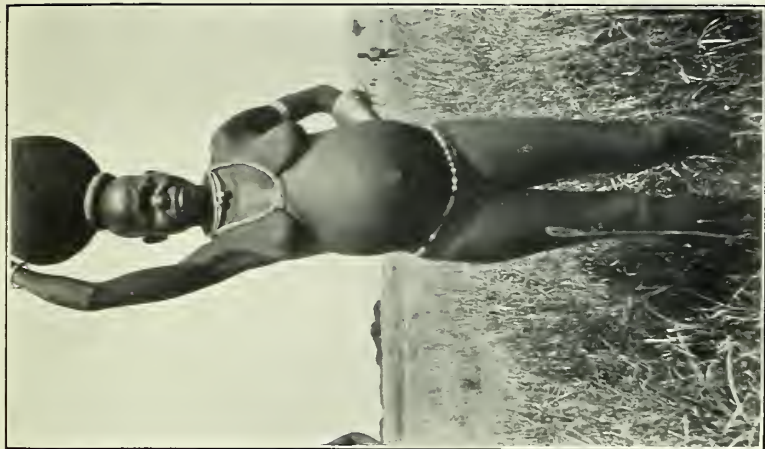
However, the questions above are perfectly natural. We have made ourselves responsible for a great mass of black humanity and presumably we must have definite ideas as to what we intend doing with them or for them. As such, these ideas should be roughly suitable to the people *en masse*, and perhaps the problem, as a whole, is better studied in a place as far removed

from the scene as London. When one comes into contact with the various and diverse equations in the problem, the diversity of tribes and customs, one is perhaps less competent to judge of the matter as a whole. As regards, however, the local application of the general policy, it is of course ridiculous for men who do not know the country and conditions to attempt to direct it. A course of action which may suit one tribe or section of people may be absolute folly when applied to another.

The above foreword is to explain why much of the matter that follows and has gone before may seem conflicting and contradictory. At one time I may have one tribe in mind and at another time another. Two opposite ideas may either of them appear correct according to which people they are connected with.

To commence with, let me try and define the relations existing between the white man and the black. First, as regards the personal equation. At the bottom of the Government scale is the collector, the police inspector or military officer. These are perhaps the most important factors of all, as it is they who directly deal with the native and rub shoulders with him daily. It is from their behaviour to him that the native judges the character of all white men. Almost every white man in such a position, either openly or secretly, thinks that he is the only white man able to deal with natives in general or with a particular tribe in special. Such a feeling, within certain limits, is not reprehensible if it induces that man to take a pride in his work. When, however, it leads him to try to exalt himself in the eyes of the black man, or win their confidence by making other white men appear cheap it is very sad, as it lowers the whole standard of white men.

Almost every man has his own methods of dealing with the native; very diverse are these methods and yet some of the most diverse often attain the same ends. The reason for this is that the power a white man possesses over natives depends less on the course of action he pursues or even on his individual

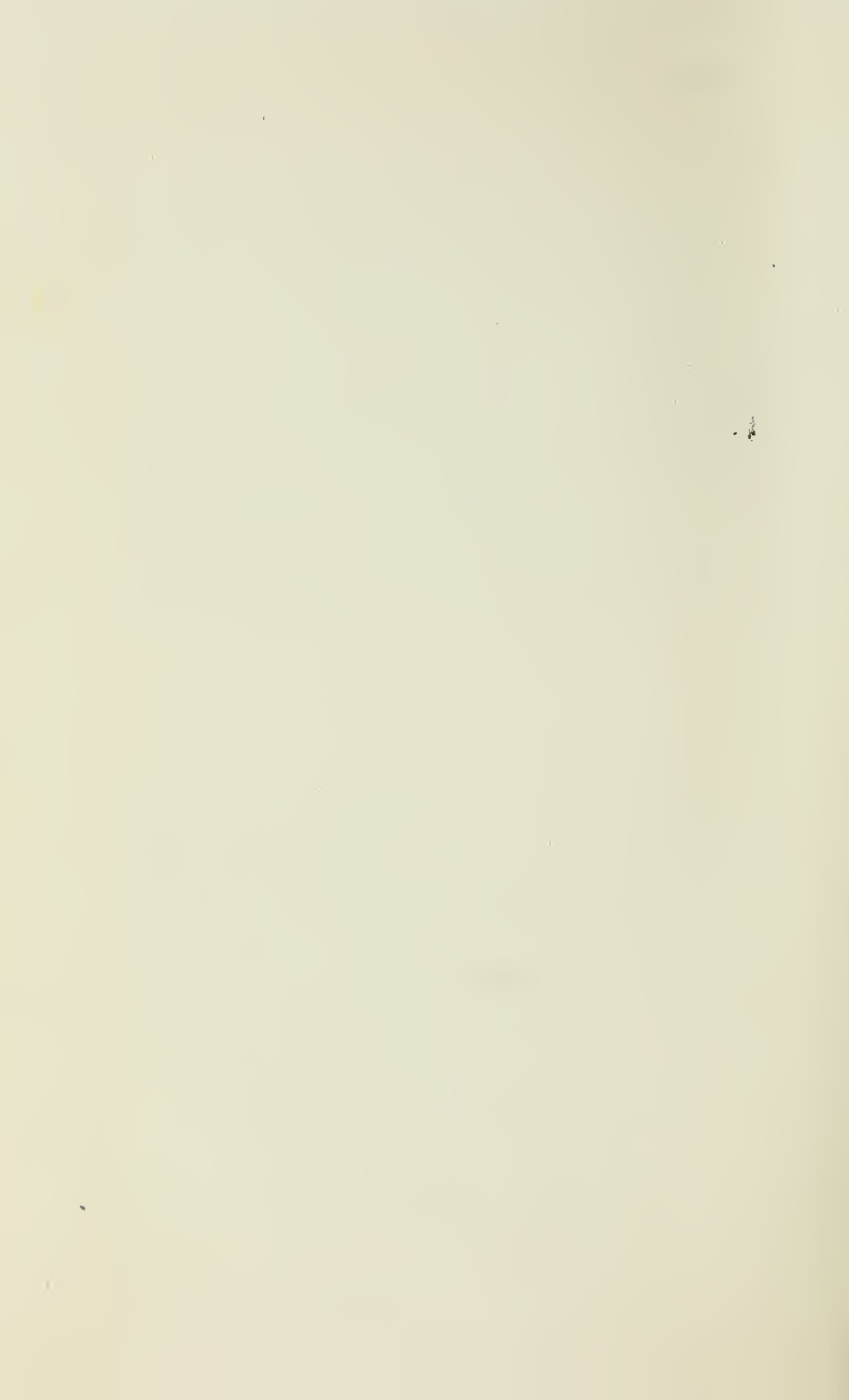


KAVIRONDO LADY.



GROUP OF KAVIRONDO GIRLS.

(From Photographs taken by R. G. Stone.)



character than on some sort of animal attraction it is difficult to define.

One hears of the case of a man who hates the sight of a cat, yet cats take a special delight in fawning on him. One knows of men who are almost brutal to their dogs, and yet the latter worship them. One knows of men who gain the affection of animals by kindness, and of others who pet and pamper them and get no return.

So it is with the native. Some men appear to be absolutely out of sympathy with them, in fact, hate the sight of them, and yet they command respect and obedience. Others lay themselves out to ingratiate themselves, and yet never win the natives' respect or confidence. One knows of the kind man loved by his people and of the kind man who is only tolerated by them. One knows of the hard man who is hated by his people and the hard man who is absolutely worshipped.

Each and all of these probably imagine that their method of dealing with the native is the only correct one.

The chief factor is not, then, the attitude or even the method, but some kind of animal magnetism. When this latter quality is combined with sympathy, firmness, a sense of equity and tact, one meets with a man for whom natives will lay down their lives or do anything, except refrain from pilfering his sugar.

There is a great gulf between white and black. There is no doubt that many natives must be treated more as animals than human beings—treated with kindness, but no attempt made to put them on the same plane as ourselves. If this is not realized, but we expect too high a standard, disappointment ensues, and we never really get into sympathy with them. We interpret as vicious and premeditated actions which are really only caused by ignorance and the savage animal nature they inherit.

The difference between white and black is so great that a man may often go unarmed into a strange village and through sheer superiority of intellect force the people to do his bidding. An official, however much in sympathy he may be with the people, must feel himself so far removed above them that there

can be no question of any feeling of prejudice or personal animosity between him and them. I think that most British officials have this feeling and that most of them in out-of-the-way districts, where it might be necessary to try a man for an offence committed on them personally, would be more likely to err on the lenient than the harsh side. I cannot say the same for the majority of officials I have met of other European nations in Africa. I think that the chief reason for this is that we send of our best, the young man from the 'varsity or the trained officer, while they send many of a very different stamp.

Next, as regards the general relations between white and black in uncivilised Africa, independent of the personal equation. There is no doubt that the white man has forced himself into countries where he is not wanted and to which he has no right beyond the natural law that might is right.

In so doing he was chiefly actuated in the first instance by the love of adventure and the hopes of profitable trade.

Once firmly established, he afterwards tried to justify himself by pointing to the abuses and evil practices he had put an end to, but these were not the real reasons for the occupation of the greater portion of tropical Africa. It seems quite an open question whether he has really conferred any benefit on the native by his presence. The abuses he has stopped do not as a rule appear very evil in the eyes of the native. For instance, from all accounts, it seldom appeared to occur to him to object to the revolting practice of human sacrifices to which he might become a victim.

Having taken his country by force, some people try to still the prick of the conscience by endeavouring to force on the native the most absurd ultra-humanitarian schemes absolutely unsuited to him. Such schemes are generally designed by people in England who have never studied the black man and have not the faintest conception of how to deal with him.

It seems to me that there were two courses open to us from the first. Either to have left him alone to develop or not in his own way, or to have stepped in and forced him to work for us and

develop his country and himself on the lines we thought most suitable to ourselves.

What we really do is this: We open up the country to trade and civilisation. The trade is run by the white man, and the so-called civilisation is forced on the black man by an out-of-pocket expenditure of the home Government. So far, in its way, so good.

The first difficult problem we meet is that we cannot progress with either our trade or our civilisation unless the black man works for us. Who is to carry the traders' stores? who is to make roads, build houses, plant cotton, rubber, coffee, etc., if it is not the black man, for it is not a white man's country? But the black man does not want to work for us or even for himself beyond just scratching up enough earth to plant sufficient crops for his own needs. Something must be done or we cannot live in the country. We will not make a slave of him and force him to work, so we have to show ourselves as humbugs. We pretend that we think it good for him to work. Carrying our loads about for us is the first step in civilisation and teaches him the nobility of labour. It elevates him to work on the white man's plantation and fits him for a higher civilisation.

Here we come up against the conflicting differences of tribes. Some tribes are so unutterably lazy that they will not even plant enough maize or millet to last them through the year and endure periods of hunger during which they live on roots and anything they can trap or catch. Perhaps such people ought to be forced to work. They are a source of anxiety to the Government, for after a bad harvest they may have to be fed, whereas in their natural state they would either die of hunger or raid neighbouring tribes.

Such people might easily meet a worse fate than to become paid slaves in Government employ or on a settler's farm. They would be given light working hours with holidays at fixed periods, have no anxiety about food or housing, and, in addition, receive a wage with which they might buy themselves luxuries to which they were unaccustomed in their homes.

When, however, the suggestion is made that labour should not be forced from a tribe like the Kikuyu, but that it should be forthcoming by explaining to them the advantages to be gained from industrial habits we are only deceiving them and ourselves. If it is necessary to have their labour for the good of the State, let each able-bodied man give one month's work a year to the Government. If it is not necessary, then they should be allowed to work for themselves.

I suppose that there are no natives in the Protectorate who understand the advantages to be gained from industrial habits better than the Kikuyu, with the result that there is hardly a square inch of uncultivated land in the neighbourhood of their villages. They are, in kind, a very rich people, having unlimited produce and a considerable number of sheep, goats and cattle.

Till conditions alter considerably, the Kikuyu will probably fail to appreciate the advantages to be gained by allowing his own fields to grow fallow so as to plant for a white man or hunk a load during the tilling or harvest season, in exchange for round pieces of silver. The latter, once he has paid his hut tax, are but of little use to him. In the lull between the hoeing and the harvest season he is generally ready to do some work and earn his hut tax, which shows that he is far from a lazy man, as the work he gets through in both these seasons is considerable. However, it is just between these seasons that his services are of little use to the planter. With regard to food, as a porter he gets a kibaba of beans or maize per diem, whereas in his village he gets flour, yams, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, ground nuts, different kinds of beans, peas, cassava and many other things.

The Kikuyu are the richest people I have ever met, with the exception of perhaps the Burmese. I can imagine some of my readers who have seen the half-naked, half-skin-clad Kikuyu smiling at this statement, but I estimate riches and wealth only in proportion to the wants of a people. Money or quantity of material is no criterion to a nation's wealth. The true estimation is the average proportion possessed by each individual compared with the amount he requires to satisfy all his needs.

The Kikuyu are rich because every man is able to obtain all the necessaries of life and in addition possesses a certain amount of luxuries. There are no hungry or destitute, no homeless; in fact, there are no poor. Let us try to imagine ourselves in a relatively similar state to that of the Kikuyu, and then we will see better how he is affected by the white man.

Imagine ourselves, then, a nation amongst whom there were no poor or destitute, every individual possessing the necessities of life in plenty. No homeless waifs, no pinching and saving, no men who could not afford to marry. Imagine that every man's work brought him in visible results; if he were a lazy man he would get only the bare necessities; the more he worked, the more luxuries he would obtain. If he stopped an hour later at the office he would get a corresponding increase of pay. Also, supposing that to obtain all the necessities of life as well as all the luxuries one knew of, it was only necessary to work seven months during the year, but if one managed badly one would occasionally run out of champagne, top hats and cigars. If, I say, we had no poor, but everyone in affluent circumstances, and supposing everyone had five months' holiday in the year, during which time there was nothing to do but to eat, drink, dance and sing, and generally make merry, a proceeding which towards the close of the holidays would make one welcome the working months. Supposing that everyone was always happy and laughing and singing. Now imagine that while things were in this state another nation came and took over our country, a nation so powerful and so much above us that we had little hope or desire to resist them; and we saw that these people appeared to be a well-meaning people who would give us justice and equity and appeared to wish to do their best for us. And these people relieved us from all war and chance of aggression from other nations, not an unmixed blessing. Now supposing this nation said to us, "We are going to rule you, save you from warfare and aggression and mete out to every man justice and equity.- In return for all this we ask but a small thing. That is that every year you must give us for every house

you have standing three small round discs of a certain metal, bearing a certain device."

We would answer them, "This is indeed a small thing you ask, but where are we to obtain these round things? In our country we have no such metal, and if we had we would not know how to give them this device. Then would they answer, "We will give you these pieces of metal, that you may return them again to us, but on certain conditions. Every man that works for us for one month will be fed during that time, and at its expiration shall receive three of these pieces."

(I am, it must be remembered, only looking at the question from the point of view of the raw Kikuyu, not the native who has been educated into receiving ten or twenty rupees a month. The latter has also been educated into feeling wants on which he will again spend the whole of this sum.)

Some few will be able to obtain these round discs by purchasing them with food, cattle or goats, but the majority must work for them.

This is, then, how matters really stand between the white man and the Kikuyu. In exchange for the somewhat doubtful advantages of having a court of appeal from his chief's decision and being saved from external and internal warfare, every householder or a substitute has to perform a month's work.

During that month he may come in contact with more educated natives who will teach him wants such as he never felt before nor had any knowledge of in his home. Then when he gets his three pieces of silver perhaps he will not go straight home and put them by to pay his hut tax. He may spend them on tea, sugar, or fine clothes.

This means that he will have to spend another month working for his three pieces. So it goes on; his wants increase, and he has to spend more time working to get the wherewithal to pay for them. At last, perhaps, his work, which may have been done between seasons, encroaches on the tilling and harvesting seasons, and his fields at home suffer.

There comes a short set-back with the inevitable raising of

the price of native labour, but this is nullified by the equally inevitable raising of the hut tax when things remain, for the black man, *in statu quo*. It only means that the standard of living is raised all over the country; food and everything else becomes more expensive. His increased wage does not make the native a bit richer, as the price of everything has gone up. Even the storekeepers have to retaliate, as it now costs them more to get their loads up, build their stores, and pay their living expenses. The settler has to pay more for his labour and the official for his living, and they have not had any, corresponding increase in earnings.

The native, having to spend more and more time working for the luxuries he has grown dependent on, lets his crops suffer, and now he knows what civilisation, poverty and drudgery mean, for the work he does is not for himself, but for others.

He has become the white man's slave. The white man, however, must pay handsomely one way or another to get the services of this fairly useless slave. Had he made him a virtual slave from the first he would have been a cheaper, happier and better-cared-for slave, and would possibly have been saved from many of the bad habits he has picked up.

Fortunately, there are many for whom civilisation offers no charms and who return to the skin dress and native hut as unaffected as when they left them. There are others who can serve the white man for years, become semi-civilised and semi-educated, and then suddenly their village calls them and they can forget all they have acquired in a moment and return to nakedness and savagery.

This picture has been drawn from the Kikuyu's point of view. I do not mean that any of the above thoughts ever enter the Kikuyu's head. He does not trouble himself to think of anything so intricate as cause and effect, far less does he worry about bimetallism.

To take an entirely different aspect of the picture one might instance the Baganda. Here are an intelligent people who have jumped at civilisation. They are ready to buy, sell, barter,

trade, plant cotton, coffee—in fact, do anything within limits that is required of them. They are aware of the advantages of making roads, opening up trade routes and establishing markets. They are ready to accept the gospel, learn arts and crafts, and are even able to hold moderately responsible positions.

It is to these people, if to any, that we should look to see the advantages bestowed by impressing the white man's civilisation on the black. Their advance has certainly been surprising, but are they really any better or happier for it? I think not. Vices are on the increase, family life is dying out, the country is flooded with husbandless women, and the birth-rate is on the decrease.

There are people, and from the above the reader may think that I am one of them, who advocate a policy of Africa for the black man. I believe, however, that it would be an evil day for the native if we should now withdraw from the protectorates we administer. Our rule in Africa, even if it does not confer any overwhelming advantages on the black man, is at least well-intentioned and just. To vacate our possessions so that any other nation who chose might annex them would be pulling the native out of the frying-pan into the fire.

To vacate Central Africa by an agreement of the Powers, on the other hand, would only lay the inhabitants open to the depredations of every filibuster who could muster a few rifles.

Moreover, such a proceeding would be unnatural. The normal course of events in the history of mankind—and it is this course which has enabled the civilised races of to-day to reach their present state—is that a dominant race well fitted for the struggle to survive ever expands and spreads into the territories of the weaker.

The weaker is either exterminated, driven into less favourable country, or becomes subservient for a time to the stronger. After a time—it may only be a matter of 500 years—a change in the tables occurs. The weaker tribe, forced to live a more strenuous life is, unbeknown to itself, fitting itself for a renewal of the struggle for existence. The dominant tribe is, through



KISII.

A SWAHILI BEHIND IS SEEN HOLDING THE LONG SPEAR OF THE KISII.

the measure of its success and the easy life so attained, either marking time or retrograding. Then comes the day when the Huns and the Goths beat at the gates of the city, or it may be a case of some new civilisation growing up and supplanting the old. In these civilised days the old methods of dealing with subject peoples much lower in the scale are hardly applicable however.

The European has now taken over Africa; it is agreed that he cannot give it up again, so he must make the best job he can of it. The position of the white man as ruler being accepted as necessary, in spite of its many drawbacks, the next point to consider is this:—

Are we going to endeavour to civilise the native from our point of view or are we going to leave him to work out his own future as much as possible?

I would unhesitatingly give my vote in favour of the latter proceeding, *i.e.*, that the native should be left as much as possible in the same condition as that in which we found him.

My reasons are quite simple, *viz.*:—

1. He is richer in that condition.
2. He is happier in that condition.
3. He is a better man physically and morally in that condition.

I have endeavoured to show why he is richer as he is. As to happiness, he has no cares, no worries, wants, ambitions or aspirations, all of which I regard as folly teaching him until he learns them of his own accord.

As for being a better man, most people who have compared the two consider the raw savage a finer man physically and morally than his half-civilised brother. The latter may be more intelligent at appreciating the white man's wants, at understanding his ideas, but this is only looking at him from the standpoint most useful to us.

Those who have compared races within the sphere of civilisation and those outside the pale maintain that the latter are, on the whole, a nobler body of men. Moreover, the former are

addicted to crimes and vices which would not be tolerated by the latter.

I consider, then, that the native should be left as nearly as possible as he was found, and that no effort should be made to put his civilisation ahead by 2,000 years at one bound.

How is this to be effected ?

As modern conditions interfere with natural laws we must do our best to maintain them as far as possible. It is not possible, given the most favourable conditions, that each of the several hundred tribes in Africa would attain to a fair amount of civilisation and the dimensions of a prosperous State. Many would have been exterminated in the struggle; others would have maintained their savage condition in mountain, forest or swampy fastnesses; others would have become subservient peoples, and but a few would have reached the state of a prosperous people.

Let, then, the white man pick out the tribes for whom he thinks that there is some hope of a future. The tribes that are better disciplined, more hard-working, better organized and more intelligent than those that surround them. Let these tribes be given for all time large areas of country or native reserves in which to expand and develop after their own manner without being interfered with from the outside. Let a white man and small staff be placed as adviser to this community, who will help them where they need help and leave them alone where such help is not really necessary. The worthless and lazy members of this community might be turned out of the reserve and forced to seek for work elsewhere. I would have no traders, either extraneous natives or Europeans in this community. They could get what they wished, within certain limits, from the European in charge, who would supervise all trade at minimum rates. When the natives themselves were sufficiently educated to require it, they could obtain goods in bulk from him and open shops in their own villages.

As regards the indolent and worthless tribes, these would be forced to supply the labour for other parts of the Protectorate

especially such parts as were decided on for white settlement and plantations. They would be well fed, clothed and looked after by their employers, subject to Government regulations; they would be housed and not worked too hard, but they would be forced to make themselves useful members of the community.

Instead of having an irregular and uncertain supply of labour, both Government and settlers would have their own labourers, living on their estates or in the vicinity of their work. There might be grumbling at first, but they would soon settle down, and if well treated, fed, housed and paid, their condition would be much better than it was in their villages. There they suffered sometimes from repletion, at others from famine or want of medical attendance. When they were unable to pay their hut tax they would be sent off to work for it, a work to which they never settled down and which was often a real hardship to them.

However, such a state of things would probably not meet with approval. The general attitude, especially of those that have had no practical experience, is summed up in the platitude that, "it is our mission to civilise the black man." One hears that he must be taught the advantages of education, this, that, and the other; but why?

Why should it be necessary to try to convert this black brother of ours into one of the twentieth-century humbugs we are ourselves?

What advantages has the South African native gained by the benefits conferred on him by civilisation and education? Does he compare favourably with the native of these parts? He is a superior kind of being in that his wages are higher, his wants more, and his debts greater, but what advantage does this give him? Is he richer in real wealth? I think not.

I do not, of course, refer to such people as Khamas or the Basutos who have not yet properly come under the civilising influence.

If our mission is really to civilise the black man according to European lights it only remains to consider the best means of accomplishing this with as little harm as possible. If I could

convince myself that it was really good for him, or that he was really ripe for it, I should consider myself arguing on firmer ground. Unfortunately, under our beneficent rule, war, the greatest stimulant to self-civilisation, is absent. War not only keeps savage tribes up to the mark and enables them to maintain a semblance of organisation, but it also relieves what would otherwise be a too monotonous existence. For most savage peoples get a lot of fun and enjoyment, and a tremendous lot of fighting and running away and living to fight another day, for every man that is killed on either side. An exception to this general rule were the Masai, who were hard fighters, but from all accounts they did more damage to each other, when fighting between different sections, than they did to surrounding tribes.

The direction taken by attempts to educate the native, seems almost always to be that of teaching him to read, write and talk English. I cannot imagine why this should be considered a necessary accomplishment for a savage. A hundred years ago few of us were well versed in reading and writing, and only fifty years ago most of our poor were quite ignorant in this respect. The native, as a rule, having a quick ear, picks up a smattering of a language very easily, but a smattering of a language is not knowledge.

The native who can talk a little English is really no more educated than his wild companion who can talk a little Swahili. Yet the former thinks that he has reached the confines of all earthly knowledge, and generally gets above himself. Most people who have had any experience of natives look with horror on the English-speaking boy who is generally arrogant, overbearing to his fellows and more boldly dishonest than his non-English-speaking kinsmen.

If the native is to be taught reading and writing, he should be taught to read and write Swahili. This is distinctly the most useful language in the country and its ideas and phrases are easier for him to comprehend than those of a cultured language.

When our ancestors, however, began to learn to read and write

they had a foundation of arts and crafts behind them. These are the proper foundations of education. All the natives in the country cannot be clerks and interpreters, but there is room for plenty of blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, gardeners, etc. The native has no conception of how far we are above him, and does not realise his own ignorance.

It would be easier to teach him how little he knows of crafts than it would of geography and astronomy. He must realise in some small degree his ignorance before he can hope to draw himself up the scale.

His civilising should, then, commence at teaching him such things as these: cleanliness and sanitation. He should be taught to build proper sanitary villages and take usual sanitary precautions; to keep his village and its purlieus clean.

He should be taught agriculture and how to plant his fields to the best advantage. He should be taught what to plant for sale, such as cotton and coffee, and be made to buy, amongst other things, soap with the profits of his sales. He should be taught, when he wears clothes, to wash them, and not to wear them night and day till they drop off. He should be taught manual labour, arts, and crafts.

When he knows all these things he may be ready to learn to read and write.

As regards the teaching of the gospel, he can be taught, but he is not ready to receive it. The ordinary native takes to Islam more readily than Christianity. He makes a moderately good Muhammadan where he will make only a bad Christian. The reason for this is, that the latter religion is so far removed from him that he is practically incapable of understanding it. Some conscientious missionaries, accustomed to look facts in the face, realise this, and for this reason refuse to call a man a convert whatever apparent progress he has made. They know that he has not really arrived at the state in which it can be conscientiously said that he is a Christian.

If the native is to be civilised according to European ideas the above are the lines on which his education should be commenced,

not by teaching him English, arithmetic, geography, and kindred subjects which will be useless to him.

However, I maintain that he is happier and better off as he is now, and so the less he is jostled up the path of progress the better.

GLOSSARY

OF NATIVE WORDS USED IN THE TEXT.

N.B.—*Masai words are put in under the article "ol," etc., so as not to confuse the reader. The Swahili is the ordinary Swahili of Mombasa.*

Word.	Language.	Meaning.
<i>Ab</i> }	Arabic	= father.
<i>Abu</i> }		
<i>Afu</i>	Kiamu	= wild jasmine.
<i>-ake</i>	Swahili	= his.
<i>Al</i>	Arabic	= article "the."
<i>Alfandega</i>	Portuguese	= Customs.
<i>Amani</i>	Swahili	= peace.
<i>Amir</i>	Arabic	= ameer, commander.
<i>Analala</i>	Swahili	= he is sleeping.
<i>Angar</i>	Hindustani	= anchor.
<i>Aradh</i>	Arabic	= earth.
<i>Ata, (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to leave.
<i>Badan</i>	Arabic	= body.
<i>Baghalah</i>	Arabic	= (i.) she mule ; (ii.) a kind of vessel.
<i>Bahari</i>	Swahili }	= sea.
<i>Bahr</i>	Arabic }	
<i>Bandar</i>	Arabic	= harbour, port. (In Egyptian Arabic also means "town.")
<i>Bania</i>	Hindustani	= a small shop-keeper.
<i>Bani</i> }	Arabic	= children, descendants (hence clan, family).
<i>Banu</i> }		
<i>Banyani</i>	Swahili	= Indian trader, a Bahattia.
<i>Bao</i>	Swahili	= lots, medicine stones to cast.
<i>Bar</i>	Arabic	= land, mainland.
<i>Baraza</i>	Swahili	= verandah, a levée.
<i>Baridi</i>	Swahili	= cold.
<i>Barigah</i>	Arabic	= a battleship.
<i>Batela</i> }	Swahili	= a certain kind of ship.
<i>Batelo</i> }		
<i>Batili</i> }		
<i>Bedeni</i> }		
<i>Bhang</i>	Hindustani	= Indian hemp.
<i>Bin</i> (from <i>ibn</i>)	Arabic	= a son.
<i>Bint</i>	Arabic }	= a daughter.
<i>Binti</i>	Swahili }	
<i>Birika</i>	Swahili	= a cistern, a kettle.
<i>Boko</i> (pl. <i>maboko</i>)	Swahili	= hippopotamus.
<i>Boma</i>	Swahili	= a zariba, fort.
<i>Boriti</i>	Swahili	= roofing poles.

Word.	Language.	Meaning.
<i>Bugu</i>	Kikuyu	= magical stones, lots.
<i>Buibui</i>	Swahili	= woman's black cloak with hood.
<i>Bukini</i>	Swahili	= Madagascar.
<i>Burakavo</i>	Kitikuu	= Burakao (a place).
<i>Buruji</i>	Swahili	= a watch tower.
<i>Buti</i>	Swahili	= a certain kind of ship.
<i>Cha</i>	Old Swahili	= a gang (of slaves).
<i>Charpoy</i>	Anglo-Hindustani	= a native bedstead.
<i>Chenza</i>	Swahili	= a mandarin orange.
<i>Chinja (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to kill for meat, to slaughter.
<i>Chongo (pl. thongo)</i>	Kipate	= (i.) wile, guile; (ii.) one-eyed.
<i>Choo (pl. vyo)</i>	Swahili }	= privy, bathroom.
<i>Choo (pl. thoo)</i>	Kisuu }	
<i>Chooko</i>	Swahili	= Indian "dal" (a kind of lentil).
<i>Chumvi</i>	Swahili	= salt.
<i>Chungwa</i>	Swahili	= the shaddock.
<i>Chuo (pl. vyo)</i>	Swahili	= (i.) a school; (ii.) a book (or tome).
<i>Dari</i> }	Swahili	= upstairs, a stage, landing.
<i>Darini</i> }		
<i>Dasturi</i>	Swahili	= a custom, a bowsprit.
<i>Dau</i>	Swahili	= a dhow.
<i>Dau ya samaki</i>	Swahili	= a fishing dhow.
<i>Debi</i>	Somali	= a kind of mimosa.
<i>Dira</i>	Swahili	= a compass.
<i>Doria</i>	Swahili	= coloured muslin.
<i>Dorobo</i>	Masai	= a tsetse fly.
<i>Ebor</i>	Masai	= white.
<i>Embarta</i>	Masai	= horse.
<i>En, Em</i>	Masai	= feminine article "the."
<i>Endito (pl. indoiye)</i>	Masai	= girl.
<i>Engai</i>	Masai	= God.
<i>Engare</i>	Masai	= water.
<i>Engongo</i>	Masai	= eye, spring.
<i>Engorale</i>	Masai	= pile of stones marking sacred spot.
<i>Engoroyoni</i>	Masai	= matron.
<i>Enjoro</i>	Masai	= spring (of water).
<i>Esiangiki</i>	Masai	= woman, girl about to marry.
<i>Fanus</i>	Persian and Arabic	= lantern.
<i>Fars</i>	Arabic	= Persia.
<i>Filuka</i>	Arabic	= small boat.
<i>Fita (ku)</i>	Kiamu	= to hide.
<i>Foromali</i>	Swahili	= yard (of vessel).
<i>Fumo</i>	Old Swahili	= a spear, a chief.
<i>Fundi</i>	Swahili	= an artizan.
<i>Fungate</i>	Swahili	= the seven days of the honey-moon. (<i>N.B.</i> — <i>Mfungate</i> , <i>Pungate</i> and <i>Mpungate</i> occur in numberless African languages with the meaning of "seven" only, but in Swahili seven is <i>saba</i> , from the Arabic.)

Word.	Language.	Meaning.
<i>Fungulia (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to open to (or for).
<i>Gekikuyu</i>	Kikuyu	= the language of the Kikuyu
<i>Gerenuq</i>	Somali	= Waller's gazelle.
<i>Gereza</i>	Swahili	= prison, castle.
<i>Ghabshah</i>	Arabic	= dawn.
<i>Ghanja</i>	Arabic	= a vessel from Cutch.
<i>Gharab</i>	Arabic	= (i.) raven; (ii.) a kind of vessel.
<i>Ghazal</i>	Arabic	= gazelle.
<i>Giza</i>	Swahili	= darkness.
<i>Gogo</i> (pl. <i>magogo</i>)	Swahili	= log.
<i>Guas</i> (or <i>Uasin</i>)	Masai	= river.
<i>Hafiz</i>	Arabic	= one who can repeat the whole Koran by heart.
<i>Haj</i>	Arabic	= the pilgrimage.
<i>Halal</i>	Arabic	= lawful (hence flesh lawful for food).
<i>Han</i>	Somali	= a vessel of plaited fibre to hold water.
<i>Hangol</i>	Somali	= a stick, forked at one end and crooked the other.
<i>Harb</i>	Arabic	= war.
<i>Hija</i> (also <i>haji</i>)	Swahili	= the pilgrimage.
<i>Hari</i>	Kiunguja	= dug-out as ship's boat.
<i>Hubub</i>	Arabic	= tempest, storm.
<i>Ibn</i> (also <i>bin</i>)	Arabic	= son.
<i>Idau</i>	Kitikuu	= an mtepe.
<i>Ila</i>	Kikuyu	= a medicine.
<i>Ishah</i> (for <i>al-shah</i>)	Maskat Arabic	= goat.
<i>Isiteti</i>	Masai	= a stunted tree from which spear hafts are made.
<i>Jahad</i>	Arabic	= a religious war.
<i>Jahaz</i>	Hindustani	= a ship (any kind).
<i>Jahazi</i>	Swahili	= a special kind of dhow.
<i>Jalbuti</i>	Swahili	= a big Buti.
<i>Jambo</i>	Swahili	= an affair, a greeting.
<i>Janguwa</i>	Swahili	= mangrove swamp.
<i>Jasi</i> (pl. <i>majasi</i>)	Kiamu	= circular ear ornaments.
<i>Jasmini</i>	Swahili	= jasmine.
<i>Jebel</i> (or <i>gebel</i>)	Arabic	= mountain, hill.
<i>Jin</i>	Arabic }	= devil, spirit.
<i>Jini</i>	Swahili }	
<i>Jitha</i>	Kipate }	= darkness.
<i>Jiza</i>	Kiamu }	
<i>Joho</i>	Swahili	= a long robe like a dressing gown.
<i>Jumbe</i>	Kimrima	= an underchief.
<i>Juu</i>	Swahili	= above.
<i>Kaa</i> (<i>ku</i>)	Swahili	= to sit, stay.
<i>Kachi</i>	Swahili	= a kind of Indian vessel.
<i>Kadhi</i>	Arabic	= a judge.
<i>Kae</i>	Kiamu	= old.
<i>Kaid</i>	Arabic	= a chief, commander.
<i>Kamr</i>	Arabic	= new moon.
<i>Kandu</i>	Kiamu	= a kanzu.

Word.	Language.	Meaning.
<i>Kahinga</i>	Kikuyu	= a sacred grove.
<i>Kaiamba</i>	Swahili	= a rattle (musical instrument).
<i>Kana</i>	Swahili	= the tiller of a boat.
<i>Kanda (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to knead, press.
<i>Kanga</i>	Kiunguja	= a woman's tobe.
<i>Kanzu</i>	Swahili	= a native shirt (Arabic <i>Khamis</i>).
<i>Kasikazi</i>	Swahili	= N.E. monsoon.
<i>Kata</i>	Swahili	= (i.) a measure of six modern or four old vibaba; (ii.) a head pad on which to rest a load.
<i>Kataa (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to refuse.
<i>Katikati</i>	Swahili	= between, amidst.
<i>Kayik</i>	Arabic	= a canoe, small boat.
<i>Kechalu</i>	Kikuyu	= a sacrificial spot.
<i>Keneji</i>	Masai	= a goat.
<i>Ki-</i>	Swahili	= prefix often used as diminutive.
<i>Kiama</i>	Kikuyu	= a priest, elder.
<i>Kiamu</i>	Swahili	= the language of Lamu.
<i>Kiapo (pl. viapo)</i>	Swahili	= a charm for the safeguarding of property or wives.
<i>Kibaba (pl. ribaba)</i>	Swahili	= a dry measure of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. grain.
<i>Kiberamu (pl. ziberamu)</i>	Kiamu	= flags on mtepe's bowsprit.
<i>Kidau</i>	Swahili	= a small dau.
<i>Kihembe</i>	Kikuyu	= a wooden drum for storing honey.
<i>Kihii (pl. tuhii)</i>	Kikuyu	= youth before circumcision.
<i>Kikanda</i>	Old Swahili	= a weight of about 180 lbs.
<i>Kikuba (pl. zikuba)</i>	Kiamu	= jasmine and mkadi for stringing into a garland.
<i>Kikwa</i>	Swahili	= a yam.
<i>Kipate</i>	Swahili	= the language of Pate.
<i>Kipepo (pl. zipepo)</i>	Kiamu	= festoons of <i>Hyphaene</i> palm on mtepe.
<i>Kipini</i>	Yao	= a nose ornament.
<i>Kipini</i>	Swahili	= a handle.
<i>Kipungu</i>	Swahili	= a kind of fish.
<i>Kira (ku)</i>	Kikuyu	= to come.
<i>Kiroi</i>	Kikuyu	= chief.
<i>Kisibao</i>	Swahili	= a kind of waistcoat.
<i>Kisima</i>	Swahili	= a well.
<i>Kisiu</i>	Swahili	= the language of Siu.
<i>Kisiwa</i>	Swahili	= an island.
<i>Kitanda</i>	Swahili	= a bedstead.
<i>Kiti</i>	Swahili	= (i.) a chair; (ii.) a tier of building.
<i>Kitikuu</i>	Swahili	= the language of the Bajuns.
<i>Kituka</i>	Swahili	= a copse, small wood.
<i>Kiunga</i>	Swahili	= a plot of land.
<i>Kiunguja</i>	Swahili	= the Zanzibar dialect of Swahili.
<i>Kirundo</i>	Kiamu	= a breaking, crushing.
<i>Kiwa</i>	Old Swahili	= an island.
<i>Kizibao</i>	Kiamu	= a kisibao.
<i>Kombo</i>	Swahili	= scraps, leavings.
<i>Kumi</i>	Swahili	= ten.

Word.	Language.	Meaning.
<i>Kumbwa (ku)</i>	Na Sheitani Swahili	= to be devil struck (not so serious as ku-pagawa na Sheitani).
<i>Kunde</i>	Swahili	= a kind of bean.
<i>Kusi</i>	Swahili	= S.W. monsoon.
<i>Kutwa</i>	Swahili	= all day.
<i>Kuu</i>	Swahili	= big, great.
<i>Kwa</i>	Kikuyu and Swahili	= to.
<i>Kwani</i>	Swahili	= why?
<i>Kwetu</i>	Swahili	= our home.
<i>Laibon (ol-oiboni)</i>	Masai	= chief or medicine man.
<i>Lakini</i>	Swahili	= but.
<i>Lala (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to sleep.
<i>Lango</i>	Swahili	= a big door, gateway.
<i>Leo</i>	Swahili	= to-day.
<i>Leso</i>	Kiamu	= a woman's tobe.
<i>Libah</i>	Somali	= a lion.
<i>Libah baded</i>	Somali	= lion of the sea = shark.
<i>Lw wali (and lw wali)</i>	Swahili	= a governor.
<i>Lông</i>	Masai	= shield.
<i>Maana</i>	Swahili	= meaning.
<i>Mada'as</i>	Maskat Arabic	= sandal.
<i>Mafuta</i>	Swahili	= fat.
<i>Magadi</i>	Swahili	= gypsum, ashes for mixing with tobacco.
<i>Maji</i>	Swahili	= water.
<i>Makumbi</i>	Swahili	= cocoa-nut coir.
<i>Makuti</i>	Swahili	= roofing of plaited cocoa-nut leaves.
<i>Mali</i>	Swahili	= property.
<i>Malik</i>	Arabic	= king.
<i>Manchani</i>	Swahili	= a sailing vessel of European make.
<i>Manowari</i>	Swahili	= man of war.
<i>Manyata</i>	Masai	= kraal.
<i>Markab</i>	Arabic	= a ship.
<i>Markab Harbi</i>	Arabic	= a battleship.
<i>Markab Kulu</i>	Arabic	= a sailing ship.
<i>Mashna</i>	Swahili	= launch, small boat.
<i>Matata</i>	Swahili	= trouble.
<i>Mbaleki</i>	Kikuyu	= an oil-bearing shrub, castor oil.
<i>Mbaruga</i>	Swahili	= lots, charms stones.
<i>Mbiriwiri</i>	Swahili	= a plant with spiky seed pods.
<i>Mbogo</i>	Swahili	= a buffalo.
<i>Mbuyu</i>	Swahili	= a baobab.
<i>Mbuzi</i>	Swahili	= (i) a goat; (ii) a hook for extracting copra from the shell.
<i>Mbwa</i>	Swahili	= a dog.
<i>Mcharage</i>	Kikuyu	= a tree from which beehives are made.
<i>Mcharget</i>	Ogiek	= a certain tree.
<i>Mehende</i>	Kitikuu	= mtende.
<i>Mchoo</i>	Swahili	= the lesser rains.
<i>Medina</i>	Arabic	= a town.
<i>Meli</i>	Swahili	= a steamer, mail boat.

Word.	Language.	Meaning.
<i>Mewahib</i>	Arabic	= the generous.
<i>Mfita</i>	Kiamu	= one who hides.
<i>Mganga</i>	Swahili	= a native doctor, medicine man.
<i>Mgema</i> (pl. <i>wagema</i>)	Swahili	= a cocoa-nut tree climber.
<i>Miaa</i> (pl. of <i>myaa</i>)	Swahili	= hyphaene palm.
<i>Mimi</i>	Swahili	= I.
<i>Minda</i>	Masai	= horse-shoe-shaped ear ornament of brass.
<i>Mkadi</i>	Swahili	= a shrub with scented flowers.
<i>Mkandaa</i>	Swahili	= <i>Mkandara</i> .
<i>Mkandara</i>	Kimrima	= a tree from which masts and spars are obtained.
<i>Mkeka</i>	Swahili	= (i.) a mat of coloured palm strips; (ii.) a kind of tobe.
<i>Mkindu</i>	Swahili	= wild date palm.
<i>Mkoko</i> { (pl. <i>mikoko</i>) }	Swahili	{ = a mangrove tree. = mangrove swamp.
{ (pl. <i>wakoko</i>) }		
<i>Mkono</i>	Swahili	= arm.
<i>Mkono wa Ndovu</i>	Swahili	= (i.) elephant's trunk; (ii.) name of a very big kind of banana.
<i>Mkufu</i>	Swahili	= a silver neck chain.
<i>Mlango</i>	Swahili	= a door.
<i>Mlima</i>	Swahili	= mountain.
<i>Mlima wa mbogo</i>	Swahili	= buffalo mountain = <i>ol doinyo Sapuk</i> .
<i>Mlingote</i> (pl. <i>milingote</i>)	Swahili	= a mast.
<i>Mngwana</i> (pl. <i>wanguwana</i>)	Swahili	= a free man, freeborn citizen.
<i>Mnyofu</i>	Swahili	= a good pious person.
<i>Mogiyo</i>	Kikuyu	= a certain shrub.
<i>Moja</i>	Swahili	= one.
<i>Mosi</i>	Swahili	= first (used only in regard to the name of a week, day or month).
<i>Mpotofu</i>	Old Swahili	= a bad man.
<i>Mpunga</i>	Swahili	= rice (the plant).
<i>Mtaa</i> (pl. <i>mitaa</i>)	Swahili	= a quarter (of a town).
<i>Mtaimbo</i>	Swahili }	= a crowbar.
<i>Mtalimbo</i>	Kiunguja }	
<i>Mtama</i>	Swahili	= millet, sorghum.
<i>Mtanga</i>	Swahili	= sand.
<i>Mtende</i>	Swahili	= a date tree.
<i>Mtepe</i>	Swahili	= a ship with matting sails.
<i>Mto</i>	Swahili	= a river.
<i>Mto wa maboko</i>	Swahili	= hippo river = Athi R.
<i>Mtoro</i> (pl. <i>watoro</i>)	Swahili	= a runaway (slave).
<i>Mtumbwi</i>	Swahili	= a dug-out.
<i>Mtumwa</i> (pl. <i>watumwa</i>)	Swahili	= a slave.
<i>Mtundafu</i>	Swahili	= wild jasmine.
<i>Muakhar</i>	Arabic	= hoop.
<i>Mui</i>	Kiamu	= town.
<i>Mukk-adam</i>	Arabic	= prow.
<i>Muntafyah</i>	Arabic	= mtepe.
<i>Muruduku</i>	Kikuyu	= a tree from which beehives are made.
<i>Musai iga</i>	Kikuyu	= medicines.
<i>Mutamaiyu</i>	Kikuyu	= a certain kind of tree.
<i>Muzuri</i> (pl. <i>wazuri</i>)	Kikuyu	= an elder.
<i>Mvinji</i>	Swahili	= a kind of fir.

Word.	Language.	Meaning.
<i>Mwaka</i>	Swahili	= (i.) a year; (ii.) the greater rains.
<i>Mwamu</i>	Swahili	= a Lamu man.
<i>Mwana</i>	Old Swahili	= a queen.
<i>Mwana</i>	Modern Swahili	= a child.
<i>Mwanachuoni</i>	Swahili	= a scholar, a seer.
<i>Mwanake</i> (pl. <i>wanake</i>)	Kikuyu	= a warrior.
<i>Mwano</i>	Kikuyu	= the gourd containing the "bugu."
<i>Mwaretu</i>	Kikuyu	= a girl.
<i>Mw-embe</i>	Swahili	= a mango tree.
<i>Mwezi</i>	Swahili	= moon.
<i>Mwisho</i>	Swahili	= end.
<i>Mwofu</i>	Old Swahili	= good.
<i>Mwovu</i>	Kiamu	= bad.
<i>Mzee</i> (pl. <i>wazee</i>)	Swahili	} = old man, elder.
<i>Mzee</i> (pl. <i>wathee</i>)	Kisuu	
<i>Mzima</i>	Swahili	= (i.) a holy spot; (ii.) charms on mtepe.
<i>Mzungu</i>	Swahili	= an European.
<i>-Nane</i>	Swahili	= eight.
<i>Nanga</i>	Swahili	= anchor.
<i>Narok</i>	Masai	= black.
<i>Ndembo</i>	Yao	= elephant.
<i>Ndere</i>	Kikuyu	= a circular, wooden ear ornament.
<i>-Ndo-</i>	Kitikuu	= particle denoting past tense and taking place of <i>-me-</i> in Swahili.
<i>Ndovu</i>	Swahili	= elephant.
<i>-Nene</i>	Kikuyu	= big, great.
<i>Ngai</i>	Kikuyu	= God.
<i>Ngalawa</i>	Swahili	= dug-out with outriggers.
<i>Ng'andu</i>	Old Swahili	= gold.
<i>Ngazija</i>	Swahili	= Comoro islands.
<i>Ngoma</i>	Swahili	= a drum, a dance.
<i>Ng'ombe</i>	Swahili	= cattle.
<i>Ngome</i>	Swahili	= a fortress.
<i>Ngure</i>	Kikuyu	= warriors' dance.
<i>Nguva</i>	Swahili	= a dugong
<i>-Ni</i>	Swahili	= a locative particle.
<i>Njia</i>	Swahili	} = a road, path.
<i>Njira</i>	Kikuyu	
<i>Njiru</i>	Kikuyu	= coils of brass wire worn in ear.
<i>Njohi</i>	Kikuyu	= sugar cane wine.
<i>-Nne</i>	Swahili	= four.
<i>Nti</i>	Swahili	= country.
<i>Nyangwa</i>	Kiamu	= mangrove swamp.
<i>Nyanja</i>	Chinyanja	= sea, lake, big river.
<i>Nyika</i>	Swahili	= thorn bush, jungle.
<i>Nyumbu</i>	Swahili	= mule, gnu.
<i>Ol-</i>	Masai	= article "the."
<i>Ol-doinyo</i>	Masai	= mountain.
<i>Ol-dule</i>	Masai	= a poisonous plant.
<i>Ol-laiyoni</i> (pl. <i>il-laiyoni</i>).	Masai	= boy, youth before circumcision.
<i>Ol-leleshwa</i>	Masai	= camphor tree.

Word.	Language.	Meaning.
<i>Ol-moruo</i> (pl. <i>il-moruo</i>)	Masai	= old man, elder.
<i>Ol-muran</i> (pl. <i>il-muran</i>)	Masai	= a warrior.
<i>Ol-ogarenji</i>	Ogiek	= skull cap made of goat's stomach.
<i>Ol-oiriyen</i>	Masai	= a certain tree.
<i>Ol-onana</i>	Masai	= the soft one.
<i>Omo</i>	Swahili	= prow (of boat).
<i>Pa-</i>	Swahili	= a locative particle.
<i>Pagawa</i> (<i>ku</i>) (<i>na sheitani</i>)	Swahili	= to become possessed (of an evil spirit).
<i>Patha</i> (<i>ku</i>)	Kipate	= to mount (of the sun).
<i>Pattamar</i>	_____	= a vessel of Indian origin.
<i>Pelele</i>	Chitonga	= a lip ornament.
<i>Pembe</i>	Swahili	= a horn, tusk.
<i>Pepo</i>	Swahili	= a demon or spirit possessing anyone.
<i>Pesa</i>	Swahili	= the Indian pice (about a farthing).
<i>Pctapeta</i> (<i>ku</i>)	Swahili	= to zigzag, wind about aimlessly.
<i>Piga</i> (<i>ku</i>)	Swahili	= to beat.
<i>Piga</i> (<i>ku</i>) <i>pembe</i>	Swahili	= to blow a horn.
<i>Piga</i> (<i>ku</i>) <i>ramli</i> (or <i>bao</i>)	Swahili	= to cast lots.
<i>-Pili</i>	Swahili	= two.
<i>Polepole</i>	Swahili	= slowly, gently.
<i>Pori</i>	Swahili	= the bush, wilderness.
<i>Potea</i> (<i>ku</i>)	Swahili	= to lose.
<i>Punda</i>	Swahili	= a donkey.
<i>Pwani</i>	Swahili	= the coast, seashore.
<i>Ramli</i>	Swahili	= lots, magic stones.
<i>Ras</i>	Arabic	= (i.) head; (ii.) cape.
<i>Rasi</i>	Swahili	= cape.
<i>Ratibu</i> (<i>ku</i>)	Swahili	= to arrange, settle.
<i>Robi</i>	Masai	= cold.
<i>Rungu</i>	Swahili	= a club.
<i>Saa</i>	Swahili	= (i.) hour; (ii.) watch.
<i>Saha</i>	Swahili	= seven.
<i>Sabai</i> (or <i>sapai</i>)	Masai	= greeting between warriors.
<i>Sabuk</i> (or <i>sapuk</i>)	Masai	= flat.
<i>Safari</i>	Swahili	= caravan, journey.
<i>Samak</i>	Arabic	} = fish.
<i>Samaki</i>	Swahili	
<i>Sandal</i>	Arabic	= a lighter (vessel).
<i>Sath</i>	Arabic	= bulwarks.
<i>Sawahil</i>	Arabic	= coast.
<i>Sef</i>	Arabic	= sword.
<i>Seyid</i>	Arabic	= lord, title of Imams of Maskat.
<i>Shahamu</i>	Swahili	= a mixture for caulking boats.
<i>Shahr</i>	Arabic	= a town.
<i>Shamba</i>	Swahili	= plantation.
<i>Shahasi</i>	Kiamu	= a nose ornament.
<i>Shebel</i>	Somali	= a leopard (Webbe Shebeli = leopard river).
<i>Sheitani</i>	Swahili	= a devil.
<i>Sherif</i>	Arabic	= a descendant of the Prophet.

Word.	Language.	Meaning.
<i>Shiraa</i>	Kiamu	= a kind of tent carried over free women.
<i>Sifa</i>	Swahili	= (i.) a boast ; (ii.) shark's fat.
<i>Simba</i>	Swahili	= a lion.
<i>Sita</i>	Swahili	= six.
<i>Sitiri</i>	Swahili	= screening wall of bathroom.
<i>-Siu</i>	Old Swahili	= bad.
<i>Sogonoi</i>	Masai.	= a purgative.
<i>Sogota</i> (and <i>sokota</i>)	Masai.	= a small swamp.
<i>Sukani</i>	Swahili	= a pilot.
<i>Sukari</i>	Swahili	= sugar.
<i>Sulsul</i>	Masai.	= tuft of ostrich feathers worn on point of spear.
<i>Sumbuka (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to annoy, afflict.
<i>Surutyai (e-surutyai)</i>	Masai.	= brass wire.
<i>Taa</i>	Swahili	= a kind of fish.
<i>Tanak</i>	Arabic	= tin.
<i>Tanga</i>	Swahili	= a sail.
<i>Tanga mbili</i>	Swahili	= a variable wind (lit. two sails).
<i>Tanu</i>	Swahili	= five.
<i>Tatu</i>	Swahili	= three.
<i>Tazanda</i>	Swahili	= a kind of fish.
<i>Tega (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to trap, snare.
<i>Tego</i>	Swahili	= a charm to entrap a thief of adulterer.
<i>Tembo</i>	Kiumguja	= (i.) elephant ; (ii.) spirits.
<i>Tenda (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to do.
<i>Tendwa (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to be done to.
<i>Thiriga</i>	Kikuyu	= a red earth.
<i>Teta (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to quarrel.
<i>Tezi</i>	Swahili	= poop (of vessel).
<i>Tini</i>	Kiamu	= underneath.
<i>Tisa</i>	Swahili	= nine.
<i>Tishali</i>	Swahili	= a lighter (vessel).
<i>Torobo</i>	Masai	= an Ogiek.
<i>Tumal</i>	Somali	= a blacksmith.
<i>Twaa (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to take.
<i>Uawa (ku)</i>	Swahili	= to be killed.
<i>Ujari</i>	Swahili	= rudder lines.
<i>Ukarara</i>	Swahili	= a certain build of vessel.
<i>Ukuta</i>	Swahili	= a wall.
<i>Ulaya</i>	Swahili	= Europe.
<i>Ulele</i>	Kiamu and Old Swahili	= he is in the act of sleeping.
<i>Uleno</i>	Chinyanja	= caravan, journey.
<i>Unguja</i>	Swahili	= Zanzibar.
<i>Unyago</i>	Swahili	= initiation ceremonies.
<i>Upato</i>	Swahili	= a gong.
<i>Usiku</i>	Swahili	= night.
<i>Usingira</i>	Kikuyu	= a men's club.
<i>Usukani</i>	Swahili	= a rudder.
<i>Uto</i>	Swahili	= simsim.
<i>Utuku</i>	Kiamu	= bazaar, market, shops.
<i>Walad</i>	Arabic	= son, child.
<i>Wasat</i>	Arabic	= amidships.
<i>Watikuu</i>	Swahili	= <i>Wa uti kuu</i> = of the big (or main) land = the Bajuns.

Word.	Language.	Meaning.
<i>Wavaa</i>	Swahili	= those (that) wear.
<i>Yambo</i>	Kiamu	= an affair, a greeting.
<i>Yasmini</i>	Kiamu	= jasmine.
<i>Yualala</i>	Swahili	= he is sleeping.
<i>Yuu</i>	Kiamu	= above.
<i>Zang</i>	Persian	= a negro, a black.
<i>Zioziwi</i>	Kikuyu	= a certain tree.
<i>Ziyara</i>	Arabic	= a pilgrimage or visit to a shrine or grave.

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PROVISIONAL MAP OF EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE

Scale 1:500,000 or 1 inch = 23.67 Miles

REFERENCE

Boundaries International
Provinces
Districts
Telegraphs
along route



34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

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Scale - On the inner scale.

