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THE SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE.

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA.

BY ARTHUR SILVA WHITE. F.R.S.E.,

Secretary to the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

(With a Map.)

IN the early part of 1888 I published in the Society's Magazine a paper on the above subject, which was illustrated with a map showing European possessions and claims in Central and Southern Africa. At that time public attention was not directed to Africa in the same degree as it is now, nor were *data* for the discussion of territorial claims so easily obtainable. The paper, however, served the purpose for which it was written; and I take the earliest opportunity of redeeming the promise therein made: to give, as soon as it was possible, a more complete account of the partition of Africa among the European Powers. In order to accomplish this it will be essential to travel over the same ground to a certain extent, though it will not be necessary to enter into very great detail. The new political map of Africa which Mr. J. G. Bartholomew has designed to illustrate my paper may be trusted for giving the precise boundaries, so far as these have been delimited or provisionally fixed. We may rest satisfied in this place with a bald narrative of how these boundary-lines came to be drawn on the map of Africa. The subject has been discussed by me in a volume on *The Development of Africa*, which is on the eve of publication; and I am indebted to my publishers—Messrs. George Philip and Son—for their permission to adapt and abridge the chapter in question for my present purpose.

It is absolutely essential to distinguish between acquisitions by treaty¹ and acquisitions by paint-brush.²

The partition of Africa may be said to date from the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. Prior to that Conference the question of inland boundaries was scarcely considered: the necessity for such had hardly arisen. But the frontiers between the possessions of European Powers on the coasts had in a majority of cases been defined with some degree of certainty.³

Outstanding disputes were settled at or shortly after the Conference. Only two instances need be given. Portugal received some recognition of her historical pretensions south of the Lower Congo, and also obtained the *enclave* of Kabinda, to the north. To France was awarded an important accession of territory on the Lower Congo. The basins of the Niger and Congo were declared free to the flags of all nations. And, finally, the International Association, founded by the King of the Belgians, was, under its new title, recognised by the civilised world as a sovereign State, and took possession of the conventional basin of the Congo.

The boundaries of the Congo Independent State are shown on our map. They were roughly defined at the Berlin Conference, but their more accurate delimitation was adjusted by separate treaties concluded with contiguous States. Some uncertainty still exists as to the precise boundaries at certain points, but, when the occasion demands, these uncertainties can easily be cleared up. The title-deeds of the State are clearly and, I believe, accurately given in M. Banning's *Partage Politique de l'Afrique* (pp. 89-152).

Two months after the Conference had concluded its labours, Great Britain and Germany had a serious dispute in regard to their respective spheres of influence on the Gulf of Guinea.

The basin of the Lower Niger had long been under the exclusive influence of Great Britain, who possessed also colonies to the west of it. In the Cameroons region British missionaries had for forty years laboured in a promising field, and, incidentally, had sown the seed of British sovereignty. But Germany also shared the ambition of occupying a country which her subjects had assisted in discovering and opening up. Her merchants were said to enjoy the monopoly of trade on the Cameroons

¹ My data have been derived chiefly from the following sources:— *Le Partage Politique de l'Afrique* (June 1888), by Emile Banning, which gives in a convenient form the texts of the treaties and other international transactions and agreements between the years 1885 and 1888; from the two articles which, previous to the publication of M. Banning's book, were contributed by me to the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (vol. iv., 1888, pp. 152 and 298) on "The Partition of Central Africa," and "The East-Central African Question"; and from British and foreign official sources. Treaties vary also in their international significance. A distinction is to be observed between treaties binding the contracting parties alone and treaties binding non-contracting parties whose concurrence has been obtained.

² "Acquisition by paint-brush" simply indicates the ambition of territorial extension, and, like the "confidence trick," was only practised by desperate characters.

³ Cf. map illustrating Mr. Stanley's Inaugural Address, *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. i., p. 1, *et seq.*

River. The Imperial German Government, therefore, decided to take possession of the country, and to establish a naval station on the Coast.

Dr. Nachtigal was despatched with instructions (dated 19th May 1884) to conclude treaties with the native chiefs between the Niger and Gabún, and in the district of Angra Pequena. Britain, with similar objects in view, also issued instructions (16th May 1884) to Admiral Hewett. But Dr. Nachtigal was the first to arrive on the scene of action. The German flag was hoisted (5th July) at Togo and (14th July) at Cameroons. Admiral Hewett arrived on 19th July, in time to register his protest.

On 13th October 1884, Prince Bismarck notified to the Powers the *fait accompli* of a German Protectorate, not only in the Cameroons but also at Togo (Slave Coast) and in South-West Africa, between the Orange River and Cape Frio,—Walvisch Bay excepted. The British Cabinet, however, endeavoured to retrieve its position. On 19th July Admiral Hewett placed the Mission Station at Victoria under British protection, and concluded treaties (July to September) with the native chiefs on the Littoral between Victoria and Old Calabar.

Diplomatic documents were freely exchanged between London and Berlin during the next few months. The most important were Lord Granville's despatch (29th April 1885) to Count Münster, the German Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, and the reply (7th May) of the latter. These despatches laid the basis of an accord between the two Powers, and were supplemented by the Declarations of 16th May and 2d June. The compromise thus arrived at placed the Mission Station of Victoria within the German sphere of influence in consideration of an indemnity (£4000) to be paid to the English Baptists by the Basel Missions.

But the frontier between the two spheres of influence on the Bight of Biafra remained undefined. Despatches were exchanged between Lord Rosebery (27th July 1886), on the part of the British Government, and Count Hatzfeldt (2d August), on behalf of the German Government, which resulted in a line being drawn from the Coast to Yola, on the Benué.

On the 10th July 1886, the National African Company received a royal charter under its new title of the Royal Niger Company, and was given administrative powers over the territories covered by its treaties. The regions thereby placed under British protection are defined on our map. Apart from the Oil Rivers District, which is directly administered by the Crown, they embrace the coastal lands between Lagos and the northern frontier of German Cameroons, the Lower Niger (including the territories of Sokoto and Gandu), and the Benué from Yola to its confluence.

Germany, having settled the northern boundary of her Cameroons colony, was in the meantime negotiating its southern frontier with the French Congo. Dr. Nachtigal's treaties extended almost to the Equator and overlapped French claims. Prince Bismarck, however, in his despatch of 13th September 1884, showed himself accommodating to French susceptibilities, and was met in an equally diplomatic spirit by Baron de Courcel (despatch of 29th September). All danger of friction being

thereby removed, France and Germany eventually signed the Protocol of 24th December 1885, which defined their respective spheres of influence and action on the Bight of Biafra, and also on the Slave Coast and in Senegambia. This Convention between Germany and France fixed the inland extension of the German sphere of influence (Cameroons) at 15° E. longitude, Greenwich. It is important to remember this, because at present it allows the French Congo Territories to expand along the western bank of the M'bangi,¹ which is their conterminous boundary with the Congo Independent State, and gives access to the Súdán.

France at about the same time was engaged in adjusting certain territorial difficulties with Portugal. A Mixed Commission, having assembled at Paris, held sixteen sittings between 22d October 1885 and 12th May 1886. The deliberations of the Commission resulted in the Franco-Portuguese Convention of 12th May 1886. France thereby secured the exclusive control of both banks of the Casamanza (in Senegambia), and the Portuguese frontier in the south was advanced approximately to the southern limit of the basin of the Casini. On the Congo, Portugal retained the Massabi district, to which France had laid claim, but both banks of the Loango were left to France.

An attempt at mutual accommodation was made in regard to certain schemes of aggrandisement which, at the same time, were interesting to third parties. Portugal recognised a French Protectorate over Futa Jallon,² thus consenting to her own possessions in Upper Guinea being surrounded, and admitting France dangerously near to the British "Hinterland" behind Sierra Leone. In return, France was prevailed upon to make a qualified admission of the right of Portugal to exercise her "sovereign influence and civilisation" in the countries separating the provinces of Angóla and Mozambique. Such a concession, however, incidentally affected the interests of Great Britain and the Congo Independent State. But the Lisbon Cabinet was not discouraged. In a Note of 12th December 1885, Portugal defined the extent of the Trans-Continental empire to which she laid claim. A more flagrant instance of "annexation by paint-brush" never occurred, even in Africa. France, however, proved herself equal to the occasion, and at the same time displayed her humour of the situation: she accepted the limits as defined, "*à titre d'information*," but attached a rider reserving the rights of third parties. Portugal, unabashed by this reservation on the part of France, which she was unable to overcome, next proceeded to negotiate with Germany, with results that will be subsequently mentioned. The negotiations, having the same object, with her historic ally, Great Britain, were of an even more animated and interesting character. They were provisionally concluded only in August last,—so that we may be permitted to refer to them in another place.

¹ Provided no other tributary of the M'bangi-Congo is found to the west, in which case, according to the Berlin Treaty of 1884-85, the conventional basin of the Congo would gain an extension.

² By virtue of treaties concluded in 1881 between the French Government and the Almamy.

While map-makers were busy keeping pace with political changes on the West Coast of Africa, their attention was equally demanded by events on the East Coast. Germany, having entered upon a colonial career, and being fired with the ambition of founding an African empire, gave every encouragement and support to her pioneers. The continent of Africa, being a promising and open field, was simultaneously attacked at three points.

In September 1884 there landed at Zanzibar three German travellers whose names will long be remembered by their countrymen. They were Dr. Peters, Dr. Jühlke, and Count Pfeil. Being discreet and resolute men, and the pioneers of a colonisation company, they kept their own counsel; and, before any one was made aware of their intentions, treaties had been concluded with the chiefs of Useguha, Ukami, Nguru, and Usagara, by which those territories were "acquired" by the Society for German Colonisation.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that, prior to 1884, the continental lands facing Zanzibar were almost exclusively under British influence.¹ The principal traders were British subjects, and the Sultan's government was administered under the advice of the British Resident. The entire region between the Coast and the Lakes was regarded as being under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan: the various chiefs acknowledged his claims to a certain extent, and his aid was invariably invoked if any European travellers fell into trouble. Still, Great Britain had no territorial claims on the dominions of the Sultan. Though her influence was felt far and wide, it had been exercised solely in the cause of law and order, and with no ulterior object whatever.

Dr. Peters, then, armed with his treaties, returned to Berlin in February 1885. On the 27th February, the day following the signature of the General Act of the Berlin Conference, an Imperial *Schutzbrief*, or Charter of Protection, secured to the Society for German Colonisation the territories which had been acquired for them through Dr. Peters' treaties: in other words, a German Protectorate was proclaimed.

When it became known that Germany had seized upon the Zanzibar mainland, the indignation in colonial circles was very great. The British Foreign Office championed the cause of the Sultan, and his Highness himself made a formal protest. At the same time a German fleet was promptly despatched to Zanzibar, in order, as a German periodical explained, "to show clearly the meaning of an Imperial *Schutzbrief*." It was the first *Schutzbrief* that had been issued; consequently, it was reasonable to infer that its meaning was not clearly comprehended. Meanwhile Sir John Kirk received instructions to fall in with the views of his German colleague at Zanzibar, "where the interests of the two countries were identical."

Abandoned by his former protector, and threatened by a hostile fleet, the Sultan of Zanzibar submitted to his fate. He recognised (14th August 1885) the German Protectorate over the four inland provinces and over Vitu.

¹ In spite of the Anglo-French Convention of 10th March 1862, regarding the nominal independence of Zanzibar.

Thereupon a Delimitation Commission was appointed to apportion the disputed lands. But it was not until the end of October 1886 that the British and German Governments were in a position to exchange Identic Notes. This exchange of Identic Notes, commonly designated as the Anglo-German Convention of 1886, had the following for its main provisions:—(1) The sovereignty of the Sultan of Zanzibar was recognised over the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Lamu, and Mafia; as also, on the mainland, (a) over an uninterrupted coastal zone, ten nautical miles in breadth, between—roughly—Tunghi Bay and Kipini, and (b) over the stations of Kismayu, Barawa, Merka, Mukdisho, and Warsheikh, each with a small land-circuit. (2) The countries within which the provisions of the Treaty were regarded as applicable were defined as being situated between the Tana and Rovuma rivers; and the frontier between the British and German spheres of influence was drawn, as shown on our map, from the Wanga or Umbe River to the Victoria Nyanza. (3) Great Britain entered into an engagement to make no territorial acquisitions, to accept no Protectorates, and not to compete with the spread of German influence to the south of the said line, whilst Germany undertook to observe a similar abstinence in the territories to the north of the said line. (4) Both Powers recognised as belonging to Vitu the coast stretching from the north of Kipini to the north end of Manda Bay. And (5) Germany became a party to the Protocol signed by Britain and France (10th March 1862) recognising the independence of Zanzibar.

It is to be observed that in this Agreement no internal boundaries were fixed, nor was the extension of the Anglo-German frontier and the German-Portuguese frontier, in the same or in any direction, even alluded to. By separate arrangements with the Sultan of Zanzibar, Germany secured (20th December 1885) the lease for a period of fifty years of the customs in the coastal zone belonging to the Sultan within the German sphere of influence, whilst Britain obtained (30th April 1886) a similar concession in her zone.

On 8th December 1886 the Sultan gave in his adhesion to the General Act of the Berlin Conference, reserving to himself the principle of commercial liberty. The same day France recognised the Anglo-German Convention.

After receiving the *Schutzbrief*, the Society for German Colonisation transferred (April 1887) their rights to the newly-founded German East Africa Association, at whose head stood Dr. Peters. Expedition after expedition was despatched by the Association to make fresh acquisitions of territory. Relations were also opened up with some of the Somál tribes; and Dr. Peters himself headed a large expedition into East Africa. In view of these active operations, German map-makers coloured as German the entire *Hinterland* between the Coast and the confines of the Congo Independent State.

Much the same precipitate haste characterised the conduct of German agents in taking over the administration of their actual sphere of influence: they wished at once to transform the ancient home of Arabs and Negroes into a German colony. Their high-handed action in this respect led to the inevitable result of a general rising. Massacres and

retaliations ensued. The Arab chiefs on the Coast, who resented the action of their suzerain, the Sultan of Zanzibar, in transferring their allegiance to Germany, took up arms against their common enemy. In a few months not a German was left in the mainland districts; all had fled to Zanzibar. Affairs having reached this crisis, the Imperial German Government interfered. Gunboats were despatched; and a special Commissioner, Lieutenant (now Major) Wissmann, set out at the head of a small military force. The rebels were driven from their positions, and the coast towns were re-occupied. After months of desultory fighting, something like law and order was finally introduced.

Although British East Africa lay in the path of the wave of unrest that swept along the Coast, its calm was unbroken by the sound of hostile elements. The British East Africa Company, having taken over the concessions granted by the Sultan of Zanzibar to Sir William Mackinnon, assumed the administration of the territories with the good-will of the natives. The Company was not formally incorporated until 18th April 1888, and on the 3d of September it received a royal charter. One of its first public acts was to liberate a large number of slaves at a considerable cost. Caravans were despatched into the Interior, and the machinery of local administration was promptly and unostentatiously erected. Being a record of successful effort, we have little to say of the founding of British East Africa.

In order to preserve as far as possible the chronology of events, we must now refer to the progress of German colonial enterprise in South-West Africa.

Undeterred by the fact that the natural and widely known desire of Cape Colony was to expand northwards to the Zambezi, and that since 1878 Walvisch Bay had with that object been occupied as a British naval station, an enterprising Bremen merchant, Herr Lüderitz, and subsequently the German Consul-General, Dr. Nachtigal, concluded a series of political and commercial treaties with native chiefs, whereby a claim was instituted over Angra Pequena, and over vast districts in the Interior between the Orange River and Cape Frio. On 7th August 1884 the German flag was hoisted at Angra Pequena; and on the 13th October 1884 Germany formally notified to the Powers her protectorate over South-West Africa. A mixed Commission met at the Cape (14th March to 4th September 1885) to adjust rival claims. Its duty was not to define territorial limits; but her Majesty's Government permitted it to be understood that the British Protectorate over Bechuana-land extended in the north to 22° S. latitude, and in the west to 20° E. longitude.

The chief inland boundaries being thereby defined, Germany had no further room for expansion except on the coast between Cape Frio and the mouth of the Kunéné: and this tract of country she promptly annexed. On 3d August 1885 the German Colonial Company for South-West Africa was founded, and, after the lapse of ten days, received the Imperial sanction for its incorporation. But in August 1866 a new Association was formed—the German West Africa Company—and the administration of its territories was placed under an Imperial Commissioner.

By extending her coast-line in South-West Africa from Cape Frio to

the Kunéné, Germany encroached upon Portuguese claims. On the East and West Coasts of Africa Germany had become a neighbour of Portugal; so that a precise delimitation of their frontiers was in any case necessary. Portugal claimed Cape Frio as the southern limit of her province of Angóla, whilst Germany advanced her claims up to the banks of the Kunéné in order to incorporate the whole of Ovampo-land, over which she had secured certain rights. The dispute between the two Powers dragged on for six months.

In the meantime, the Franco-Portuguese Commission was sitting at Paris. On the 27th July 1886, Baron Schmithals proposed as the Portuguese frontier the river Kunéné, with an extension eastwards to the Zambezi, on the parallel of Humbe.¹ Then it was that Portugal endeavoured to extract from Germany, what she had partially succeeded in obtaining from France, a recognition of her claims to a Trans-Continental empire. Germany, however, was not prepared to go to the length required of her. She simply declared that the river Rovuma formed the southern boundary of her East African Possessions. Portugal then consented to the Kunéné serving as the southern boundary of her Angóla province, and adopted the latitudinal line previously laid down to the Kubango; its extension eastwards was traced by the course of the latter river up to the neighbourhood of Andara, whence it was projected to, and in the same latitude as, Katima.² Portugal also approved of the river Rovuma, up to the confluence of the M'sinje, forming the German-Portuguese frontier in East Africa, and went so far as to obligingly prolong this boundary-line westwards, on the same latitude, across the Nyassa to the "confines of Angóla." But realising the danger of being thus entrapped, Germany modestly accepted Lake Nyassa as the western limit of the conterminous frontier, thereby gaining from Portugal a slight extension of boundary that was not recognised by the Anglo-German Agreement of 1886. On the basis of this mutual understanding, Germany and Portugal affixed their seals to the Convention signed at Lisbon on 30th December 1886.

Thus we have seen that both Germany and France refused to recognise Portuguese claims to a Trans-Continental empire irrespective of the rights of third parties. The third party in this matter was Great Britain, to whose case we may now refer.

The intrusion of Germany into South-West Africa acted as a check upon, no less than a spur to, the extension of British influence northwards to the Zambezi. Another obstacle to this extension arose from the Boer insurrection. The treaty of 3d August 1881 gave autonomy to the Transvaal, under British sovereignty; but these bonds were slackened by the treaty of 27th February 1884. The Transvaal, with increased independence, then adopted the proud title of South African Republic; although, in regard to its foreign relations—the Orange Free State excepted—and dealings with native tribes, the Republic undertook to submit any treaties or engagements for the approbation of Her Majesty's

¹ Near which, on the Kunéné, rapids occur.

² On the Zambezi, where there are rapids.

Government. Zulu-land, having lost its independence, was partitioned : a third of its territories, over which a republic had been proclaimed, was absorbed (October 1887) by the Transvaal ; the remainder was added (14th May 1887) to the British Possessions. Amatonga-land was in 1888 also taken under British protection.¹

By a Convention with the South African Republic, Britain acquired in 1884 the Crown colony of Bechuana-land ; and in the early part of 1885 a British Protectorate was proclaimed over the remaining portion of Bechuana-land—the western and provisional northern limits of which have already been defined by us. Sir Charles Warren, after subduing the infant Republics of Stella and Goshen, and placing the country up to the river Molopo under British sovereignty, had established a provisional protectorate over Khama's country. At that time, by an agreement between Britain and Germany (January 1885), it was understood that the 20th degree of east longitude should mark the Anglo-German frontier ; but this boundary extended north only to the 22d degree of south latitude. To the south of this latitudinal boundary lay the British Protectorate ; to the north of it all was unsettled. The South African Republic, with the intention of stealing a march upon Great Britain, despatched a mission to Lobengula, king of Matabele-land, etc., but its object was frustrated by the prompt action of Mr. Moffat, who, acting under instructions from the Home Government, concluded a treaty of amity between Britain and Lobengula. Similar treaties having been made with Khama, chief of the Bamangwato, and Moremi, a chief of N'gami-land, a British Protectorate was instituted over the country bounded by the Zambezi in the north, the British Possessions in the south, "the Portuguese province of Sofala" in the east, and the 20th degree of east longitude in the west. It was at this juncture that Mr. Cecil Rhodes came forward, and, having obtained certain concessions from Lobengula, founded the British South Africa Company.

For some time both before and after the declaration of a British Protectorate south of the Zambezi, Portugal endeavoured to substantiate through every means in her power the shadowy claims she possessed over Mashuna-land, to portions of the Zambezi basin, to Nyassa-land and the Shiré Highlands. Into the validity of these claims we need not enter at any length ; it is necessary only to record the fact that they have been disallowed by competent authorities. In no case were they based upon occupation ; and Her Majesty's Government protested² against any claims in no degree founded on occupation, and stated that they could not recognise the sovereignty of Portugal in territories where she was represented by no authority capable of exercising the ordinary rights of sovereignty. In similar terms the protest was renewed³ by Lord Salisbury on 21st November 1889. His Lordship at the same time recalled the agreement between Great Britain and Lobengula (11th February 1888), which recorded the fact that Lobengula was the ruler of Mashuna-land and Makalaka-land.

¹ Treaty with Zambili, similar in kind to that with Lobengula.

² Memorandum from Lord Salisbury to Senhor Barros Gomes, 13th August 1887.

³ Despatch from Lord Salisbury addressed to the British Minister at Lisbon.

On the 29th October 1889 the British South Africa Company was granted a royal charter. It was declared in this charter that "the principal field of the operations of the British South Africa Company shall be the region of South Africa,¹ lying immediately to the north of British Bechuana-land, and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese dominions." It will be observed that no northern limit was given, and the other boundaries were only vaguely defined; but they were sufficient to serve the purpose in view.

The position of Swazi-land was definitely settled, after a great deal of public discussion, by the arrangement between Great Britain and the South African Republic, which was accepted by the Volksraad on the 8th August 1890. This Convention provides for the continued independence of Swazi-land,² and a joint-control over the white settlers. The Republic is to be permitted to realise its long-cherished desire of building a railway of its own through Swazi-land to the sea (at or near Kosi Bay), provided that, within a period of six months from the date of the Convention, it enters into the existing customs' union with Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and Bechuana-land.

Mention has been made of the further claim of Portugal to Nyassa-land and the Shiré Highlands, countries that for over thirty years have been the exclusive sphere of British missionary and commercial enterprise. In a paper published by me in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (vol. iv. p. 298) I discussed at some length the question at issue between Great Britain and Portugal. As the problem has now received a more or less definite solution, it seems unnecessary here to revert to it. The discussion of claims on either side dragged on for several years, and was varied by local disturbances and other unpleasant incidents. The British Foreign Office was at first indisposed to back British claims with any material support; but the storm of indignation thereby raised in Scotland, and subsequently in England, induced—if I may permit myself that expression—the Foreign Secretary to reconsider the case. Nothing, however, could have been more loyal, more statesmanlike, than the manner in which Lord Salisbury subsequently championed the cause of British enterprise in general and of the Scottish missions and trading companies in particular. The result, it may be remembered, was that a British Protectorate was proclaimed over Nyassa-land and the Shiré Highlands in 1889-90.³

The course of events in these parts of Africa have so far engaged our attention that we have omitted to mention several important engagements made between the European Powers and native chiefs in other parts of the continent.

On 5th July 1882, Italy took formal possession of the bay and territory of Assab. The Italian coast-line on the Red Sea now extends from

¹ The "District of Tati" excepted.

² As recognised by the Convention of 1884.

³ Consul Johnston's Protectorate Treaties, and most of the others, were concluded between August and January 1889-90. But further treaties were made (1) with all the chiefs of the west, south, and north coasts of Nyassa, (2) along the Stevenson Road, (3) on the south and south-west coasts of Tanganika, and (4) inland, round Bangweolo and Moëro.

Ras Kasar ($18^{\circ} 2' \text{ N. lat.}$) to the southern boundary of Raheita,¹ towards Obok. During 1889, shortly after the death of King Johannes, Keren and Asmara were occupied by Italian troops. Menelik of Shoa, who succeeded to the throne of Abyssinia, after subjugating all the Abyssinian provinces except Tigré, despatched an embassy to King Humbert, the result of which was that the new Negus acknowledged (29th September 1889) the Protectorate of Italy over Abyssinia, and its sovereignty over the territories of Massawa, Keren, and Asmara.² The Italian Possessions on the Red Sea subsequently received the name of "Eritrea."

Italy has also succeeded in establishing herself on the Somál coast. By treaties concluded (8th February 1889) with the Sultan of Obbia, who belongs to the powerful Mijarten tribe, and (April 7th) with the Sultan of the Mijarten himself, the coastal lands between Cape Warsheikh (about $2^{\circ} 30' \text{ N. lat.}$) and Cape Bedwin ($8^{\circ} 3' \text{ N. lat.}$)—a distance of 450 miles—were placed under Italian protection. Italy subsequently extended (1890) her protectorate over the Somál coast to the Jub River, by taking over the ports of Kismayu, Barawa, Merka, Mukdisho, and Warsheikh, which the British East Africa Company had secured (in addition to Lamu, Manda, and Patta, which the Company retained) through a concession from the Sultan of Zanzibar.³

The British Protectorate on the Somál coast facing Aden now extends from the Italian frontier at Ras Hafún to Ras Jibute ($43^{\circ} 15' \text{ E. long.}$). The island of Sokotra, which was originally acquired by treaty in 1876, was formally annexed in 1886.

In regard to the West Coast of Africa, we have still one or two territorial arrangements to notice. The activity of France in her Senegambian province, which, during the last hundred years, has been marked by notable success, has finally resulted in a considerable expansion of her territories. The native chiefs, one after another, have been forced to submit to the French ascendancy. Captain Binger, by the treaties he concluded with native chiefs during 1887-89, advanced the French sphere of influence down to the Ivory Coast. Thus, the French have established a claim over the country intervening between our Gold Coast Colony and Liberia. A more precise delimitation of the frontier between Sierra Leone and Liberia resulted from the treaty signed at Monrovia on 11th November 1887.

In 1888 Portugal withdrew all rights over Dahomé, her possessions on the Slave Coast having been restricted to the insignificant post of Ajuda.

Between Cape Blanco, which is regarded as the northern coastal limit of Senegambia, and Cape Bojador, Spain has been endeavouring since 1885 to secure her hold on the Saharan coast as a *pied à terre* on

¹ This boundary has not yet been defined.

² The treaty thus concluded was similar in kind to the French treaty with the Hova Government in Madagascar. Frontiers were provisionally settled.

³ The concession was originally made by Saïd Barghash, and was renewed by Saïd Khalifa. It was disputed by Germany; but, the case being referred to the arbitration of Baron Lambert, the British Company was awarded its rights. Subsequent disputes delayed the concession being effected.

the African mainland for the Canary Islanders; whilst an English company has obtained treaty-rights, by which a claim has been instituted over the remaining coast-line between Cape Bojador and the frontier of Morocco.

These claims to the Littoral of the Sahara will require some adjustment; for, quite recently, a French sphere of influence has been instituted over the whole of the Saharan regions between Algeria and Senegambia. This proclamation resulted from negotiations with Great Britain. By the recent Anglo-German Agreement—to which we shall presently refer—no account had been taken by the Contracting Powers of the old Anglo-French Agreement (1862) respecting the independence of Zanzibar. Utilising this omission as a lever, France very shrewdly negotiated her interests in other parts of Africa, where the complaisance of Great Britain was necessary. Declarations were exchanged¹ between the two Governments, with the following results:—(1) France became a consenting party to the Anglo-German Convention of 1st July 1890; (2) Great Britain recognised the French Protectorate over the island of Madagascar. This island, which had long been the theatre of colonial rivalry between France and Britain, had been placed under French protection by the treaty of 17th December 1885 (which had practically secured the sovereign rights of France), but it had never been formally recognised by Britain. And (3) Great Britain recognised “the sphere of influence of France to the south of her Mediterranean Possessions, up to a line from Say on the Niger to Barrua on Lake Tsad, drawn in such a manner as to comprise in the sphere of action of the British Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the kingdom of Sokoto; the line to be determined by the commissioners to be appointed.”

Of even greater importance than the above arrangement with France was the Anglo-German Agreement of July 1890. This Convention attempted to adjust the outstanding rival claims of Great Britain and Germany in Africa. The arrangement was an equitable one, and a diplomatic triumph to its negotiators. The following were the main provisions, and have been given effect to on our map:—

(1.) The Anglo-German frontier in East Africa, which, by the Convention of 1886, ended at a point on the eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, was continued on the same latitude across the lake to the confines of the Congo Independent State; but, on the western side of the lake, this frontier is, if necessary, to be deflected to the south, in order to include Mount M'fumbiro within the British sphere.² (2.) The southern boundary of the German sphere of influence in East Africa was recognised as that originally drawn to a point on the eastern shore of Lake Nyassa, whence it was continued by the eastern, northern, and western shores of the lake to the northern bank of the mouth of the

¹ The Anglo-French Agreement, signed at London, 5th August 1890.—*Parliamentary Paper: Africa*, No. 9, 1890.

² Treaties in that district were made on behalf of the British East Africa Company by Mr. Stanley, on his return (May 1889) from the relief of Emin Pacha.

³ Anglo-German Convention, 1886, and German-Portuguese Convention, 1886.

river Songwé. From this point the Anglo-German frontier was continued to Lake Tanganika, in such a manner as to leave the Stevenson Road within the British sphere. (3.) The northern frontier of British East Africa was defined by the Jub River and the conterminous boundary of the Italian sphere of influence in Galla-land and Abyssinia up to the confines of Egypt; in the west, by the Congo State and the Congo-Nile water-shed. (4.) Germany withdrew, in favour of Britain, her Protectorate over Vitu and her claims to all territories on the mainland to the north of the River Tana, as also over the islands of Patta and Manda. (5.) In South-West Africa the Anglo-German frontier, originally fixed up to 22° south latitude, was confirmed; but from this point the boundary-line was drawn in such a manner eastwards and northwards (see Map) as to give Germany free access to the Zambezi by the Chobe River. (6.) The Anglo-German frontier between Togo and Gold Coast Colony was fixed, and that between the Cameroons and the British Niger Territories was provisionally adjusted. (7.) The Free-Trade zone, defined by the Act of Berlin (1885), was recognised as applicable to the present arrangement between Britain and Germany, and its stipulations as binding upon both parties. Thus "it is specially understood that, in accordance with these provisions, the passage of goods of both Powers will be free from all hindrances and from all transit-dues between Lake Nyassa and the Congo State, between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganika, on Lake Tanganika, and between that lake and the northern boundary of the two spheres." (8.) A British Protectorate was recognised over the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar within the British coastal zone and over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Britain, on the other hand, pledged herself to use all her influence to secure corresponding advantages¹ for Germany within the German coastal zone and over the island of Mafia. Finally (9), the island of Heligoland, in the North Sea, was ceded by Britain to Germany.

The tact and ability with which conflicting claims were thus adjusted by Lord Salisbury were equally conspicuous in his negotiation of the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 20th August 1890. We have already alluded to the chief points in dispute between Britain and Portugal. Their adjustment—if, perchance, it may be regarded as final—formed the last of a chain of treaties which, it may be hoped, will bind down the European Powers in Africa to "keep the peace" for some time to come.

The boundary-lines laid down by the Anglo-Portuguese Convention are approximately shown on our map: some time must, however, elapse before any precise delimitation of the territories can be made. The adjustment of rival claims, though on the whole favourable to Portugal, has been very fairly carried out. Portugal has obtained the recognition of some of her historical pretensions, and now has ample scope for any possible expansion of her Eastern and Western possessions. In a few words we may broadly distinguish what Britain and Portugal have gained by their compact.

Great Britain acquired a broad Central sphere of influence for the

¹ These have since been obtained.

expansion of her possessions in South Africa northwards to and beyond the Zambezi (which, between the Zumbo district and the Katima Rapids, flows entirely through the British sphere), up to the confines of the Congo Independent State¹ and German East Africa.

Portugal, on the East Coast, secured the Lower Zambezi from Zumbo, and the Lower Shiré from the Ruvo confluence, the entire *Hinterland* of Mozambique up to Lake Nyassa,² and the *Hinterland* of Sofala, to the confines of the South African Republic and the Matabele kingdom. On the West Coast, Portugal received the entire *Hinterland* behind her provinces in Lower Guinea, up to the confines of the Congo Independent State³ and the upper course of the Zambezi.

Lord Salisbury, in his negotiations with Germany and Portugal, very wisely upheld the principle of Free Trade, which was laid down by the Act of Berlin, 1885, in regard to the free transit of goods through territories in which two or more Powers are indirectly interested. Thus, by the Anglo-German compact, the Contracting Powers reserved for their respective subjects "a right of way," so to speak, along the main channels or routes of communication. Through the application of the same principle in the recent Anglo-Portuguese Convention, Portugal obtains not only a "right of way" across the British Zambezi zone, but also the privilege of constructing railways and telegraphs. She thereby secures free and uninterrupted connection between her possessions on the East Coast and those on the West Coast. A similar concession is made to Britain in the Zambezi basin, within the Portuguese sphere. Finally, the Zambesi itself has been declared free to the flags of all nations.

Britain has stipulated for the right of pre-emption in the event of Portugal wishing to dispose of territories south of the Zambezi. The transit-dues over Portuguese territories and waterways are not to exceed 3 per cent. *ad valorem*—the same as fixed by the Portuguese Tariff of 1877.

This concludes our view of the political partition of Africa. As a result it will be seen that, south of the Equator, the whole of the continent has been divided among the European Powers; but north of the Equator the internal boundaries are nearly all unsettled. In other words, Pagan Africa is at the present day under the domination of Europe, but Mohammedan Africa remains under Arab or native rule.

¹ The "confines" of the Congo Independent State require more precise delimitation, since treaties have quite recently (January to June 1890) been concluded between British agents and native chiefs as follows:—In the Barotsé country, and between Nyassa and the Loangwa, in the Angoni country (British South Africa Company), and in Msiri's kingdom (Katanga) by Mr. Alfred Sharpe, acting under instructions from Consul Johnston.

² As far south as latitude 13° 30', whence the frontier is deflected south-east to the eastern shores of Lakes Chiuta and Shirwa.

³ Belgium, however, disputes the claims of Portugal to Lunda, Kasanje, and other territories to the east of the river Kwango, on the strength of a treaty concluded on 14th February 1885 between the African Association and Portugal, which fixed the Kwango as the common frontier, and of treaties with native chiefs alleged to have been recently made by Belgian explorers. Portugal, on the other hand, disputes the Belgian interpretation of the treaty of 1885 and advances prior claims [treaties made by expeditions under Silva Porto, Carvalho, and others]. Meantime, on 10th June 1890, the district was incorporated (on paper) with the Congo State, under the designation of "Western Kwango." Portugal, however, proposes to extend the railway from Ambaca to Kasanje.