

HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 89

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PARTITION OF AFRICA

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE

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1920



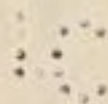
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Editorial Note.

IN the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly

Director of the Historical Section.

January 1920.

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PARTITION OF AFRICA

I. GENERAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal.
1578 Defeat of King Sebastian of Portugal at Kasr-*al-Kabir*.
1588 Royal Charter granted to British merchants for trade with Senegambia.
1798 Napoleon Bonaparte lands in Egypt.
1814 Cession of the Cape of Good Hope to Great Britain.
1817 France recovers her Senegal settlements.
1830 France undertakes the conquest of Algeria.
1834 Slavery abolished throughout the British Empire.
1845 French settlement founded on the Gabun River.
1861 Great Britain annexes Lagos Island.
1863 France purchases Obok.
1873 Transfer to Great Britain of Dutch territory on the Gold Coast.
1875 Great Britain acquires Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal.
1876 Leopold, King of the Belgians, summons a conference of geographical experts of all nationalities. Foundation of the *Caisse de la Dette* in Egypt.
1877 Great Britain annexes the Transvaal. Stanley crosses Africa and reaches the mouth of the Congo.
1881 French expansion inland from the Senegal River. Occupation of Tunis. Convention of Pretoria between Great Britain and South African Republic.
1882 Revolt of Arabi Pasha. France withdraws from Egypt. Military intervention by Great Britain. Italy occupies Assab. Foundation of German Colonial Society.
1883 France delivers an ultimatum to Madagascar.
1884 Foundation of German colonial empire in Africa. German flag hoisted in Togoland, Cameroon, and German South-West and East Africa. London Convention between Great Britain and South African Republic. British Somaliland declared a Protectorate. International Congress on African affairs meets at Berlin.

- 1885 Fall of Khartum. General Act of the Berlin Conference signed. Constitution of the Congo Free State. Oil Rivers territory proclaimed a British Protectorate. British occupation of Bechuanaland. Spanish Protectorate declared over Rio de Oro district.
- 1886 Royal Niger Company is authorised to administer Lower Niger territories, and extends influence northward. International Commission meets to determine limits of Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions.
- 1888 British East Africa Company receives a Royal Charter. Italy consolidates her position on the Red Sea coast. Rhodes secures full mineral rights in Matabeleland.
- 1889 Treaty between Italy and Ethiopia. Italian occupation of Benadir ports. France establishes protection over Niger kingdoms. Portugal fails to substantiate her claim to territories lying between Angola and Mozambique. British Protectorate declared over Shire Highlands. Foundation of British South Africa Company. International Conference on African affairs meets at Brussels.
- 1890 Anglo-German Agreement. Spheres of influence defined in East, West, and South-West Africa. General Act of the Brussels Conference signed. Declarations by Great Britain and France in respect of Zanzibar, Madagascar, and the Central Sahara. The Sultan of Zanzibar cedes mainland territories to Germany. British Protectorate over Zanzibar.
- 1891 Anglo-Italian Protocols. Spheres of influence defined on Red Sea and Somali coasts. Anglo-Portuguese Treaty. Spheres of influence defined in East and Central Africa.
- 1892 British Protectorate of Zanzibar placed under Free Trade provisions of "Berlin Act." Consolidation of French power on Ivory Coast.
- 1893 Conquest of Dahomey. British East Africa Company surrenders its charter, rights, and property to the Crown.
- 1894 French extension from Dahomey and Timbuktu towards Lower Niger. British Protectorate declared over Uganda. Anglo-Congolese Boundary Agreement.
- 1895 France occupies the Upper Ubanghi territories and advances towards the Nile Valley. Attempted Italian occupation of Tigre province.
- 1896 The Emperor Menelik defeats the Italian army at Adowa. Italy abandons her claim to a protectorate over Ethiopia.
- 1897 France occupies Niki and Busa. The Protectorate of German East Africa declared a German colony.
- 1898 Anglo-French Convention. Spheres of influence defined east and west of the Niger. Battle of Omdurman and capture of Khartum. Major Marchand's expedition reaches Fashoda.

- 1899 Anglo-French Declaration. France withdraws from the Nile Valley. War declared between Great Britain and the Boer Republics. Agreement between Great Britain and the Khedive concerning the Sudan.
- 1900 Annexation by Great Britain of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. France conquers Lake Chad kingdoms.
- 1901 The Crown assumes control of territories administered by the Royal Niger Company. Protectorate declared over Northern Nigeria.
- 1902 Peace concluded between Great Britain and the Boer Republics. German troops reach Lake Chad.
- 1903 The Herero tribes rise against German rule in German South-West Africa.
- 1904 Anglo-French Convention and Declaration. Settlement of outstanding questions in West and Central Africa and in Morocco and Egypt. Franco-Spanish Declaration respecting integrity of Morocco. The Namaqua tribes join the Herero rising.
- 1905 The German Emperor visits Tangier. British, Italian, and Abyssinian forces reduce the Mullah of Somaliland to submission. Native rising in German East Africa.
- 1906 Algeciras Conference. Responsible government granted to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies.
- 1907 Herr Dernburg, Imperial Colonial Secretary, visits German East Africa and inaugurates new regime.
- 1908 Belgium assumes the right of sovereignty over the Congo Free State. Meeting of South African Convention to consider the question of Union.
- 1909 Constitution of the Union of South Africa. Germany declares her interests in Morocco to be essentially economic. Hostilities resumed with the Mullah in Somaliland.
- 1910 British administration of Somaliland confined to coastal regions. Spain temporarily reduces the Rif country (Morocco) to submission.
- 1911 Despatch of German warship *Panther* to Agadir Bay. International crisis. Franco-German Conventions signed in respect of Morocco and French Equatorial Africa. Turco-Italian war. Italy invades Tripoli and Cyrenaica.
- 1912 Treaty of Ouchy (Lausanne) establishes Italian sovereignty in the Tripolitaine. France recognises a Spanish Protectorate over the Rif country (Morocco).
- 1914 Reoccupation of British Somaliland. Egypt declared a British Protectorate.

(1) INTRODUCTION

BEFORE the middle of the nineteenth century Africa was, broadly speaking, known to the outside world as a series of coast-lines rather than as a continent. The north, apart from Egypt, which was Asiatic rather than African in character, was primarily regarded as the southern fringe of the Mediterranean; the west was the eastern shore of the Atlantic basin, its history being bound up with that of the West Indies and America; the south, though colonized by the Dutch and the British, was above all the turning point and stopping place on the route to the East and later the half-way house to Australia; while the east coast of Africa was the western shore of the Indian Ocean, with Arab and East Indian connections.

The opening up of the continent, the tracing of the course of the great rivers, and the discovery of the great lakes were largely due to scientific progress, missionary enterprise, and to the crusade against the slave trade between the coast and the interior. There were indeed noted African explorers before Livingstone, but, more than any other man, he was the father of the new era, which may be dated from the twenty years of his travels between 1853 and 1873.

Early Colonial Effort.—The Portuguese were the original European explorers, exploiters, and lords of the African coasts. By the middle of the sixteenth century this adventurous race held the island of Goree under the shadow of Cape Verde, several posts between the Senegal River and Cape Blanco, and trading stations on the Lower Gambia and on the rivers between the Gambia and Sierra Leone. Portuguese rule was firmly established also at various points on the Gold Coast and on the coast of Dahomey, at Lagos, at Old Calabar, and on the Cameroon River, while an alliance was formed with the powerful kings of the Lower Congo. Further south, the colony of Angola was founded; and on the East African coast the Portu-

guese reigned supreme in virtue of Vasco da Gama's great voyages, and of the capture from the Arabs of Mogadishu, Lamu, Malinda, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Kilwa, Mozambique, Quelimane, Sena, and Sofala. Portugal was also in close touch with Abyssinia; and on the Mediterranean littoral she succeeded in building up a species of empire over Northern Morocco. But the defeat and death of King Sebastian at Kasr al-Kabir in 1578, and the subsequent fusion of the crowns of Portugal and Spain, were to deal a fatal blow at Portuguese prestige in Africa.

Before long the Dutch, eager for a footing on the African coasts, seized the Portuguese settlements in Senegal and on the Gold Coast, and attempted to establish themselves in Angola and Mozambique.

About the same time French chartered companies began trading on the Senegal River, an operation which soon brought them into conflict with the Dutch and was to result in the latter being driven out of their Senegambian forts. After this event the French proceeded vigorously to develop their settlements at or near the mouth of the Senegal, and the close of the seventeenth century witnessed the despatch of expeditions inland as far as the mountainous region of the Upper Senegal. Though the seed then sown was not to bear fruit until a century and a half later, modern French West African policy may be said to date from this enterprise.

Meanwhile British companies of merchant adventurers had established a growing trade with the coast of West Africa, and the Royal Charter granted in 1588 to certain Devonshire merchants, entitling them to carry on commerce with Senegambia, laid the foundation of the oldest British colony in Africa, Gambia. During the next hundred years British ships sailed in increasing numbers to the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast, and by the end of the seventeenth century British influence had begun to predominate in these regions.

This century witnessed British colonial expansion in

other directions; and, when Portugal recovered her independence in 1640, it was deemed expedient to renew the ancient Treaty of Alliance of 1373. In 1642, therefore, a Treaty of Peace, Commerce, and Alliance was signed. This was confirmed by the Marriage Treaty of Charles II, signed June 23, 1661, which imposed upon Great Britain the duty of defending and protecting the Portuguese colonies in return for the cession of Bombay, Tangier, and other Portuguese possessions. This obligation has been held binding ever since and has considerably influenced the relations between Great Britain and Portugal. During the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese made a determined, if shortlived, effort to regain their African empire. On the west coast, the colony of Angola was extended southwards to Mossâmedes, and a claim set up to the coast-line as far south as Cape Frio. On the east, where the Arabs had retaken many of the coast towns wrested from them by followers of Vasco da Gama, Portugal determined about the middle of the eighteenth century to relinquish her foothold north of the Rovuma and to turn her attention to extending her influence over the interior of Mozambique and Zambesia. Thus, Portuguese slave-traders, pushing their way across the continent from Mozambique to Angola, spread Portuguese civilization as they went, and established friendly relations with the powerful Bantu kingdoms of the southern basin of the Congo.

During this time the Dutch steadily enlarged their colonial empire, and in 1652 took possession of Table Bay. Seven years later they acquired the whole of the Cape of Good Hope peninsula, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century the boundaries of the colony had been carried north, west, and east to the Berg River, the Zwartenberg Mountains, and the Gamtoos River. During the eighteenth century the district of Graaf Reinet was formed and the northern frontier pushed as far as the Sneeuwbergen.

But the oppressive rule and gradual decay of the Dutch East India Company, who administered the

territory, hampered its colonisation by white races. Furthermore, the importance of Cape Town as a port of call on the way to India was manifest, and during the latter part of the century it became abundantly clear that either England or France would seize the district at the first opportunity. This arose in 1781, on the entry of Holland into the war with Great Britain, and the British Government lost no time in despatching an expeditionary force to seize the coveted possession. The attempt failed, but in 1795, on this occasion with the authorisation of the Prince of Orange, Cape Town was garrisoned by a British force. Although the Cape was surrendered to Holland by the Peace of Amiens in 1802, possession of it was resumed on a permanent basis by Great Britain in 1806. The colony was formally and finally ceded by Holland in 1814.

French influence in Senegal remained paramount until the middle of the eighteenth century. The settlements were then captured by the British, who kept them until 1778, and, taking them again five years later, held them throughout the Napoleonic Wars. Thus, for more than half a century, France had practically no foothold on the African coast.

Excepting in Morocco, the Ottoman Turks replaced the Arabs in northern Africa, and the sixteenth century saw Turkish influence firmly established in Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria. After the Emperor Charles V had attempted unsuccessfully to found a Spanish empire on the North African coast, the Porte ruled comparatively undisturbed until Bonaparte, fresh from his first Italian campaign, eluded the British fleet, and landed at the head of 40,000 troops at Alexandria on July 2, 1798. Although Great Britain eventually shattered Napoleon's dream of an eastern empire, of which Egypt was to have been the keystone, the invasion of this country by the French brought it into touch with European civilization and prepared the way for its detachment from the Ottoman Empire.

In 1817 France recovered her Senegal settlements

and at once resumed the task of extending and consolidating her influence in this region. Thirteen years later she undertook the conquest of Algeria.

Great Britain's position on the West African coast was now more clearly defined, and British sovereignty and protection were soon to transform the scattered settlements on the Gambia and on the Sierra Leone and Gold Coasts into thriving colonies. In South Africa, the British extended the northern frontiers of the Cape to the Orange River. The immigrants of 1820-21 introduced a strong British element into the colony, the eastern part of which, owing to the distribution of the new settlers, became British in race and language as compared with the central and western, which remained principally Dutch. In 1833, the Cape received a regular constitution as a Crown Colony. About this time an extension of British influence was taking place in the district now known as Natal, where British settlers had acquired certain territories from the Zulu chief Chaka.

After the expulsion of the Portuguese by the Arabs from Zanzibar and Mombasa, the East African coast from Somaliland to the Rovuma River had come under the power of the Imam of Muscat. An attempt made in 1824 by the East India Company to occupy Mombasa was unsuccessful; but British influence began nevertheless to predominate at Zanzibar. A series of quarrels, which arose in the royal family of Muscat, resulted in 1861 in the intervention of the Indian Government and in the separation of the Sultanate of Zanzibar from the Imamate of Muscat. The following year Great Britain and France signed a Declaration engaging, reciprocally, to respect the independence of these States.

The Dutch hold over the Gold Coast, and over the West African trade generally, received its death-blow on the abolition of slavery by the Netherlands Government in 1848. The Dutch forts and towns were finally made over to Great Britain in 1871 in exchange for the recognition of various Dutch claims in the Far East.

Of the slave-trading posts established by other European nations on the Gold Coast during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Brandenburg African Company, founded in 1681, came to an end in 1720; the Swedes soon abandoned their stations; and, though Denmark for a time retained four of her forts, these were bought by Great Britain in 1850 for the sum of 10,000*l.*

Colonial thought in Europe in the 19th Century.— From the fifteenth century onward, exploration and missionary enterprise had worked side by side in Africa. Further, the old colonial system, based upon trade considerations, tended to introduce, at least superficially, European habits and customs into the continent. Towards the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, leaders of religious and philanthropic thought combined to discredit an order of things which took into account neither the interest of the native nor the well-being of the world as a whole. It followed, therefore, that the outstanding features of the old colonial system were gradually done away with. The new outlook bore fruit in the foundation of various missionary societies, who by the beginning of the nineteenth century had established their agents at Sierra Leone and other points on the West African coast. In 1806 a Bill passed the British Parliament which put an end to the British slave trade for foreign supply; and in 1811 a Bill was passed which declared the slave trade to be an offence punishable by transportation. Under this law the trade, as far as Great Britain was concerned, was effectually suppressed. At her instance, moreover, the trade was condemned in principle by the Congress of Vienna, and in 1834 slavery was abolished as a legal condition throughout the British Empire.

Lack of space precludes other than the briefest allusion to the magnitude of the rôle assumed by Great Britain in regard to the suppression of slavery in Africa. Placing herself in the vanguard of the movement, she not only made large monetary payments to

Spain and Portugal to induce them to abandon the traffic, and spent many millions of pounds in compensating slave-owners and in founding Sierra Leone as a settlement for redeemed slaves; but also, at great cost in life and money, patrolled the coasts of the continent for many years. These efforts on the part of Great Britain, the repeal of her navigation laws in 1849, and the removal in 1860 of differential duties in favour of colonial products, were among the measures which not only played a vital part in the history of African civilisation, but served to awake other Colonial Powers to the need for similar legislation. Thus, in 1853 Portugal established freedom of trade in her East African dominions and in 1878 abolished slavery; while France abolished slavery in 1848, and in 1867 embarked on a comprehensive series of changes, which culminated in the abrogation of her navigation laws and in the revision of the prevailing system of colonial administration.

By the middle of the nineteenth century Great Britain was undergoing rapid industrial development, and in the circumstances it was natural that the Government and the nation as a whole should consider their colonial heritage largely in regard to its commercial value. For this reason unproductive possessions were allowed to decay—as, for instance, those West African colonies of which the commercial value since the abolition of slavery had become practically nil¹—while further enterprise in regions of unproved utility was severely discouraged. But a new era of thought was dawning, and when Disraeli in 1866 described England as “more of an Asiatic than a European Power,”² he indicated a new conception of the duties and potentialities of the British Empire, to which he was afterwards, during his administration (1874-80), to lend a powerful stimulus. Commercial profit ceased to be the ruling consideration.

¹ See Report from the Select Committees on Africa [Western Coast], 1865, H.C. 412.

² Speech at Aylesbury, July 13, 1866.

In France, the force of circumstances had engendered a different colonial ideal. Although, like Great Britain, she had experienced a period of commercial development and prosperity, a series of political disturbances had tended to concentrate the attention of her people chiefly on domestic affairs. But political considerations frequently led to expeditions abroad, calculated to increase the confidence of the nation in its rulers; and a spirit of adventure and acquisition was thus fostered, which not only survived the downfall of the Napoleonic tradition, but enabled France to contemplate building up a colonial empire that should compensate in some degree for the European position lost in 1870-71.

The development of the colonial idea in Germany was due in the first instance to pedagogic influences; and, shortly after the foundation of the Empire, a number of enthusiasts inaugurated a movement for acquiring overseas possessions.¹ At the beginning purely theoretical and sentimental, the movement was to assume more practical shape when the need arose for opening up new markets for the fast-growing German industries and for diverting emigration into channels where it would not be wholly lost to the nation. It is remarkable, however, that later, as the German Empire increased in prosperity, emigration declined, the figures of emigrants being 171,000 in 1885 and only 22,921 in 1898, and only a very small percentage of this number went to the German colonies. Nevertheless, the question of colonial expansion took increasingly firm hold on the German mind, and presently found expression in the Reichstag. But Bismarck was not ready, and the "Kolonialmenschen," as they were called, were to remain until 1883 a discredited element in the eyes of Europe. Later, when a series of political events had not only guaranteed the stability of the German Empire, but caused the Great Powers to fix the orientation of their policy to a large extent by reference to

¹ See *German Colonization*, No. 42 of this series.

Berlin, the movement was given free rein. This, however, was not yet, and in 1875 the German conception of overseas expansion was still in its academic stage.

The Italian colonial movement belongs likewise to a later date; and Spain, originally excluded from Africa under the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494),¹ still turned her eyes westward. Portugal, on the other hand, living in the tradition of a great African empire, and in right of her historic, if decaying, settlements, claimed vast tracts of unexplored territory in the interior of the continent.

In approaching the operations of the Powers in Africa from 1875 onwards, mention should first be made of the guiding principles which were accepted by the colonising Powers and were ultimately embodied in the General Acts of the Conferences of Berlin and Brussels. These are:—

1. The General Act of the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, which defined the conventional basin of the Congo, prohibited slave trade within that area, decreed freedom of navigation and trade on the Congo and Niger, and laid down rules for future occupation on the continent.
2. The General Act of the Brussels Conference of 1889-90, which inaugurated fresh measures for the suppression of the slave trade, and established a zone within which the importation of firearms and ammunition was forbidden, except in specified instances, and within which the

¹ By a Bull dated September 23, 1493, Pope Alexander VI declared the lands newly discovered by Columbus to be open equally to Spain and Portugal, on the understanding that Spain should approach them by the westward passage only, and not infringe Portugal's monopoly of the African coast. Under the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), the two countries fixed as the boundary of their areas a meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, which was intended to mark a midway line between the Azores, the westernmost of Portugal's colonies, and the new islands in the West Indies supposed to be the most easterly of the Spanish possessions.

signatory Powers undertook to prohibit the importation and manufacture of spirituous liquors.

2. THE PORTUGUESE IN AFRICA

It has been seen that supremacy in Africa passed in the seventeenth century from Portugal to Holland, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from Holland to Great Britain and France. But Portugal still held considerable stretches of coast-lands on the east and west of the continent, and, though she allowed these settlements to sink into stagnation and decay, she clung to her position as an African Power.¹

In West Africa, Portuguese Guinea remained practically untouched by the territorial changes which took place around it. The French, occupying the Futa-Jalon district in 1881, closed the door on the expansion of the colony, whose natural hinterland this region would have been, and completed its enclosure on the land side by the acquisition of French Guinea. The Franco-Portuguese Convention of 1886 determined the spheres of influence of the respective Powers.

Meanwhile, the journeys of Livingstone, Cameron, and Stanley, and the international undertaking which was to result in the formation of the Congo Free State, awoke Portugal to the importance of substantiating her claim to the *hinterland* of her possessions in Angola and Mozambique. Three explorers, Serpa Pinto, Capello, and Ivens, were accordingly despatched to extend Portuguese influence in the interior. Pinto, leaving St. Paul de Loanda in 1877, marched east to the Zambezi, and, descending that river to the Barotse country, crossed the Kalahari Desert to the Transvaal. Capello and Ivens explored the northern part of Angola and the basin of the Kwango. Later they

¹ See *Portuguese Colonial Empire*, No. 115 of this series.

succeeded in tracing the Upper Zambezi to its source, and, after travelling along the watershed between that river and the Congo, descended the Zambezi to the Indian Ocean.

Portuguese rights to both banks of the mouth of the Congo were recognised by Great Britain, under the convention of 1884 (*cf.* p. 39); and, though these claims were necessarily modified by the creation of the Congo Free State, Portugal afterwards regained nearly the whole of the disputed territory. Thus, on the northern bank she obtained recognition of the Cabinda enclave in virtue of the Franco-Portuguese Convention of 1886 and of the Conventions of 1885 and 1891 with the Congo Free State; while the latter arrangement established Portuguese rule over the southern bank of the Congo from the coast as far as Noki. The German-Portuguese Declaration of 1886 provided for the demarcation of the frontier between Angola and German South-West Africa, and, in common with the Franco-Portuguese Convention of the same year, recognised Portugal's right to the regions lying between Angola and Mozambique.

The attention of the Portuguese was directed to their East African colony by Livingstone's discoveries in the Zambezi basin (1858-64), and by the consequent establishment of various British settlements at the southern end of Lake Nyasa and in the Shire Highlands. An opportunity of extending Portugal's dominions arose in connection with the boundary treaty concluded in 1869 with the Transvaal, under which the Portuguese reasserted their right to Delagoa Bay, the southern shore of which was claimed by Great Britain. The dispute being referred to the arbitration of the French President in 1872, the latter's decision, delivered in 1875, was entirely in favour of Portugal, who in the meantime had agreed not to part with the territory to any third Power. This verdict and the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 gave additional stimulus to the reviving colonial activity of the Portuguese, who began to extend in South-East Africa, and to advance

territorial claims which brought them into collision with Great Britain in the Tonga country.

A difficulty of a more serious nature arose further north, where British expansion in Matabeleland and Mashonaland threatened Portugal's long-asserted claim to the territories lying between Angola and Mozambique. In 1889, Serpa Pinto was despatched ostensibly to extend Portuguese influence in the Zambezi basin. Suddenly deflecting north, however, Pinto sought to obtain possession of the Shire Highlands by a *coup de main*. The attempt proved a failure, owing to the determination and energy of the resident British officials, who placed the district under British protection. Their action was subsequently upheld by the British Government, and an ultimatum was sent (1890) to Portugal (*cf.* p. 31). Prolonged negotiations resulted in a *modus vivendi*, and later an agreement was reached under the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891, by which Portugal was left in possession of the coastlands, Great Britain maintaining her right to the Matabele and Mashona territories and to the sphere afterwards known as the Nyasaland Protectorate.

This instrument, supplemented by an exchange of Notes in 1895, provided also for the demarcation of the frontier between Portuguese East Africa and Tongaland. The frontier with the Transvaal and Swaziland, defined under the Treaty of 1869, was confirmed in 1875, while on the north the Declaration of 1886 between Germany and Portugal, supplemented by an exchange of Notes in 1894, fixed the boundary line of their respective spheres from Cape Delgado to Lake Nyasa.

The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891, which, besides effecting territorial readjustment in Central Africa, laid down the interior limits of Angola south of the eleventh parallel, assigned the Barotse kingdom to the British sphere, without, however, precisely defining the frontier of that country. In 1903 the question was referred to the arbitration of the King of Italy, who, by his award, delivered in 1905, defined

the twenty-fourth meridian as the most easterly limit of Portuguese influence from the Congo Free State to 13° south.

3. THE FRENCH IN AFRICA

French African policy during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the outcome of a plan, consciously formulated, for the building up of a colonial empire that should compensate in some measure for the position lost in Europe in 1870-71.

The difficulties attending the conquest of Algeria and the part played by France in the Franco-British-Italian commission appointed in 1869 to control Tunisian finances served to concentrate French attention on North Africa during the first years of the Third Republic. The natural result, therefore, of the consolidation of French rule in Algeria was to carry the tricolour southward into the Sahara.

At first progress was slow and the tribes offered a determined and often successful resistance to the expeditions sent against them; but the establishment of French control in Tunis had a powerful effect on the native mind, and resulted eventually in the pacification of the Tuareg country.

Acting on hints given to its representative at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the French Government induced the Bey of Tunis in 1881 to accept French protection, which, based on the Treaty of the Bardo or Kassar-Saïd, was confirmed in 1883.

Meanwhile, a series of events in Egypt had necessitated European intervention. The foundation of the Caisse de la Dette in 1876 was followed by the establishment of a dual control shared by France and Great Britain. Excepting for a short period, during which Ismail Pasha set aside his European advisers, this system of government obtained until the crisis brought about by the revolt of Arabi Pasha. After lengthy discussion, Gambetta persuaded Lord Granville to acquiesce in joint intervention. Gambetta's fall, early in 1882, however, upset this arrangement; and, when

the British Government prepared to take military action, the French fleet left Alexandria. Shortly afterwards, the defeat of Freycinet's Ministry on a vote of credit for money to send ships to protect the Suez Canal finally ended the question of French military intervention in Egypt.

The withdrawal of the French from Egypt was followed by their expansion on the Somali coast. Obok,¹ purchased in 1863 as a set-off to the British occupation of Perim, was extended southward, so as to include the Bay of Tajura, and inland towards Harrar. Besides making good her foothold on the Gulf of Aden, France prepared to put an end to the anomaly of her position in Madagascar. In 1868 she had formally recognised the independence of the island, but a series of disputes led to an ultimatum, delivered in 1883. Upon the refusal of the Malagasy to comply with the French demands, war was declared, and it virtually established French protection over the island. The recognition of this by Great Britain under the Anglo-French Declaration of 1890,² together with the British acknowledgment of French influence over the whole of the Central Sahara, constituted the *quid pro quo* of French recognition of British supremacy in Zanzibar, agreed to on the same day by a separate Declaration.

French domination over the Upper Niger territories was an essential objective of the policy which sought to create an empire stretching from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Guinea, and from the Atlantic to the Nile. In 1881, therefore, Captain (afterwards General) Gallieni was despatched up the Senegal to build a railway to connect that river with the Upper Niger. The next ten years witnessed a succession of military expeditions, which eventually brought Kaarta and Segu under the French flag and opened the road to Timbuktu, finally captured in 1894.

¹ Afterwards called Côte Française des Somalis.

² In 1865 Great Britain had agreed to recognise the independence of the island.

Meanwhile, in 1881 French protection had been established over Futa-Jalon, an important area forming the *hinterland* respectively of Gambia, the Kasamansé district of Senegal, Portuguese Guinea, and the French coast colony of Les Rivières du Sud.¹ The new protectorate was acknowledged by Portugal under the Franco-Portuguese Convention of 1886, and by Great Britain under the Anglo-French Arrangement of 1889.² This agreement, moreover, supplemented by that of 1895, definitely put an end to British expansion north and east of Sierra Leone.

Another event of far-reaching importance was the establishment in 1888-1890 of French protection over the kingdoms lying within the great northern bend of the Niger. The result of this enterprise was to open up the *hinterland* of the French settlements on the Ivory Coast; and the annexation of the coast between Grand Bassam and Liberia followed in 1892 by arrangement with Great Britain. The boundary with Liberia and the interior, laid down the same year, secured to France the whole basin of the Upper Niger and its affluents.³ The frontier with the Gold Coast Colony was fixed under the Anglo-French Arrangement of 1893, which, however, left the territory north of the ninth parallel undefined. The Franco-German and Anglo-French Conventions of 1897 and 1898 prolonged the eastern boundary of the Ivory Coast Colony to 11° N., and fixed this parallel roughly as the boundary between the French territories in the Niger bend and the Gold Coast Colony and Togoland.

French designs on the Niger were furthered by the final conquest of Dahomey in 1893. On the west, the frontier with Togoland was eventually defined by the Franco-German Convention of 1897, supplemented by

¹ Later known as French Guinea.

² French supremacy in the *hinterland* of Gambia was again recognised by Great Britain under the Anglo-French Convention of 1904, which gave France the river port of Yarbataenda.

³ The frontier was finally determined by the Franco-Liberian Agreement of 1907.

the Declaration of 1912. On the east, the Anglo-French Arrangement of 1889 determined the line between the French colony and Lagos as far as the ninth parallel, but made no provision for the demarcation of the district further north. The Anglo-French Declaration of 1890 recognised French influence in the Central Sahara as far south as a line drawn from Say on the Niger to Barrua on Lake Chad. All access to the Lower Niger by means of the left bank of the river was thus cut off. The right bank, however, lay open in so far that the Anglo-French spheres were not defined in the region between the ninth parallel and Say. France was quick to avail herself of the opening, and step by step expeditions from Timbuktu and from Dahomey carried French influence to a converging point. This was reached in 1897, when, in spite of Great Britain's claim to a protectorate over the Borgu country, Busa and Niki were occupied (*cf.* p. 27). The situation thus created was serious, but a compromise was effected by the Anglo-French Convention of 1898.¹

During this time an extension of French influence had taken place in the Gabun, which was in line with the movement that carried the tricolour across the Sahara and from the coast of Senegal to Lake Chad.

The settlement on the Gabun River owes its origin to the decision of the French Government in 1845 to provide a port on the Lower Guinea coast where men-of-war might revictual. A measure of success attended the undertaking, but owing to the Franco-German War the new colony was practically abandoned.

The work of exploration went on, nevertheless, and in 1875 de Brazza, nominally in the service of the International African Association,² was despatched by the French Committee into the interior. The explorer

¹ Under this arrangement France withdrew from Busa, but kept Niki and a great part of Borgu. The Say-Barrua line was also modified so as to give her both banks of the Niger as far as Ilo.

² Later the Congo Free State. See *infra*: 5. *The Belgians in Africa*, p. 38, *et seq.*

ascended the Ogowe and penetrated the country lying to the north of that river; then, hearing of Stanley's great trans-continental journey, travelled rapidly overland to Stanley Pool, planting the tricolour and making treaties for France as he went. De Brazza's next step was to establish French influence in the region of the Sanga and Ubanghi Rivers, and to explore fully the country behind the Gabun River and Loango. The last-named seaport was occupied by France in 1883, and the boundary line with the Portuguese territory of Cabinda was settled shortly afterwards by the Franco-Portuguese Convention of 1886.

These acquisitions gave rise to a keen and even bitter rivalry between French interests and those of the International African Association, represented by Stanley. A compromise was effected, however, by the Franco-Congolese Convention of 1885. Two years later an additional agreement defined the fourth parallel as the northern limit of the Free State. But this arrangement was not adhered to by the Congo authorities, who in 1891-92 contrived to push back the French frontier to 9° N. This difficulty, together with that occasioned by the Anglo-Congolese Agreement of 1894, which France held to be prejudicial to her advance towards the Nile, was finally settled by an agreement signed later in the same year. Under it King Leopold renounced all claim to the area west of 30° E., and north from a line drawn from that meridian to the Nile along $5^{\circ} 30'$ N.; while France agreed to recognise the Mbomu River as the northern frontier of the Free State.¹

Meanwhile the disputed Spanish claim to territory lying between the Campo and Gabun Rivers was being investigated by a joint commission which began to sit in

¹ The right of pre-emption over the territories in the Congo basin, enjoyed by France in virtue of Notes exchanged in 1884, was finally accepted by Belgium under the Agreement of 1908, which also defined the frontier of the Lower Congo.

Paris in 1886.¹ Germany's occupation of Cameroon was followed by the Franco-German Protocols of 1885 and 1894, which laid down the boundary of French Equatorial Africa, confirming the French right to extend northward to Lake Chad. This extension had begun in 1890, when France, strengthening her hold on the Sanga and Ubanghi, prepared to push up the Shari to the shores of that lake. The same movement carried her eastwards towards Darfur and Bahr el-Ghazal. In 1895-97 she took possession of the Upper Ubanghi territories and advanced towards the Nile, which Major Marchand's expedition reached at Fashoda in 1898. Negotiations of some delicacy followed, but a crisis was averted; and it was ultimately agreed under the Declaration of 1899, which completed the Anglo-French Convention of the preceding year, that French influence should have as boundary the water parting between the watersheds of the Nile and the Congo. In return for the evacuation of the Nile Valley, France secured exclusive powers of extension in the kingdoms of Chad, Baghirmi, Wadai, and Kanem. After considerable fighting the subjugation of the warlike inhabitants of these territories was achieved by expeditions from Senegal, Algiers, and the French Congo, which, under Liotard and Gentil, combined to defeat Rabah, the powerful Sultan of Bornu, in 1900.

The conclusion of the 1898 and 1899 agreements with Great Britain left the French free to effect the consolidation of their empire in other directions. In 1903 a French protectorate was established over the Moorish territories to the north of the Lower Senegal, and the following year these regions were formally constituted the territory of Mauretania. The effective area of French control was further increased by the acquisition during 1905-6 of the oases of Air, Bilna,

¹ The Franco-Spanish Convention of 1900, which eventually delimited the frontier with the Rio Muni settlement [Spanish Guinea], secured to Spain a block of country with a coast-line from the Campo to the Muni, and gave France the right of pre-emption over this territory and the adjacent islands.

and Janet in the Central Sahara, and by the conquest of Adrar, which was added to the Mauretania territory in 1909.

The work of the Anglo-French Convention of 1898 and the Declaration of 1899 was completed by the Convention and Declaration of 1904, which set at rest the outstanding questions between the two countries, including that of French liberty of action in Morocco.¹ The position of France in Morocco was further recognised by the Franco-Spanish Declaration of 1904. At first, the German Government offered no objection to the arrangement, but within a few months the reverses suffered by Russia in Manchuria materially altered the situation, and Germany accordingly showed her hand. On March 31, 1905, shortly after the battle of Mukden, the German Emperor visited Tangier, and proclaimed himself the champion of Moroccan integrity. This was followed by a demand for a conference of the European Powers, and by the resignation of the French Foreign Minister, M. Delcassé, who opposed this measure. The French Government thereupon agreed to the principle of a conference, and representatives of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, and Spain met at Algeciras on January 16, 1906. With great difficulty the reconciliation of French and German claims was effected and a scheme of reforms elaborated. The General Act, embodying the resolutions of the Conference, was signed on April 7 of the same year. Amongst other things it was provided that French capital should be allotted a larger share than that of any other Power in the newly-constituted Moorish State Bank, while French and Spanish officers were entrusted with the organization of a Moorish police force for the maintenance of order in the principal coast towns.

The new regime was ushered in by a series of outrages, which demonstrated the weakness of the central

¹ Under this arrangement France agreed to recognise Great Britain's position in Egypt in return for British acknowledgment of French supremacy in Morocco.

authority. Meanwhile the Sultan Abd el-Aziz was overthrown by his brother, Mulai-Hafid, who, after some negotiation, was recognised in 1909 by the Powers as Sultan in his stead. The same year France signed a declaration with Germany, under which the latter acknowledged her interests in Morocco to be essentially economic, and engaged not to impede the political interests of France in that country.

The year 1911 marked a further stage in Franco-German relations in Morocco. Germany, encouraged by her success in the Near Eastern crisis of 1908, determined to improve the position which she had been obliged by the Algeciras Conference to accept; and on July 1 the German cruiser *Panther* cast anchor off Agadir, ostensibly to protect German interests in that place. In reality the incident betokened a demand for a port on the Atlantic, with claims over an indefinite *hinterland*. This principle was wholly unacceptable to both Great Britain and France, and in August war seemed imminent. At length, after a period of acute international tension, a compromise was reached, Germany agreeing to withdraw her pretensions to the Sus country and to recognise a French protectorate over Morocco in return for substantial concessions in French Equatorial Africa. These consisted of wedge-shaped territories which not only gave Germany access to the Congo and to the Ubanghi, but had the practical effect of reducing the Gabon and Middle Congo colonies to the position of an enclave. Further, a strip of territory was added to Cameroon, which thus enclosed the Spanish settlement of Rio Muni inland; and France renounced the right of pre-emption over this area and the adjacent islands. In accordance with this arrangement Morocco was declared a French protectorate in 1912 and recognised as such by Great Britain and Germany.

The negotiations between France and Spain concerning the limits of their respective spheres in North-West Africa, originally contemplated under the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1904, were terminated by the

Franco-Spanish Convention of 1912, which acknowledged a Spanish protectorate in the Spanish zone, and agreed that Tangier and the adjacent district should become an international zone some 140 square miles in extent.¹ This instrument also defined the frontier between Morocco and Rio de Oro, and provided for the recognition of the Spanish establishment of Ifni and the district round Cape Nun.

4. THE BRITISH IN AFRICA

While the French African Empire sprang from a national reawakening to the sense of colonial destiny, the British Empire in Africa came into being with no such conscious aim. Since Elizabethan times Englishmen have sought to open up new trade routes, and this impulse led to the foundation of the British West African Empire, to the acquisition of the South African territories, and to the extension of British influence on the East African coast.

West Africa

In general, the character of British West African policy between the years 1865 and 1895 was based on the findings of the Parliamentary Committee of 1865, and tended to isolate Great Britain's various possessions in that region.

In 1866 Sierra Leone was made the seat of government for the "West African Settlements," but in 1874 the Gold Coast and Lagos were detached from the administration and in 1888 Gambia was divided from Sierra Leone, which thus became a separate crown colony. As early as 1868 frontier difficulties developed with the French coastal settlements, and in 1870 and again in 1875 negotiations were opened

¹ Article 7 of the treaty made provision for the establishment at a later date of a separate form of administration for the town and district of Tangier.

between Great Britain and France for the regulation of their positions in Western Africa on the basis of a mutual exchange of territories, including Gambia. The scheme, however, was strongly opposed on sentimental grounds, and came to nothing. Meanwhile a policy of calculated inactivity on the part of Great Britain resulted in 1880 in the establishment of French protection over the districts forming the hinterland of Gambia and Sierra Leone.

The transfer to Great Britain of Dutch territory on the Gold Coast in 1871 entailed a quarrel with the powerful kingdom of Ashanti, and though the campaign of 1873-74 forced King Kofi Karikari to acknowledge Great Britain's supremacy on the coast, relations with Ashanti continued to be unsatisfactory until 1895, when the Home Government despatched an expedition, which established British protection over the whole area.¹

The formal annexation of Lagos Island in 1861 was followed by a gradual extension of British influence, which by 1886 predominated in the coast territories from Dahomey to Benin. Further south, the establishment of British trade in the Niger Delta in the region known as the Oil Rivers District, about the middle of the nineteenth century, led to an attempt to open up the interior, but for various reasons this premature development was abandoned. Meanwhile French and German traders were attracted to the district, and fierce competition ensued. To meet this Sir George (then Captain) Taubman Goldie in 1879 formed the United African Company, with the object of developing British trade at the expense of less united rivals. It was just in time. The following year saw the establishment of two French firms, under the recognised protection of the French Government; and the setting up of numerous trading stations on the Lower Niger was admittedly in line with the French extension from Senegal toward the upper

¹ The territory was formally annexed in 1901.

waters of that river. At length, after a costly struggle, the French concerns were bought out by the British company, now become the National African Company, and a few days later the British representative at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 was able to state that England alone possessed trading interests on the Lower Niger. The Oil Rivers Protectorate was formally proclaimed in June 1885. The following year the National African Company received a Royal Charter, and under the title of Royal Niger Company was authorised to administer the territory bordering the Niger from Lokoja to the sea, and on the coast from the Forcados to the Nun mouth of the river. The company at once opened negotiations with the Sultans of Sokoto and Gandu; and a nominal extension of territory was carried over the whole sphere of influence thus secured, which frustrated the efforts of the German Colonial Society in this region.

The expansion of British and French coastal possessions led to the Arrangement of 1889, which gave Great Britain control of the Great Scarcies River and of the Sulimama and Kouranko territories lying between Sierra Leone and the headwaters of the Upper Niger, but debarred her from access to that river and from the *hinterland* of Gambia.¹

Meanwhile the German occupation of Togoland and Cameroon in 1884 necessitated the definition of Anglo-German spheres of influence. This was accomplished by the Agreements of 1890 and 1893, which delimited respectively the boundary between the Gold Coast and Togoland, from the coast to the confluence of the Rivers Volta and Dakka, and that between Southern Nigeria and Cameroon, from the Cross River to Yola.²

The consolidation of French power on the Ivory

¹ The Gambia frontier was again modified under the Anglo-French Convention of 1904, when Yarbatenda was ceded to the French, who thus obtained a port on the river.

² The final extension of the line between the confines of that town and Lake Chad took place in 1906.

Coast and in the Kong territories was followed by the Arrangement of 1893, which provided for the demarcation of the Anglo-French frontier from the sea to 9° N. The British and French spheres lying north of this parallel were left undefined, but eventually a British protectorate was proclaimed, the Northern territories being constituted a separate district in 1897. The frontier separating the Gold Coast Colony from the Ivory Coast was extended as far as 11° N. under the Anglo-French Convention of 1898, which fixed this parallel as the northern limit of British influence in the district. A corresponding extension took place between British and German territory on the east, where the zone north of the confluence of the Volta and Dakka, declared neutral in virtue of an arrangement concluded in 1888, was divided by the two Powers concerned under the Conventions of 1899 and 1901.

Great Britain's position on the Middle Niger was less clearly defined. The Anglo-French Declaration of 1890, which designated a line drawn from Say on the Niger to Barrua on Lake Chad as the southern boundary of the French sphere of influence in the Central Sahara,¹ made no provision for the demarcation of the frontier from the ninth parallel to the Niger. Thus, the French, marching north-east from Dahomey and south-east from Timbuktu, were able to occupy the Borgu country and the territories on both banks of the Niger below Say. These encroachments culminated in 1897 in the occupation of Busa, declared a British protectorate three years previously, and in that of Niki. A period of considerable tension was put an end to by the Convention of 1898, under which Great Britain regained Busa (*cf.* p. 19).

In view of the international character of the questions at issue, it was now deemed advisable to place the territories administered by the Royal Niger Company

¹ The acknowledgment by Great Britain of a French sphere of influence over the Central Sahara was in return for French recognition of British supremacy in Zanzibar.

under the direct control of the Crown. The transfer took place on January 1, 1901, when the company, abandoning the prefix "Royal" with its political rights, became a purely trading corporation. The southern portion of its territories was amalgamated with the Niger Coast Protectorate, under the name of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. The northern portion, together with the other territories already recognised as under British protection, extending nominally from a line drawn slightly above 7° N. to the Anglo-French boundary, was proclaimed a protectorate under the title of Northern Nigeria.

The next few years saw British authority established *de facto* as well as *de jure* over the northern districts, and by 1903 the King's writ ran throughout Northern Nigeria. Under the Anglo-French Convention of 1904 a slight modification was effected in the northern frontier of the Protectorate, whereby France acquired a well-watered route between her Upper Nigeria and Lake Chad possessions. A further Agreement in 1906 provided the basis for delimitation of Anglo-French spheres from the Gulf of Guinea to the Niger, thus completing the demarcation of the boundary from the coast to Lake Chad. On January 1, 1914, the Protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria were amalgamated into a single administration called the Protectorate of Nigeria.

South Africa

The British, in succeeding the Dutch as rulers in South Africa, extended Cape Colony to the Orange River; while the Great Trek of 1836-40 opened up the districts beyond that river and the Vaal, and resulted in 1854 in the foundation of the Orange Free State Republic, and, four years later, in that of the Transvaal. The Dutch emigrants also wrested a part of Natal from the Zulus and established there a Republican Government, but this event aroused Great Britain to action, and in 1843 Natal was constituted

British territory. The region beyond the High Veld was held by the independent and warlike Matabele tribes; further west the Bechuanaland chiefs were well disposed towards Great Britain, and offered a friendly welcome to British missionaries and explorers.

In 1858 Sir George Grey's scheme for the federation of the various colonies and States of South Africa was rejected by Lord Derby's administration. The principle of expansion, however, was not lost sight of, and in 1865 a part of Kaffraria became British; two years later twelve islands off Angra Pequena were annexed, and in 1871 Basutoland was added to the Cape territory. The same year the findings of the Keate award assigned the south-eastern part of Bechuanaland¹ to Great Britain; but in 1875 a proposal on the part of the Cape Parliament to include Great Namaqualand and Damaraland within the northern frontier of the Colony² was overruled by the British Ministry. A little later, in 1878, Sir Bartle Frere was able to obtain permission to annex Walfish Bay, the best harbour in South-West Africa, together with a few miles of adjacent coast.

In 1877 the second Disraeli Cabinet authorised the annexation of the Transvaal Republic, which, fallen upon evil days, was unable to subdue the powerful Zulu tribes within its borders. From the first, hostility towards this measure was widely manifested; it culminated in 1880 in the outbreak of war and in the retrocession of the territory. The terms of peace were embodied in the Pretoria Convention of 1881. The question of boundaries arose again the following year in connection with the establishment in Bechuanaland of the Boer Republics of Stellaland and Goshenland, but at Rhodes's instigation Sir Charles Warren

¹ Afterwards known as Griqualand West.

² This arrangement would have placed the whole country lately forming German South-West Africa under British control.

was despatched to occupy Bechuanaland.¹ This action and the occupation of St. Lucia prevented the realisation of Germany's dream of a Dutch African Confederation, under German protection, uniting the German colonies of South-West and East Africa. The London Convention of 1884, which revised the Pretoria Convention, virtually abolished British suzerainty over the Transvaal; Her Majesty's Government, however, retained the right of control over the foreign relations of that State.

The good feeling between Great Britain and the Orange Free State remained unaffected by the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877; and, though federation proposals made at that time by the British Government were declined, a neutral attitude was observed throughout the subsequent war.² The long-threatened Zulu war broke out in 1879; and though, after a period of disaster, Zululand was conquered, the struggle was the beginning of a series of native risings which culminated in the Basuto war of 1880-82 and resulted in the establishment of Basutoland as a Crown Colony.

As a reward for certain services rendered during the Zulu War, the Boers received a grant of territory in Northern Zululand, in which they established the "New Republic." This State was recognised by Great Britain in 1886 and incorporated with the Transvaal two years later.

The journeys of Livingstone and others through Matabeleland and across the Zambezi served to make

¹ The region lying to the south of the Molopo River was constituted a Crown Colony under the name of British Bechuanaland, and in 1895 annexed to the Cape. The same year the transfer of the northern district, known as the Bechuanaland Protectorate, to the British South Africa Company fell through in consequence of the Jameson Raid, and the country has since remained in the hands of the Imperial Government.

² It was not until 1889 that the Orange Free State entered into an alliance with the South African Republic. This alliance, renewed in 1897, was interpreted as binding the Free State to assist the Transvaal Government in its quarrel with Great Britain in 1899.

known the character and mineral wealth of the country; and from 1883 onwards Great Britain, Germany, Portugal, and the South African Republic each sought to establish themselves in this region. The first international difficulty arose in 1887, when a map was laid before the Portuguese Cortes showing that the territories claimed by Portugal stretched from sea to sea. These claims, to which German and French assent had been obtained in 1886, were naturally disputed by Great Britain, and led to Lord Salisbury's ultimatum of 1890 (*cf.* p. 15). The Portuguese Government yielded, and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were secured to Great Britain. Meanwhile Rhodes, who as early as 1878 had conceived the idea of extending British influence over Central Africa, obtained official permission for Moffat, the British Resident at Bulawayo, to conclude a treaty with Lobengula, the effect of which was to place all the Matabele dominions under British protection. Thereafter events moved swiftly, and by the end of 1888 Rhodes and an influential syndicate had secured full mineral rights in Lobengula's kingdom. The foundation of the British South Africa Company followed, a Charter was applied for early in 1889, and the internal development of the country was diligently undertaken. The Company was soon faced with serious native troubles which broke out after Lobengula's death in 1894, but Rhodes's personality and influence over the native tribes terminated in 1897 what threatened to be a long struggle. The event known as the Jameson Raid, the Matabele and Mashona Rebellions, and the epidemic of rinderpest, which swept the country bare, led, in 1898, to the reconstruction of the Rhodesian Constitution.

From 1894, when the British Government handed over the administration of Swaziland to the Transvaal, the relations between Great Britain and the Boer Republics became increasingly unsatisfactory. War broke out in 1899, the struggle resulting in the following year in the annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and the gradual establishment of

conditions which led to the grant of responsible government in 1906. This event, together with the growing up in Cape Colony of a party of South African Imperialists, gave rise to a movement towards closer union. In 1907 the High Commissioner, Lord Selborne, gave it as his considered opinion that the Afrikaner nation must shape its own destinies, a conviction shared alike by the leading men of the country and by the proletariat. Finally, a Convention, consisting of the members of the South African Governments, met to consider the question of union. Sitting from October 1908 to February 1909, the Convention succeeded in framing a Constitution for a united South Africa. With certain amendments, this was embodied in a Bill, which passed the Imperial Parliament in September 1909. Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony entered the Union, which came into being on May 31, 1910. The Act also made provision for the entry of Rhodesia into the Union at a future date.¹

East Africa

The history of the development of British interests in East Africa is bound up with that of Zanzibar, where for over twenty years (1866-87) the consular representative of Great Britain, Sir John Kirk, exercised strong influence. In 1877 the Sultan Bargash offered to lease his mainland territories to Sir William Mackinnon, but the British Government refused to sanction this. Kirk, however, continued to direct the Sultan's policy, and until 1885 British influence was paramount along the East African coast. In that year Germany induced Bargash to grant a lease of the mainland territories between the Uмба and Rovuma Rivers to the German East Africa Company. The actual coastal strip between these rivers was similarly leased in 1888. The International Com-

¹ A Supplemental Charter issued in 1915 rendered possible the establishment of responsible government in Southern Rhodesia.

mission which met in 1886 to determine the limits of the Sultan's dominions recognised Great Britain's claim to the district behind Mombasa, and the following year Bargash granted Mackinnon a lease of his mainland possessions north of the Uмба River. In 1888 the Imperial British East Africa Company, under Mackinnon's direction, received a Royal Charter, and prepared to administer the vast territories lying between the Mombasa coast and the Victoria Nyanza. From the first, difficulties arose out of the aggressions of the German Company, whose founder, Karl Peters, by leading an expedition into Uganda, endeavoured to cut off the British Company's territory from its natural *hinterland*. Further, a German protectorate had been already established over certain coastal districts north of the Tana River. These and other questions at issue were settled under the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890, which assigned Uganda to the British, laid down the frontier from the Indian Ocean to the Belgian Congo, and, together with the Anglo-French Declaration of the same year, recognised British supremacy in Zanzibar itself.¹ A British protectorate over Zanzibar was formally proclaimed on November 4, 1890.

On the east, the acquisition in 1889 by Italy of the Somali coast from beyond Cape Gardafui to Kismayu was followed by the Protocols of 1891, which defined the Anglo-Italian spheres from the coast to the Ethiopian frontier.²

The reconstruction in 1891 of the Government of Zanzibar under Great Britain's auspices was followed in 1897 by the abolition of the legal status of slavery.

¹ Under these agreements certain restrictions were imposed on the administration of the region in virtue of the Declaration of 1862, respecting the independence of the Sultan, to which France was a party and to which Germany subsequently adhered.

² This northern region remained comparatively unexplored for several years, and in the absence of a defined frontier Abyssinian posts were pushed south to Lake Rudolf. After lengthy negotiations the boundary line was laid down in 1907.

The Imperial British East Africa Company in the meantime fell into financial straits, due chiefly to the inclusion of the Sultan's dominions within the free trade zone and the consequent abolition of dues without compensation. This state of affairs resulted in 1893 in the surrender of the company's Charter and in the purchase of its property, rights, and assets by the British Government. The formal transfer took place two years later, when the Foreign Office assumed responsibility for the administration of the territory, which now became known as the East Africa Protectorate. Thereafter the development of the region was rapid. In 1896 the Mombasa-Victoria Nyanza Railway was begun; and, an effective control being gradually established over the Masai, Somali, and other tribes, colonisation, not only of the coast-land, but also of the inland plateau, became general.

Upon the settlement of the rival claims of the British and German East Africa Companies to Uganda the British Company despatched Captain (afterwards Sir) F. Lugard to consolidate their position in the district. In this he was eventually successful, putting down revolts of the Catholic Missions and of the Mohammedans, and establishing British prestige among the natives. But before long it became apparent that the resources of the company were unequal to the strain put upon them, and Imperial support was solicited. Sir Gerald Portal was accordingly despatched to report on the situation. In 1894 British protection over Uganda was declared, which by 1901 had been extended over the countries adjoining the kingdom of Buganda proper. The native troubles ended about that time with the suppression of the Sudanese mutineers, and Sir Harry Johnston, sent out as Special Commissioner, accomplished the complete reorganization of the country, which has since continued to make steady progress in civilization and in the development of its resources.

Egypt and the Sudan

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the necessity of safeguarding this essential link in the communications of the British Empire intensified the degree of British interest in Egypt. In 1875 Great Britain acquired the Khedive's shares in the Canal. Two years later, conjointly with France, she was forced to intervene in the financial affairs of the Egyptian Government, and the foundation of the Caisse de la Dette heralded the establishment of dual control, *i.e.*, a British official to superintend the revenue and a French official the expenditure of the country. In 1879 Ismail's attempt to override this arrangement resulted in his banishment from Egypt and in the appointment of his son, Tewfik, as Khedive in his stead. The system of government by dual control was thereupon established in the persons of Sir E. Baring and M. de Blignières, who administered Egypt until the Arabi revolt brought about the crisis of 1882. The danger to European life and property then became so great that Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, urged by France, acquiesced in joint armed intervention; but early in 1882 Gambetta fell from power, the French fleet sailed away from Alexandria, and a hostile vote of the French Chamber put an end to French military intervention in Egypt. Great Britain, forced to choose between withdrawal and military action, adopted the latter course and landed troops under Sir Garnet Wolseley, who succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. The task of restoring law and order in the distracted country fell to Baring, and, though the abolition of the dual control facilitated reorganization, the difficulties in the way were many. Almost the first problem to be solved concerned the withdrawal of the British troops, to which the Cabinet was pledged. But a chain of circumstances arose in the Sudan which proved too strong for the British Government. In 1879 Gordon was succeeded as Governor of the Khedive's extra-

Egyptian territories¹ by an Egyptian Pasha of the old school, under whose rule slavery, extortion, and venality flourished anew. A Dongolese, named Mahommed Ahmed, taking advantage of the prevailing misery and discontent, proclaimed himself the long-looked-for Mahdi (guide) of Islam, and raised the flag of insurrection. Hicks Pasha and an army of 10,000 men sent to suppress the rebellion were annihilated in November 1883. Gordon was thereupon despatched to Khartum, nominally to effect the withdrawal of the Egyptian civil and military population from the parts of the Sudan still held by the Egyptian Government prior to its complete abandonment. The story of the defence and fall of Khartum need not be told here. By June 1885 the Mahdi had practically completed the destruction of Khedivial rule south of the twenty-second parallel; and the greater part of the region relapsed into a state of complete savagery.

These events indefinitely postponed the proposed evacuation of Egypt, and Gladstone's Ministry was embarked on a policy of protection. Great Britain's position in the country, however, remained anomalous, and an attempt to regularise it in 1887, by means of a Convention with the Sultan, came to nought. As regards internal affairs, the London Convention of 1885 did much to ease the financial situation, and by 1889 Baring had infused a spirit of economy and order into the administration, which helped very materially to lessen the danger of European intervention.

The *fons et origo* of the reconquest of the Sudan lay in the necessity of securing for Egypt the control of the Nile from the great lakes to the Mediterranean before France, pushing rapidly eastward, could obtain a foothold on the upper waters of that river. The way was to some extent cleared by the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890, which recognised British claims to the basin of the Upper Nile, but numerous difficulties remained to be overcome. In 1896 the die was

¹i.e., the Sudan Provinces proper, the Equatorial Provinces, Darfur, and the Red Sea and Somali coasts.

cast, and, after a brilliantly successful campaign, Kitchener hoisted the British and Egyptian flags within the walls of Khartum on September 4, 1898. Three weeks later Major Marchand's expedition, which had reached Fashoda in July, was confronted with unmistakable evidence of British reoccupation of the Sudan provinces. After a period of tension, France, under the Declaration of 1899, relinquished all claim to the valley of the Upper Nile, and, in return, received a free hand in the Lake Chad region.

An agreement with the Khedive placed the Sudan under the *condominium* of Great Britain and Egypt, and the boundaries with Eritrea and Abyssinia were laid down respectively under the Anglo-Italian Protocols of 1891¹ and the Ethiopian Treaties of 1902. In 1894 the King of the Belgians was granted the lease of certain territories in the western basin of the Upper Nile. This arrangement gave rise, however, to difficulties, which necessitated a modification; and by the Agreement of 1906 Belgian influence was restricted to the region known as the Lado enclave.²

The Anglo-French Declaration of 1899 prepared the way for the Declaration of 1904, which recognised Great Britain's supremacy in Egypt. Germany, Austria, and Italy made similar declarations,³ and by the consent of the Powers many of the restrictions which had hampered the administration of Egyptian finances were swept away. In fact, therefore, if not in substance, this international understanding recognised British occupation. The sovereignty of Turkey was acknowledged by Great Britain until the entry of that country into the European War in 1914, when the Khedive Abbas II left for Constantinople, and his uncle, Hussein Kamil, was appointed Sultan of Egypt, under formal British protection.

¹ Completed by the Declaration of 1901.

² In accordance with this arrangement, the territory was formally incorporated with the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on June 16, 1910, shortly after King Leopold's death.

³ Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, part V, chap. xlviii.

Meanwhile, in 1884, upon the withdrawal of the Khedivial garrisons from the Sudan, Great Britain established herself on the Somali coast in order to safeguard the route to India. During the next few years various native territories, including the island of Sokotra and its dependencies, were placed under British protection, and in 1888 an exchange of Notes between the British and French Governments defined the limits of their respective spheres of influence. The frontier with Italian Somaliland was determined under the Anglo-Italian Protocol of 1894, while the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1897 laid down the boundary with Abyssinia.

Until 1898 the Somaliland Protectorate was administered by the Resident at Aden, as a dependency of the Government of India. In that year it was transferred to the charge of the Foreign Office, and in 1905 to that of the Colonial Office, Sokotra remaining under the Aden administration. Meanwhile in 1899 trouble had arisen with the Mullah Mahommed Abdullah. A series of military expeditions, in which the Italian and Abyssinian authorities co-operated, caused the Mullah to accept terms in 1905, but in 1909 hostilities were renewed. In the following year Mr. Asquith's Cabinet decided against further punitive measures, and British administration was confined to the coastal regions until November 1914, when military headquarters were established at Burao.

5. THE BELGIANS IN AFRICA

The vast State which occupies the great portion of the Congo basin owes its inception to the enterprising genius of Leopold II, King of the Belgians. The discoveries of Burton, Livingstone, Rohlfs, du Chailu, and others, stirred the imagination of Western Europe, and before Stanley had accomplished his trans-continental journey King Leopold saw the possibility of turning this enterprise to account in the creation of an African State, of which he should be

Sovereign. He therefore summoned a conference of geographical experts of all nationalities in 1876. The result was the foundation of the "International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Africa," with committees in the principal European countries. The Belgian Committee at first considered East Africa, but Stanley's return from navigating the Congo drew attention to the possibilities for development offered by that region. The King at once organized a separate committee at Brussels, under the name of the "Comité d'Études du Haut-Congo," which shortly afterwards became the "International Association of the Congo," in its turn the forerunner of the Congo Free State. Stanley, invited to proceed thither as agent of the Association, spent the next four years in making treaties with the natives. By 1884 twenty-two stations had been founded on the Congo and its tributaries, while numerous expeditions penetrating the country lying within the great bend of the Congo were rapidly acquiring territory for the Association.

This activity did not escape the notice of the various European Powers interested in Africa. De Brazza lost no time in establishing French influence on the northern banks of the Congo and in the Shari and Ubanghi districts, and a series of disputes arose, which drew attention to the fact that the Association held no status as a sovereign power. The question came to a head early in 1884, when Lord Granville, taking advantage of claims advanced by Portugal to the Congo in virtue of its discovery centuries before, concluded a Convention with that country, recognising both banks of the mouth of the Congo as Portuguese territory, and placing the navigation of the river under the control of an Anglo-Portuguese Commission. For various reasons this treaty was never ratified, but France and Germany, believing it to be the preliminary to a British Protectorate of the Congo, joined hands, and an International Conference on African affairs was convened at Berlin. The

Conference met on November 15, 1884, under the presidency of Bismarck, and sat until February 26, 1885, when the General Act was agreed to by the representatives of Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden and Norway, Turkey, and the United States of America.¹ The Act gave equality to all nations in trade, navigation, and transit over an area styled "The Conventional Basin of the Congo," comprising not only the actual geographical basin of the Congo and its affluents, but additional areas to the north, south, and east, the latter extending to the shores of the Indian Ocean from latitude 5° N. to the mouth of the Zambezi. It provided for freedom of navigation on the Niger (as well as the Congo), for the neutralization, under certain conditions, of the "Conventional Basin," and for the suppression of the slave trade, as well as for religious liberty and the protection of natives, missionaries, and travellers within that area. The International Association having been recognised as "a friendly government," acceded to the Act on the date of its signature.

Mention may be made at this point of the French right of pre-emption over the territory in the Congo basin. In April 1884 King Leopold, anxious to obtain recognition of the Association by its most serious rival, caused a Note to be addressed to the French Government, declaring that the Association would not cede its possessions to any Power "except in virtue of special conventions which may be concluded between France and the Association for fixing the limits of their respective actions." The Note further engaged to give France the right of preference were the Association compelled to sell its possessions. Later, in 1887, it was asserted that this right was not intended to oppose that of Belgium.

¹ The General Act was signed at Berlin, February 26, 1885. Ratifications were exchanged on April 19, 1886. It was never ratified by the United States of America.

Shortly after the Conference the Belgian Chamber regularised King Leopold's position, and the King announced the neutrality of the Congo Free State, and prepared to define its limits. The Convention of 1885 with Portugal, supplemented by that of 1891, determined the boundary of the Cabinda enclave on the north, and on the south settled the frontier on the Lower Congo.

The frontier with the French Congo was the subject of lengthy negotiations. It was eventually laid down by the Convention of 1885. A further Convention, signed in 1887, declared the fourth parallel to be the northern limit of the Congo Free State. Nevertheless, expansion northward continued, and in 1891-2 the sultanate of Bangasso, lying to the north of the Ubanghi River, was occupied, and the French frontier pushed back as far as the ninth parallel. At that time the Egyptian frontier was withdrawn to Wadi Halfa. King Leopold, therefore, not recognising British claims to the district, made haste to obtain control of the rich province of Bahr el-Ghazal, and to secure an outlet on the Nile. When it became apparent that King Leopold projected an effective occupation of these regions, Great Britain opened negotiations, which eventually resulted in the Anglo-Congolese Agreement of 1894. By this Agreement King Leopold recognised British supremacy in the Nile Valley and in the Bahr el-Ghazal Province, but in return obtained a lease of certain territory in the western basin of the Upper Nile. France instantly protested against this arrangement as restricting her advance toward the Nile, at the same time drawing attention to the occupation by the Congo Free State, already alluded to, of Bangasso and other territories north of the Ubanghi, contrary to the undertaking of 1887. A compromise was reached under the Agreement of 1894.

The Anglo-Congolese Agreement of 1894 provided also for the lease by Great Britain of a strip of territory $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles in breadth, connecting Lakes Albert

Edward and Tanganyika, which was to constitute the last link in the continuous chain of her possessions in North and South Africa. Germany, however, lodged a vigorous protest, and, Great Britain agreeing to abandon the concession, the article was shortly afterwards withdrawn from the Treaty. The same Agreement laid down the boundary between the Congo Free State and the British sphere to the north of the Zambezi. In 1899, upon France renouncing her claim to the Upper Nile territory, King Leopold again attempted to effect a permanent occupation of the province of Bahr el-Ghazal. Though compelled to withdraw by the Agreement of 1906, which annulled the 1894 lease of these regions, he was allowed to retain possession for life of the territory known as the Lado enclave. The frontier between the Belgian Congo and German East Africa, originally contemplated by the Convention of 1884, was defined under that of 1910.

Meanwhile, on November 14, 1908, in virtue of a measure passed by the Belgian Senate, the Congo Free State ceased to exist, and on the following day Belgium assumed the rights of sovereignty. French right of pre-emption over the territory in question was finally accepted by Belgium under the Franco-Belgian Agreement of the same year.

6. THE GERMANS IN AFRICA

By 1882, Bismarck had consolidated Germany's position in the European Concert, and was therefore prepared to listen to the German Colonial Society, which had been founded in that year, and to the claims of the German traders and missionaries in different parts of Africa.

South-West Africa

This was the position when Lüderitz, a Bremen merchant, concluded a treaty with the Damara whereby he acquired sovereign rights over 215 square

miles of territory in Angra Pequena Bay. The news of this exploit was received with considerable irritation in England and at the Cape, and, notwithstanding the explicit manner in which both Lord Beaconsfield's and Mr. Gladstone's Governments had disavowed all British claims to the coast of South-West Africa, Lord Granville informed Bismarck that the establishment of German sovereignty in the region in question would be considered an infringement of British rights. The British Government, however, were not prepared to undertake the administration of the Damara coast, and when in May 1884, after long delay, the Cape offered to take over the coast-line between the Orange River and Walfish Bay, it was found that in the previous month Lüderitz and his establishment had been officially declared under German protection. The sequel was inevitable, and it was scarcely necessary for Bismarck to remind Lord Granville of the importance of maintaining a good understanding with Germany on Egyptian matters. On June 22 the British Government formally acknowledged the new Protectorate, and by the end of 1885 German sovereignty was recognised by the various tribes inhabiting Damaraland and Great Nyasaland.

For a while the natives, left very much to themselves in accordance with the line of policy laid down by Bismarck, offered no opposition to the German flag, but a succession of revolts between the years 1888 and 1897 foreshadowed the Herero rising of 1903. The following year other Hottentot tribes in the south under Witbooi joined the insurgents, and for eighteen months Namaqualand was the scene of a guerilla war as savage as that which was being waged in Damaraland. At length the native resistance gradually collapsed, and the death of the rebel Hottentot chief in British territory in 1908 set a seal on the establishment of German rule throughout the Protectorate.

It remains to enumerate the treaties by which the frontiers of the new colony were settled. To the north

the German-Portuguese Declaration of 1886 defined the boundary separating Angola from German South-West Africa, while the southern and eastern boundaries with the Cape and with Bechuanaland and Rhodesia were fixed by the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890.

In addition to Damaraland, Germany sought to establish herself at three other points in South Africa—St. Lucia Bay, Pondoland, and Delagoa Bay. These attempts, however, came to nothing, as the British Government, warned by events in South-West Africa, hastened to annex the first-named territory and to declare the second under British control. German efforts to secure Delagoa Bay, though of a more sustained nature, had no practical result beyond the formation of the Netherlands South African Railway, the capital of which was largely subscribed in Germany.¹

West Africa

Meanwhile, Bismarck's attention was directed to West Africa, where German merchants had successfully established themselves in Togoland and in Cameroon. In Togoland, where British, French, and German business houses existed side by side, misunderstandings between the rival enterprises were frequent, and a state of affairs arose which was discreditable to all the nationalities concerned. The Senates of Hamburg and Bremen, therefore, which were directly interested in the West African coast trade, demanded the despatch of a German warship to safeguard German commercial interests in Togoland. The *Sophie* accordingly arrived off Little Popo on January 30, 1884. A few months later, while the proposals for the Berlin Conference were under discussion, Bismarck announced the despatch of

¹ German designs on Delagoa Bay were foiled by the right of pre-emption enjoyed by Great Britain over that region in virtue of an exchange of Notes effected with the Portuguese Government in 1875.

Dr. Nachtigal on the *Möwe* to the West Coast of Africa, ostensibly to report on the state of German commerce in those regions. The moment was propitious for German intervention. The German traders professed themselves in danger from the paramount native chiefs, and Dr. Nachtigal, arriving off the coast on July 2, hoisted the German flag at the principal towns in the district. Thence he hurried to the Cameroon estuary, and on July 15 persuaded King Bell to place his country under German protection. When the British Government became aware of what had occurred they acquiesced in the arrangement; Lord Granville held the Niger Delta to be the real commercial key of the region and, moreover, was anxious for Germany's goodwill. France, on the other hand, was at first inclined to dispute Germany's claim to Togoland; but under the Protocol of 1885 she too acknowledged this Protectorate. Bismarck's next step was to lay claim to the *hinterland* of Togoland, and so feel the way to the Middle Niger. But at this point Germany's aims ran counter to those of both her neighbours; after considerable negotiations, therefore, she agreed to recognise the eleventh parallel as the northern limit of her sphere of influence in this region. The Franco-German Convention of 1897, which determined this boundary, provided also for the demarcation of the frontier between the Protectorate and Dahomey.

On the west, the boundary between Togoland and the Gold Coast Colony, from the sea to the confluence of the Volta and Dakka Rivers, was laid down by the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890. The zone north of the confluence as far as 11° N., declared neutral in 1888, was divided by the two Powers under the Conventions of 1899 and 1901.

The extension of German influence in the interior of Cameroon was gradually accomplished, though not without considerable bloodshed. Adamawa was occupied in 1901, and the following year German troops penetrated the Bornu country and reached the shores of Lake Chad.

A series of international arrangements determined the frontiers of Germany's new possession. The boundary between the Oil Rivers Protectorate, afterwards Southern Nigeria, and Cameroon, from the Rio del Rey Creek to the rapids on the Cross River, was defined by the Anglo-German Arrangements of 1885-6. The Agreement of 1893 provided for the extension of the line as far as the confines of Yola, the section between that town and Lake Chad being settled under the Agreement of 1906. The southern and eastern frontiers were laid down by the Franco-German Protocols of 1885 and 1894, supplemented by the Convention of 1908. An important modification of this line in Germany's favour was effected by the Franco-German Congo Agreement of 1911, the *quid pro quo* of the instrument signed the same day giving the French a free hand in Morocco. Germany ceded to France the triangle between the Logone and Shari Rivers, and allowed her to lease for commercial purposes stations in German territory between the Logone and Benue Rivers and on the Upper Benue. In return Germany received large stretches of French territory, giving her access to the Congo and to the Ubanghi, while a strip of country running nearly due east from the coast was added to the southern border of Cameroon, which thus enclosed the land frontiers of the Spanish settlement of Rio Muni or Spanish Guinea. France, at the same time, renounced in Germany's favour the rights of pre-emption which she held over Spanish Guinea in virtue of the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1900.

East Africa

While these events were taking place, the African explorer, Karl Peters, dissatisfied with the attitude of the German Colonial Society, early in 1884 founded the *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation*, and prepared to extend German rule in East Africa. Officially Peters received no encouragement, but it is worth noting that a few months later, when England was

thoroughly involved in the Sudan, Rohlf, appointed German Consul-General at Zanzibar, left for East Africa, charged with a confidential mission, and was, moreover, directed to put pressure on the Sultan should German claims be resisted. Whatever may have been Bismarck's co-operation in the matter, Peters and his associates, Pfeil and Jühlke, proceeded with the utmost secrecy, and, travelling under false names, arrived unnoticed in Zanzibar in November 1884. Supported by the local German community, but officially discountenanced by the German Consul, they made their way inland, and within a few days concluded the first of the native treaties by which the German Colonisation Society obtained a footing in East Africa. Other treaties followed, and Peters, hastening back to Berlin, had no difficulty in persuading the Emperor to grant a charter of protection to the Society, soon to become the German East Africa Company, for "certain acquisitions of territory made by it on the South and East Coast of Africa, between the territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar and Lake Tanganyika."

Armed with these powers, the German East Africa Company acted swiftly. During 1885 no fewer than eleven expeditions penetrated into the interior, making treaties and acquiring territory, often at the expense of British rights. Their action was supported throughout by Bismarck, who, moreover, lost no opportunity of vindicating the prestige of the German flag at Zanzibar itself.

The attitude of Great Britain in the face of these advances was of necessity largely determined by conditions elsewhere. Carefully-fomented Russian intrigue in Afghanistan, coupled with Great Britain's precarious position in Egypt, sufficed to convince the British Ministry, and Lord Granville wrote in May 1885 that "Her Majesty's Government have no intention of opposing German schemes of colonisation in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar, . . . and view with favour these schemes, the realisation of which will entail the

civilisation of large tracts over which hitherto no European influence has been exercised.”¹ The Sultan meanwhile had protested directly to the German Emperor and prepared to uphold his rights. An armed conflict seemed inevitable, but the arrival of a German squadron off Zanzibar convinced Bargash of the hopelessness of his cause. He therefore agreed to grant the German company a lease of his mainland territory south of the Uмба River, a British company, formed by Sir William Mackinnon, taking a lease of the territories north of that point. This result was brought about by an International Commission, which met at Zanzibar in October 1885 to determine the precise extent of the Sultan’s dominions. The findings of the Commissioners were embodied in the *procès-verbal* of 1886, under which the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Lamu, and Mafia, together with the smaller islands dependent on them, were recognised as the Sultan’s territory. On the mainland Zanzibar was held to include a strip of coast-line, 10 miles wide, from the Rovuma to the Tana River, and further north the stations of Kismayu, Brava, Merca, Mogadishu, and Warsheikh, known as the Benadir ports.

The international frontiers were subsequently laid down. The Declaration of 1886, supplemented by an exchange of Notes in 1894, defined the limits of the German and Portuguese spheres, while the boundary between German East Africa and the Belgian Congo, originally contemplated under the Convention of 1884, was finally laid down under that of 1910. The frontier with British East Africa was rendered more difficult of settlement, in that the German representative on the International Commission, referred to above, had refused to recognise the Sultan’s sovereignty at any point along the coast north of the Tana River. The matter was eventually settled under the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890. The same Agreement laid down the frontier with Uganda and the Nyasaland Protectorate and Rhodesia on the south.

¹ *Africa*, No. 1 (1886) [C. 4609], p. 17.

The year 1890 witnessed the absolute cession to Germany by Bargash of the mainland territories for the sum of £200,000. Thereafter the establishment of German rule proceeded apace, though for some years a series of native risings interrupted the commercial development of the country. A more conciliatory attitude towards the natives was eventually adopted, under the administration of the Imperial Commissioner, Von Wissmann. In 1897 the territory was proclaimed a German colony, and by the end of 1898 German authority was paramount over almost all the hinterland. In 1905 serious native disturbances broke out, partly due to resentment against the restrictions imposed by the Germans in their efforts at colonization, partly, it is said, as a manifestation of sympathy with the Herero rebellion in German South-West Africa. A visit paid to the colony in 1907 by Herr Dernburg, the Imperial Colonial Secretary, resulted in the adoption of more humane methods in the treatment of the natives, while the development of the resources of the country was seriously taken in hand.

7. THE ITALIANS IN AFRICA

The unification of Italy was followed by her entry into the ranks of the Powers who control the destinies of Africa. In 1864, a tripartite commission, composed of British, French, and Italian representatives, was appointed to regulate Tunisian finances. During the next ten years Italy cherished hopes of extending protection to that region, but in 1881 she beheld her plans frustrated by the French occupation. This event caused the Italian Government to determine on a forward policy on the Red Sea littoral. Assab was declared an Italian colony in 1882; and by 1888 Italian domination in this district had attained its present coast-line. These advances involved Italy with Abyssinia, whose rulers had long claimed dominion over the coastal region; various

hostile incidents occurred, but through Great Britain's good offices an arrangement was reached.

After the death of King John of Abyssinia the Italians extended their occupation inland, and in 1889 entered into a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with King John's successor, the Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia. This Treaty, regarded by the Italians as constituting a protectorate over Abyssinia, was the first step towards a continuous sphere of influence, connecting Italy's Red Sea possessions with those on the Benadir coast. Italian Somaliland, as this region came to be called, consisted of the ports of Brava, Merca, Mogadishu, and Warsheikh, transferred to Italy by the British East Africa Company in 1889,¹ and of the Obbia territory, acquired the same year.

But this forward policy was destined to end in disaster. In 1895 the Italian Government ordered the occupation of the province of Tigre. Menelik, resenting Italian pretensions to a protectorate over Ethiopia, prepared to defend his territory, and led his armies to complete victory at Adowa in the following year. Italy's dream of an East African empire, stretching across the "Horn of Africa," was thus at an end; and the suzerainty over Abyssinia was formally abandoned under the Treaty of Peace signed in 1896.

A series of international agreements determined the limits of Italian influence in the Red Sea and on the East African coast. The boundaries with the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, British Somaliland, and British East Africa were settled by the Protocols of 1891 and by the Protocol of 1894, supplemented by the Tripartite Treaty of 1902, between Italy, Great Britain, and

¹ In 1892 the Sultan of Zanzibar agreed to lease the Benadir ports to Italy for 50 years. The district was administered first by the Filonardi Company, and later by the Benadir Company. The Italian Government assumed direct control of the administration in 1905 upon the cession by the Sultan of his sovereign rights over the country, and in virtue of Notes exchanged on January 13, 1905, granted Great Britain right of pre-emption over the territory in question. See State Papers, vol. 98, p. 129 *et seq.*

Abyssinia. The Abyssinian frontier, partly laid down by the Treaty of 1900, was finally demarcated under the Convention of 1908, while the boundary with French Somaliland was fixed by the Franco-Italian Protocols of 1900 and 1901.

The co-operation of Italy in the campaign against the Mullah Abdullah resulted in peace being declared in 1905 between the Mullah, the Italians, British, and Abyssinians and the Somali tribes. Three years later a modification of the boundary line between Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia took place, under which the Italian Protectorate was extended north of Lugh to Dolo on the Juba River.

Italian interest in the Tripolitaine had begun to assume definite shape soon after the end of the tariff war with France in 1898, and the *rapprochement* which ensued guaranteed French acquiescence in the event of Italy establishing herself in the region. It was understood, moreover, that Great Britain would agree to such an arrangement, should it arise, while no official criticism of the idea emanated from Italy's partners in the Triple Alliance. The ground was thus fully prepared, when, in 1911, a quarrel broke out between Turkey and Italy, and the latter promptly invaded Tripoli. During the autumn and winter of 1911 all the towns on the coast of Tripoli and Cyrenaica were occupied, and early in 1912 the Italian Senate ratified a decree annexing these provinces to Italy. Nevertheless, the war dragged on until the following October, when the Treaty of Ouchy¹ established Italian sovereignty in the district. This was recognised by the Powers in due course, and Italy was free to consolidate her rule in the new possession, which is now officially styled Libia Italiana.

8. THE SPANISH IN AFRICA

Spain evinced little interest in the African continent until the last quarter of the nineteenth

¹ Also called the Treaty of Lausanne.

century, when the establishment of the North-West Africa Company at Cape Juby, with agencies in the Canary Islands, awakened her to the possibility of British domination in those regions. In 1885, therefore, the Spanish Government hoisted their flag at an inlet called Rio de Oro, and declared a protectorate over the Sahara coast between Cape Blanco and Cape Bojador. The frontiers of the new Protectorate, together with those of Rio Muni (Spanish Guinea),¹ were determined under the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1900, supplemented, in the case of Rio de Oro, by the Convention of 1904.

The loss of the Spanish colonies in America and in the Pacific directed attention to Morocco, and Spain prepared to press her claim to the Rif country. Under the Franco-Spanish Declaration of 1904 she acknowledged French supremacy in Morocco, but in return received recognition of her sphere of influence on the Moroccan coast. Further, the Algeciras Act, to which she was a signatory in 1906, provided for Spanish interests in the administration of the Moorish police force for the maintenance of order in the principal coast towns. In 1910 the region between Melilla and the Muluya River was brought temporarily under Spanish control, while the military occupation of the district between Laraish, Alcazar, and Arzila took place the following year. The negotiations between France and Spain concerning the limit of their respective spheres were terminated by the Convention of 1912, which acknowledged a Spanish protectorate in the Spanish zone. The same instrument laid down the boundary between Rio de Oro and Morocco, and provided for the recognition of the Spanish establishment of Ifni and the district round Cape Nun, and determined its limits.

¹ The Spanish claim to the region between the Rivers Campo and Gabun was disputed by France, and a Joint Commission sat in Paris on several occasions from 1886 for the purpose of bringing about a satisfactory settlement of the question.

II. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The preceding survey has shown that at the outbreak of the late war the process of partitioning the African Continent by treaty amongst different European Powers had reached a provisional conclusion. The only considerable regions as to which rival claims had not yet been settled by a formal agreement were those between the *hinterland* of Tripoli and Lake Chad, where the claims of France and Italy were in conflict; the Wadai-Darfur boundary, where a provisional arrangement was reached by Great Britain and France for the period of the war; and the Egyptian-Libyan boundary. It also shows that a certain international solidarity of interest had begun to be felt by all the European Powers in the economic development of Africa and the welfare of its native peoples—a solidarity of interest of which the Berlin and the Brussels Acts were the acknowledgment. Yet even had the war not come, the existing settlement had not the marks of permanence. The war has precipitated change. Questions of new partition have been raised by the expulsion of the Germans from their colonies, and at the same time the international idea has acquired new force through the emergence of projects for a League of Nations.

APPENDIX

I

ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT¹, 1890

ARTICLE 1

IN East Africa the sphere in which the exercise of influence is reserved to Germany is bounded—

1. To the north by a line which, commencing on the coast at the north bank of the mouth of the River Umba, runs direct to Lake Jipé; passes thence along the eastern side and round the northern side of the lake, and crosses the River Lumé; after which it passes midway between the territories of Taveita and Chagga, skirts the northern base of the Kilimanjaro range, and thence is drawn direct to the point on the eastern side of Lake Victoria Nyanza which is intersected by the 1st parallel of south latitude; thence, crossing the lake on that parallel, it follows the parallel to the frontier of the Congo Free State, where it terminates.

It is, however, understood that, on the west side of the lake, the sphere does not comprise Mount Mfumbiro; if that mountain shall prove to lie to the south of the selected parallel, the line shall be deflected so as to exclude it, but shall, nevertheless, return so as to terminate at the above-named point.

2. To the south by a line which, starting on the coast at the northern limit of the Province of Mozambique, follows the course of the River Rovuma to the point of confluence of the Msinje; thence it runs westward along the parallel of that point till it reaches Lake Nyassa; thence striking northward, it follows the eastern, northern, and western shores of the lake to the northern bank of the mouth of the River Songwe; it ascends that river to the point of its intersection by the 33rd degree of east longitude; thence it follows the river to the point where it approaches most nearly the boundary of the geographical Congo Basin defined in the first article of the Act of Berlin, as marked in the map attached to the 9th Protocol of the Conference.

From that point it strikes direct to the above-named boundary; and follows it to the point of its intersection by the 32nd degree of east longitude; from which point it strikes direct to the point of confluence of the northern and southern branches of the River

¹ Sir E. Hertslet, *the Map of Africa by Treaty*, 3rd Ed., Vol. III., p. 899, 1909.

Kilambo, and thence follows that river till it enters Lake Tanganyika.

The course of the above boundary is traced in general accordance with a map of the Nyassa-Tanganyika Plateau, officially prepared for the British Government in 1889.

3. To the west by a line which, from the mouth of the River Kilambo to the 1st parallel of south latitude, is conterminous with the Congo Free State.

The sphere in which the exercise of influence is reserved to Great Britain is bounded—

1. To the south by the above-mentioned line running from the mouth of the River Umba to the point where the 1st parallel of south latitude reaches the Congo Free State. Mount Mfumbiro is included in the sphere.

2. To the north by a line commencing on the coast at the north bank of the mouth of the River Juba; thence it ascends that bank of the river and is conterminous with the territory reserved to the influence of Italy in Gallaland and Abyssinia, as far as the confines of Egypt.

3. To the west by the Congo Free State and by the western watershed of the basin of the Upper Nile.

ARTICLE 2

In order to render effective the delimitation recorded in the preceding article, Germany withdraws in favour of Great Britain her Protectorate over Witu. Great Britain engages to recognise the sovereignty of the Sultan of Witu over the territory extending from Kipini to the point opposite the Island of Kwyhoo, fixed as the boundary in 1887.

Germany also withdraws her Protectorate over the adjoining coast up to Kismayu, as well as her claims to all other territories on the mainland, to the north of the River Tana, and to the Islands of Patta and Manda.

ARTICLE 3

In South-West Africa the sphere in which the exercise of influence is reserved to Germany is bounded—

1. To the south by a line commencing at the mouth of the Orange River, and ascending the north bank of that river to the point of its intersection by the 20th degree of east longitude.

2. To the east by a line commencing at the above-named point, and following the 20th degree of east longitude to the point of its intersection by the 22nd parallel of south latitude, it runs eastward along that parallel to the point of its intersection by the 21st degree of east longitude; thence it follows that degree northward to the point of its intersection by the 18th parallel of south lati-

tude; it runs eastward along that parallel till it reaches the River Chobe; and descends the centre of the main channel of that river to its junction with the Zambesi, where it terminates.

It is understood that under this arrangement Germany shall have free access from her Protectorate to the Zambesi by a strip of territory which shall at no point be less than 20 English miles in width.

The sphere in which the exercise of influence is reserved to Great Britain is bounded to the west and north-west by the above-mentioned line. It includes Lake Ngami.

The course of the above boundary is traced in general accordance with a Map officially prepared for the British Government in 1889.

The delimitation of the southern boundary of the British territory of Walfish Bay is reserved for arbitration, unless it shall be settled by the consent of the two Powers within two years from the date of the conclusion of this Agreement. The two Powers agree that, pending such settlement, the passage of the subjects and the transit of goods of both Powers through the territory now in dispute shall be free; and the treatment of their subjects in that territory shall be in all respects equal. No dues shall be levied on goods in transit. Until a settlement shall be effected the territory shall be considered neutral.

ARTICLE 4

In West Africa—

1. The boundary between the German Protectorate of Togo and the British Gold Coast Colony commences on the coast at the marks set up after the negotiations between the Commissioners of the two countries of the 14th and 28th July, 1886; and proceeds direct northwards to the 6° 10' parallel of north latitude; thence it runs along that parallel westwards till it reaches the left bank of the River Aka; ascends the mid-channel of that river to the 6° 20' parallel of north latitude; runs along that parallel westwards to the right bank of the River Dchawe or Shavoe; follows that bank of the river till it reaches the parallel corresponding with the point of confluence of the River Deine with the Volta; it runs along that parallel westward till it reaches the Volta; from that point it ascends the left bank of the Volta till it arrives at the neutral zone established by the Agreement of 1888, which commences at the confluence of the River Dakka with the Volta.

Each Power engages to withdraw immediately after the conclusion of this Agreement all its officials and employés from territory which is assigned to the other Power by the above delimitation.

2. It having been proved to the satisfaction of the two Powers that no river exists on the Gulf of Guinea corresponding with that marked on Maps as the Rio del Rey, to which reference was made

in the Agreement of 1885, a provisional line of demarcation is adopted between the German sphere in the Cameroons and the adjoining British sphere, which, starting from the head of the Rio del Rey Creek, goes direct to the point, about 9° 8' of east longitude, marked "Rapids" in the British Admiralty Chart.

ARTICLE 5

It is agreed that no Treaty or Agreement, made by or on behalf of either Power to the north of the River Benué, shall interfere with the free passage of goods of the other Power, without payment of transit dues, to and from the shores of Lake Chad.

All Treaties made in territories intervening between the Benué and Lake Chad shall be notified by one Power to the other.

ARTICLE 6

All the lines of demarcation traced in articles 1 to 4 shall be subject to rectification by agreement between the two Powers, in accordance with local requirements.

It is specially understood that, as regards the boundaries traced in article 4, Commissioners shall meet with the least possible delay for the object of such rectification.

ARTICLE 7

The two Powers engage that neither will interfere with any sphere of influence assigned to the other by articles 1 to 4. One Power will not in the sphere of the other make acquisitions, conclude Treaties, accept sovereign rights or Protectorates, nor hinder the extension of influence of the other.

It is understood that no Companies nor individuals subject to one Power can exercise sovereign rights in a sphere assigned to the other, except with the assent of the latter.

ARTICLE 8

The two Powers engage to apply, in all the portions of their respective spheres, within the limits of the free zone defined by the Act of Berlin of 1885, to which the first five articles of that Act are applicable at the date of the present Agreement, the provisions of those articles according to which trade enjoys complete freedom; the navigation of the lakes, rivers, and canals, and of the ports on those waters is free to both flags; and no differential treatment is permitted as regards transport or coasting trade; goods, of whatever origin, are subject to no dues except those, not differential in their incidence, which may be levied to meet expenditure in the interest of trade; no transit dues are permitted; and no monopoly or favour in matters of trade can be granted.

The subjects of either Power will be at liberty to settle freely in their respective territories situated within the free trade zone.

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 Tanganyika, on Lake Tanganyika, and between that lake and the northern boundary of the two spheres.

ARTICLE 9

Trading and Mineral Concessions, and rights to real property, held by Companies or individuals, subjects of one Power, shall, if their validity is duly established, be recognised in the sphere of the other Power. It is understood that Concessions must be worked in accordance with local laws and regulations.

ARTICLE 10

In all territories in Africa belonging to, or under the influence of, either Power, missionaries of both countries shall have full protection. Religious toleration and freedom for all forms of divine worship and religious teaching are guaranteed.

ARTICLE 11

Great Britain engages to use all her influence to facilitate a friendly arrangement, by which the Sultan of Zanzibar shall cede absolutely to Germany his possessions on the mainland comprised in existing Concessions to the German East African Company, and their dependencies, as well as the Island of Mafia.

It is understood that His Highness will, at the same time, receive an equitable indemnity for the loss of revenue resulting from such cession.

Germany engages to recognise a Protectorate of Great Britain over the remaining dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, including the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, as well as over the dominions of the Sultan of Witu, and the adjacent territory up to Kismayu, from which her Protectorate is withdrawn. It is understood that if the cession of the German coast has not taken place before the assumption by Great Britain of the Protectorate of Zanzibar, Her Majesty's Government will, in assuming the Protectorate, accept the obligation to use all their influence with the Sultan to induce him to make that concession at the earliest possible period in consideration of an equitable indemnity.

ARTICLE 12

1. Subject to the assent of the British Parliament, the sovereignty over the Island of Heligoland, together with its dependencies, is ceded by Her Britannic Majesty to His Majesty the Emperor of Germany.

2. The German Government will allow to all persons natives of the territory thus ceded the right of opting for British nationality by means of a declaration to be made by themselves, and, in the case of children under age, by their parents or guardians, which must be sent in before the 1st January, 1892.

3. All persons natives of the territory thus ceded, and their children born before the date of the signature of the present Agreement, are free from the obligation of service in the military and naval forces of Germany.

4. Native laws and customs now existing will, as far as possible, remain undisturbed.

5. The German Government binds itself not to increase the Customs Tariff at present in force in the territory thus ceded until the 1st January, 1910.

6. All rights to property which private persons or existing Corporations have acquired in Heligoland in connection with the British Government are maintained; obligations resulting from them are transferred to His Majesty the Emperor of Germany. It is understood that the above term, "rights to property," includes the right of signalling now enjoyed by Lloyd's.

7. The rights of British fishermen with regard to anchorage in all weathers, to taking in provisions and water, to making repairs, to transhipment of goods, to the sale of fish, and to the landing and drying of nets, remain undisturbed.

Berlin, July 1, 1890.

II

ANGLO-FRENCH DECLARATIONS, 1890¹

No. 1

In conformity with the request which has been made by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, the Government of the French Republic consents to modify the Arrangement of the 10th March, 1862, in regard to the Sultan of Zanzibar, and engages, consequently, to recognise the British Protectorate over the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba as soon as they shall have received notification of the same.

In the territories in question the missionaries of both countries shall enjoy a complete protection. Religious toleration, and liberty for all forms of worship and religious training, shall be guaranteed.

It is understood that the establishment of this Protectorate will not affect any rights or immunities enjoyed by French citizens in the territories in question.

London, August 5, 1890.

¹ Hertslet, *op. cit.* Vol. II., p. 738.

No. 2

1. The Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognises the Protectorate of France over the Island of Madagascar, with its consequences, especially as regards the exequaturs of British Consuls and Agents, which must be applied for through the intermediary of the French Resident-General.

In Madagascar the missionaries of both countries shall enjoy complete protection. Religious toleration, and liberty for all forms of worship and religious teaching, shall be guaranteed.

It is understood that the establishment of this Protectorate will not affect any rights or immunities enjoyed by British subjects in that island.

2. The Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognises the sphere of influence of France to the south of her Mediterranean possessions, up to a line from Say on the Niger, to Barruwa on Lake Tchad, drawn in such manner as to comprise in the sphere of action of the Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the Kingdom of Sokoto; the line to be determined by the Commissioners to be appointed.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty engages to appoint immediately two Commissioners to meet at Paris with two Commissioners appointed by the Government of the French Republic, in order to settle the details of the above-mentioned line. But it is expressly understood that even in case the labours of these Commissioners should not result in a complete agreement upon all details of the line, the Agreement between the two Governments as to the general delimitation above set forth shall, nevertheless, remain binding.

The Commissioners will also be entrusted with the task of determining the respective spheres of influence of the two countries in the region which extends to the west and to the south of the Middle and Upper Niger.

London, August 5, 1890.

III

ANGLO-ITALIAN PROTOCOLS, 1891¹

No. 1

1. THE line of demarcation in Eastern Africa between the spheres of influence respectively reserved to Great Britain and Italy shall follow from the sea the mid-channel (thalweg) of the River Juba up to latitude 6° north, Kismayu with its territory on the right bank of the river thus remaining to England. The line shall then follow the 6th parallel of north latitude up to the meridian 35° east of Greenwich, which it will follow up to the Blue Nile.

¹ Hertslet, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 948.

2. If future explorations should hereafter show occasion, the line following the 6th parallel of north latitude and the 35th degree of longitude east of Greenwich, may, by common agreement, be amended in its details in accordance with the hydrographic and orographic conditions of the country.

3. In the station of Kismayu and its territory there shall be equality of treatment between the subjects and protected persons of the two countries, in all that relates to their persons, their goods, or to the exercise of any kind of commerce and industry.

Done at Rome in duplicate, the 24th March, 1891.

No. 2

1. The sphere of influence reserved to Italy is bounded, on the north and on the west, by a line drawn from Ras Kasar on the Red Sea to the point of intersection of the 17th parallel, north, with the 37th meridian, east, Greenwich. The line, having followed that meridian to 16° 30' north latitude, is drawn from that point in a straight line to Sabderat, leaving that village to the east. From that village the line is drawn southward to a point on the Gash 20 English miles above Kassala, and rejoins the Atbara at the point indicated as being a ford on the Map of Werner Munzinger "Originalkarte von Nord Abessinien und den Ländern am Mareb, Barca, und Anseba, de 1864" (Gotha, Justus Perthes), and situated at 14° 52' north latitude. The line then ascends the Atbara to the confluence of the Kor Kakamot (Hahamot), whence it follows a westerly direction till it meets the Kor Lemsan, which it descends to its confluence with the Rahad. Finally, the line, having followed the Rahad for the short distance between the confluence of the Kor Lemsan and the intersection of 35° east longitude, Greenwich, identifies itself in a southerly direction with that meridian, until it meets the Blue Nile, saving ulterior amendment of details according to the hydrographic and orographic conditions of the country.

2. The Italian Government shall be at liberty, in case of being obliged to do so by the necessities of the military situation, to occupy Kassala and the adjoining country as far as the Atbara. Such occupation shall in no case extend to the north nor to the north-east of the following line:

From the right bank of the Atbara, in front of Gos Rejeb, the line is drawn in an easterly direction to the intersection of the 36th meridian, east, Greenwich; thence, turning to the south-east, it passes 3 miles to the south of the points marked Filik and Metkinab on the above-mentioned Map of Werner Munzinger, and joins the line mentioned in article 1, 25 English miles north of Sabderat, measured along the said line.

It is nevertheless agreed between the two Governments that any temporary military occupation of the additional territory

specified in this article shall not abrogate the rights of the Egyptian Government over the said territory, but that these rights shall only remain in suspense until the Egyptian Government shall be in a position to reoccupy the district in question up to the line indicated in article 1 of this Protocol, and there to maintain order and tranquillity.

3. The Italian Government engages not to construct on the Atbara, in view of irrigation, any work which might sensibly modify its flow into the Nile.

4. Italy shall have, for her subjects and protected persons, as well as for their goods, free passage without duty on the road between Metemma and Kassala, touching successively El Affareh, Doka, Suk Abu-Sin (Ghedaref), and the Atbara.

Done at Rome, in duplicate, this 15th April, 1891.

IV

ANGLO-PORTUGUESE TREATY, 1891¹

ARTICLE 1

GREAT BRITAIN agrees to recognize as within the dominion of Portugal in East Africa the territories bounded—

1. To the north by a line which follows the course of the River Rovuma from its mouth up to the confluence of the River M'Sinje, and thence westerly along the parallel of latitude of the confluence of these rivers to the shore of Lake Nyassa.

2. To the west by a line which, starting from the above-mentioned frontier on Lake Nyassa, follows the eastern shore of the lake southwards as far as the parallel of latitude 13° 30' south; thence it runs in a south-easterly direction to the eastern shore of Lake Chiuta, which it follows. Thence it runs in a direct line to the eastern shore of Lake Chilwa or Shirwa, which it follows to its south-easternmost point; thence in a direct line to the easternmost affluent of the River Ruo, and thence follows that affluent, and, subsequently, the centre of the channel of the Ruo to its confluence with the River Shiré.

From the confluence of the Ruo and Shiré the boundary will follow the centre of the channel of the latter river to a point just below Chiwanga. Thence it runs due westward until it reaches the watershed between the Zambesi and the Shiré, and follows the watershed between those rivers, and afterwards between the former river and Lake Nyassa until it reaches parallel 14° of south latitude.

From thence it runs in a south-westerly direction to the point where south latitude 15° meets the River Aroangwa or Loangwa, and follows the mid-channel of that river to its junction with the Zambesi.

¹ Hertslet, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 1016.

ARTICLE 2

To the south of the Zambesi the territories within the Portuguese sphere of influence are bounded by a line which, starting from a point opposite the mouth of the River Aroangwa or Loangwa, runs directly southwards as far as the 16th parallel of south latitude, follows that parallel to its intersection with the 31st degree of longitude east of Greenwich, thence running eastward direct to the point where the River Mazoe is intersected by the 33rd degree of longitude east of Greenwich; it follows that degree southward to its intersection by the 18° 30' parallel of south latitude; thence it follows the upper part of the eastern slope of the Manica plateau southwards to the centre of the main channel of the Sabi, follows that channel to its confluence with the Lunte, whence it strikes direct to the north-eastern point of the frontier of the South African Republic, and follows the eastern frontier of the Republic, and the frontier of Swaziland to the River Maputo.

It is understood that in tracing the frontier along the slope of the plateau no territory west of longitude 32° 30' east of Greenwich shall be comprised in the Portuguese sphere, and no territory east of longitude 33° east of Greenwich shall be comprised in the British sphere. The line shall, however, if necessary, be deflected so as to leave Mutassa in the British sphere and Massi-Kessi in the Portuguese sphere.

ARTICLE 3

Great Britain engages not to make any objection to the extension of the sphere of influence of Portugal, south of Delagoa Bay, as far as a line following the parallel of the confluence of the River Pongolo with the River Maputo to the sea-coast.

ARTICLE 4

It is agreed that the western line of division separating the British from the Portuguese sphere of influence in Central Africa shall follow the centre of the channel of the Upper Zambesi, starting from the Katima Rapids up to the point where it reaches the territory of the Barotse Kingdom.

That territory shall remain within the British sphere; its limits to the westward, which will constitute the boundary between the British and Portuguese spheres of influence, being decided by a Joint Anglo-Portuguese Commission, which shall have power, in case of difference of opinion, to appoint an Umpire.

It is understood on both sides that nothing in this article shall affect the existing rights of any other State. Subject to this reservation, Great Britain will not oppose the extension of Portuguese administration outside of the limits of the Barotse country.

ARTICLE 5

Portugal agrees to recognize, as within the sphere of influence of Great Britain on the north of the Zambesi, the territories extending from the line to be settled by the Joint Commission mentioned in the preceding article to Lake Nyassa, including the islands in that lake south of parallel $11^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude, and to the territories reserved to Portugal by the line described in article 1.

ARTICLE 6

Portugal agrees to recognize, as within the sphere of influence of Great Britain to the south of the Zambesi, the territories bounded on the east and north-east by the line described in article 2.

ARTICLE 7

All the lines of demarcation traced in articles 1 to 6 shall be subject to rectification by agreement between the two Powers, in accordance with local requirements.

The two Powers agree that in the event of one of them proposing to part with any of the territories to the south of the Zambesi assigned by these articles to their respective spheres of influence, the other shall be recognised as possessing a preferential right to the territories in question, or any portion of them, upon terms similar to those proposed.

ARTICLE 8

The two Powers engage that neither will interfere with any sphere of influence assigned to the other by articles 1 to 6. One Power will not, in the sphere of the other, make acquisitions, conclude Treaties, or accept sovereign rights or Protectorates. It is understood that no Companies nor individuals subject to one Power can exercise sovereign rights in a sphere assigned to the other except with the assent of the latter.

ARTICLE 9

Commercial or mineral concessions and rights to real property possessed by Companies or individuals belonging to either Power shall, if their validity is duly proved, be recognised in the sphere of the other Power. For deciding on the validity of mineral Concessions given by the legitimate authority within 30 miles of either side of the frontier south of the Zambesi a Tribunal of Arbitration is to be named by common agreement.

It is understood that such Concessions must be worked according to local Regulations and Laws.

ARTICLE 10

In all territories in East and Central Africa belonging to or under the influence of either Power, missionaries of both countries shall have full protection. Religious toleration and freedom for all forms of Divine worship and religious teaching are guaranteed.

ARTICLE 11

The transit of goods across Portuguese territories situated between the East Coast and the British sphere shall not, for a period of twenty-five years from the ratification of this Convention, be subjected to duties in excess of 3 per cent. for imports or for exports. These dues shall in no case have a differential character, and shall not exceed the customs dues levied on the same goods in the above-mentioned territories.

Her Majesty's Government shall have the option, within five years from the date of the signature of this Agreement, to claim freedom of transit for the remainder of the period of twenty-five years on payment of a sum capitalizing the annual duties for that period at the rate of £30,000 a year.

Coin and precious metals of all descriptions shall be imported and exported to and from the British sphere free of transit duty.

It is understood that there shall be freedom for the passage of subjects and goods of both Powers across the Zambesi, and through the districts adjoining the left bank of the river situated above the confluence of the Shiré, and those adjoining the right bank of the Zambesi situated above the confluence of the River Luenha (Ruenga), without hindrance of any description and without payment of transit dues.

It is further understood that in the above-named districts each Power shall have the right, so far as may be reasonably required for the purpose of communication between territories under the influence of the same Power, to construct roads, railways, bridges, and telegraph lines across the district reserved to the other. The two Powers shall have the right of acquiring in these districts on reasonable conditions the land necessary for such objects, and shall receive all other requisite facilities. Portugal shall have the same rights in the British territory on the banks of the Shiré and in the British territory comprised between the Portuguese territory and the banks of Lake Nyassa. Any railway so constructed by one Power on the territory of the other shall be subject to local Regulations and Laws agreed upon between the two Governments, and, in case of differences of opinion, subject to arbitration as hereinafter mentioned.

The two Powers shall also be allowed facilities for constructing on the rivers within the above districts piers and landing-places for the purpose of trade and navigation.

Differences of opinion between the two Governments as to the execution of their respective obligations, incurred in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph, shall be referred to the arbitration of two experts, one of whom shall be chosen on behalf of each Power. These experts shall select an Umpire, whose decision, in case of difference between the Arbitrators, shall be final. If the two experts cannot agree upon the choice of an Umpire, this Umpire shall be selected by a neutral Power to be named by the two Governments.

All materials for the construction of roads, railways, bridges, and telegraph lines shall be admitted free of charge.

ARTICLE 12

The navigation of the Zambesi and Shiré, without excepting any of their branches and outlets, shall be entirely free for the ships of all nations.

The Portuguese Government engages to permit and to facilitate transit for all persons and goods of every description over the waterways of the Zambesi, the Shiré, the Pungwe, the Busi, the Limpopo, the Sabi, and their tributaries, and also over the landways which supply means of communication where these rivers are not navigable.

ARTICLE 13

Merchant ships of the two Powers shall in the Zambesi, its branches, and outlets have equal freedom of navigation, whether with cargo or ballast, for the transportation of goods and passengers. In the exercise of this navigation the subjects and flags of both Powers shall be treated, in all circumstances, on a footing of perfect equality, not only for the direct navigation from the open sea to the inland ports of the Zambesi, and *vice versa*, but for the great and small coasting trade, and for boat trade on the course of the river. Consequently, on all the course and mouths of the Zambesi there will be no differential treatment of the subjects of the two Powers; and no exclusive privilege of navigation will be conceded by either to companies, corporations, or private persons.

The navigation of the Zambesi shall not be subject to any restriction or obligation based merely on the fact of navigation. It shall not be exposed to any obligation in regard to landing station or depôt, or for breaking bulk, or for compulsory entry into port. In all the extent of the Zambesi the ships and goods in process of transit on the river shall be submitted to no transit dues, whatever their starting-place or destination. No maritime or river toll shall be levied based on the sole fact of navigation, nor any tax on goods on board of ships. There shall only be collected taxes or duties which shall be an equivalent for services rendered

to navigation itself. The tariff of these taxes or duties shall not warrant any differential treatment.

The affluents of the Zambesi shall be in all respects subject to the same rules as the river of which they are tributaries.

The roads, paths, railways, or lateral canals which may be constructed with the special object of correcting the imperfections of the river route on certain sections of the course of the Zambesi, its affluents, branches, and outlets, shall be considered, in their quality of means of communication, as dependencies of this river, and as equally open to the traffic of both Powers. And, as on the river itself, so there shall be collected on these roads, railways, and canals only tolls calculated on the cost of construction, maintenance, and management, and on the profits due to the promoters. As regards the tariff of these tolls, strangers and the natives of the respective territories shall be treated on a footing of perfect equality.

Portugal undertakes to apply the principles of freedom of navigation enunciated in this article on so much of the waters of the Zambesi, its affluents, branches, and outlets as are or may be under her sovereignty, protection, or influence. The rules which she may establish for the safety and control of navigation shall be drawn up in a way to facilitate, as far as possible, the circulation of merchant ships.

Great Britain accepts, under the same reservations, and in identical terms, the obligations undertaken in the preceding articles in respect of so much of the waters of the Zambesi, its affluents, branches, and outlets as are or may be under her sovereignty, protection, or influence.

Any questions arising out of the provisions of this article shall be referred to a Joint Commission, and in case of disagreement to arbitration.

Another system for the administration and control of the Zambesi may be substituted for the above arrangements by common consent of the Riverain Powers.

ARTICLE 14

In the interest of both Powers, Portugal agrees to grant absolute freedom of passage between the British sphere of influence and Pungwe Bay for all merchandise of every description, and to give the necessary facilities for the improvement of the means of communication.

The Portuguese Government agrees to construct a railway between Pungwe and the British sphere. The survey of this line shall be completed within six months, and the two Governments shall agree as to the time within which the railway shall be commenced and completed. If an agreement is not arrived at the Portuguese Government will give the construction of the railway to a Company which shall be designated by a neutral Power, to be

selected by the two Governments, as being in its judgment competent to undertake the work immediately. The said Company shall have all requisite facilities for the acquisition of land, cutting timber, and free importation and supply of materials and labour.

The Portuguese Government shall either itself construct or shall procure the construction of a road from the highest navigable point of the Pungwe, or other river which may be agreed upon as more suitable for traffic, to the British sphere, and shall construct or procure the construction in Pungwe Bay and on the river of the necessary landing-places.

It is understood that no dues shall be levied on goods in transit by the river, the road, or the railway exceeding the maximum of 3 per cent. under the conditions stipulated in article 11.

ARTICLE 15

Great Britain and Portugal engage to facilitate telegraphic communication in their respective spheres.

The stipulations contained in article 14, as regards the construction of a railway from Pungwe Bay to the interior, shall be applicable in all respects to the construction of a telegraph line for communication between the coast and the British sphere south of the Zambesi. Questions as to the points of departure and termination of the line, and as to other details, if not arranged by common consent, shall be submitted to the arbitration of experts under the conditions prescribed in article 11.

Portugal engages to maintain telegraphic service between the coast and the River Ruo, which service shall be open to the use of the subjects of the two Powers without any differential treatment.

Great Britain and Portugal engage to give every facility for the connection of telegraphic lines constructed in their respective spheres.

Details in respect to such connection, and in respect to questions relating to the settlement of through tariffs and other charges, shall, if not settled by common consent, be referred to the arbitration of experts under the conditions prescribed in article 11.

ARTICLE 16

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Lisbon or London as soon as possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done in duplicate at Lisbon, the eleventh day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one.

V

ANGLO-FRENCH CONVENTION, 1898¹

ARTICLE 1

THE frontier separating the British Colony of the Gold Coast from the French Colonies of the Ivory Coast and Sudan shall start from the northern terminal point of the frontier laid down in the Anglo-French Agreement of the 12th July, 1893, viz., the intersection of the thalweg of the Black Volta with the 9th degree of north latitude, and shall follow the thalweg of this river northward up to its intersection with the 11th degree of north latitude. From this point it shall follow this parallel of latitude eastward as far as the river shown on Map No. 1, annexed to the present Protocol, as passing immediately to the east of the villages of Zwaga (Soauga) and Zebilla (Sebilla), and it shall then follow the thalweg of the western branch of this river up stream to its intersection with the parallel of latitude passing through the village of Sapeliga. From this point the frontier shall follow the northern limits of the lands belonging to Sapeliga as far as the River Nuhau (Nouhau), and shall then follow the thalweg of this river up or down stream, as the case may be, to a point situated 2 miles (3,219 metres) eastward of the road which leads from Gambaga to Tenkrûgu (Tingourkou), viâ Bawku (Baukou). Thence it shall rejoin by a straight line the 11th degree of north latitude at the intersection of this parallel with the road which is shown on Map No. 1 as leading from Sansanné-Manga to Pama, viâ Jebigu (Djebiga).

ARTICLE 2

The frontier between the British Colony of Lagos and the French Colony of Dahomey, which was delimited on the ground by the Anglo-French Boundary Commission of 1895, and which is described in the Report signed by the Commissioners of the two nations on the 12th October, 1896, shall henceforth be recognised as the frontier separating the British and French possessions from the sea to the 9th degree of north latitude.

From the point of intersection of the River Oepara with the 9th degree of north latitude, as determined by the said Commissioners, the frontier separating the British and French possessions shall proceed in a northerly direction, and follow a line passing west of the lands belonging to the following places, viz., Tibira, Okuta (Okouta), Boria, Tere, Gbani, Ashigere (Yassikéra), and Dekala.

From the most westerly point of the lands belonging to Dekala the frontier shall be drawn in a northerly direction so as to coincide as far as possible with the line indicated on Map 1 annexed to

¹ Hertslet, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 785.

the present Protocol, and shall strike the right bank of the Niger at a point situated 10 miles (16,093 metres) up-stream from the centre of the town of Gere (Guiris) (the port of Ilo), measured as the crow flies.

ARTICLE 3

From the point specified in article 2, where the frontier separating the British and French possessions strikes the Niger, viz., a point situated on the right bank of that river, 10 miles (16,093 metres) up-stream from the centre of the town of Gere (Guiris) (the port of Ilo), the frontier shall follow a straight line drawn therefrom at right angles to the right bank as far as its intersection with the median line of the river. It shall then follow the median line of the river, up-stream, as far as its intersection with a line drawn perpendicularly to the left bank from the median line of the mouth of the depression or dry water-course, which, on Map 2 annexed to the present Protocol, is called the Dallul Mauri, and is shown thereon as being situated at a distance of about 17 miles (37,359 metres), measured as the crow flies, from a point on the left bank opposite the above-mentioned village of Gere (Guiris).

From this point of intersection the frontier shall follow this perpendicular till it meets the left bank of the river.

ARTICLE 4

To the east of the Niger the frontier separating the British and French possessions shall follow the line indicated on Map 2, which is annexed to the present Protocol.

Starting from the point on the left bank of the Niger indicated in the previous article, viz., the median line of the Dallul Mauri, the frontier shall follow this median line until it meets the circumference of a circle drawn from the centre of the town of Sokoto with a radius of 100 miles (160,932 metres). From this point it shall follow the northern arc of this circle as far as its second intersection with the 14th parallel of north latitude. From this second point of intersection it shall follow this parallel eastward for a distance of 70 miles (112,652 metres); then proceed due south until it reaches the parallel of 13° 20' north latitude, then eastward along this parallel for a distance of 250 miles (402,230 metres); then due north until it regains the 14th parallel of north latitude; then eastwards along this parallel as far as its intersection with the meridian passing 35' east of the centre of the town of Kuka, and thence this meridian southward until its intersection with the southern shore of Lake Chad.

The Government of the French Republic recognises, as falling within the British sphere, the territory to the east of the Niger, comprised within the above-mentioned line, the Anglo-German frontier, and the sea.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognises, as falling within the French sphere, the northern, eastern, and southern shores of Lake Chad, which are comprised between the point of intersection of the 14th degree of north latitude, with the western shore of the lake and the point of incidence on the shore of the lake of the frontier determined by the Franco-German Convention of the 15th March, 1894.

ARTICLE 5

The frontiers set forth in the present Protocol are indicated on the annexed Maps, which are marked 1 and 2 respectively.

The two Governments undertake to appoint within a year as regards the frontiers west of the Niger, and within two years as regards the frontier east of that river, to count in each case from the date of the exchange of ratifications of the Convention which is to be concluded between them for the purpose of confirming the present Protocol, Commissioners who will be charged with delimiting on the spot the lines of demarcation between the British and French possessions, in conformity and in accordance with the spirit of the stipulations of the present Protocol.

With respect to the delimitation of the portion of the Niger in the neighbourhood of Ilo and the Dallul Mauri, referred to in article 3, the Boundary Commissioners shall, in determining on the spot the river frontier, distribute equitably between the two Contracting Powers such islands as may be found to interfere with the delimitation of the river as defined in article 3.

It is understood between the two Contracting Powers that no subsequent alteration in the position of the median line of the river shall affect the ownership of the islands assigned to each of the two Powers by the *procès-verbal* of the Commissioners, after being duly approved by the two Governments.

ARTICLE 6

The two Contracting Powers engage reciprocally to treat with consideration ("bienveillance") the native Chiefs who, having had Treaties with one of them, shall, in virtue of the present Protocol, come under the sovereignty of the other.

ARTICLE 7

Each of the two Contracting Powers undertakes not to exercise any political action in the spheres of the other, as defined by articles 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the present Protocol.

It is understood by this that each Power will not, in the spheres of the other, make territorial acquisitions, conclude Treaties, accept sovereign rights or Protectorates, nor hinder nor dispute the influence of the other.

ARTICLE 8

Her Britannic Majesty's Government will grant on lease to the Government of the French Republic, for the objects, and on the conditions specified in the form of lease annexed to the present Protocol, two pieces of ground to be selected by the Government of the French Republic in conjunction with Her Britannic Majesty's Government, one of which will be situated in a suitable spot on the right bank of the Niger between Leaba and the junction of the River Moussa (Mochi) with the former river, and the other on one of the mouths of the Niger. Each of these pieces of land shall have a river frontage not exceeding 400 metres in length, and shall form a block, the area of which shall not be less than 10 nor more than 50 hectares in extent. The exact boundaries of these pieces of land shall be shown on a plan annexed to each of the leases.

The conditions upon which the transit of merchandise shall be carried on on the Niger, its affluents, its branches and outlets, as well as between the piece of ground between Leaba and the junction of the River Moussa (Mochi) mentioned above, and the point upon the French frontier to be specified by the Government of the French Republic, will form the subject of Regulations, the details of which shall be discussed by the two Governments immediately after the signature of the present Protocol.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government undertake to give four months' notice to the French Government of any modification in the Regulations in question, in order to afford to the said French Government the opportunity of laying before the British Government any representations which it may wish to make.

ARTICLE 9

Within the limits defined on Map 2, which is annexed to the present Protocol, British subjects and British protected persons and French citizens and French protected persons, as far as regards their persons and goods, and the merchandise, the produce or the manufacture of Great Britain and France, their respective Colonies, possessions, and Protectorates, shall enjoy for thirty years from the date of the exchange of the ratification of the Convention mentioned in article 5 the same treatment in all matters of river navigation, of commerce, and of tariff and fiscal treatment and taxes of all kinds.

Subject to this condition, each of the two Contracting Powers shall be free to fix, in its own territory, and as may appear to it most convenient, the tariff and fiscal treatment and taxes of all kinds.

In case neither of the two Contracting Powers shall have notified twelve months before the expiration of the above-mentioned term of thirty years its intention to put an end to the effects

of the present article, it shall remain in force until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the Contracting Powers shall have denounced it.

In witness whereof, the undersigned Delegates have drawn up and signed the present Protocol.

Done at Paris, in duplicate, the 14th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1898.

VA

ANGLO-FRENCH DECLARATION OF 1899, COMPLETING
ANGLO-FRENCH CONVENTION OF 1898¹

THE 4th article of the Convention of the 14th June, 1898, shall be completed by the following provisions, which shall be considered as forming an integral part of it:—

1. Her Britannic Majesty's Government engages not to acquire either territory or political influence to the west of the line of frontier defined in the following paragraph, and the Government of the French Republic engages not to acquire either territory or political influence to the east of the same line.

2. The line of frontier shall start from the point where the boundary between the Congo Free State and French territory meets the water-parting between the watershed of the Nile and that of the Congo and its affluents. It shall follow in principle that water-parting up to its intersection with the 11th parallel of north latitude. From this point it shall be drawn as far as the 15th parallel in such manner as to separate, in principle, the Kingdom of Wadai from what constituted in 1882 the Province of Darfur; but it shall in no case be so drawn as to pass to the west beyond the 21st degree of longitude east of Greenwich (18° 40' east of Paris), or to the east beyond the 23rd degree of longitude east of Greenwich (20° 40' east of Paris).

3. It is understood, in principle, that to the north of the 15th parallel the French zone shall be limited to the north-east and east by a line of intersection of the Tropic of Cancer with the 16th degree of longitude east of Greenwich (13° 40' east of Paris), shall run thence to the south-east until it meets the 24th degree of longitude east of Greenwich (21° 40' east of Paris), and shall then follow the 24th degree until it meets, to the north of the 15th parallel of latitude, the frontier of Darfur as it shall eventually be fixed.

4. The two Governments engage to appoint Commissioners who shall be charged to delimit on the spot a frontier-line in accordance with the indications given in paragraph 2 of this Declaration. The result of their work shall be submitted for the approbation of their respective Governments.

¹ Hertslet, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 796.

It is agreed that the provisions of article 9 of the Convention of the 14th June, 1898, shall apply equally to the territories situated to the south of the 14° 20' parallel of north latitude, and to the north of the 5th parallel of north latitude, between the 14° 20' meridian of longitude east of Greenwich (12th degree east of Paris) and the course of the Upper Nile.

Done at London, the 21st March, 1899.

VI

ANGLO-FRENCH CONVENTION, 1904¹

[Articles 1 to 3 relate to Newfoundland]

ARTICLE 4

HIS Britannic Majesty's Government, recognising that, in addition to the indemnity referred to in the preceding article, some territorial compensation is due to France in return for the surrender of her privilege in that part of the Island of Newfoundland referred to in article 2, agree with the Government of the French Republic to the provisions embodied in the following articles:—

ARTICLE 5

The present frontier between Senegambia and the English Colony of the Gambia shall be modified so as to give to France Yabutenda and the lands and landing-places belonging to that locality.

In the event of the river not being open to maritime navigation up to that point, access shall be assured to the French Government at a point lower down on the River Gambia, which shall be recognised by mutual agreement as being accessible to merchant ships engaged in maritime navigation.

The conditions which shall govern transit on the River Gambia and its tributaries, as well as the method of access to the point that may be reserved to France in accordance with the preceding paragraph, shall form the subject of future agreement between the two Governments.

In any case, it is understood that these conditions shall be at least as favourable as those of the system instituted by application of the General Act of the African Conference of the 26th February, 1885, and of the Anglo-French Convention of the 14th June, 1898, to the English portion of the basin of the Niger.

ARTICLE 6

The group known as the Iles de Los, and situated opposite Konakry, is ceded by His Britannic Majesty to France.

¹ Hertslet, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 817.

ARTICLE 7

Persons born in the territories ceded to France by articles 5 and 6 of the present Convention may retain British nationality by means of an individual declaration to that effect, to be made before the proper authorities by themselves, or, in the case of children under age, by their parents or guardians.

The period within which the declaration of option referred to in the preceding paragraph must be made shall be one year, dating from the day on which French authority shall be established over the territory in which the persons in question have been born.

Native laws and customs now existing will, as far as possible, remain undisturbed.

In the Iles de Los, for a period of thirty years from the date of exchange of the ratifications of the present Convention, British fishermen shall enjoy the same rights as French fishermen with regard to anchorage in all weathers, to taking in provisions and water, to making repairs, to transshipment of goods, to the sale of fish, and to the landing and drying of nets, provided always that they observe the conditions laid down in the French Laws and Regulations which may be in force there.

ARTICLE 8

To the east of the Niger the following line shall be substituted for the boundary fixed between the French and British possessions by the Convention of the 14th June, 1898, subject to the modifications which may result from the stipulations introduced in the sixth and seventh paragraphs of the present article.

Starting from the point on the left bank of the Niger laid down in article 3 of the Convention of the 14th June, 1898, that is to say, the median line of the Dallul Mauri, the frontier shall be drawn along this median line until it meets the circumference of a circle drawn from the town of Sokoto as a centre, with a radius of 160,932 metres (100 miles). Thence it shall follow the northern arc of this circle to a point situated 5 kilomètres south of the point of intersection of the above-mentioned arc of the circle with the route from Dosso to Matankari viâ Maourédé.

Thence it shall be drawn in a direct line to a point 20 kilomètres north of Konni (Birni-N'Kouni), and then in a direct line to a point 15 kilomètres south of Maradi, and thence shall be continued in a direct line to the point of intersection of the parallel of 13° 20' north latitude with a meridian passing 70 miles to the east of the second intersection of the 14th degree of north latitude and the northern arc of the above-mentioned circle.

Thence the frontier shall follow in an easterly direction the parallel of 13° 20' north latitude until it strikes the left bank of the River Komadugu Waubé (Komadougou Ouobé), the thalweg

of which it will then follow to Lake Chad. But, if before meeting this river the frontier attains a distance of 5 kilomètres from the caravan route from Zinder to Yo, through Sua Kololua (Soua Kololoua), Adeber, and Kabi, the boundary shall then be traced at a distance of 5 kilomètres to the south of this route until it strikes the left bank of the River Komadugu Waubé (Komadougou Ouobé), it being nevertheless understood that, if the boundary thus drawn should happen to pass through a village, this village, with its lands, shall be assigned to the Government to which would fall the larger portion of the village and its lands. The boundary will then, as before, follow the thalweg of the said river to Lake Chad.

Thence it will follow the degree of latitude passing through the thalweg of the mouth of the said river up to its intersection with the meridian running 35' east of the centre of the town of Kouka, and will then follow this meridian southwards until it intersects the southern shore of Lake Chad.

It is agreed, however, that when the Commissioners of the two Governments at present engaged in delimiting the line laid down in article 4 of the Convention of the 14th June, 1898, return home and can be consulted, the two Governments will be prepared to consider any modifications of the above frontier line which may seem desirable for the purpose of determining the line of demarcation with greater accuracy. In order to avoid the inconvenience to either party which might result from the adoption of a line deviating from recognised and well-established frontiers, it is agreed that in those portions of the projected line where the frontier is not determined by the trade routes, regard shall be had to the present political divisions of the territories so that the tribes belonging to the territories of Tessaoua-Maradi and Zinder shall, as far as possible, be left to France, and those belonging to the territories of the British zone shall, as far as possible, be left to Great Britain.

It is further agreed that, on Lake Chad, the frontier line shall, if necessary, be modified so as to assure to France a communication through open water at all seasons between her possessions on the north-west and those on the south-east of the Lake, and a portion of the surface of the open waters of the Lake at least proportionate to that assigned to her by the map forming Annex 2 of the Convention of the 14th June, 1898.

In that portion of the River Komadugu which is common to both parties, the populations on the banks shall have equal rights of fishing.

ARTICLE 9

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London, within eight months, or earlier if possible.

In witness whereof his Excellency the Ambassador of the French Republic at the Court of His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, duly authorised for that purpose, have signed the present Convention and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at London, in duplicate, the 8th day of April, 1904.

VIA

ANGLO-FRENCH DECLARATION, 1904¹

ARTICLE 1

His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Egypt.

The Government of the French Republic, for their part, declare that they will not obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country by asking that a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation or in any other manner, and that they give their assent to the draft Khedivial Decree annexed to the present arrangement,² containing the guarantees considered necessary for the protection of the interests of the Egyptian bondholders, on the condition that, after its promulgation, it cannot be modified in any way without the consent of the Powers signatory of the Convention of London of 1885.

It is agreed that the post of Director-General of Antiquities in Egypt shall continue, as in the past, to be entrusted to a French *savant*.

The French schools in Egypt shall continue to enjoy the same liberty as in the past.

ARTICLE 2

The Government of the French Republic declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Morocco.

His Britannic Majesty's Government, for their part, recognise that it appertains to France, more particularly as a Power whose dominions are conterminous for a great distance with those of Morocco, to preserve order in that country, and to provide assistance for the purpose of all administrative, economic, financial, and military reforms which it may require.

They declare that they will not obstruct the action taken by France for this purpose, provided that such action shall leave intact the rights which Great Britain, in virtue of treaties, con-

¹ Hertslet, *op. cit.*, Vol II., p. 820.

² For text of this draft Decree and correspondence relating to the Declaration, see Parliamentary Paper "Treaty Series, No. 6 (1905)," [Cd. 2384].

ventions, and usage, enjoys in Morocco, including the right of coasting trade between the ports of Morocco, enjoyed by British vessels since 1901.

ARTICLE 3

His Britannic Majesty's Government, for their part, will respect the rights which France, in virtue of treaties, conventions, and usage, enjoys in Egypt, including the right of coasting trade between Egyptian ports accorded to French vessels.

ARTICLE 4

The two Governments, being equally attached to the principle of commercial liberty both in Egypt and Morocco, declare that they will not, in those countries, countenance any inequality either in the imposition of customs duties or other taxes, or of railway transport charges.

The trade of both nations with Morocco and with Egypt shall enjoy the same treatment in transit through the French and British possessions in Africa. An agreement between the two Governments shall settle the conditions of such transit and shall determine the points of entry.

This mutual engagement shall be binding for a period of thirty years. Unless this stipulation is expressly denounced at least one year in advance, the period shall be extended for five years at a time.

Nevertheless, the Government of the French Republic reserve to themselves in Morocco, and His Britannic Majesty's Government reserve to themselves in Egypt, the right to see that the concessions for roads, railways, ports, &c., are only granted on such conditions as will maintain intact the authority of the State over these great undertakings of public interest.

ARTICLE 5

His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they will use their influence in order that the French officials now in the Egyptian service may not be placed under conditions less advantageous than those applying to the British officials in the same service.

The Government of the French Republic, for their part, would make no objection to the application of analogous conditions to British officials now in the Moorish service.

ARTICLE 6

In order to ensure the free passage of the Suez Canal, His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they adhere to the stipulations of the treaty of the 29th October, 1888, and that they

agree to their being put in force. The free passage of the Canal being thus guaranteed, the execution of the last sentence of paragraph 1 as well as of paragraph 2 of article 8 of that treaty will remain in abeyance.

ARTICLE 7

In order to secure the free passage of the Straits of Gibraltar, the two Governments agree not to permit the erection of any fortifications or strategic works on that portion of the coast of Morocco comprised between, but not including, Melilla and the heights which command the right bank of the River Sebou.

This condition does not, however, apply to the places at present in the occupation of Spain on the Moorish coast of the Mediterranean.

ARTICLE 8

The two Governments, inspired by their feeling of sincere friendship for Spain, take into special consideration the interests which that country derives from her geographical position and from her territorial possessions on the Moorish coast of the Mediterranean. In regard to these interests the French Government will come to an understanding with the Spanish Government.

The agreement which may be come to on the subject between France and Spain shall be communicated to His Britannic Majesty's Government.

ARTICLE 9

The two Governments agree to afford to one another their diplomatic support, in order to obtain the execution of the clauses of the present Declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco.

In witness whereof his Excellency the Ambassador of the French Republic at the Court of His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, duly authorised for that purpose, have signed the present Declaration and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in London, in duplicate, the 8th day of April, 1904.

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 State Papers. Vols. 103-6. 1909-13.

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