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Or, Seven Years' Pioneer Mission Work in Central Africa

F. S. Arnot

New Edition Introduction by Robert I. Rotberg

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No. 10

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IN

CENTRAL AFRICA

BY

FREDERICK STANLEY ARNOT

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INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW EDITION

When Frederick Stanley Arnot left Scotland in 1881 to take the Gospel to Africa, he was consciously seeking to emulate the deeds of and carry on the Christian work so nobly begun by David Livingstone. He too, was a pioneer, and enjoyed lonely investigations on a distant frontier far more than the patient development of an evangelical beachhead. Arnot nevertheless devoted his life to furthering the cause of Christian expansion in Africa. He was the first missionary to settle within the confines of modern Zambia and Katanga. He was directly responsible for the establishment of a chain of stations in Angola, Zambia, and Katanga, his work being carried on today in tropical Africa by the far-flung, strikingly individualistic evangelists affiliated with the Christian Missions in Many Lands. Later, too, Arnot was instrumental in encouraging other missionary societies to join his own in Zambia. Indeed, by his tireless activities in Britain and South Africa as well as by his journeying in the interior, he played a large part in determining the nature and direction of the Christian initiative in Central Africa. But Arnot's published writings would be important even if he himself had been personally less significant. Because they were compiled directly from diaries and letters, they contain graphic accounts of what it was like to be a missionary pioneer during the opening up of Central Africa and comprise an unrivalled record of both the trivia and the drama of the daily confrontation between whites and Africans.[1]

[1] This is especially true since nearly all of the original diaries and letters were destroyed on the eve of World War II. A few of Arnot's letters are contained in the Bruce-Miller collection in the Archives of the Republic of Zambia, and a number of letters etc. not published in this volume may be found in numbers of *The Missionary Echo* and *Echoes of Service* from 1881.

Apart from the present volume Arnot also wrote *Bihé and Garenganze: A Record of Four Years' Work and Journeying in Central Africa* (London, 1893) and *Missionary Travels in Central Africa* (Bath, 1914). The first two sections of the last contain much truncated and somewhat bowdlerised versions of the first two books.

Arnot's interest in Africa was stimulated directly by Livingstone. In 1864, when he was six years old, Arnot was taken by his parents to witness Livingstone's distribution of prizes at the Gilbertfield School in Hamilton, Lanarkshire. "The impressions regarding Africa which I then received," Arnot recalled, "remained with me."[1] By this time the Arnot family had moved from Glasgow, where Frederick Stanley was born, to Hamilton. William Arnot, his father, was then engaged in the shipping business, particularly with Australia, and his paternal grandfather was a publisher in Edinburgh who assisted the work of the local Bible society. Frederick Stanley's mother was a Macdonald whose father had been a manufacturer in Paisley. By all accounts, young Arnot could never claim a deprived childhood. And since Hamilton had become the British residence of the Livingstone family, Arnot grew up in close association with the children of the great explorer. Together they rummaged through the attic where their father's African memorabilia were stored; Arnot also listened to the readings of his letters from Africa, perused his books, feared for Livingstone when he was believed lost, and was shaken perhaps more than most Britons when he finally perished near Lake Bangweulu.

The shape of Arnot's life was equally influenced by his father's religious qualms. When Frederick Stanley was ten his father left the Free Church of Scotland for an assembly of Plymouth Brethren, as they were called, and began to devote his spare time to the task of door-to-door evangelism. The Brethren were a collection of persons, not a society, who held mutual views about the literal nature of the Scriptures and the personal importance of sacraments. Their bond was a common antipathy towards organised religion, and an abhorrence of any ordained or central leadership. In Arnot's day, however, most

[1] Frederick S. Arnot, "Journey from Natal to Bihe and Benguella, and thence across the Central Plateau of Africa to the sources of the Zambesi and Congo," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, XI (1889), 65.

Brethren followed in the footsteps of the men in Ireland and southwestern England who, in the 1820's, had independently experienced a common disenchantment with the Established Church, and had sponsored the first public meetings of Brethren in Dublin and Plymouth in 1829 and 1832. One of these men, who subsequently went to Baghdad as the first Brethren missionary, saw no reason why it was essential to be ordained to be permitted to celebrate the Lord's Supper. Another wanted to take communion without belonging to any particular congregation. Several wanted to break bread together on the Lord's Day without clerical intercession and, in general, they saw no Scriptural justification for many of the injunctions of the then organized churches. Moreover, these men and their followers began to feel that their own movement alone represented a true return to the teachings of the New Testament and the spirit of the early church.[1]

Only after the family moved from Hamilton to Tayport, Fifeshire, in 1870, did young Frederick Stanley become thoroughly involved in the affairs of the Brethren. In Tayport his father founded a new Brethren assembly and was soon involved in open-air revival meetings. Frederick Stanley accompanied his father and, by the time that he was fifteen, had himself begun to preach and earnestly to seek conversions at these frequent meetings. By then he had left school—the extent and nature of young Arnot's formal education is not known—and had worked for a time in the shipbuilding yard of Tayport. Three years later the Arnots returned to Glasgow and Frederick Stanley obtained employment as a clerk in a linen warehouse. From about this time he also began self-consciously to prepare himself for lonely work in Africa. He learned to use a compass, to make shoes, tailor cloth, repair watches, and work metal as a blacksmith and wood as a joiner. He also acquired some knowledge of medicine, began to commit the Scriptures to memory, and demonstrated his evangelical abilities during summer tours of England and Scotland. Having at last obtained the financial and moral support of a Brethren assembly in Glasgow, he was ready to resume Livingstone's work. It is

[1] For a fuller discussion see William Blair Neatby, *A History of the Plymouth Brethren* (London, 1901); Peter L. Embley, "The Early Development of the Plymouth Brethren," in Bryan Wilson (ed.) *Patterns of Sectarianism: Organisation and Ideology in Social and Religious Movements* (London, 1967) 213-243.

evident that the explorer's famous injunction—"I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for Christianity. Do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it to you"[1]—had, for Arnot, become a categorical imperative.

Shortly before his twenty-third birthday, Arnot, by all accounts a slim, wiry, earnest youth, left Glasgow for Africa. Together with Donald Graham, who is never mentioned by name either in Arnot's publications or in the standard biography,[2] he sailed for Cape Town with the intention of proceeding into the interior and establishing mission stations somewhere along the upper Zambezi River or on the high land to the north of that river. In particular Arnot wanted to take the Gospel to the Tonga and Toka tribesmen who lived beyond the Victoria Falls. First however, the young evangelists sailed from Cape Town to Durban, and then made their way inland to Pietermaritzburg, where Graham's health broke down.[3] The opening chapter of *Garenganze* contains a detailed account of his early peregrinations, together with the missionary's contemporary observations and reflections. After some months in Pietermaritzburg he travelled to Potchefstroom, not then knowing precisely how he would proceed to trans-Zambezia. In that outpost he was encouraged to make his way to Shoshong, the capital of Kgama's Ngwato, in order to learn Tswana, a language which was erroneously said to be readily usable among the Toka. A meeting with Frederick Courteney Selous, the hunter and explorer who was then engaged in collecting botanical and zoological specimens along the Limpopo River, reinforced Arnot's desire to settle among the Tonga and Toka; Selous termed the Tonga "the best disposed tribe of Kaffirs"

[1] Speech in the Cambridge Senate House, 4 December 1857, quoted in William Monk (ed.), *Dr. Livingstones' Cambridge Lectures* (London, 1860), 168.

[2] Ernest Baker, *The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot: The Authorised Biography of a Zealous Missionary, Intrepid Explorer, and Self-Denying Benefactor among the Natives of Africa* (London, 1921). There is a more recent and popular account: Tony Lawman, *From the Hands of the Wicked* (London, 1960), which ends its narration of Arnot's life in 1891.

[3] *The Missionary Echo* (June, 1881), 81; (December, 1881), 178-179, contains the fullest mention of Graham. Why his name was expunged from the later record is uncertain, but the nature of his breakdown is unspecified and one can only surmise that it embarrassed the Brethren.

that he had "met with."[1] From Selous he also learned that the Society of Jesus, which had attempted in 1880 to establish a small mission among the Tonga in the Zambezi Valley, would "thankfully" not be returning thither in the near future.[2] With Selous, from whom nearly all of Arnot's information about trans-Zambezia was derived, he went by wagon to Klerksdorp and Zeerust, and then on to Shoshong in 1882.

Arnot's stay in Shoshong was of shorter duration than he had expected. At first Kgama, probably because he refused to countenance competition with the long-established London Missionary Society, gave Arnot an unfavourable reception and he tried to banish him to a remote village. And only after Arnot had promised to expedite his departure, did Kgama permit him to tarry long enough to take Tswana lessons from James Davidson Hepburn of the London Missionary Society, who had interceded on Arnot's behalf. Finally, in June 1882, three months after his arrival, Arnot reluctantly (his letters in *The Missionary Echo* testify to this reluctance more than does *Garenganze*, 19-25 below) bade goodbye to Kgama, whom he had come to admire, and, his steps quickened by rumour of renewed Jesuit interest in trans-Zambezia, started northwards towards the Zambezi River. ("The Jesuits are establishing themselves all along the Zambesi," Arnot wrote home. "I earnestly ask your prayers that God would continue to check their activity and frustrate their counsel."[3])

Arnot followed tracks that led across the Kalahari Desert (his description of travel in the Kalahari, below *Garenganze*, 25-45, is among the most interesting and detailed of the early accounts) to Leshoma (his Leshuma), where he hoped to obtain up-to-date information about conditions in trans-Zambezia

[1] *The Missionary Echo* (1 May 1882), 71-73. Cf. below, *Garenganze*, 13. Selous found Arnot "a very pleasant, good tempered companion," who bore "with cheerful equanimity all the discomforts of waggon travel in the rainy season." Frederick Courteney Selous, *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa* (London, 1893), 13.

[2] On the attempted establishment of a Jesuit mission in 1880, and the reported poisoning of Father Anton Terörde, see the contemporary letters: Theodore Nigg to Henri Depelchin, 8 October 1880; Depelchin to Weld, 10 October 1880; John Lea to Weld, 11 February and 18 February 1881, all in the papers of Campion House, Salisbury, Rhodesia, and the *Zambezi Mission Record* for May 1898, February 1899, July 1899, January 1900, and April 1900.

[3] Arnot, letter of 18 March 1882, in *The Missionary Echo* (June 1882), 86-87.

from George Westbeech, the trader.[1] But Leshoma, on the Zambezi, was deserted, and Arnot was forced to struggle on southeastwards to the trading village of Pandamatenga, where he was hospitably received by George Blockley, another trader with experience beyond the Zambezi River. (Curiously Arnot nowhere comments upon the Jesuits who had established themselves in the village. Nor, perhaps in order to spare the sensibilities of his Scottish audience, did he allude to the composition of Blockley's multi-racial menage.[2]) From Pandamatenga, as earlier from Leshoma, Arnot had hoped to travel down the Zambezi to the village of the Tonga chief Mweemba, where the Jesuits had also gone in 1880. But Blockley, who was beholden to the Lozi, the most powerful tribal group in trans-Zambezia, warned Arnot that before he could enter the country of the Tonga he required the permission of the Lozi, their overlords. The only road open to anyone crossing the Zambezi, Arnot discovered, was that which led through the Lozi capital at Lealui. Thus Arnot, who had intended this initial venture into the interior to be no more than a reconnaissance, turned his steps resolutely in the direction of the kingdom of the Lozi.

But it was soon evident that by entering Lozi country Arnot and the Plymouth Brethren would be deflected permanently from missionary activity among the Tonga and Toka. When Arnot reached Sesheke (the modern Mwandi) across the Zambezi with Blockley, he was immediately welcomed by the king's representatives there and by Westbeech. They promised to facilitate his journey upstream to Lealui, but the *nduna* or representatives also indicated with some force that they were tired of white men coming to their country and "running away again". François Coillard, the Huguenot missionary who had attempted to bring the Gospel to the Lozi in 1878, had, largely because of troubled conditions of Lozi country, failed to venture beyond Leshoma, and the *nduna* doubted his promises to return. A Jesuit party which had travelled up the Zambezi earlier in the year were apparently planning to return to Barotseland. For Coillard's sake as well as his own, and in order permanently to forestall the Jesuits, Arnot therefore decided to demonstrate his good will: "I tried to assure them

[1] Westbeech's diary, published in Edward C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland* (London, 1963) begins only in 1885.

[2] For Blockley's career, see Edward C. Tabler (comp.), *Pioneers of Rhodesia* (Cape Town, 1966), 14-15.

that my intentions were sincere in coming amongst them, and that I was now willing, if I got permission, to remain with them."[1] Westbeech later assured him that his action had preserved all of the Lozi kingdom—in fact all of the country between the Zambezi and Kafue Rivers—to Protestant missions.[2]

Except for the five winter months of 1883, when he trekked southward for mail and provisions, Arnot remained in Lealui, the Lozi capital, from November 1882 until May 1884. Much of the time he was ill. He suffered from what seems to have been malaria and recurrent ophthalmia, and the account of his stay in *Garenganze* (pp. 65-96) is accordingly less full than it might be. From it, the pages of *The Missionary Echo*, and the additional diary entries in Baker's *Life*, however, it is possible to gain an appreciation of Arnot's attempt to establish an evangelical beachhead in Barotseland. From the first he sought to win the respect and attention of his hosts in order that he might be the instrument of their conversion. He did what he could medically for those who would let him attend them. In 1883 he opened a school in order to teach the Lozi boys and men "of sin, death and judgement, and of God's love in the gift of His Son." He also hoped to inform them of the facts of the world in which they lived—"which is the white man's world."[3] But this first British instructor unfortunately set an impossible task for himself. Pupils would only with great reluctance, and then infrequently, attend his classes, and interesting them in the subject matter of his lessons was almost out of the question. One obstacle to ease of learning was Arnot's inability to communicate effectively in Silozi, the local vernacular. Another was the irregularity with which the state of his health permitted classes to be held. Even so, Arnot had high hopes for his educational venture and was deeply disappointed by its abysmal failure.

Evangelically, Arnot met with equally little success. Nonetheless, he urged Lewanika, the paramount chief, to eliminate witchcraft and trials by ordeal, to eschew sacrifices to idols, and to forbid adultery and polygyny. He even attempted on at least one occasion to convert Lewanika, presumably mistaking

[1] Below, *Garenganze*, 55. Coillard's explanation of his behaviour in 1878 is contained in a letter to Major Malan, 29 September 1878, in file CO 5/1/1, folios 439-444, National Archives, Salisbury.

[2] Arnot to his mother, 3 and 6 September 1882, quoted in Baker, *Life*, 56-57.

[3] Arnot, letters of 18 and 29 October 1882, *Echo* (April 1883), 52-54.

the chief's tolerance for genuine encouragement. The Scottish missionary boldly—or naively?—preached the condemnatory parable of Nebuchadressar.[1] Lewanika was not amused, but nevertheless saw virtue in Arnot's continued presence in Lealui, and reacted to his audacity by seeking to marry the missionary to one of his young nieces.

During the months in Lealui, Arnot also sought to understand the recent history of Barotseland and the customs of its people. The relevant pages of *Garenganze* contain a brief summary of the former researches—Arnot was, however, never very historically minded—and an edited account of his feelings for the latter. In later years his toleration for non-Western forms of behaviour grew and sophistication of approach more and more replaced the narrow-minded perceptions of his youth. At the time, however, he denounced the Lozi: "The Depth of their heathendom seems unfathomable; it is a nation of secret bloodshed, superstition, and enchantments." Moreover, in his eyes they were "clever at . . . deceit in all its imaginable forms. Never can you trust one word they say, from the king to the beggar—but indeed they are all beggars, and mean. I have often longed just to see in one a glance of truth or spark of honesty."[2]

Early in 1884 Arnot finally felt defeated by Lozi attitudes and his own poor health. He had made no converts and was having little effect upon the activities of those around him. Furthermore, Lewanika refused to allow him to seek a more hopeful evangelical field among the Lozi vassals to the north. The civil war that was to embroil Barotseland between September and December 1884 was also anticipated. When Antonio Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto, the Lusitanian trader, subsequently visited Lealui and urged the missionary to return westwards with him to Bié (Bihe) and Benguella, Arnot therefore reluctantly decided to take leave of Lewanika and to investigate the possibility of opening mission stations on the plateaux of Angola.

This journey, which followed Livingstone's route of 1854, is discussed in some detail in *Garenganze* (pp. 97-132). It led directly to the later establishment of a network of Brethren stations in the interior of Angola, and inevitably meant that other Brethren would follow their parishioners back to the very

[1] Daniel, i-iv, esp. iv: 31-33.

[2] Arnot, letters in *Echo* (March 1883), 40-41; (January 1884), 13-16.

areas of Zambia that Arnot had hoped to visit in early 1884. But, at the same time, Arnot himself had turned his eyes towards Garenganze, a thriving interior kingdom ruled over by Msiri, an notorious autocrat. The American missionaries at Bailundu commended Msiri and Garenganze to him, but they knew of both only by repute, and by virtue of the fact that their mission station lay on the main trading route between his kingdom and the western coast of Africa. Garenganze was said to be healthy. It was supposedly wealthy, populous, and excellently administered, and it promised to provide the setting for evangelical success.[1] Arnot was also attracted thither because of a coincidental meeting in Bailundu with messengers from Msiri. From them he learned that Msiri wanted whites to come to him. "Of course," Arnot wrote, "it was as traders that he wanted white men, but I felt I had something even better than good trade, which, if Msidi [Arnot's spelling] could only comprehend, he would gladly receive."[2]

Garenganze, a highland plateau region geographically isolated from the low-lying Congo basin, had earlier been traversed—along the geographical and commercial routes which linked it with the Atlantic and Indian Ocean ports—by David Livingstone, who visited the Upper Congo in 1871, and Verney Lovett Cameron, who crossed the region three years later. Both explorers reported that Katanga was a region rich in minerals, and therefore an area into which whites should advance.[3] The Germans Paul Reichard and Richard Böhm, in 1884, and the Portuguese Hermenigildo Capelo and Roberto Ivens, in 1885, confirmed the earlier tales. They also found numerous Arab traders in Katanga (as the region was also known) and learned that it was governed by Msiri of Bunkeya. Msiri (Msidi or Moshidi as his name was variously spelled) ruled over a centralized state, roughly the size of Great Britain, which extended throughout much of the present Katanga province and the northern areas of Northern Rhodesia. A Nyamwezi trader from East Africa, Msiri had married into the Luba ruling

[1] Arnot, letter dated 7 January 1885 in *Echoes* (April 1884), 59-61.

[2] Below, *Garenganze*, 122,

[3] David Livingstone, *Last Journals* (London, 1874), I, 265; II, 120; Verney Lovett Cameron, *Across Africa* (New York, 1877), 298, 353, 358, 475. This and the following six paragraphs are taken ,with the permission of the editors, from Robert I. Rotberg, "Plymouth Brethren and the Occupation of Katanga, 1886-1907," *Journal of African History*, V (1964), 285-289.

house and had assumed the position of paramount chief. The Luba, Lunda, Sanga, and Yeke were among his subjects, at least after 1880.[1] By 1885 Bunkeya, Msiri's capital near the Lofoi river, was the centre from which a lucrative copper, ivory, salt, and slave trade radiated eastwards to Zanzibar and westwards to Benguela. Msiri received cloth, guns, and powder in exchange and consequently extended his hegemony over other tribes who were without modern weapons.

Arnot approached Bunkeya in early 1886 with emotions which can only be described as mixed: "As I draw near to the capital of the great chief, and hear from the villages along the route of the extra tall, well-sharpened stake that Msidi has in the middle of his courtyard on which to place the head of the first white man who comes into the country to spy out his storehouses of ivory and mountains of copper, I confess to many anxious days and nights of prayer."[2] But the chief was kind—his soothsayers having pronounced Arnot harmless—and the missionary consequently received a handsome welcome. He rapidly became completely dependent upon the chief's goodwill, however, and, during the course of his two-year sojourn in Katanga, Arnot was unable to exert any important reforming influence on Msiri or on the lives of his subjects. His role was largely exiguous and exploratory. At the same time, his activities established a European beachhead and, in time, facilitated the Belgian conquest of Msiri's kingdom; his observations are also of value to our understanding of late-nineteenth-century Katanga.

Msiri made a profound first impression on Arnot: "I found him an old-looking man, with rather a pleasant, smooth face, and a short beard, quite white. As I approached he rose from his chair and came forward to meet me, folding his arms round me in a most fatherly way; "indeed his reception was quite affecting."[3] The chief was a strange mixture. To Arnot he was "always most pleasant and kind, and by no means greedy for presents. . . ."[4] He was generous as a "father of his people." At the same time the chief was "fierce and cruel as a soldier and in his ambition for power and gain": "Hearing him talk of his

[1] For a general discussion of his reign, see Auguste Verbeken, *Msiri, Roi du Garenganze* (Bruxelles, 1956), 23-128.

[2] Arnot, diary entry dated 12 February 1886, in Baker, *Life*, 181.

[3] Arnot, diary entry, 17 February 1886, in *ibid.*, 183.

[4] Arnot, letter, 11 August 1886, *Echoes* (April 1887), 59.

wars, and seeing all round his yard human skulls. . . the sensation creeps over one of being in a monster's den. . . . He has the name of being very kind among his people, but at the same time very strict. He does not stop at taking their heads off."[1]

Unlike rulers of other tropical African states, Msiri governed autocratically. Arnot had attended the Lozi *kuta*, or court, where Lewanika's influential *nduna* sat to advise their chief. But Msiri's court consisted of wives, pages, and loafers. Arnot saw no counsellors of any kind. In Msiri's "town", which the missionary said was ten miles long—"a good day's journey was spent in traversing its fields and scattered houses"—quietness and peace reigned.[2] Msiri judged his people sharply and severely, while eschewing torture. The death penalty was common; minor offenders were affixed to a long chain and sent out into the fields to work. As a result, Arnot had a freedom of movement and a sense of security which he had not enjoyed in Barotseland. "The quietness by night and day, considering the number of people, is remarkable. At night, things can be left outside in perfect safety, and the door of my hut requires no barring; life and property, I have no hesitation in saying, are safer here than in much-favoured England."[3]

Arnot's activities (the last half of *Garenganze* describes them in some detail) exerted little pull on the tides of Katangan history. Msiri was pleased to have him; his knowledge and contacts helped to keep open the vital trade route to Benguela, *via* Nana Kandundu. Similarly, the presence of a Briton would serve to minimize the pernicious influence of the Arab traders. Like Alexander Mackay in Buganda and François Coillard in Barotseland, the European missionary was a pawn useful to a strong, wily chief when it became necessary for him to play the complicated game of alliances. Msiri wanted Arnot, whose knowledge of the outside world was more extensive than anyone else's in Katanga, to be his confidant and adviser. But, partly on account of his unhappy Lozi experience, Arnot (and the Brethren who followed him) refused to seek influence at the court. He was unwilling to oblige Msiri by building a house close to the chief, preferring to live removed from the confusion

[1] Arnot, diary entry, 1 March 1886, in Baker, *Life*, 183-184.

[2] Arnot, letters, 1 July 1886, 19 November 1886, *Echoes* (1887), supplements.

[3] Arnot, letter, 11 August 1886, *ibid.* (April 1887), 59. Later his hut was broken into by thieves.

and intrigue of the capital. By so doing he forfeited that "civilizing influence" which he and his fellow missionaries generally professed to further. Neither Arnot nor his successors were able to persuade Msiri of the evils of slave raiding, or of the wrongs which wars with neighbouring peoples perpetuated. Although present at the time, Arnot did not seek to prevent the execution of a son of Chief Kazembe who had fled to Bunkeya and whose head had unhappily been demanded as a dowry by one of Msiri's daughters. He was powerless to combat the polygyny, drunkenness, and debauchery by which he was surrounded. Without the support of the chief, his evangelical efforts were unproductive. Moreover, that close personal relationship, which Msiri may well have sought, was never achieved. Arnot kept his distance and his freedom, and was content to live on the intellectual periphery of Bunkeya.

Admittedly, the missionary was never healthy. His eyes, a constant source of anxiety, bothered him throughout his stay in Katanga. He was frequently feverish (he ran out of quinine in 1886) despite the careful siting of his cottage, named Rehoboth. He developed rheumatism. The two years in Barotseland, and his journeys to and from Angola, had taken far more out of him than he had realized. And his Katangan diet—sorghum porridge mixed with red palm oil and occasional meat—was never pleasing to his constitution. He was without resources, or means of obtaining support from the coast. He also had difficulty learning Ciluba and Seyeke, the languages of the people. Instead he tried to use Cimbundu, the commercial vernacular of Angola, without success.

Arnot played an important medical role. Although untrained, he developed a large practice and was regularly called upon by the chief to treat persons of importance. The missionary lanced boils and set bones, and was well received throughout the kingdom on account of his curative skills. But no conversions were made, no passage for the Gospel was opened in the hearts of the people of Katanga and, after two years of frustration, the first missionary to Katanga was pleased to leave his African home when reinforcements—Charles Albert Swan, a twenty-six-year-old Englishman, and William Henry Faulknor, a young Canadian—finally arrived from England in December 1887.

The press, geographers, and church groups all celebrated Arnot's return to Britain in late 1888. *The Times*, perhaps

remembering the Blantyre scandal, commended his example to others: "His outfit was of the most slender character. He travelled practically unarmed. . . . If he had any grievances, he never took the law into his own hands. . . ."[1]

Scottish newspapers recounted his exploits at length and fully reported his numerous addresses to missionary societies throughout England and Scotland. Arnot delivered his most important speech, however, in early 1889 to the assembled savants of the Royal Geographical Society. After its completion he was favourably compared, as a traveller who treated Africans with kindness, to Joseph Thomson, the Society's gold medallist. Later in the year the Society recognized the extent of Arnot's achievements and the good impression that he had made in Britain by awarding him its Cuthbert Peek Grant. At Arnot's suggestion, the Society also devoted the proceeds of its Murchison Grant to the provision of a suitable present for Chief Chitambo, in whose territory Livingstone had died in 1873. This present, which Arnot agreed to convey to Chitambo, eventually consisted of a double-barrelled shotgun, 386 handkerchiefs, eight pieces of double-width blue cotton, five pieces of cretonne, four of velvet, and five of silk, the whole costing £29 in London and, in Central Africa, being worth about £100. He was also entrusted with a bronze memorial tablet, supplied by Livingstone's daughter, which was to be affixed to the tree under which the explorer's heart had been buried. This congeries of goods Arnot subsequently conveyed as far as Nana Kandundu, in Angola, Hugh B. Thompson, a fellow missionary, took it to Katanga, and Captain Lucien Bia and Lieutenant Emile Franqui of the Belgian Katanga Company finally gave the present to Chitambo's successor and personally affixed the plaque in 1893.[2]

During his hectic months at home Arnot also found time to meet, woo, and marry Harriet Jane Fisher of Greenwich, whose brother, Dr. Walter Fisher, was later to establish the first

[1] Quoted in Baker, *Life*, 232. The precise reference to *The Times* cannot be verified.

[2] The speech was printed as "Journey from Natal to Bihe," *Proceedings*, X (1888), 65-78. The praise of R. N. Cust is to be found in *ibid.*, 80. For the vicissitudes of the presents, see *The Geographical Journal*, I (1893), 355. In General Richard Strachey's review of the progress of geography in 1889, he said that Arnot's seven-year journey had been "next in novelty and general interest" to that of Henry Morton Stanley's relief of Emin Pasha, *Proceedings*, XI (1889), 406.

medical mission within the borders of Zambia and to found a dynasty of doctors and evangelists who remain active there. Arnot simultaneously launched an appeal for and recruited twelve missionaries and wives to return with him to the heart of Africa and helped to see the first edition of *Garenganze* through the press (for details about its composition etc. see the "Note on the Texts," below). Reviewers welcomed its appearance, *The Times* being particularly commendatory, but *The Glasgow Herald* provided the fairest and fullest assessment: "As a book one misses here the stirring encounters and restless movement of Stanley's narratives, or the tactical manoeuvring of Joseph Thomson's, or the eloquent description of fauna, flora, and the scenery of H. H. Johnston's. Mr. Arnot has neither scientific training, nor military instincts, nor great literary gifts. His book is compiled from letters and diaries, and it is bald, insufficient, fragmentary, and by no means a fitting memorial of a memorable achievement. Nevertheless, every page of it is filled with living interest, for in every page we see the heart of the writer. Simple and unassuming in outfit as in character, strong in faith as in physique, this young man quietly sets down the memoranda of his travels as if he were doing nothing out of the ordinary."[1]

By October 1889, Arnot and the others of his advance party of Brethren, after surmounting the obstacles that are described in the opening pages of *Bihé and Garenganze*, had established their first mission station at Kwanjulula in Bié. Soon afterwards, however they were embroiled in a growing conflict between the Bié chief Ndunduma (Arnot's Chindunduma) and the Portuguese, who were intent upon occupying Bié effectively and making the chief's capital a staging point for the subsequent conquest of lands beyond. Early in 1890 Ndunduma's army blocked the main route between Luanda and Barotseland and demanded that Arnot and his compatriots withdraw forthwith from Kwanjulula. The latter order Arnot managed to persuade the chief to stay, a result which subsequently occasioned Portuguese suspicion, and, after Portuguese soldiers and Afrikaner mercenaries won a bloody war for possession of his country, Arnot was instrumental in arranging an armistice that prevented further loss of life. These critical events occupied most of 1890; Arnot's summary of them in *Bihé and Garenganze* provides one of the very few published contemporary reports

[1] Quoted in Baker, *Life*, 236.

of early resistance to the Portuguese.[1] His book also includes a full account of the tragic death of Silva Porto who, upon learning of Ndunduma's policy towards the Portuguese and realizing that he had somehow forfeited his own previously entrenched position of influence with the chief, blew himself up on thirteen kegs of gunpowder.

With the assistance of further reinforcements from Britain, Arnot was able to open a second Angolan station for the Brethren in late 1891. The site that he chose, near the village of the powerful Luvale chieftainess Nyakatolo, or Nana Kandundu, was located in elevated country near the headwaters of the Zambezi River. It was on the caravan route which traders and missionaries followed to reach Katanga, and the establishment of this outpost (later called Kavungu) reduced the isolation of the stations there. Much of *Bihé and Garenganze* is taken up with the experiences of Daniel Crawford, Thompson, Frederick Lane, Swan, and Faulknor, in Katanga, with Swan's journey home through unexplored regions of the Congo Independent State, and, of particular interest, with the occupation of Msiri's kingdom in late 1891, as viewed through missionary eyes. Arnot, whom continued ill-health forced home from Nana Kandundu in 1892, compiled the bulk of *Bihé and Garenganze* from the diaries and letters of the Brethren in Katanga (Crawford's diary occupies the most space) as well as from his own.[2] It was published in 1893, after Arnot and his family had settled in Waterloo, near Liverpool, and he had paid a short visit to Chicago.

For the next twenty years Arnot acted as the untitled but everywhere respected director and statesman of the Brethren missionary enterprise in southern Africa. In this capacity he guided the individual efforts of his African-based colleagues from afar, helped to supply them with funds and supplies, and, despite his increasingly precarious health, paid frequent visits to them in the interior of the continent. (During this period he also annotated the published account of Livingstone's journey across Africa. These annotations, of some ethnological and

[1] *Bihé*, 19-23. See also Arnot's letters of 14 February 1890 and 31 March 1890, *Echoes* (May 1890), 178-180; (July 1890), 219-220; James Johnston, *Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa* (London, 1893: reprinted 1968), 59-62.

[2] For Katanga, see also Crawford's *Thinking Black: Twenty-two Years Without a Break in the Long Grass of Central Africa* (London, 1913), 209-319; Rotberg, "Occupation," 287-297.

geographical value, formed an eleven page and little noticed section towards the end of an edition of *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* which was published by John Murray in London in 1899). In 1894, after Crawford had transferred the work of the Brethren from the heart of Katanga to the shores of Lake Mweru, he and Benjamin Cobbe investigated the possibility of using the east coast/Lake Nyasa route as a supply channel into the interior, reaching the new station with ease late in the same year. (A brief account of this journey is contained in *Missionary Travels*, 119-126.) In 1897 he visited British Guiana, the local Brethren subsequently sending missionaries to central Africa. When they did so, in 1904, Arnot accompanied them to Bié, and continued eastward in order to visit the Brethren stations of Kavungu, Kazombo (on the Zambezi), Kaleñe Hill (Dr. Fisher's sanatorium north of Mwinilunga in what was then Northwestern Rhodesia), and Koni Hill (in Katanga). At the last place he recalled his first visit, twenty years before, when the inhabitants had fled because his feet looked like zebra's hooves and he had felt it necessary to eat a potato in order to demonstrate his essential humanity.[1] From Koni he made his way to Luanza, on Lake Mweru, and then to Johnston Falls, on the Luapula River.[2] Two hundred miles beyond, across the Congo Pedicle, was the little mining settlement of Broken Hill, to which place the new railway line from Cape Town extended. Arnot experienced the novelty of travelling in a coach across a land that he had once traversed by foot. "My one thought," he wrote, "was now to make use again of the South African base."[3]

From 1908 Arnot was based in Johannesburg. But he spent nearly all of his time in the Rhodesian interior. In 1909 he visited Kaleñe Hill and other stations and, *en route*, realized the need for missionaries in Kaonde country between Broken Hill and the Brethren stations among the Lunda and Luvale. He persuaded the South Africa General Mission to assume these responsibilities and, in 1910, personally guided Albert Bailey, the Mission's lone pioneer, to a site near the Kansanshi copper mine, thus inaugurating the first of its many stations in

[1] *Missionary Travels*, 134.

[2] For additional information about these stations, see Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia* (Princeton, 1965), 69, 75-76, 152-155.

[3] *Missionary Travels*, 136.

Zambia. (Three years later Arnot was instrumental in persuading the South African Baptist Missionary Society to assume the responsibility for a station near the Rhodesian Copperbelt which had been started in 1905 by the Nyasa Industrial Mission.[1]) Returning to Johannesburg, he traversed Nkoya country, and entered his old haunts in Barotseland. Lewanika still reigned, and, some twenty-six years after the event, gave Arnot permission to open a mission station among his northern vassals. (Arnot treated the matter with great urgency when he heard, erroneously, that Roman Catholic missionaries—whether White Fathers or Jesuits was unclear—were about to claim the site that Livingstone had recommended and he had long coveted.[2]) This challenge Arnot and his wife accepted early in the next year when they travelled up the Zambezi River, built a small house near its junction with the Kabompo River, and managed to visit the peoples on either bank of the Kabompo as far as its confluence with the Ndongwe River before, once again, being compelled by renewed attacks of malaria and a very painful spleen to return to Johannesburg.[3] With George Suckling and T. Lambert Rogers he attempted in late 1913 to overcome this debilitation sufficiently to realize his dream of a station beyond the Kabompo. Early in 1914, however, after Arnot had opened a small school and had helped the others to plan a permanent station at a site called Chitokoloki, his long-suffering spleen ruptured. His daughter's account (in *Missionary Travels*, 151-153) completes the story of this final journey into the interior. How he survived the protracted voyage southward by boat and train no one understood. But in Johannesburg he even managed to summon the energy to correct the proofs of *Missionary Travels*, which had been written during 1913. Then he grew ill again, an operation was attempted but Arnot's heart proved insufficiently strong, and he succumbed on 15 May 1914.

[1] See William H. Cursons, *Joseph Doke, The Missionary Hearted* (Johannesburg, 1929), 187 ff.; Arthur J. Cross, *Twenty Years in Lambaland* (London, 1925), 24 ff.

[2] George Suckling, *Mission Work in the Kabompo Valley* (np., c. 1915), 3-4. No Roman Catholic missionaries settled permanently in Barotseland until Killian Flynn, O.F.M. Cap. and others opened the Sichili mission in 1932. Lukulu, 25 miles south of the mouth of the Kabompo, was opened in 1935.

[3] *Missionary Travels*, 140-147.

Arnot's stature as a missionary pioneer has not been dimmed by the passage of time. His spirit was indomitable and his ability to make do under conditions that would have revolted Stanley, Cameron, James Augustus Grant, or Samuel White Baker, was extraordinary. He certainly opened up the interior of Africa to Christian evangelism, and personally charted the main routes of its advance. But Arnot was no geographer, no ethnologist, and no scientist—he was a poor observer and a bad scholar. Nor were his diaries particularly well written or introspective. But he was a leader of men and a friend of Africans, and his published writings comprise an unvarnished, reasonably faithful record of missionary life and activities on the nineteenth century evangelical frontier. A contemporary provides Arnot's most fitting epitaph: "Mr Arnot the missionary was a remarkable man. . . . He was the simplest and most earnest of men. He lived a life of great hardship under the care of [the] king of the Barotse, and taught his children. . . . I have seen many missionaries under varied circumstances, but such an absolutely forlorn man, existing on from day to day, almost homeless, with hardly any of the appliances which make life bearable, I have never seen.

"He was imbued with one desire, and that was to do God service. Whether it could be done in that way I will not here question, but he looked neither to the right nor left, caring nothing for himself if he could get one to believe; at least so he struck me, and I have honoured the recollection of him ever since as being as near his Master as anyone I ever saw."[1]

1. Ralph Williams, *How I Became a Governor* (London, 1913), 103. Williams (later Sir Ralph) was recalling a meeting with Arnot near the Victoria Falls in late 1883, when Arnot was on his way back to Barotseland from Pandamatenga.

A Note on the Texts

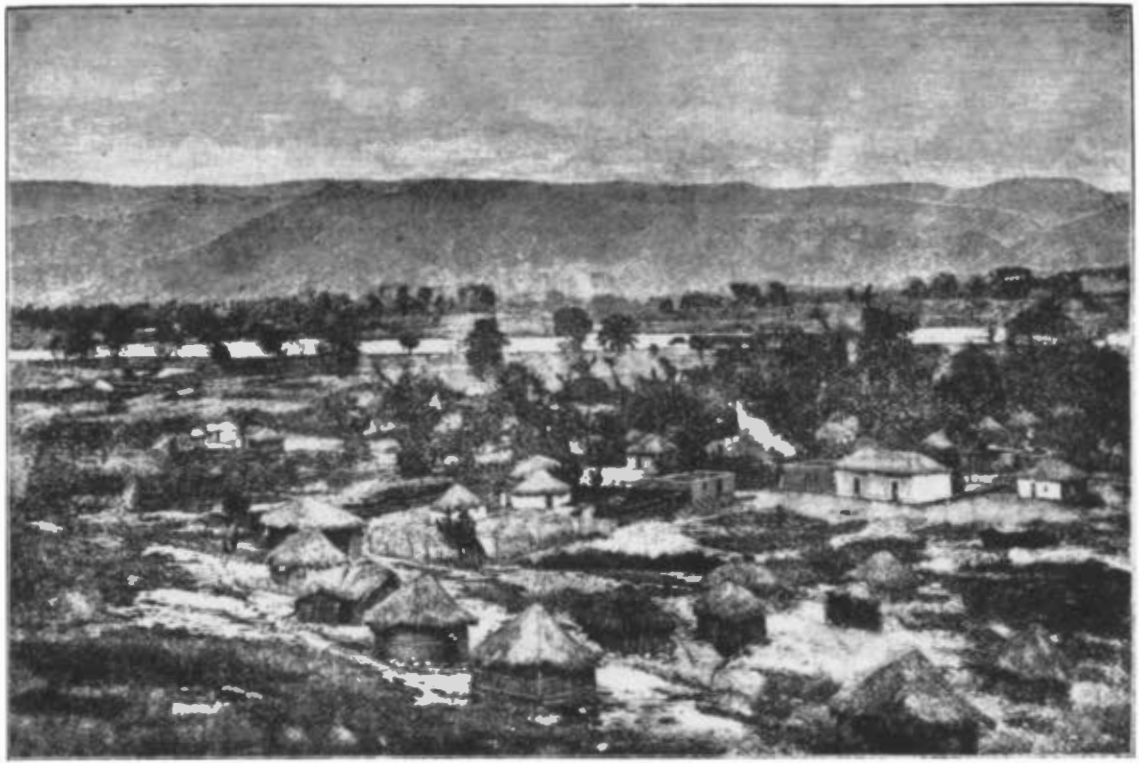
Both *Garenganze* and *Bihé and Garenganze* are composed of excerpts from diaries and letters, many but not all of which had previously appeared in the pages of *The Missionary Echo* and *Echoes of Service*, the main periodical publications of the Brethren missionary enterprise. *Garenganze* is based on Arnot's diary entries and letters home to his mother, together with linking passages probably, but not certainly, written by himself. It is likely that Arnot himself did not have the time to select the entries to be published, the task of editing probably being assumed by J. L. MacLean and/or Henry Groves, the moving spirits behind *Echoes of Service*. All of this work was completed, and the first edition of *Garenganze* printed, during Arnot's six-month visit home in 1888/89. It was priced at the minimal figure (even for the time) of 2/6 (cloth bevelled boards, 3/6) in order to ensure a wide circulation, and about 5000 copies were sold within the first few weeks. Two further editions were needed throughout the remainder of 1889, the last of which carried an introduction by Dr. A. T. Pierson of Philadelphia which is of no value today and consequently is not included in the present edition.

In some ways *Bihé and Garenganze* is an historically more valuable book. In addition to Arnot's account—again in the form of diary and letter excerpts—of his own journey to and from Nana Kandundu, the author, with the assistance of MacLean and W. H. Bennett, included a full account of Brethren experiences in Garenganze since his own departure in 1888. This account is given in the form of extracts largely from the diary of Daniel Crawford, together with parts of the letters of fellow missionaries, and includes eye-witness reports of the death of Msiri and the results of the conquest of his kingdom. The slim volume was issued in 1893 by James Hawkins of London (the publisher of *Garenganze*) on behalf of *Echoes of Service* in Bath. Only one edition was published.

In 1912 or 1913 Arnot was asked by Brethren in Britain to bring out a revised version of his first two books. Instead, largely because he wrongly felt that much of the material was dated, and conceivably because he believed that it contained too many expressions of earnest piety, he thoroughly rewrote the experiences recounted in the two volumes. By so doing he

did himself, and subsequent readers, a great disservice. His poor health may, however, have contributed to his decision to summarize with evident haste. *Missionary Travels* (published posthumously in Bath, London, Glasgow, and Kilmarnock for *Echoes of Service* in one edition) does, however, contain several short chapters which continue Arnot's autobiographical narrative from 1893 until his death in 1914.

29 *February* 1968 R. I. R.



THE LOWER AFRICAN PLATEAU AS SEEN NEAR CATUMBELLA.

GARENGANZE;

OR,

Seven Years' Pioneer Mission Work

IN

CENTRAL AFRICA.

BY

FRED. S. ARNOT.

WITH TWENTY ILLUSTRATIONS,

And an Original Map prepared by the Royal Geographical Society.

LONDON:

JAMES E. HAWKINS, 17, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.;

AND 36, BAKER STREET, PORTMAN SQUARE, W.

PREFACE.

AFTER a stay of seven years in Africa Mr. F. S. Arnot came to England for six months. This brief period has been occupied with much correspondence, travelling, giving addresses, seeing to the enlargement of his work, etc., so that he could not find time to write an account of his African experiences. To meet, however, the wishes of many enquiring friends he has prepared this volume by making use of diaries and letters originally sent to the members of his family (chiefly written to his mother), supplementary information being added. The simple and homely style of these pages is thus accounted for. The faith in which he was, as a child, carefully nurtured by his parents is shown by the undesigned references to scripture interwoven with the narrative. As his years increased he learned to tread for himself the path of faith, the fruits of which are seen in his life.

His work in Africa has been largely a *preparatory* one, but by widely gaining the esteem and confidence of the natives, as Livingstone did before him, he has done much to pave the way for other servants of Christ.

In connection with this pioneering effort, a few remarks on aggressive Christianity in the light of Scripture may not be out of place. It is often admitted that much of the extensive missionary work now going on is very feeble in character. The cause surely is, that in this, as in other respects, we have departed from the divine pattern.

In the tenth chapter of the Gospel by Matthew certain preceptive principles were given by the Lord to His disciples, when He first sent them forth to proclaim the glad tidings of the kingdom of heaven. We would not forget that these disciples were commissioned to go among a people who were looking for the fulfilment of promises regarding a coming Messiah; nor that

they were endued with miraculous power wherewith to attest their ministry. But making due allowance for this difference, we must acknowledge that our practice bears very little resemblance to that which our Lord enjoins. The wise man's heart "discerneth both time and judgment," and what we need is to carry out the *spirit* of our Master's instructions, even though the sphere of service and the qualifications for the work be altered.

Christianity must be consistent with Christ, or it ceases to be divine; and a Christian must be a *follower* of Christ. In Isaiah liii. He was prophetically described as "a root out of a dry ground." His resources came from above, and not from beneath; from God, and not from man; from the Spirit of God, and not from means and money. In true keeping with this, the apostle Paul shows in 1 Corinthians i. that the gospel he preached set aside the *wisdom* of the flesh; the *power* of the flesh, by means of its wealth and influence; and the *religious zeal* of the flesh. Now, it is painfully evident that all these have crept into the Church, perhaps in some measure unawares, but not unwelcome. As a consequence the flesh, and not the Spirit, has been at work; man, and not God, has been prominent. Results have been small, while labour has been great. It is not so when God is reckoned upon, and when His power takes the place of that of the creature. Of obedient, trusting Israel it is written, "One man of you shall chase a thousand." It was so in apostolic days; means were few and men were mighty.

Nothing could be more simple than the instructions and equipment of the pioneer gospel labourers. Their Master was poor, and they were poor, while yet enriching others—"having nothing, and yet possessing all things." What was enough for the Lord was enough for the servants, and they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles, but "poor saints" out of their joy and deep poverty, abounded towards them in the riches of their liberality. The whole garment was of one texture. The Master had begun the piece, and His servants wrought at His loom and imitated His work. There was no complicated machinery, but there was power. There were no elaborate plans, but they took their directions from their Lord. They went forward or stood still, guided according to the wisdom of Him who said to His disciples, "Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find."

Money, which seems the most important thing in this day, is scarcely alluded to in the evangelistic work of early days; and even when Paul refers to it in such words as, "Ye sent once and again unto my necessity," he adds, "Not that I speak in respect of want, for I have learned in whatsoever state I am therein to be content." The God of the first century of Christianity is the God of its nineteenth century; and we trust that these journals will stir up many to seek in their missionary work more hallowed conformity to the Lord and to those who truly followed Him at the first.

For any who may be contemplating missionary work we add a few remarks on some pre-requisites which call for careful consideration.

(1) *Fixedness of purpose.* In appealing to Timothy the apostle could remind him, "Thou hast fully known . . . my purpose." His work was not the result of a sudden impulse, but of a settled purpose, probably formed in those solitary years which he passed with God in Arabia. The writer of these pages was led to dedicate himself in his youth to Central Africa, his interest in that continent having been awakened, when he was quite a child, by hearing Dr. Livingstone speak in Hamilton in 1864, after his return from one of his great journeys. Obstacles and discouragements were met with by Mr. Arnot; but these do not hinder a true purpose; they only prove helps to the faith of one who is really called of God.

(2) *Preparation for the work.* The stones of the temple had to be carefully prepared, and the stones that were to slay Goliath must be smooth ones. The servant of God needs a human as well as a divine preparation. By many the former is forgotten, and by others it is made the all-in-all. The preparation must vary according to the sphere which is to be entered upon. For pioneer work in Central Africa and among savage tribes the blacksmith's forge, the carpenter's shop, and the medical class will all prove helpful, as Mr. Arnot has found.

(3) *Patience and forbearance.* We join these together, for patience in our own hearts will lead to forbearance with others. Dr. Moffat's advice to our young friend before he left was, "Have patience, patience, patience, and then you will succeed." The list of evidences of apostleship, given in 2 Corinthians xii. 12, is headed with, "*In all patience.*" And, again, Paul puts

patience first when he gives, in chapter vi. 4, the long record of his ministry, "Commending ourselves as the ministers of God *in much patience.*" For the attainment of this grace God would keep many waiting in His school before sending them out into His vineyard. Happy are they who resist not this needed discipline, and who hasten not forth unfitted for the work.

Lastly, we would add *perseverance and godliness*—the blessed fruit of patient waiting upon God for each step as it is taken. Godliness is the higher stage of the Christian life when God has become its motive power and the centre of all thoughts and purposes. Godliness subdues the impatience of the natural will and enables the soul to await the call of God, who alone sees the end from the beginning.

We close these prefatory words with a letter from Dr. Moffat, written a few days before his death, on receiving a copy of the first part of Mr. Arnot's diary:

"*Park Cottage, near Tunbridge, Kent, July 18th,* 1883.

"MY DEAR MR. GROVES,—Only a few lines to acknowledge your kindness in remembering me in connection with Mr. Arnot and his noble undertaking. Truly his spirit is that of a martyr, ready for anything for Jesus' sake and perishing souls. I need only say that I have read it with the most intense interest. Of course many of the peoples through which he passed were well known to me; and had not head powers failed I should have been in those regions till this day. My heart is as warm as ever towards the Bechuanas, whom I never cease to remember in prayer.

"My hand still trembles, for I am only partially emerging from more than six weeks' illness—not such as to confine me to bed, but to keep me at home, and very often not far from the fire. The result has been very great weakness of mind and body, shrinking from everything like mental or physical exercise. My correspondents must be puzzled with my silence; but I am in the care of a kind covenant-keeping God, who will order all things well concerning me.

"Again, many thanks; and when you hear more let me know, for I cannot forget Mr. Arnot. Gratefully yours,

"ROBERT MOFFAT."

We gladly issued fragmentary parts of Mr. Arnot's diaries and letters while he was in Africa, and hope to continue this service on his return, God willing.

HENRY GROVES, *Bankfield, Kendal.*
J. L. MACLEAN, M.D., *Bath.*

March, 1889.

CONTENTS.

MAP OF WEST CENTRAL AFRICA.

AT the request of the Royal Geographical Society Mr. Arnot read a paper, briefly describing his travels in Africa; and the Society specially prepared a map to accompany this paper, which was printed in their Proceedings for February, 1889. They have kindly allowed the use of their plate for the reproduction of the map, which appears at the end of this volume, and forms a very valuable addition to it. Not only does it show clearly Mr. Arnot's routes, but also the recent discoveries of well-known African travellers, such as Commander Cameron, the Portuguese officers, Serpa Pinto, Capello, and Ivens, and Herr Reichard. Livingstone's journey from the Zambesi to Loanda, which attracted Mr. Arnot's attention to this part of Africa, is also marked.

Though this is only a sketch-map, Mr. Arnot not having instruments for ascertaining latitude and longitude, he carefully noted his course by compass, and also the daily distances accomplished. The small map of South Africa (in the corner) shows both his journeys—the one across the Continent from Natal to Benguella by the Barotse Valley; and the other from Benguella to Garenganze, which was retraced on his return, with some variations. The larger map gives the routes from Lealui to the West Coast, and thence to Garenganze, on a much enlarged scale. From Peho to the Garenganze capital was over fresh ground, and the names of many new places and rivers can now be identified. The true course of the first part of the Zambesi River has also been ascertained as running from *east to west*. As in the case of the two great rivers of China, it is found that the sources of the Zambesi and Congo lie close together, although their courses widely diverge, the former emptying itself on the East Coast, and the latter on the West. The remarkable hill that Mr. Arnot calls Border Craig indicates, he believes, one of the earliest sources of both rivers, though he has not traced them out.

The southern limit of the Congo Free State is determined by the sources of that great river, and though it has been hitherto laid down on maps by conjecture only, we are now able to say how far the Free State extends southward according to its natural boundary. It includes the large kingdom of Garenganze —probably larger than England and Wales—but as yet king Msidi scarcely knows that he is a vassal of the Free State.

Connected with the mention of this king we may refer to the difficulty of spelling African names. As towns are called after the ruling chiefs, there is a constant change in their names, and owing to the variety of tribes there is great diversity in pronunciation. For instance, Msidi's name has been spelt Msiri, Muxide, Moshide, Muside. Through M. Giraud he has become widely known as "Msiri," which Mr. Arnot says is not correct, but to prevent confusion he seeks to approach as nearly as possible to this, and calls him Msidi, a name which very frequently occurs in this volume.—ED.