

position of Holland, and owe our independence to the forbearance or the mutual jealousies of our neighbours. The second matter to be considered in our policy is the necessity of colonisation. 'Wherever Rome conquers,' said Seneca, 'she inhabits'; and this ought to be true of us. Cooped up within the narrow limits of these islands we have at least 300,000 persons every year whom we can spare to till the sparsely peopled countries of the world. Shall we always send two-thirds of them to the United States or shall we provide for them homesteads in our own colonies? In the former case they rapidly become aliens and even enemies. In the latter, even under our present imperfect system, they usually remain our subjects and our friends.

These first two points are matters of high policy. They require the consideration of statesmen. They ought not to be subject to vacillation as one party or the other comes into power. Given a settled policy, to be pursued by Radicals as well as Tories, and trade may be left to individual efforts. But without such a policy, known, approved and settled in advance, trade itself must languish.

These remarks are general, but they have a particular application to South Africa. I am of opinion that it was a mistake to grant 'responsible government' to the Cape Colony in 1871, and even in the Colony itself opinion was so divided that the settlement was carried only by one vote. We have probably been premature, or at least have left ourselves with too little power, even in the case of the Canadian and Australian provinces. But the policy pursued with the Cape should have been still more cautious, for there we had to deal with two distinct nationalities, and with two neighbouring and practically independent States, in which the predominant element was Dutch, and opposed to English rule and English principles of dealing with the natives. It was therefore doubly necessary that the hold we had over the Cape under 'representative' government should not have been relaxed. By forcing 'responsible' government on the colony we did our best to abdicate our position as rulers, and when we added to this our base surrender to the Transvaal in 1881, we left the Cape

electorate divided into the Dutch and the English parties, and the Dutch always in the majority. The trade, the enterprise, the railways, the capital in Cape Colony are mostly English. The House of Assembly is mostly Dutch, not merely in its *personnel* but in its policy and aspirations. If 'responsible' government had been conferred on Natal we might have had the same difficulty. And we came very near to this last year. The Council on August 3, 1887, was almost equally divided, but a resolution was finally carried which rendered impossible all discussions about 'responsible' government during the session. It may be hoped that this will do for the present. The Crown wants more power, instead of less, where disintegration is possible; and, above all, it needs for its representatives men devoted to the empire as well as men of tact and experience. The position of Natal is a fortunate one. The Executive consists of the heads of departments and two members nominated by the Governor from the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council consists of thirty members, of whom seven are nominated, the rest elected under a fixed property qualification. With a Governor of ordinary skill such a Council should be capable of good work and incapable of sinister designs. The management of Natal as an integral part of the empire is fortunately a much easier task than the management of the Cape, but nevertheless it requires a Governor of some ability and one possessed with ideas of imperial policy.

Both the greater part of the Cape Colony and of Natal would form a healthy military station for imperial troops. A year in South Africa would set up many a man in the regiments stationed in India, and it would be still better if whole regiments could take their turn there. But civilian immigration is what Natal most requires, and it should not be difficult for the Home Government to make arrangements for this on a considerable scale. One thing is specially to be remembered. Our home population shows a great and growing proportion of women. In Natal the proportion is reversed. Again, there is abundance of good land which may be bought at 10*s.* to 15*s.* per acre, subject to certain conditions as to fencing and occupation.

Natal was discovered on Christmas Day, 1497, by the Portuguese Vasco de Gama, who in remembrance of the day called it 'Terra Natalis.' No settlement of any importance was made until 1824, when some English people occupied the present site of Durban. On the abolition of slavery in 1833 the Boers began to leave Cape Colony, and swarm into Natal, where they hoped to obtain slave labour. The greater number of these immigrants were killed in fighting with the Zulus, who objected to being made slaves. In 1843 Natal, after resistance from the Boers, was declared a British colony, and in 1856 was separated from the Cape, and made an independent colony under the constitution which is still in force. The Governor is appointed by the Crown. It will be seen, therefore, that the Crown retains much more power in Natal than in Cape Colony. I venture to hope that this constitution may be preserved, and the perilous gift of 'responsible government' withheld. Fortunately, Natal is comparatively free from the 'curse of gold,' and thrives on its industry and agriculture.

At present Natal is the only colony which does anything to assist immigration. In 1876 a Land and Immigration Board was established at Durban to promote immigration and colonisation. Between 1878 and 1884 there were 4,683 persons introduced into the colony by the Board, at a cost of 45,000*l.* But 1884 was the beginning of the hard times, or, perhaps, I should rather say, was the year in which England and her Colonies felt the direct pressure of hard times, which had been closing on us for seven years. The trade of South Africa suffered with the rest of the empire. One result of this was that the grants for immigration were suspended, and the work of the Board practically ceased. It is now, however, to be resumed, and no doubt with good results. A settlement is being started at Umzinto, 50 miles south of Durban, and another at Weenen, 140 miles north-west of Durban, on which each settler has an allotment of 50 acres, irrigated by a watercourse, which has been constructed at considerable expense by the Government.

The Natal Hand-book gives the following summary of the situation :—'English farmers who go to Natal with capital will

‘ find a fair soil, a fine healthy climate, pleasant society, and land
‘ at a reasonable price. There is also some opening for farm
‘ hands, for miners and mechanics; but these must remember
‘ that, except as overseers or in the more skilled branches of
‘ work, they will have to compete at a considerable dis-
‘ advantage with cheap coloured labour. In tropical and semi-
‘ tropical countries it is nearly always found that manual labour
‘ is performed by non-Europeans. Englishmen cannot work so
‘ well in hot climates, and coloured labour is far cheaper. In
‘ Natal native labour has not hitherto been sufficiently reliable
‘ or plentiful, because the natives do not in most cases value the
‘ reward for which the work is undergone. The native Kaffir is
‘ good natured and friendly, but often over-addicted to drink;
‘ he lives quite contentedly on the produce of his small garden
‘ and fowls. As a workman he is lazy and irregular, and un-
‘ willing to work for the same master for any length of time.’
The Government of Natal has to some extent met this difficulty
by importing coolies from Madras and Calcutta. The Transvaal
Government meets it by a system of scarcely disguised slavery,
and the Dutch party in the Cape Colony wish to become a
Republic, separated from England, in order that they may join
the Transvaal, and re-introduce slavery. So far, however, Natal
is free from this taint of slavery, and will remain so for so long
a period as it remains a Crown Colony.

It must be admitted that Natal had a long and arduous
struggle with Secocoeni and Cetewayo. But in this case the help
of the English Government was freely given, and the expendi-
ture consequent on our keeping up a considerable force served
to mitigate the distress. Loyalty to the mother country is
natural to a colony which depends on that country for its
preservation and support. Durban is the natural port for the
Transvaal. Delagoa Bay is an awkward and costly makeshift.
But it does not follow that we should therefore hand over Natal
to President Kruger. It follows rather that we should annex
the Transvaal to Natal, a course for which the open violation of
existing treaties gives us ample reason.

The only other territory containing any considerable white

population is what is called the 'New Republic.' The Transvaal Government had no right under the Convention of 1884 to extend its territories southwards. But the Boer freebooters almost immediately began to seize on cattle and land of the Zulus, and so early as March 16, 1886, a Zulu deputation visited the British Sub-Commissioner at Isandeleluana to solicit help against Boer encroachments. Nothing, however, appears to have been done. The freebooters annexed mile after mile of land, till at length they thought themselves strong enough to proclaim the 'New Republic.' It was reported that, as soon as this robbery from the Zulus had been condoned by England, the annexation to the Transvaal would be completed, but on November 16, 1887, we learned that the officials of the 'New Republic,' except the President, objected to the proposed union with the Transvaal. This annexation has now been made in defiance even of the treaty of 1884. By what inexcusable folly and neglect this district was allowed to be separated from Zululand I have not been able to ascertain. It was certainly a breach of treaty on the part of the Boers, and should have been resented and forbidden by our Government. But perhaps our Government was engaged in electioneering or in elaborating schemes for the practical independence of Ireland. As the country is found to contain gold, and will therefore probably be occupied by Englishmen, it is a duty to obtain its retrocession.

CHAPTER V

THE NATIVE STATES

I HAVE passed in rapid review the countries of South Africa in which there is any considerable proportion of European inhabitants. Our next duty is to consider those in which the population is chiefly that of native and coloured races. The principal countries are as follows: (1) Pondoland, lying to the north-east of Cape Colony; (2) Basutoland, due north of Cape Colony and bordered by that Colony on the south, by Natal on the east, and by the Orange Free State on the north; (3) Zululand, north of Natal; (4) Swazieland still further north, with the Transvaal on the west and Amatonga on the east; we then come to Delagoa Bay, to which harbour the railway I have already referred to is being built; (5) The Gaza Country, still further north; (6) West of the Gaza Country is Matabeleland; and (7) still further west, Bechuanaland; (8) on the East Coast is (9) Damaraland; and (10) Great Namaqualand, and Little Namaqualand. In Great Namaqualand is a strip of coast claimed by Germany and partly occupied.

With those exceptions these territories are either held by us or by native chiefs who are or have been bound to us by treaty. But it is obvious that we are proceeding without any system or policy. What is required is that, if we do not annex these territories, we should establish a protectorate and appoint a Resident who should officially represent the Crown. At present we are either not represented at all, or have for our representative a mere volunteer, who is practically a private adventurer, and may transfer his allegiance to the Boers if he thinks that course would benefit his private fortune. I will give some

examples. There was at one time a treaty with *Amatonga*. The Boers had desired to get to the sea in that direction, and had offered a present of 2,000*l.* for a right of way. But the Queen Regent preferred an alliance with England, and, after consulting her native parliament, offered to make a treaty of amity with this country. She was to be protected from the Boers, and on her side she promised to accept no other alliance, except with the consent of the High Commissioner. From some informality, or some carelessness, this treaty has been allowed to fall through, and the ubiquitous Portuguese have stepped into our place. It is true that only a small part of the territory is occupied by Portugal, but it is just that part which may connect the Transvaal with *Amatonga*. Then there is Swazieland, a country of great mineral wealth. We have already very valuable gold mines there, and many others may yet be opened up. Mr. Shepstone, the son of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, was for many years the sole adviser of the chief on all matters of foreign politics. A treaty was made of the same nature as that with *Amatonga*. For some reason or other Mr. Shepstone's influence declined. If he had been a properly accredited servant of the British Government, and able to appeal, if necessary, to an armed force, the difficulties in Swazieland would have been avoided. It will be said that an armed force costs money. It will be found that the want of an army will cost us more money or involve us in the loss of South Africa.

Take the case of *Matabeleland*. The chief of that country, *Lobengula*, is a man of considerable ability, and had been successful in directing his subjects into the ways of industry and peace, instead of the foraging, pilfering, and petty warfare, to which they had been accustomed. But *Lobengula* was pestered on every side. Great capitalists from the Cape wanted a concession of all his minerals. The Boers wanted to take his whole territory. In his difficulties he was assured by the Boers that there was no Queen of England, and no help to be hoped for from this country. He sent over two of his ablest chieftains to learn the truth. They were honourably fêted and entertained, just as the unhappy Sultan of Zanzibar had been. They

returned to their own country to tell how great and powerful England was. In the meantime some Anglo-Dutch colonists, the chief of them being Mr. Cecil Rhodes, contrived to get some sort of concession from Lobengula of all mining rights throughout the country. Lobengula promptly denied that he had made such concession. But the difficulty of the whole matter comes in here. Lord Salisbury, notwithstanding the reception of Lobengula's ambassadors, declared that, if the chief chose to alienate his mining rights or his territory, this was no business of ours. In other words, it is no business of ours to protect the native chiefs from speculating adventurers. For my part I think that this is part of our business. I suppose that the High Commissioner is appointed chiefly for this purpose of protecting and directing the native chiefs. If not, what are his duties? The broad question before us is this, Shall we rule South Africa as an imperial possession, just as we do India, but leaving intact the constitutions given to the Cape and Natal, or shall we throw it over to the Cape Government and allow slavery to be universally re-established?

The authority we possess varies greatly, and it should be one of our first efforts to make that authority uniform and permanent. With Swazieland and Amatonga, we have or had treaties by which the chiefs bind themselves not to make any treaty with, or admit any armed forces from, any other Power without the consent of Great Britain.¹ Our position is much the same in Matabele. The chief Lobengula, at the end of April, 1888, signed a treaty of amity with Great Britain, by which he bound himself 'not to negotiate with, or cede any territory 'to any other Power than Great Britain without the consent 'of the High Commissioner.' In this country there is gold, and its occupation by Englishmen in considerable numbers is almost certain. In Damaraland, on the Atlantic coast, the chief Kamaharan has been solicited by German agents, and it was even reported that he had ceded his territory to Germany, but in the 'Times' of 28th September, 1887, we are told that he denied having made any treaty with Germany, and added that

¹ See *Times*, April 20, 1887. Shepstone.

documents purporting to be signed by him and not countersigned by Mr. Robert Lewis, his 'special commissioner for all 'foreign affairs,' are false and illegal and will not be recognised. On this subject the Cape 'Argus' of 17th October, 1887, has the following note: 'It will be well for our rulers, imperial and 'colonial, while rejoicing at any agency that will co-operate 'with ours in the civilization of the regions north of the Orange 'River, to keep a watch, alert but perfectly friendly, upon the 'development of German policy on our border. It is becoming 'evident that the past complications of South African policy 'are mere local squabbles by the side of a not very distant 'future.'

Part of Bechuanaland is completely annexed, part and the richest part is only under our protectorate. The shifting and shiftless character of our policy can nowhere be better seen than in the case of the Basutos and the Zulus. The Basutos are a powerful and active tribe, and occupy a highland district, which however contains a good deal of arable land. Like the Scotch Highlanders of a century ago, they were constantly raiding on the low lands and seizing cattle and other goods. Their country was scarcely large enough for them, and it was perpetually encroached upon by the Boers of the Orange Free State. In 1859, after a long period of robberies and petty warfare on both sides, the Boers made a great attack on the Basutos and were defeated. They were so badly beaten that everyone at the Cape expected their extermination. In this extremity their president, Mr. Bishoff, applied to Sir George Grey, then Governor of the Cape. Sir George Grey, who was one of the best governors the Cape ever had, arranged a peace with which both parties appeared satisfied. A Cape newspaper is quoted by the 'Times' to the following effect: 'It is now confessed, both by 'those who are favourable to the British Government and 'those who are adverse, that the only hope for the future 'safety, nay, for the very existence of the Free State, consists in 'its reunion with the parent colony. It is felt and acknow- 'ledged that the systematic want of good faith practised towards 'the natives has produced this melancholy state of things, and

‘ that the prestige of British rule, which still conveys to the ‘ native mind, in spite of many errors and wrongs in times gone ‘ by, the idea of good faith, can alone restore confidence and ‘ prosperity.’ In August, 1865, war was again declared against the Free State by the Basutos, under their very able chief, Mos-hesh, who declared that ‘ he did not wish to fight with the ‘ Queen, or any of her Majesty’s subjects, but only to protect his ‘ people against the aggressions of the Free State Government.’ In 1871, the British Government insisted upon the annexation of Basutoland by the Cape Colony, or by Natal, and, on the advice of the Cape Governor, Sir H. Barkly, it was annexed by that colony. But the colony was not successful in its administrations. It spent about four millions sterling in trying to disarm the people and failed. Mr. Mackenzie, in his book on ‘ Austral Africa,’ has the following notes : ‘ Basutoland is a ‘ beautiful hilly country, inhabited by a vigorous, industrious, ‘ and prosperous population. . . There are no better customers ‘ of our merchants in South Africa.’ In fact, the trade with the Basutos before the annexation to the Cape amounted to 300,000*l.* a year, or more than 1*l.* per head per annum. ‘ They ‘ not only became satisfied with Imperial rule, but were proud ‘ of it. The taxes were paid, and the revenue exceeded the ‘ expenditure.’ The annexation by the Cape was not desired by that colony. The question was anxiously debated, and the measure was only passed because the Home Government insisted upon it. In 1883, the Cape Parliament voted its retrocession to the Imperial Government, and, after long negotiation, Lord Derby somewhat reluctantly and ungraciously agreed. In a despatch dated June 14, he said that her Majesty’s Government would accept Basutoland provided that : (1) It should be proved that the natives wish it; (2) The Orange Free State should make provisions to prevent incursion; and (3) the Cape should undertake to pay to the High Commissioner on account of Basutoland all customs, duties, and other revenues which may be received on account of goods imported into the country. Lord Derby added, that ‘ if the ‘ parties interested should not, by assisting in every possible

' way, give proof that they appreciate the intervention now ' offered, her Majesty's Government will not hold themselves ' bound to continue it.' The conditions set forth having been fulfilled, her Majesty's Government did re-annex the country in December, 1883, and appointed Colonel Clarke as Resident. In 1884, an 'Englishman,' complained in the 'Times,' of September 25, that Colonel Clarke was unable to keep the Basutos from marauding, to which Mr. John J. Twine replied that the Orange Free State was most to blame. Whatever may be the truth about individual robberies, it is certain that the Free State threatened to take all the arable land, and would have done so, if Sir Philip Wodehouse had not stepped in and taken the country under British protection.

But the question will be asked why it has happened that the Government of the Cape could not succeed in its annexation of Basutoland. We must answer that the Cape Colony has enough to do in managing its own affairs. It is even doubtful whether its annexation of the Trans Keian territory will be a success. It is certain that outlying districts, such as Stellaland and Goshen, have always submitted with reluctance to incorporation with the Cape and have prayed that they might rather be retained under Imperial rule. These annexations have been forced upon the Cape by the Home Government, which was unwilling to permit anarchy or the further encroachment of the Boers, which disliked the idea of another European Power coming in to share our empire, and which yet desired to avoid all responsibility and, above all, any expenditure. The indolence and ineptitude of the Colonial Office thought that all its objects could be attained by placing the burden on the Cape. We now see that such a policy is futile, and, so long as the present Government controls the British Empire there is no fear of its renewal. What would happen if the party of disintegration should again obtain power no one can tell. The vacillation of our policy is the chief excuse for the distrust and discontent of the colonists. What is most to be desired is that such declarations should be made by her Majesty and such measures adopted as would compel a continuous and settled Colonial policy.

But there is another difficulty. The Dutch party in the Cape are always afraid that the natives may be allowed to vote, and they know that in such a case the English party would have a permanent majority. Then would disappear at one stroke all hopes of a Dutch-German empire, and the English views respecting the position of the natives would be permanently accepted. The English view is that, as the coloured races become civilized and acquire the necessary qualification demanded from the whites, they should have their share in the election of members of Parliament. The Dutch view is fully expressed in a speech by Mr. Theron in 1886. It is thus reported in the 'Cape Times':

'The native question was the question of the future. In the 'Cape Colony there were two classes of whites: the real colonists, the sons of the soil, and the Europeans who came from abroad; and between these two sections stood the natives. The colonists had always looked upon the natives as their natural enemies. They did not look upon them with contempt, but only as their servants. Europeans, on the contrary, put the blacks on the same level as the whites, and this was distinctly against the views of the colonists, who had found by experience that that was impossible. Now the hon. member for Namaqualand (Mr. Merriman) wished to give part of the natives the franchise, and, if that were done, then soon 380,000 natives would be voters. That was the thin end of the wedge which the hon. gentleman tried to insert. If the natives were to get the franchise then the result would be very bad for the colony, and it would set the Europeans against the colonists in the colony. The natives stand far beneath the white people and ought to be kept there.' It will be seen that this speech marks off the white population into two classes, and practically treats the Europeans, that is to say the English, as intruders. It also claims as the proper colonial view that under no circumstances and no tests can a native be treated on equal terms with a white man. They must be servants and kept in that state. That is to say they must be slaves.

Now it must be admitted that in Jamaica the gift of the

franchise to the blacks produced disastrous results. Nor can it be desirable that the Basutos should vote for members of the Cape Parliament. On the other hand, Mr. Thuron and the Dutch party may rest assured that, so long as the Cape of Good Hope remains an English colony, his views about slavery will receive no countenance or assistance. But it is the existence and the prevalence of such views which have made it necessary that Basutoland shall be retained under direct Imperial rule. It by no means follows that we should give the Basutos any right to vote. What England insists upon, and what the Dutch throughout South Africa deny, is that, while tests of property or of education may be enforced, *colour alone* is not to guide us in giving or withholding any rights. When Lord Derby insisted that the Orange Free State should undertake to prevent any raiding into Basutoland he demanded what was only fair. Nevertheless it will be mainly the duty of the British resident to put a stop to the freebooting marauders and to punish them when caught with exemplary severity. It is now nearly five years since we relieved the Cape from a duty for which it confessed itself unfit. On October 5, in last year, we heard that Basutoland was once more prospering under the rule of Sir Marshall Clark. A despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson says : ‘ When the present state of Basutoland is compared with the ‘ state of the country when it was handed back to the Imperial ‘ Government by the Cape Government three years ago, it will, ‘ I think, be admitted that Sir Marshall Clark and his officials ‘ have, in dealing with a very difficult problem, shown much ‘ patience, forbearance and sound judgment.’

CHAPTER VI

ZULULAND AND BECHUANA

FOR some reason which I have been unable to discover, the small territory called Pondoland, which is nearly surrounded by the Cape Colony, was left independent. By an agreement made in April 1887, the chief Umguikela surrendered the greater part of his country to the Cape, on condition of receiving 1,600*l.* down and a pension for life of 200*l.* per annum. The sharpness of Germany in picking up anything that we neglect, and so obtaining a footing in South Africa, is shown by the fact that Captain Nagel obtained from the chief of Pondoland a large concession of land on the eastern bank of the St. John's River for a German emigration society. Being unable to carry out his part of the agreement, Captain Nagel offered to sell his concession to the British Government. From its situation Pondoland should become part either of the Cape Colony or of Natal, and it is difficult to understand why the annexation is not completed. It is tolerably clear that the chief will be ready to commute his remaining rights for a money payment.

Zululand is a place of more importance. Every one will remember the disasters of our last war with that country; but it is not so well known or remembered that many of the Zulu people declared that they had no wish to fight, but were forced to obey their chiefs; nor that Cetewayo announced at the beginning of the war that he would rather have attacked the Transvaal Boers, but that he preferred to make war against us because he supposed we were weaker than the Boers. The year 1879 deserves to be long remembered. The Cape summer, of which the Midsummer Day may be taken at about Christmas, had been

in 1878 one of unusual drought both in the Cape Colony and Natal. The year 1879 was the second year of drought, and the loss of stock and of wool was ruinous. At the same time the Zulu war broke out. On January 22, 1879, Lord Chelmsford's force was defeated and obliged to retire. Some people at home declared that 'the Cape Colony must find men and money; at present they seem determined to cast the whole burden on the weary and heavy-laden mother country.' Thus spoke the 'Times.' A little later, March 4, the Cape 'Argus' took up its own parable. 'The strategy of Lord Chelmsford and the broad plan of the High Commissioner's policy are both being violently assailed in the newspapers. A general want of confidence in the authorities, civil and military, colonial and imperial, extending to honesty of purpose no less than to ability in action, is one of the most noticeable features of the situation.' On January 21, 1879, part of the 24th regiment and 600 natives were left to meet an attack by 20,000 natives at Rorkes Drift and were naturally cut to pieces. On April 9, 104 men of the 80th regiment were attacked by the Zulus at Intombi Drift; 40 were killed, 44 escaped and 20 were missing, having probably been drowned. To the 'Times' demand that the Cape and Natal should carry on the war at their own cost Sir Bartle Frere retorted that the Cape had already done as much as could be expected. The Home Government was by this time thoroughly aroused, and on May 29 Sir Garnet Wolseley left London to take the command of the British and Colonial troops. Before, however, he reached the scene of action Lord Chelmsford had defeated Cetewayo at Ulundi. It remained to Sir Garnet Wolseley to dictate terms of peace and to decide what must be done with Zululand. He made the ridiculous mistake of dividing the country into thirteen districts with a separate chief over each. Perhaps he had got into his head the Roman motto '*Divide et impera*'; but though he managed to divide he forgot to rule. In the same year Mr. Bradshaw of Manchester read a paper before the Society of Arts which was entitled 'Africa; a paramount necessity for the inhabitants of England.' He said that 'Africa would be found to be, as

' Livingstone described it, " a nearer India " to England. It was ' a land surpassingly rich in animal, vegetable and mineral ' wealth, a land of great lakes and rivers forming natural high- ' ways for commerce.' There was a population of more than 200 millions, ' and what was wanted was a railway 500 miles ' long and steamboats on the lakes and rivers.' All these matters are now ancient history, but the year 1879 was so eventful for South Africa that I have gone out of my way to recall them.

My present subject is Zululand. Of course the division of the country into thirteen separate governments could not last, and it was rendered still more contemptible when we actually permitted Cetewayo, whom we had with so much difficulty subdued, to become one of the petty chieftains. The chiefs set to work manfully to fight each other, and anarchy prevailed. Still we remained inactive. Prince Bismarck came to the conclusion that we did not care for our possession, and proposed to occupy the Bay of St. Lucia. When it came to this we made up our minds. The Germans were reminded that the territory was ours and requested to withdraw. Zululand was declared a Crown Colony and Mr. Osborn appointed chief Resident. We have not yet, however, insisted on the surrender of the New Republic, a territory simply filched from the Zulus. We shall know that we are masters in South Africa when we have forced the Boers of the Transvaal to execute any one of the provisions of the Convention of 1884.

Matabeleland to the north of the Transvaal is known to be rich in gold. The people of this district are warlike, and obtained the rule over their neighbours the Mashonas by securing Portuguese rifles. Mr. Mackenzie says : ' Having made a desert ' on every side, the Matabele tribe are at present divided in ' opinion as to their future course. The past contact with ' Europeans and especially with Christian missionaries, the ' gradual acquirement of personal property by the common people ' which was all but unknown thirty years ago, the advantages ' and blessings of peace, have greatly affected the Matabele ' generally, and especially such parts of the country as have

'come most under Christian and civilizing influences. But there 'is another party who bewail the decay of the good old times of 'rapine. There are no longer cattle to steal or children to 'capture.' The chief Lobengula is favourable to England, and at the end of April in this year a treaty of friendship was concluded, which has at least this effect, that no foreign Power can take possession. Gold is plentiful, and easily to be seen in the quartz. We may therefore take it for granted that Englishmen will very soon occupy the land. But the singular thing is that many of the natives hate 'tsipi,' as they call auriferous quartz, and are preparing to move to the north of the Zambesi. Very likely they may find more gold there and the white man following them in pursuit of it. There is not at present any English Resident appointed, and the treaty gives us less power than we ought to require.

On the West Coast of Africa is the district of Angra Pequina. With anything like judgment or despatch on our part, the Germans would have been prevented from making a settlement there. Sir Bartle Frere, with his usual sagacity and forethought, had perceived that our dominion in South Africa would be more secure if we held the West Coast right up to the Portuguese boundary at Cape Frio. The official hand-book, prepared by the authorities of the Cape Colony for the Exhibition of 1886, gives a good account of what followed. 'The Imperial Govern- 'ment took no action in the matter, beyond sanctioning the 'British flag being hoisted at Walwich Bay and a small piece of 'ground' (about forty square miles) 'surrounding it. A German 'subject, Mr. Lüderitz, had in the meantime acquired rights of 'property at Angra Pequina Bay and his Government, through 'the German Ambassador in London, inquired of the Secretary 'of State whether British protection would be extended to Mr. 'Lüderitz, intimating that, failing British action, Germany would 'itself take its subjects at Angra Pequina under its protection. 'The Secretary of State communicated with the Colony, in- 'quiring, if the place was declared British, whether the Cape 'would be prepared to take the responsibility and control of it. 'When the matter was submitted to the Cape Parliament, it at

‘once passed resolutions in favour of the annexation of the whole coast up to the Portuguese boundary. But in the interval, during which this reference to the Colony was made, a German man-of-war made its appearance and proclaimed a protectorate over the coast from the Orange River to the twenty-sixth parallel of south latitude, and soon after another German gun-boat took possession of the whole of the rest of the West Coast, Walwich Bay and certain islands excepted, in the name of the German Emperor. The British Government acquiesced in the action of the German Government and this settled the question. The Cape Government, however, lost no time in legalising the annexation to the Colony of Walwich Bay, which was done by proclamation of Sir Hercules Robinson under Act 35 of 1884, and at the same time the annexation of the Port of St. John’s at the mouth of the Umzimvubi River on the East Coast, which had been proclaimed British territory in 1878, was completed.’ From other sources of information we are led to believe that the delay in replying to the German ultimatum was not caused so much by the reference to the Cape Parliament as by a prolonged dispute respecting the duty of the Foreign Office or the Colonial Office to undertake the question.

By these proceedings Great Namaqualand was taken from us, and the Germans obtained a firm footing on the West Coast. The territory acquired was not known to be particularly rich. In fact, Angra Pequina is, for the most part, a sandy and unfruitful region. But it is not difficult to conjecture what Germany meant, which seems to have been nothing short of the annexation of all Africa south of the Zambesi except the Cape Colony and Natal. Complete and conclusive information as to the course of events cannot be obtained, but I believe that the following conjectural history will be found to be fairly accurate. The Transvaal Boers came to England at the end of 1883 to make a new treaty with Great Britain. They expected to find Mr. Gladstone’s Government ready to make any and every concession, and particularly that, while a boundary line would be fixed to the south, they would be allowed to extend their territory as they pleased, north, east, and west. The concessions

made to them were very great, and even Lord Derby, whose imperial instincts are imperfectly developed, declared that he had conceded more than he liked. But I am inclined to believe that the Boers then turned more eagerly to Germany. They would represent to Prince Bismarck that, under a Radical Government, England cared little or nothing for foreign possessions; that a German force landing on the West Coast in Namaqualand, or at Angra Pequina, and passing through Bechuanaland, might meet in the Transvaal another German force landing in Zululand. Zululand had indeed been conquered by England, and its chief, Cetewayo, taken prisoner; but, beyond dividing the country among thirteen petty chiefs, England had taken no steps for its government. Accordingly, the Germans proclaimed their protectorate of Angra Pequina and Great Namaqualand, and sent an expedition to Zululand. By this time, however, a change of ministry had taken place, and, what is more to the point, the British public had formed the conclusion that South Africa ought to be retained. The Germans were not allowed to occupy St. Lucia in Zululand. Part of Bechuanaland was declared British territory, and the remainder as a British protectorate.

No one can blame Prince Bismarck for his action. He naturally wished to extend the German dominions, so that there may be ample room for colonies whenever men can be spared from the army. He, we may be sure, had no wish to quarrel with Great Britain, but the course of events seemed to show that Great Britain was careless and supine. The Transvaal, the Orange Free State, the New Republic, and Zululand were rich prizes, and there was a probability that Bechuanaland and Matabeleland were also rich in gold. If my conjectures as to the history of South Africa between 1884 and 1886 are true, the blame lies chiefly with us. We should have formulated and proclaimed a fixed policy, and Germany would not have dared, nay rather would not have wished, to interfere.

There are two other matters which deserve consideration. The first is that we have served an apprenticeship of a hundred years in dealing with the natives of South Africa. We have

learned to treat the people with firmness, justice, and kindness, and for our learning this we must acknowledge a debt of gratitude to our missionaries. The Germans are new to the business, and, although we must give full credit to the German Government for the wish to abolish slavery, we must also admit that the methods adopted by German officials and troops do not command the confidence of the natives. We may say with certainty that there is no country or tribe or nation in South Africa which would not prefer British to German or Boer rule. The second point is that wherever a German protectorate is established, differential duties are enforced, with the design, and with the result, of destroying British trade.

Besides Germany, we have to reckon in South Africa with Portugal. Now, Portugal owes its existence to Great Britain. It has a population of only four millions, less than that of London alone. It has at least two provinces almost bare of inhabitants, to which it sends out emigrants from Lisbon, as we might send emigrants to Canada or the Cape. It has a deficit every year, and frequently forgets to pay interest on its debt, or pays three per cent. where it has undertaken to pay six.

The expenditure on its 'colonial empire,' is the most serious item in its annual deficit. Señor Gomes recently made a speech in which he manifested 'a yielding spirit on the vexed questions of free navigation of the Zambesi, and transit dues for goods passing into the interior. But he makes it a condition that the fullest recognition of Portuguese sovereignty in that region should be accorded. He demands all that he thinks is due to the priority and greatness of the Portuguese discoveries, the traditional influence we exercise in Africa, and the heavy sacrifices which Portugal has made in fulfilling her duties as a colonial Power.' It may also be added that some of the Portuguese territory in South Africa was claimed by Great Britain. Instead of enforcing our claim, we submitted it in a spirit of child-like confidence to the arbitration of Marshal MacMahon, who of course decided against us. It is to be hoped that we have done with arbitrations now, for there is too much jealousy of the power and wealth of this

country to make any foreign arbitration safe or fair. But considering the poverty of Portugal, its yearly deficits through its colonial empire, its obligations to us, we might hope that a liberal payment would secure the retrocession of the Delagoa Bay territory. The railway is not being built by the Portuguese, nor by the Boers, nor by the Germans, but by the English. Our purchase of the territory and control of the railway would ensure that neither should be used to interfere with our rights in the Transvaal and elsewhere. No doubt, the key to the South African question is in the Transvaal. When the gold discoveries first began, there were eight Boers for one Englishman. There are now three English to two Boers. The English at present have no vote. A residence of five years is required for qualification, which is very different from our own laws in the Cape and Natal. But President Kruger begins to fear that even five years will very soon let in a number of English voters, so he proposes to raise it to fifteen years. Our first care should be that the English should have as much right to vote in the Transvaal as the Boers have to vote in the Cape. Our second care should be to appoint a Resident of considerable rank, not a mere Consul, who would see justice done to the English and the native population. There is a third matter for consideration. The Boers have broken the Convention of 1884, whenever it pleased them to do it. They declared at the time that they would not observe its conditions, and they have not done so. It is time that a new order was enforced; and, if this were done, the supremacy of Great Britain would not now depend merely on an armed force, liable to defeat at another Majuba Hill, but on the majority of the inhabitants of the Transvaal.

With respect to the native territories we seem, at last, to have reached something like a principle of action. Where a country has a settled government under a single chief, as in Swazieland, we are content with a Resident. His powers are at present very loosely defined, and they ought to be increased. It is disgraceful that the chief of Swazieland should be allowed to hang his wives for the smallest whim or caprice, while an English Resident remains in the capital, and while the chief

knows that, but for England, he would be swept out of his country by the Boers in a month. In countries which have practically no settled government, like Zululand and British Bechuanaland, we have made an absolute annexation, and this policy should be continued and extended. There seems to be no reason why that part of Bechuanaland, which is only under our protectorate, should not also become a British colony. There is, however, great reason for debating whether possessions in which there are but few English, and which have no constitution granted, should not be placed under the Foreign instead of the Colonial Office. The latter is certainly a less capable department for dealing with such countries.

I have dealt only with the territories bounded on the north by the Zambesi towards the east, and by nearly the same degree of latitude towards the west. It seems possible to deal with this country efficiently and at once. Mozambique and the rest of Africa as far as Egypt present greater difficulties. The slave trade thrives throughout the whole region, and at present we have not strength for its repression, or for governing or colonising. Something must be left for the future. We shall have done a good work if we succeed in ruling properly the countries south of the Zambesi. Companies such as that which has obtained a strip of country from Zanzibar will serve as pioneers for future occupation, as the East India Company served as pioneer for our present empire in Hindoostan.

The last country to which I need refer is Bechuanaland, which lies due west of Matabele. It is divided into two parts. That on the south-east is called British Bechuanaland, and is practically ruled by a British 'Resident.' The remaining portion, which is both larger and more fertile, is only under a protectorate. We have secured its freedom from other European authority, but have not placed it under our direct rule. This is a fault which we may remedy at any time, but the sooner it is remedied the better it will be. The country has at least a double interest for us. It is dear to many of us as the scene of the labours of Robert Moffat and of David Livingstone. There are probably more native Christians in Bechuanaland than in all the

rest of South Africa beyond the limits of the Cape Colony and Natal. There are churches and chapels, schools and mission stations, and a conspicuous example is given of the possibility of civilizing the native races. The people are practically the same race as the Zulus, but having no single chief they are more open to our influence than the natives of Swaziland or Amatonga. But besides this there can be no doubt but that Bechuanaland abounds in gold. The 'Times' of 15th May last reports that Mr. P. Johnston of the Northern Gold-fields Exploration Syndicate walked over 245 miles in a circuit. He tried for gold in 127 places and in 124 he found *rich alluvial gold*. Some people have said that gold has been found there in the days of King Solomon, who certainly seems to have known a great deal of South Africa. But at all events very little has been taken, and it seems probable that this is the only country in which alluvial gold is to be found in considerable quantities. What there may be when we come to mining no one can tell, but our experience elsewhere seems to suggest that wherever we find alluvial gold there is also gold at various depths below the surface. The country is very thinly peopled, and the natives feared an invasion of the Transvaal Boers. That danger will be removed by our occupation, but it is to be hoped that the whole country may become British Bechuanaland and be brought under our direct rule. The land is valuable, however, for other products than gold. It is fertile and well watered. On March 3rd, 1888, the first batch of settlers left England for Bechuanaland. The district they have obtained comprises 600,000 acres and lies between Vryburg and the Maropo River.

The question of Bechuanaland has come prominently before the English public during the last few months. Upon it depends our advance into the populous and wealthy countries in the interior of South Africa. Upon it depends the value of our protectorate of Damaraland and Matabele. We are informed by the 'Morning Post' of March 12 that an interview has recently taken place between President Kruger and President Rietz, having for its objects the establishment of a federal union between the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State, by which among

other objects the control of all railways, though they are to be built with English money, may be vested in the confederates. The 'Morning Post' is usually by far the best authority in the daily press on South African affairs. It observes with perfect truth that such a 'federal union might possibly lead to trouble 'for Natal upon which England would certainly not look 'unmoved. The allied republics could scarcely be content to 'allow a strip of British territory to permanently interpose 'between them and the sea, and they might be expected to use 'every means offering any prospect of success to remove the 'barrier.' It is obvious that the federation would be a permanent menace to Natal, and that if at any time the alliance of Germany or France or even Portugal could be secured, we should inevitably be involved in war or obliged to abandon South Africa. For it must not be forgotten, as is well pointed out by the 'Morning Post,' that the Cape Colony is also largely disaffected and that an alliance between the Cape Colony, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State would involve us in a costly war or commence the dismemberment of the empire. And unfortunately the 'Morning Post' is wrong in its impression that an alliance between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State must be submitted for her Majesty's approval. That was the case under the Convention of 1881, but under the insane surrender of 1884, an express condition was inserted by which a treaty between these two countries might be made without obtaining the sanction of England. The danger is therefore very obvious and very real. I have not the least doubt but that the rapid growth of the English population in the Transvaal and the vast capital expended there will, in the long run, over-ride any attempts at absolute independence. But there the fact is, that at present such a federal union is possible, and undoubtedly it would only be attempted with views distinctly hostile to this country.

It is therefore abundantly obvious that, while leaving no stone unturned, with a view to the retrocession of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, we must utilise Bechuanaland if we are to reach the interior. Matabeleland, also, is under our

protection, a protection which it is to be hoped that the visit of its representatives to this country will make more complete and permanent. We have surrendered our right secured by the Treaty of 1881 to send troops through the Transvaal. It remains that our proper course is through Bechuanaland. And fortunately the place is not a desert. It is fertile and well watered and rich in minerals. It is valuable both for what it is and what it leads to. The question is whether our Colonial Office can for once make a new departure, and secure a most important territory, not for a few thousand colonists, but for the empire. Hitherto our arrangements have been somewhat as follows. A tract of country has been declared a British settlement, and emigrants have been found to occupy it under British rule. But, so soon as a few thousand inhabitants are collected, they begin to clamour for self-government. The present population of Western Australia is extremely small, yet the people have already asked for 'responsible government'; and, with that, for what they really desire—the absolute ownership of all lands and mines. Unless we are very careful the same result will occur in Bechuanaland. If a country where a settlement has been made proves to be exceptionally fertile or rich in minerals, the Colonial Office is glad thereof, not because a desirable province has been added to the British Empire, but because there is the greater facility for getting rid of it. We have now an opportunity of commencing on a new track. We may, if we will, secure a magnificent territory for the whole empire, and we may decline to abandon it to the first twenty thousand emigrants who settle there, or the first jobber who gets a concession. Besides this, we have to consider the native population, races for the most part docile and eager for British rule, but which must greatly depend upon that rule, *directly exercised*, for their protection. Bechuanaland is, then, rich in itself, and it is our direct road to commerce with and influence over 200 millions of people, to the control of magnificent lakes and rivers, and in fact to the real lordship of South and Central Africa. To secure these results we must, first of all, abandon the distinction between the Colony proper and that part of the country which is vaguely protected from

foreign invasion as being 'within the sphere of British influence.' The whole country should at once be declared a Crown Colony and placed under a single and very capable Governor.

These conclusions are well supported by the resolutions of a committee specially appointed to look after the interests of Bechuanaland and Great Britain. That committee includes Earl Grey, Sir R. N. Fowler, the Right Hon. Richard Chamberlain, a representative of the London Missionary Society and of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, with many others of high standing, and devoted to the maintenance and increase of the empire and the spread of Christianity. The following are the most important resolutions: 'That British Bechuanaland was 'won and has hitherto been successfully administered, at the cost 'of the taxpayers of the United Kingdom, by the officers of the 'Imperial Government. That pressure is being put upon her 'Majesty's Government by certain parties and persons in the 'Cape Colony and in the Transvaal with the object of inducing 'them to hand over Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony. That 'Bechuanaland and the territory to the north, comprising the 'two districts known respectively as "the British Protectorate," 'and the territory "within the sphere of British influence," 'are almost the only remaining portions of the empire under 'the control of the Imperial Government, and still freely avail- 'able for the purposes of colonisation. That the country in 'question is possessed of great mineral and agricultural wealth. 'That the native population of the country is well disposed 'towards the Imperial rule, but is not well disposed towards 'the rule of the Cape Colony, and in view of the un- 'doubted truth of the above propositions, the committee are of 'opinion that it is desirable to at once establish an imperial 'administration in Bechuanaland in direct communication with 'her Majesty's Government, and that it is not desirable to 'recognise any wholesale concessions to individuals or com- 'panies of land or mineral rights in the Crown Colony of 'Bechuanaland, in the protectorate, or in the districts within 'the sphere of British influence.' The committee very justly add that if such concessions have been made, or are pretended

to have been made, they should be considered invalid until they have received the sanction of the Crown. Why, indeed, having won a territory, should we hand over its land and its minerals to the first adventurer that makes a pseudo bargain with a chief in exchange for a few rifles and a few barrels of spirits? We have done this often enough and long enough, and we have received little enough of gratitude. It is to be hoped that no more constitutions will be granted without reserving to the Crown, that is to say for the benefit of the Imperial treasury, the profits of mines and lands, or at least of all mines and of so much land as may be useful for the purposes of emigration.

It is possible, nay it is certain, that the annexation may cost money in the outset (though with due care it will be amply repaid), and the outlay of money drives every Colonial Minister to distraction. Indeed I suspect that these ministers are generally subject to a distinct understanding that they must not ask for money. It may also require the presence of troops. Let the whole truth appear. Can we be a great nation without money and without troops? That has been too much the expectation hitherto. It cannot be done. There is, however, a certain consolation in knowing that we are not likely to come into collision with any European Power. Prince Bismarck has expressed himself as heartily ashamed of the German colonists in Africa and elsewhere, and though he will, no doubt, make it a point of honour to protect settlements already made, he is not likely to authorise any more, or any extension of these. Everything, therefore, is smooth for us in the way to a more scientific and more statesmanlike experiment in colonisation.

CHAPTER VII

MADAGASCAR

AN account of England and South Africa could scarcely be considered complete without some notice of Madagascar and Zanzibar. In each of these countries the English people at one time held the first place, and, indeed, the only place among Europeans, as the pioneers of civilisation and Christianity. In each also, the malign negligence and sordid economy of the men who are called, by courtesy, English statesmen have permitted the destruction of our influence, and the substitution in Zanzibar of Germany, and in Madagascar of France. It will be interesting, although somewhat disheartening, to read of the rise, progress, and decay of British authority. Practically our first acquaintance with Madagascar was made through Christian missionaries, and, indeed, by the London Missionary Society, whose chief representative was the Rev. Mr. Ellis. So long ago as 1820, A.D., King Radama encouraged our missionaries, allowed more than one hundred schools to be established, and sent the children of chiefs to be educated in Mauritius, and even in England. After his death, in 1828, several queens succeeded, and one or two of these persecuted the missionaries and the Christian converts with a bloodthirsty malignity surpassing the cruelties of Nero. Before 1860 an English consulate was established at Tamatave, and in 1867 Mr. Pakenham was consul. The Queen of Madagascar expressed a wish to receive an English naval officer, and Captain Brown, R.N., of H.M.S. 'Vigilant,' accompanied by Lieutenant Bainbridge, waited upon her, being introduced by Consul Pakenham. In 1874 the Rev. Dr. Mullens and the Rev. J. Pillans reported to the London Missionary Society that they had visited Madagascar, that the whole population had

destroyed their idols and become nominally Christian, and that about one-tenth were really converts. In 1875 the English missionaries began to publish an annual review, of which the fifth number, published in 1879, was reviewed in the 'Times.' During all these years, from 1860, although English influence was predominant, the country was open to France also, on the same terms as to England, and Roman Catholic churches were built. That the French were not favourites, and that they had begun to make complaints, may be concluded from a telegram received in London from Paris in 1872, which stated that, inasmuch as 'the king had promised to rebuild the Catholic churches, and to punish the natives who had ill-treated the Catholic missionaries, a bombardment would not be necessary.' To this Mr. Kessler, late missionary in Madagascar, replied that there was no king in Madagascar, and that, so far as he knew, there had been no ill-feeling against France. He asked for particulars of any outrage, but they were not supplied.

About the year 1880 the French began to make claims on Madagascar. In that year Admiral Jones visited Antananarivo, and was well received by Queen Ranavolo, the chief object of his visit being to make arrangements for the suppression of the slave trade. But his courteous reception by the queen gave great offence to the French. Early in 1882 we are told that the French in the island of Réunion were greatly excited by this interview between Admiral Jones and the queen, and by the orders which the queen had given for 35,000 Remington rifles. The Parisian newspapers took up the matter with alacrity. They did not claim everything at once. At first they asserted that they had peculiar rights over the West Coast of Madagascar, because it was regarded as 'a nursing mother' to Réunion, probably in the way of supplying slaves. The next pretext was that in 1827 the peninsula of Isavochano was given absolutely to M. Guillaume, commander of a French war ship. Then it was said that in 1860 the King Langmerina made concessions on the west coast to Captains Bellanger and Rosière. So far there was no claim to the possession or even the suzerainty of the whole island. But two circumstances produced a

change in the demands of France. In the first place, it was observed that England had annexed Zululand, the Transvaal, and Cyprus. Why then should not France take Madagascar? In the next place, it was remembered that Mr. Gladstone was in power with an overwhelming majority at his back, and that he had attained power by the most passionate appeals to the masses against Lord Beaconsfield's policy in every particular, but above all in the conduct of foreign affairs. He had declared himself in favour of a French and Russian alliance, as opposed to one with Germany and Austria. The latter power, indeed, he had attacked in language more virulent than is usually thought becoming for a responsible statesman. The French ministry argued that an acquisition of foreign territory would make themselves popular, that Mr. Gladstone would never go to war with anyone for any foreign possession or protectorate, and that he would never go to war with France under any conceivable provocation. Thus encouraged, the French formulated their demands. One of these, which was curiously omitted from the account of the affair given by the French Yellow Book, but which was submitted to the envoys of the queen of Madagascar, was to this effect: 'It is expressly understood that these concessions'—that is, the terms offered—'cannot in any way question *the general rights which France has from all time claimed over Madagascar.*' A letter to the 'Times,' from Mr. Wilkinson, dated July 28, 1882, reports that M. le Timbre, who had previously only claimed Réunion and the islands off the west coast, had hauled down the Malagasy flags on the mainland. The Queen of Madagascar then determined to send an embassy, including the chief secretary, to London, Paris, the United States, and Berlin. M. le Timbre assumed the extraordinary responsibility of prohibiting the mail steamer from taking the deputation. Nevertheless, on October 4, 1882, the deputation reached Marseilles and started for Paris. There they were treated with the utmost contumely. The French Government formulated its terms, which included the cession of the whole west coast, and the granting of leases of land for ninety-nine years. The deputation declared that they had no power to cede territory, and that leases of ninety-nine years

could not legally be granted. Whereupon the French Government pulled down the ambassadors' flag, and ordered them to quit the country without delay. The deputation, closely watched by the French authorities, at once set out for England.

When the treatment which the Malagasy deputation had received in France became known, a strong feeling of indignation was aroused in England. On November 28, the deputation was driven out of France, and on the same day Lord Granville received a large and influential deputation which earnestly entreated the British Government to interfere between France and Madagascar. Lord Granville replied to the following effect: 'England has rights in Madagascar; so also has France. For some years it was agreed that neither country should take action without consulting the other. Now France has made certain large claims for which there appears to be little foundation. No treaty exists under which France could lawfully assert its sovereignty over Madagascar. But then France has made these claims, and it would never do for the British Government to offend France.' On December 13, 1882, the embassy from Madagascar was introduced by Lord Hartington and received by the Queen at Windsor Castle. On the same day a great meeting was held at Sheffield when it was resolved (1) 'That Government should be petitioned to resist the pretensions of France,' and (2) 'That the meeting desires to express its sympathy with the Queen and people of Madagascar in the perplexities forced upon them by an aggressive European power, and with the ambassadors in the reported treatment they had received from the French Government.' Sir Gore Jones on December 14 presided at a meeting at the Society of Arts. This gentleman was the Admiral, whose cordial reception by the Queen of Madagascar had exasperated the French press. He asserted that the Malagasies had reached a high degree of civilisation. The Prime Minister was the husband of the Queen, and, at the risk of his life, had prohibited the importation of slaves. In March 1883, the Committee of the Madagascar Association protested against the French expedition and petitioned the Government to interfere.

On February 1, 1883, the Rev. J. Piele read a paper before the Society of Arts on the social conditions and prospects of Madagascar. 'The people had been converted to Christianity. The condition of women had been greatly improved. The slave-trade had been prohibited and stopped. If France would leave it alone, Madagascar would work out its own improvement.' Another missionary, Mr. Fox, reports that there were 12,000 children at school and 3,220 church members. The universal feeling among Englishmen interested in foreign missions and in the social and commercial prosperity of Madagascar was that some efforts should be made to save that island from the clutches of France. But all was of no avail. The British Government had many pleasant words to offer, but would give no help, partly for fear of offending France and partly from the dread of spending money. Lord Granville received his reward in the eulogies of the French Yellow Book which added: 'The envoys of Queen Ranavolo have been made sufficiently acquainted with our legitimate claims and the extent of the concessions to which we could agree. They cannot have entertained any illusion respecting the consequences of the attitude they have thought fit to maintain. There is no need for making further representations to Lord Granville.' The envoys had met with the sympathy of the British public, the kindly courtesy of the Queen, the cynical urbanity of Lord Granville, but they could not even obtain the help of a remonstrance from our Government with France. They then journeyed to New York and Berlin in the forlorn hope of assistance from Powers who had really no interest in or connection with the island. Having failed in England they could have no hope. But when they returned at the end of 1883, France was already in possession of Tamatave, and practically mistress of Madagascar. The Hovas were still in arms. The unfortunate envoys were strangled and the Prime Minister murdered. But the French did not wait to hear whether the Malagasy people would accept their terms or continue negotiations. Before the envoys had reached England, or at least before their arrival here could be known, Admiral Pierre had commenced operations and reported that he had 'put an

'end to all the military ports on the north-east coast, seized the 'Mayanga customs, and driven the Hovas out of the port.' In May 1883, Tamatave was bombarded, and the French occupied all the principal custom-houses and all the roads leading to the capital. At the end of May a treaty was concluded, of which the principal terms were: (1) Recognition of the French Protectorate, (2) Abrogation of Article 85 of the Malagasy Laws, so that Frenchmen may own freeholds, (3) Payment of indemnity of 40,000*l.*, and a further indemnity to be afterwards fixed for the French expenses in making the conquest.

In November 1882, the English Government thought it advisable to send a gunboat to Madagascar, and the French newspapers cried out: 'Where is the necessity? There can be 'no danger to English subjects.' As a matter of fact, there was great danger, but the gunboat did no good. The sugar plantations round Tamatave were destroyed. A deputation of English traders waited upon Lord Granville and wished to know whether he would insist upon compensation, since their property, amounting to hundreds of thousands of pounds, had been destroyed. That great statesman smiled as usual. He was very sorry to hear that the French had destroyed so much British property, but since it had been done they must grin and abide by it. But Lord Granville was not entirely idle. He obtained with great difficulty 1,000*l.* as compensation for Mr. Shaw, the British consul, and induced the French to admit that Admiral Pierre had commenced hostilities prematurely and without waiting for orders. This apology Lord Granville was pleased to accept and the incident closed.

Further details are not necessary. The island is now practically a French possession. We have walked out and they have walked in. Some people will say, What does it matter? Great Britain cannot expect to attain universal empire, and when it is a question of ruling and civilising barbarous nations, all European nations are required to share the work. This sounds well. But in the first place we must recall the fact that England and not France did the work of introducing Christianity and civilisation into Madagascar. 'We have laboured and

'others have entered into our labours.' In the next place it must be noted that the acquisition of territory by France or Germany means something very different from the acquisition of territory by Great Britain. We subdue, we civilise, we govern, and when we have done so we throw the whole trade and other advantages open to the world. France acts differently. Its territories do not admit our goods at the same tariff as French goods. Very often British merchants are not allowed to settle and carry on trade at all. Elsewhere they are subjected to heavy conditions and restrictions. The laws are not equal, but the French drive us out of Madagascar because they feel certain we shall never retaliate in Mauritius or other British territories where French merchants are placed on an equality with ourselves. But then it will be said, 'What could our Government do? Would you have us go to war with a great Power about a little savage state of about three million people with a trade of a million sterling per annum.' This sort of argument may be extended indefinitely. I must answer that if we let it be generally known that no loss and no indignity will induce us to fight, we shall be robbed and flouted all over the world. Of course, if this comes to be the general opinion we shall be bounced and bluffed out of every possession we hold. And I say again that with proper care on the part of our authorities this seizure might have been rendered impossible or excessively improbable. Twenty or thirty years ago we might easily have made a treaty conferring upon us the protectorate of Madagascar. Then the French would not have dared to interfere. I have no doubt that the French would deprecate a war with England as heartily as we can do. But so long as they are assured that nothing will make England fight they can perpetually obtain the rewards of victory without the chances and the losses of warfare.

CHAPTER VIII

ZANZIBAR

THE history of our connection with Zanzibar is another example of the incompetence, timidity, and parsimony of our Government. Zanzibar in 1870 included the four islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Lamu, and Mafia, and on the mainland the coast from 3° north to 10° , or, as the Sultan says, $10^{\circ} 42'$ south latitude. Its boundaries towards the interior were not exactly fixed. This gives, besides the islands, a coast-line of about 900 miles. But when a deputation from the Sultan was received by the Queen at Osborne in 1868, its members claimed that the coast-line was 1,100 miles long. The population was estimated at 765,000 in 1883, of which 100,000 were in the island of Zanzibar alone. In 1864 the imports were 300,000*l.*, of which two-thirds came from the United Kingdom. The exports were also 300,000*l.* In 1883 the imports, chiefly of European goods, amounted to 1,220,000*l.*, and the exports to 800,000*l.* The imports for 1884 are set down at 709,000*l.*, and the exports at 870,000*l.* But prices in that year were lower than in 1883. The total trade may be reckoned at nearly two millions a year, of which a great part came from England, but still more from our province of Bombay. Indeed the Bombay merchants for many years did two-thirds of the total trade, but unhappily they persisted in supporting the slave-trade. As to the revenue, the deputation to the Queen pointed out that it had doubled in five years. In 1876 Mr. Holmewood, then British Consul at Zanzibar, visited some of the towns. He found Mombassa to contain 12,000 inhabitants and Makinda—42 miles north of Mombassa—5,000. The plantations extended twelve miles inland. At Lamo there were fifty-one commercial establishments

belonging to British subjects, mostly Hindoos. He reports also that Kipina at the mouth of the Rivers Ozy and Tama was likely to become a national highway of the first importance, carrying traffic a long way into the interior. In ancient times the population must have been still larger, since Patten with a present population of 100 has the ruins of a town of 100,000 inhabitants.

All the evidence goes to prove that if Zanzibar had remained under British influence, or even if perfectly free and equal intercourse with all European nations had been permitted, a great out-post of civilisation would have been established, and a blow struck at the South African slave-trade. It remains to be considered what opportunities we have had in Zanzibar and how we have used them. In 1860 an insurrection was organised by the Sultan's brother and was suppressed by British aid. Our assistance was warmly acknowledged by the Sultan, who declared himself indebted to us for the security of his throne and dominions. From that time there have been until quite recently very intimate relations between England and Zanzibar. The Sultan felt that he had been saved by us from ruin, and both he and his successor, Burghesh, were devoted to the alliance with Great Britain. On our part we desired no increase of territory, but aimed chiefly at two objects—the improvement of our trade and the suppression of slavery. Some foreign Powers may feel incredulous when we declare that our chief efforts were devoted to the suppression of slavery and the spread of Christianity. We did not neglect trade, but a perusal of the whole history shows that we were always exerting ourselves for the promotion of still higher objects. Perhaps nothing will show this more clearly than the history of missionary work in Central Africa. In 1857 Dr. Livingstone, on returning from his travels, appealed strongly to the Church of England to send out missionaries. His appeal was answered, and the Universities Mission to Central Africa was established. The first bishop was Dr. Mackenzie, and the headquarters of the mission were established at Shiré. The place was unhealthy, and the bishop died. A considerable party in England declared that it was absurd to waste the lives

of our best men in such a career. There was no chance of converting the Arab traders from Mahommedanism, and as to the negroes they were not worth the trouble and the waste of valuable lives. Yet the Universities Mission persevered and sent out Bishop Tozer in 1866. He removed the mission-house to Zanzibar city, but that proved equally unhealthy, and he also died. Still we persevered and endeavoured to find a healthy spot. But we did not succeed till a new aqueduct had been constructed and a supply of pure water obtained. These brief sentences will serve to show that our connection with Zanzibar was not entirely the result of selfish motives, the lust of dominion or the greed of trade; while they prove that at this time Great Britain *alone of European nations had anything to do with Zanzibar*. The next step was the sending of a special mission by the Sultan to the Queen in 1868. The envoys pointed out the extent and growing resources of their country, and requested help in a settlement of disputes with Muscat. They were also authorised to negotiate a treaty by which the slave-trade should be almost entirely suppressed.

In 1873 we had in Zanzibar a most able and zealous consul, Dr. afterwards Sir John Kirk. He was a *persona grata* with the Sultan, and deservedly popular. He was, moreover, an energetic opponent of slavery and still more of the slave-trade. Yet it was thought desirable to supplement his efforts by sending out Sir Bartle Frere on a special mission. It may serve to show how much Zanzibar was considered to be under the peculiar protection of England if we recall the way in which the news of this mission was received. A telegram from Berlin, published in the 'Times' on November 13, 1872, stated that 'the foreign governments to whom England had addressed herself relative to the expedition to Zanzibar have expressed their good wishes for, and their sympathy with, the undertaking, but have not promised any active support.' Another telegram on November 23 assures us that 'the Emperor had expressed sympathy with the mission of Sir Bartle Frere, and had instructed the German consulates on the East Coast of South Africa to give all the assistance in their power.' These tele-

grams show conclusively how thoroughly it was understood that England held a unique position in Zanzibar, and how little the German Government of that day thought of claiming possessions or protectorate in the territories governed by Zanzibar. As it was understood that the native merchants in Bombay were the chief slave-dealers, Sir Bartle Frere went to Bombay first, but he made little impression there. Arriving at the city of Zanzibar in January 1873, Sir Bartle Frere held a levée of native merchants. They, however, bluntly told him that the slave-trade never could be abolished, and that, if its abolition were enforced in any way, the place would be ruined and the Souvali Arabs, who were the chief traders, would desert it. The Sultan said that he personally agreed with Sir Bartle Frere, but that, if he were to sign any document to abolish slavery, his life would be endangered. Sir Bartle Frere persevered in the face of all these difficulties, and succeeded in quieting the fears of the Sultan, and on June 5, 1873, a treaty was signed by Dr. Kirk as representative of Her Majesty, and by a relative of the Sultan as Plenipotentiary of His Highness. The treaty provided for the immediate cessation of the transport of slaves throughout His Highness's dominions, for the abolition of slave markets, and for the protection of all liberated slaves. Mr. Schultz, the German Consul, and the newly arrived consul for the United States used all their influence to assist in making this treaty, but the treaty was made with England alone. It must be remembered that all these arrangements had reference to the exportation of slaves. No attempt was made to abolish domestic slavery, but a blockade of the ports most used by the slave-dealers was enforced, and for a time was so successful that no slaves were shipped, and their price as domestic servants fell to one dollar each. In the same year, 1873, we were reminded by the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of another proof of the relations between England and Zanzibar in the inquiry about the mail contract, and we learn also that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at loggerheads with the Financial Secretary on the subject. At that time I believe there was no mail service to Zanzibar, except that of England. At the end of December 1874 the

Sultan or Sayyid started for England. He left Lisbon for London on January 5, 1875, but during his stay in Portugal that busy, ambitious, and constantly bankrupt little State expressed its wish to make a treaty respecting its territory adjoining Zanzibar.

The Sultan Burghesh was received with great cordiality and in considerable state by England. It was felt that he had always been loyal to the English connection, and that he was the only potentate in Africa who had honestly attempted to put down the slave-trade, of which Lieut. Cameron said, in an address before the Society of Arts, that 'It must be put down 'or the place would become a desert.' These things being in his favour, it was not surprising that both the Queen and the City of London should confer marks of favour upon him. He was invited by the Queen to Windsor, and the freedom of the city was given to him. At the banquet which followed the ceremony, his health was proposed, and in the course of his reply His Highness said through his interpreter, Dr. Badger: 'I can 'say, in reply to the address of the Corporation about slavery, 'that, God willing, for without Him nothing is strong, nothing 'is great, I shall do my best, and I trust it will not be long 'before the freedom of all people within my territory shall be the 'freedom of Englishmen.'

After the Sultan's return in 1876 it was found that the treaty about slavery had been evaded, but new rules were made which were expected to stop the trade. These rules appear to have been effectual, for in 1878 Bishop Steere writes as follows: 'The slave-trade is practically at an end. In addition to all 'the work at Zanzibar, three stations have been established 'on the mainland, the third of which has been peopled 'with families of liberated slaves who had been cared for 'and educated in the country first occupied by Bishop 'Mackenzie.'

In 1879 the Pasha of Egypt conceived the bold idea that he would secure the trade of Central Africa. He prepared a strong fleet and sent it on its mission under the command of McKillip Pasha. But, when Zanzibar protested, England supported her.

Egypt was compelled to give way, and McKillip Pasha was ordered to return.

On September 27, 1880, our Consul, Dr. Kirk, left Zanzibar on a two years' leave of absence. A great demonstration was made in his honour, the Sultan leading him by the hand to the jetty, which is considered a great mark of distinction. On his return, early in 1883, as Sir John Kirk, he was received with equal honour and enthusiasm. He brought with him for the Sultan the insignia of the Order of Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George, which had been conferred by the Queen, and the investiture was attended by great feasting and entertainments. In the next year a great entertainment was given by the Sultan to the officers and men of the British fleet.

I have brought together all these various facts in order to show conclusively that for five-and-twenty years the influence of Great Britain over Zanzibar was constant and unrivalled. Neither Germany nor France, neither Portugal nor Italy, put forward any claim either to a protectorate or to any part of the Sultan's dominions. Nor has our influence been without good results. We have founded a Christian Church, and have 10,000 children in Christian schools; we have greatly improved the trade of the country; we have greatly reduced, if not altogether abolished, the slave-trade. In all this we were loyally helped by the late Sultan Burghesh. He did a great deal, too, on his own initiative. A correspondent of the 'Times' gave an account on October 5, 1883, of the investiture of the Sultan with the insignia of a K.C.M.G., and he adds: 'The place is much improved, trade is prosperous, the people are living in luxury compared with their condition a few years ago. His Highness has brought good water in pipes which is delivered free to all the inhabitants of the town, and made a fine road extending several miles beyond the town, and has built many good houses.' Altogether our efforts had not been unsuccessful. But in 1885 rumours began to be circulated that the Sultan had turned from England to Germany. They were probably set afloat by unacknowledged emissaries of Germany. Everyone felt that it was no fault of Sir John Kirk, and a letter to the 'Times' from

Mr. Chancy Maples, of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, gives the following account of the matter: 'The cause is 'the lethargy and indifference shown by the English Govern- 'ment as compared with the great activity recently displayed 'by certain travellers, subjects of European governments whose 'official status it is difficult to determine. It is a common belief 'in Zanzibar that the Sultan is looking wistfully for some more 'definite policy on the part of England; and, failing that, he is 'likely to accept the protection of the first Power that offers 'itself.' That the Sultan, however, still looked to England is proved by an extract from a letter written about this time, in which he says, that 'confiding in the good providence of the 'Most High God, and relying upon Her Most Gracious Majesty 'the Queen, we have no fear of aggression from anyone.' There can be no doubt but that at this time the Sultan would have thankfully placed himself under English protection and hoisted the English flag by the side of his own. If that had been done Germany would not have ventured to interfere. But where we have only interests and influence, instead of treaties and assured rights, Prince Bismarck takes a peculiar pleasure in thwarting and injuring us. There would have been little cost and little risk in such a protectorate, but Mr. Gladstone is not the man to trouble himself about these remote districts, and seems to wish rather to curtail our empire, than to increase our influence. So it came about that Germany made certain claims on Zanzibar which were resisted by the Sultan. On January 21, 1886, the 'Times' made the following very apposite remarks: 'It may be supposed that the relations between 'Germany and Zanzibar have been removed from the category 'of pending questions by the appointment of an International 'Commission. It is in every way desirable for this country 'to treat the colonial expansion of Germany in a friendly spirit, 'but the history of Prince Bismarck's policy in the Cameroon 'district is not altogether calculated to inspire us with confi- 'dence in his methods. When he sent a squadron to Zanzibar 'and explained that his commodore had no authority to enforce 'his demands by intimidation, it may have been good policy for

'the English Government to accept his explanation with a 'serious countenance, and to reassure the Sultan accordingly. 'We only hope that we are not being deceived.' In other words the 'Times,' and it fairly represented the British public, accepted his protestations with many reservations and many doubts. These doubts have been amply confirmed. The convention made by Germany and England, in 1886, deprived Zanzibar of nearly all its possessions, but reserved a ten-mile zone on the mainland, that is to say, the whole coast and a territory ten miles inland. But this was only done to satisfy English scruples, for our Government scarcely dared to hand over unconditionally to Germany the whole territory of a faithful friend who had trusted them and followed their advice for a quarter of a century. Having so far satisfied the susceptibilities and the remaining conscience of England, Prince Bismarck waited till the death of the Sultan, after which he calculated England would interfere no more. He appears to have been right. When Sayyid Khalif succeeded his father, he inherited but a small part of the empire of Zanzibar. But even that was further curtailed, and the whole mainland was practically surrendered to Germany in August 1888, only five months after the accession of Sayyid Khalif.

If it be asked what prospects these large pretensions and usurpations open up for Christianity and civilisation, it must be answered very little indeed—none—less than none. No doubt there are Christians in Germany, but they do not seem to go to Central Africa. From the date of the usurpation till now, the natives have been dissatisfied, have broken out into rebellion, have even committed murders, and on one or two occasions have failed to distinguish between an Englishman and a German. No doubt the master of millions can subjugate Central Africa by a profuse expenditure of men and money, but he will never make his 'occupation' a profitable investment or a gain to mankind unless he can conciliate as well as control.

There are one or two observations which this Zanzibar business suggests. In the first place, when we look at the present craving in Germany for a colonial empire, we must expect some day or other to find our interests clash. Now, we must not

suppose that Prince Bismarck has any care for the susceptibilities or the interests of England. If he is once convinced that we should give up anything he wants rather than go to war, he may go so far as to make war inevitable. A policy of perpetual yielding is the surest way to provoke a quarrel. In the next place, it is highly desirable to establish a protectorate or to secure a treaty of amity wherever our interests are great or likely to grow. Many a friendly country would be safe under a protectorate, which would be swallowed up if we had merely an interest in it or friendship for it. I believe that Bechuana-land, for example, is safe now, but that it was in imminent and daily peril before the protectorate was proclaimed. Nor will a change of ministry be likely to cause the withdrawal of annexation or protectorate, but it would be very likely to cause the abandonment of friends. Some people say, Why should we care? Why should not Germany take its part in the civilisation of the world? A correspondent in the 'Times' on Feb. 11, 1879, says, 'Whether Italy or Austria secures the trade of Central Africa is a minor matter. The great question is how to bring the district within reach of commerce. The lakes Albert, Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyassa all lie together, and the countries which they drain are among the richest in the world. The natives are all peaceable and industrious, and King Mtesa of Uganda, the most powerful potentate in Central Africa, is eager to invite trade.' This is one of the platitudes we often hear. If England secures the trade with any country she leaves it open to the world. Germany and France instantly lock it up. In December 1888 the Commissioner of Germany in South Africa made an impudent claim on the mines of Damaraland, and attempted to palm off a request from himself to the chief as a concession made by the chief to Germany. He was good enough to add that by the law of Germany the mines could only be owned or worked by German subjects. If we are not first in the field we are shut out by protective duties and other restrictions and prohibitions.

Again, what is to be done with what remains of Zanzibar? If we create some protectorate or treaty of amity to the exclu-

sion of other allies, Germany will not interfere. If we fail to do this, we may expect to find the whole country annexed on some trifling pretext.

Lastly, on a review of the whole question of South Africa we must come to the conclusion that a Governor-General is necessary. He should have the same kind of powers over the protected and allied states as are given to the Governor-General of India. He should rather reside at Durban than at Cape Town, both for proximity to the countries governed and protected and to avoid any clashing with the Parliament of the Cape Colony. In this case also, and for other reasons, it is extremely undesirable to give responsible government to Natal. We have enough of it elsewhere.

The news which has recently reached us of the revolution at Uganda makes it doubly necessary that we should protect Zanzibar. The 'Times' quotes a letter from Bishop Smythin in which he says: 'The result of the Germans coming has been that, after living safely among the people for nearly twenty years, our relations with them growing ever more friendly, we now see our work hindered, our lives possibly endangered, and our religion degraded, because connected with violence and oppression. And all to what end?' It is clear that the methods of the two nations in dealing with natives are not identical. The reports declare and the results prove that, whatever may be the intentions of Prince Bismarck, the Germans in South and Central Africa have been both grasping and cruel. What even Prince Bismarck calls 'a lack of prudence, judgment, and humanity,' impartial observers must know to be cruelty and oppression. England must either persuade the Germans to behave a little more like Christians and to treat the natives as human beings, or we must break off any alliance in Africa, and let it be clearly perceived by the natives that Germans and Englishmen are not to be identified. There is a third alternative, *ratio est tertia, cædi*. We may elect to be involved with Germany in a common disaster, and to put back the civilisation of Africa for another hundred years and for the chance of a wiser government than any now existing in Europe.

CHAPTER IX

THE LAKE DISTRICT

THE interior of South Africa, so far as it is yet known, has been discovered, surveyed, and occupied by Englishmen. It has also been claimed by Portugal from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. The Portuguese possess Mozambique. They can scarcely be said to govern the country, but they go into debt to the extent of 350,000*l.* a year in order to support the honour of the flag. This is part of the money which Great Britain is always ready to lend to Portugal, and which encourages that minute and impoverished country to use brave words and issue threatening decrees. Our complaints against Portugal are very serious. On July 6 of last year Lord Salisbury spoke as follows:—‘It is claimed that Portugal has the right to all that zone of territory stretching from the Zambesi to Mozambique on the Indian Ocean, and to Angola on the Atlantic, but the claim could only be made by some extraordinary doctrine of constructive acquisition. I believe it rests upon a decree of Pope Alexander VI. of saintly memory.’ The ‘saintliness’ may be taken for a little irony, since Alexander VI. was unquestionably one of the most licentious priests the world has ever known. Lord Salisbury goes on to say: ‘How far that decree can be admitted as an international ground I will not discuss. France and Germany have admitted the claim of Portugal, subject to any rights which other Powers may have. We have not admitted it. But upon that claim Portugal builds a further claim that the Zambesi is hers also, and undoubtedly, if the zone of territory belongs to her, there would be a fair contention to that effect. There is territory beyond,

‘ however, which is not Portuguese, and with which we have
 ‘ some connection, and also we have interests of an undefined,
 ‘ though very interesting character, with respect to those
 ‘ splendid monuments of British energy and enthusiasm shown
 ‘ on Lake Nyassa. . . . I do not like to pursue this theme too
 ‘ far, because it would be very easy for language to drop from
 ‘ my mouth which would rather retard than advance an under-
 ‘ standing. But I agree with my noble friend in thinking that
 ‘ the possession of a vast natural highway like the Zambesi,
 ‘ under the peculiar circumstances of its history, cannot be
 ‘ claimed by Portugal. After all, it was discovered by English-
 ‘ men, and it is now principally used by Englishmen. It leads
 ‘ to settlements wherein Englishmen are conducting their
 ‘ operations, religious and commercial.’

It would scarcely be expected that a Prime Minister would go further than this in respect to a matter which is under negotiation with a foreign country. But the writers who are not bound by diplomatic caution make out a very serious case against Portugal. In the first place, it is said that Portugal has no real hold even of the Mozambique country. In one map published by the African Lakes Company, it is said that ‘ only one European Portuguese has ever traversed this land.’ North and east of Mozambique, we have more than twenty trading and mission stations, where only English people are known by the natives. Till Livingstone, Young, Grant, and other of our travellers explored the country, Portugal knew nothing of it. No Portuguese had ever passed up the River Shiré, or seen Lake Nyassa and Lake Tanganyika. In the next place, it is asserted that the Portuguese are as deeply involved as the Arabs in the slave trade. On the other hand, the Lisbon Geographical Society declares that when Lieutenant Cardoso went to Nyassa, ‘ some hostile manifestation on the part of the natives was indulged in, who imagined they were dealing with English explorers; but the opposition was soon converted into demonstrations of respect and cordiality, and the caravan was allowed to pass when it was recognised to be Portuguese.’ *Credat Judeus.*

It would be a wise policy on the part of Portugal to sell to Great Britain all its possessions and claims in South Africa. Portugal might then have for a few years what it has never had during this century—a balance of income over expenditure. But the Portuguese Government is probably too proud for such a transaction. It is well aware that its colonies are the chief cause of its yearly deficit; it knows and has stated in official papers that they are badly governed and cause a heavy drain on its resources. But it will probably continue to hold them so long as England or Holland will lend the necessary money.

No less than four associations have been formed for the development and improvement of South and Central Africa. In the first place there is a German company with an Imperial charter. The territory 'delimited for German sphere of influence' is about 400 miles by 250. It includes two recognised British stations, named Majasi and Newala. Unfortunately the conduct of the German expedition has not been such as to secure peace, or give any basis for alliance with England. Prince Bismarck has strongly condemned the action of some of his countrymen, although he has found it necessary for his prestige to support them by arms. Captain Wissmann and Dr. Carl Peters are no doubt able and energetic men, but they seem to be animated by an extravagant hostility to Great Britain. Under pretence of looking for Emin Pasha, an attempt seems to have been made to establish a sort of private sovereignty over a vast district. In July last Admiral Freemantle captured the German steamship 'Neera,' laden with stores and arms for Dr. Carl Peters, on the ground that the Emin Pasha expedition of this traveller was opposed to British interests; and, secondly, that the confiscation was justified by the conditions of the East African blockade. The Emin Pasha expedition, said Admiral Freemantle, 'was a purely private enterprise, and the import of arms was only permitted to the executive authorities of European colonies or to the Sultan.' On this matter Dr. Carl Peters was extremely indignant. Arms had been imported by the British 'African Lakes Company,' and if arms for an English private undertaking were 'permitted to

'enter the blockaded territory, the same right held good for 'Germans.' Why this should be so when England was the blockading country is a puzzle. The 'Cologne Gazette' says, in great wrath: 'The confiscation of a German steamer was an act 'of open hostility, which can only be atoned for by restitution, 'compensation, and adequate satisfaction, or by measures of 'retaliation on the part of Germany.' But the attempt to pass a vessel containing arms and ammunition through a blockade duly declared by the British Government was in itself an 'act of open 'hostility,' and was rightly treated as such by the British Admiral. The fact is that there are a few 'filibusters' who wish to obtain large tracts of territory, not so much for colonisation as in the hope of finding gold, and the German Government has withdrawn the encouragement which at first it was ready to give to these schemes.

It is not probable that the British Government will give, or the German Government desire, any further extension of German South Africa. With respect to the German occupation and colonisation, I may take the following from the 'St. James's 'Gazette,' August '16, 1889: 'If Germany had been left to 'herself in Zanzibar the whole place would long ago have been 'afame. It is one good result of English co-operation that 'this has not been the case. But it is a curious instance of the 'different methods pursued by the Germans and English in their 'colonial policy, that whereas the German officials at first 'despised any advice or assistance from their more practised 'allies, recent information from Zanzibar shows that in all their 'dealings with the natives the German officials are obliged, 'not only to accept, but to solicit British mediation.' At present Germany is carrying on war both with the Arabs and the natives, and is equally detested by both. Prince Bismarck is said to be utterly tired of the whole business, and it seems probable that German annexations will be carried no further.

But besides the German Company there are two of British origin already established and at work, while a third obtained a Royal charter in July last. Of these the first in point of time is the 'African Lakes Company.' This has been established

for eleven years, and is partly a missionary society and partly a commercial company. Its prospectus states that the company was established 'for the purpose of conducting trade in the lake districts of Central Africa, in connection with the missions settled in these districts by the English and Scottish Missionary Societies, and of developing in all possible directions the resources of the country.' Its access to the interior of South Africa is by way of Quillimaine and the water route of the Zambesi and Shiré Rivers and the Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika. It seems probable, however, that Lake Tanganyika will be left to the Imperial British Company. The magnificent inland sea of Lake Nyassa, and the population settled around it, will afford ample scope for the work of the African Lakes Company. The company has a steamer on the rivers, called the 'Lady Nyassa,' and another on the lake, called the 'Ilala.' Its capital is small, only 100,000*l.*, and at present less than half of this has been called up. But it seems to be doing good work, and to base its operations on the principles propounded by Moffat and Livingstone, that the slave trade can be most easily suppressed by making the natives accustomed to regular and fairly-paid labour. The Reverend Horace Waller has recently published a pamphlet called 'The Title Deeds to Nyassaland,' in which he gives an account of the discovery of the lake, and the founding of missions by Livingstone and the Universities Mission. For a time the exploration of the country was assisted by the British Government, and about 30,000*l.* was spent, exclusive of the outlay in building the steamship 'Pioneer,' which was borne on the Admiralty books. But in 1864 the contributions of our Government were withdrawn, and Livingstone was left to poverty and death. The Portuguese claim the rights of first discovery, but it is proved that they had not explored the River Shiré except in its lower reaches, and near to the Zambesi. Dr. Livingstone and his brother, Sir John Kirk, and Mr. Young, traced the Shiré River to the cataracts of Ma Titti, discovered Lake Shirwa, and afterwards, Lake Nyassa, of which the Portuguese had never heard. Mr. Waller adds the following passages. They refer to the colonists of Portuguese descent; for, in fact, only

one native of Portugal appears to have visited the country. 'It would be folly to pretend that the Portuguese and Livingstone got on well together, for the latter not only exposed their utter ignorance of the country, but the decimating system of slave trade and kidnapping which was pursued under their auspices. He took the servant of the Governor of Tette red-handed at the head of a large slave-gang; he tracked the strings of captives not only to the sea where they were exported, but to the very innermost recesses of Africa also, whither many were traded away to distant tribes for ivory.' The pretensions of Portugal have been the great stumbling-block in the way of the Lakes Company, but it is probable that under the firm control of Lord Salisbury a brighter future is before it. We have buried here many of the noblest Englishmen and Scotchmen, and we cannot allow the country to fall back under a system of slavery and the slave trade.

By far the most important and most interesting enterprise is that of the Imperial British East Africa Company. It was incorporated by Royal charter, dated September 3, 1888. The first concession by the Sultan of Zanzibar was made to Mr. Mackinnon, now Sir William Mackinnon, Bart., on May 24, 1887. This was included in the concession of October 9, 1888, under which the company now acts. The territory actually ceded for a term of fifty years, embraces the coast-line for a distance of about 150 miles in length, with an internal depth of ten sea miles, to which may be added hereafter, in part or in whole, the remainder of the Sultan's northern territory. Beyond this belt there is an inland territory of about 100,000 square miles, reaching along the coast from Wamba to the mouth of the Juba River, or from latitude 5 S. to the Equator, and without any definite boundaries inland. The greater part of this territory is not claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar, nor by any European, and is admitted by Germany to be within 'the sphere of British influence.' The port of Mombassa is within the company's territory. It is one of the best natural harbours on the East Coast of Africa, and capable of receiving the largest steamers. It is proposed to construct