

at once a light railway, which, with steamers to be placed on the River Tana, and the Lake Victoria Nyanza, will probably draw the trade for a distance of several hundred miles to Mombassa. With respect to the interior beyond the claims of Zanzibar, treaties and agreements with native chiefs are being made on behalf of the company, whereby large tracts of inland territories will be placed under the company to be held in perpetuity with sovereign, territorial, and other rights. The territories of the company comprise rich pasture and arable lands, and will grow indigo, sugar, tobacco, indiarubber, maize, rice, &c. Another matter of great interest may be mentioned. It is found that the Arabs seize negro slaves mainly to act as porters. When once the light railways are at work this want of porters will cease, and, so far, the slave trade will die a natural death.

And now let us see what has been done. Mr. George Sutherland Mackenzie, one of the directors, and the staff of officers who left London in September, arrived at Zanzibar on October 6, 1888. Mr. Mackenzie was at once received by the Sultan Sayyid Khalifa, who not only ratified the original concession, but by another document, dated October 9, 1888, granted further and important privileges to the company. The next step was to obtain the help of General Mathews, the Commander-in-Chief of the Sultan's forces, to support the company in the occupation of Mombassa. Accompanied by General Mathews, Mr. Mackenzie arrived at Mombassa on October 15. Unfortunately, at about this time the German East African Company had come to grief. The natives within the German sphere of influence were up in arms, and it has been said that the Germans not only fought with the Arabs, but became slave-owners themselves. The natives were disposed to trust the British, but these commotions made arrangements more difficult. Another difficulty arose from the fact that domestic slaves were, and they still are, constantly escaping to the Mission stations. This exasperated the Arabs, who threatened to rebel. The difficulty was got over for the time by Mr. Mackenzie paying about 3,500*l.* for the absolute release of

1,422 men, women, and children who had escaped from their slavery to the Mission houses. But it is clear that this is not a permanent solution. The missionaries do not advise the slaves to run away; in fact, their maintenance is often a heavy burden. But they cannot conscientiously send them back. In a short time, therefore, there will be another 1,400 fugitives and another source of discontent with the Arabs. By opening up the country with roads and railways, we shall probably be able at last to persuade the Arabs that slave labour is the dearest form of labour that can be employed. One effect of this settlement of the Arab claims is to inspire the natives with confidence in us and in the justice of the company.

The continued disturbed state of the territory under German control has destroyed the trade on that coast, and the British Indian traders who had settled there have been glad to seek our protection. In a report which has not yet been published, but which I have been permitted to read, the following passage occurs:—‘All the works now being carried out have the co-
‘operation of the principal traders, and the policy of giving
‘them the opportunities of extending their trading operations
‘at the company’s ports, as well as into the interior, is being
‘appreciated. Some of these traders were invited to become
‘interested in the company’s trading caravans, to which invita-
‘tion they responded without hesitation. A few successful
‘adventures will have a beneficial effect, and probably native
‘trading will be the best means of rapidly developing the dor-
‘mant resources of the territories of which the company has
‘taken charge.’ Trade, doctors, and missionaries will be found more effectual in repressing slavery than the German troops. It must be remembered, however, that the company has power to enlist and employ troops. In fact, it has practically all the powers given to the East India Company a century ago, and of which that company made such marvellous use.

It must be remembered that the trade of Equatorial Africa, such as it is, is almost entirely in the hands of British subjects. Until recently there was an emigration of coolies from India amounting to nearly 100,000 annually. I cannot do better on

this point than quote from an article printed by the 'Times' from a correspondent, under date September 8, 1888:—'One of the first tasks the company will have to undertake will be to settle with the fierce Massai warriors and cattle-raiders. This may possibly be accomplished through their great high-priest, who has much influence. Whatever method the company may be compelled to adopt, the Massai must be induced to become peaceful inhabitants of the new State. At present they are the scourge of the whole region.' The North Massai plain is admirably adapted for wheat. It has an average height of from 3,000 to 4,000 feet and a sufficient rainfall.

When the Massai difficulty is settled, there remains the further difficulty of labour. The native African is extremely unwilling to undertake regular labour. This has been a constant source of trouble even in the Cape and the Transvaal. The Kaffir will work out his time, be it a fortnight or a month, or even three months, but when once the time is up he receives his wages and departs for a long spell of comfortable idleness. As I have already shown, the Boers in the Transvaal attempt to solve this problem by a system which amounts to slavery, or at least to enforced labour for a given time. It is for us to work in a different direction, and, by introducing civilisation and Christianity, to teach the natives the need for many things which they now despise, and the consequent necessity for labour. European labour is practically impossible. Englishmen may live and thrive in the Tropics as masters of labour or as merchants, but they cannot do the manual work which is required. The native supply is intermittent and insufficient, and we have therefore to look for supplies from other countries whose natives are accustomed to work in tropical climates; these countries are China and East India. Until quite recently there was an immigration of 100,000 coolies every year from Hindostan. This supply has of late been greatly diminished, mainly because the Government of India was dissatisfied with the treatment of the coolies abroad. The charter of the Imperial British East Africa Company includes ample provision for the proper treatment of coolies and all other workmen, and it will no doubt be

easy for the company to satisfy the Indian Government that the coolies will be fairly dealt with. For more than a century natives of India and subjects of the Empress of India have been establishing themselves as traders and merchants in the Zanzibar dominions, and at the present time there are not fewer than 7,000 Hindoos so engaged, besides their families. They are nearly all wealthy, and all British subjects. When the Imperial East Africa Company succeeds in establishing a government in the interior, there is little doubt but that these Indian traders will make their way inland, because they will now be sure of British protection. As the country to be occupied affords abundant arable land, pasturage, and garden grounds, good climate, and other advantages suited to the natives of India, there is full scope for the immigration and settlement both of zemindars and ryots.

It is said that the Indian Government is now more favourably disposed to the proposals for such emigration. The system of small farming, which has been successful in India, would work equally well in East Africa, and a revenue could be raised from the land as it is now raised in British India. At present a great part of the country is depopulated, and is only waiting for labourers to develop its capacities for cultivation. Indian coolies are now expected to flock to this new region, and will either take up small plots of land to work on their own account or will work under their zemindars.

Moreover, this district is the gateway to a much wider region. The trade of Uganda and the Upper Nile and the great lakes will inevitably be drawn to Mombassa. There are reports that some German traders propose to establish a line of stations through the territory allowed to be within 'the German sphere of influence,' to the Albert Nyanza and the Southern Soudan. Of course, if German traders enter upon such enterprises, we shall not forbid them, but they will be under the protection of the British, not the German flag.

Lastly, it appears that there is still another company which has secured a Royal charter. Its actual designation is not yet announced, but it is intended to obtain the control of Bechuana-

land and the countries to the north. The Duke of Fife, the Duke of Abercorn, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, and other gentlemen of great authority and wealth, are interested in this concession. In this matter the Government appears to be moving with proper caution. Unless we leave these territories to be seized by Dutch, French, Portuguese, or German adventurers, we have only two courses before us. We may establish a protectorate and proclaim them as British colonies. This would probably be the best plan in the long run, but it involves the appointment of a governor and a staff of officers, and the maintenance of a small army. It is our nature to shrink from such expenditure as long as possible. But a charter to a company which is prepared to take all the work and expenditure off our hands is a tolerably simple expedient. We have tried it in India with conspicuous success, and again in the hunting-grounds of the Red River Company, and in the Niger Expedition. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that the example set by the British Imperial East Africa Company should be promptly followed. The terms of this charter are not yet definitely settled. Baron H. de Worms says that it will not permit the company to acquire any territory without the express sanction of her Majesty's Government, nor will it supersede her Majesty's protectorate in Khama, or affect the position of British Bechuanaland as a Crown Colony. It is impossible to discuss this question more fully till the actual terms of the charter are published. They will probably run very much on the same lines as those of the British Imperial Company—that is to say, they will leave nearly everything to the final decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, or of the Privy Council. It seems, however, to be understood that there will be a full concession of mining rights. When Mr. Cecil Rhodes is a consenting party to such a charter, it may be taken for granted that he has an eye to the chances of mining. Baron de Worms says that 'the issue of the charter will not supersede ' the British protectorate and the British influence in the territories within which the company will be enabled to operate. ' There will be no right of unlimited extension, nor will the

' company have any such monopoly as would annul any prior ' concessions which may be shown to be valid.' Perhaps, considering the traditional indolence of the Colonial Office, these arrangements are as good as could be expected. It must be remembered that, while the other companies in South Africa depend on concessions made by the Sultan of Zanzibar, this new venture will be confined, for the present at all events, to British territory, and it seems foolish to part with all the mining and other rights of the Sovereign without any stipulation for payment or revenue. President Kruger draws a large revenue from his mining rights, and it seems unreasonable that we should abandon such a source of income to the first comer.

CHAPTER X.

THE LATEST NEWS

THE importance of the Transvaal, in view of the large investments of English capital, compels attention to the question of transit. Everything except meat is excessively dear. In England a four-pound loaf costs 5*d.* or 6*d.*; in the Transvaal bread is 6*d.* per pound. The mining population has neither time nor inclination to grow wheat. Johannesburg is even now suffering from scarcity which almost approaches famine. Eggs are about 5*d.* each, and cigars vary from 1*s.* to 2*s.* each. Beer sells for 4*s.* a bottle, champagne for 1*l.*, and whisky for 9*s.* Besides their food and lodging, waiters get from 10*l.* to 15*l.* a month, a hotel cook 25*l.* per month, and the book-keeper at a hotel 600*l.* a year. These high prices are the result of several causes. In the first place nearly everyone is so eager to be mining or speculating in mines that very few are left to carry on the necessary industries of the community. In the next place the Customs' duties are extremely high. Lastly, there is the enormous cost of carriage for everything imported by sea. 'Everything that comes from the Cape costs threepence per pound in freight alone.' That is equal to 27*l.* per ton. 'No wonder things are dear. Two hundred waggons a day come into the market-place, each one carrying a precious freight of 7,000 lbs. to 8,000 lbs., and drawn by twenty patient oxen. A month they have been upon the road, and a month they will be returning.'¹ These waggons make their month's journey to Pretoria with full loads, but they come back empty. No one cares to produce anything

¹ See 'The Witwatersrandt Gold Fields,' by K. F. Bellairs, published this year by T. P. Chapman, 149 Strand, W.C.

but gold, so that there is very little freight for the return journey. It is, however, clear that there would be an enormous saving if a railway were carried direct from Capetown to Pretoria. The thirty days would be exchanged for so many hours, and the 27*l.* per ton for so many shillings. But here comes in the political question. President Kruger and the Boers think they have too many English people already, or that, at all events, the Transvaal must be kept as much as possible from intimacy with the Cape Colony, unless that colony becomes independent. On July 31 it was reported from Durban that the Cape Parliament had passed the Railway Bill through all its stages. Mr. Merriman, who was for many years the ablest representative of the English party in the Cape Parliament, protested that the Government policy was fatal to the best interests of the Colony, whose proper base was Kimberley, not Bloemfontein. Now Bloemfontein is in the centre of the Orange Free State, and has no railways either north or east. It is almost incredible that any responsible minister should have proposed to commence a system of railways at such a place; and it is quite incredible that English capital should be subscribed for such a scheme. But President Kruger and the Boers seem terrified by any approach of railways. President Kruger fears that railways would increase English influence, and the Boers fear that the enormous profits they draw from cartage would be diminished or destroyed. The majority of the Volksraad passed a resolution that even a railway from Pretoria to Johannesburg should not be proceeded with for the present. President Kruger declares that he will not sanction any new railway scheme till the Delagoa Bay railway is completed. But it is not said whether he refers to the completion to the frontier of the Transvaal, which is all that the company is bound or authorised to do, or whether he means that the railway must be complete from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria and Johannesburg. Such a line is talked about, but it will be extremely expensive. No prospectus of this railway appears to have reached England, and it is doubtful whether the money for its construction could be found. Again, President Kruger is said to have promised that

he would immediately grant Free Trade with the Cape of Good Hope on the condition that no railway should be carried beyond Kimberley. This proposal seems to have been made with the view of securing the profits of cartage to the Boers, and of isolating England. No reduction in the tariff would compensate for the saving to be effected by railway carriage, as compared with carting by bullocks.

With reference to the continuation of the Delagoa Bay railway to Pretoria, the following telegram came from Lisbon on September 7 last: 'Several journals announce that the tariff convention between the Portuguese Administration and the Transvaal Railway Company has been signed to-day by the Portuguese Colonial Minister and the Transvaal Consul. It is added that the works for the construction of the line from the frontier to Pretoria will shortly be commenced.' I do not accept with implicit faith any statements made by Portuguese newspapers; and, perhaps, it will be time enough to talk about the Transvaal Railway Company when we see its prospectus. For I take it for granted that any such company will want several millions of pounds sterling for capital, and will have to come to England for the money. At present, however, I have not seen the prospectus of any such company. As to a convention between the Portuguese Ministry and the Transvaal Consul, that would appear, by the treaties with this country of 1881 and 1884, to be *ultra vires*, except with the sanction of the Queen.

The interest of this country in the Transvaal is, for the present, centred in the gold fields. We had the same experience in Australia, which colony owed its first great increase of population to the gold diggings. But when these diggings were exhausted, so far as alluvial gold is concerned, the people of Australia, instead of returning home disconsolate, set themselves to sheep-farming and the exportation of wool, to agriculture, and to the development of other resources. Australia flourished, although its yield of gold fell from millions to thousands. It is possible that the same experience may await South Africa. It is also possible that in both countries the output of gold may increase, side by side with the improvement in other industries.

It was confidently predicted that the South African gold mines would yield three millions sterling in 1889. The prophecy has not been fully realised; but there is a prospect that the output may be nearly two millions. Out of nearly three hundred mines in South Africa there seem to be less than forty which make any returns of gold at all. There has been a great deal of speculation, and the profits on the original capital invested have been very high in a few cases. But there is probably not one company which is paying 6 per cent. on the present price of its shares. It is said, however, by the optimists that a great part of the ore found will not yield payable gold under the simple system of crushing and washing. It is largely mixed with pyrites, and is called intractable or recalcitrant. This ore has accumulated already to the extent of many thousand tons. There are, however, scientific means by which the gold can be extracted even from these ores, which are technically called 'tailings.' These new processes have been in use in Australia for some years. Mines that were thought worthless or exhausted have again become profitable, and the production of gold has risen from a few thousands of pounds sterling to several millions. About four millions a year comes to England; a great deal goes to India and China to buy tea; and, as Australia has its own mint, a great deal is coined for internal circulation. The 'tailings' of South African mines may give the same results, if properly treated, but considerable expense and delay must be looked for.

Again, it is said that the deeper the mines are sunk the richer is the return of gold, and this appears to have been proved in many cases. But to go deeper will require more capital and more scientific engineering. At present the yield of gold is not one-half so valuable as that of diamonds, and not one-fourth so valuable as that of wool. There is, however, a fine field for speculation, and the other products of South Africa receive little notice, either from the public or the press.

There can be no doubt but that the Transvaal is a very rich and valuable possession, made so entirely by British energy and capital. There is every reason, therefore, to enforce, with the

utmost strictness, whatever prerogatives have been left to the Crown by the Convention of 1884. This has not hitherto been done. The Boers have been allowed to take the law into their own hands, and to despise every stipulation that they found disagreeable. At present, however, the English population is increasing so rapidly that new relations may be established so soon as the English have votes. It is tolerably certain that President Kruger has some such fears. The following paragraph appeared in the 'Times' of August 27, dated from Brussels on August 26 last:—'M. Dutoit, the Minister of Public Instruction of the Transvaal Republic, has stated at Antwerp that the relations between Great Britain and the Transvaal have so much improved that the latter has nothing more to fear from the English. In the three South African Republics the official language is Dutch, but the immigration of the English is so strong that an immigration of Flemings is much desired to preserve the Netherlandish nationality. M. Dutoit explained at length all the advantages which Flemish immigrants would find in the Transvaal. After explaining the apprehensions entertained in the Transvaal, that the English may become the masters of the country by means of their capital, M. Dutoit recommended a regular system for Flemish and Walloon emigration to the Transvaal, by means of committees, to be instituted there and in Belgium, transmitting and receiving offers and demands of all kinds of labour.'

It is reported that the question of a Federal Union between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State has been postponed to next year, and again, that the Volksraad of the Transvaal object to any change short of the formation of a United States of South Africa. Here, again, crops out the Dutch ambition to obtain supremacy. At the same time, they do occasionally admit that in some measure they must depend upon England. In July last President Kruger said that the Transvaal had to consider the interests of Her Majesty, in order to obtain consideration from her in Swazieland affairs, and, in fact, all Transvaal affairs depended upon mutual consideration on both sides. The great

danger we have to meet and overcome is that of a combination of the Dutch settlers and the malcontent English in the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Free State with a view to forming a Republican union, by which British interests would be sacrificed and a possibly hostile power substituted for dependencies. The only hope of our continuing our supremacy in these countries is that our policy shall be generous, continuous, and distinctly announced. It must not be subject to reversal the moment the Radicals come into power. The Colonial Office has done mischief enough, and every new Colonial Minister seems to be incapable of contending against its baneful influence. If party were not so completely the dominant factor in English politics, it would be a blessing to see Lord Rosebery, who really does care for the Empire, placed at the head of the Colonial system of England.

Before leaving the recent history of the Transvaal, it is necessary to consider the present relations of the Boers and the English with Swazieland. Since the earlier chapters of this book were written many changes have taken place. Two years ago King Umbandine had for his chief adviser Mr. Shepstone, son of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and it was understood that his influence would be used in favour of English interests, and against the encroachments of the Boers. The Boers had received certain grazing rights over part of Swazieland, and they attempted to convert them into mining rights. This was firmly resisted by the King and Mr. Shepstone, and, if our Government had given the latter an official position and adequate salary, our position in the country would have been secured. These things were not done, and Mr. Shepstone seems to have come to the conclusion that Swazieland would be safer and more profitable if he could annex it to the Transvaal. But the Swazies hate the Boers, and Umbandine showed his agreement with this popular feeling by dismissing Mr. Shepstone. Since that time things have gone from bad to worse. In the first place we have a king or chief favourable to the English, and bitterly hostile to the Boers. This king is by no means a reputable person. He hangs his wives on the smallest provoca-

tion. He is licentious, bloodthirsty, and rapacious—a reproduction, on a somewhat lesser scale, of Cetewayo. He is by no means a desirable ally, yet it has only been his authority which has prevented the country being acquired by the Boers. Now, it must be recollected that the Transvaal Government has no legitimate claim to any part of Swazieland. More than this, the boundaries of that country were carefully defined in the Convention of 1881, and Article 24 reads as follows: ‘The independence of the Swazies within the boundary line of Swazieland as indicated in the first article of this Convention will be fully recognised.’ Article 12 in the Convention of 1884 repeats this provision in the same words. In spite of these express stipulations the Boers have continued to make raids into Swazieland. It must be remembered that this country, although small and containing only about 60,000 natives and 600 Europeans, has great resources. People have mainly been attracted to it by its mineral wealth, which has already been proved to be great, and may probably be found to be much beyond present estimates. But it is valuable in other ways. The ‘Times’ of October 9 says: ‘The soil, it is stated, will grow almost anything that is planted, and the climate, though hot in summer, is healthy. Game abounds, and timber is fairly plentiful; and there are rivers enough to render a fairly complete system of irrigation practicable.’ The situation is therefore this. The rule of Umbandine has become intolerable, and it is absolutely necessary that some European power should take possession. The Transvaal Boers would like to do this, but they have absolutely no claim. We have a claim founded on our protectorate of many years standing. Yet it is said that Lord Salisbury proposes to abandon the country to the Boers, and the ‘Times,’ in an article evidently inspired, tries to find some justification for the surrender. At present nothing has been done beyond the despatch of Sir Francis de Winton to examine into the question. The only possible obstacle to annexation by this country is the fact that Swazieland has no access to the sea. The ‘Times’ says: ‘It is understood that our Colonial Office is unwilling to take any decided steps in the

‘ way of annexation, and indeed, without free access to the
‘ seaboard, Swazieland might be an awkward possession; that
‘ seaboard belonging to the Tonga country is, it is believed,
‘ claimed by the Portuguese. If the Boers are anxious to have
‘ the country, and if Cape Colony and Natal object to its
‘ annexation, and especially to the establishment of a trade route
‘ through Swazieland, it seems probable that Sir Francis has
‘ received instruction not to insist on the establishment of a
‘ protectorate, but to hand over the country to the Transvaal, if
‘ that can be done peacefully.’ This article was evidently
written by the desire of the Colonial Office to prepare the public
for the cession, or at least to see how the public would regard
the project. The answer was not long delayed. It is under-
stood that protests have been, or will be, made by Mr. Maclure,
of the Transvaal Land Company, by the Forbes Reef Gold
Mining Company, by the Press generally, by the Aborigines’
Protection Society, and by the London Chamber of Commerce.
The only scrap of argument for the surrender of a country
which we have practically protected and partially governed for
many years is this want of access to the sea. But Colonel
Coope has a plan for connecting Swazieland with the Transvaal
on the one side, and the sea on the other. He would start a
railway from the borders of the Transvaal, within 20 miles of
Middleburg. He would cross the Drakensburg mountains at
their easiest point at a height of 5,000 feet above the sea level,
but by no means so much above the plateau of the Transvaal,
which is hemmed in by this range as if by a wall. The gradients
would be easy through the valley of the Little Usutu. The
Lobombos are a much less formidable obstacle, and can be
pierced by a gorge offering no difficulties. After passing
through Swazieland the line would reach the sea through
that part of Amatonga which is under British protection. The
distance would be about the same as to Delagoa Bay, but it is
asserted that while the latter line will take ten years to finish,
and be enormously costly, the Swazieland line could be made in
two years and at a much cheaper rate. If these representations
be correct, the only semblance of an excuse for handing over

Swazieland to our enemies is done away with. In any case, Swazieland is as near to the sea as the Transvaal, and can reach it more easily. It is obvious that the surrender of Swazieland to the Boers would be most disastrous to British interests, and scarcely less culpable than the Conventions of 1881 and 1884, by which we practically gave up the Transvaal. It is well known that the Swazies detest the Boers as heartily as the Basutos did; and, in fact, every native tribe or kingdom that has ever felt their deadly touch does hate them. For it is not merely that they desire to possess themselves of gold mines—they wish also to make the people slaves. If Swazieland is annexed by the Boers the treaties already made will be distinctly broken, and the clause forbidding slavery will not apply. Sir Francis de Winton is only to hand over the country 'if it can be done peaceably,' and that is very unlikely. Whatever the arrangements might be, war would, in the end, be inevitable, and Kruger would call upon English residents to fight for him; so that we should have the singular spectacle of Englishmen in arms for the purpose of subduing a friendly country, and handing it over to our bitterest enemies. Lord Knutsford is not thought to be a strong man—very few Secretaries for the Colonies are—but it seems incredible that he should be so wicked as to sell our allies into abject slavery, or leave them to fight an almost hopeless battle for their freedom.

The 'Times' (October 9) says in its apology for surrender that there are quite as many English as Boers in Swazieland. This is an absurd under-statement. Certain Boers have some grazing concessions, but they do not live in the country. The great bulk of European inhabitants is English; and the mining property has been opened up by English capital, and remains under English management. We are told that 'the Government have shown themselves so anxious to extend English supremacy over the whole region south of the Zambesi, from the west coast to the east, that if they do decide in the end to allow Swazieland to fall to the Boers, they will be able to give reasons that will satisfy those who have British interests at heart.' This seems to mean that the Government will first surrender the

country and then set to work to find excuses for their action. But could any conduct be more absurd or more inconsistent than to hand over one protectorate to our enemies at the very time when, by the royal charters to the British East African and British South African Companies, we are seeking to extend our authority? Is this in obedience to the policy of Sir Hercules Robinson, that we should first open up the different countries and make them profitable, and then hand them over to an Afrikaner Republic?

On this subject it is advisable to give some extracts from the letter of Sir R. N. Fowler to the 'Times,' published on October 24 last. Sir Robert says that, 'considering the large and increasing amount of British capital which is being invested in South Africa, it behoves the Government to take no steps which may imperil the interests of her Majesty's subjects. I know the feeling to be exceedingly strong in my own constituency, and I believe it be the same in other centres of commerce, that the Colonial Office is far too much disposed to avoid temporary difficulty in a futile attempt to conciliate the Transvaal Boers, and for this purpose neglects the large body of Englishmen settled in South Africa. I wish, moreover, to point out that the 60,000 natives of Swazieland have a claim to consideration. England has made mistakes in dealing with native races, but the intentions of the country have been to do the best under difficult circumstances. The Boers, on the other hand, regard the blacks as they do their cattle—as a race to be treated entirely for their own profit. To hand over a country to them is to hand over the native population to oppression.'

A protest was also sent, on October 23, by the Aborigines' Protection Society, from which I may give the following extracts:—The Committee resolved, 'That this Committee regards with alarm the rumours which have been circulated as to the probable transfer of Swazieland to the Transvaal Government, and earnestly hopes that her Majesty's Government will take advantage of the mission of Sir Francis de Winton to secure for that country, under the Convention of 1884, the protection of the natives from Boer aggression.' Besides this, any extension

of the South African Republic to these limits must soon lead to the absorption, either by the Government of the Transvaal or by that of Portugal, of the adjacent districts held by the Tongas and other tribes whose condition is rendered all the more perilous by their contiguity to the disturbed districts in Northern Zululand.

These extracts may serve to show the feelings of alarm and indignation which the suggested cession has aroused. I may even go further and say that the surrender of Swazieland would render inevitable the ruin of our Empire in South Africa. It is, however, somewhat re-assuring to learn that the following letter has been written by Lord Knutsford to the Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, dated 'Colonial Office, 'October 31':—

'SIR,—I am directed by Lord Knutsford to acknowledge 'the receipt of your letter of the 23rd inst., in which you enclose 'a copy of a resolution passed by the Aborigines' Protection 'Society on the 22nd inst. in regard to the affairs of Swazieland. 'Lord Knutsford desires me to state, with reference to the 'tenor of this resolution, and to the representations made in 'your letter, that Sir Francis de Winton's mission to Swazieland 'is one of inquiry, with a view to enabling her Majesty's 'Government to decide what course it is most desirable to take 'in regard to that country, in the interests of both natives and 'white settlers, and of South Africa generally; and that what- 'ever course may be ultimately decided upon, the interests of 'the natives will be carefully kept in view, and their wishes will 'receive due consideration.

'I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

'ROBERT G. W. HERBERT.'

Comparing this letter with the evidently inspired article of the 'Times,' it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that in the first instance Sir Francis de Winton was empowered to surrender Swazieland to the Transvaal, if it could be done peaceably, and that the indignation excited by the proposed

transaction among the strongest supporters of the Government has compelled them to make the mission one of inquiry only, so that we may hope that no irrevocable surrender will take place before the meeting of Parliament.

A new element has now been introduced into South African politics by the establishment, under a royal charter, of the British South African Company. The first directors or governors will be the Duke of Abercorn, the Duke of Fife, Lord Gifford, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Mr. Albert Beit, Mr. Albert Henry George Grey, and Mr. George Causton. This company obtains about 380,000 square miles of territory, very much on the same principle as that which directed the formation of the East Indian and Red River Companies. Part of the territory is already known to be auriferous. This is that of Matabeleland, whose chief, Lobengula, was glad to sell his interests for a very moderate sum—100*l.* sterling and 1,000 rifles, with a suitable supply of cartridges. A company under royal charter is in a very different position from that of a company under the Limited Liability Acts. The British South African Company has the right to raise armies, to carry on war, to impose duties of customs and excise, to restrict the traffic in alcoholic drinks, and generally to act as a sovereign power, subject only to the control of her Majesty's Secretary of State. The bargain made with Mr. Cecil Rhodes was apparently so one-sided that questions were asked about it in the House of Lords, but Lord Salisbury said that the concessions of savage and ignorant chieftains to private persons were not to be considered, or revised, or cancelled by the Government. In all probability Lord Salisbury already knew that Mr. Rhodes would not take upon himself the government of Matabeleland, but would seek the help of Great Britain. Accordingly, the royal charter has been given, and it includes a vast area besides Matabeleland. The trade must be either through Bechuanaland or by the river Zambesi. The Portuguese claim authority over both banks of the Zambesi, but they admit that the river is open to all, and no tribute can be asked of any steamer unless it lands at a Portuguese port. But of course the territories of the British South African Com-

pany include much more than Matabeleland. They include the whole of Khama's country, and north to the Zambesi, and west to 20 degrees east longitude, and Mashonaland with undefined limits eastwards. The first aim of the new company must be to have the navigation of the Zambesi secured, and to obtain good terms for the use of any harbours or ports claimed by Portugal.

The Government seems to have come to the conclusion that the safest and cheapest way of extending our Empire is by granting royal charters to private persons or companies. Thus we have the North Borneo Company, the Royal Niger, the English East African, and now the British South African. In a short time there will be little land left in Africa, except the Great Sahara and Kalahari deserts, which is not absorbed by some European power. Tunis and Algeria are French. Tripoli is at present Turkish. Egypt is under the control of England, and Abyssinia of Italy. In South and Central Africa we share the west coast with Portugal, France, and Germany; the east coast and the centre with Portugal and Germany alone. The vast empire of the Sultan of Zanzibar is being, or has been, cut up into slices for European powers, and although Portugal makes enormous claims, its claims are disallowed. One great advantage of the new plan of issuing royal charters to responsible companies is that there is no charge to the country; another is that, unless there should be exceptional mismanagement, neither the Colonial Office nor the Houses of Parliament will have any excuse for interference.

The accounts given of the possessions and prospects of the British South African Company are naturally glowing and full of hope. Even the Kalahari desert is spoken of with respect. It has large oases of good land, and the fertile area might be extended by Artesian wells and irrigation. The text of the charter has been finally settled, the Queen's sign manual was affixed on October 29, and the complete text published in the next 'Gazette.' The definition of the country thus entrusted to the British South African Company is a little vague. The first clause enacts that 'the principal field of the operations of 'the British South Africa Company (in this our charter referred

‘ to as the Company) shall be the region of South Africa lying
 ‘ immediately to the north of Bechuanaland, and to the north
 ‘ and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the
 ‘ Portuguese dominions.’

It appears, therefore, that everything is allowed to the new company, except such districts as have been previously ceded. Article 2 is as follows:—‘ The Company is hereby authorised
 ‘ and empowered to hold, use, and retain for the purposes of the
 ‘ Company, and on the terms of this our charter, the full benefit
 ‘ of the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid, so far as
 ‘ they are valid, or any of them, and all interests, authorities, and
 ‘ powers comprised or referred to in the said concessions and
 ‘ agreements. Provided always that nothing herein contained
 ‘ shall prejudice or affect any other valid and subsisting con-
 ‘ cessions or agreements which may have been made by any of
 ‘ the chiefs or tribes aforesaid. And, in particular, nothing
 ‘ herein contained shall prejudice or affect certain concessions
 ‘ granted in and subsequent to the year 1880 relating to the
 ‘ territory usually known as the district of the Tati, nor shall
 ‘ anything herein contained be construed as giving any juris-
 ‘ diction, administrative or otherwise, within the said district
 ‘ of the Tati, the limits of which district are as follows—viz.,
 ‘ from the place where the Shasi river rises to its junction with
 ‘ the Tati and Ramaquaban rivers, thence along the Rama-
 ‘ quaban river to where it rises, and thence along the water-
 ‘ shed of these rivers.’

It seems rather singular that Matabeleland should be considered so rich in gold, and yet that this territory of the Tati, which is a triangular space in the middle of the country, and which we might have expected to be selected as the most likely to be auriferous, should have remained from 1880 to this date without any notice. I do not know of any shares being quoted, nor have I ever met with any one except the solicitors who knew anything of it, and their knowledge was only revealed by their letter to the ‘Times.’ But it is clear that the South African Company, in order to enter upon its full rights, will have to buy out these and some smaller concessionaires. It will then be in

possession of one of the finest territories in Africa. The Mashona country is especially valuable. Mr. Selous, as quoted in the 'Times' of October 15, says that it comprises a tableland of an average of 5,000 feet, clad with forests, the greatest elephant-hunting ground in South Africa, watered by a network of perennial streams, covered with the richest soil, abounding in gold in reefs and in rivers, as well as other minerals, and capable of growing almost every class of agricultural product, from tropical to temperate. It is said to be perfectly adapted for European settlement, and for the labour of white men. A great deal has been said about the sufferings of the Mashonas; but, in fact, they have lately been very little disturbed. When Lobengula became chief of the Matabeles, there were very anxious and eager discussions as to the future policy of the tribe. One party advocated the renewal of the old principle of raiding, robbing, and enslaving wherever they had a chance of success. The other party, moved partly by the efforts of the missionaries and partly by the comforts of peace, were on the side of quietude and civilisation. With this latter party the chief Lobengula agreed. It was successful. Its success is marked by the outcome of the South African Company, which, although it practically extinguishes their independence, will vastly improve the individual comfort both of Mashonas and Matabeles.

There is, nevertheless, a certain element of doubt and difficulty about this company. No doubt it is proclaimed by Article 6 that 'The Company shall always be and remain British' in character and domicile, and shall have its principal office in 'Great Britain, and the Company's principal representatives in 'South Africa shall always be natural-born or naturalised British 'subjects'; but it is added that this article shall not disqualify any person nominated a director by their own charter, or any person whose election as a director shall have been approved by our Secretary of State from acting in that capacity. But a man may be a British subject, and yet hostile to Great Britain. As a matter of fact, the Duke of Fife, the Duke of Abercorn, and Mr. Albert Grey are Englishmen, and they are not liable to be removed by any election under the deed of settlement, which

must be prepared within twelve months. But they are not in Africa. The result is that the complete management of the company's affairs falls into the hands of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. He is both a British subject and of English birth and education; but he is now an Afrikaner, and is supposed to agree with the aims of the Afrikaner Bund; in other words, to desire the destruction of British power and the substitution of an independent South African Republic. Naturally the deputy governors appointed all belong to the Dutch or Afrikaner party.

The situation is very complicated, and requires—what it will not receive—the highest arts of statesmanship. The German and Portuguese colonies have been proved, so far, to be failures. They cannot pay their way, and seem likely to be a constant drain on the home revenue. For ourselves, we have possessions of all kinds. The Cape Colony has responsible government, which practically means that its Parliament can do whatever it pleases. Natal and part of Bechuanaland and Basutoland are Crown Colonies, but Natal alone has a representative though not a responsible government. Another part of Bechuanaland is a Crown territory, but not a Colony. Then there are the three companies under royal charter, whose operations and privileges I have described. Then there is Swaziland and Zululand and Tonga. Then there is the Transvaal, which has been opened up by British capital, and is already almost our own again, and the Orange Free State, which can make no progress without British aid. Is it not obvious that a different form of government should be devised? It is true that we have a High Commissioner for the conduct of native affairs. But he is the same person as the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. It is obvious that the government of such a colony as the Cape is sufficient for one man's powers, and that the government of the heterogeneous districts north and west of the Cape require a man of different aptitudes and training.

Besides the various requirements of so many and so diverse countries, we have to deal with a spirit of discontent and rebellion, which has been growing even while this book was being written. I have fully admitted that the colonists had every

reason to complain of the vacillation and frequent rudeness of the Colonial Office. The discontent which had been growing for many years became permanent and violent when Mr. Gladstone suddenly surrendered the Transvaal to the Boers. Since then the dream of a South African Republic has been slowly assuming the shape of a project of rebellion. And the discontent has been intensified by the growth of a belief that slavery is, after all, a wise, beneficent, and even Christian institution. The discoveries of gold have completely turned men's heads. That always happens when gold is found, so we need not wonder at it. More labour is required. With more labour more gold could be produced. More labour is at hand, if the Kaffirs would work continuously. But this is exactly what they refuse to do. The moment they have earned enough to keep them in idleness for three or four months, they go away and remain idle; therefore our output of gold is less than it should be. And not only in gold mining, but in agriculture and all other industries, Kaffir labour is capricious and intermittent. It follows that the Kaffirs must be made to work—that is, that slavery must be re-introduced. The United States have given it up, and their productions have not fallen off. Brazil, the last people of European descent to hold slaves, has abolished the system without appreciable loss. But the Boers and the Dutch-English of South Africa desire to revive it. It is incredible that her Majesty, after a reign of more than fifty years, during which slavery has been abolished in all her dominions, should consent to its revival. It is incredible that men like the Duke of Fife or the Duke of Abercorn should approve of such a system. Indeed, their charter enjoins upon them the duty of putting an end to slavery as quickly as is possible under the various circumstances of their new possessions. It is impossible that the countrymen of Clarkson and Wilberforce can sanction a revival of such an institution. And because the Afrikanders see that these things are impossible, they propose to join the Boers, and to proclaim their independence as an independent slave-holding South African Republic. They seem to forget that without the protection of Great Britain they would be liable to

be conquered any day by Germany or France, and that their last estate would then be worse than the first. But I think that we have learned something during the last century, and that we shall not part with our colonies at the first cry of discontent. Mr. Gladstone is not now Prime Minister.

The Germans have now two emissaries in South Africa, and two companies, and it is a singular circumstance that one of the emissaries and one of the companies receives little favour at the hands of Prince Bismarck. Dr. Carl Peters was supposed, at first, to start for the relief of Emin Pasha with the full approval of the German Government. But it appears that this approval has been withdrawn. The semi-official 'North German Gazette' says on August 29 :—' It is now quite clear that the ' Imperial Government is strongly opposed to this expedition ; ' mainly, it would seem, as being calculated to impair the ' cordial relations now existing between Germany and England.' Prince Bismarck will hear nothing of it. Since that time the Witu expedition has been on the verge of absolute starvation. Dr. Carl Peters and his attendants would actually have starved but for the assistance of a private firm. The whole enterprise is on the point of collapsing. The 'North German Gazette' said recently :—' The object of the Emin expedition is opposed ' to the empire's colonial policy, and for that reason the Govern- ' ment can have no sympathy with it. The expedition, more- ' over, has nothing in common with Captain Wissman's mission, ' but on the contrary is detrimental thereto.' The following is a part of Prince Bismarck's reply to the Emin Pasha Relief Committee, dated August 15, 1888 :—' I regret that I cannot ' hold out any prospect of an Imperial subsidy to the contem- ' plated expedition, as the means which are at our disposal in ' our budget for the current year for the promotion of African ' undertakings have already been appropriated to the opening ' up of our protectorates ; and, therefore, the proposal to grant ' Government aid for a magnanimous aim, but one that is out- ' side of our colonial interests, would not meet with success in ' the Reichstag.' Accordingly Dr. Peters and the Witu Com- pany have been left to shift for themselves, with the result that

the undertaking is utterly bankrupt, and must be immediately abandoned. When compared with the bombastic threats and loud boastings of the Doctor and his supporter, the 'Cologne Gazette,' the result is unfortunate.

A general meeting of the Witu Company was held in Berlin on September 30, when its affairs were found to be in a very hopeless condition. And since Prince Bismarck refused to subsidise the company, or to pay for a regular line of steamers, it was generally thought that liquidation would be the necessary result. The organ of the Emin Pasha Relief Committee in Berlin could scarcely accept the situation. At the end of September it refused to believe the reports that Mr. Stanley is now rapidly approaching the Zanzibar coast, and that he had advised Emin Pasha to take service under the British East African Company. It seems probable, however, that both reports are substantially true.

On the other hand, Captain Wissman appears to be a *persona grata* with the Imperial Chancellor. He is the Imperial Commissioner for South Africa, and appears to have succeeded in imparting some vitality to the German East African Company. In September last he brought to the coast a large caravan containing great quantities of ivory, and a large number of cattle. Nevertheless, he must be a somewhat expensive agent, for he is constantly at war, and requires the support of a large number of soldiers. He is, however, free from the fanatical hatred of Great Britain which animates Dr. Carl Peters, and works cordially with us. A Foreign Office *communiqué* to the 'North German Gazette' at the end of last August says:—'The present extent of the German possessions in West and East Africa is more than two and a half millions of square kilometres, or about five times the size of the German Empire itself, and that is quite enough for her to assimilate and rule in the meantime.' It must be remembered, however, that a great part of this vast area is occupied by Namaqualand on the west coast, and that this country is sandy, sterile, and comparatively worthless. Among other matters of interest in East Africa, I may notice that some Germans disputed our claim to Lamu,

although we have already occupied it. The question was referred to Baron Lambert, who decided in our favour, and this is the first instance that I can recollect of a foreign arbitrator giving his award on the side of Great Britain.

In the meantime Captain Wissman continues to govern the German East African territories, and carries on trade with great skill and energy. At the same time he continues his crusade against the slave-trade. In the first instance, he persuaded England and Italy to join Germany in enforcing a blockade of the coast for the suppression of the trade. This, however, was raised on October 2, for Captain Wissman thought he had discovered a better method. He hanged or shot six or seven of the worst slave raiders, and gave the black people to understand that if they do not at once give up Arabs convicted of man-stealing they will be treated as accomplices, and hanged or shot accordingly. This drastic treatment he declares to have been effectual, and boasts that no Arab dares now to kidnap a single slave in the territory under his charge. At the same time, towards the end of September last, the Sultan of Zanzibar issued a proclamation giving the right to search all Arab dhows to the forces of England and Germany. He also notified that all slaves entering his territory after November 1 should be at once made free. This energetic action is attributed to the efforts of Mr. Portal and General Mathews, the commander-in-chief of the Sultan's forces. These strenuous efforts on the part of Captain Wissman, and his success in trading, have obtained the approval of the German Government, and have now reaped a substantial reward. After long refusing any pecuniary help to the German East African Company, Prince Bismarck has at last consented to submit a Bill to the Federal Council for subsidising a line of steamers to East Africa. It is proposed that the vessels shall leave Hamburg once a month. They are expected to touch at Antwerp and Lisbon, as well as at other ports besides Zanzibar on the coast of East Africa. The imperial subvention is expected to amount to 900,000 marks, or about 45,000*l.*

But although Captain Wissman's convoy of ivory and other

goods has been accepted as a proof of success, and secured for his adventure the subsidy of 45,000*l.*, there are elements of weakness, or rather probabilities of failure, in his policy. Like his master, Prince Bismarck, no policy recommends itself to him but that of 'blood and iron.' From the day he set foot upon the land there has been perpetual warfare. So irritated have been the native tribes that they have even attacked English mission stations, murdered missionaries and their families, spoiled our Christian and charitable work of twenty years, all because they had not yet learned the difference between an English missionary and a German freebooter. In the same way the Indian traders have been driven away from the country which the treaty of 1886 allowed to be within the 'German sphere of influence.' Captain Wissman boasts that he has hanged some Arab slave-dealers; but it would be interesting to know whether his ivory and other goods were obtained by free purchase, and carried to the coast by paid and free labour. Nor has he been conspicuously fortunate in financial matters. The *Morning Post* of October 26 has the following passage:—'The German East African Company appears to be financially in a most deplorable condition. It has a paid-up capital of a little over 3,000,000 marks, and up to the present its operations have resulted in the loss of just over two-thirds of that capital. The official report sets down the losses last year at 360,000 marks, which, added to previous deficits, make up a total of 2,034,000 marks up to December 31, 1888.' Even then a very doubtful asset is included in the credits. It is not easy to suppose that Captain Wissman will make good his claim of 208,000 marks upon the Sultan of Zanzibar. The only ground for the claim is that the Germans have had to do a little fighting against the natives over whom Germany had claimed authority. It is rather a pretty stroke of business to rob the Sultan of his property, and then bring in a bill for the costs of making war on his subjects. If this is a bad debt, the loss is 2,242,000 marks, or, in English money, a capital of 150,000*l.* has been reduced to 38,000*l.* The subvention I have referred to may keep things going for a time, but it is very probable that

the German East African Company will follow the lead of the German West African Company, and get what it can by a sale to an English company, still, of course, in each case preserving the sovereignty of Germany, and only parting with all the available property and assets. In fact, both Samoa and Africa prove that the Germans have not yet learned to govern uncivilised nations, or to trade profitably with them.

In South-West Africa, where Germany suddenly seized upon Namaqualand to which England laid claim, the company formed has been less successful. It has repeatedly applied to Prince Bismarck for a subsidy, a regular line of steamers and so forth, but hitherto with no better results than Dr. Carl Peters can boast of. It now appears (October 15) that negotiations are being carried on with a view to the sale of the German South-West African Company's possessions to an English company. The proposal, we are assured by the German press, does not involve the forfeiture of the rights of the German protectorate in those regions, but merely the transfer of private interests. That is to say, the English would be the owners of all the land and property, would carry on all the trade, and would provide the revenue, but the Germans would be the sovereign power and fix the duties on customs and excise, and make all the laws. This is rather too like the state of things in the Transvaal to be tempting, and an English company, if it should purchase the place, which appears to be of no great value, will do well to insist upon the acquisition of full territorial rights.

The last scene of all in this 'strange eventful history' is the despatch of an influential deputation by the Sultan of Zanzibar to the Governments of Europe. The embassy has been received with much effusion in Berlin. Reviews of troops have been held, sufficient to give some idea of the military power of Germany. Operas and theatres and other kinds of entertainment have been freely opened to the visitors, and jewels and other precious gifts have accompanied their departure. Before these pages are published the embassy will have travelled to nearly every capital in Europe. What their mission may be

has not yet transpired, but if it be to ascertain what European country would be most suitable for a permanent alliance, it may be hoped that the people of Zanzibar may learn something about the wealth, the commerce, and the naval strength of Great Britain, and, above all, that any arrangements made may be in a permanent form, and not liable to be discarded the moment a new Ministry comes into power.

NOTE.—Since the above chapter was written Umbandine has died, and is succeeded by his son; but the arguments are not affected by this change. It is also reported that Dr. Carl Peters and the whole of his party have been massacred either by the Massai tribe or the Somalis. It will be remembered that this Dr. Carl Peters was one of the most virulent and bitter Anglo-phobists ever known. He was backed up by the 'Cologne Gazette,' and the articles of that paper, and the letters of Dr. Peters contain little else than abuse of England. As a blind to his real designs, he pretended to be employed on a mission to relieve Emin Pasha. As a matter of fact, he never got more than four days' journey from the coast, and the relief of Emin was accomplished by Mr. Stanley. The real design of Dr. Carl Peters was to drive the English from equatorial Africa. He was for some time patronised and assisted by Prince Bismarck, but all assistance has lately been withdrawn. The real aim of Peters was to establish a system of German trading ports round the south and west of Lake Victoria, in a territory just to the north of that held by the British East Africa Company. The collapse of this enterprise may probably bring English subjects to Khartoum from the south; and even yet Gordon's death may be avenged, although not by the British Government. There is a large population round Lake Victoria and the other great lakes; and it seems likely that the British East Africa Company will soon be carrying on a large and increasing trade.

CONCLUSION

WHILE these pages were being printed the farewell speech of Sir Hercules Robinson to the people of the Cape Colony was telegraphed to England. Sir Hercules evidently hoped for re-appointment for another eight years, but happily his expectation has been disappointed. Since he has pronounced against the Empire, and even against its Colonial system, and declared in favour of Republicanism, Lord Salisbury and Lord Knutsford have declined to employ him again in South Africa. This habit with some of our pro-consuls of listening favourably to any party of malcontents has of late been seriously growing. When Mr. Gladstone was High Commissioner for the Ionian Islands he was converted to disunion by a small but noisy party of malcontents, and he succeeded in depriving this country of a valuable possession, without earning the gratitude of the inhabitants of Zante and Cephallonia. Sir John Pope Hennessy has annoyed and disgusted the English people in the Mauritius, and has only been allowed to complete his term of office under a solemn promise of better behaviour. The Marquis of Ripon in India and Earl Spencer in Ireland are further examples of the same failing. But perhaps Sir Hercules Robinson is the most conspicuous as he is the latest specimen of the faithless servant. Sent out eight years ago, not only as Governor of the Cape but as High Commissioner of her Majesty's possessions in South Africa, he makes a farewell speech to the Cape Colonists in which he practically advises them to aim at becoming a Republic and assuming the control of South and Central Africa.

Sir Hercules does not in so many words advocate slavery, but, if we read between the lines, we may see that he has become a convert to the Boer doctrine of enforced labour. In

contrasting the claims and prospects of Colonialism with Republicanism he says that 'British Colonialism is very heavily 'handicapped by the well-meant, but mistaken, interference of 'irresponsible and ill-informed persons in England. The tendency of such amateur meddling, to my mind, is injurious in 'the long run to the natives, whilst it makes every resident in 'the Republics, English as well as Dutch, rejoice in their independence, and converts many a Colonist from an Imperialist 'into a Republican.' This obviously means that England continues to object to slavery, and that the Cape colonists desire it.

There is no point in which Great Britain interferes with the self-government of the Cape Colony unless it be this of the treatment of the native races, and the desire of the Cape Colonists for Republicanism, which Sir Hercules Robinson records and commends, can therefore only mean a desire to manage the coloured races as they please, and as the existing Republics do manage them. The laws of the Transvaal which I have quoted prove that the Republics do treat the coloured races as practically bound to perpetual servitude, and I have shown that this treatment has been justified in the Cape Parliament by an appeal to Holy Scripture. Republicanism in South Africa means enforced labour, and a fixed rule that no coloured person shall have the same treatment as a white person; and, because the 'well-meaning but ill-informed people in England' take a different view, Sir Hercules Robinson advises the surrender of the Colonial relation and the adoption of Republicanism.

'As to Imperialism,' Sir Hercules says, 'it is a diminishing 'quantity. With responsible government in the Cape, with Natal 'soon likely to attain that status, with the independent Republics 'of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, with Germany on 'the West Coast and Portugal on the East, the idea of the permanent presence of the Imperial factor in the interior—of a South 'African India in the Kalahari—is simply an absurdity. The '“Governor-General in embryo,” of whom we have heard, who is 'to administer as in India a system of personal as distinguished 'from Parliamentary rule, will, I venture to think, remain 'permanently “in embryo.” All the Imperial Government can

'now do in South Africa is by means of spheres of influence, protectorates and Crown Colonies to gradually prepare the way for handing over native territories to the Cape and Natal so soon as such transfers can be made with justice to the natives and advantage to all concerned.' To all which I may reply that Natal has not yet received 'responsible government' and I hope it will be long before it is granted; that the Transvaal is still a dependency of the British Crown; that Germany is heartily sick of its South African colonies, and Portugal finds her possessions in that continent a heavy strain on her resources. But besides that, we must observe that there are immense and populous territories to which no European Power, except ourselves, has any claim. Bechuanaland, Damaraland, Matabeleland, and the other countries up to the great lakes lie, for the present, open to English influence. The idea of handing over the control of these territories to the Cape Government is simply childish or unpatriotic. But Sir Hercules Robinson does not expect that the Cape Colony should become a Republic and an Empire all at once. It is reserved *for us* to do all the work and spend all the money, and when the native territories are under good order and have become thriving communities they must forthwith be handed over to the Cape and Natal. He advocates 'Colonial expansion through Imperial aid, the Home Government doing what the Colonies cannot do for themselves, having constitutionally no authority beyond their borders.' But surely it is obvious that, if the Cape Colony and Natal received such authority, they are utterly incapable of governing these great countries and millions of coloured people. Bechuanaland has been annexed, partly as a Crown Colony and partly as a protectorate. It is to be hoped that it may soon be completely a Crown Colony. Sir Hercules boasts that his influence led to the annexation, but that he wished it to be annexed to the Cape Colony. He thought that the Cape was 'bound in honour at the earliest convenient moment to relieve the British taxpayer of an expenditure undertaken almost entirely in the interests of the Colony. But if John Bull chooses to bear the expenses of

‘improving a territory which must, sooner or later, revert to the Cape, the good people of the Cape Colony will assuredly not object.’ In point of fact the proposal made by Sir Hercules Robinson to annex Bechuanaland to the Cape met with instant and strenuous opposition, and was at once rejected by the British Government. This policy of allowing Great Britain to reduce to order and partially civilise a native race and then to hand over its administration to the Cape has been tried, as I have shown already, in the case of Basutoland. That country was rescued from anarchy and made prosperous by Imperial rule, and then handed over to the Cape. Its prosperity immediately vanished, and after a few years, at the urgent request of the Cape Parliament, we resumed our control, and prosperity reappeared. If the Cape Government failed to manage a small country like this, almost within its own borders, how could it succeed with vast territories at a great distance and more exclusively occupied by native races? Sir Hercules Robinson must learn to believe that the Cape of Good Hope is a colony, and not an Empire, nor even a Republic, and if its Government and our own Government are not afflicted with madness, a colony it will remain.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONVENTION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE TRANSVAAL TERRITORY¹

PREAMBLE. Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Settlement of the Transvaal territory, duly appointed as such by a Commission passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date the 5th of April 1881, do hereby undertake and guarantee on behalf of her Majesty that, from and after the 8th day of August 1881, complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory, upon the following terms and conditions, and subject to the following reservations and limitations :—

Article 1. The said territory, to be herein-after called the Transvaal State, will embrace the land lying between the following boundaries, to wit: Here follow three pages in print defining boundaries.

Article 2. Her Majesty reserves to herself, her heirs and successors, (a) the right from time to time to appoint a British Resident in and for the said State, with such duties and functions as are herein-after defined; (b) the right to move troops through the said State in time of war, or in case of the apprehension of immediate war between the Suzerain Power and any Foreign State or Native Tribe in South Africa; and (c) the control of the external relations of the said State, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with Foreign Powers, such

¹ This Paper, containing the Articles of the Convention as telegraphed from time to time by the Royal Commission, is believed to be complete; but until a certified copy of the Convention as actually signed has been received its absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed.

intercourse to be carried on through her Majesty's diplomatic and consular officers abroad.

Article 3. Until altered by the Volksraad, or other competent authority, all laws, whether passed before or after the annexation of the Transvaal territory to her Majesty's dominions, shall, except in so far as they are inconsistent with or repugnant to the provisions of this Convention, be and remain in force in the said State in so far as they shall be applicable thereto, provided that no future enactment especially affecting the interest of natives shall have any force or effect in the said State, without the consent of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, first had and obtained and signified to the Government of the said State through the British Resident, provided further that in no case will the repeal or amendment of any laws enacted since the annexation have a retrospective effect, so as to invalidate any acts done or liabilities incurred by virtue of such laws.

Article 4. On the 8th day of August 1881, the Government of the said State, together with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, and all State property taken over at the time of annexation, save and except munitions of war, will be handed over to Messrs. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, or the survivor or survivors of them, who will forthwith cause a Volksraad to be elected and convened, and the Volksraad, thus elected and convened, will decide as to the further administration of the Government of the said State.

Article 5. All sentences passed upon persons who may be convicted of offences contrary to the rules of civilized warfare committed during the recent hostilities will be duly carried out, and no alteration or mitigation of such sentences will be made or allowed by the Government of the Transvaal State without her Majesty's consent conveyed through the British Resident. In case there shall be any prisoners in any of the gaols of the Transvaal State whose respective sentences of imprisonment have been remitted in part by her Majesty's Administrator or other officer administering the Government, such remission will be recognized and acted upon by the future Government of the said State.

Article 6. Her Majesty's Government will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in the 8th Article herein-after specified, which may have been committed by her Majesty's forces during the recent hostilities, except for such losses or damage as may already have been com-

pensated for, and the Government of the Transvaal State will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in the 8th Article herein-after specified which may have been committed by the people who were in arms against her Majesty during the recent hostilities, except for such losses or damages as may already have been compensated for.

Article 7. The decision of all claims for compensation, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, will be referred to a Sub-Commission, consisting of the Honourable George Hudson, the Honourable Jacobus Petrus de Wet, and the Honourable John Gilbert Kotzé. In case one or more of such Sub-Commissioners shall be unable or unwilling to act the remaining Sub-commissioner or Sub-Commissioners will, after consultation with the Government of the Transvaal State, submit for the approval of her Majesty's High Commissioners the names of one or more persons to be appointed by them to fill the place or places thus vacated. The decision of the said Sub-Commissioners, or of a majority of them, will be final. The said Sub-Commissioners will enter upon and perform their duties with all convenient speed. They will, before taking evidence or ordering evidence to be taken in respect of any claim, decide whether such claim can be entertained at all under the rules laid down in the next succeeding Article. In regard to claims which can be so entertained, the Sub-Commissioners will, in the first instance, afford every facility for an amicable arrangement as to the amount payable in respect of any claim, and only in cases in which there is no reasonable ground for believing that an immediate amicable arrangement can be arrived at will they take evidence or order evidence to be taken. For the purpose of taking evidence and reporting thereon, the Sub-Commissioners may appoint Deputies, who will, without delay, submit records of the evidence and their reports to the Sub-Commissioners. The Sub-Commissioners will arrange their sittings and the sittings of their Deputies in such a manner as to afford the earliest convenience to the parties concerned and their witnesses. In no case will costs be allowed to either side, other than the actual and reasonable expenses of witnesses whose evidence is certified by the Sub-Commissioners to have been necessary. Interest will not run on the amount of any claim, except as herein-after provided for. The said Sub-Commissioners will forthwith, after deciding upon any claim, announce their decision to the Government against which the award is made and to the claimant. The amount of remuneration payable to the Sub-Commissioners and their Deputies will be determined by the High

Commissioners. After all the claims have been decided upon, the British Government and the Government of the Transvaal State will pay proportionate shares of the said remuneration and of the expenses of the Sub-Commissioners and their Deputies, according to the amount awarded against them respectively.

Article 8. For the purpose of distinguishing claims to be accepted from those to be rejected, the Sub-Commissioners will be guided by the following rules, viz. :—Compensation will be allowed for losses or damage sustained by reason of the following acts committed during the recent hostilities, viz., (a) commandeering, seizure, confiscation, or destruction of property, or damage done to property ; (b) violence done or threats used by persons in arms. In regard to acts under (a), compensation will be allowed for direct losses only. In regard to acts falling under (b), compensation will be allowed for actual losses of property, or actual injury to the same proved to have been caused by its enforced abandonment. No claims for indirect losses, except such as are in this Article specially provided for will be entertained. No claims which have been handed in to the Secretary of the Royal Commission after the 1st day of July 1881 will be entertained, unless the Sub-Commissioners shall be satisfied that the delay was reasonable. When claims for loss of property are considered, the Sub-Commissioners will require distinct proof of the existence of the property, and that it neither has reverted nor will revert to the claimant.

Article 9. The Government of the Transvaal State will pay and satisfy the amount of every claim awarded against it within one month after the Sub-Commissioners shall have notified their decision to the said Government, and in default of such payment the said Government will pay interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum from the date of such default ; but her Majesty's Government may at any time before such payment pay the amount, with interest, if any, to the claimant in satisfaction of his claim, and may add the sum thus paid to any debt which may be due by the Transvaal State to her Majesty's Government, as herein-after provided for.

Article 10. The Transvaal State will be liable for the balance of the debts for which the South African Republic was liable at the date of annexation, to wit, the sum of 48,000*l.* in respect of the Cape Commercial Bank Loan, and 85,667*l.* in respect to the Railway Loan, together with the amount due on 8th August 1881 on account of the Orphan Chamber Debt, which now stands at 22,200*l.*, which debts will be a first charge upon the revenues of the State. The Transvaal State will, moreover, be liable for the lawful expenditure

lawfully incurred for the necessary expenses of the Province since the annexation, to wit, the sum of 265,000*l.*, which debt, together with such debts as may be incurred by virtue of the 9th Article, will be second charge upon the revenues of the State.

Article 11. The debts due as aforesaid by the Transvaal State to her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent., and any portion of such debt as may remain unpaid at the expiration of twelve months from the 8th August 1881 shall be repayable by a payment for interest and sinking fund of six pounds and ninepence per cent. per annum, which will extinguish the debt in twenty-five years. The said payment of six pounds and ninepence per 100*l.* shall be payable half yearly in British currency on the 8th February and 8th August in each year. Provided always, that the Transvaal State shall pay in reduction of the said debt the sum of 100,000*l.* within twelve months of the 8th August 1881, and shall be at liberty at the close of any half year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

Article 12. All persons holding property in the said State on the 8th day of August 1881 will continue after the said date to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the annexation. No person who has remained loyal to her Majesty during the recent hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty, or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities, and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

Article 13. Natives will be allowed to acquire land, but the grant or transfer of such land will, in every case, be made to and registered in the name of the Native Location Commission, hereinafter mentioned, in trust for such natives.

Article 14. Natives will be allowed to move as freely within the country as may be consistent with the requirements of public order, and to leave it for the purpose of seeking employment elsewhere or for other lawful purposes, subject always to the pass laws of the said State, as amended by the Legislature of the Province, or as may hereafter be enacted under the provisions of the Third Article of this Convention.

Article 15. There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order, and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to

rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

Article 16. The provisions of the Fourth Article of the Sand River Convention are hereby reaffirmed, and no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said State.

Article 17. The British Resident will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such assistance and support as can by law be given to him for the due discharge of his functions; he will also receive every assistance for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of her Majesty's forces as have died in the Transvaal, and if need be for the expropriation of land for the purpose.

Article 18. The following will be the duties and functions of the British Resident:—Sub-section 1, he will perform duties and functions analogous to those discharged by a Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General.

Sub-section 2. In regard to natives within the Transvaal State he will (*a*) report to the High Commissioner, as representative of the Suzerain, as to the working and observance of the provisions of this Convention; (*b*) report to the Transvaal authorities any cases of ill-treatment of natives or attempts to incite natives to rebellion that may come to his knowledge; (*c*) use his influence with the natives in favour of law and order; and (*d*) generally perform such other duties as are by this Convention entrusted to him, and take such steps for the protection of the person and property of natives as are consistent with the laws of the land.

Sub-section 3. In regard to natives not residing in the Transvaal (*a*) he will report to the High Commissioner and the Transvaal Government any encroachments reported to him as having been made by Transvaal residents upon the land of such natives, and in case of disagreement between the Transvaal Government and the British Resident as to whether an encroachment had been made, the decision of the Suzerain will be final; (*b*) the British Resident will be the medium of communication with native chiefs outside the Transvaal, and, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, as representing the Suzerain, he will control the conclusion of treaties with them; and (*c*) he will arbitrate upon every dispute between Transvaal residents and natives outside the Transvaal (as to acts committed beyond the boundaries of the Transvaal) which may be referred to him by the parties interested.

Sub-section 4. In regard to communications with foreign powers, the Transvaal Government will correspond with her

Majesty's Government through the British Resident and the High Commissioner.

Article 19. The Government of the Transvaal State will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the First Article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making an encroachment upon lands beyond the said State. The Royal Commission will forthwith appoint a person who will beacon off the boundary line between Ramatlabama and the point where such line first touches Griqualand West boundary, midway between the Vaal and Hart rivers; the person so appointed will be instructed to make an arrangement between the owners of the farms Grootfontein and Valleifontein on the one hand, and the Barolong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Barolongs.

Article 20. All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of Transvaal State, as defined, Article 1, shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the Transvaal State, and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect, will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such compensation either in land or in money as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any native chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate consideration from the Government of the former South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the First Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the British Resident will, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, use his influence to recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, and of the permanent improvement thereon.

Article 21. Forthwith, after the taking effect of this Convention, a Native Location Commission will be constituted, consisting of the President, or in his absence the Vice-President of the State, or some one deputed by him, the Resident, or some one deputed by him, and a third person to be agreed upon by the President or the Vice-President, as the case may be, and the Resident, and such Commission will be a standing body for the performance of the duties herein-after mentioned.

Article 22. The Native Location Commission will reserve to the native tribes of the State such locations as they may be fairly

and equitably entitled to, due regard being had to the actual occupation of such tribes. The Native Location Commission will clearly define the boundaries of such locations, and for that purpose will, in every instance, first of all ascertain the wishes of the parties interested in such land. In case land already granted in individual titles shall be required for the purpose of any location, the owners will receive such compensation either in other land or in money as the Volksraad shall determine. After the boundaries of any location have been fixed, no fresh grant of land within such location will be made, nor will the boundaries be altered without the consent of the Location Commission. No fresh grants of land will be made in the districts of Waterberg, Zoutpansberg, and Lydenburg until the locations in the said districts respectively shall have been defined by the said Commission.

Article 23. If not released before the taking effect of this Convention, Sikukuni, and those of his followers who have been imprisoned with him, will be forthwith released, and the boundaries of his location will be defined by the Native Location Commission in the manner indicated in the last preceding Article.

Article 24. The independence of the Swazies within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the First Article of this Convention, will be fully recognised.

Article 25. No other or higher duties will be imposed on the importation into the Transvaal State of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of her Majesty, from whatever place arriving, than are or may be payable on the like article the produce or manufacture of any other country, nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of her Majesty, which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like articles being the produce or manufacture of any other country.

Article 26. All persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State (*a*) will have full liberty with their families to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the Transvaal State ; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactures, warehouses, shops, and premises ; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think to employ ; (*d*) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon Transvaal citizens.

Article 27. All inhabitants of the Transvaal shall have free access to the Courts of Justice for the protection and defence of their rights.

Article 28. All persons other than natives who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April 1877 and the date when this Convention comes into effect, and who shall within twelve months after such last-mentioned date have their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever. The Resident shall notify such registration to the Government of the Transvaal State.

Article 29. Provision shall hereafter be made by a separate instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from her Majesty's forces.

Article 30. All debts contracted since the annexation will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted ; all uncanceled postage and other revenue stamps issued by the Government since the annexation will remain valid, and will be accepted at their present value by the future Government of the State ; all licenses duly issued since the annexation will remain in force during the period for which they may have been issued.

Article 31. No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfer of mortgage which may have been passed since the annexation, will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed since that date. All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for natives will remain in force, the Native Location Commission taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

Article 32. This Convention will be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad within the period of three months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Article 33. Forthwith, after the ratification of this Convention, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, all British troops in Transvaal territory will leave the same, and the mutual delivery of munitions of war will be carried out. Articles end. Here will follow signatures of Royal Commissioners, then the following to precede signatures of triumvirate.

We, the undersigned, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, as representatives of the Transvaal Burghers, do hereby agree to all the above conditions, reservations, and limitations under which self-government has been restored to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory,

subject to the suzerainty of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, and we agree to accept the Government of the said territory, with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, on the 8th day of August ; and we promise and undertake that this Convention shall be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad of the Transvaal State within three months from this date.

APPENDIX B

A CONVENTION BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

WHEREAS the Government of the Transvaal State, through its Delegates, consisting of Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, President of the said State, Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit, Superintendent of Education, and Nicholas Jacobus Smit, a member of the Volksraad, have represented that the Convention signed at Pretoria on the 3rd day of August, 1881, and ratified by the Volksraad of the said State on the 25th October, 1881, contains certain provisions which are inconvenient, and imposes burdens and obligations from which the said State is desirous to be relieved, and that the south-western boundaries fixed by the said Convention should be amended, with a view to promote the peace and good order of the said State, and of the countries adjacent thereto ; and whereas Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has been pleased to take the said representations into consideration : Now, therefore, Her Majesty has been pleased to direct, and it is hereby declared that the following articles of a New Convention, signed on behalf of Her Majesty by Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, the Right Honourable Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and on behalf of the Transvaal State (which shall herein-after be called the South African Republic) by the above-named Delegates, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit, and Nicholas Jacobus Smit, shall, when ratified by the Volksraad of the South African Republic, be substi-

tuted for the articles embodied in the Convention of 3rd August, 1881 ; which latter, pending such ratification, shall continue in full force and effect.

ARTICLES.

Article 1. The Territory of the South African Republic will embrace the land lying between the following boundaries, to wit :

Beginning from the point where the north-eastern boundary line of Griqualand West meets the Vaal River, up the course of the Vaal River to the point of junction with it of the Klip River ; thence up the course of the Klip River to the point of junction with it of the stream called Gansvlei ; thence up the Gansvlei stream to its source in the Drakensberg ; thence to a beacon in the boundary of Natal, situated immediately opposite and close to the source of the Gansvlei stream ; thence in a north-easterly direction along the ridge of the Drakensberg, dividing the waters flowing into the Gansvlei stream from the waters flowing into the sources of the Buffalo, to a beacon on a point where this mountain ceases to be a continuous chain ; thence to a beacon on a plain to the north-east of the last-described beacon ; thence to the nearest source of a small stream called 'Division Stream' ; thence down this division stream, which forms the southern boundary of the farm Sandfontein, the property of Messrs. Meek, to its junction with the Coldstream ; thence down the Coldstream to its junction with the Buffalo or Umzinyati River ; thence down the course of the Buffalo River to the junction with it of the Blood River ; thence up the course of the Blood River to the junction with it of Lyn Spruit or Dudusi ; thence up the Dudusi to its source ; thence 80 yards to Bea. I., situated on a spur of the N'Qaba-Ka-hawana Mountains ; thence 80 yards to the N'Sonto River ; thence down the N'Sonto River to its junction with the White Umvulozi River ; thence up the White Umvulozi River to a white rock where it rises ; thence 800 yards to Kambula Hill (Bea. II.) ; thence to the source of the Pemvana River, where the road from Kambula Camp to Burgers' Lager crosses ; thence down the Pemvana River to its junction with the Bivana River ; thence down the Bivana River to its junction with the Pongolo River ; thence down the Pongolo River to where it passes through the Libombo Range ; thence along the summits of the Libombo Range to the northern point of the N'Yawos Hill in that range (Bea. XVI.) ; thence to the northern peak of the Inkwakweni Hills (Bea. XV.) ;

thence to Sefunda, a rocky knoll detached from and to the north-east end of the White Koppies, and to the south of the Musana River (Bea. XIV.); thence to a point on the slope near the crest of Matanjeni, which is the name given to the south-eastern portion of the Mahamba Hills (Bea. XIII.); thence to the N'gwanwana, a double-pointed hill (one point is bare, the other wooded, the beacon being on the former), on the left bank of the Assegai River and upstream of the Dadusa Spruit (Bea. XII.); thence to the southern point of Bendita, a rocky knoll in a plain between the Little Hlozane and Assegai Rivers (Bea. XI.); thence to the highest point of Suluka Hill, round the eastern slopes of which flows the Little Hlozane, also called Ludaka or Mudspruit (Bea. X.); thence to the beacon known as 'Viljoen's,' or N'Duko Hill; thence to a point north-east of Derby House, known as Magwazilili's Beacon; thence to the Igaba, a small knoll on the Ungwempisi River, also called 'Joubert's Beacon,' and known to the natives as 'Piet's Beacon' (Bea. IX.); thence to the highest point of the N'Dhlovudwalili or Houtbosch, a hill on the northern bank of the Umqwempisi River (Bea. VIII.); thence to a beacon on the only flat-topped rock, about 10 feet high and about 30 yards in circumference at its base, situated on the south side of the Lamsamane range of hills, and overlooking the valley of the great Usuto River; this rock being 45 yards north of the road from Camden and Lake Banagher to the forests on the Usuto River (sometimes called Sandhlanas Beacon) (Bea. VII.); thence to the Gulungwana or Ibubulundi, four smooth bare hills, the highest in that neighbourhood, situated to the south of the Umtuli River (Bea. VI.); thence to a flat-topped rock, 8 feet high, on the crest of the Busuku, a low rocky range south-west of the Impulazi River (Bea. V.); thence to a low bare hill on the north-east of, and overlooking the Impulazi River, to the south of it being a tributary of the Impulazi, with a considerable waterfall, and the road from the river passing 200 yards to the north-west of the beacon (Bea. IV.); thence to the highest point of the Mapumula range, the watershed of the Little Usuto River on the north, and the Umpulazi River on the south, the hill, the top of which is a bare rock, falling abruptly towards the Little Usuto (Bea. III.); thence to the western point of a double-pointed rocky hill, precipitous on all sides, called Makwana, its top being a bare rock (Bea. II.); thence to the top of a rugged hill of considerable height falling abruptly to the Komati River, this hill being the northern extremity of the Isilotwani range, and separated from the highest peak of the range Inkomokazi (a sharp cone) by a deep neck

(Bea. I.). (On a ridge in the straight line between Beacons I. and II. is an intermediate beacon.) From Beacon I. the boundary runs to a hill across the Komati River, and thence along the crest of the range of hills known as the Makongwa, which runs north-east and south-west, to Kamhlabana Peak ; thence in a straight line to Mananga, a point in the Libombo range, and thence to the nearest point in the Portuguese frontier on the Libombo range ; thence along the summits of the Libombo range to the middle of the poort where the Komati River passes through it, called the lowest Komati Poort ; thence in a north by easterly direction to Pokioens Kop, situated on the north side of the Olifant's River, where it passes through the ridges ; thence about north north-west to the nearest point of Serra di Chicundo ; and thence to the junction of the Pafori River with the Limpopo or Crocodile River ; thence up the course of the Limpopo River to the point where the Marique River falls into it. Thence up the course of the Marique River to 'Derde Poort,' where it passes through a low range of hills, called Sikwane, a beacon (No. 10) being erected on the spur of said range near to, and westward of, the banks of the river ; thence, in a straight line, through this beacon to a beacon (No. 9), erected on the top of the same range, about 1,700 yards distant from beacon No. 10 ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 8) erected on the highest point of an isolated hill, called Dikgagong, or 'Wildebeest Kop,' situated south-eastward of, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from a high hill, called Moripe ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 7) erected on the summit of an isolated hill or 'koppie' forming the eastern extremity of the range of hills called Moshweu, situated to the northward of, and about two miles distant from, a large isolated hill called Chukudu-Chochwa ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 6) erected on the summit of a hill forming part of the same range, Moshweu ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 5) erected on the summit of a pointed hill in the same range ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 4) erected on the summit of the western extremity of the same range ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 3) erected on the summit of the northern extremity of a low, bushy hill, or 'Koppie,' near to and eastward of the Notwane River ; thence, in a straight line, to the junction of the stream called Metsi-Mashwane with the Notwane River (No. 2) ; thence up the course of the Notwane River to Sengoma, being the Poort where the river passes through the Dwarsberg range ; thence, as described in the Award given by Lieutenant-Governor Keate, dated October 17, 1871, by Pitlan-

ganyane (narrow place), Deboaganka or Schaapkuil, Sibatoul (bare place), and Maclase, to Ramatlabama, a pool on a spruit north of the Molopo River. From Ramatlabama the boundary shall run to the summit of an isolated hill, called Leganka; thence in a straight line, passing north-east of a Native Station, near 'Buurman's Drift,' on the Molopo River, to that point on the road from Mosiega to the old drift, where a road turns out through the Native Station to the new drift below; thence to 'Buurman's Old Drift'; thence, in a straight line to a marked and isolated clump of trees near to and north-west of the dwelling-house of C. Austin, a tenant on the farm 'Vleifontein,' No. 117; thence, in a straight line, to the north-western corner beacon of the farm 'Mooimeisjesfontein,' No. 30; thence, along the western line of the said farm 'Mooimeisjesfontein,' and in prolongation thereof, as far as the road leading from 'Ludik's Drift,' on the Molopo River, past the homestead of 'Mooimeisjesfontein,' towards the Salt Pans near Harts River; thence, along the said road, crossing the direct road from Polfontein to Sehuba, and until the direct road from Polfontein to Lotlakane or Pietfontein is reached; thence, along the southern edge of the last-named road towards Lotlakane, until the first garden ground of that station is reached; thence, in a south-westerly direction, skirting Lotlakane, so as to leave it and all its garden ground in native territory, until the road from Lotlakane to Kunana is reached; thence along the east side, and clear of that road towards Kunana, until the garden grounds of that station are reached; thence, skirting Kunana, so as to include it and all its garden ground, but no more, in the Transvaal, until the road from Kunana to Mamusa is reached; thence, along the eastern side and clear of the road towards Mamusa, until a road turns out towards Taungs; thence, along the eastern side and clear of the road towards Taungs, till the line of the district known as 'Stellaland' is reached, about 11 miles from Taungs; thence, along the line of the district Stellaland, to the Harts River, about 24 miles below Mamusa; thence, across Harts River, to the junction of the roads from Monthe and Phokwane; thence, along the western side and clear of the nearest road towards 'Koppie Enkel,' an isolated hill about 36 miles from Mamusa, and about 18 miles north of Christiana, and to the summit of the said hill; thence, in a straight line, to that point on the north-east boundary of Griqualand West as beacons by Mr. Surveyor Ford, where two farms, registered as Nos. 72 and 75, do meet, about midway between the Vaal and Harts Rivers, measured along the said boundary of Griqualand West; thence to the first point

where the north-east boundary of Griqualand West meets the Vaal River.

Article 2. The Government of the South African Republic will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the first Article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachments upon lands beyond the said boundaries. The Government of the South African Republic will appoint Commissioners upon the eastern and western borders whose duty it will be strictly to guard against irregularities and all trespassing over the boundaries. Her Majesty's Government will, if necessary, appoint Commissioners in the native territories outside the eastern and western borders of the South African Republic to maintain order and prevent encroachments.

Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic will each appoint a person to proceed together to beacon off the amended south-west boundary as described in Article 1 of this Convention ; and the President of the Orange Free State shall be requested to appoint a referee to whom the said persons shall refer any questions on which they may disagree respecting the interpretation of the said Article, and the decision of such referee thereon shall be final. The arrangement already made, under the terms of Article 19 of the Convention of Pretoria of the 3rd August 1881, between the owners of the farms Grootfontein and Valleifontein on the one hand, and the Barolong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Barolongs, shall continue in force.

Article 3. If a British officer is appointed to reside at Pretoria or elsewhere within the South African Republic to discharge functions analogous to those of a Consular officer he will receive the protection and assistance of the Republic.

Article 4. The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by her Majesty the Queen.

Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of her Majesty's possessions in South Africa.

Article 5. The South African Republic will be liable for any balance which may still remain due of the debts for which it was liable at the date of Annexation, to wit, the Cape Commercial Bank Loan, the Railway Loan, and the Orphan Chamber Debt, which debts will be a first charge upon the revenues of the Republic. The South African Republic will, moreover, be liable to her Majesty's Government for 250,000*l.*, which will be a second charge upon the revenues of the Republic.

Article 6. The debt due as aforesaid by the South African Republic to her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. from the date of the ratification of this Convention, and shall be repayable by a payment for interest and Sinking Fund of six pounds and ninepence per 100*l.* per annum, which will extinguish the debt in twenty-five years. The said payment of six pounds and ninepence per 100*l.* shall be payable half-yearly, in British currency, at the close of each half year from the date of such ratification : Provided always that the South African Republic shall be at liberty at the close of any half year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

Interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. on the debt as standing under the Convention of Pretoria shall as heretofore be paid to the date of the ratification of this Convention.

Article 7. All persons who held property in the Transvaal on the 8th day of August 1881, and still hold the same, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the 12 April 1877. No person who has remained loyal to her Majesty during the late hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty ; or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connexion with such hostilities ; and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

Article 8. The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention, and in the Convention of Pretoria, that no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic.

Article 9. There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order ; and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

Article 10. The British Officer appointed to reside in the South

African Republic will receive every assistance from the Government of the said Republic in making due provision for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of her Majesty's Forces as have died in the Transvaal ; and if need be, for the appropriation of land for the purpose.

Article 11. All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of the South African Republic, as defined in Article 1, shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the South African Republic ; and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect will receive from the Government of the South African Republic such compensation, either in land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any Native Chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate consideration from the Government of the South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the first Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the High Commissioner will recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, or of the permanent improvements thereon.

Article 12. The independence of the Swazis, within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the first Article of this Convention, will be fully recognised.

Article 13. Except in pursuance of any treaty or engagement made as provided in Article 4 of this Convention, no other or higher duties shall be imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of her Majesty's dominions than are or may be imposed on the like article coming from any other place or country ; nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of her Majesty's dominions which shall not equally extend to the like article coming from any other place or country. And in like manner the same treatment shall be given to any article coming to Great Britain from the South African Republic as to the like article coming from any other place or country.

These provisions do not preclude the consideration of special arrangements as to import duties and commercial relations between the South African Republic and any of her Majesty's colonies or possessions.

Article 14. All persons, other than natives, conforming them-

selves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic ; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises ; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ ; (*d*) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic.

Article 15. All persons, other than natives, who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April 1877, and the 8th August 1881, and who within twelve months after such last-mentioned date have had their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever.

Article 16. Provision shall hereafter be made by a separate instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from her Majesty's Forces.

Article 17. All debts contracted between the 12th April 1877 and the 8th August 1881 will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted.

Article 18. No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfers or mortgages which may have been passed between the 12th April 1877 and the 8th August 1881, will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed between such dates.

All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for Natives will remain in force, an officer of the South African Republic taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

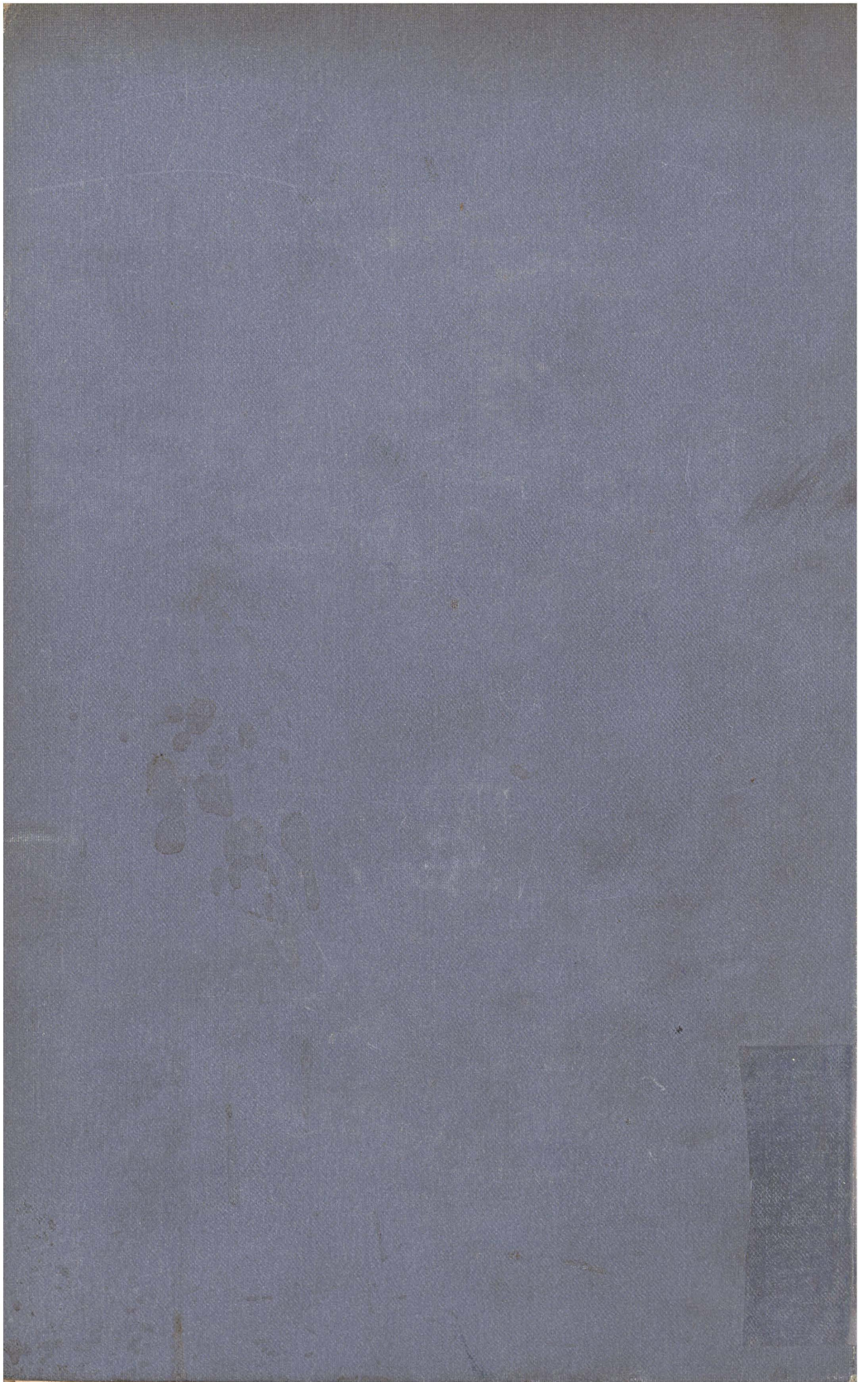
Article 19. The Government of the South African Republic will engage faithfully to fulfil the assurances given, in accordance with the laws of the South African Republic, to the natives at the Pretoria Pitso by the Royal Commission in the presence of the Triumvirate and with their entire assent, (1) as to the freedom of the natives to buy or otherwise acquire land under certain conditions, (2) as to the appointment of a commission to mark out native locations, (3) as to the access of the natives to the courts of law, and (4) as to their being allowed to move freely within the country, or to leave it for any legal purpose, under a pass system.

Article 20. This Convention will be ratified by a Volksraad of the South African Republic within the period of six months after

its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Signed in duplicate in London this 27th day of February 1884.

(Signed) HERCULES ROBINSON.
S. J. P. KRUGER.
S. J. DU TOIT.
N. J. SMIT.



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ENGLAND AND SOUTH AFRICA