

and avarice. If anniversaries of all that was good were kept up, then we might rejoice that the memory of all the Great Dead would be the duty of all to keep fresh and honoured in all ages and all countries. Think over all this, my dear Billy, and when you next take the mountain dew, with a Bridge-Her your constant Host, who so earnestly hoped that I should have to pay £500 damages, forgetting the two rascals who had cheated him, as well as myself, give him my curse for his ingratitude and his desire to share part of the plunder at my expense.

“Dr. Richardson has discoursed on “Felony” as the chief aim of Sanitation, showing that physical misery makes millions perish, reckless, melancholy, rebellious and drunken, and ready to run after any one promising a happier sphere. The marriage tie, instead of often being the seal of disadvantageous heredities, should be the bond of healthier and happier racial progress to generations yet to come. The great sanitarian, Chadwick, says to the scholars, they should know that the perfection of prudence is first to live, then proceed to learn, inasmuch as felicity is impossible under strain, and it is fatal work to press man on the young man the excessive labour which is now in all departments making cram, cram, cram, the footing of knowledge. *Sanitas* and *vanitas* are separated only by a letter, yet are as poles apart; for *vanitas sanitatum omnia sanitas* will never be established among the masses, until *vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas* has been blotted out. A great mass of skilled medical opinion condemns the present pernicious system of education, which promotes myopia, insomnia, and dementia.

‘From righteous acts, let nought thy mind dissuade;
Of vulgar censures be thou ne'er afraid:
Pursue the task which justice doth decree,
E'en tho' the crowd think different from thee;
With righteous works alone thou should'st proceed,
When truth directs, thy labours shall succeed.
Such be thy aim—dispel each causeless fear—
And vain shall prove the rabbles' vicious sneer.’

“Let nothing dissuade you from that which is right, and be not turned aside from the path of honour and justice by the

censures and derision of any senseless crowd. Be all your conduct regulated by the dictates of Justice and of righteousness; and thus shall your pathway be smoothed with peace and joy, and lighted by the radiations of a tranquil and serene mind. Thus shall your course through life be marked with success."

ORANGE FREE STATE WATER STORAGE AND IRRIGATION.

"Our general Day of Humiliation is past, and I believe that our several ministers have faithfully brought before us our individual and national breaches of the moral law; some of them have also alluded to our neglect of economical and sanitary laws. And I presume that even Professor Tyndal would not deny our need of humiliation and amendment in regard to these. In fact, those who are capable of appreciating our physical advantages, and have had long experience of our neglect of them, have probably, on an average, some few hours above 365 days of humiliation per annum! Forty years ago Mr. Fairbairn—than whom no abler man or truer Christian ever devoted a life to the welfare of South Africa—characterised as a species of impiety our praying for rain, which, when sent, we systematically neglect. There is no proverb more pregnant with truth, when properly understood, than that "God helps those who help themselves." But our practice in regard to His best material gift is enough to justify the supposition that, were he to feed us with manna, we should pray to be spared the trouble of gathering it.

"The great want of South Africa is moisture, or genial and periodical rains. There is no lack of sun. Indeed, the farmer who looks upon the parched and cracked earth, almost loathes the sun, and longs, with an eagerness which people in Western countries can scarcely appreciate, for a little moisture, either in the shape of dew or rain. If his fortune is invested in the soil it is easy to understand his anxiety in respect of his crops. In this respect it is scarcely less than that of his European compeer, who has too much rain, and is solicitous only for a little sun to ripen his cereals. But while the success of the farmer in semi-tropical climates, and in England, say, depend very much upon the elements, the South African is really not so badly off as the

Englishman ; for, while the latter cannot command the sun or forbid the rain when it comes at the wrong time, the superabundance of rain which falls at well-known periods in South Africa might be preserved and turned to account in times of drought, if only a well-devised expenditure were incurred in the construction of dams to retain it. We need not picture to ourselves the state of India before science entered upon the field and relieved the wants of the country, and added to its productiveness by the construction of banks and dams, so that now the supply of water available for irrigating purposes is to be seen in the form of lakes, dotting, like resplendent mirrors, the hitherto arid plains. Where before great poverty was rampant, there is now smiling plenty ; and the cost of these undertakings has been more than repaid by the enhanced value of land, and the abundant crops to which they have given rise. Money laid out in this way is well spent ; and why, as in India, should not the trial be made in South Africa, in Australia, and in South America, where double crops could be obtained in a year were water available when it is most wanted. In Holland it is not water, but land, that is required ; and there the good people drain the land and compress the water into canals or rivers for irrigation or transport purposes. Now, as the countries to which we have referred suffer from want of water, it is obvious that their necessities would be relieved if they would take steps to store it when it does come in overflowing abundance.

“The annual rain-fall in South Africa—notably in the mountainous parts of the country—is quite as large as that of England. One evil, however, is, that in South Africa it only comes at long intervals ; the other is—and this the least to be defended—that no care is taken to lay in a store, not for a rainy day, but for those frequent intervals of drought which parch the land, and keep the agriculturist poor. It may be argued that dams and canals cost money, and that the country is too poor to incur the expense of constructing them. We would urge those who advance this plea to reflect, that works of this character cannot but prove re-productive, and that, if money is the only drawback, there ought

to be no difficulty in raising a loan on Government guarantee for this purpose, with South African Legal Tender Money. With dams, and reservoirs, and canals, there would be no more prolific country in the world than the Cape Colony. Plains, now festering beneath a blazing sun, would be clothed with verdure, supporting large flocks and herds. When we consider that the colony is exposed alternately to the evils of drought and excessive rainfall, entailing, in the latter case, extensive inundations of a very serious description, the reflection naturally arises that the inhabitants themselves are responsible, to a great extent, for the inconvenience and loss they endure, because they have not taken advantage of this overplus of water, to lay by a store for seasons of drought. Even the lower animals make provision in times of abundance for a period of scarcity; and nothing can really justify the indifference which the outlying farmers have hitherto displayed in respect to the storage of water. Providence has done a great deal for them in this respect, but they, it seems, will do nothing for themselves. Let the average English agriculturist conceive a country with immense flat plains stretching for miles on one side and gigantic mountain formations on the other, and then ask himself if he would not make provision to husband the rain which comes running down the mountain slopes and flooding the plains beneath, until they present the appearance of an inland sea. It is clearly apparent, then, that nature is not to blame for the losses which the South African farmers suffer during those periodical seasons of drought with which the country is afflicted. For ourselves, we do not doubt that the overflow from the mountains could be turned to good account by the construction of comparatively inexpensive canals and dams. It is, perhaps, too much to expect that the farmers and landowners can do this without assistance from the Government, and a minister, who should be instrumental in bringing before the executive some well-devised scheme by which these reforms can be accomplished would earn the lasting gratitude of his country. *Make me Minister of Public Works and it shall be done.* We are aware that this subject has frequently been advocated during the last twenty years.

At a time, however, when the Colony is passing through a period of transition, it would be as well to remember that the storage of water is among one of the first questions connected with the future of South Africa. Gold, diamonds and other minerals come within the category of transitory wealth; but a reliable water supply for irrigation purposes will prove of lasting benefit to the Colony in the development of its resources.

“The Irrigation Commission, now pursuing its inquiries into this subject in different parts of the colony, will confer an everlasting boon on the country if it induces the Colonists to take this question up on a large scale. If Colonial Capital is not enough, English wealth will find there a safe investment. Wherever irrigation and water storage have been practised, the best results have ensued; and any enterprise in this direction deserves the heartiest encouragement. A large area of land on the Sunday River is now being taken in hand with the view of taking full advantage of the natural supplies of water available, with proper appliances, throughout the year; and the example of the spirited promoters of this enterprise may well be followed throughout the Colony, and such works may well draw the attention of English capitalists. The whole subject is explained and illustrated in my pamphlet, “How to Construct Dams, Water and other Works of Utility without Bonds, Loans, Mortgages or the Burden of Interest.” I pointed out in a former chapter that, whilst this State suffered from periodical droughts, prosperity and advancement could not be reckoned upon. In then discussing the question, I asserted that farmers, as a rule, are much too easy-going in matters concerning themselves, and that they are apt only to feel the shoe pinch when water is not at their command; but the moment bounteous rains fall all are joyous, all content, till the periodical drought once more overtakes them. I impressed upon the Government the necessity of assisting the farmers in every possible way in the preserving of water, and I asserted that windmill pumps could be used to advantage upon our flats for the purpose of raising the water so plentifully stored by nature under our feet. I trust that our

farmers will at once give them a trial; they are cheap and easily worked at *all* times.

“But whilst thinking about what might be underneath the earth crust, I have not forgotten my old friends the farmers and gardeners. In fact, what do they lack to have their lands produce almost anything they like? Water and manure. As to water, I think I have shown sufficiently well how it could be obtained on every farm in sufficient quantity. As to manure, the soil of South Africa, like those of any other country, requires it. As a man who has produced an amount of work needs fresh propping up with a good meal, so does the soil after having furnished a crop. Kraal manure, no doubt, is good, but not in all cases, nor for all crops; and besides, it is rather poor in the best manurial salts, consequent on the poor food animals gather with difficulty. It has always been an eyesore to me that the best manure of all—that which contains all the salts for plant food, in the best possible state for absorption—should be thrown away. I refer to human excreta, both solid and liquid. The experiment has been successfully made, and now we have splendid works in the Colony, where an inodorous concentrated guano is produced. Everyone who has used this manure has been pleased and always purchases it again. The heaviness and the quality of the crops are greatly increased, and quickness of growth secured. How easy it would be for the town of Bloemfontein to do the same, to the great advantage of its sanitary condition, and the surrounding farmers! The sale of a year's product would pay for the Waterworks. I call attention to these few simple notions for the benefit of your farmers. I may return again to the subject, with the view of showing how easily pasturage could be judiciously treated. To impress more fully my remarks, I here take the opportunity of printing the views of the Dutch National Newspaper, *The Express*.

“Bloemfontein, September, 27th, 1883.

“We have no desire to lay down to our farmers what we consider their duty, or blame them for what may appear to us their carelessness or fault. Least of all do we despise the many difficulties they have to encounter in the pursuit of their

vocation. But we should be careless of the country's best interests if we omitted to point out what, in our opinion, and others (who are able to judge and advise) is wrong, what is worthy of attention and capable of improvement. In another column we publish a letter from Messrs. Malcher and Malcomess, wherein they complain of the quality of Free State Wool; attributing the fact to the want of good blood being introduced from time to time amongst our flocks. That their complaint is not an idle one, every one who has but a superficial knowledge of the quality of wool knows perfectly well. What is more, every one knows that the remedy is possible—we might almost say, easy. We have now already flocks in this State which will provide a sufficient number of well-bred rams for the whole country, the more so, if those who have imported expensive stock find their enterprise rewarded in such a manner as to enable them to continue with fresh importations. Rams which may be considered good for all practical purposes, and which would vastly improve our present flocks may be bought in the Bloemfontein District for something like £3 each. Surely, that is no price to deter a farmer from improving his flocks, nor must such an improvement be transient. The climate of South Africa is such that constant degeneration on a more pronounced form than in a more temperate climate, can only be met by a continuous introduction of fresh blood. How all-important this question is, may be easily understood, if we add that one-half of the Free State will never be anything but a sheep country. That part we allude to may produce grain and vegetables sufficient for its own purposes and the requirements of its immediate neighbourhood, but it will never be able to compete with the grain districts in agriculture. All this, alas! many of our people cannot or will not see, though they injure themselves, in the first instance; whilst in the second place they injure the national prosperity. The fact that Free State wool to a large extent is inferior to Australian and South American wools—is in fact some of the worse wool brought to the market—is a deplorable one. But it is a truth, and must be told in all nakedness, since no improvement is possible without the wrong being previously acknow-

ledged. A question of such importance as this should never cease to be agitated. The Africander Bond, whose members congregate often and discuss all that concerns the welfare of land and people, should take it up. They might do great things for the country by following such a course. They might, for instance, collect a fund, purchase picked rams from good flocks, and distribute them among themselves by lot. If sixty farmers paid 10s. each, they might buy ten rams and ten breeders, and all would be benefited. For prize-shooting they might purchase some good animals, and instead of giving money, reward the successful shot with one or more good rams. Even the Government might convert its money grants on such occasions into premiums of that kind, and the result would doubtless be a lasting and good one. Another important question we desire to touch upon at this juncture is that of water supply. The present time teaches us a severe lesson, though it is not for the first time, and is forgotten as soon as the cloud has passed over us. But the country is beggared by this indifference, and this should not be. Bridges are a good and laudable thing, and we should like to see one over each river. So are telegraphs, and we do not begrudge the money paid for them. But a first and foremost question in a country like ours is that of water supply. Seventy-five per cent. of all disease amongst our flocks, we make bold to say, is caused through the want of pure and healthy water. Tens of thousands of sheep die annually from being driven about in times of scarcity of water, yet there is not one farm in the driest part of the country—the Middlevelt—where there is not one spot or the other affording sufficient water for all the stock such farm can carry. Now for the £30,000 spent on one or more bridges, 150 windmills, with driving-pumps, might be introduced into the country, and repay themselves, directly and indirectly, a hundred-fold. These windmills are excellently adapted for the high table-land we live on; they are the cheapest and most simple motors that can be procured. Here, too, our Government should not sit still, but show itself worthy the name of a Government by proposing a plan whereby the poor man may be helped; the indifferent and careless one instructed and animated. If we raised

£50,000 for the purpose named, we should save the whole capital in two or three years in what is now lost for the want of sufficient and good drinking water for our flocks. On that score there is no such thing as extravagance, for it is the life and wealth of the country which is at stake, and which it is the duty of any Government to care for and protect. Our country has its own character, and its wants are according; and those who direct our affairs should not look to other and older countries with different resources and different requirements; and, instead of imitating and aping them, devise such measures as will tend to the benefit of a country whose needs are so manifest and apparent, that it would be easy for a statesman to inscribe his name on scrolls of history in never fading letters, if he will but look around him and do that which his hand findeth to do."





CHAPTER IV.

AFTER indulging in these previous suppositions, I was reminded by the heavy rain and the exposure, I was running a great risk of another attack of rheumatism, judging by the acute pains I suffered. I was amply provided with good wraps and overalls for my affected feet, and my sealskin cap to keep my head warm, and having a seat at the back of the cart I escaped a wetting that I should otherwise have secured, which fell to the front passenger and, as I fear, to his probable rheumatism. At last, with constant beating of our steeds, we arrived at the first outspan. The rain, previous to our starting, had somewhat helped to start the grass, but it was a pitiable sight to see the sheep and cattle in such lean condition. I was fully convinced that one week of heavy snow, or the 40 days of St. Swithin's weather, would have been the death of all the cattle of the Free State not stabled; and thus anyone can realize that the Creator of all, could by natural causes destroy the cattle wealth of the Free State, and in so doing, obliterate the Free State farmers without the Englishman's help.

The Dutchman's Home we had arrived at was one of the most miserable mud or raw-bricked buildings, and turned out to be nothing but a human propagating establishment, for, on our arrival, there came in view a motley number of white and black young ones of all sizes and all ages, and in the home were to be found lazy fat Dutch women squatting on their settees, or on their beds. At our earnest request, and an intimation that we were willing to pay, we got a compound of chicory and water, called by them coffee, for which they charged sixpence. The Dutch farmers, in these latter days, having come into contact with the Jewish traders, buy a "Vatch"-vender's charge, and get paid for what they never sell, and then beg shamelessly, as I well remember in one instance when in company with the celebrated General Clark,

the irrepressible German Colonel Schermbrucker, the long-legged Artillery Officer, and an unfortunate Sister of Mercy. This lady was foolish enough to believe that Sepinare, the chief, of the Barolongs, was a good Christian, simply because he had given the Church of Bloemfontein a farm. She meekly and bashfully admitted that he was wrong in having more than one wife, although it was gently hinted that even this Sister of Mercy, believing, old as she was, that her God, having made of one blood and of one nation all under the sun, would have accepted an offer of marriage from this chief if in so accepting, she could have enriched herself first, and her church afterwards. These three unfortunate professional man-slayers aforesaid, had gone up to Basutoland to spy out the land, previous to their attack, which was badly arranged against the Basutos. No sooner had we partaken of our so-called dinner, for which we were charged three shillings for mutton and pumpkin—as a rule the only two dishes ever placed before travellers—than the hotel keeper trotted out for our further annoyance as a begging arrangement for his benefit a whole family of blind imbeciles, and solicited the alms of us passengers. He repeated the same to all other travellers, and with the proceeds lived as only Dutchmen can. With feelings of disgust, I passed out of the mud house, with its troop of half-clad, black-and-white images of Dutchmen who knew not father or mother; was delighted to hear the onward shout of our driver, and I only felt comfortable once more, when we stopped at the next place for change of horses, and got a decent cup of coffee, for which we willingly paid sixpence. Fortunately the rain ceased, for which we were truly thankful, for I know not how we should have got over the heavy roads with such ancient steeds as they were, fed only upon grass, out of which all nourishment had been dispersed long before. As it was, it was with difficulty we finally arrived at Taylor's Hotel, where we had to stay for the night, and for a bed in a dark earth plastered room, more like a dungeon, and a supper, we paid six shillings. It is astonishing how extortion is practised upon all travellers at all the way-side Inns for wretchedly cooked meals and little miserable cell-like rooms to sleep in, and

rickety bedsteads with a scarcity of covering that is cruel. If people will keep what they call houses of accommodation, why in the name of honesty do they fail in accommodating? The bitter cold room, and damp walls prevented me from sleeping, and I was glad, after a long night of waiting, when the bugle sounded to start for Smithfield. Punctually at four o'clock we made another move on. To my dismay, we rushed through damp air and a bitter sharp wind that aggravated my torture, due to my rheumatism; and had there been a "Well of Jacob's Oil," I would have willingly jumped into it, if it could have cured me, as the waters of Samaria did the Leper. Such was the intensity of the cold, that I would have dropped myself into hell and availed myself of its heat to have removed my pains, if for a time it would have given me oblivion. Of course, after a comfortable warm bath, even if it had been for the time more exhausting than a Turkish Bath, I could have taken coffee with Plato and his lovely wife Prospene, and there gathered up the general news from among the uplifted spirits dwelling down in the lower regions, and then acted as general informer to all the kinsfolk of the good souls down below. At last the sun rose in all its power and dispelled the damp air, and once again we had our bodies warmed, after the usual two hours cold before sunrise. On our left we passed the last new venture of one farmer (Carroll). Since diamonds and minerals have failed, the new speculation is for farmers to turn their lands into townships, and if in such lands they are fortunate enough to possess a running stream or a well supplied dam, they secure to themselves and their children a monopoly of nature's liquid at the expense of the inhabitants. Again I had the annoyance of being dragged along by horses that in weakness positively wobbled, and after we had struggled on our journey for two or three hours one of the horses actually fell, never to rise again. So with crippled legs and aching bones, I, with the other passengers, had to walk on to the next stage. I grant and know, that the drought for the previous years had been severe, but that gives no excuse to the passenger-contractor for not buying mealies or corn, and keeping up the strength of his horses. I have in later times had cause to

curse my enemies; but on this occasion, I had to console myself with the fact, that had not nature been unkind to me, I would have walked the whole distance, and done my best to have made myself hungry, to have eaten freely in proportion to the charges made at our houses-of-call. At last, with a painful effort, I and the other passengers reached the house, and eventually sat down to breakfast, to try conclusions with the toughest beef that was at that time procurable in the Free State. But travellers get used to all this, when they remember the severe and inclement winters that this part of the world is subject to. It must be most astonishing to my readers to know that in burning hot South Africa, our winter is long and severe, and destructive to all animal and vegetable life. Once more on the way, we pass over a road that in the generosity of the Raad and the executive was made by one of the farmers. They afterwards repented of such generosity, and finally repudiated and refused to pay, compelling the contractor, Meintjes, to bring an action against the Government, with the usual result to the poor man. How, in these degenerate and subsidized days, is it possible for an individual to fight a Government, when such plunderers and blunderers hold the chest and funds of the people, and the poor wronged man has an empty pocket? In this case the contractor proved the Government an organised conspiracy in cheating him for the credit of the Free State, and its questionable brand. Would that he had been the only victim of such conduct in the State. Over and over barren plains we ride in constant sight of the feasts of the Assvogels, the South African scavengers. But at last even these South African velt scavengers could not consume the dead cattle in the path. The Dutch need have no fear; it will not be the grass-lands of South Africa that the Englishman will hunger after. Pasturally and agriculturally, the land is not to be envied; it is only in a political dispute that the Dutchman will be interfered with; but even this will not create much difficulty, for modern Dutchmen are as sorry in their hearts—if their pride would but let them admit it—as their fathers were at the abandonment of the Free State to the Doppers, and, in opposition to these Doppers,

they will yet beg for a confederating scheme that will once more place them under the English flag, the emblem of the free.

At last, we reach another outspan ; and then the road that I remember so well taking for Reddersburg when on my way three years before, to see the Free State Diamond Mine that was to eclipse Kimberley. Certainly in one way it did finally outdo old Du Toits pan, if company-promoting and share-making and other trickeries are taken into consideration ; for, after ten years scraping of the ground, and then in the long run being supplied by Illicits,* the result was an immense loss to the Free State, but an enormous gain to the Jews and Germans. After four hours, we arrived at the famous hill through which we have to pass on our way into Smithfield. At this spot nature and man had had a prolonged struggle in the formation of a new road into the town, instead of going round for miles. Man had blasted it with gunpowder and removed the debris, and thus literally removed a mountain and made the path straight ; in truth, what hill or hills in these days can stand against powder, guncotton or dynamite ? It is comforting to know, that, like this hill, although at a heavy cost, all hills can be removed to make way for the comfort of man, and to his general convenience. At last we emerge out of this country and find ourselves in old Sir Harry Smith's Field, and in honour afterwards of a meeting held to settle general matters on the spot, a town was formed, which afterwards was called " Smithfield." I need hardly say that this village was in no way like London's Smithfield. Originally forming a trading post for Kaffirs and Dutch Boers with the English. No religious martyr in that place paid the penalty of death by fire for their disbelief in the theology of the day. The situation here is not one of the best, and bigotry and ignorance are dominant ; the anti-English feeling being so strong in the hearts of some of the old Boers, that they positively prohibit the Rev. Mr. Bell to teach English in the schools for fear that the children should forget the old language of their

* See Reports of Edelling and Douglas in November, 1883, in Jagersfontein.

fathers, or express a desire to become part of the great commercial nation that is destined, for good or evil, to become the omnipotent race of the civilized world. Smithfield is a town of great pretensions, a fine Dutch church and a prominent English church, with schools and outhouses, give it a somewhat bold outline. The former is supported and controlled as all other Dutch churches are in the Free State; the latter is conducted by a perfect Bell—a Boon to the English residents and advanced farmers in the neighbourhood; but his reverence does not give satisfaction to all; he is considered too masculine, is fond of playing and promoting cricket, football, tennis, and all other manly games and sports. Such practices gave offence to the Dutch, and as Mr. Bell constantly urges the Dutch to learn English, which many hate with all their heart and soul—supposing that they have a heart and soul—he is socially disliked by them; at all events, he is a contrast to the clerical dotard at Jagersfontein, who protests against the sale of ginger-beer and bread to travellers on a Sunday; but for his own labour and profit on a Sunday, charges to a struggling starving family eight shillings as a baptismal fee. “Thou shalt do no manner of work on the Seventh Day,” is curiously interpreted by him, and by many of his cloth. The Rev. Mr. Bell, however, has not so much to say about or against those who live by false pretences as the loud toned ranting, canting, Father Douglas maintains, and with truth, but who, in trying to point out the mote in his brother's eye forgets the beam in his own. The whole of his life is a fraud, he preaches and supports what in nature has no foundation, and virtually lives a lie, and upholds his position by hypocrisy. The Rev. Mr. Bell is a muscular christian, and in being so, he is wise; he knows it is better to make friends with the children of this world, although they belong to the mammon of unrighteousness, as it is called. However, the time is coming when he and his unfortunate brethren will not be wanted, but, like other mortals, will have to work for their own living. I also fully remember, how I almost came to grief at this place; once, thinking that it would be a walk from the waggon to the Hotel, and not knowing my way in the dark—not having made a moon that

night—I, in my impetuous way, hastened on, when to my horror, I fell into, what at the time I thought was the bottomless pit that one has heard so often about, but which is an absurdity; for how can there be a pit that has no bottom? Truly these fable preachers and self-styled teachers speak of most absurd conditions. Fortunately for me, instead of still flying down that bottomless pit, I soon found the bottom of the one I fell into at Smithfield, but only when I fell flat upon my stomach, and such was the shock, and the time that I took to recover, that I thought it was all up with Boon, and all his future missions. It was on this road that I once had the company of those unfortunate, uniformed tailor-made-men, who did so much harm to the Cape Colony—General Clarke, the Cape Colony commandant, Captain Giles, the artillery-bungler, and Colonel Schermbrucker, the free-lance and public office-seeker. All these officers failed most conspicuously in promoting the interests of Cape Colony, as it ever must be when mercenaries are employed to kill for the benefit of others. Not one of these men had the slightest ability to conquer the Basutos, but simply desired to keep out of danger, and help to spend part of the £4,000,000 war debt incurred by the officials of the Cape to carry out Sprigg's mad policy, to subdue the Basutos and conform to conditions that were dishonourable, after the Basutos had permission to buy freely the weapons they had in their possession. The after-life of some of these officers was simply outrageous in their relationships of life with their brother officers. General Clarke, not making a mark, but proving a perfect failure, he and his brother officers hastened out of the Colony, and disappeared from all active scenes but not before they had stunk in the nostrils of all good men and the colony generally. Well do I also remember travelling in the same coach with a loud loose-tongued German, Sham Bucker, who had failed as all loud talkers, but no-doers, invariably fail. After blundering in all his appointments; after accomplishing nothing except talking very loud, and securing his own interests, he finally, without a contest, sat in the Upper House of Assembly, where with his waspish nature, he did his best to worry all Governments, while

pretending to be the most loyal subject of Queen Victoria. His conduct in the Free State and his abuse of the English led to his being burned in effigy, and his career in seeking his own advantage led to his not being trusted to any portfolio in public life. By the same coach travelled one of the unfortunate women, who not being able to secure a husband, and who finding all other things fail, turned themselves into what are called sisters of mercy. From such unnatural, unmerciful beings, good Lord deliver us; for as cant and a want of natural knowledge how to live happily, and what to live for, characteristic of these unfortunate, ill-looking and elderly maids, we must let them know that if England does not expect them to do their duty as become women, then all sensible people will wish that at once they will learn the trick. This poor woman was sure that the chief Sipinare was a good man, but as the question of polygamy was not a subject to discuss any more than polyandry, the colonel assured her, that apart from his christian views, he admired him for his success over his half-brother in his late battle, by such success securing the chieftainship and the sanction of the Free State. He valued his position in the Market and at the World's understood condition, that nothing succeeds like success, which covers a multitude of sins even to the shedding the blood of one's father's offspring, as was the case here. The Free State supports Sipinare, because it hopes yet to remove him when he is no longer wanted, it covets his land for the boer-farmers, and to make indentured servants of the tribe; another form of securing men-servants and maid-servants for agricultural purposes, as our lords in England and elsewhere secure their men and maid-servants, by making them landless and homeless.

The Church of England, its Bishops and Sisters of Mercy, support this bloody man, who hesitated not to hire white mercenaries—Dutchmen, I am glad to say, not Englishmen, to shoot down the legitimate chief, Samuel, because this Sipinare gave them a farm and they hope for more on the principle explained in Shelly's "Cenci," as previously given. It is well understood that in the past, the churches would condone any offence or crime, when they profit by it. A feeble denial may be given to all this; but history gives the

lie to the deniers. When once this hypocrisy is full known, the Church is doomed. Amidst these thoughts, I found myself at the Caledon Drift. Here I experienced the usual Dutch mendacity and greed. Requiring to pass over, I desired to sit on a Dutchman's waggon to save me a wetting or waiting for other convenience; but judge of my surprise when he demanded a shilling for the scat! When I expressed my surprise, he lowered his demand to sixpence. I expressed my contempt, and, to show him that I was not like a Dutchman, but an Englishman, who could help himself in an emergency, I wished him a visit to heaven-downwards, and at the same time, while telling him that such a journey would do him good, I took my boots, socks, and although the current was strong, waded through it successfully, to his amazement. To get through South Africa, man must be able to help himself at all times; if he cannot he will fail in all things. From the Caledon, I made my way over a sandy plain—a distance of over twenty miles—to a miserable village called Rouxville, my people being astonished that I should walk such a distance, and not wait for the waggon. But a good pedestrian with a will, finds all things are possible. The fact is, that in these days of steam and convenience, people are forgetting to use their legs. At the Caledon Drift, I learnt to my disgust, that on the previous journey our driver had nearly drowned four lady passengers, and but for the presence of mind of ONE, the whole would have been washed away. I here protest against a lad of fifteen having charge of four horses, which may either bolt away or stick in the river, or rush over a krantz, and no one at hand to help him. On our way, we were much inconvenienced by passing through burning grass. This habit of burning grass, is considered wise by many farmers; but in some measure it makes still fewer the few forests in the Free State. Now the intense cold in winter and the scarcity of rain is the main cause of the long continued drought, forests would help to neutralise this evil. If, like the Chinese, the Dutch would but plant trees either at every human birth or at the command of the Government, bush or forest in the Transvaal or the Colony would be the saving in the Free State of thousands

of cattle, sheep, horses, and other animals who need the cover of bush, or the warmer kloofs in the winter. If the farmers could follow the plan of the wild animals, feeding in the high hill grass in the summer, and descending to the lower lands and bush in the winter, thousands of cattle would be saved by the farmers, and their pockets enriched. If they cannot do this, then they must gather up their root crops, go in for a summer crop of hay, and if England can produce a crop of hay worth twenty millions a year, a larger quantity can be produced in South Africa.

At last, half choked with smoke, we reached Rouxville, and found the very best accommodation, and having partaken of a good meal, I settled my thoughts down and retired to rest, after having been warned that I should be wanted at four o'clock in the morning to start to Aliwal, and with a good night to all, I retired to sweet repose and pleasant dreams. Punctually at four o'clock next morning I was awakened, and having partaken of a comfortable cup of coffee, mounted the cart, and passed on my journey. On and on we rode until we found ourselves upon the road, that to the astonishment of Africanders, I walked over three years before, when I hastened one Sunday into Aliwal North, to visit the old churches, and, if possible, to find out if they were more humane in their views than others that I called at. But, alas! I found the same kind of Sunday wares vended, strong abuse of all Rationalists and enquirers; but peace for all that did not desire to know, and would support the little bethels, with their simon pure parsons—pure so long as they were not found out. Fortunately at that time, the "Grahamstown Scandal," with its dean and its doctor, had not occurred to bring disgrace upon Christians; but what can be expected in these times of gross superstition and animalism? These men go so far as to say, that but for the grace of their God, they would be no better than others who long and lust. Good heavens! If they were not prevented from committing crimes and atrocities when the laying on of hands has once made them priests after the order of Melchizedek, and which cannot be undone, are we to say that their God permits, or urges them to act so vilely? I know it is said in their Holy

Writ, that "If there be evil in the city, have not I, the Lord, created it?" Now there is still a dispute whether it is the God of heaven or of this world that permits it, as see what Lucifer in Longfellow maintains:—

LUCIFER

(FLYING OVER THE CITY.)

Sleep, sleep, O city! till the light
 Wakes you to sin and crime again,
 Whilst on your dreams, like dismal rain,
 I scatter downwards through the night
 My maledictions dark and deep.
 I have more martyrs in your walls
 Than God has; and they cannot sleep,
 They are my bondsmen and my thralls;
 Their wretched lives are full of pain,
 Wild agonies of nerve and brain;
 And every heart-beat, every breath,
 Is a convulsion worse than death.
 Sleep, sleep, O city! though within
 The circuit of your walls there lies
 No habitation free from sin,
 And all its nameless miseries;
 The aching heart, the aching head,
 Grief for the living and the dead,
 And foul corruption of the time,
 Disease, distress, and want and woe,
 And crimes and passions that may grow
 Until they ripen into crime!

Now which is it—God, the all-wise and omnipotent, the creator of the universe; or his creature, the devil, as it is stated? When shall we have the truth, the whole truth; and nothing but the truth.

Alas! alas! that in the nineteenth century, men should be so blind as to believe such ridiculous tales. One can almost pity, and would even pray, if it was of any use that the blind would lead the blind into the ditch, and thus put an end to all. But, on we go until we sight Aliwal North, and, finally, with a bound we cross over the splendid Iron Bridge, built with the money of the Cape Colony, and rattle up the high street of this border town. All-is-well! I was struck with

the marked difference that three years' absence showed me. Splendid stores and other buildings, showing signs of progress and increase. But even here the old cry was the place was rotten, which in other words, meant little work and but little pay of John Bull's money; men starving and asking for work, and unable to get the same, what can be worse, as Carlyle puts it, "able-bodied men asking for work and asking in vain," and yet all the time Land asking to be married to Labour, and no statesman in the Colony able to shew how to construct Railways, Harbours of Refuge and Docks; how to create agricultural wealth, how to open up Mineral Resources; simply because no statesman understands how to issue Legal Tender Notes "based on Wealth in the construction of all Public Works of Utility." Here production and consumption could conform to each other and be both illimitable. Towns are laid out on the best plan, as at this Aliwal, but for the want of money, all either stand still or go backwards, and yet thousands of men, millions of acres of land are needing each other, and clamouring for each other. What makes the matter still more saddening, is, that the people not understanding the reason why, beg the rulers to go to war, to take possession of the native property, the land and the cattle, to enable them to live and be enriched. Thus we have the sight of men being drilled and taken to a field, there to meet others taken from some other town to meet in that field; when there, to confront each other, and though they may have no ill-feeling one against the other, yet, at the command of an officer, they fire and slay one another, and all for the glory of their chiefs, and to enable them to be doing something. Truly this is a hellish work, and if it is true that the Devil finds some mischief still for idle hands to do, "let those who make the quarrels be the only men to fight," not as men now upholding dynasties that only trample on the rights of all humanity. But, think my readers, would it not be well that our agricultural and industrial conditions should be better understood, and that, instead of men slaying one another, causing wives to weep and children to mourn, men should utilise each other's labour for mutual advantages, which I will more fully explain later on, in my "How to

make our National and Colonial Wealth by means of Imperial or Colonial-Legal-Tender Money to the advantage of all.

ORIGIN OF WAR.

First envy—eldest-born of hell—imbrued
 Her hands in blood, taught the sons of men
 To make a death, which nature never made,
 And God abhorred; with violence rude to break
 The thread of life, e're half its length was spun,
 And rob a wretched brother of his being.
 With joy ambition saw and soon improved,
 The execrable deed. 'Twas not enough
 By subtle fraud, to snatch a single life.
 Punny impiety! Whole kingdoms fell
 To sate the lust of power. More horrid still,
 The foulest stain and scandal of our nature
 Became its boast. "One" murder makes a villain,
 "Millions," a hero. Princes were privileged
 To kill, and numbers satisfied the crime.
 Ah! why will kings forget that they are men,
 And men that they are brethren? Why delight
 In human sacrifice? Why boast the lies
 Of nature, that should knit their souls together
 In one soft bond of unity and love?

BEEBLY PORTBUS, 1731.

ADDRESS TO PEACE.

O! first of human blessings! and supreme!
 Fair Peace!—how lovely—how delightful thou!
 By whose wide tie the kindred sons of men,
 Like brothers, live in amity, combined,
 And unsuspecting faith; whilst honest toil
 Gives every joy, and to those joys a right
 Which idle, barbarous repose, but usurps.
 Pure is thy reign, when unaccoursed by blood,
 Nought save the sweetness of indulgent showers—
 Trickling distils into the verdant globe
 (Instead of mangled carcasses—sad scene!)
 When the blithe sheaves lie scattered in the field,
 When only shining shares—the crooked knife,
 And hooks imprint the vegetable wound;
 When the land blushes with the rose alone,
 The falling fruitage and the bleeding vine.
 O Peace! thou source and soul of social life!

Beneath whose calm inspiring influence
 Science his views enlarges, and refines,
 And swelling commerce opens all her ports—
 Blest be the man divine who gave us thee.
 Who bids the trumpet hush its horrid clang,
 Nor blow the giddy nations into rage ;
 Who sheaths the murderous blade—the deadly gun
 Into the well-filled armoury returns,
 And every vigour, from the work of death,
 To grateful industry converting—makes
 The country flourish and the city smiles.

Unviolated, him the virgin sings !
 And him, the smiling mother to her train ;
 Of him, the shepherd, in the peaceful dale,
 Chants ; and the treasurer of his labour sure,
 The husbandman of him, is at the plough,
 Or team, he tills. With him the sailor soothes,
 Beneath the trembling moon, the midnight wave ;
 And the full city : warm from street to street,
 And shop to shop responsive rings of him.

Nor joys one land alone ; his praise extends
 Far as the sun rolls the diffusive day ;
 Far as the breeze can bear the gifts of peace,
 Till all the happy nations catch the song.

JAMES THOMSON.

At Aliwal I was glad to find a good school and public library. I knew it would be of no use to leave one of my radical pamphlets at the school. At present, the inhabitants only want what they call orthodox works, and they have in most cases adopted the recommendation of the Church.—“ Never read any book but what we recommend.” But surely, in science we should read the newest book, and in literature, not only the oldest, but many books on all vital subjects. Books possess an essence of immortality ; temples crumble into ruins, but books survive. Books introduce us into the best society. The book is a living voice. The great and good do not die. The humblest and poorest may commune with the great spirits of the past, without being thought intrusive. Would you laugh, would you grieve, would you be instructed ; it is to books that we turn for entertainment, for instruction, and solace in joy and sorrow, in prosperity and in adversity.

There is perfect communion in books, no monopoly in these days, and never will be again while the printing press exists and public library's last. Man himself, is of all things in the world the most interesting to man. Whatever relates to human life; its experience, its joys, its sufferings and its achievements, has attractions for him beyond all else. Each man is more or less interested in all other men, as his fellow-creatures—as members of the great family of human kind, and the larger a man's culture, the wider is the range of his sympathies in all that affects the welfare of his race. "Man," says Emerson, "can paint, or make, or think nothing but man," most of all is this history shown in the fascination which personal history possesses for him. "Man's sociality of nature" says Carlyle, "evinces itself in spite of all that can be said by this one fact, the unspeakable delight he takes in biography." Every person may learn something from the recorded life of another. The records of the lives of the good, the reformers, the martyrs of the past, are especially useful, they influence our hearts and set before us great examples. Personally, I value my books above all gold, and for the martyrs of reform, I have the profoundest respect and veneration—The writer of a great book to me is god-like. In the future, I trust to draw attention to the great souls who have given life for their struggle for bread, while they have made known those Political and Social truths that are not yet understood, but which it will be my pleasing task to make known in my future perambulations around the world. The best books are those which most resemble good actions. They are purifying, elevating and sustaining; they enlarge and liberalise the mind; they preserve it against vulgar worldliness; they tend to produce high-minded cheerfulness; and equanimity of character, they fashion, shape, and humanise the mind, The great lesson of Biography is to shew what man can be and do at his best. A noble life, put fairly on record, acts like an inspiration to others. It exhibits what life is capable of being made. It refreshes our spirit, encourages our hopes, gives us new strength and courage and faith in others as well as in ourselves. It stimulates our aspirations, rouses us to action, and excites us to become co-

partners in their work. To live with such men, and to be inspired by their example, is to live with the best of men, and to be in the best of company. It may be said that much of the interest of Biography, especially of the more familiar sort, is of the nature of gossip;—but gossip illustrates the interest which men and women take in each other's personality and individuality, and which is capable of communicating the highest pleasure, and yielding the greatest instruction whether in the form of anecdotal, or of personal narrative, is the one that commends itself to by far the largest class of readers. The moral estimate of books cannot be estimated. They contain the knowledge of the human race. They are the records of speculations, successes and failures in science, philosophy, religion and morals. They have been the greatest motive power in all ages—at all times. "From the gospel to the *Contract Social*," says De Bonald, "it is books that have made revolutions." Indeed a great book is often a greater thing than a great battle. Robeloves overturned monkery in France. Mosheim's History exposed the Roman Church. Lecky's Civilization exposed the rottenness of the past. We can hold these, and an innumerable number in our hands, and feel that though dead yet they speak, breathe, and move in their writings. The sympathy between thought and thought is most intimate. Words, ideas, feelings, with the progress of time, harden into substances. Words are the only thing that last for ever. May the words of the wise and good be our daily portion :—

THE POWER OF THE PEN.

"What dost thou know, thou grey Goose-Quill?"
 And methought with a spasm of pride,
 It sprung from the inkstand, and fluttered in vain,
 Its nib to free from the ebon stain
 As it fervently replied;

What do I know? Let the lover tell,
 When into his secret scroll
 He poureth the breath of a magic lyre
 And traces those mystic lines of fire
 That move the maiden's soul.

What do I know ? 'The wife can say
 As the leaden seasons move,
 And over the ocean's wildest spray
 A blessed missive doth wend its way
 Inspired by a husband's love.

Say what were history, so wise and old,
 And science, that reads the sky ;
 Oh, how could music its sweetness store ;
 Or fancy and art their treasures pour ;
 Or what were Poesy's heaven-taught love,
 Should the pen its aid deny.

What are thy deeds—thou fearful thing,
 By the lordly warrior's side ?
 And the sword answered, stern and slow,
 The hearth-stone lone and the orphan know,
 And the pale and widowed bride.

The rusted plough, and the seed unsown,
 And the grass that doth rankly grow
 O'er the rotting limb, and the blood-pool dark,
 Gaunt famine, that quenches life's lingering spark,
 And the black-winged pestilence, know.

Then the terrible sword to its sheath returned,
 While the needle sped on in peace ;
 But the pen traced out, from a book sublime,
 The promise and pledge of that better time
 When the warfare of earth shall cease.

Mr. L. H. SIGOURNEY.

But thinking that, as bread cast upon the waters returns, so it is said, after many days, I left my "How to Colonize South Africa, and by Whom" in the hope that the Premier and Mr. Dowling might at last see the folly of their ways, and advocate the true thing. I am not sanguine enough to suppose that they will ; but my conscience is clear and I feel that, like an old Roman, I did my best to save my adopted country from total ruin. While in the town, I was assured it was something alarming to face the difficulties of raising stock in the district, owing to drought and the severe winters. I had but little time to note much that went on in the Town. It was here that the convention was made between the Boers, the Basutos, and the English. Much has been said or the fighting powers of the Boers, of which I shall have to say something not complimentary to them, in my later

jottings. In, or near the Transvaal, some have regarded the South African question as one of the great unsolved, perhaps insolvable, problems of our Colonial system; but this is not true, if once we have wise men in Downing Street, instead of the present red-tape figures of men. Much has been said in the past, especially since the accidental success in the Transvaal, of the pluck, energy, and splendid lion-like courage of the Dutch-Boer. This is the grossest exaggeration. All the Boers from their boyhood, and sometimes even the girls, have been taught to shoot the game and wild bucks, but never to get into close quarters. At a target, the Boers were never able to beat the English-soldiers, but when in the field passing an enemy, like the lion, the Boer makes dashes, if he thinks that with a bound he can take possession; but like this South African beast of human prey, he hesitates to attack in the open. Now all the warfare with the black races to the Dutchman has been so much human black buck hunting, and he feels, when out on a marauding campaign, no more compunction in shooting man bucks than any other wild animals. Having by violence taken possession of the soil in various ways that I shall fully explain later on in my "History of Histories of the Free State and the Transvaal"—made prisoners of its inhabitants, and then slaves of them under the form of apprenticeship, and having afterwards, in most cases, failed to remunerate either in cattle or money, as agreed upon, the Boer by such failure of fulfilling his engagements with the natives, drives the natives into acts of stealing from among the herds that his labour had helped to rear. This mode of self-compensation was called stealing by the Boer, and gave him the opportunity, when repeated time after time of organizing the Boer Commando which is nothing more than an armed horse-force to shoot at will, whenever a Kaffir appeared in sight. The black nigger sighted was not examined closely; it was not of much consequence, whether child, women or man. The sons of Ham had to be removed, so said their Bible, and thus the Boers being in the place of the old Israelites, had the work to perform; of course on the same condition that they like the Jews, having destroyed inoffensive inhabitants, were to take

possession of all they could find ; for " thus saith the Lord ; " and the Boer in so believing, doeth it with all his might, heart and strength, to the glory of his Jehovah. But at times the people object to this process of extermination, and when beaten on the plains flee to their Kaffir Natural Barracks, the mountains, and hold their enemies at bay, until repeated rushes of Dutch courage, helped on by Cape Congo, the Boer sweeps in and over the growing crops in the plains, and having cut and burnt the same, lets starvation do the rest, until in hunger the natives surrender. Such at times were the condition and courage of the Boer, that, as their history proves even their leaders were so ashamed of their followers, with their cry of " Huis toe " that they often contemplated calling in English assistance, and would have done so, but for the knowledge that the English Government had left them in the Free State, with the understanding that they were to live in equity and peace with their neighbours, and at all times to give no cause for the rising of the native tribes. The English, on the other hand, have no desire to kill, being true to their commercialism, they require to trade, and thus to enrich themselves by exchange of commodities ; and desire population, while the Boer-farmer requires vast open plains and hills for cattle pasturage, with sufficient human labour in the form of enforced servants, to herd his cattle and flocks, and female labour for the house and his hut-harem. Now the Boer pursuing time after time his mode of crop-destroying and cattle lifting, had at last subdued by starvation, not fighting in the open—the Basutos. These were at the mercy of the Dutch Government, so called—but which was only an organised armed force for robbing the natives. The Basutos, as a last resource, appealed to the English in the colony to save them. Their cry for help and to be saved was heard, and a treaty was signed at Aliwal North between the English and the Free State land and cattle lifters—dignified into a name of Government with Brand as a President, giving the Basutos over to the protection of the English Imperial Government. The Boers were enriched by some hundreds of farms in the conquered territory, and thousands of cattle. The natives with the usual thanks and prayers, were offered

up to the God of battle, who is stated to be a Man-of-war. What an aping by these Dutchman of, and walking in the footsteps of their great Creator ! Bitter and long curses were uttered,—not even now forgotten,—against the English interfering, in not letting the Boer kill out the natives, and take possession and spread havoc and desolation. The Dutch ministers meanwhile, preached the decrees of Heaven in making the black tribes servants for ever. This, and much more will be explained in my *later chapters*.

Now the same spirit of plunder and exploiting took possession of the Colony, headed by one, Sprigg, who, thinking to coerce the Basutos into submission to a wrong, undertook to conquer them ; but, after spending millions, and losing most valuable lives, was unable to force them to his conditions. This, in the end, brought disgrace and defeat to the Colonial arms, compelling the Placemen of the Cape Colony to solicit the Imperial Government once more to take over what the Colonists had at no time any claim or right to. The Basutos gave themselves over to the British Government, acknowledging the Queen as their head and protesting against being subjugated by the Colonists. They maintained their position ; and such was the miserable plight of the country, that at last the Colonists passed a resolution to hand the Basuto Lands back to the Imperial Power, it being considered the only solution of the difficulty brought about by the action of a Fool—a Retired Reporter of the English House of Commons.

To enable my readers to understand the Basuto Question in all its fulness and bearings, I subjoin, in chapter five the following discussion between the Cape Government and the Imperial Power in Downing Street, England.





CHAPTER V.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT' HOUSE OF
ASSEMBLY.

BASUTOLAND, FRIDAY, JULY 6th.

[The Imperial Despatch].

Mr. Scanlen laid on the table copy of a memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colony by the Hon. J. X. Merriman; and the reply of the Earl of Derby, on the subject of the future Government of Basutoland.

Mr. Uppington: "I move that those despatches be now read." (Hear, hear.)

The Clerk of the House then read the Despatches, as follows:—

"7 Albert Mansions, Victoria Street,
29th May, 1883.

John X. Merriman, Esq., to the Earl of Derby.

My Lord,—In accordance with the permission granted by your Lordship, I forward, under a separate cover, a memorandum on the present questions connected with native affairs in the Cape Colony, more particularly as regards Basutoland. Recent advices from that part of the world serve to endorse my observation on the dangers pointed out and I venture to hope that your Lordship will not think that I have presumed too much in making suggestions in a matter of such paramount importance to the Colony.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) JOHN X. MERRIMAN."

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, &c., &c.

Memorandum on the Present Situation of Affairs in
Basutoland.

1.—For the purpose of considering the present state of matters connected with the question of Basutoland, it will not be necessary to go further back than the annexation of that country, and the formal adoption of the tribe as British subjects.

2.—This step was taken at the instance of Governor Sir P. E. Wodehouse, towards the end of 1867, and was reluctantly assented to by Her Majesty's Government.

3.—At the time that the formal notification of the contemplated acceptance of the allegiance of the Basutos was made to the Orange Free State Government, the arms of the Republic, which was at the time engaged in a protracted struggle with the Basuto tribe, were entirely successful, and the Basutos were reduced to the direst extremity.

4.—It then appeared certain that nothing short of the interposition of the British Government could prevent the entire subjugation of that portion of the Basuto tribe at time in arms, and their consequent ruin and dispersal.

5.—Nor can there be much room to doubt that the Basutos had brought this fate upon themselves, as hostilities were, in the first instance, rendered inevitable, by their depredations and their persistent breaches of all their engagements towards the Orange Free State.

6.—The acceptance of the tribe as British subjects saved them from destruction; but the action of the British Government on that occasion was regarded by the burghers of the Orange Free State, as well as by Colonists, allied to them in blood and feeling, as a most unwarrantable interference between criminals and their just punishment, and an act of spoliation and oppression towards a weak State in the interest of the coloured races.

7.—The Governor of the Orange Free State protested in the strongest terms against the proposed interference, drawing attention to Article 2 of the Convention of 23rd February, 1854, which bound Her Majesty's Government not to enter

into Treaties with native tribes north of the Orange River, which might be prejudicial to the interests of the Orange Free State.

8.—In his replies, Sir P. E. Wodehouse, as agent of the British Government, held out as the greatest inducement the fact that the British Government would be able, and would be bound, to exercise the control over their own subjects, leaving the Orange Free State free to enjoy their own territory in peace; and this promise of immunity was insisted on before the Proclamation accepting the allegiance of the Basutos, which was issued in defiance of the protests of the Free State, on 12th March, 1868.

9.—The Volksraad, or National Assembly, of that Republic entered a protest against the measure, founding their objection on the terms of the Convention of 1854, above alluded to; and action was suspended in order to admit of a deputation being sent to England to lodge a more formal objection against the course proposed.

10.—The deputation started on the 19th June, 1868, and on the 17th August of the same year, the Governor of the Cape communicated to the President the refusal of Her Majesty's Government to entertain the proposals submitted by it.

11.—Meanwhile, and since the issue of the Proclamation the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, a body raised and maintained by the Cape Colony, were employed in protecting Basutoland and in maintaining the *status quo* which existed at the time of annexation.

12.—Early in the following year, on the 4th February, 1869, a formal conference assembled at Aliwal North to discuss the terms upon which a settlement of the question could be arrived at.

13.—The meeting was attended by the President of the Orange Free State and four Commissioners, and Sir P. E. Wodehouse, in the capacity of High Commissioner, representing Her Majesty's Government. The minutes of the discussions which took place, will be found in C. 18—1870 p. 9, show, that in his endeavours to obtain for the Basutos

a sufficient territory, Sir P. E. Wodehouse strongly insisted, as he had done before, on the guarantee of the frontier as a means of inducing the Free State Commissioners to agree to the terms proposed by him.

14.—After somewhat protracted negotiations, a convention was signed by Sir P. E. Wodehouse, acting on behalf and in the name of Her Britannic Majesty, on the 12th February, 1869, which embodied the concessions arrived at, created certain mutual obligations on the part of Her Majesty's Government and the Orange Free State respectively, and, by Article 6 of this Convention, the Orange Free State agreed, on the written request of the Chief Molappo, to relieve his portion of the Basuto tribe from their subjection to the State, and to consent to the territory occupied by him, which was at the time an integral part of the Orange Free State, becoming British territory.

15.—In all these negotiations and arrangements, including the employment of the forces raised on Colonial behalf, the Cape Colony had no voice whatever, nor was the matter ever submitted to the Local Parliament for an expression of their opinion. The annexation of the Basutos was wholly the act of Her Majesty's Government, and to the Convention with the Orange Free State, neither directly nor indirectly, was the Cape Colony a consenting party.

16.—To recapitulate: (1.) The annexation of the Basutos to the British Empire in 1868, was regarded by the Orange Free State, and by all who sympathised with it in South Africa, as a high-handed piece of interference, as a breach of the Convention of 1854, and as a cruel deprivation of the legitimate fruits of conquest. (2.) The principal motive held to induce the Republic to accept the position was the guarantee by the High Commissioner of the peace and tranquility of the border. (3.) The Cape Colony was no party to the annexation, nor was it in any way concerned in the negotiations between the Imperial Government and the Basutos.

17.—For some time after the events recorded above the Basutos were governed by an Agent of the High Com-

missioner, who carried on the rudimentary sort of administration, which sufficed to secure peace and order, under the direction of the High Commissioner, without reference to the Colonial Government.

18.—In 1871, at the instance of Sir H. Barkly, then Governor of the Cape, an Act of Parliament was passed, which formally annexed Basutoland to the Cape Colony, and transferred to it the responsibility for the expenditure and administration of that territory.* In the following year, 1872, a change occurred which extended to the Cape the system of responsible Government, similar to that in operation in the other self-governing colonies, with the practical effect of transferring the control of native affairs from the Governor to that of Ministers responsible to the Local Parliament, and subject to a Parliamentary majority. No attention seems to have been paid to the position of Basutoland under the new arrangement, and no one dreamed of consulting, or even informing the people in whose condition so radical a change was made, of the altered position of affairs. Nor did any communication take place with the Government of the Orange Free State, whose security might have been, and as events have proved, was, most naturally weakened by the change.

19.—Nor indeed was any inconvenience at first experienced. The Colonial Parliament took but a languid interest in native affairs, and the Basutos made sensible advances both in material prosperity and in the habits of orderly Government. The revenue amply sufficed for the simple form of establishment required, and for the maintenance of the handful of police which kept the peace, while the Orange Free State enjoined an immunity from thefts along the border almost wholly unprecedented in the history of European settlement in South Africa.

20.—This state of matters continued till the issue of a Pro-

* It should be noticed, however, that the peculiar provision for legislation, for beginning action by means of a proclamation of the Governor of the Colony, practically left the administration in the hands of the High Commissioner, as the executive orders of the Colony, under the system then prevailing, were civil servants under the control and subject to the orders of the representative of Her Majesty's Government.

clamation applying the Disarmament Act to Basutoland, a measure which was at once siezed on by the retrogressive and barbarian party among the Basutos, as a means of regaining their ascendancy.

21.—The suspicions of the people being once aroused, no amount of explanation or concession on the part of the Cape Government sufficed to allay the excitement or to shake the power which this unfortunate step had enabled some of the chiefs to regain. As is well known a war ensued, which ended, after an expenditure of more than three millions sterling, in an arrangement entered into, by means of the arbitration of the High Commissioner with the full concurrence, if not actually at the instance, of Her Majesty's Government.

21.—It is not surprising that a war with a tribe who had given such evidence of a capability of improvement should have been disapproved of both by Her Majesty's Government and by public opinion in England, but it is unfortunate that expressions of this disapproval should have reached the Basutos during the time that they were engaged in a struggle with the Colony, and that colonists should be able to attribute, with however little reason, the undoubted ill-success of the colonial arms to the supposed sympathy and encouragement which was shown those rebellious fellow-subjects during the struggle.

23.—Simultaneously with the peace which followed the award made by the Governor, the Ministry, which now holds office at the Cape, entered upon their duties.

They were avowedly of moderate views on native matters, and they represented those who had consistently opposed the policy which had led to the Basuto war.

24.—For two years they have endeavoured by every means, short of the employment of force, to establish the Government of Basutoland on a satisfactory footing. In their efforts to attain their object they have shrunk from no concessions, however humiliating they might appear to be, and they have set their faces against any abandonment of obligations created by Colonial action, while any possible means remained of a peaceful solution. In so continuing their efforts they have disregarded the strong expression of opinion in

favour of abandonment from almost all political parties in the Cape Parliament.

25.—The opposition in Basutoland, which has defeated the efforts of the Government to restore order, is not numerically large or powerful, but it is strong in the fact that there is an universal and not unreasonable belief among the Basutos that any efforts made by the Colony to repress disorder would result in the deprivation of at least a part of Basuto territory, and the belief, acting on the strong national feeling of the tribe, tends to strengthen the power of those chiefs whom the late war has caused to be regarded as the champions of the national cause.

26.—The Cape Government is now most reluctantly obliged to acknowledge that they have failed in their efforts to restore order and good Government, and they have to give their adherence to the well-nigh unanimous opinion held in South Africa, that it would be useless, and indeed mischievous, for the Cape Colony to retain its connection with a native territory, over which it can no longer exercise effectual control, and that an immediate repeal of the Annexation Act of 1871 is the only possible course open for the Cape Colony.

27.—The repeal of the Annexation Act, and the refusal of the colony to entertain any further responsibility for the affairs of the Basuto tribe, being absolutely certain to be carried into effect within, at most, a few weeks, the Government of the Cape felt it to be their duty to lose no time in communicating the state of affairs to Her Majesty's Government, to whom, as one of the contracting parties to the Convention of Aliwal North, the Orange Free State will look for the fulfilment of all treaty obligations arising out of the position of the Basutos as British subjects.

28.—In view of the Orange Free State insisting on its guaranteed rights, a contingency indeed which has arisen, it becomes of pressing importance that no time should be lost in defining the position, in order to avoid the almost inevitable obligations which will be forced on Her Majesty's Government if anarchy should set in, and give rise to claims which, under the written contract, it will be impossible to disregard.

29.—Should Her Majesty's Government see fit to decline any responsibility for the government of the Basutos, on the repeal by the Colonial Parliament of the Annexation Act of 1871, means will have to be taken, without delay, to repeal the Convention of Aliwal, and to make some declaration, of whatever nature it may be, that the Basutos are no longer in the position of British subjects, as, failing such action, or before it can be completed, there can be little doubt that a plentiful crop of claims for compensation in respect of deprivations committed by natives, holding the nominal position of British subjects, will be sure to arise.

30.—In the event of such a deplorable contingency taking place as the entire abandonment of the Basutos, both by the Colonial and by the Imperial Government, it is not difficult to forecast the probable course of events. On the one hand internal dissensions between rival chieftains, which are already threatening, will take place; both sides will strive to enlist the services of Europeans, and the state of affairs now in progress in Bechuanaland will be repeated. On the other hand, thefts and outrages along the border will furnish, as they have done in former times, a more or less justifiable pretext for armed reprisals, which will lead to a struggle on a large scale, ending in a savage war of extermination. The withdrawal of authority from Basutoland means immediate anarchy, and a proximate war of races on a very large scale.

31.—The abandonment of Basutoland by Her Majesty's Government, and the consequent repudiation of the obligations incurred by the Convention of Aliwal North, will be regarded throughout South Africa as an indication that a severance of the connection between that dependency and Great Britain is within measurable distance; and those who have recently expressed their approbation of the lawless proceedings in Tembuland and Bechuanaland will consider such a step as an indication that Her Majesty's Government will no longer offer any opposition to a method of settling native and other questions, which is diametrically opposed to all the traditions of the Empire, and, indeed, inconsistent with even the nominal control of Great Britain.

32.—The large majority of colonists of all races would regard such a contingency as a most deplorable one ; but the abandonment of Basutoland by Her Majesty's Government, will be looked upon by them as a preliminary step to the abandonment of South Africa as an Imperial possession.

33.—If, on the other hand, Her Majesty's Government should desire to adhere to their treaty obligations towards the Free State, and should be prepared in the discharge of their obligation to assume the responsibility for the control of the Basutos, it seems equally necessary that any action which may be contemplated, should be concurrent with the formal act of abandonment by the Cape Colony ; and should be entered on with the full co-operation and loyal assistance of the Local Government. Any terms or conditions can be more readily made before any definite step is taken which will pledge the Cape Legislature to the absolute abandonment of all responsibility for the Government of the Basutos ; while, in the interests of peace and order, it is important that there should be no break in the continuity of administration which might give rise to complications with the Orange Free State.

34.—It will perhaps be convenient in connection with the Basuto question to consider the relations of the Colonial Government towards the native territories which lie between the boundary of the Colony proper and that of Natal, which present many inconvenient anomalies. Indeed, some such consideration will be rendered inevitable, whatever may be the decision with regard to the future of Basutoland ; for the territory claimed by that tribe runs over the Drakensberg mountains, into the heart of of East Griqualand, which is annexed to the Cape by a formal Act of their Legislature, and forms an integral part of the Cape Colony. In the event of abandonment, questions connected with this strip of country may be expected to form a fruitful source of strife.

35.—There are also, between the Cape Colony and Natal, two territories known as Tembuland and St. John's River, formerly annexed to the Empire, but not to the Cape Colony. They are governed nominally by the High Commissioner, as Governor, without any reference to the Colonial Parliament,

who have, however, up to the present time, provided funds for the maintenance of order, and the expense of administration.

36.—This curious position may at any time cause grave inconvenience, and it is within the bounds of possibility that the Colonial Parliament might refuse to proceed with the completion of the annexation of these territories to the Colony, a course of action for which several reasons could be advanced, and which might, in practice, prove highly inconvenient.

The best solution, from a Colonial, and also from an Imperial point of view, would be found in the assumption by Her Majesty's Government of the control of all the native dependencies of the Colony, including Basutoland, Fingoland, Tembuland, East Griqualand, and St. John's. These together would form a tolerably homogenous and self-supporting territory, with a seaboard, independent of the Colony proper, who would be, by such an arrangement, placed in a position to contribute liberally towards the support of such a scheme; whilst Natal, who derives a considerable amount from the custom-dues of East Griqualand, might also be fairly called on for a contribution. These amounts, with those raised by taxation, would supply a revenue amply sufficient for administration on the most efficient scale, while to South Africa, and to the cause of law and order generally, such a step would be of incalculable advantage.

37.—Such a Government might follow closely the model of British Kaffraria, which, as founded by Sir George Grey, has been, perhaps, the most successful attempt to govern natives and Europeans together; and, after some years of a peaceful separate existence, was absorbed in the larger Colony without any difficulty other than that caused by the reluctance of the inhabitants to have their peculiar political condition terminated.

38.—There is no reason to believe that the Government of natives under such conditions would present any difficulty whatever. Existing troubles, and others which threaten, arise from the feeling of unrest, which is inseparable from the

attempt to govern large masses of unrepresented men by means of a political majority in an assembly sitting next door to them. The natives, and all matters connected with their government, form a convenient political factor in the strife of local politics; and the result is a feeling of doubt and uncertainty in the native mind, which is absolutely detrimental to the successful government of a race which cannot, for some time at any rate, claim any personal representation in the Government.

39.—To conclude, two courses seem open to Her Majesty's Government; either an entire abandonment of Basutoland, or the assumption of the responsibility for the control of that tribe.

The former will be disastrous to every interest in South Africa, and will be at the same time a direct breach of treaty obligations with the Orange Free State.

If the second course is adopted it will probably be convenient to consider the Government of Basutoland in connection with that of the other native territories now dependent on the Cape Colony.

Ample funds would be found for the establishment of a separate administration in contributions from the Cape, and from Natal, with the revenues of the territory itself.

Such a form of Government would be best suited for the natives, as it would be a guarantee to them of uniform administration, and would remove them from the disturbing influence of Colonial politics. Even if the arrangements were temporary, the precedent of British Kaffraria shows that it would form the best stepping-stone for a more complete absorption of these territories in the self-governing Colonies of South Africa.

Finally, such a plan would be popular in South Africa, and would form no inconsiderable factor in the settlement of the many troublesome questions now arising in that part of the world.

(Signed) JOHN X. MERRIMAN."

29th May, 1883.

[Copy—No. 84.]

“ The Officer administering the Government,
Cape of Good Hope.

“ Downing Street, June, 1883.

“ Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 1st May, enclosing a minute by your Ministers with reference to the present state of affairs in Basutoland, which has received the careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government. I have also before me your despatch of the 5th May, giving a clear and able account of the Basuto question, and I have had the advantage of conferring with Sir H. Robinson, as well as with Mr. Merriman, from both of whom I have received important information and explanations.

The minutes of your Ministers and your despatch of the 5th May, with its enclosures, supply a sufficiently complete recapitulation of the principal transactions which have led to the existing state of affairs, and I need not review at any length the earlier history of our relations with the Basutos. It is now represented that after prolonged efforts to restore peace in Basutoland (including the withdrawal of the Disarmament Proclamation, the substitution of compensation to suffering loyal Basutos in place of that restoration of their power which had been directed by Sir H. Robinson's Award, and the proposal of a new Constitution under which the Basutos would administer their own affairs with the least amount of interference), and after personal communications with them by the Premier and the Minister for Native Affairs, the Basutos have, with the exception of Letsie and about 2,000 persons, refused to attend a conference summoned by the Governor's agent. This refusal is accepted by your Ministers as a distinct and formal declaration that the other chiefs, including Masupha and Joel Molappo, and their people, decline the proposals made for their government, and intend to have no further connection with the Colony.

In these circumstances your Ministers deem it necessary that Her Majesty's Government should be informed, without delay, that it is certain that the relations now subsisting between the Colonial Government and the Basuto nation will

no longer be continued, that the withdrawal of all authority from Basutoland will be followed by serious complications, and that any action which Her Majesty's Government may determine upon should be taken before Colonial rule in Basutoland is terminated. They conclude by calling attention to the recently expressed wish of the Basutos generally to be under the direct rule of Her Majesty's Government.

In order to relieve the Cape Government from the duties and responsibilities which it has assumed in connection with the Basutos, an Act of the Colonial Parliament repealing the 'Basutoland Annexation Act of 1871' will be required. I do not find it expressly stated whether it is proposed that this measure shall be introduced by the Government, but I understand that there is no question as to the strong desire of the Parliament for such legislation. As the Act, if passed, cannot take effect without the Queen's Assent, it becomes necessary for Her Majesty's Government to consider, in the first place, whether they can advise that the Royal Assent be given to the surrender by the Cape Colony of the obligations which it has assumed; and, secondly, whether in that event Her Majesty's Government will be bound, or should consent to accept any part of these obligations.

The annexation of Basutoland was decided upon by the Cape Parliament under no pressure from the Imperial Government (which had contemplated its annexation to Natal), and after a full enquiry, not only to its financial prospects and the general advantages which might be expected to result from bringing it within the Colony, but, as I shall show, into the relations with the Orange Free State which would be consequent upon the assumption of responsibility for the Basuto frontier. Liabilities so undertaken cannot of course be lightly cast off by a Colony, the Government and Parliament of which have, under the constitution established for more than ten years, had the direction of the policy followed in Basutoland. I freely admit that successive administrations have made great endeavours (although as in the Proclamation of Disarmament, not always well judged or opportune) to govern the country, and have expended several millions of pounds in those endeavours. And it is therefore only just to conclude

that the Colonial Government and Parliament would not favour a step involving the administration of serious administrative failure if they saw any prospect of re-establishing the Colonial authority.

If Her Majesty's Government could see reason to anticipate that the officers of the Colonial Government would again be respected and obeyed, and the former taxes paid to them by the Basutos, they would be disposed to suggest that the Cape Government, though withdrawing from the internal administration of the country might continue to maintain the peace of the frontier with the necessary force. But Her Majesty's Government do not desire to insist on this view in the face of the strong feeling at present existing among the Basutos, and are willing to consider how far, and under what conditions, the Cape Government can be relieved from the burden now pressing upon it.

A principal part of this burden consists in the obligation to prevent the Basutos from troubling the people of the Orange Free State by incursions near the frontier. In paragraph 21 of your despatch of the 5th May, you observe that, 'should the Act, repealing the Basutoland Annexation Act of 1871,' become law, and should it be the intention of Her Majesty's Government to withdraw all British authority from Basutoland, and to disannex the territory from Her Majesty's dominions, the Government of the Orange Free State would certainly expect arrangements to be made relative to the obligations which were undertaken by the Convention of Aliwal North. And in another despatch you transmit to me a copy of a telegram from the President of that State, in which he requests that the necessary steps may be taken by Her Majesty's and the Cape Governments to uphold the Treaty concluded between Her Majesty's Government and that of the Free State on the 12th February, 1869, at Aliwal.

This Convention does not appear to contain anything binding Her Majesty's Government to continue permanently responsible for Basutoland. It is true that Lord Granville, in his despatch to Sir P. Wodehouse, of 24th June, 1869, adopted Sir P. Wodehouse's words, that, if a reasonable line of boundary were fixed, the British Government would, I

have no doubt, be able, and would be bound to maintain a due control over their subjects. But these words do not embody or imply any acceptance of sole responsibility for the peace of a common frontier. Difficulties are apprehended as not likely to arise on that frontier, not only through the incursions of Basutos into the Free State, but through lawless attempts by persons entering Basutoland from the Free State, to seize and occupy land there, as is now being done on the south-west frontier of the Transvaal. A state which you can describe (as in the 23rd paragraph of despatch of 5th May) as having become the most prosperous in South Africa, through having enjoyed for some years the advantages of a civilized frontier, and complete immunity from native questions, cannot be absolved from all liability for the defence and control of its own territory, and is bound to maintain on its side an efficient frontier police.

The British responsibility for the Basuto frontier is therefore limited, but whatever may be its extent, it is not a responsibility which rests at the present time on Her Majesty's Government. The Select Committee of the Cape Legislature Council, on whose recommendation Basutoland was annexed to the Cape, in 1871, fully examined the liability which the Colony was then about to assume in relation to the Orange Free State. The Attorney-General of the Colony gave evidence that the treaties existing between Her Majesty, as Governor of Basutoland, and the Free State will be of force, as far as that part of the Colony is concerned, between the Crown, on the part of the Colony and the Free State, equally after annexation as before it. For instance, the Treaty of Aliwal will be as good as ever. The Colony takes over Basutoland, with all the incumbrances and obligations at present affecting it.

It remains to be considered whether, in the event of Her Majesty being advised to sanction the retirement of the Cape Government from the administration of Basutoland, Her Majesty's Government would be under any such obligation to the Basutos as would bind them to resume their government or protection. I am clearly of opinion that the Basutos have forfeited all claim to such consideration. In 1881,

Letsie, Lerothodi, Joel Molappo, and subsequently Masupha, with the other Chiefs, fully accepted all the terms of Sir H. Robinson's Award, made by the request of Her Majesty's Government to terminate the difficulties then existing. Most of these Chiefs have since been in open rebellion, and it would be idle to contend that the most intelligent native race in South Africa has not been well aware that in thus treating the High Commissioner with contempt [it has broken its allegiance to the Queen. Her Majesty's Government are, therefore, free as regards the Basutos, to that course which may seem most consistent with their duty in view of the circumstances of the present moment and the general interests of the Empire alone.

Her Majesty's Government, therefore, for the reasons which I have stated, cannot admit (1.) that the Cape Colony has a clear and unquestionable right to surrender the trust which it accepted in 1871. (2.) That the Orange Free State is entitled to claim more than, in such event, Her Majesty's Government shall undertake, a fair share of the maintenance of the peace of the frontier, or (3.) that the Basutos have deserved or are entitled to claim that old relations with the Crown shall be re-established. But Her Majesty's Government, principally in recognition of the strenuous efforts which have been made, and heavy expenditure has been incurred by the Cape Colony, under successive administrations to govern Basutoland, are willing to test, provisionally, and for a time, the sincerity of the assurance that the Basutos desire to come under the Crown.

They can, however, undertake to do so only under the following conditions, which they feel to be reasonable, viz :—

1.—That the Basutos shall give such satisfactory evidence as may be demanded of their desire to remain under the Crown, and shall undertake to provide such revenue as may be required, and to be obedient to the laws and orders of the High Commissioner.

2.—That the Orange Free State shall make all necessary provision for preventing incursons from the Free State into Basutoland, and shall assist in the apprehension of any Basutos or others who may commit offences within the Free

State. In the event of the Free State failing to carry out this obligation, Her Majesty's Government will hold themselves relieved from responsibility with regard to the frontier.

3.—That the Cape Colony shall undertake to be embodied in the Act repealing the Basutoland Annexation Act of 1871 (which must, as you are aware, be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure), to pay to the High Commissioner, on account of Basutoland, all customs, duties, or other revenue which may be received on account of goods imported into that territory, or in connection with it, or an equivalent for such revenue.

If the Cape Parliament will agree to the arrangement which I have mentioned, as to the Customs receipts, Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to consider the charges which the proposed transfer of Basutoland would entail, and the sufficiency of the probable revenue of the territory to sustain those charges.

It cannot be too clearly understood that in thus proposing to intervene for the prevention of such difficulties as are now apprehended, Her Majesty's Government accept no permanent responsibility for the affairs of this part of South Africa. If the parties more immediately concerned should not by assisting in every possible way, give proof that they appreciate the intervention now offered, Her Majesty's Government will not hold themselves bound to continue it.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) DERBY,

THE BASUTOLAND PAPERS.

The papers presented to Parliament in connection with Lord Derby's despatch of the 14th June, include a Ministerial Minute of the 1st May, forwarded with covering despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, by His Excellency the Administrator, and a despatch from Lieut.-General the Hon. Leicester Smyth to Lord Derby, under date the 5th May, enclosing a Memorandum by Sir Hercules Robinson on the Basutoland question, with an annexure and a statement of revenue and expenditure in Basutoland

from the date of annexation to the 28th February last. Subjoined is the Ministerial Minute above mentioned :—

Colonial Secretary's Office, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope,
Minute No. 138.

1st, May 1883,

The position of matters regarding Basutoland, is such that Ministers deem it imperatively necessary to bring the same under the consideration of His Excellency without delay.

The history of events which led up to the present unsatisfactory situation, is so comparatively recent and well known that it will not be necessary to touch upon more than a few salient points.

The Disarmament Proclamation took effect in Basutoland in the month of July, 1880, and in the month of August following, the first resistance to Colonial authority occurred in an attack directed by the Chief Masupha on a subordinate Chief in the Berea district, because of his obedience to the law.

Other and similar acts of resistance followed in different parts of Basutoland, till it became apparent that the Basuto tribe, excepting a small section, had determined to disregard and resist the authority of the Colonial Government. In consequence, forces were organized and ordered to proceed to Basutoland, for the purpose of maintaining law and order.

The efforts made to compel the Basutos by force of arms to submit, were not attended with success, though the resources of the Colony in the endeavour were severely strained.

While the Colonial forces were still in the field, negotiations for bringing about a settlement of the difference which had arisen were entered into, and Her Majesty's representative in the Colony, acted as arbiter at the instance, and with the approval of Her Majesty's Government, between the Colonial Government and the Basutos. The result was an award, which was accepted by the Basuto people, but in a great measure never fulfilled by them.

Ministers made strenuous efforts to secure the rights guaranteed by the Award to such of the Basuto people as had remained loyal and suffered heavy loss in consequence, and the further compliance with the terms of the Award as

provided thereby—the Government, in the meanwhile, strictly fulfilling its obligations under the Award.

Finding, however, that a full compliance on the part of the Basutos, was no longer to be hoped for, and, having regard to the representations made by them, the Award was cancelled, whereby the Basuto people were relieved of further duties and obligations in respect thereof, in the hope of facilitating a speedy return to that peaceful and orderly state which prevailed prior to the issue of the Proclamation.

The Award having provided for the restoration and compensation of property of loyal subjects, seized and possessed by those who had defied and resisted authority, and restoration and compensation having only been partially made, Ministers deemed it proper to submit to Parliament a proposal for compensating, equitably and fairly, those who had suffered for their fidelity to the Crown. Liberal provision having been made by Parliament, the necessary steps were taken and compensation has been, and is being, awarded to the sufferers. After the cancellation of the Award, the Disarmament Proclamation, the application of which to Basutoland was the cause assigned for the late disturbance, was repealed.

In the intimation to the Basutos that the Award would be cancelled, it was pointed out that all reasonable obstacles to an immediate return to order and submission had been removed, and that Ministers were sincerely anxious for the welfare and happiness of a people who had given such bright promises of their ability to advance on the road to civilization.

Ministers, deeming it their duty to exhaust all available means to endeavour to bring about a satisfactory solution of the Basuto difficulty thought it advisable that the Premier and Secretary for Native Affairs should visit Basutoland with that object in view.

While in Basutoland, the Ministers discussed with the Chief Letsie, and other Chiefs and persons of influence in the tribe, the position of affairs, and submitted tentatively to the Basuto people the terms of a Constitution for their future government. Ministers beg to draw His Excellency's attention to

the draft Constitution, and the discussions which took place, accompanying the Minute in a printed form.

Since the departure of Ministers from Basutoland the acting Governor's Agent, Captain Blyth, convened a pitso, or national gathering of the Basuto nation to ascertain their views, and to submit formally the terms of the Draft Constitution for their acceptance, which the Basutos had been informed would be recommended for their future government, if accepted by the whole tribe.

Ministers regret to inform His Excellency that at the Pitso held on the 24th ultimo, at Matsung, the residence of the Chief Letsie, only he, his sons, and about two thousand persons attended, while Masupha, Ramanella, and Joel Molappo, Chiefs of influence, absented themselves, though specially invited to be present.

Ministers regard this refusal to attend as a distinct and formal declaration that those Chiefs, for themselves and their followers decline the proposals made for their government, and as expressing an intention to have no further connection with, or to be under, or subject to the Colonial rule.

Such being the case, Ministers desire respectfully to bring under the notice of His Excellency the necessity for immediate action being taken for preventing the grave consequences which would ensue from the refusal of the Basutos to submit to the authority of the Colonial Government, and from an insufficient control over the tribe he maintained.

As it is certain that the relations now subsisting between the Colonial Government and the Basuto nation will no longer be continued, Ministers deem it right that Her Majesty's Government should be informed without delay of what will inevitably occur.

That the withdrawal of all authority from Basutoland will speedily be followed by a condition of things worse than exists at present is, it is feared, certain.

The Colony having patiently and perseveringly endeavoured, as in duty bound, to bring about a settlement of the difficulty, and in its efforts exhausted all means at command, there is no course open now for adoption which will enable it with

advantage to its own or other interests, to continue its present position in relation to Basutoland.

It is hardly necessary to point out that in any action which Her Majesty's Government may determine on in regard to Basutoland, it is essential that it should be taken prior to measures being adopted which will terminate Colonial rule in Basutoland, and before the serious complications ensue, which are certain to follow on the withdrawal of authority.

The issues involved in the withdrawal of authority from Basutoland are so momentous that Ministers deem it advisable that one of their number should proceed by an early opportunity to England to consult with Her Majesty's Government, and, consequently, the Honourable John Xavier Merri-man, Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, will proceed by the next steamer to England for that purpose.

In conclusion, Ministers beg to invite His Excellency's attention to the request of the Basutos to the Premier that he would bring to the notice of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, their wish to be under the direct rule of Her Majesty's Government, from which they complain they were transferred to the Government of the Colony without their knowledge or consent.

(Signed) THOMAS C. SCANLEN.

