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THE LIFE OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
CECIL JOHN RHODES
VOL. I



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Cecil John Rhodes

LONDON EDWARD ARNOLD

THE LIFE OF THE RT. HON.
CECIL JOHN RHODES

1853-1902

BY

THE HONOURABLE SIR LEWIS MICHELL

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, CAPE COLONY

VOLUME I

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DEDICATED
TO ALL WHO LOVE
THE BRITISH EMPIRE

P R E F A C E

IN essaying to write a Life of Cecil John Rhodes within a few years of that memorable day when, with many closer friends, I stood bare-headed beside his open grave, I feel that much has been necessarily left unsaid.

In another generation, when all his contemporaries have passed away, some one with an abler pen, and from a more effective standpoint, may arise to portray, with more success, the character and achievements of one who strove, through many strenuous years, to advance the interests of the Empire in South Africa.

Personal affection on my part may unconsciously sway my judgment of the only great man with whom I have lived on terms of intimacy, but whatever the shortcomings of his Biographer, I am confident that posterity will not fail to appreciate the genius and essential worth of one of the greatest Englishmen of the Victorian era.

To the friends who have helped me in my task I now tender sincere and grateful thanks.

I have only to add, as an Executor and Trustee under the will of the subject of this Biography, that I have had access to his private and official papers, but none of my colleagues must be held responsible for any of the conclusions at which I have arrived.

L. M.

October 1910.

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THE RIGHT HON.
CECIL JOHN RHODES

PART I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Biography of great men—Portraiture of Rhodes—Parallels : Cæsar, Clive.

It is not in their lifetime that great men can be judged. Provisional sentence may indeed be passed, but final adjudication at the bar of history is delivered at a much later period, when the dust of current controversies has been laid and events can be distinguished in their true proportions.

But the equity of the ultimate decision may be rendered more certain by a recital of contemporary facts, and for this reason it may well be that the material for the biography of men of exceptional type should be collected before the generation which knew them has entirely passed away. A man who plays a prominent part in the march of a great nation, and especially of a nation distracted by party feuds, while arousing enthusiasm in those who appreciate the boldness of his conceptions, or are admitted to the inner circle of his thoughts, inevitably arouses, also, the animosity of those who misunderstand his policy and reprobate what they consider the impropriety of his methods.

Many a man holds a lower position in the estimation

of the world than would be the case had he received justice from contemporary biographers. Who can doubt, for instance, that the reputation of Hannibal has suffered in consequence of its being recorded only by his inveterate foes ?

No attempt will be made in these pages to prove that the aspirations of Cecil Rhodes were always practicable, or that his procedure was, on all occasions, commendable ; but I apprehend that a sober narration of the facts at my command will not lower him in the eyes of discriminating critics, but will demonstrate, not indistinctly, that he was a great man, great even in his faults, with a passionate belief and pride in the character and destiny of his country to lead the van of civilisation, and with a robust determination to do something in his 'time and prime' for the Anglo-Saxon race and for the betterment of humanity.

The historian, who essays to describe adequately the events and tendencies of the last half-century, cannot afford to ignore his massive and commanding personality, or fail to investigate the circumstances governing the career of one who, during his brief and meteoric course, inspired affection, and perhaps hatred, to a greater extent than any other conspicuous man of his day.

My aim is to portray the real man as he appeared to his personal friends and to his political opponents : a man of many moods and contrarities, but always in earnest, always letting the dead past bury its dead, and pushing forward to those things that are before, with never a backward glance or vain regret : a man with many human frailties, but eminently lovable in spite of, or perhaps because of, them.

It may be an arduous task to hold the scales evenly where affection guides the hand. But the attempt will be made to paint a faithful portrait free from exaggerated effects, whether of light or shade: the portrait of a modern Englishman cast in an antique mould, doubtless with the defects of his qualities, but actuated at all times and under all circumstances by an unwavering ambition, not for his own aggrandisement, but for that of the land of his birth and the land of his adoption.

It is in this spirit I desire to write the life of Cecil Rhodes.

It is perhaps an idle fancy to seek to discover a close parallel between two men, living in different ages and influenced by entirely different environments.

Some people have not hesitated to compare Rhodes with Cæsar. Guglielmo Ferrero, in his *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, says, 'Cæsar was a genius, a man whose powers have seldom been equalled in history. He was at once student, artist, and man of action: and in every sphere of his activity he left the imprint of greatness. Under twentieth-century conditions he might have become a captain of industry in the United States, or a great pioneer, or mine-owner, or empire-builder in South Africa.'

The likeness here is, however, visibly imperfect. Mr. Rhodes never had the opportunity of controlling the armed forces of the State, nor did he develop any military talent, nor was he an artist or orator or lucid writer, but, on the other hand, he possessed traces of the ruthlessness of Cæsar, he was admittedly a constructive statesman and man of action, and his genius would probably, in any age, have leapt the bar of adverse fate.

A much closer and, in some respects, a very striking parallel could be drawn between Cecil Rhodes and Robert Clive. Both were essentially Imperialist: both were men of action, of stormy temper and impatient of control: both were connected with the administration of great Chartered Companies: both achieved high renown abroad and rendered conspicuous service to their country: and both, in their declining days, were the subject of gross and persistent calumny, due, as Rhodes declared, to unctuous rectitude. Clive was educated, principally, at a private school at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire; Rhodes, at a similar school at Bishop's Stortford in the same county. Clive, before he was eighteen, was shipped off to Madras as a writer in the service of the East India Company. Rhodes, at the same age, was despatched to Natal mainly for reasons connected with his health. At twenty-five, Clive was a commissary-captain, the victor of Arcot, and planning the overthrow of French supremacy in India. At the same age, Rhodes was at the Diamond Fields, dreaming of northern expansion and how to limit and restrain Republican ambitions in South Africa.

At thirty-one, Clive won the Battle of Plassey, and Rhodes was ruling Bechuanaland as Deputy Commissioner for the Crown. Already, at the age of twenty-nine, Clive, in a brief interval of leisure, had entered the English Parliament and been unseated on petition: Rhodes, at exactly the same age, entered the Cape Parliament and remained a member of it till his death.

Clive, before he was forty, was Governor and Commander-in-chief in Bengal. Rhodes, at the same age, had already been for three years Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and for more than a year the

virtual governor of those vast territories now known as Rhodesia.

At the age of forty-one, Clive left India for ever, his career practically ended. At about the same age, Rhodes resigned all his offices and retired into private life, as the result of the Jameson Raid.

Thenceforward, for nearly seven years, both these eminent men had full proof of the fickleness inherent in all large communities, and were exposed to rancorous criticism, much of which history will probably hold to have been unjustified. Officially, their achievements were not unrecognised. Clive had already been created an Irish peer and Rhodes sworn of the Privy Council. But both ceased, to a great extent, to be the lions of society, both were acute sufferers through failing health, and both were required to defend their conduct before a Committee of Parliament.

It may be recorded, that on neither occasion did the historic Commons House of our realm fall beneath its traditional dignity. Violent partisans on the one side clamoured for complete and unqualified acquittal, and, on the other side, for severe condemnation and proscription. But, in spite of party pressure, the House, preserving its self-restraint, steered on both occasions a middle course between the two extremes.

In the case of Clive, the House affirmed that he had undoubtedly received and retained large sums of money while Commander-in-chief, but unanimously added a rider to the effect, 'That Robert, Lord Clive, did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to his country.'

In the case of Rhodes, the Committee held, 'That the Raid had involved him in grave breaches of duty to those to whom he owed allegiance, but that, in regard

to the charge that the movement was intended to influence the stock-markets, they believed it to be entirely without foundation.'

The comparison I have sought to make might be considerably extended. Both men loved money, not for its own sake, but for the power it conferred upon them to prosecute Imperial aims. Both were sincerely desirous of protecting the natives of the country over whom they bore sway, and both were munificent in their bequests for public purposes. Clive bequeathed £70,000 to found a hospital for worn-out soldiers of the East India Company, and Rhodes formulated a far-reaching scheme of educational endowment of unique and international importance.

Sir Charles Wilson, one of Clive's latest biographers, says of him :—

'He may have committed errors, he may sometimes have been mistaken in his policy, but he was animated by a high sense of honour and duty, and by a passionate love of England.'

And again : 'There was little refinement in Clive's manner. At times stern and imperious, at times stubborn and dogged, he was blunt and outspoken even to rudeness ; and he frequently gave great offence by his impatience of opposition and his openly expressed contempt for mediocrity.'

And again : 'Although silent and reserved in society, when the conversation turned upon a subject in which he was interested, he would rouse himself and take part in it with the greatest animation ; while among his intimates he could be pleasant and merry enough.'

There are many persons now living who could testify that every word in these sentences might have been expressly intended for Rhodes. But I will not prolong

the parallel, merely pointing out, in conclusion, that both these great men passed away at about the same age : at forty-nine Clive died in England by his own hand, and at almost precisely the same age Rhodes breathed his last on the seashore of that Africa he loved so well.

CHAPTER II

FAMILY HISTORY

Pedigree and descent—Family connection with St. Pancras—Family vault—French *émigrés*—The Vicar of Bishop's Stortford.

THE name of Rhodes is not an uncommon one in the Midlands, and Cecil Rhodes was correct in asserting, as he did, that he came 'of farming stock,' a fact that may explain, in part, his sympathy for those who till the soil, and his passionate love for the open veld.

For the purposes of this biography, I shall deal only with the descendants of that branch of the family which existed in Staffordshire in the reign of the first Charles.

Without going outside the region of ascertained facts, I find that in the year 1660, when the Great Protector was two years dead and General Monk was marching on London to restore the monarchy, James Rhodes of Snape Green, in the parish of Whitmore, Staffordshire, married one Mary Christian, by whom he had issue two sons and two daughters. Soon after his marriage he moved into Cheshire, and his eldest son, William, was baptized in 1664 at Bisley, in the parish of Stockport in that county. The second son, Thomas, is described as of Bramall in the same parish, and Thomas's eldest son, also a William, was baptized at Bisley in November 1689.

In or about 1720 this William Rhodes, clearly a prosperous yeoman and grazier, came south and pur-

chased considerable property in what were then pleasant fields on the outskirts of London. His estate lay to the east of Gray's Inn Road, and covered the ground now occupied by Mecklenburgh and Brunswick Squares and the Foundling Hospital, and possibly, but not certainly, a portion of the present Regent's Park.

Tradition asserts that his ambition was to own 1000 head of breeding-stock, and that the ambition was never completely fulfilled.

On the 27th October 1733, he was elected overseer of the poor for the South Division of St. Pancras, and in 1740, and again in 1741, he was churchwarden of the parish. He was twice married and, dying on 18th March 1768, at the age of eighty, was buried in old St. Pancras Churchyard.

His only son, Thomas Rhodes, also a man of large means, continued to reside in the parish, where, in 1743, he occupied the position of Surveyor for the South Division, and was churchwarden in 1756 and 1757. Later, in 1772, he was on the Committee appointed to treat for a lease of the workhouse in Camden Town.

After being twice married, he died in 1787, leaving two children, a son and a daughter. The latter married Daniel Harrison of St. Pancras, and her brother, Samuel, described as of Hoxton, who was born in 1736, married Anne Wooldridge and died in 1794. Like his forebears, he was a man of substance and enterprise, possessing large brick and tile works, and acquiring additional property in Dalston, which is still held by the Rhodes Trustees.

Bartlett and Britton's topographical survey of the Borough of St. Mary-le-Bone, Edit. 1834, shows a portion of his estate as 'Rhodes's Farm' on the east

side of the Hampstead Road, just north of St. James's burial-ground.

In a subsequent edition of 1837 it no longer figures, the inference being that it had been built over. The brick kilns were to the west of Kingsland Road in the parish of Islington, and are marked 'Rhodes's Farm' in Cary's map of London, 1819.

Samuel Rhodes left, among other children, three sons. The eldest, Thomas, born in 1763, continued to reside in the parish of St. Pancras, but acquired other estates at Tottenham Wood and Muswell Hill, together with land on the Hampstead Road. He was a trustee of the Fitzroy Fund, a paving commissioner and churchwarden of St. Pancras (1801, 1802), and was also a member of the first select vestry in 1819. Marrying a Harrison, his first cousin, he died in 1856 at the age of ninety-three, and was buried at All-hallows, Tottenham, leaving one son, whose descendant in the second generation now resides at Flore Fields, Weedon, Northamptonshire.

Turning to Samuel Rhodes's second son, Samuel, I find that he was born in 1756, married Elizabeth Strange, died 26th October 1822, aged sixty-six, and was interred at old St. Pancras. His wife had predeceased him.

In the churchyard of old St. Pancras there stands a massive tomb of granite, red, on a grey base, erected by the most illustrious of the family to the memory of thirty-three of his race whose names are inscribed thereon. At the south end of the monument are the words, 'Erected to replace two decayed family Tombs, by C. J. R. 1890.' Two additional inscriptions have more recently been added, one of them reading, 'Cecil John Rhodes. Born 5th July 1853. Died at Muizenberg, 26th March 1902. Buried in the Matopo Moun-

tains, Rhodesia ' ; while the other records the death of his brother Herbert, who died on 21st October 1879, and was buried at Chirales, Lower Shire River, Nyasaland.

Old St. Pancras Churchyard, with which is incorporated that of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, lies in the Pancras Road at the back of the Midland Terminus. A small monument therein records that in 1875, after great opposition, an Act was passed to enable the disused burial-ground to be utilised as public gardens, which were accordingly opened on 28th June 1877. The tombstones beyond repair have been removed and placed against the churchyard wall ; the trim flower-beds and well-kept paths make a pleasant oasis in that grimy street, and many of the poorer classes avail themselves of the numerous seats to come in and rest out of the noise and bustle of tramcars and coal-waggon that rattle by unceasingly. Among the burials in the ground there is something pathetic about that of John Mills, who died on 29th July 1811, at the age of ninety. As the inscription says, ' He was the last survivor of the persons who came out of the Black Hole of Calcutta in Bengal, in the year 1756.'

Cecil Rhodes also went into a ' Black Hole ' in his lifetime and came out alive, though he did not attain the age of ninety !

There have been other and more illustrious interments in the old churchyard. The cheap and ' pleasant suburb ' of St. Pancras attracted many of the aristocratic families of France fleeing before the terror of the Revolution. In this way a large number of *émigrés* of rank came to be buried in old St. Pancras. Few people, as they pass and repass the bustling terminus of the Midland line, know that, hard by, lies all that is mortal

of Louis de Sainte Croix, one of the last Ministers of the unfortunate Louis XVI.; of Alexander d'Anterroche, Count de Brisade, and his son; of Jean Ormond, Count d'Allonville, and his son; of François, Marquis de Bouillé; of Louis, Count d'Antraïques and his wife; of John, Count de Behaqué; of Michael, Baron de Wentzel; and of Antoinette de Chaumont, Vicomtesse de Buffevant, who survived until June 1845.

No monument remains to record the names of these and other representatives of an almost vanished race, who were driven from France at a time when the sins of the fathers were visited on their children. One does not require much imagination to conjure up the sight of these members of the *ancien régime* with broken fortunes and broken hearts, with hopes occasionally uplifted only to be again and again cruelly disappointed. Their frailties, as well as the sorrows of their long years of exile, are now for ever forgotten. May they rest in peace in the vast city which was alike their refuge and their grave!

The great man, who restored the Rhodes family tomb, and whose name is also now recorded thereon, was descended from Samuel Rhodes's third son, William, who was born in 1774 and died in 1843, and who settled at Leyton Grange in Essex, acquiring extensive property there. His wife, Elizabeth Cooper, was six years his junior, and they had issue two sons and six daughters. One of the sons died unmarried; the other, Francis William, born in 1806, was carefully educated and in due course was entered of Trinity College, Cambridge, and took orders.

From internal evidence, it would appear that the Rev. F. W. Rhodes was a man of great individuality. From about 1834 to 1849 he was perpetual curate of

Brentwood in Essex, where he was known as 'the good Mr. Rhodes'; being of a simple and charitable nature and not infrequently imposed on by the undeserving. At his own expense he built a small church to meet the needs of a hamlet in the parish of South Wiald, the vicar of which, the Rev. C. A. Belli, Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, was an alternate patron of the living of Bishop's Stortford in Herts, to which, later on, he presented Mr. Rhodes.

From 1849 to late in 1876 he was vicar of Bishop's Stortford, where, as a wealthy man of liberal nature and zealous in all good works, he was a conspicuous figure. A memorial window to him was subsequently erected in the parish church, which he had been instrumental in restoring.

In 1833, at the age of twenty-seven, he had married Elizabeth Sophia Manet, a lady of Swiss descent, four years his junior, who died at Brentwood in childbirth two years later, leaving one child, a daughter.

More than nine years later, the widower married again, his second wife being Louisa Peacock, a lady of good family, resident at South Kyme in Lincolnshire.

The vicar is described as a tall loosely-built man, with a fine intellectual head, but with the not uncommon reputation among servants of being eccentric. His unconventionality descended in full measure upon his children. He was a very attractive reader, and an excellent preacher, with the added charm of never exceeding his self-imposed limit of ten minutes. His wife, evidently a mother of great and abiding influence, bore him eleven children, of whom nine were sons. Two died in infancy, and the others were designated by their father 'the Seven Angels of the Seven Churches,' apparently in the hope that they would follow his ex-

ample, and take Holy Orders. But to his disappointment, none of them felt a call in this direction. The State, rather than the Church, appealed more strongly to most of them. Four of them entered the army and distinguished themselves in the service of their country. The best known was Colonel Francis William Rhodes, who was educated at Eton and entered the 1st Dragoons in 1873; a man of singularly winning manners, everywhere popular and affectionately regarded, he served in the Sudan campaign, and afterwards at Suakim and Omdurman, as well as in India and Uganda. Always brilliant, he won the D.S.O., the Egyptian medal, and the Khedive's star. In 1896, he was condemned to death by the Boer Government for taking a leading part in the agitation for reform, but survived to be besieged in Ladysmith in 1899, and to die, on 21st September 1905, in his brother's historic house at Grootte Schuur.

Of the three civilian sons, two also died in Africa. One of them, an adventurous hunter, who perished by misadventure, was Herbert, the eldest, who went from Bishop's Stortford to Winchester, where he was in the College eleven in 1864, distinguishing himself by capturing six Eton wickets in that year's inter-school match.

The other, Cecil, is the subject of this biography, whose chequered career, so full of daring successes and sickening disappointments, I am about to relate.

CHAPTER III

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS

Birth at Bishop's Stortford—Latter half of nineteenth century—The Grammar School—School life—Anecdotes—Public affairs of the day—Disinclination to enter the Church—Leaves England—Arrives in Natal—Division of his life into three periods.

IN the quiet vicarage of Bishop's Stortford, on 5th July 1853, was born the vicar's fifth son, christened Cecil John, one of his godfathers being Mr. R. N. Jackson, the curate of the parish, afterwards a chaplain in the Royal Navy. As his age at death was under forty-nine, he belongs wholly to the second half of the nineteenth century, and is entirely a Victorian figure, inasmuch as the late Queen had, at the date of his birth, already been on the throne for sixteen years, and he followed her to the grave in less than twelve months.

There are many people still living who can remember with what paeans the second half of the last century was ushered in. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was regarded, even in exalted quarters, as the dawn of an ampler day, when the war-drum would throb no more, and our swords were to be transformed into ploughshares.

It was a beautiful dream from which there was to be an early and agitated awakening. Sufficient allowance had not been made for the combativeness of human nature, for national ambitions, dynastic exigencies, and the scramble for oversea possessions.

Before the Exhibition buildings were razed to the ground, South Africa was standing at bay against the

menace of a Kafir inroad : in 1852 occurred the now almost forgotten second Burmese war ; while in 1853, only three days before Cecil Rhodes was born, Russia crossed the Pruth and poured her troops into Moldavia, thus creating that *casus belli* which led to the Crimean war.

He was thus brought into a world, not of peace and goodwill, but of storm and stress, which seldom ceased during his lifetime.

The vicar's sons, with the exception of those who died young, were all successively sent to the local school, one of those old Foundation Grammar Schools, which for several centuries have played so important a part in the formation of our national character.

The Bishop's Stortford School, situated in Windhill, has passed through many vicissitudes. It was founded in 1579 by Dame Margaret Dane, possibly to commemorate the visit paid to the village by Queen Elizabeth a few years earlier.

Among the scholars educated there a century later was Swift's patron, the well-known Sir William Temple. It was restored and reorganised under the sanction of the Court of Chancery, in the year 1851, and the scheme of reconstruction provided, *inter alia*, ' that the income of the Charity Estate, belonging to the School and Library Estate, shall henceforth be received by the vicar for the time being of the parish of Bishop's Stortford, as the same shall arise and become due and payable, and shall be applied by him to and for providing masters for conducting the said school, and for the maintenance, repair and benefit of the said school and library.'

The vicar was very zealous, like his great son, for more systematic education, and he was instrumental in

raising £20,000 to establish a training college for mistresses in elementary schools. In 1860, backed by influential friends, and finding the Grammar School accommodation inadequate, he erected new premises on the Hadham Road, with a master's residence and chapel standing in extensive grounds.

These were leased to the headmaster, and for a time the school was carried on in both places, it being the practice for day scholars to attend at the Windhill schoolroom during the regular school hours, at the Hadham Road classrooms for preparation, and at the playing fields there for school sports.

In 1898, the Charity Commissioners sanctioned the sale of the old trust property and the purchase of the more modern buildings, which had been enlarged in 1893 to commemorate the successful headmastership of the Rev. Godfrey Goodman, D.D., previously the vicar's curate.

Thenceforth, the school was conducted entirely in the newer premises, a concentration that doubtless made for efficiency; but as Cecil Rhodes was there from 1861 to 1869 and was never a boarder, he was one of those scholars educated partly in the one building, partly in the other.

Concerning his school life not much is known. History and geography are said to have been his favourite studies, and he won the school medal for elocution. In mathematics he was never strong, but he gained a classical scholarship tenable for three years, and it is perhaps not unreasonable to believe that this slight success was the germ of the idea of the great scholarship foundation, which his 'immense and brooding spirit' elaborated many years later.

In 1866, at the age of thirteen, he was in the school

first eleven, and then and later he took a moderate share in current sports.

He is described as a slender, delicate-looking, but not delicate, boy, and as possessing a retiring nature, and a high proud spirit. One of the assistant masters recalls him as a bright, fairly clever lad, with nothing dreamy about him. A governess then in the family says of him, 'He was good-looking, with fair hair, and the nice and agreeable way of speaking which runs in the family.'

The school was a large and prosperous one, containing at one time nearly 150 day scholars and 130 boarders. It was well staffed and conducted on sound and sensible lines, and gave Cecil Rhodes all the school education he ever received, till he entered on that second and superior education which every man, who achieves greatness, gives to himself. In after years he frequently sent friendly greetings to the old Grammar School, and in 1898 presented it with his portrait, which was hung in the dining-hall. One of his school companions, writing to him in later life, says: 'Do you not remember that the boys always called you Rhodes. We never used your Christian name, somehow. It is thirty-eight years since we met, but it is not too late to express to you how proud I am to know that I was at school with you at Goodman's. Your father and sister were very kind to me. You were a delicate, golden-haired little fellow then. Now we are all scattered on the highways or byways of the Empire. I am in Jamaica. — died at Foochow. — is captain of the *Devastation*. — is a rector in Kent.'

Another schoolmate, writing to congratulate him on attaining the Premiership in 1890, says: 'I well remember the last year I was at school (1865) you gained

the silver medal given by Mr. D'Orsay for the best reader.'

And a third, about the same date, writes : ' A blessing on your present and future life ! Go on and prosper, and show the world what a Bishop's Stortford boy can do.'

One of the masters at the old school, Mr. Henry Wilson, wrote to the *Times* as follows (April 1902) :—

' Trifles connected with the life of great men are interesting. You say that Mr. Rhodes used to declare that he came of a farming stock. From 1859 to 1861 I was a master at the Grammar School of Bishop's Stortford. At that time there were persons living who remembered Mr. Rhodes's grandfather, a cowkeeper at Islington in a large way, when all round the Angel was open fields. I knew the vicar well, a tall spare man, of polished manners and the strongly marked mobile features that indicate a muscular habit. The two eldest sons, Herbert and Frank, were in the school. Herbert, who went first to South Africa and was, I have heard, accidentally burnt to death, was a typical schoolboy—clever, volatile, with a face like indiarubber, and extraordinary command of expression. He was a born actor. Once when I was taking my class at one end of the schoolroom he was standing in class at the other end. He had been at some tricks, and the master, who had a heavy hand, had administered sharp correction. Herbert was sobbing bitterly, and big tears were dropping on the floor. On the master's turning for a moment the other way all signs of grief disappeared like magic, and a hideous grimace took their place. The master, aware from a titter that something was going on, turned sharply back to see an agonised countenance and tears again rolling down. He might have excelled in another calling, that of Blondin. When I have been

out for a walk with the boys and we passed an unfinished house, he would run up the ladder and out on a horizontal pole, where, without apparent effort, he would stand unsupported haranguing his schoolfellows. Cecil had not come into the school when I left, but I remember once at a cricket match, where I was umpire, one of the younger boys, probably he, a pretty delicate child in a plaided frock, was with his nurse among the spectators. The batsman hit a ball to leg, which, without touching the ground, struck the little fellow full on the arm. I rushed up fearing the bone was broken, but on testing it found it was not. I was struck by the delicate frame and small bones, and yet by the Spartan way, almost indifference, with which the child bore pain.'

It is quite conceivable that even in those early days Rhodes's dreams were of the Empire. His concentration of thought, later on so remarkably developed, was probably always one of his characteristics. To the last he was a shy and solitary spirit, full of strange silences, and with a reserve difficult to break through.

In his school days England was almost always at war. The period covered by his residence at Bishop's Stortford was crowded with great events. We were slowly recovering from our struggle against Russia, and wondering whether, after all, we had not backed the wrong horse, when the shock of the Mutiny threatened the dissolution of our Indian Empire, and we had scarcely escaped this peril when we found ourselves again at war with China, and on the brink of hostilities with the United States. In 1863, we bombarded the Japanese ports, and, a few years later, Lord Napier stormed Magdala and overthrew the tyranny of Theodore of Abyssinia.

With or without allies, Great Britain was thus struggling in many lands, in vindication of her national

honour, or in protecting or extending her oversea possessions ; or, as in 1867, consolidating her Empire by creating the Dominion of Canada.

These events are not likely to have passed unnoticed by Cecil Rhodes. In 1869 he left school, but remained for a while at the Vicarage, continuing classical studies under his father's direction.

The reason for his next move is variously stated. His disinclination to enter the Church remained, nor did the army as a career appeal to him as to his brothers. Some thought him in poor health ; some, that he was crossed in love. His father recognised that he was unfitted for a routine life in England, and resolved to ship him to one of the Colonies, those invaluable nursing homes to so many thousands of our younger sons.

As his eldest brother Herbert, now twenty-five years of age, was already settled in Natal, experimenting in cotton-growing, it was to that colony he was sent.

Leaving England in a sailing vessel towards the end of June 1870, he made the passage in what was then considered a record time of seventy days, landing at Durban on 1st September.

Natalians, then as now passionately devoted to their little colony, were always keen on maintaining a direct service with England. There is in the Durban Club a painting of the *Sarah Bell* of 150 tons, the first ship to come from the mother country without touching at Cape Town. She is recorded as having left Gravesend on 9th November 1845, arriving at Durban and crossing the bar on 20th February 1846, after a passage of 103 days, and the inscription, frankly unashamed of small beginnings, adds that her mail-bag contained one letter.

The life of Cecil Rhodes may be roughly divided into

three periods of approximately equal length. The first period, that of school life, was now at an end. During the second period he amassed a fortune, amalgamated the Diamond Mines where other men had failed, entered the Cape Parliament, pacified Bechuanaland, and brooded without ceasing on the possibility of Northern expansion.

During the third period, he founded the Chartered Company, thus saving all Central South Africa for the Empire ; he fought a long duel with the tenacious Boer President, was twice Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, was created a Privy Councillor and became known as one of the foremost statesmen of the Empire. Then came the Raid, and, as a swift and summary punishment, the loss of place, power and prestige, to be followed by the Matabele war and the Transvaal struggle, by his being besieged in Kimberley and leaving it only to find his health shattered beyond recovery. But before his death he had regained his hold over the imagination of his countrymen, and, dying, was universally mourned by an Empire which he, whatever his faults, loved and strove for with passionate devotion.

It was at the close, therefore, of the first of these three periods that Cecil Rhodes reached the shores of that country, which has been cynically described as the grave of reputations, and with which, through years of good report and evil report, his name was destined to be indelibly associated.

CHAPTER IV

EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

History of Natal—Progress of Durban—Dr. Sutherland's kindness—Introduction of coolie labour—Neglect of Colony by Mother Country—Cultivation of cotton—Herbert Rhodes—Life on the Unkomaas—Caesar Hawkins—Young dreams—Native nicknames—Discovery of diamonds—Exodus from Natal—Formation of the dry diggings—Departure of Herbert Rhodes—Cecil's first speech—He leaves Natal—Arrives at the Diamond Fields.

THE colony of Natal received its picturesque name on Christmas Day in the year 1497, when that stout old Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, having rounded the Cape of Storms more than a month before, caught a glimpse of the striking bluff which guards the modern port of Durban. But da Gama pushed on over uncharted seas, till he reached India the following year, and a curtain fell on Natal destined to remain practically unraised until more than three centuries later, in the year 1831, when Lieutenant Farwell founded a small settlement on the shores of the Bay. A few years later, emigrant Boers from the Cape, coming overland, contested the position. Eight years of strife ensued until, in 1843, the intruders acknowledged our sovereignty, and the British flag was hoisted by general consent.

A Lieutenant-Governor, subordinate to the Cape, was appointed, who ruled the settlement until 1856, when a Charter was conferred upon it, and a Legislative Council set up.

At length, on 20th July 1893, Natal received the gift

of full self-government, the Hon. Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson being her first Governor.

Nobly since then has the colony played her part as an outlying post of Empire. Again and again has she been called upon to take up the white man's burden. Her patriotism has never faltered. She put down the rising of Langalibalele in the year 1873. In helping to break the overshadowing military power of the great Zulu tribe in 1879 she saw the best and bravest of her sons fall on the bloody field of Isandhlwana, and saw, too, ere the next sunrise, the disaster heroically avenged at Rorke's Drift, on the banks of the Tugela River.

Later, she passed through the furnace of affliction on the summit of Majuba, and, later yet, beheld her peaceful village of Ladysmith the scene of a titanic struggle between contending armies, under circumstances which immortalised its name in the history of our race.

But throughout these stormy experiences the energy of her colonists has never wavered. Men of sturdy English stock have, through all vicissitudes, laboured, with rare success, to build up her industries and expedite her progress and material prosperity. Whenever in the fullness of time the history of our colonies comes to be worthily written, Englishmen will have no reason to be ashamed of their countrymen in Natal.

In 1870, when Cecil Rhodes landed at Durban, the Garden Colony, as it is fondly called, was in its infancy. The spaces in the town, that passed for streets, were full of drifting sand. A dangerous bar blocked the entrance to the port, and the few small ships that arrived lay out in the offing and rolled gunwale under. Now a liner of 10,000 tons steams safely in.

There were no railways, whereas now a traveller entraining at Durban can travel to Cape Town in one

direction, or beyond the Zambesi in another, without break of gauge. There were few public buildings and few comforts and conveniences. But plans for the future, since fulfilled, were widely discussed. The citizens recognised the natural advantages of the place, and were resolved to make the most of them. And they have done so. Public gardens, handsome edifices, a noble embankment, broad streets, all bear testimony to the vigour of the community.

And now, from the picturesque slopes and wooded summit of the Berea overlooking the town, there peep out hundreds of English-looking homes, nestling in the midst of semi-tropical foliage, and either commanding a view of the Indian Ocean, or, fronting inland, a glimpse of that other and perhaps even more beautiful prospect, the Umgeni River, winding like a silver thread amid luxuriant plantations to the sea.

The lad of seventeen, who was to set his mark on South Africa, and who died there a millionaire and the owner of 300,000 acres of its finest land, came out as an immigrant entitled to a free grant of 50 acres to be paid for in five years. This land he took up, but he had no capital. The allowance he received from his father was a trifling one, and he was destined frequently to feel the pinch of poverty.

His brother Herbert, to whom he was shipped, was not to be found on his arrival, being absent up country on one of those adventurous trips which finally ended in his tragic death. Fortunately for the boy, he secured immediate and influential friends in the person of Dr. and Mrs. Sutherland, then residing a few miles out of Maritzburg. Dr. Sutherland was Surveyor-General of the Colony, and it was part of his duty to show new settlers where to take up land, but he did much more

than his duty and was on very many occasions a friend to the friendless. Herbert Rhodes had begged the Surveyor-General to have his brother met on arrival, and both he and his wife were kindness itself to the newcomer. In their hospitable house he was made to feel at home until Herbert's return. His health had been re-established by the voyage, and his hosts found him very quiet and a great reader. To the motherly eye of Mrs. Sutherland he appeared to have outgrown his strength, but she does not remember that in other respects he seemed different from other lads of the same age.

Even in those days the Natal colonists were a self-reliant community, with a passionate affection for the land of their adoption and a robust faith in its destiny. They were already putting forth strenuous efforts to develop the resources of their delightful territory. They were experimenting in cereals, sugar, coffee, tea, fibre, and cotton.

For many years their industry met with but scanty reward. The climate was favourable, the soil fruitful. But their efforts often suffered shipwreck owing to insufficient capital, and the rooted disinclination of the natives to manual labour. So far back as 1874, a Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council to import 50,000 Indian coolies to do the work which the natives could not be induced to undertake, and their advent saved the colony from economic disaster.

It is melancholy to reflect that while a promising colony was permitted to languish from want of financial support, Great Britain was lending, and often losing, her surplus millions to 'sick' States like Egypt, Turkey and Greece, or to fraudulent bankrupts like some of the South American Republics. Foreign States were un-

wisely supported ; our own colonial flesh and blood were left to starve. The Imperial spirit was still slumbering. Colonies were regarded as encumbrances. Any second-rate European State could borrow from us at five per cent. : Natal had to pay ten to twelve per cent. for money, and could not secure much at even those usurious rates.

The infant industries of the colony were thus strangled in their birth. Among the most promising of those industries at one time was the cultivation of cotton, the success of which would have saved our manufacturing centres from a repetition of the calamity that had overtaken them during the great war in the United States.

If ever a nation should have exerted itself to support one of its colonies, it was now and in this direction. But little help came.

Under what was called ' Mann's Emigration Scheme,' Herbert Rhodes had obtained a grant of 200 acres in the Umkomaas Valley, known as Lion's Kloof, near the Spring Vale Mission Station, about twelve miles from the village of Richmond, and was experimenting there with cotton. He had already cleared 45 acres of Euphorbia bush and, after immense labour, had planted them with cotton.¹ On his return Cecil joined him in an informal partnership, and in a few months they had 100 acres under cultivation.

But they had to buy their experience dearly. Their first attempt failed because the rows were only four feet apart, and so luxuriant was the growth in virgin soil, that the intertwined plants became a matted and impenetrable mass of vegetation. Hence it was impracticable to keep the ground clean, and the aphid,

¹ See *Notes on Natal*, 1872, John Robinson.

the bore-worm and the caterpillar made havoc of the crop. A few bales were harvested, but not of sufficient value to defray working expenses.

The following season they doubled the distance between the rows, and obtained a very fair crop, though troubled by the fact that the cotton did not mature evenly, but ripened by instalments, entailing extra labour.

Despite the pessimistic opinions of neighbours, they persevered and, as a result, won a second prize at the next Agricultural Show, a fact often referred to by Cecil in after life, when other projects of his were derided as chimerical.

' Ah ! yes,' he would say to his critics, ' they told me I couldn't grow cotton ! '

Of Herbert Rhodes, an athlete of remarkable powers, a characteristic anecdote is recorded. The Umkomaas, a turbulent river, was once in full flood and washed away his cart and six oxen. Plunging into the stream, not far from dangerous rapids, he cut the harness with a daring hand, rescued the oxen, and, later on recovered the cart.

Those who have seen an African river roaring seaward in the rainy season, will appreciate the risk he ran. A friend says of him, ' Poor fellow ! he would have gone far. He was of a determined, forceful character, and of unbounded energy and enterprise.'

Early in 1871, while still strenuously at work, Cecil was fortunate enough to secure a companion of about his own age. This was Henry Cæsar Hawkins, who, on leaving an English public school, came out to Natal where his father, at one time an officer of the 1st Royals, was now Resident Magistrate of the Upper Umkomaas.

A friendship soon sprang up between the two. Young

Hawkins was a frequent visitor at the little cotton estate, he himself, later on, taking up ground in the same neighbourhood with the same object in view.

At the Magistrate's house, Cecil was always a welcome guest.

The lads, without being bookworms, had been soundly educated, and were keen on retaining what classical knowledge they possessed. In their spare moments they studied together, and formed many plans for the future. Among these day-dreams, one of the most frequent recurrence was that when they had made money enough, they were to return to England together and enter at Oxford 'without outside assistance.'

As disclosing the bent of Cecil's mind, the resolution is interesting. It seems clear that he had already mapped out his career, and his subsequent matriculation at Oriel was not the result of any sudden decision.

Meanwhile, he did whatever work he found to do and did it well. It was a rough life for a home-bred boy. The country all around was a dense bush. The heat in the valley was extremely trying. There were no comforts or conveniences, and funds were scarce. The brothers slept in one hut and utilised another as a store and general living room. The stable was of reeds and grass, their kitchen the veld, a Kafir boy their only servant.

Herbert, who was of a restless disposition, was often away, and Cecil practically 'ran' the plantation.

Both were favourites with the natives, and Cecil remained so to the last day of his life. His intuitive familiarity with native ways and thoughts was always one of his distinguishing traits, and became invaluable when, in later years, he had 10,000 native labourers in his compounds—men from every tribe in South Africa,

united in nothing but their confidence in him. His magic gift of sympathy enabled him in 1896 to ride unarmed into the rebel camp in the Matopos, and compel their submission by force of argument. It enabled him, while besieged in Kimberley, to find man after man willing to accept the risk of passing and repassing through the Boer lines with urgent despatches; and, finally, it procured him at his funeral, from the serried ranks of his old enemies, the Matabele, the sonorous Royal salute hitherto only accorded to a great chief of their own colour.

In the Rev. Forbes Robinson's *Letters to his Friends* (Spottiswoode, 1904) it is stated that Rhodes started at Ixopo, and that there is still a record in the books of the magistracy there that he was fined £10 for parting with a gun to a native. The story is *ben trovato*, but unconfirmed.

On the cotton plantation, Herbert was known as 'Umbila' from his fondness for green mealies, while Cecil's nickname, for reasons unknown, was 'U'Twsai' or 'Salt.'

Whether cotton-growing would or would not have eventually succeeded in Natal, when pushed by such strenuous pioneers as the Rhodes brothers, cannot now be determined. Labour was neither cheap nor continuous, and without an adequate supply of inexpensive labour it is never easy to grow cotton with success. Moreover, the 'fly' which destroyed the bolls was an ever-present trouble. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the crop of the colony, which in 1864 amounted to 35,000 lbs., had increased to 235,000 lbs. in 1871, when an event occurred which crushed several of the struggling industries of Natal, by diverting the energies of its colonists to another sphere of action.

The romantic circumstances attending the discovery of diamonds have often been narrated, and need not be more than briefly alluded to here.

In March 1869, a superb white stone of 83 carats had been picked up by a Griqua shepherd-boy near the Orange River. In November of that year, the first organised party of prospectors, equipped in Natal by Colonel Francis and consisting mainly of officers of the 20th Regiment stationed there, arrived on the banks of the Vaal River under Captain Rolleston, and Herbert Rhodes was with them.

In January 1870, their systematic search was rewarded by the discovery of a gravel bed containing an extensive 'wash' of diamonds.

A rush followed from all parts of South Africa. After six months' hesitation, President Pretorius and his Legislative Council announced that all prospecting was illegal, as the Transvaal authorities had granted the right of exclusive search to three privileged persons. Concessions, which subsequently caused untold mischief, were thus not the invention of President Kruger. The diggers, led by men who had seen stormy days at Bendigo and Ballarat, laughed the proclamation to scorn. Mass meetings were held and a Republic established, the miners creating no new precedent, but following the practice of the Boers themselves. Then the Berlin Missionary Society claimed the area, issuing notices that trespassers would be prosecuted. The result was a roar of laughter.

A reminiscent old resident thus describes the situation:

'The diggers formed a "Diggers' Committee," and appointed Stafford Parker, a gentleman of light and leading among the rough diamonds of the wilderness, as first President. A rival digger body bearing the same

title also arose, and selected Mr. Roderick Barker as their President. Singular to relate, both Presidents agreed to disagree; so no friction occurred of any importance. Ready and meet justice was administered. The worst punishment of all was being put over the river, the delinquents being warned that if they returned something worse would happen.

'The two Republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, claimed sovereign rights, but Britishers would have none of them. Several of their officers were dragged through the water. Commandoes were occasionally despatched by the respective Republican Governments to re-assert their alleged rights, but these demonstrations of force made no impression on "the Johnny-come-lately" populace.

'The weapon employed by the diggers was good-humoured banter of the "Come-and-have-a-drink-old chap," character, which upset the bellicose temperaments of the homely Republican burghers—a method of killing warlike tendencies with kindness.'

Amid these 'alarums and excursions' camps were formed at Pniel, Klipdrift and elsewhere along the Vaal River, which were gradually assuming the appearance of settled towns, when an event happened which directed the attention of a majority of the diggers to another quarter.

In August 1870, a fine diamond had been unearthed at Jagersfontein in the Orange Free State, and shortly afterwards others were found at Du Toit's Pan, De Beers, and other points in what is now the Division of Kimberley.

The prospectors, who soon numbered many thousands, were for a time under the impression that they were still in the presence of shallow deposits, or drifts similar

to those they were already familiar with at the river diggings. They gradually realised that they had struck true diamond mines ; ‘ pipes ’ of circular or oval shape, with well-defined containing walls, and going down to an unknown depth.

From this moment, the inroad of diggers from all quarters of the globe became irresistible. One of these ‘ rushes ’ took place on what was called Colesberg Kopje, because the chief workers hailed from the little town of Colesberg. The kopje has long since been carted bodily away, and in its place there is a vast circular pit, hundreds of feet deep, which for some years was a scene of superhuman activity, but has now fallen quiet, owing to the system of working in shafts instead of in the open. This one-time kopje is now the Kimberley Mine, and nearly 3000 feet below its surface diamonds are still being extracted in enormous quantities. About the same time (August 1871) the farm ‘ Vooruitzigt,’ or De Beers, was rushed. Large numbers of claims were pegged out, each claim being 30 by 10 feet, and the licence being generally ten shillings per claim per month.

The name ‘ Vooruitzigt ’ was declared by Lord Kimberley to be unpronounceable, and its alternative ‘ New Rush ’ to be rowdy. The place was therefore officially christened ‘ Kimberley.’

Southey was made Lieutenant-Governor of the territory, and one of his early proclamations, conceived in a spirit of hardihood, endeavoured to suppress gambling. It is said by Wilmot that Rhodes, not then twenty, helped to draft the proclamation. If so, it was his first recorded intervention in affairs of State.

Large numbers of Kafirs came to these camps for work ; the veld was white with diggers’ tents ; and, though the Free State authorities issued proclamations

similar to those of the Transvaal, they passed unregarded, and the population increased daily. But it was not until June 1874 that a Mining Ordinance passed into law, and the Mining Board was created a month later.

Very naturally the news of the discoveries disturbed the minds of our cotton planters in the secluded valley of the Umkomaas. Herbert, in May 1871, was the first to start. Hawkins left in June, reaching Colesberg Kopje in July. The trip in those days occupied from a fortnight to a month, the route being through Mooi River, Estcourt, Colenso, over the Drakensberg Mountains 6000 feet above the sea, to Harrismith, Bloemfontein, and Colesberg Kopje.

Cecil remained behind to dispose of his crop, and to attend the annual meeting of the Agricultural Society at Maritzburg, held on the 25th May, where he exhibited a sample of cotton, but was unsuccessful in obtaining a prize.

At a well-attended dinner in the evening the President, I observe, was supported on his right by Colonel the Hon. B. M. Ward, and on his left by the Hon. Theophilus Shepstone, who came, later on, into great prominence by his annexation of the Transvaal.

The Press report concludes by stating that Captain Bond proposed the toast of 'The Ladies,' and Mr. Rhodes responded! His speech is unreported, leaving the world not much poorer, perhaps, for the omission, but here we have undoubtedly run to earth the first public utterance of Cecil Rhodes.

In October 1871, having wound up the firm's affairs, Cecil at length bade adieu to Natal, and started for Colesberg Kopje in a Scotch cart drawn by a team of oxen, carrying with him a bucket and spade, several volumes of the classics and a Greek lexicon—surely the

strangest equipment for a youth in his 'teens, bound for a miners' camp! He arrived at his destination about the end of November, and Herbert, always on the move, at once handed over to him the working of his claim, and left for England.

It was under these circumstances that the lad found himself once more a stranger in a strange land, but his own master, and hiding under a shy exterior a masterful will, and a mind capable of forming and carrying into effect the most far-reaching projects. He was engaged in a bewilderingly novel industry, and he was surrounded by diggers of all nationalities; keen, resourceful and often unscrupulous men, against whom he was destined to pit his brains and, after long and arduous struggles, to emerge an undisputed victor. The uneventful life in Natal was over for ever, and he was now, on a larger field of action, to give evidence of those great abilities which, later on, made him one of the most conspicuous figures in the British Empire.

PART II

CHAPTER V

EARLY DAYS ON THE DIAMOND FIELDS (1872-1874)

Letter to Dr. Sutherland—River diggings—Reminiscences of friends—Frank Rhodes arrives—Cecil visits England—Enters at Oriel—Another letter to Dr. Sutherland—Mr. Dick Lauder—Death of Rhodes's mother—B. I. Barnato—Affairs on the Diamond Fields—Further letter to Dr. Sutherland—Compassion on a fellow-passenger—Froude visits Kimberley.

ONE of the first letters written by Cecil Rhodes from the Diamond Fields was to his kind friend Dr. Sutherland. As such, it may be of interest, and it is therefore subjoined.

'Sunday, Dec. 17/71,

DE BEER'S NEW RUSH.

'DEAR DR. SUTHERLAND,—My brother, as you expected, had sailed for England before your letter reached here. Many thanks for your kindness in answering his inquiries about land in Glendale.

'I forwarded a copy of your letter to him. I think it would be better to let the matter rest until you hear from my brother.

'As far as I am myself concerned I should think it a pity to purchase any land before seeing it; and there would be the same objections with respect to Glendale as to the Umkomaas.

'I mean the transport out of the valley, and the want of rain.

‘ I heard from Cole that Sewell’s sluic had dried up ; it really seems an ill-fated valley. Whatever is poor Powys going to do ? I suppose after being burnt out and the cotton dried up, he must be thinking of abandoning the Umkomaas. You really ought to take a holiday and come up here ; you could make my tent your headquarters and visit all the diggings. This kopje is still yielding at the same enormous rate and no bottom has yet been struck.

‘ People keep arriving every day from Natal. I am afraid many find a great difficulty in obtaining claims, as of course they do not care to give the enormous prices asked.

‘ The only chance is to bring up plenty of Caffres, as labour is still very scarce, and then get a claim on percentage.

‘ The usual terms on the Colesberg Kopje are that the worker finds everything and gives the owner of the ground 50 per cent., and people are only too glad to get claims, even on these terms.

‘ Are you thinking of sending a party up ? I should think it would be barely a paying speculation. Of course, there is always a chance of a new Rush, but at the present moment you would have to give either a large sum for a claim or a heavy percentage of finds. Then of course you must send a white man with the party and he must have a percentage, leaving very little for yourself. The tools used here are picks, shovels and ordinary zinc buckets ; rope for hauling the buckets out of the claims, and sieving which I would buy up here, as the slightest particle of an inch either way makes all the difference.

‘ I would send a good stock of provisions, as everything is very dear ; any bacon you may have as, though

it may get overstocked, it is now about 2s. per lb. Natal preserves are selling at 2s. 6d. per pot, sugar from 9d. to 10d., tea about 5s. 6d. a pound.

‘ I hope I am not boring you, but I thought if you were going to send a party up you would like to know what is most necessary up here.

‘ With many thanks again for your kindness.—Believe me, yours truly,
C. RHODES.’

It will be observed that Herbert Rhodes had made inquiries as to land in Natal, but had sailed for England without awaiting a reply. Glendale, the property referred to, was the projected site of a township, locally known as the ‘ Frying Pan ’ owing to its intense heat. Situated 5 miles from Riet Valley, an abandoned station of ‘ the late Cotton Co., ’ it was tried about this time for coffee with equal non-success, but it ultimately became a sugar estate.

Cecil, having put his hand to the plough, was not disposed to look back. With his wider outlook, he preferred to ‘ let the matter rest, ’ and thought it ‘ a pity to purchase any land before seeing it.’

Throughout the year 1872, he threw himself heartily into his new life, working his claims and those of his brother, and beginning to speculate in the purchase and sale of other claims.

He was never much of a believer in the river diggings, where numerous prospectors were earning a somewhat precarious living. The alluvial deposits at Klipdrift, Delport’s Hope, Gong-gong, Pniel, Waldek’s Plant, Forlorn Hope, Union Kopje and others, extended from 20 miles N.E. of Klipdrift to Sefonell’s or Sivonellis, 60 miles to the westward. As a gamble, they exercised a fascination over many men, who preferred the shady

banks of the Vaal River to the dust and noise of what they contemptuously called the 'Dry Diggings'—Du Toit's Pan, Bultfontein, De Beers and Colesberg Kopje, all of which had been proclaimed by Sir Henry Barkly in 1871 as British territory, and erected into the Crown Colony of Griqualand West under Sir Richard, then Mr., Southey, as Lieutenant-Governor.

By the time of Cecil's arrival at the close of 1871, Colesberg Kopje, or Kimberley, had become a township of some size, and although the discomforts of the mining camp were considerable, he believed in its permanence and stuck to it. One of his acquaintances at that time has described him as 'pleasant-mannered and clever, but odd and abstracted, and apt to fly off at a tangent.'

Imperialist (Chapman & Hall, Edition 1897) depicts him as 'a tall English lad, sitting at a table diamond-sorting and superintending his gang of Kafirs near the edge of the huge open chasm or quarry which then constituted the mine.'

His table was in the open air and, sitting there, he had to scrutinise narrowly the pulverised yellow ground sifted before him for the sake of its valuable contents. As the young claim-holder is stated, by several observers, always to have had a book with him, it is probable that many of his diamonds were abstracted by his keen-eyed 'boys'; indeed, a large number of diamonds escaped even their observation, and were carted away with the debris, which, long afterwards, was rewashed, with astonishing results.

But he was not long in arriving at the conclusion that there was a far more profitable field open to him than to labour with his own hands, or superintend the labour of a few Kafirs, and he continued to buy and sell

claims in conjunction with his friend Hawkins, to their mutual advantage.

The system of individual claims led to immense speculation, but as they increased in depth the partition walls or roads between them became more and more dangerous, and by the end of 1872 they had caved in and covered many of the claims altogether. The reef difficulties, afterwards so interminable, had commenced.

Cecil is described about this time as 'with his hands deep in his jacket pockets, going silently and abstractedly to his breakfast.' Indeed he had much to think about.

A now well-known artist, who was then also a youth at Kimberley, sends me the following description of the place in 1872, and of Rhodes in those early days :—

'The New Rush, as Kimberley was called in 1872, was a chaos of tents and rubbish heaps seen through a haze of dust. I had tumbled, numbed and sleepy, out of the coach that for twelve days and nights had jolted on over mountain and veld, and landed me at length amongst the rubbish heaps of Du Toit's Pan. Having a friend at "the Rush," I set out at once to find him, but it was a puzzling business tracking men to their camps in those days, for the whole place was a heterogeneous collection of tents, waggons, native kraals and debris heaps, each set down with cheerful irresponsibility and indifference to order. At length, however, after following many distracting directions, I lit upon a little cluster of tents and beehive huts, set round an old and gnarled mimosa tree : a Zulu was chopping wood and an Indian cook was coming out of the mess tent with a pile of plates : and here it was I found my friend.

'Alongside of him was a tall fair boy, blue-eyed, and with somewhat aquiline features, wearing flannels of the

school playing field, somewhat shrunken with strenuous rather than effectual washings, that still left the colour of the red veld dust—a harmony in a prevailing scheme. This was my first impression of Cecil John Rhodes. As we brought our tents and set them next to his, I was destined in the following year to see much of him.

‘The burly man of later years was at this time a slender stripling, showing some traces of the delicacy that had sent him to the Cape. He had not long come to the Fields, and the impression made upon such a nature as his by the novel world in which he found himself must have been particularly penetrating. Fresh from home and school, he found himself amongst men of much experience in many walks of life ; his self-reliance led him into competition with them ; and good fortune, and his clear head, brought him out on top.

‘Digging for diamonds sounds a fascinating Sinbad sort of occupation, but in reality it was far from velvety. The summer days were incredibly hot and the winter nights extremely cold, and we had nothing but a little canvas between us and these extremes. Added to which mining was just then very dangerous. The roads that had been left across the mine were tall causeways of crumbling tufa, sometimes 60 feet above the claims on either hand, and constantly falling, to the great danger of the workers below. Ox-carts and mule-carts, that lumbered along these perilous ways, not infrequently went over, and altogether the claims were not pleasant spots to work in.

‘But they were pleasanter than the Sorting Places, where, in those primitive days, the digger sat amongst his Kafirs, in the blinding sun and dust, passing the sifted granules of tufa before his dazzled eyes. Great heaps and mounds of this debris grew round the vast

basin of the mine, rising month by month as the excavated cavity of the crater grew deeper and deeper. Mound and mine were black with men moving and working with ant-like activity. And the cries and songs of the natives, the whirling of innumerable windlasses and the crash of buckets filled the air.

‘ From this high vantage one could see all the camp : gleaming patches of canvas, stretching away to the open veld, all shimmering in the noonday heat. I was working for some time near Rhodes’s ground, and the picture of his tall delicate figure crumpled up on an inverted bucket, as he sat scraping his gravel surrounded by his dusky Zulus, lives in my memory.

‘ In the course of the Cape winter of 1872, Herbert returned bringing with him his brother Frank, who was destined to play a prominent part in Africa and elsewhere. He had been to Eton, and was waiting for his Commission. Of unusually pleasant manners and with a very shrewd outlook on the actualities of life, Francis Rhodes was bound to win success. 1st Royals, India with Lord Harris, Uganda with Sir Gerald Portal, the Sudan, the Raid, *Times* Correspondent, with Kitchener at Khartum, and finally besieged in Ladysmith, his life’s history forms a brilliant pendant to Cecil’s !

‘ As for Herbert, he was what is called in Ireland a “ play-boy ” and he must needs go a-hunting ; for the necessary expenses he sold his claim to Cecil, and trekked off into the veld, and the rest of his days were spent in great part on the confines of civilisation. He was a member of the Transvaal “ Volksraad ” for the mining camp of Pilgrim’s Rest about 1874, and died tragically years after through fire.

‘ During the same winter of ’72, Cecil also went for an expedition into the Transvaal, and the experience he

gained of Boer life and ways must have been of great service to him in later years. While he was away Frank looked after the claim.

‘ Many young men would have been content to float on this easy tide of good fortune, but it was not so with Cecil Rhodes. I remember his telling me that he had made up his mind to go to the University, it would help him in his career ; also that it might be wise if he were to eat his dinners, the position of a barrister “ was always useful.” Then in his abrupt way he said, “ I dare say you think I am keen about money ; I assure you I wouldn’t greatly care if I lost all I have to-morrow, it ’s the game I like ” ; and so, shortly after, he went to Oxford, but before going he made several investments in claims and also in diamonds ; he became very interested in old De Beers, and used to speak of it as a “ nice little mine.”

‘ Then he went to Oriel and lived the life of the usual undergraduate—with a difference. I stayed with him at Oxford some years later and saw this difference, but I doubted at the time that his college friends did ; he played polo, a somewhat new game in those days, and worked and amused himself much as other men did, but I could not help thinking, as we sauntered up the High, of Kimberley far away and all the schemes and deals that this strange undergraduate was engaged in while he lived amongst boys not yet entered upon the hard business of life.

‘ But this was, as I said before, some years after ; for a cold, caught rowing on the Isis, suspended his University career for some time and sent him once more back to Africa.

‘ The voyage, however, set him up, and he arrived at Kimberley well, and keen for the contest. Here again

Fortune had her eye on her friend, and brought him out at a favourable moment. Heavy rains had fallen that spring and had flooded the mines, and the digging community was rather helpless. The claims were by this time much subdivided, being worked by men having little or no capital, and with small gangs of Kafirs; there was no machinery or any means of draining the mines. Rhodes saw his chance; he managed to get hold of a practical engineer with whom he went down to the Colony and bought a couple of old engines of the threshing-machine order, and some centrifugal pumps, and sent in tenders to drain the two mines of Du Toit's Pan and old De Beers. There was no serious opposition, the tenders were accepted, and he was soon busily engaged pumping the two mines under a very satisfactory contract.

'It was not all quite smooth, however; the old agricultural machines were a bit asthmatic, and frequently broke down, and the practical engineer had his hands full to keep them in health and the mines dry. Then the fuel was a great difficulty, the radius of the wood-supply was steadily retiring before the increasing demand, and at that date there was no coal; but Rhodes had a shaggy Basuto pony and an old yellow cart in which he scoured the country before sunrise to waylay the great Boer wood waggons as they lumbered to the Kimberley market. Yes, it was assuredly "the game" that he loved.

'Until Rhodes finally took his degree he was continually going and coming between Oxford and Kimberley. His interests in the latter were, of course, always growing, and it is difficult to understand how he managed to keep his attention sufficiently fixed on his academic studies to enable him to pass.

‘ But Kimberley was his real university, and it was there that he graduated, it was there that he gained that insight into the intricacies of men’s hearts that gave him in after years a power to govern their actions. If Africa was shaped by Rhodes in the days to come, it was because Africa shaped him in his youth.

‘ As I search my memory for the Rhodes of the early seventies, I seem to see a fair young man, frequently sunk in deep thoughts, his hands buried in his trousers pockets, his legs crossed and possibly twisted together, quite oblivious of the talk around him ; then without a word he would get up and go out with some set purpose in his mind which he was at no pains to communicate. The same dual qualities that were to go with him through life were discernible now. He was a compound of moody silence and impulsive action. He was hot and even violent at times, but in working towards his ends he laid his plans with care and circumspection. He was fond of putting the case against himself. “ You will probably think so and so,” he would say, then he would balance his own contention against the view that he felt the devil’s advocate would take ; this habit of seeing the other side probably helped him much in his career. Few men are adequately aware what the other side thinks.

‘ The duality of his nature, the contemplative and the executive, had a curious counterpart in his voice, which broke, when he was excited, into a sort of falsetto, unusual in a man of his make ; his laugh also had this falsetto note.

‘ In all his wide range he had no place for personal appearance ; of this he was contemptuously indifferent. I remember the laughter he evoked by describing how, on his first return home, during the voyage his one pair

of trousers gave out in an important detail, and he had to stay in his berth until a sailor patched them with a piece of sail-cloth. The punctilious regard for minutiae which is usual in business men was absent in his character; he was hopelessly untidy. Very simple in his tastes and wanting few things, he determined only to trouble himself about the most important, but for the attainment of these he spared neither himself nor others.

‘ He mostly consorted with older men, but I remember his warm friendship for one of his own age, Christian Maasdorp—a friendship that suffered no abatement from black eyes and puffed features that seemed to mark some moment of disagreement. I like to mention this, as it restores some of the balance due to youth.

‘ Almost a generation had passed away before I saw Cecil Rhodes again. In the meantime he had amplified the map of Africa, and had printed his name across a vast province. For good or evil, as men felt, this name had been bruited about the world as an empire-builder, a great financier, a man of vast schemes.

‘ I sat in the ante-room of a London hotel and waited for him. A murmur came to me through the folding doors, the deliberations of a joint-stock company reduced to one note. At length the door opened and the great man came across to where I was. We greeted and looked narrowly at each other, as men do who seek to strip away the disguise in which the years have clad them and see again the familiar face and figure. This burly frame, topped with the heavy-lined Napoleonic head—was this what time and the making of colonies had done with the stripling of yesterday?

‘ We talked, but we talked carefully, for many that we knew were dead, and others were ranged in opposing camps. Then I said to him, “ You, of all the men I

have known, have made the biggest thing of life, you have written your name widest and highest. Now I want to know how you feel about it ; have you enjoyed it ? Has it been worth all the trouble ? ”

‘ He paused and looked at me, and then in the falsetto that I so well remembered, he said, “ Yes ! I enjoyed it. Oh yes ! ” he added, as though reassuring himself, “ it has been worth the candle,” then with a grim smile he added, “ When I thought Kruger was going to hang Frank, and I was not very sure they mightn’t hang me too, I didn’t like that.” Then again, with another change, he went on, as he walked up and down in his old impatient manner, “ No, the great fault of life is its shortness. Just as one is beginning to know the game, one has to stop.” In truth, it was *the game* he loved, and very soon he had to stop.’

When Frank Rhodes returned to England, Herbert’s roving nature again asserted itself and, persuading Hawkins to accompany him, he departed for Natal, where, at the instigation of a sanguine prospector, he purchased a waggon and oxen and trekked for the Northern Transvaal, and spent two or three years at and near Spitzkop looking for alluvial gold with only moderate success.

Others, however, were more fortunate, as the following brief note of his, rescued from the Press of the period, will show :—

‘ PILGRIM’S REST, 2nd Dec. 1875.

‘ To DR. BIRD.

‘ I beg to inform you that Messrs. Orsmond and Barrington, two miners at Pilgrim’s Rest, found 13½ lbs. weight of gold in one half day’s work. The gold was weighed in grocers’ scales, the same as sugar, and washed

out in a dish. Amongst the gold was one nugget of 4 lbs. weight, two of 3 lbs. weight, etc., all coarse gold.
 ‘ H. RHODES.’

During the winter of 1872, Cecil made a tour of inspection on his own account. Striking north to beyond what is now Mafeking, he travelled in an ox-waggon to Pretoria, Murchison, Middelburg and back to Kimberley, having spent a delightful seven or eight months on the veld, and laid the foundation of that affectionate regard he ever after felt for the patriarchal and hospitable Boers.

Doubtless in the vast solitudes through which he travelled he had leisure for many reflections as to the future of South Africa, and possibly on that parliamentary life at the Cape which he subsequently adorned.

But his first ambition was to complete his education. After making the necessary business arrangements and keeping steadily to his purpose, he set his face towards Oxford, arriving in England in August 1873. The following letter is undated, as usual, but from internal evidence was written early in October 1873:—

‘ BISHOP’S STORTFORD, HERTS, ENGLAND.

‘ MY DEAR DR. SUTHERLAND,—You will wonder who it is, writing to you from the above direction. I have no doubt you have almost forgotten my existence, and you may be sure that I only write to bother you in some way or other. I have asked my agent at the Fields to send you any money that arises from my Diamond claims at Colesberg Kopje, and I want to ask you whether you would mind investing it for me in Natal. I prefer Railway shares and £18 or even £19 would not be too much, but if you will be kind enough to take the trouble for one of *your old emigrants* I feel I cannot

do better than leave it to your discretion. . . . I prefer putting any money I may derive now from my claims out in the Colony, as the interest is better and it saves the expense of sending home.

‘ As to my brother’s farm in the Umkomaas, I think he did very wisely not to drop any more money down it. You would be surprised if I told you what a sink it has been. I believe if one only kept on, it has a capacity to absorb any amount of capital. I have now a farm of 3000 acres in the Transvaal, which is no earthly good and only sunk money. We also own that farm of Major Dartnell’s. I suppose there would be no chance of exchanging for a farm near the coal districts? Is it too late? I have told Lauder to send you down my money as he makes it, unless, of course, you refuse the bother.

‘ I am rather sorry now all the money I made I brought home to England; one puts it out at such low interest, as high interest here is another name for “smash.”

‘ I go up to Oxford next week. Whether I become the village parson, which you sometimes imagined me as, remains to be proved. I am afraid my constitution received rather too much of what they call the lust of the flesh at the Diamond Fields to render that result possible!

‘ Frank is in a cavalry regiment and I have another brother who has just got into the Engineers, so that we are fast becoming a military family. Whether I shall follow their example remains to be proved.

‘ I hope Mrs. Sutherland and the children are all quite well. Do your boys still gallop to school every day? I suppose you have not been down to the Umkomaas lately?

‘ I hear Dr. Gallaway is coming home. I very much

want to see him if he does. However I shall be sure to see his arrival in the papers.—Yours truly,

‘ C. J. RHODES.’

He was ‘ going up to Oxford next week ’ and, indeed, matriculated at Oriel in October 1873. The choice of Oriel may possibly have been prompted by the fact that the provost was a relative of his friend Hawkins. The authorities were not cognisant of the fact that they were entertaining unawares not indeed an angel, but a grateful student and munificent benefactor, for whom they now pray on Commemoration Day.

The letter just set forth was confirmatory of one written from England to his agent at Kimberley, Mr. John E. A. Dick Lauder, from which the following extract will suffice :—

‘ If you have any money of mine and do not care for a Diamond spec. send it to Dr. Sutherland to buy railway shares with in Natal. I mean not the new Railway, but the one that runs to the Point. There are always some on the market. Tell him not to bid higher than £18, but leave it a good deal to his discretion. You might ask him to put it into any investment he might suggest. It is no use sending money home.—Yours truly,

‘ C. J. RHODES.’

This letter must have reached Kimberley by the 10th September 1873, for on that date Mr. Dick Lauder wrote to Dr. Sutherland as follows :—

‘ KIMBERLEY, *Sept. 10th, 1873.*

‘ P. C. SUTHERLAND, Esq.,
Surveyor-General, Maritzburg.

‘ DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of dropping you a few lines in the first place to introduce myself as acting as

Mr. Cecil Rhodes's agent on the Diamond Fields. He asked me to send you certain moneys to invest for him, and I now enclose you a part of his letter to me *from England* which will show you exactly what he wants. If you will kindly let me know if it is all right, I will send you a draft on the Standard Bank for £150.—Yours truly,

JOHN E. A. DICK LAUDER.'

The letter is endorsed by the addressee in business-like fashion :—

'Reply—offering 12 shares at £18, 10s. or to deposit at Natal Bank, etc.'

On 3rd December 1873, Mr. Dick Lauder again wrote to Dr. Sutherland as follows :—

'KIMBERLEY, Dec. 3, 1873.

'Yours to hand of the 19th November, for which many thanks. I think that as you have written to Mr. C. Rhodes about investing money in Natal, I will leave it entirely to him to do as he likes and therefore send down by this mail a draft on the Standard Bank for the sum of £200, so that, should you want any money to invest for him, it will be all ready for you. I am going to England at once myself or would have waited to hear from Mr. Rhodes. I will see him at home and tell him what I have done.'

This apparently trivial correspondence is not without its interest. The foresight of Cecil Rhodes, even in a small matter, is very marked. He would not invest money in England, where the return was poor. He would not sink any more money on land in Natal. But he was a buyer of Railway shares there. 'Not the

new Railway,' he says, that being a Government line, paid for with money borrowed in England, but 'the one that runs to the Point.'

The allusion is to a short private line then running from the landing-place at the port of Durban to the town itself. The writer already saw that the discovery of diamonds and gold would greatly stimulate the demand for imported merchandise, South Africa being in no sense a manufacturing country. He saw also that the geographical position of Durban, an energetic and advancing port, would secure for it a considerable share of the coming trade, all of which must travel over 'the little line' to connect with the projected Government railway.

Incidentally, one gathers that his father was still pressing him to enter the Church or the Army, but he evades the issue with a lighter, more playful touch than, with him, was usual.

The Vicar at this time was in poor health, and was residing at Woodhall Spa for the benefit of the cure. Cecil is said to have rather surprised visitors there by presenting them with uncut diamonds, which he carried about in his waistcoat pockets.

But the Vicar was to have his thoughts turned suddenly in another direction, for on the 1st November 1873 his wife, to whom he was deeply attached, died and was buried at Bishop's Stortford—Cecil, at the age of twenty, thus losing the good influence of a devoted mother, with whom he had, contrary to his wont, carried on a very voluminous correspondence.

It was in July 1873, as Cecil Rhodes was on his way to England, that he passed on the water, outward bound in the steamer *Anglian*, a young fellow of exactly his own age, a Jewish lad of respectable lineage and limited

means, with whom he found himself, later on, involved in a tremendous struggle for supremacy.

Barnett Isaacs, the grandson of an honoured Rabbi, but the son of a small shopkeeper, was educated at the Hebrew Free School at Spitalfields. When he left it at the age of fourteen to serve in the shop, he entered on life with one of the shrewdest intellects of his generation, with high spirits, a talent for low comedy, a merry disposition and undaunted courage. Under the well-known 'stage' name of Barney Barnato, he subsequently founded the Barnato Mining Company, amalgamated it with the Standard Company, and thus formed the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company by buying up joint-stock and private interests, at the same time and in the same way that Cecil Rhodes created the De Beers Company. I shall record, in its proper place, how these two men came ultimately face to face and how, after a prolonged struggle, the Jew capitulated, though with all the honours of war. 'Rhodes was a great man,' said Barnato once, 'for he bested me.'

In March 1874, Cecil was once more at Kimberley, his return from Oxford being accelerated by the advice of a specialist who found both his heart and lungs affected, and entered in his case-book a prophecy, 'Not six months to live.' This diagnosis was to some extent confirmed in June by a local practitioner, who said the patient must not think of ever returning to England. Much dispirited, Rhodes unbosomed himself to a lady for whom he had a great regard, and who was just leaving with her husband on a trip to Fourteen Streams in an ox-waggon. He gladly accepted her invitation to accompany them, and his twenty-first birthday was spent at Hebron, on the banks of the Vaal River. The weather was cold and bracing, and the open-air life,

abundant exercise, plain living and early hours did him a world of good, and he returned to the Diamond Fields in restored health.

It was the year of the repeal of the old regulation against the possession of more than one claim. The consolidation of small interests at once commenced. Barnato's financial genius soon asserted itself, but Cecil Rhodes, equally astute, and having fewer limitations, outshone him. The two young diggers, just of age, came to be recognised as the ablest speculators on the Diamond Fields. Their comrades and their rivals were senior in years, men of greater resources and more trained business experience, but Barnato and Rhodes were the Napoleon and Wellington of the rough community. Genius overleaps all barriers. Both the contestants lived to enter parliamentary life, and died millionaires, but only one of them left a permanent mark on the history of his adopted country.

Cecil Rhodes at this period was still, to all appearance, a shy, awkward youth, addicted to classical studies. His ambitions were absolutely unknown.

Mr. Gardiner Williams, in his standard work on the Diamond Fields, describes him as 'a tall gaunt youth, roughly dressed, coated with dust, sitting moodily on a bucket, deaf to the chatter and rattle about him, his blue eyes fixed intently on his work or on some fabric of his brain.'

It must not be thought that life on the Diamond Fields was an easy one. Camp fever was very prevalent; there were no amenities and the anxieties were manifold. Early in 1874 the reef fell in continuously both at Colesberg Kopje and in De Beers. Thousands of tons of shale covered some of the claims, and the value of others fluctuated violently, as did the price of diamonds,

making speculation a risky procedure. Many of the diggers moved off. Throughout it all Rhodes stuck to his post, selecting trustworthy agents to work his claims on 'halves'—that is, the owner took half the profits, the lessee the other half, out of which he paid his working expenses and kept his gear in repair.

At one time there were terrific floods until hardly a brick house was left standing in either camp. The Mining Board taxation was onerous. There was also litigation with the Government, the Griqualand West Legislative Council carrying a Bill to resume the right of the Crown to all diamonds found in the territory. Fortunately for the public peace, the Home Government disallowed the measure. Commercial credit was at a low ebb. The banks refused advances and bankruptcies were numerous. Operators like Rhodes were therefore liable to ruin at any moment. 'He was often hard up,' says one friend, 'as we all were.'

His speculations involved the necessity of realising his small Natal investment. The following is his letter to Dr. Sutherland on the subject:—

'May 28/74,

KIMBERLEY DIAMOND FIELDS.

'DEAR DR. SUTHERLAND,—Many thanks for your letter. I have a bill to meet of £150, so would like to know if you could sell those shares for what they were bought, or (what I would prefer) could you get me £150 on them at the Natal Bank and remit to me ?

'I am not a great believer in Churches or Church purposes, in fact am afraid life at College and at the Diamond Fields has not tended to strengthen my religious principles. There was a man who came out with me named Williams, a second-class passenger in the *Asiatic*.

He went on to Natal very bad with consumption and hard up: no friends: packed off from England to die abroad. If he is not dead, please give him the balance. If he is dead, take it for the Church. I fear he is dead by this time. Saulez came out with me; he knows about him. If you could manage any means to send him to the Free State, I would pay the further expense.

'Mine and my brother's land below I suppose is not worth having. These Umkomaas Valleys, if they won't grow cotton, are perfectly useless.—Yrs.,

' C. RHODES.

'*P.S.*—Just now the Kopje is full of water, no money coming in from ground, all going out. In about six months I could repay the Bank. Please remit, if you can, by return.'

It is to be inferred that Dr. Sutherland had asked him for a contribution towards Church work in Natal, but he 'was not a great believer in Churches.' Official Christianity and dogma had no attraction for him, and he was frank enough to avow that college and mining life 'had not strengthened his religious principles.' But if Christianity is to stand or fall by its results, 'going about doing good' must be taken into account.

Cecil Rhodes was not a regular, or even an irregular, attendant at divine service, but in practice he was a good Samaritan. If his was not the conventional religion of the churches, whether established or unestablished, it was, at all events, a very real and practical religion of humanity that dictated this brief note. In the same breathless sentence that announced his unorthodoxy he went on to set apart all, and perhaps more than all, he could spare towards giving a chance of life to a poor second-class passenger whose condition had moved his

compassion. He was not one to advertise his generosity, for he loved, all his life, to do good by stealth. No one will ever know, this side of the great day of reckoning, the hundreds of cases he relieved by timely financial aid, or by words of sympathy and high hope, more potent to alleviate distress than any pecuniary assistance. Most of his friends can recall instances of his generosity. None of us know them all. But they are doubtless recorded in that 'Volume of the Book' kept by Him from whom no secrets are hid.

Towards the end of 1874, although the depression remained and litigation between claim-holders continued, brighter days seemed about to dawn, and by the end of October the Kimberley Mine had been unwatered by Rhodes at great expense. Many fine diamonds were found about this time, among them stones of 114 and 237 carats.

On 5th December, Mr. J. A. Froude was at Kimberley as the special representative of Lord Carnarvon, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. At a banquet given in his honour, he made one of his facile, eloquent but unpractical speeches in favour of Federation, forgetting perhaps the wise saying of Laou-tsze that a nation is a growth and not a manufacture.

It is permissible to believe that Rhodes was there, a not inattentive listener.

CHAPTER VI

KIMBERLEY REMINISCENCES (1875-1880)

Early struggles—Poverty—Amalgamation of mining interests—Extinction of individual digger—Arrival of Alfred Beit—Mining vicissitudes—Discovery of 'Blue' ground—Pumping contract—Mr. C. D. Rudd—Sir Charles Warren—First will—Historical survey—Dr. Jameson arrives—Death of the Vicar—Death of Herbert Rhodes—Controversy with Orange Free State—Settlement for £90,000—Gaika war—Annexation of Transvaal—Anthony Trollope.

DURING the period on which I am now entering, Cecil Rhodes lived a strenuous and, in one sense, a dual life, for he spent, as a rule, several months in each year at Kimberley and the remainder at Oriel College.

In September 1875, young Hawkins returned from Spitzkop to the Diamond Fields and thus records his impressions :—

' I found Cecil very much grown and now a man of some importance and authority. He and a few others had a small mess in a wood and iron house, between Kimberley and De Beers. Amongst others, there were the late Sir Jacob Barry and Sir Sidney Shippard. I frequently dined there with Rhodes and was always much struck with the lead he took in any discussion, and the attention paid to whatever he said by men much older than himself, for he was then only twenty-two. It showed, in a small way even then, that he was marked out as a leader of men.'

Mr. Justice Lawrence, in his pleasantly discursive volume, *On Circuit in Kafirland*, says of him :—

' In the early days he used often to sit for hours on

the margin of the De Beers Mine apparently idling, but really reflecting and getting his ideas into shape.

‘ One rather shuns the hackneyed word “ magnetic,” but he certainly possessed an exceptional will-power, and a peculiar skill in using the topics and arguments which most effectively appealed to his immediate interlocutor or audience. He was thus enabled, by the combination of force and knowledge of character, to exercise a singular ascendancy over all sorts and conditions of men, illustrious personages and powerful capitalists, politicians and men of business, farmers, working men and native chiefs, who came within the ambit of his influence.

‘ His mould was that of the great merchant adventurers of an earlier age, who laid the foundations of that dominion beyond the seas, over which King Edward has for the first time, in his style and title, formally recognised the sway of the British Crown. Adventures are to the adventurous ; and it was reserved for Mr. Rhodes to show that, even in the nineteenth century, it was still possible for a British subject to be a great adventurer.’

The amalgamation of conflicting interests in the De Beers Mine proceeded slowly. So far back as 1873, Rhodes had joined hands with Charles Dunell Rudd, a Harrow and Cambridge man, nine years his senior, and the partners had gradually increased their holdings in the mine. Robert Graham’s claims were secured in 1874, and, shortly afterwards, those of other holders.

The partners traded as Rhodes, Rudd and Alderson, and their first aim was to secure the entire ownership of a block of claims known as Baxter’s Gully.

At one time a chance arose of purchasing the entire

mine for £6000, but the project failed owing to their inability to raise the necessary funds. They were under heavy pecuniary liability at one time to one of the banks, by whom they were treated with scant consideration, a fact Rhodes, who had a retentive memory, never forgot. Until long afterwards he exhibited a marked antipathy to all banking institutions.

Mr. Gardiner Williams says, 'Money was not very plentiful in those days, as is shown by the fact that one of the first cheques of the De Beers Mining Company was drawn by Rhodes in his own favour for £5, as an advance against his salary as secretary.'

In 1878 Rhodes, with eleven others, kept bachelor quarters in Kimberley, and the group were locally nicknamed the Twelve Apostles.

As the original De Beers Mining Company was only registered on 1st April 1880 with a capital of £200,000, it is clear that the intervening years were a period of great financial anxiety to Rhodes and his friends. Even so late as 2nd September 1885, he wrote to one of them, 'We are just off to England. Have had to square my Bank account with £100.'

The year in which they founded their first company, Barnato, working on similar lines, created the Barnato Mining Company, which comprised some of the richest claims in the Kimberley Mine. It is noticeable that Rhodes, out of a sentiment that never failed him, retained the name of the Dutch Boer who had owned the property, while Barnato gave to his company his own name.

The two corporations, operating side by side, did not come into competition for several years, when a prolonged struggle for supremacy occurred, as will be described later on.

Meanwhile Rhodes secured a new ally in the person of a young man, who for sheer financial ability must, in strict justice, be admitted to have outshone both Rhodes and Barnato as conclusively as they outshone all their other competitors.

In 1875 there came to Kimberley from Hamburg, as a diamond buyer, a youth of the same age as Rhodes, of the name of Alfred Beit. Born of a wealthy and honourable family, and possessing in abundance all those qualities which make for success in life, he was gradually drawn into close, and ever closer, relations with Rhodes. For many years before their death—for the one did not long survive the other—it is not too much to say that they were the complement to each other.

The far-reaching aspirations of Rhodes were translated into accomplished facts by the intellectual and financial aid of his loyal friend. Their minds acted and re-acted on one another, and although Rhodes was ordinarily one of the most self-reliant of men, his phrase in great emergencies was, 'What will Beit say?'

It is too early to write an adequate appreciation of Alfred Beit. The simplicity of his nature led him to prefer the shade. His singleness of aim, his kindness of heart, his princely but unobtrusive generosity, endeared him to a wide circle of friends. His business talents were of the highest order, and he possessed a nimbleness of apprehension and a power of mental arithmetic seldom equalled.

Though an alien by birth, he lived and died in England, and when he was laid to rest in the typical village churchyard of Tewin, in the county of Hertford, the county in which his distinguished friend was born, the

mourners present were profoundly moved by a sense of irreparable loss. The funeral, unlike that of Rhodes, was unaccompanied by demonstrations of national feeling, or by the royal salute of a war-like race, but in its homely beauty it was equally impressive.

During the seventies the diamond mining industry continued to be carried on under circumstances of ever-increasing difficulty. The constant falls of reef brought ruin to many and appalled the stoutest heart. Diggers' committees suggested crude and impracticable remedies. Mining Boards, with borrowing as well as rating powers, harassed the claim-holders, wasted immense sums, but left the position of affairs little better than they found it. To pay their way, diggers had to produce and throw on a weak market all the diamonds they could win, and this unrestricted output necessarily depressed prices still more. Many men, after a strenuous struggle, abandoned hope. Rhodes, Rudd, Beit, Barnato and a few other far-seeing claim-holders recognised not only the disease, but the remedy. Amalgamation of interests and regulation of the supply were to them the only chances of salvation, and they laid their plans accordingly.

To do him justice, Sir Richard Southey formed the same idea at an earlier date; writing to his friend Shepstone on the 29th August 1870, he predicted that the business, to be successful, 'must be worked by large companies.'

Meanwhile, in spite of all drawbacks, the industry manifested extraordinary vitality. Kimberley was still without railway communication. Supplies by ox-waggon were two months on the road, and were consequently sold on arrival at fabulous prices. The diggers lived in

tents, or in houses constructed out of packing cases. Their food was mainly tinned meat. Fever and dysentery were, therefore, rife. Many of them lost hope when the yellow ground gave out and they struck 'hard blue.' But Rhodes, and a limited circle of friends as cheerful as himself, saw that the blue, like the yellow, ground was contained within the walls of the reef, and that the diamonds on the surface must have been forced up from below. Consequently they held on, and their faith was justified when the 'blue' was disintegrated and found to contain diamonds in quantities exceeding even their hopes.

Hawkins records that in 1876 he was asked by Rhodes to accompany him one night to a meeting of De Beers Mining Board. 'Rhodes,' he says, 'had taken on a contract to pump out the mine, and there had been very great delay in the arrival of the necessary machinery if I remember aright, from financial reasons. The Board had become fractious and impatient. I have never forgotten the way in which he, still quite a youth, handled that body of angry men and gained his point, an extension of time.'

The pumping contract was in the hands of Rhodes, Rudd and Alderson, and they practically cleared the Kimberley, De Beers and Du Toit's Pan Mines of water, with very inferior machinery, including an irrigation pump purchased by Rhodes from a farmer in Victoria West.

There is a story connected with the acquisition of this pump which has been related to me. At the beginning of Rhodes's career, when he had, with his partners, got a contract to pump De Beers Mine free of water, the railway had only got within some 300 to 400 miles of Kimberley, and the necessary pumps had

been delayed. It looked as if he must fail to carry out the work, as nowhere could a suitable pump be found. One day, however, he heard that a farmer in the Karroo—a Mr. Devenish—had in his possession a pump of sufficient capacity, which he had bought for raising water to his cultivated lands, and he set off determined to buy it. The farmer, however, refused to sell, despite repeated requests from Rhodes. ‘No,’ he said, ‘I bought it for certain work and I want it.’

‘Yes,’ said Rhodes, ‘but you are not using it and not going to for some time, so sell it to me at a fair profit and send for another.’

‘No,’ said Mr. Devenish, ‘I might want it before another got here, so I absolutely refuse to sell.’

Rhodes went away, but returned in the afternoon and got the same reply. This went on for several days, and the farmer got quite annoyed at the sight of the young fellow coming up so often, and in sheer desperation said one morning, ‘Well, I will sell at . . .,’ naming a figure so much in excess of the value that he thought it would frighten Rhodes off for ever. To his astonishment the reply was, ‘Very well, I buy it; let’s get it on a waggon at once.’ And very shortly afterwards he set off in great glee with it for Kimberley.

The next trouble was to get there in time. The wet season was in full swing and the waggon was slow; in fact, the owner, a Boer, at last said he must wait till the weather moderated, else he would kill his oxen. Said Rhodes, ‘It will ruin me if you are not there by such a day.’ Replied the transport-rider, ‘It will ruin me if I try; my oxen are my only means of livelihood.’ ‘I will buy them,’ said Rhodes, ‘at a good

price, and you can get others ' ; little thinking that the Dutchman would consent, as he had no cash with him and knew well the objection of such people to accepting cheques. The Boer, however, said, ' It is right ; as you are a good sort of fellow, I will sell.' So down sat Rhodes and wrote him out a cheque in *pencil* as there was no pen or ink available ; and then they pushed on, getting to Kimberley in time, and he was able to lay the first foundation of his wealth. He used often to talk of the trustfulness of this Boer, and said that, like many of that race, he was one of Nature's gentlemen, and that from the day he made the deal with him he always had a greater respect for his countrymen.

Mr. Rudd remembers that on one occasion, during the absence of Alderson, on whose technical knowledge they mainly relied, they were obliged to continue the work unassisted. The work was heavy and done principally at night. One evening the partners tossed up as to which of them should attend to the engine on the floor of the mine, while the other, on the edge of the crater, superintended the removal of the debris to enable the water to flow off without hindrance. It fell to Rhodes's lot to work the engine. It was a calm and beautiful night and Rudd could see his partner walking up and down abstractedly, when suddenly there was an explosion and the engine was completely wrecked, Rhodes having forgotten to supply it with water !

Another anecdote of Rhodes may here be recorded as told many years later by Mr. W. W. Paddon. ' It was in 1876,' he says, ' that five young fellows, including Rhodes and myself, met in solemn conclave in a small room at Kimberley, to discuss the affairs of Greater Britain, and we decided to address a letter to the then

Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield. The proposals we put forward were characterised by much "cheek"! We pointed out exactly how the Empire should be governed. Much later in life Rhodes remarked to me that he had never deviated from the policy we then laid down in that shanty on the Diamond Fields.'

In the month of August 1877 Rhodes met the future General Sir Charles Warren, who was three years his senior. Warren was then a young engineer officer, but already possessed a C.M.G. and the appointment of Special Commissioner in connection with the delimitation of the Griqualand West boundary. They were destined to meet again in after years and not always in harmonious relations. The following incident has often been narrated. The two young men happened to travel northward together, Warren to attend the duties of his post, Rhodes returning from Oxford to Kimberley. Both were reserved, silent men, but Warren's curiosity was aroused by the fact that his companion relieved the tedium of the post-cart journey by intent study of the Book of Common Prayer, and he was still more astonished when his inquiry elicited the fact that the youth was mastering the 39 Articles, as part of his University curriculum.

In or about this month Rhodes suffered from his first attack of heart failure, which for a time so shook his nerves that his friends once found him in his room, blue with fright, his door barricaded with a chest of drawers and other furniture; he insisted that he had seen a ghost.

It was immediately after this incident, and no doubt as a result of it, that Rhodes made his first will. On 19th September 1877 his confidence in the ultimate success of his projects, though to ordinary observers

they were still precarious, led him to make a remarkable testamentary bequest. Elusive fortune seemed to others still far from his grasp, but his robust faith in his power eventually to dispose of millions, led this youth of twenty-four, amid his many anxieties, to leave his entire estate (before he had acquired it) to Lord Carnarvon, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to his successors in office, and to his friend Sidney Godolphin Shippard of the Inner Temple, *in Trust*. In the customary legal phraseology the document was precluded by the statement that it was his last Will and Testament, whereas it was his first and very far indeed from being his last. He describes himself as being of 'Oriental College, Oxford, but presently of Kimberley in the Province of Griqualand West, Esquire.'

Omitting the usual formalities, which may be taken as read, it will suffice to record that the trust was as follows: 'To and for the establishment, promotion and development of a Secret Society, the true aim and object whereof shall be the extension of British rule throughout the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom, and of colonisation by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labour and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire Continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates, the Islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the Islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the seaboard of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire, the inauguration of a system of Colonial representation in the Imperial

Parliament which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire, and, finally, the foundation of so great a Power as to hereafter render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity.'

This is the only clause in the Will, possibly because in no document drawn by human hands was there room for any more clauses without an anti-climax.

Compared with the Empire here breathlessly formulated, that of Rome seems pale and ineffective, even in its palmyest days, when the tramp of the Legions resounded across Europe and 'there went forth a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed.'

His daily companions amid the diamond claims and debris heaps of Kimberley, had they seen this astonishing document, might well have questioned his sanity of mind. But he kept his own counsel and went on with his usual work, never hasting, never resting, till he acquired the fortune, the disposition of which he had thus already provided for.

It is easy to laugh at the high-stepping political ambitions of the young digger 'sitting on the edge of the Kimberley mine.' It is easy to disparage the light that irradiated his day-dreams as a 'light that never was on sea or land.' But the document, for all that, is worth analysis. In one comprehensive sentence the world was reconstituted, North America recovered, South America occupied, all Africa annexed, China and Japan relegated to the position of Dependencies, the Isles of the Pacific colonised, the Holy Land secured for the Zionists, the route to India made safe by the acquisition of such strategical points as the Valley of the Euphrates, Cyprus and Candia, and then, as a result,

the re-united Anglo-Saxon race, one and indivisible, its ships on every sea, its flags on every shore, was to police the world and permit no shot to be fired and no war-drum to throb throughout a regenerated universe !

The course of events has fallen sadly short of the vision that presented itself to the ardent young Imperialist a generation ago. The United States of America have gone their own way and become a world-power, developing on lines of their own. We have not absorbed them, nor they us, and the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon stock are no nearer re-union than they were. German, rather than British, influence has expanded in South America. German influence too has penetrated Africa, both on its east and west coasts. China is awakening. Japan has 'found' herself, the Holy Land is still in the grip of the infidel, while the Isles of the Pacific have, in many cases, passed to foreign powers.

On 21st February 1853, before Rhodes was born, the Czar Nicolas, addressing Sir Hamilton Seymour, said, 'If in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the Empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objection to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia.'

We rejected the offer and preferred a showy war from which we gained nothing. Egypt, under stress of circumstances, has since come under our protection, and Cyprus was leased to us on 4th June 1878, within a year of Rhodes's will ; but Candia, though valuable as a strategical point, is not ours, and the only continent on which we have widely extended our dominions is the continent on which he personally laboured. The consolidation of the Empire, the creation of a truly Imperial

Parliament, the systematic planting out of our surplus population: all these great questions are still in the dream-stage, but if they are ever solved, posterity will not forget the young man who, amid uncongenial surroundings, sowed the seed of which he was never to reap the harvest.

It must also in fairness be conceded that long before the 'scramble for land,' especially in Africa, became acute, Rhodes foresaw it and endeavoured to provide for it. Some time afterwards he explained his policy in the following words:—'Having read,' he remarks, 'the history of other countries, I saw that expansion was everything, and that, the world's surface being limited, the great object should be to take as much of it as we could.'

On another occasion he put it more plainly by stating that he desired to make 'more homes,' and placing his hand on his favourite map of Africa, 'I want,' he said, 'to see that all red.'

In 1878 Rhodes made yet another friend of his own age, one to whom he became so deeply attached that neither the flight of time, nor an incident that might have severed any friendship, availed to interrupt for a moment an affection that never abated while life lasted.

With Barnato, after strenuous rivalry, he worked harmoniously as a business comrade, but the two men had little in common. Their intimacy was official rather than personal. With Beit he was on closer terms and grew to rely on him with unbounded confidence. But with his new friend the ties were nearer and dearer.

Leander Starr Jameson, son of a Writer to the Signet, was born in Edinburgh on the 9th February 1853,

emigrated to South Africa in 1878 and came into immediate contact with Rhodes at Kimberley. Their friendship was from the first absolute. The newcomer became his medical man, his *fidus Achates*, his lieutenant and, in time, his successor in the Prime Ministership of the Cape Colony, and one of his trustees. But here are Dr. Jameson's own words. Writing in 1897 (*Imperialist*, pp. 392-3) he says, 'We were young men together then and saw a great deal of each other. We shared a quiet bachelor establishment together, walked and rode together, shared our meals, exchanged our views on men and things, and discussed his big schemes, which even then filled me with admiration. I soon admitted to myself that for sheer natural power I have never met a man to come near Cecil Rhodes, and I still retain my early impressions, which have been fully justified by experience.'

And again, 'He used to talk over all his plans and schemes with me, and, looking back at them now, it surprises me to note what little change there is in his policy. He had, for instance, even at that early date, formed the idea of doing a great work for the overcrowded British public, by opening up fresh markets for their manufactures. He was deeply impressed with a belief in the ultimate destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race. He dwelt repeatedly on the fact that their great want was new territory, fit for the overflow population to settle permanently. This purpose of occupying the interior and ultimately federating South Africa was always before his eyes. The means to that end were the winning of the Cape Dutch support. "They are the majority in the country," he used to say, "and must be worked with."'

In the previous chapter I recorded that during his

early Kimberley days, Rhodes had the misfortune to lose his mother. His father, the vicar, never recovered the blow. Retiring from his clerical duties, he settled at Fairlight in Sussex, and there, on 25th February 1878, he passed away. His eldest son Herbert, as already noted, followed him to the grave in the succeeding year, and was buried where he died, in what was then the *terra incognita* of Nyasaland.

As the seventies drew to their close, momentous events occurred in the country which Rhodes had made his home. On the 13th July 1876 the wearisome controversy with the Orange Free State as to the ownership of the district, known as the Diamond Fields, was amicably settled. British jurisdiction was admitted, the Republic receiving £90,000 compensation for its alleged rights, with a conditional promise of £15,000 for railway purposes. The arrangement was, on the whole, an equitable one, but was arrived at mainly owing to the sagacity and conspicuous moderation of President Brand, a statesman to whom South Africa owes more perhaps than it recognises.

In 1877 the Cape had to face a Gaika war, in which Sandilli, Xoxo and Matana, sons of Gaika, were killed, Tini Macomo and Dimba captured, and Kreli deposed. In the same year the practical state of anarchy in the Transvaal seemed to H.M. Government to call aloud for intervention. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, accompanied only by a police escort, annexed the Republic. The Treasury was empty. Except by the natives, taxes had ceased to be paid. The salaries of civil servants were in arrear. Secocoeni in the north defied the State, and Cetywayo, on their flank, was a formidable menace. A shrewd observer, Anthony Trollope, wrote later to the *Daily News*, 'I visited the Transvaal in 1877.

The Boers had not congregated even for defence. No taxes had been paid for many months. The mail service was all but discontinued. Property had become worthless. Education had fallen lower and lower. My conviction is that had not the English interfered, European supremacy throughout a large portion of South Africa would have been endangered. I think the annexation was an imperative duty.'

The annexation was received in Pretoria with a sigh of relief. President Burgers to 'save his face' recorded his protest, but Kruger himself accepted office, and became a paid member of the Executive Council. But the acquiescence of the back-veld Boers was a sullen one. Their protest, less articulate than that of their official leaders, was far more effective. Israel retired to its tents and sulked. Whatever chance there might have been of winning the loyalty of our new subjects was destroyed by our own acts, some of them creditable to us, some not. It is to our credit that Sir Garnet Wolseley put down Secocoeni, and that Lord Chelmsford, undismayed by the fatal disaster at Isandhlwana, overthrew the Zulu power. It is to our credit that we reformed the paper currency, restored the solvency and prosperity of the country, and set up a pure system of government.

But our good deeds were more than neutralised by the unwisdom of the Cabinet of the day, in refusing to act on Shepstone's suggestion to convene the Volksraad promptly and have the annexation ratified. The acutest onlookers believed at the time that such ratification would have been passed by a majority, thus depriving malcontents, later on, of the plea that our acquisition of the State had never received constitutional sanction. Shepstone's removal, and the appointment of an

unpopular and unsympathetic governor resulted, as local wellwishers predicted, in gathering discontent to a focus, with the disastrous effect we all know. And thus the decade ended.

I must now take my readers from the turmoil of South Africa to the seclusion of Oxford.

CHAPTER VII

OXFORD DAYS (1873-1881)

Oriel's famous sons—Terms kept—Sports at Oxford—Contemporary recollections—Public events—Sir Bartle Frere—Delagoa Bay—Notable books—Enters the Inner Temple—Becomes a Freemason.

WHEN Rhodes went to Oxford in 1873 it was with a view to entering his name as an undergraduate at University College. He had an introduction to the Master, G. G. Bradley, who immediately asked him if he intended to read for honours. Rhodes being older than most undergraduates are when they enter the University, and having no time for the full course of honours reading, it was only open to him to take a Pass Degree. The master thereupon informed him that he could not see his way to enter his name on the books of the College, but he was willing to give him an introduction to the Provost of Oriel, 'where they were less particular in this respect.' The result was that he went to Oriel, where they readily entered his name upon the books, and hence it was to Oriel that he left £100,000. It is interesting to note that this was the college of another great empire-builder more than three centuries ago, viz. Sir Walter Raleigh, who read there for his University Degree.

Oriel College, founded by Edward II. in 1326, boasts a long roll of sons distinguished in Church and State. The most widely loved priest of the Church of England, John Keble, was once Fellow and tutor there, and the

ancient college may well be proud to have sheltered the author of *The Christian Year*, a man pronounced by Gladstone to have been not merely a poet, but a scholar and a saint.

But Keble does not stand alone. Archbishop Whately was there, and Dr. Pusey, Archdeacon Denison, Fraser of Manchester, Dean Church, Richard Froude, Hartley Coleridge, Arthur Butler, and many others still serving conspicuously in Church and State. The simple piety that adorns the features of Bishop Ken and the masterful vitality of Arnold of Rugby still look down upon us from the ancient hall, and from the Common Room. There, too, are Arthur Clough, White of Selborne, Matthew Arnold, but above them all, unapproachable in its intellectual beauty, one regards with admiration, and even with awe, the genius that shines supreme in the face of Newman.

When Cecil Rhodes matriculated, the Provost of Oriel was the well-known Edward Hawkins, D.D., then a very old man, who held office from 1828 to 1882. The present Provost, Dr. Charles Lancelot Shadwell, was then one of the Fellows and the senior treasurer. Professor Goldwin Smith, Regius Professor of Modern History, was an Honorary Fellow.

The following terms were kept by Rhodes :—

1873. Matriculated 13 October and kept the Michaelmas Term from 10 October to 17 December, residing at 18 High Street.

1876. Kept Easter, Act or Trinity, and Michaelmas Terms from 24 April to 6 July, and from 10 October to 17 December, but was at Kimberley during the Long Vacation. During the Michaelmas Term he was living at Grove House, Grove Street.

1877. Kept all four terms, but again spent the Long Vacation in South Africa. While at Oxford this year he resided partly at No. 5 King Edward Street, and partly at No. 12 Museum Villas.
1878. Kept Lent or Hilary, Easter, and Act or Trinity Terms, from 14 January, residing all the time at 116 High Street, then returned to Kimberley and made the acquaintance of Dr. Jameson.
1881. Took his seat in the Cape Parliament in April, was speaking at Kimberley in August, but kept his Michaelmas Term from 10 October, residing at 6 King Edward Street, and took his degree in December.

It will be observed that during 1874-75 he was unable to attend, probably from want of means, and again during 1879-1880 when the formation of the De Beers Mining Company prevented his leaving Kimberley, but his purpose never wavered. It was indeed seldom he ever abandoned any project on which he had set his mind. It has been stated that he was unable to reside in England during the winter, but this is an error. It was his heart, rather than the lungs, that troubled him.

During the winter of 1876 he was Master of the Oxford Drag Hunt, a quaint appointment, bearing in mind that he rode with a loose rein and had an eminently unsafe seat in the saddle. One of his friends still remembers the infliction suffered by Rhodes's neighbours, due to his sitting up late of nights, practising on the horn in order to acquit himself with credit in his new part.

It cannot be said that he devoted much of his time

to sport, but such as came in his way he followed in moderation. Rowing was one of his favourite pastimes. A friend of those days writes of him, ' In or about March 1877 I came home (from South Africa) and wired to him at Oxford. He at once came up to town and fetched me down, and I stayed as his guest at the Mitre. He was at that time out of college. I remember he was keen on polo, which was not so common in those days. I went with him to a wine, and was amused to notice how much older in manner the other undergraduates were than Cecil. They were full of that spurious wisdom assumed by many young men as a defensive armour, an armour he did not require.'

Another contemporary strikes a somewhat different note and says, ' I did not take to him at first. He was unyielding and he trod on me, but I gradually got to understand him, and we became fast friends.'

Mr. C. W. Middleton Kemp writes, ' We were contemporaries and (I am proud to say) friends at Oriel from 1875 to 1878. I well remember how we used to chaff him about his Long Vacation trips to South Africa, when he always cheerily replied that we would be surprised one day at developments there, and we have lived long enough to see the truth of his prophecy. He had in Oxford days, as in after life, nothing small about him : he was a big man with a big heart and a big mind, and always a real good friend. I have a photograph of him as he was at Oriel which I value very much.'

Another college friend, afterwards a Cabinet Minister, says, ' I remember him as a quiet good fellow with what I should call the instincts of an Englishman, but I do not recollect that there was any indication of the great strength of character and genius for empire-build-

ing, which made him so remarkable a man afterwards. I can safely say that, later on, no man ever impressed me so strongly with the great Imperialist idea. It seemed to be part of his brain, and his impatience with any difficulties, personal or public, was quite remarkable. He certainly had the power not only of driving his ideas home, but of warmly attaching to him the men who enjoyed his confidence, and in my judgment he was not only a splendid Imperialist, but a most attractive personality.'

One of his Oriel friends, the Rev. A. L. Barnes Lawrence, writing to the *Westminster Gazette* on the occasion of his death, says, 'He was generally popular because natural and unaffected, though reserved as to his private affairs, and with a coldness of speech and manner which betokened an unconventional attitude towards things in general, and towards the University in particular. At the same time there was an evident desire on his part to conform to college rules and regulations. His manner was quiet and unassuming, and if he felt that he had it in him to accomplish great things, he never allowed others to see it.'

It has been asserted (I give the anecdote for what it may be worth) that he left Oxford £50 in debt to a tradesman, who wrote it off as irrecoverable, but received the money many years afterwards, with interest.

Several recollections of his Oxford days were recorded in the obituary notices that appeared in the Press in 1902. A writer in the *Daily Telegraph* said, 'I often heard him say in after life that it was while he was alternately an undergraduate and a digger, that he first entertained the idea of painting red the map of Africa. At all times and under all circumstances, he

was a Seer, which I take to be the best definition of a dreamer of dreams, yet possessed of extraordinary business capacity.'

The writer of the *Times* notice said, 'He did not apparently read hard during his Oxford life, and was more than once remonstrated with for non-attendance at lectures. His only reply was a pertinacious "I shall pass, which is all I wish to do!"'

In the *Westminster Gazette* the Rev. A. G. Butler, a tutor during his time, wrote, 'His career at Oxford was uneventful. He belonged to a set of men like himself, not caring for distinction in the schools and not working for them, but of refined tastes, dining and living for the most part together, and doubtless discussing passing events in life and politics with interest and ability. Such a set is not very common at Oxford, living, as it does, a good deal apart from both games and work, but it does exist and, somehow, includes men of much intellectual power which bears fruit later.'

Many years after he left Oriel, he came there to stay for a night with the Provost (Monro) who had asked a few dons and undergraduates to meet him. The function was dull to a degree, until Rhodes, striking the table with his fist, cried, 'Let us all have a drink!' Says one who was present, 'The ice was broken and we all enjoyed ourselves.'

It may not be out of place here to glance at the principal questions and events interesting the public mind during the terms kept by Rhodes at Oxford. Throughout the period under review, that is from February 1874 to April 1880, Disraeli, the first of our latter-day Imperialists, was in power, and it is not improbable that his somewhat spectacular administra-

tion fired the imagination and coloured the subsequent career of the young student.

The problems relating to Africa were numerous and perplexing in those days. In 1873-74 Sir Garnet Wolseley was conducting, with marked efficiency, his campaign on the Gold Coast. In 1875 Disraeli, against all precedent and without the prior authority of Parliament, purchased the Khedive's interest in the Suez Canal, thus leading up to our Protectorate over Egypt. In the same year, Lord Carnarvon, in good faith but without the co-operation of the States concerned, launched his abortive scheme for the Confederation of the South African Colonies. In 1877 the Confederation Act, a permissive measure, became law, and the Transvaal was annexed. The Cape Colony suffered the anxieties of the Gaika war. Two years later occurred the far more serious campaign in Zululand, followed in due course by the first Boer War, and the 'Grand Renunciation' as the aftermath of Majuba.

Sir Bartle Frere, Pro-Consul from 1877, was superseded in August 1880 by what was considered a safer, less showy, High Commissioner in the person of Sir Hercules Robinson. Frere had for some time caused anxiety in England by a forward policy, a policy which, when inaugurated by a high official, must always stand or fall by its results. Sir Michael Hicks Beach had already remonstrated with him in a despatch dated 23rd January 1879, and censured him in a more formal manner on 17th March in the same year. When Disraeli fell from power and was succeeded by Gladstone, Frere's services were, at the outset, retained, the Queen's regard and his own high character being no doubt determining factors in the decision. But the Liberal left-wing was dissatisfied and demanded his

head on a charger. In the new House on 27th March 1880, Dilke's vote of censure on the Government was only defeated by a majority of 60. The hint sufficed, and Frere was recalled. The sympathetic crowds which filled the streets of Cape Town on his departure were never equalled there until, twenty-two years afterwards, the body of Cecil Rhodes passed to its resting-place.

Among occurrences affecting South Africa, one other deserves reference. At Versailles, on 24th July 1875, the long dispute with Portugal over the ownership of Delagoa Bay was brought to a close by the award of a Marshal of France. The question had been simmering in leisurely diplomatic fashion since 1823, when Captain Owen, R.N., had entered into a treaty with native chiefs there and hoisted the British flag. M'Mahon's award was against us, on the ground of our failure to maintain effective occupation. Few persons at the time realised the blow thus dealt to the solidarity of our possessions in Africa.

There were, of course, many public questions in those days entirely unconnected with Africa, but none the less interesting to the Oriel students. In February 1876 the Queen emerged from her long retirement and opened Parliament in person. In the following year Her Majesty was proclaimed Empress of India at Delhi. The Conferences of Constantinople and Berlin aroused public interest; we occupied historic Cyprus, and Indian troops were for the first and only time utilised as a demonstration in Europe.

Events such as these are likely to have been the subject of vigorous discussion among the undergraduates at Oriel, and one can picture the young Kimberley digger, with his great Will in his pocket, and his head full of high schemes for the expansion of the race which

he believed to be the finest in the world : one can picture him, I say, taking a keen and, withal, a sardonic interest in the arguments that raged ever so furiously around him between the young disputants who, with the air of infallibility which sits so gracefully on youth, delivered, as their own, opinions which only echoed those of their fathers' house.

Apart from politics, Rhodes, as a diligent student of history, would probably be deep in two publications, both by Oxford men, that appeared almost simultaneously during his residence there : the masterly treatise by Stubbs on our Constitutional History, and the incomparable *Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Green. Both subsequently found an honoured place in the Groote Schuur Library.

The following is the text of the testamurs obtained by Rhodes on 10th December 1873 and 20th November 1877 :—

1873.

Rhodes. Cecilius J. E Coll. Oriel.

Die X Mensis December Anni MDCCCLXXIII
Quaestionibus Magistrorum Scholarum in Parviso pro
forma respondit.

Ita testamur	{	(Sgd.)	W. C. SIDGWICK.
		,,	T. L. PAPILLON.
		,,	T. H. WARD.

1877.

Rhodes. Cecilius J. E Coll. Oriel.

Die 20 Mensis November Anni MDCCCLXXVII prout
Statuta requirunt examinatus in RUDIMENTIS RE-
LIGIONIS satisfecit nobis Examinatoribus.

Ita testamur	{	(Sgd.)	EDMUND S. HOULKE.
		,,	HENRICUS FURNEAUX.
		,,	EDVARDUS MOORE.

It is perhaps not generally known that Rhodes became a student of the Inner Temple, though he was never formally called to the Bar. The following documents were found among his papers at Groote Schuur :—

INNER TEMPLE,
16th day of May 1876.

No. 1748.

Received of C. J. Rhodes, Esq., the sum of Five Guineas on his Admission to the Honourable Society, the said C. J. Rhodes being entitled to attend the Public Lectures of all the Professors appointed by the Council of Legal Education.

£5, 5s. 0d. (Sgd.) H. HALL DARE,
Sub-Treasurer, Inner Temple.

INNER TEMPLE, 16th May 1876.

No. 966.

Received of Mr. C. J. Rhodes on admission to the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple the sum of Thirty-five pounds, six shillings and five pence for the use of the said Society.

(Sgd.) H. HALL DARE,
Sub-Treasurer.

Stamp Duty . . .	£25	1	3
Fees	10	5	2
	<hr/>		
	£35	6	5

The following entries are from the books of the Inner Temple :—

Rhodes Cecil John (aged 22) of Oriel College, Oxford, the fourth son of The Rev. Francis William Rhodes of Bishop's Stortford in the County of Hertford.

Admitted 16th May 1876.

Admitted into Commons, Easter, 1876.

(Red Ink) Name withdrawn, 17th December 1889, in accordance with B.T.O. 5th June 1888.

Name restored B.T.O. 20th February 1891.
Died 26th March 1902, at Muisenberg, near Cape Town.

It will be seen that by a Bench Table Order his name was withdrawn on 5th June 1888, probably owing to his failing *more suo* to pay his fees. But in 1891 he paid an amount sufficient to meet arrears and also to release his sureties, whereupon his name was restored.

I have ascertained from the Council of Legal Education that he passed no examinations.

In 1877 Rhodes became a Freemason, and retained his interest in Masonry to the close of his life.

Among his papers I find this :—

OXFORD UNIVERSITY CHAPTER, R.T.

Under the Supreme Grand Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite of 33 Degrees.

No. 86.

2nd June, 1877.

Received of Brother C. J. Rhodes the sum of five pounds 10s. as under :—

Perf. A.

Cert. Life Fees.

(Sgd.) HUGLETT RIACH. 36.

Treasurer.

If all Masons would act up to their vows in the spirit of ' Brother ' Rhodes, the world would perhaps be more tolerable than it is.

CHAPTER VIII

ENTRY INTO PUBLIC LIFE (1881)

Sir Henry Barkly—Controversies with President Brand—The Keate award—Annexation of Diamond Fields—New Electorate Divisions—Elected member for Barkly West—Fall of Disraeli—Basuto Disarmament—Transvaal rebellion—Invasion of Natal—Laing's Nek—Ingogo—Majuba—Cape Parliament—Rhodes sworn in—Sir Gordon Sprigg—Rhodes's maiden speech in House—Reminiscences of observers—Basutoland affairs—Rhodes and natives—Hofmeyr—Debates on Basutoland—Aborigines' Protection Society—Sir Thomas Scanlen—Use of Dutch language in Parliament—Rhodes speaks in Kimberley—Speaks again—Sails for England.

DURING the interval that occurred between the departure of Sir Philip Wodehouse for Bombay, and the arrival, on the 31st December 1870, of Sir Henry Barkly from Australia, the administration of the Cape Colony, according to usage, was in the hands of the officer commanding the forces, Lieut.-General Hay. Between the Administrator and President Brand of the Orange Free State a tedious controversy ensued, now long since forgotten. The question at issue was that of their respective rights over the territory of the Griqua chief, Waterboer, recently overrun by diamond diggers of all nationalities. The Dutch claimed it as within the sphere of influence of the old Orange River Sovereignty, which we had abandoned to them. The English title was based on grants and concessions from Waterboer, and on actual occupation. As in the case of most boundary disputes, there was much hard swearing on both sides.

The President despatched a representative to Cape Town to meet the new High Commissioner, but no settlement resulted. Arbitration was declined by Brand who, as a lawyer, considered the case beyond cavil. As, however, other questions of delimitation were awaiting solution, especially with the Transvaal, a Court of Arbitration was appointed, and met at Bloemhof in April 1871. Brand did not attend, but President Pretorius put in an appearance. The Court sat until 19th June, when, upon a final disagreement between the arbitrators, the evidence was submitted to the umpire, Mr. Keate, the Lieut.-Governor of Natal. His award, given on 17th October, was, in substance, against both Republics. As soon as the news reached Cape Town, the High Commissioner issued a series of Proclamations annexing the disputed district and making provision for its government. A strong police force was sent up to the Diamond Fields. The few Free State officials, who were there practically on sufferance, withdrew, under protest, and the territory became a Crown Colony.

Five years later, in an action tried before the High Court, certain claimants to farms held from Waterboer were non-suited, his right to give such grants being held to be not proven. Brand saw his opportunity, and at once took ship to England to re-open his claim. The case might not unfairly have been considered closed, nor did the Free State really want to be saddled with a turbulent community of diggers. Her Majesty's Government, however, very rightly laid no great stress on law and much on equity. The Free State received moderate compensation, and Brand was satisfied. Up to this date the Cape Colony had refused to annex the territory, the majority of colonists being of Dutch extraction, and reluctant, as such, to take what might

seem unfriendly action towards their Free State brethren. The amicable settlement now arrived at in London removed their objections and, by a Cape Act passed in 1877, the territory was absorbed by the colony under the title of the Province of Griqualand West. The Act, however, was only ratified on 15th August 1879, and even then, on grounds stated elsewhere, was not promulgated until 15th October 1880.

The Act created two electoral divisions, Kimberley and Barkly West, with four members for the former and two for the latter. An election at once took place. Cecil Rhodes stood for Barkly West and was duly elected in November, and he held the seat against all comers till his death. The constituency was mainly a Dutch one, but even the shock of the Raid failed to dislodge him.

The year 1880 was an eventful one for South Africa. On 24th March there was a dissolution of the Imperial Parliament, followed by the general election which drove Disraeli from power, replacing him by Gladstone. Then came one of those rapid changes of colonial policy which, rightly or wrongly, more than anything else alienate thoughtful colonists from the motherland. Later on in the year, the Cape Prime Minister endeavoured, without success, to disarm the Basutos, and a long struggle ensued.

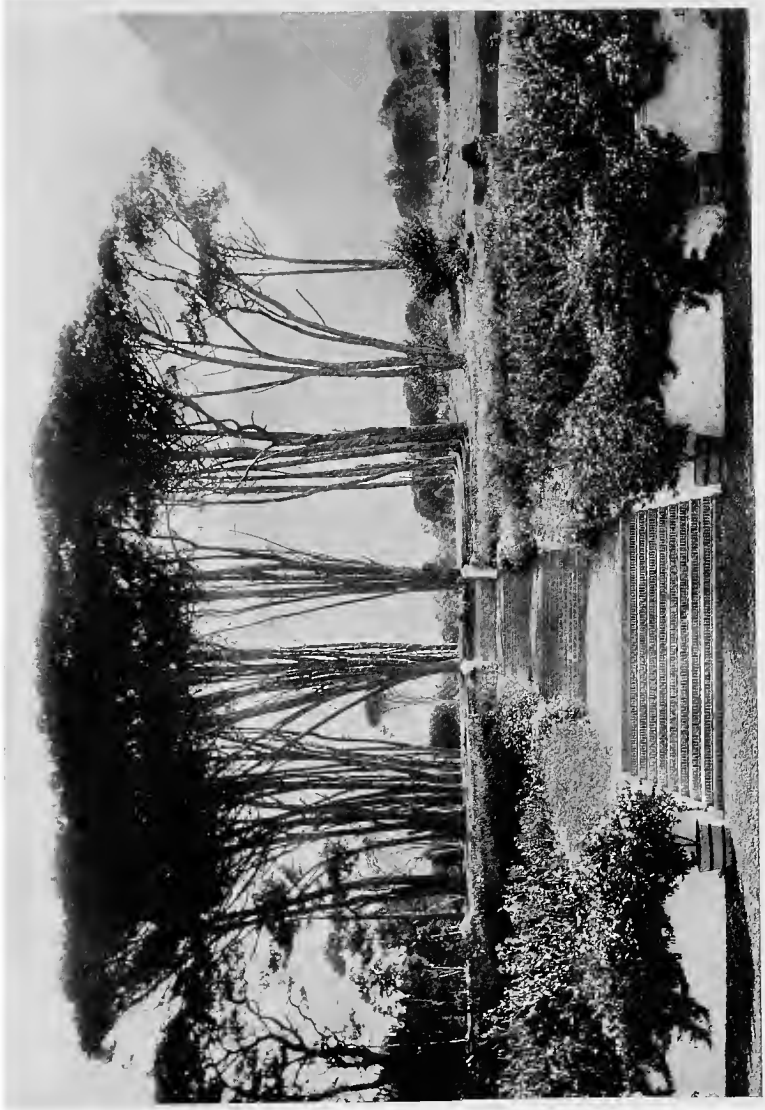
A deeper note was struck ere the year closed. On 20th December 1880 a British detachment in the Transvaal under Colonel Anstruther was attacked and destroyed by the Boers. Early in 1881 the Dutch invaded Natal. Engagements followed in rapid succession. On 28th January we were repulsed at Laing's Nek, and only 'drew' the action on 7th February at the Ingogo. The offensive-defensive policy of the

Boers met with marked success. The courage of our men and of regimental officers was never in question, but their inefficiency as marksmen, and the bewildering incompetence of the general commanding, gave us no chance against opponents trained from boyhood to the use of the rifle. Not for the first and not for the last time we underrated the enemy and were punished for our contempt. On 27th February came the crowning disaster of Majuba Hill, a defeat that changed the history of South Africa. Never was a small battle more decisive of results. Then followed an armistice and the retrocession, and, both by friends and foes, the military renown of England was considered, for a while, to have received a fatal blow.

Under the shadow of these deplorable events, the Cape Parliament reassembled in March 1881.

On 7th April Rhodes was sworn in as one of the new members, being introduced by two influential men, Vincent and Orpen. The ambitions of the young digger must have been smarting under these reverses, but he made no sign. To a friend, about this time, he said, placing a large hand on the map of Africa, 'That is my dream, all English.' But in public he held his peace.

The Cape Ministry of the day was essentially opportunist. The Premier, Mr. Gordon Sprigg, was an adroit politician, content to change his colleagues so long as he was left undisturbed in office. Nothing, it was asserted, short of a high explosive, could dislodge him from the Treasury benches. The gospel of expediency was believed by his opponents to be his creed, and his belief in his creed and in himself gave him an appearance of strength. His talents were moderate: he did not mix in society, nor was he, in any sense, a man of culture.



VIEW FROM THE BACK AT GROOTE SCHIUR.

But he was a dexterous parliamentarian, and his courage was undeniable. His deportment was 'correct.' He was assiduous in his clerical duties, accessible to visitors and austere yet courteous. His private life was irreproachable. But he was already developing signs of the dangerous delusion that he was an indispensable man, whereas, when he was finally driven from power in May 1902, his disappearance scarcely rippled the surface of the political water.

But in 1881 he was a force, and was undoubtedly regarded as a safe man.

On 19th April, the death-day of Lord Beaconsfield, Rhodes—twelve days after entering the House—made his maiden speech, in connection with the non-production of papers relating to the affairs of Basutoland. Though an independent member, he showed himself frankly hostile to the ministerial policy of Basutoland disarmament, the failure of which he accurately predicted. In the course of his speech, he, on several occasions, referred to members of the House by name. The Speaker (Sir David Tennant), a dignified official, expostulated with him in tones of anguish and obtained a graceful apology. A writer of 'Notes in the House' in a local paper, referring to Rhodes, remarked, 'The faults of impetuosity are venial, particularly when the impetuosity proceeds from an enthusiasm for justice.'

One of those sagacious critics, a Parliamentary reporter, says:—

'I remember his first appearance in the House: a fine ruddy Englishman, a jovial-looking young squire. His speech was bluff and untutored in style, with no graces of oratory. A candid friend remarked afterwards that he would be a Parliamentary failure, but though then boyishly nervous and even uncouth in

gesture, he became the most effective speaker in the House, without ever being eloquent.'

This is a correct portrait. Rhodes never became a conventional orator. But, having the root of the matter in him, and never speaking unless he had something to say worth saying, he gradually acquired the ear of the House, and commanded the involuntary attention of both sides. As a speaker, I should compare him to Cromwell, without Cromwell's puritan fervour, for he was rapid, occasionally obscure, with here and there a glimpse of the fire that consumed him. It is noticeable that his very first speech should have been in defence of what he considered native rights. He had acquired a marked liking for natives in Natal and at Kimberley. From this time onward, to his death, he never wavered in his attitude towards them. Without a trace of the uninstructed sentimentality associated with the name of Exeter Hall, he was a champion of the native races, ever seeking to teach them the dignity of labour and the demoralising effects of drink, ever an advocate of educating them up to, but not beyond, their probable needs. He regarded them as grown-up children with the passions of men, and felt towards them as if, in some way, he stood *in loco parentis*. Whether in the compounds of De Beers or in the wild recesses of the Matopo Hills, he trusted them and they trusted him.

The well-known Dr. Donald Macleod described him later on with much truth as the natives' best friend. Years afterwards, when he had fallen from power and was being persistently calumniated, a lady wrote of him :—

'I heard a rumour that he was harsh to coloured labour on the fruit farms and I went there to investigate. "Have you any grievances?" I said. "Look here,"

broke in a coloured woman, "you have come to the wrong place. Why, we all lived in *pondoks* (shanties) before the Baas came. He built us these cottages, charging us only the rent we paid before, on condition we kept them clean. Why, we all love him." And I had to explain hurriedly that I believed her, or she would have assaulted me.'

During his early years in the House, he made many friends, especially among the Dutch, and was fond of visiting them on Saturdays in their picturesque old homesteads in the Paarl and Drakenstein valleys. He was also very popular with the officials of the House, down to the humblest messenger. His unaffected interest in young men gave him great influence over them. The Clerk of the House still remembers him with the deepest admiration. One of the clerks of the Papers writes, 'He used to come through my room by a side door and was always making time for a chat, asking me many personal questions, and urging me to learn shorthand.'

The gallery reporter, already quoted, says, 'He was, at times, boyish to the last, and had a trick of sitting on his hand and laughing boisterously when amused. He could hit hard and delighted in the joy of combat, but he never gave the House in those days an inkling of his great plans. No doubt he feared to alarm both parties.'

The explanation of his reticence was given many years later in his own words, 'When I first entered,' he said, 'on Cape politics, two conspicuous factors weighed with me. One was the constant vacillation of the Home Government, which never knew its own mind about us. Many Englishmen cried out at the surrender after Majuba, but the real humiliation was borne by

those who, relying on the Imperial pledges, had stood firm in the Transvaal for the old flag. That was one factor, but there was another. The "English" party in the Cape Assembly was hopelessly divided and individually incapable. And it had no policy beyond that of securing office. On the other side was a compact body of nominees of what afterwards came to be called the Afrikaner Bond, who acted all together at the dictation of Hofmeyr. Hofmeyr was, without doubt, the most capable politician in South Africa, and if he concealed in his breast aspirations for a United South Africa in which Great Britain should have no part or lot, the concealment was very effective. My belief is that he was anxious to maintain the connection, not out of any love for Great Britain, but because the independence of South Africa was at the mercy of whatever power had command of the sea. And you must remember that, though Hofmeyr had no particular affection for the English, his hatred of the Germans amounted to a passion. At the time of which I am speaking there was no danger of British supremacy being threatened by the Transvaal, and still less by the Orange Free State. Again, in those days Hofmeyr was chiefly interested in withstanding Free Trade and upholding Protection on behalf of the Dutch, who were agriculturists and wine-growers. I had a policy of my own, which I never disguised from Hofmeyr. It was to keep open the road to the north, to secure for British South Africa room for expansion, and to leave time and circumstances to bring about an inevitable federation. I therefore struck a bargain with him, by which I undertook to defend the Protective system of Cape Colony, and he pledged himself in the name of the Bond not to throw any obstacles in the way of northern expansion.

He did not like this condition, but I am bound to say he loyally fulfilled it, thereby incurring the hatred of the Transvaal Boers, and to some extent losing the confidence of the extreme members of the Afrikaner Bond. That was the whole secret, which was no secret at all, of my understanding with the Afrikaner Bond. It suited me on all grounds. I like the Dutch ; I like their homely courtesy and their tenacity of purpose, and we have always got on very well together.' And so far as I am personally concerned, I am in favour of protecting the agricultural interests of South Africa, and of discouraging the rise of manufactories which would compete with England in the market for her own products.'

On 26th April 1881, Rhodes spoke again and at greater length, but on the same subject, the mismanagement of Basutoland affairs. One of the reporters present says, 'It was the speech of one who *will* speak his mind out fully. But the frankness of his nature may expose him to the designs of the wily.'

Another observer in the House thus described him, 'He presents a good upstanding appearance, being somewhere about six feet in his shoes. He has a good physique, is a muscular-looking man, well-shaped in every way, has a pleasant intelligent face, and is a very good type of a well-bred English gentleman. He dresses without the least consideration for fashion, and he is always unaffected and unpretending ; he is an exceedingly nervous speaker, there is a twitching about his hands, and he has a somewhat ungainly way of turning his body about. That he is a man of extraordinary energy is clear to every one who takes observation of him. He is in a continued state of restlessness, whether sitting in his seat or standing on his legs. He

is never still from the time he enters the House until he leaves it.'

Another of his hearers writes, 'I can well remember the effect he made upon me by his forcefulness and the breadth of his ideas. His foresight speaks for itself, for he outlined the very course which was finally adopted in regard to Basutoland in the Special Session of 1883.'

The speech may be found in the collection made by 'Vindex' (George Bell & Sons, London, 1900). The exact motion before the House, which was moved by Scanlen, was, 'That this House is of opinion, that the conduct of the business of the country by the present Administration, especially in regard to Basutoland and the Transkeian territories, before and after the outbreak of hostilities, has been such as to imperil its best interests.' The debate began on 11th April and lasted, on and off, for over a fortnight. On the 27th April the motion was carried by 37 to 34.

Rhodes took the common-sense view that, in the absence of any law to the contrary, the natives were justified in buying guns at the Diamond Fields and elsewhere, and that it was unfair to disarm them immediately afterwards. He scoffed at the Prime Minister's attempt to coerce the powerful Basuto tribe by means of colonial levies, adding, 'Are we a great and independent nation? No! we are only the population of a third-rate English town, spread over a vast country.'

The allusion is to Sir Gordon Sprigg's *tête montée* in making war without Imperial aid, relying on police and volunteers, and undervaluing, very unjustly, the dash and endurance of the regular forces, then under a cloud owing to their recent defeats.

Rhodes concluded by formulating a distinct policy that all the native races outside ordinary colonial borders

should be subject only to Imperial control to ensure uniformity of treatment. This line had been taken a few months before by the *Daily News*, which had assailed the Cape Government for wantonly attacking the most progressive tribe in South Africa, and with insufficient forces to command success, adding that the colonial policy of accepting responsibility for large masses of natives had broken down, and that Her Majesty's Government could not remain passive spectators of the fiasco.

A deputation from the Aborigines' Protection Society, headed by Fowell Buxton and Froude, had also waited on Lord Kimberley in November 1880, and asserted, with the customary vehemence of peaceful people, that disarmament had been deliberately undertaken to bring on war. The Colonial Secretary, while ignoring this base imputation, gave the Prime Minister a significant warning. Sprigg, it was alleged, had stated in a recent speech that if the colonists vanquished the Basutos without assistance from England, they would exact what terms they pleased. To this, Lord Kimberley replied that he had made no such bargain, and that Her Majesty's Government reserved full liberty of action. The Cape House of Assembly were, on the whole, in harmony for once with English opinion on the subject. Sir Gordon Sprigg had made a false move and had to bear the penalty. Even then he endeavoured to remain in office, notwithstanding his defeat. But further pressure was applied. On the 4th May, Scanlen gave notice that on 10th May he would move 'That this House is of opinion, that under existing circumstances the present administration can no longer carry on the Government with advantage to the country.' This was a decisive blow. The House adjourned until 10th May,

when, on its re-assembly, Sprigg was under the necessity of announcing his resignation. His successor, Mr. T. C. Scanlen (afterwards Sir Thomas Scanlen), was indeed already in office. This Cabinet, the third under Responsible Government, is memorable as having had as a member, though without portfolio, the commanding figure of Jan Hofmeyr, afterwards the Nestor of South African politics. It also brought back to office Mr. J. X. Merriman, who had sat in Sir John Molteno's first Cabinet. As we shall see later on, Rhodes joined the Ministry as Treasurer-General, but only in 1884, and the Ministry being defeated a few weeks afterwards, he left office without producing a Budget.

On 15th June he spoke again, this time on the subject of the Griqualand West boundaries, but his speech has not been reported. The question was destined to be full of interest to him. In a few months it led to war between two rival chiefs, Mankoroane and Massouw, and also to grave complications with Boer freebooters.

On 25th June he took part in an important debate, raised by a Dutch member, to amend the 89th section of the Constitution Ordinance so as to permit the optional use of 'Cape Dutch' in Parliament. To this an amendment was moved by Mr.—later Sir—Thomas Fuller, 'That this House, while willing to give the fullest consideration to the proposed change, is not prepared at this late period of the session, to adopt the same.' Rhodes seconded the amendment, asserting that, so far as the House knew, there was no great desire in the country for the change. The flame of racial patriotism engendered by recent events was, however, too strong to be openly resisted and, though the debate was adjourned and not resumed that year,

the proposal was again made, this time by Mr. Hofmeyr, on 30th March 1882, when the motion was carried, to the great and lasting regret of many men who, while appreciating the Dutch race, long to see South Africa one and undivided. The change, they think, has been wholly inimical to the best interests of the country. English, hitherto the official language, gave way to a patois without a literature and without a future. The concession, they say, has not united but divided the House and the colony. The choice of a Speaker is severely limited by the necessity of his being obliged to understand both languages, and the grotesque spectacle is now seen of one half of the House using a 'taal' of which the other half does not comprehend the meaning.

Persons holding these views assert that the analogy of Canada is not material. The admission to equal rights of the beautiful language of France, the language of diplomacy, was—they consider—justified. The admission of a provincial dialect had no such justification. There was, moreover, they add, no hint of reciprocity in the concession. The use of the English language in the Parliaments of the two Republics was steadily refused. So late as 1899, not many weeks before the great war, the Transvaal State Secretary sent an angry telegram to Sir Alfred Milner, which is an amusing commentary on the sentimental action of the Cape Colony seventeen years before. The message runs as follows :—

' This Government has noticed with surprise the assertion that it had intimated to the British Agent that the new members to be chosen for the South African Republic Volksraad should be allowed to use their own language. If it is thereby intended that this Govern-

ment would have agreed that any other than the language of the country would have been used in the deliberations of the Volksraad, it wishes to deny same in the strongest manner. Leaving aside the fact that it is not competent to introduce any such radical change, they have, up to now, not been able to understand the necessity or even advisability of making a recommendation to the Volksraad in the spirit suggested.'

I have recorded at some length the opinions of those who were against the concession, but such is the attachment felt by all of us for the language of our forefathers that I must also record my own conviction that, even at some public inconvenience, it was a wise and politic step to give way to the profound feeling underlying the Dutch demand.

In August 1881, Parliament having risen, Rhodes spoke at Kimberley at a semi-public dinner, which is thus referred to by Mr. Justice Lawrence :—

'The first time I heard Rhodes make a speech was in 1881. It must have been one of his earliest efforts in that line. A dinner, at the close of the Parliamentary Session, was given by the Mayor of Kimberley to the representatives of Griqualand West. There had been a political crisis, and the Sprigg Ministry of the day, appointed by Sir Bartle Frere in 1878, had been compelled to resign. The disastrous attempt to disarm the Basutos, and the military fiasco which ensued, had left them with no margin of parliamentary support; one of the Ministers had retired and a crisis was inevitable. The newly elected members for Griqualand West had gone down to Cape Town, as was understood, prepared to support the Government; the members for Kimberley did so; but Rhodes,

carrying with him his Barkly colleague, took a different view. He told the Government Whip that he must not reckon on their votes; and the Ministers, thus placed in the minority, had to resign. The attitude of Rhodes was far from popular at Kimberley; when he rose after dinner to make his speech he met with a rather disconcerting reception; but he reasoned out his position and justified his conduct with so much force and spirit that he quite carried the audience with him, and sat down amid repeated cheers.'

Again in the same month, and in the same place, he addressed a public meeting still in defence of his vote in the House on the Griqualand boundary question, and ridiculed Sprigg's effort to pose as a 'saviour of society.' It was a strong speech, and he concluded it amid great applause. The *Cape Argus*, referring to the incident, said, 'Those whose only knowledge of Mr. Rhodes's powers as a speaker is derived from a perusal of the reports of his speeches in the Cape papers, were certainly unprepared for the exhibition of oratorical skill and dialectic power with which they were favoured by the youthful member for Barkly.'

A sterner newspaper critic in Graham's Town took a less eulogistic line. 'Who,' he cried, 'is this young man from Kimberley, come to teach us our business?'

Mr. Merriman had a keener eye for capacity. 'Shortly after my arrival in Cape Town,' says the present Mr. Justice Lawrence, 'I met Mr. Merriman, and when I went to Kimberley he told me to be sure to look out for Cecil Rhodes, then an almost obscure young man, but one who had struck Mr. Merriman as the most interesting individual he had met on the Diamond Fields.'

After attending to urgent private affairs, Rhodes sailed for England to keep his last term at Oxford and take his Degree. Thenceforth, he was destined to pursue an active part in great affairs until his death.

CHAPTER IX

THE CAPE COLONY

Historical—Leading dates—Portuguese and other occupiers—Grant of Constitution—Sir Philip Wodehouse—Sir R. Southey—William Porter—Christoffel Brand—John Brand—Saul Solomon—J. C. Molteno—Struggle for Responsible Government—Obstruction in Parliament—Bill passes—First Cape Ministry—Meeting of Parliament—J. X. Merriman—Lord Carnarvon—Froude's second visit—Confederation intrigues—Struggle between Carnarvon and Molteno—Molteno and Brand in England—Walfisch Bay—Shepstone knighted—John Paterson—Molteno returns to the Cape—Barkly relieved by Frere—Gaika War—Quarrel between Frere and Molteno—Molteno dismissed—Meeting of Parliament—Governor's action upheld—Contrast between Molteno and Rhodes—Aspects of Lord Carnarvon's policy.

No life of Cecil Rhodes would be complete without some brief reference to the history of South Africa as a whole, and especially to that of the Colony with which he came to be so closely concerned, and of the parliamentary institutions at the head of which he was destined to stand.

I make no profession of writing a Colonial history myself, though to any student who will devote adequate research to the subject it will be found singularly interesting as a study of what policy should be followed and what avoided in dealings between a distant Empire and its growing dependencies.

It must suffice to enumerate a few leading dates in the chronicles of the sub-continent and to portray the difficulties met with in the early days of Responsible Government at the Cape. The dates are these :—

1486. Portuguese doubled the Cape, landed, but made no settlement.

1620. Captain Shillinge hoisted the British flag on the shores of Table Bay, but was disavowed by James I.
1652. Dutch, under Van Riebeeck, established a 'Fort and garden' at the Cape.
1781. French occupy the Cape nominally for the Batavian Republic.
1795. British occupy the Cape.
1802. Cape restored to the Dutch.
1806. British reoccupy the Cape.
1823. Captain Owen, R.N., hoists the British flag at Delagoa Bay.
1839. Russia makes great preparations to occupy the Cape as a basis for the conquest of India.
Cape Governor occupies Natal.
1848. Orange Free State annexed.
1852. Transvaal Republic recognised.
1854. Retrocession of the Orange Free State.
Constitution granted to the Cape.
1857. Kruger raids the Orange Free State.
1858. O. F. State Volksraad petition for re-annexation.
Offer declined.
1862. Proposal to annex British Kaffraria rejected by the House of Assembly.
1864. To allay the cry for separation Sir Philip Wodehouse summons Parliament to meet at Grahamstown in the Eastern Province.
British Kaffraria annexed, but by a narrow majority of the House, and against the wishes of the white inhabitants.
1867. Sir John Molteno introduces a Bill granting Responsible Government, but owing to the Governor's opposition it is defeated.
The Governor then introduced a Bill creating a single Chamber of 21 members, with alternative sessions in the two Provinces.
Molteno opposed, and the measure was withdrawn.
Cape Parliament urges on H.M. Government the annexation of what is now German S.-W. Africa. Recommendation ignored.
1868. Basutoland annexed. Sir John Barrow, Under-Secre-

tary to the Colonies, writing to Southey describing his new chief (Carnarvon), adds, 'This is the twenty-third change since I have been in this office.'

1870. The Governor re-introduced his single Chamber Bill, with 32 elected and 4 nominated members. Rejected by 34 to 26 votes.
1871. Griqualand West made a Crown Colony.
1872. Responsible Government granted to the Cape.
1877. Transvaal Republic annexed.
1881. Retrocession of the Transvaal.
1896. Jameson Raid.
1899. War between Great Britain and the two Boer States.
1902. 31st May. Peace of Vereeniging. Both Republics annexed.
1910. 31st May. British South Africa Act became law and union effected.

It will be seen from this brief summary that the Portuguese were the discoverers of the Cape, but not its occupiers: that the English then took temporary possession, and that subsequently the Dutch came, and came to stay. For a time the French of the Revolution occupied. Finally Great Britain occupied, retroceded, and again occupied. The history of the sub-continent and its various States is thus one long record of infirmity of purpose and reversals of policy. We now hold the country by the triple bond of conquest, cession and purchase, but, fortunately, also by that incomparably stronger bond expressed by the mutual consent of the governed. After many struggles and much loss of life, Boer and Briton have coalesced and adopted the Rhodes formula of equal rights under the British flag.

Until 1854 the government of the Cape Colony had been autocratic, but in that year, by the promulgation of a formal Constitution, which had been drafted under Letters Patent 3rd April 1852, and confirmed, with

amendments, by the Queen on 11th March 1853, a Council and Assembly were created, the members of which were freely elected by the people. Inasmuch, however, as the Executive remained independent of, and irremovable by, the Houses, the arrangement failed to give satisfaction.

As illustrating the lofty manner in which the public representatives were treated, the fact may be cited that so late as 1864, on the suggestion of the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act annexing British Kaffraria to the Colony, and fixing the number of its Parliamentary representatives, without the Cape Legislature being in any way consulted. In the course of the ensuing session a vote of censure on the Governor was unanimously passed, but haughtily ignored. Nevertheless, even in those early days, the Cape Parliament contained several men who subsequently made their mark on the history of South Africa.

Mr. — afterwards Sir Richard — Southey, Colonial Secretary and one of the Executive, though not in the House, had a right to sit and speak there, but not to vote. His official abilities were remarkable, and for years he virtually administered the affairs of the Colony. His colleague, William Porter, the Attorney-General, was much more than an official, for he was an orator and a statesman, an upright and distinguished guardian of Colonial interests. His independence of character was unpalatable to the Governor, by whom, in 1866, his services were dispensed with. He subsequently entered the House of Assembly where, from 1869 to 1873, he was a commanding and much-respected figure.

The Speaker of the House, Christoffel Brand, was

father to a more famous son, Sir John Brand, also in the Assembly and afterwards a revered President of the Orange Free State.

Saul Solomon, handicapped by physical infirmity, was another early representative who, by his eloquence, integrity, and devotion to native interests, held a high place in the estimation of the country.

But the most conspicuous protagonist of full parliamentary government was Mr. J. C. Molteno, of foreign ancestry but born in England, who now, in and out of season, thundered for the right of colonists to manage their own affairs. His biographer, with filial partiality, claims indeed that 'but for him and his like Great Britain would have lost South Africa, for they vindicated British liberty and the principle of self-government, and thus made freedom and progress possible, and saved the Colony from the errors of Downing Street.'

In 1870 Wodehouse was replaced by a more sympathetic Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, and the following year Molteno moved a resolution in favour of Responsible Government. The case for the opposition was stated by Mr. J. X. Merriman, who vehemently denounced the Colony as unfit to control its own affairs. Thirty years later he stood up with equal vehemence to argue against the suspension of the Constitution, technically forfeited by acts of rebellion.

Molteno's motion was carried by a majority of five in a House of fifty-seven. A bill was at once brought in and passed by the Assembly by the same majority, but thrown out by three votes in the Legislative Council. For the remainder of the session Molteno assiduously obstructed business. Thus, when a measure for the annexation of Griqualand West was brought forward,

he announced that he would allow nothing of the kind to be done till the Colony received Responsible Government. His perseverance prevailed. When Parliament again met on 25th April 1872, the Bill for the establishment of Responsible Government was re-introduced by the Attorney-General, passed through the Lower House by an increased majority of ten, and through the Council by a majority of one.

The Executive consisting of Southey, Davidson, Cole, and Graham, published a formal Minute to the effect that the Colony was wholly unfit for Responsible Government, and the Attorney-General (Griffiths) concurred, but Lord Ripon had already declared (17th October 1870) that the colonists must decide for themselves.

When, however, the Executive reintroduced the measure for the incorporation of Griqualand West (the Diamond Fields), Molteno still objected, but now on the ground that it would be an unfriendly act towards the Orange Free State until all boundary disputes had been adjusted. Mr. Merriman, hitherto a strenuous advocate for the annexation, took the same line and the Bill was again withdrawn. Southey had previously (20th January 1871) presented a Minute on the subject of the pretensions of the Orange Free State to the Diamond Fields, and even a level-headed man like Sir Henry Barkly declared that it absolutely destroyed the claim of President Brand.

On 1st December 1872, the first Ministry was gazetted, Molteno being Prime Minister, Southey, Porter, and Solomon all having declined to be associated with the new regime. Mr. Merriman, in spite of his recent support of Molteno, was not at the outset included in the Cabinet.

The first Parliament under Responsible Government met on 28th April 1873, when Molteno introduced a Constitution Amendment Bill, designed to improve the personnel of the Upper House. With the joyous irresponsibility of a free-lance, Mr. Merriman opposed the Bill, but it passed the Assembly by nearly a two-thirds majority. In the Council, which was mainly interested, there was a tie, and the President gave his casting vote against the measure to keep the matter open. Parliament soon afterwards adjourned, and in his closing speech Governor Barkly announced that there would be a dissolution on the issue.

The new Parliament met on 27th May 1874, and the Bill was reintroduced—this time in the Council itself, by which body it was passed, the voting being 13 to 8. Upon reaching the Assembly, the measure was opposed by Mr. Merriman, who carried a vital amendment by a majority of one. Molteno at once adjourned the House to consider his position, much to the alarm of members, many of whom had voted against the Government out of sheer inexperience of the party system. Upon its reassembly the House reintroduced the deleted clause by 36 to 16, in spite of Mr. Merriman, who found a strange ally in Mr. Gordon Sprigg.

During the year now under review Lord Carnarvon had become Secretary for State for the Colonies, and his forward policy, which was much in advance of local public opinion, resulted in serious unrest and ultimate disaster. With the best of intentions, he unduly forced the pace, endeavouring to give South Africa not what it wanted, but what he considered it ought to want. As a consequence, he seemed to many onlookers to be endeavouring to circumscribe the bounds

of Colonial freedom, forgetting that a world-wide congeries of States cannot be administered from a common centre without extensive devolution of functions.

Lord Carnarvon also intervened in the affairs of Natal with such precipitancy that he ultimately found himself under the necessity of suspending the Constitution for five years. Another and a greater blunder was his strange appointment of an unofficial representative in the person of that romantic historian, and disbeliever in democracy, Mr. J. A. Froude. Apart from the irregularity of procedure, the choice of an agent was singularly unfortunate. Froude was a master of the English tongue, but a slave to eloquent phrases, and possessing every sense but common-sense. He paid two visits to South Africa, one towards the close of 1874, the other in June 1875.

On the latter occasion he assumed the powers of a plenipotentiary and set the whole of the Cape Colony in a blaze. Under his advice Carnarvon resolved to confederate South Africa in his own way and regardless of the views of individual States. He accordingly addressed a Despatch to the High Commissioner, requiring him to summon a Conference for that purpose. In this extraordinary document he went so far as to designate and even appoint the Cape delegates, one of whom was, of course, Molteno, but the other, Paterson, Molteno's chief opponent. The Secretary of State also appointed two delegates for the unimportant Crown colony of Griqualand West, the same number as for the Cape. Sir Arthur Cunynghame, the Commander of the Forces, and Mr. Froude were to be Imperial representatives, and the former was to preside. The Despatch was laid upon the table of the House on

9th June 1875, and, on the motion of a private member, was read aloud by the Clerk of the House. Seldom, perhaps, has an Imperial State paper caused more amusement. The House rocked with unrestrained laughter, and when Molteno's temperate Minute in reply was also read, its tenor, on the motion of an opponent, was confirmed by a substantial majority.

Official pressure, however, was persisted in, though Merriman, whose admission to the Cabinet came in September 1875, made great fun over Froude's naked bids for Dutch Colonial support. The latter, indeed, went so far as to express his admiration of the Republican system of native apprenticeship—a curious sentiment from an Imperial envoy, accredited by a Government which had strictly enforced the provisions of the Sand River Convention, wherein such apprenticeship was prohibited as slavery in disguise.

For the three months ending in October 1875, the High Commissioner had to exercise the whole weight of his influence to prevent Molteno's resignation. Froude pressed for a special session to rediscuss Federation. It was a quaint, unedifying spectacle—a duel between the Secretary of State and his envoy on one side, and the Governor and his Prime Minister on the other side. Molteno did not flinch. He accepted the challenge, convened Parliament in December, and moved, 'That in the opinion of this House, the agitation by the Imperial Government in opposition to the Colonial Government, on the subject of the Conference, is unconstitutional and improper.'

During the debate that ensued, the motion was softened by altering 'by' into 'in the name of' so as to affix the responsibility directly on Froude, but before the discussion ended a Despatch arrived from Carnarvon

abandoning his proposals. He had not changed his policy, but his method of enforcing it. Early in 1876 he sent out another Despatch, summoning a Confederation Conference in London. The House made short work of it and resolved, without a Division, to decline to attend. In spite of this rebuff, the Secretary of State invited Molteno and Brand to visit England and confer with him over the annexation of Griqualand West, with due regard to the susceptibilities of the Orange Free State. Molteno accepted the invitation and sailed for England in July 1876, but was, on arrival, surprised to find that Brand had been already 'squared' by the payment of £90,000, and Griqualand West saddled with the debt.

Naturally chagrined that Carnarvon had not had the courtesy to await the advice he had solicited, Molteno withdrew his offer to incorporate the province with the Cape Colony. Carnarvon retaliated by declining to confirm the Colonial Act, annexing Walfisch Bay and its Hinterland, and under this pressure Molteno gave way and agreed to accept Griqualand West and its liabilities. His promise was kept and his action confirmed during the session of 1877.

Carnarvon was not so scrupulous in performing his portion of the bargain. Palgrave, the Cape Commissioner, had arranged terms with the Damaras and other tribes on the West Coast up to the Portuguese border on the Cunene River. The Act of Annexation had been duly passed. There remained only the formality of the issue of Letters Patent, but these were delayed in order to force the Cape into the Conference. Molteno, who remained in power until 6th February 1878, brought up the question in the Governor's speech both at the opening and closing of Parliament, but

Carnarvon was inexorable and, as shown elsewhere, the territory eventually fell into the hands of Germany.

Meanwhile the Conference met in London in August, 1876, to discuss the fate of South Africa. Carnarvon himself presided, with Sir Garnet Wolseley as Vice-President, Shepstone for Natal and Froude for Griqualand West. These were mere Colonial Office appointments, and the inhabitants of Griqualand West formally repudiated Froude.¹

Shepstone was ostentatiously knighted, perhaps as a hint to Molteno to be submissive, but the latter was bound by the vote of the House and declined to attend. Brand put in an appearance only to say that he had no authority to discuss Confederation.

On the 5th October Molteno sailed for the Cape, full of anxiety over rumours that had reached him concerning an approaching 'cession' of the Transvaal. In his absence, Paterson, a member of the Cape Opposition, was summoned to attend, but naturally this gathering of 'tied' officials possessed no weight or authority. On 26th October Paterson headed what was called a Cape Deputation to Carnarvon, praising his policy, and especially in regard to Shepstone's mission—a curious slip, for Shepstone had started with secret instructions. To the Deputation, Carnarvon gave information not vouchsafed to Molteno, viz. : that he was drafting a Permissive Confederation Bill for submission to the Imperial Parliament. He did not add, as he might have done, that he was already in correspondence with a distinguished public servant through

¹ Froude had returned from the Cape, a baffled man, in December 1875. On arrival home he had written to a friend (*Shirley's Table Talk*, p. 153) : 'If anybody had told me two years ago that I should be leading an agitation within Cape Colony, I should have thought my informant delirious. The Ministers have the appearance of victory, but we have the substance.'

whose tact, ability and high character he still hoped to impose his will upon a reluctant Colony and expedite that Confederation of conflicting interests, desirable in itself, but for which the time had clearly not arrived.

In pursuance of this prancing policy Sir Henry Barkly, who saw the dangers involved in premature confederation, was relieved of his functions at the close of his first term of office, and retired without any mark of Royal favour, a discreditable incident in the case of so eminently safe and high-minded a public servant.

Looking around him for a suitable successor, Lord Carnarvon selected Sir Bartle Frere, a singularly gifted and unselfish man, of emotional temperament, yet masterful and autocratic where he deemed it good for the public service to be so. Frere had seen ten years' service in India and given ample proof there that he was unafraid of accepting responsibility. On his return to England, he sat on the Army Organisation Committee (1867) and on the Committee to investigate Military Expenditure in India (1869). As Special Commissioner to East Africa in 1872 he abolished slavery at Zanzibar without, or, perhaps, regardless of, official instructions. In 1875 he accompanied the Prince of Wales to India, for which post, as he was a perfect mirror of modern knighthood, he was peculiarly well suited. To Frere, in an evil hour, Carnarvon, in 1876, offered the Cape Governorship, to be vacant, he remarked, 'on the 31st December next.'

Writing on 13th October 1876, the Secretary of State informed him as follows:—

'The war between the Transvaal Government and the natives has rapidly ripened all South African policy. It brings us nearer to the object and end for which I have now for two years been steadily labouring

—the Union of the South African Colonies and States. I am indeed now considering the details of a Bill for their Confederation, which I desire to introduce next session, and I propose to press, *by all means in my power*, my Confederation policy on South Africa. I do not estimate the time required for the work of consolidating the Confederated States at more than two years.'

Lord Carnarvon—the blind leading the blind—went on to count unhatched chickens by offering him the post of Governor-General of the Confederation *in nubibus*. Frere had few ambitions of his own, but he was pre-eminently a great public servant, and loyal to his chiefs for the time being. Like the Duke of Wellington before him, he held as the governing factor of his life that the Queen's Government must be carried on. In reply to Carnarvon (18th October 1876) he said, 'There are few things which I should personally like better than to be associated in any way with such a great policy as yours in South Africa, entering, as I do, into the Imperial importance of your masterly scheme.'

On 31st March 1877 Frere landed in Cape Town from the *Balmoral Castle*, and assumed his duties as Governor of the Cape. In the following month Carnarvon introduced his measure into the House of Lords. It was a monstrosity in its way and proposed to attach Natal to the Cape, to take away the latter's new constitutional liberties as a preliminary to their restoration to a Confederation, and generally to throw all the states in South Africa into the melting-pot, with a view to re-mint them with an Imperial hall-mark. He had already received Frere's cable message of 17th April that Shepstone had annexed the Transvaal on the twelfth idem.

It was necessary, however, for the success of his

policy that Molteno should be got rid of, and an opportunity soon occurred or was created. There was a Gaika and Goaleka war on the Cape frontier. The Governor proceeded there, remaining away some months, and attaching to his *entourage* Mr. Merriman and another Colonial Minister, Mr. Brownlee, thus isolating the Prime Minister in Cape Town. Misunderstandings were thus bound to arise, and Molteno, a stickler for constitutional etiquette, naturally resented the holding of Cabinet Councils at which he was not present. The Governor, on 31st December 1877, offered him a knighthood, apparently as a solatium for his wounded feelings, but the honour was declined, and he was dismissed on 6th February 1878, though he had suffered no Parliamentary defeat.

The Houses met on 18th May, with Sprigg as the new Premier. Frere had taken a very exceptional step only to be justified by success. An adverse vote in Parliament would have necessitated his own retirement and discredited Carnarvon. Many efforts, hospitable and otherwise, were, therefore, taken to conciliate Members of the Lower House. The struggle raged round the question which had been chosen to bring about the fall of Molteno, viz.: Whether the Government could insist on the Colonial forces being placed under the command of an Imperial officer. There was undoubtedly something to be said on both sides. Merriman moved three fiery Resolutions, two of which were ruled by the Speaker to be out of order. The third ran as follows:—I quote from the Votes and Proceedings 6th June, 1878:—

‘ Mr. Speaker stated that, when the debate was adjourned yesterday, the following question was before the House, viz.: “(1) That, in the opinion of this House, the control over the

Colonial Forces is vested in His Excellency the Governor only acting under the advice of Ministers ; (2) That it is not within the Constitutional functions of His Excellency the Governor to insist on the control and supply of the Colonial Forces being placed under the Military Authorities, except with the consent of Ministers ; (3) That the assumption of the command of Colonial Forces by Sir A. Cunynghame in January last, contrary to the advice of Ministers, was not justified or advisable under the existing circumstances."

' Upon which the following Amendment was moved by Mr. Maasdrorp, viz. : " That the House, having before it the papers connected with the late change of Ministry, does not see that the doctrine that the Governor controls the Colonial Forces under the advice of his Ministry has been called in question by the Governor, but, on the contrary, is strongly affirmed ; and the House is of opinion that, under all the circumstances of the case, the removal from office of the late Ministry was unavoidable."

' And Mr. Moore moved as a further Amendment : " That, in the opinion of this House, the dismissal of the late Ministry under the circumstances submitted by the Government has not been justified."

' Debate resumed.

' After debate.

' Mr. Speaker proceeded to put the question : That all the words after " That " in the original motion stand part of the question.

' Upon which the House divided :—

' AYES—22.

NOES—37.

' The original motion proposed by Mr. Merriman was accordingly negatived.

' Mr. Speaker then put the question : That all the words after " That " in the Amendment proposed by Mr. Maasdrorp stand part of the question.

' Upon which the House divided :—

' AYES—37.

Noes—22.

' The question was accordingly affirmed, and the last amendment proposed by Mr. Moore dropped.

‘Mr. Speaker then read the Amendment moved by Mr. Maasdorp, which was put as a Substantive Motion and agreed to.’

Molteno never returned to power. At the close of the year 1878 he retired from Parliament, and though on Frere’s recall in 1880 he re-entered the House and, on Sprigg’s downfall, accepted a subordinate position in the Scanlen Administration, he soon retired. Until 1886 he resided in England, but the ‘call of the blood’ or the glamour of the southern skies, or that vague presentiment of impending dissolution which gives to many men a silent warning, drew him back to South Africa, for which he had fought a good fight in the field and in Council, and he died in his old home in September of that year—a strenuous politician, rough in his manners, but a practical statesman of high aims and unblemished character. The Cape Parliament, in the course of its career, has committed many errors, but none equal perhaps to that of abandoning its first Prime Minister, who risked everything in its defence.

He had formed great irrigation schemes which, as the complement to the railway policy he also advocated, might have changed the face of the country, but the South African rivers still roll in flood to the ocean and the land is still periodically parched by drought. His successor, instead of stimulating internal development, at once passed what he humorously termed a Peace Preservation Act, which led to immediate war with the Basutos. According to official returns the cost of the warlike operations of the Colony, mainly in Basutoland, amounted to £4,869,735. Rhodes entered the Scanlen Ministry soon after Molteno left it, and to him it fell, in part, to endeavour to settle the feuds left by the Basuto campaign.

I have drawn the career of Molteno in some detail, because the resemblances and contrasts between him and Rhodes are numerous and striking. Both men were for a time *personæ gratæ* with the Dutch. Both were for peace and industrial progress. Rhodes was incomparably the greater man, but he made greater mistakes. Rhodes possessed a clearer insight and overlooked a wider horizon, but he fell in a worse cause. Molteno was dismissed because he stood against all comers for what he honestly deemed to be Colonial liberties and constitutional rights. Rhodes was hurled from power because he endeavoured to coerce the Transvaal by methods the reverse of constitutional. The first Prime Minister of the Cape, though tempted of the devil, would never have countenanced, directly or indirectly, the inroad into the Transvaal, which, among all the armed incursions by Boers and British, will always be known as 'The Raid.' But neither would he ever have added a great and fertile province to the British Empire. Molteno always denied, and Rhodes always admitted, the right of the interior states to a share of the Customs duties collected at the ports, but one of Rhodes's last acts was to sign a petition for a suspension of that Constitution in which Molteno took paternal pride. Both of them now lie buried in South African graves, and when our wrong perspective, our lack of the sense of proportion, our petty aims and misconceptions are buried with them, our descendants will be prepared, I submit, to grant that they were both worthy sons of the country they loved.

On the Carnarvon policy, hear Martineau (*Life of Frere*, vol. ii. p. 169) :—

'Most of the mistakes in our government of South Africa have been caused by the fatal tendency to try and govern it

from England. There, as elsewhere, the English Government has too often failed to place due confidence in its own representatives. It has listened to one-sided evidence and doctrinaire views, and has overruled or recalled Governors and High Commissioners, men of its own choice who had every qualification for forming a just judgment on the scene of action, where alone a just judgment could be formed. The consequence has been a weak and vacillating policy . . . which has alienated loyal men both white and black, and continues to this day to be the abiding cause of confusion, strife and bloodshed.'

Hear the same writer on the Conference policy of the Secretary of State. He describes it as

'the old Colonial Office mistake of sending out, cut and dried, all the details of the scheme, and nominating, or at least suggesting, the members who were to take part in the Conference, instead of offering an outline and leaving the details to be filled in on the spot. He had to deal with the susceptibilities of a Colony which had just received responsible government and was morbidly sensitive to any treatment which bore the least appearance of dictation. The House of Assembly resented the Despatch . . . and passed a Resolution that any movement in the direction of Confederation should originate in South Africa and not in England.'

This, in a nutshell, is a crushing condemnation of the Carnarvon policy. He tried to govern South Africa by voluminous despatches from England. He failed to trust his well-tried and entirely reliable representative, Sir H. Barkly: he listened to the 'opposition' evidence of Paterson, and to the impulsive utterances of Froude: he despatched to the Cape a great Indian official unversed in the parliamentary system: he ignored the Colonial Prime Minister, declining even to give him his title: he insisted on the Colonies and States conferring when they were unprepared to confer: he suspended the constitution of Natal and tried to

abrogate that of the Cape : and, finally, he annexed the Transvaal, which the logic of events was patently about to give to us of its own accord, and he resigned his high office on very inadequate grounds, and left his representatives to their fate.

It would be difficult to beat this untoward record of a well-meaning and honourable man.

CHAPTER X

THE TRANSVAAL (1881)

Royal Commission—Convention of Pretoria—Retrocession—Financial safeguards—Omission of franchise clause—Transvaal hails the Suzerain—Effort to confederate the two Republics—Brand's refusal—Kruger intrigues—Rising distrust—War ahead.

OUR disastrous defeat at Majuba Hill on 27th February, 1881, was followed by an armistice, leading up to the much controverted decision to abandon the Transvaal. A Royal Commission was at once appointed to carry out the terms of retrocession. The document bears date the 5th April, and the Commissioners were Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner; Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony; and Sir Evelyn Wood, Commander of the Forces and temporary Governor of the Transvaal. President Brand of the Orange Free State attended the sittings as a trusted friend of all parties, and his moderating influence undoubtedly had the effect of minimising the many difficulties that occurred.

The whole country was at boiling-point. The Boers were naturally jubilant at their victory. The British settlers, who had invested their all in the new Colony, and subsequently risked their lives in its defence, were, as naturally, exasperated in the highest degree at what they deemed a shameful surrender. The shock to their loyalty was never quite forgotten or forgiven. But the Commission did not meet to discuss the expediency of the retrocession, but to carry it out. On the whole,

they performed a thankless task with tact and discretion. The Convention was signed at Pretoria on the 3rd August.

I was present at several sittings of the Commission to show cause why monies advanced in the territory on the faith of British occupation should not be imperilled by the abandonment of our sovereignty. The precaution was very necessary. The Commissioners had not realised the importance of the point, and were, at first, disposed to leave financial interests to the care of the new Government. But those who had made advances in British gold were not prepared to run the risk, amounting to a certainty, of being repaid in a depreciated paper currency. To meet the case, the Commission ultimately accepted and inserted Clause XXX., which I drafted for them, and which reads: 'All debts, contracted since the annexation, will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted.' The safeguard, though simple, was complete.

It is a pity no similar precaution was taken to safeguard the political rights of British settlers who had acquired property, and a domicile, in the State during our occupation. Had this been done, the grievances of the Uitlanders might never have arisen. No opposition to such a clause would have been experienced, as neither side had any reason to anticipate a subsequent influx of aliens upon the discovery of payable gold. No preferential treatment of burghers had hitherto prevailed, and none was apparently expected. It is true that Clause XII. of the Convention protects 'All persons holding property in the said State on 8th day of August 1881' to the extent of laying it down that 'they will *continue* to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the Annexation.'

Now the old Transvaal franchise was one of the rights associated with the enjoyment of property. But the protective clause was rendered nugatory by its limitation to the period since the Annexation. No Volksraad had been convened since the Annexation, and no franchise rights had therefore been acquired or exercised. It has been argued that the equality of property rights provided for, necessarily included equality of franchise, but the point is doubtful, and the fact remains that the omission of a clear definition led to years of strife, to gross oppression, to intervention by the Suzerain and, finally, to a lamentable war and to re-annexation. The analogous clauses in the Treaty between the Republic and Germany, signed at Berlin on the 22nd January 1885, are much more elaborately and stringently phrased.

The Convention, while failing to give adequate protection to British subjects, was received by the Boers with no enthusiasm. At first a pretence of loyalty was maintained. On the Queen's birthday, which occurred while the Commission was on its way up, the following address was presented to Sir Evelyn Wood :—

‘ HIS EXCELLENCY SIR EVELYN WOOD, etc.,—May it please your Excellency—We, the undersigned representatives of the people of the Transvaal, herewith beg to tender our most hearty congratulations to your Excellency, as the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, on this anniversary of Her Majesty's birthday.

‘ A short time ago we had occasion publicly to state that our respect for Her Majesty the Queen of England, for the Government of Her Majesty, and for the British Nation, had never been greater than now that we are enabled by the peace agreement to produce proof of England's noble and magnanimous love of right and justice, and we beg now to reiterate those

sentiments, and to add that we are convinced that the relations which will for the future exist between the Crown of England and the people of the Transvaal will be the best guarantee of a sincere and everlasting peace.

‘ We are thankful that your Excellency has afforded us an opportunity of expressing our sincere desire to maintain the most friendly relations with Her Majesty’s Government.

‘ We respectfully request that your Excellency may be pleased to convey to Her Majesty our deepest respect, and the assurance that our prayers are that the Almighty God may shower His blessings upon Her Majesty for many years, for the welfare and prosperity of Great Britain, and the whole of South Africa, and more especially of the Transvaal, who hails and respects Her Majesty as her future Suzerain. We have the honour to be your Excellency’s most obedient servants,

(Signed)

‘ S. J. P. KRUGER, *Vice-President*,
M. W. PRETORIUS, *Member of Triumvirate*,
J. JOUBERT, S.C.,
ED. J. JORISSEN,
T. DE VILLIERS,
G. H. BUSKES.

‘ May 24, 1881.’

Kruger’s real sentiments were probably more accurately reflected in his appeal to President Brand earlier in the year when, passionately pleading for the armed assistance of the Orange Free State, he wrote from Heidelberg, ‘ Freedom shall rise in South Africa as the sun from the morning clouds, as freedom rose in the United States of America. Then shall it be from Zambesi to Simon’s Bay, Africa for the Afrikanders ! ’

This pointed reference to the territory lying between the Limpopo and the Zambesi—which we now know as Southern Rhodesia—was probably not lost upon Rhodes, who was already forming in his mind the policy of

Northern expansion, and who had two years previously made the extraordinary will allotting the whole continent of Africa to the British Empire.

President Brand was too enlightened a statesman to join, on light grounds, in a struggle with the paramount power. His little State was self-contained and well governed, free from external debt and only anxious to be left alone. The entreaties of Kruger fell on deaf ears. During Brand's lifetime, no formal alliance was ever concluded with the Transvaal. The independence of his pastoral Republic was jealously guarded. He was never slack to cross swords diplomatically with a High Commissioner, and he frequently had the better of the argument. But fight England he would not. He knew that his State occupied in Africa the position of Switzerland in Europe, and that he could only hope to exist in the midst of more powerful neighbours by the exercise of rigid neutrality. His successors were less wise. They took a hand in the game and lost their independence, outwardly at all events, though in reality they have found it again within the boundaries of the British Empire. The good old President never imperilled what he believed to be a sacred trust.

A day or two after the conclusion of the Convention, I was dining with Brand at his modest lodgings in Pretoria, and he confidentially informed me that overtures had already been made to him to federate the two Republics. The bait held out to him was his election as President of the Federation. To an ambitious man the prospect would have been alluring. But Brand was a patriot and not merely a politician, and he declined the proposals without hesitation. 'We are very well as we are,' he said; 'we may be poor, but we are safe from attack. We are surrounded on three sides by

British power. You have deprived us of the Diamond Fields on one side and of our reversionary rights to Basutoland on the other, but at least we are free. The Transvaal is only a protected state, and it has ambitions which I do not share. I must keep my installation oath, and not meddle with matters which do not concern me.'

From that day onward until his flight from Pretoria consequent on the expected arrival of Lord Roberts, the President of the Transvaal never ceased to struggle for an extension of his borders. Checked by the military expedition of Warren and by the civil genius of Rhodes, repressed by the resolute attitude of High Commissioners like Robinson and Loch, and with an enemy in his own household, a thorn in the flesh, the Uitlander population in Johannesburg, whom he would not conciliate and could not crush, the old President clung tenaciously to his life's desire of more territory and a seaport.

In March 1890, shortly before Rhodes became Prime Minister, Kruger met the High Commissioner at Blignaut's Pont and heard the displeasing declaration that Swaziland could not be his. He had indeed to sign a draft Convention re-affirming the independence of that State, and though his Executive Council declined, under his advice, to confirm the document, they had to give way. Police were moved up, and Hofmeyr himself visited Pretoria to point out that failure to ratify the Convention meant war. Under this pressure the Convention was signed on the 2nd August. It was on this occasion that Kruger, in the presence of several witnesses, allowed his exasperation to cloud his perception of Hofmeyr's eminent services. 'You are a traitor,' he roared, 'a traitor to the Afrikaner cause!'

I have referred thus briefly to Transvaal affairs because, when Rhodes entered Parliament, they already formed the subject of wide discussion, and Dutch ideals, fomented both by the annexation of that territory and by its subsequent retrocession, began to take definite shape. The sparsely populated spaces of South Africa, vast as they are, were insufficient to permit the Monarchical and Republican principles to expand and flourish side by side. There was an absence of goodwill and mutual trust, fatal to the growth of good relations. From henceforward till the Raid and the War, armed neutrality was the utmost that could be hoped for. Kruger was already a strong silent man, and his younger antagonist was shaping in the same direction. Both made naked avowal of the doctrine 'My country, right or wrong!' It was a conflict of principles. History will judge impartially both the causes and the men, awarding, may be, praise and blame to both; but here and now it is only possible to say, with thankfulness and pride, that after a struggle not dishonourable to either race, both have settled down in amity to work out, under one flag and one common freedom, the destinies of the country as one organic whole, possessing the fullest liberty attainable under the system of responsible self-government.

CHAPTER XI

BASUTOLAND (1882)

Historical Survey—Moshesh—Sir George Cathcart—Struggle with Orange Free State—Annexation by Great Britain—Cession to Cape Colony—Disarmament policy—War—General Gordon—Scanlen Prime Minister—Rhodes as Compensation Commissioner—J. W. Sauer—Basuto Pitso—Letsie—Masupha—Gordon resigns—Rhodes makes his second Will—Compensation Committee Report—Rhodes protests—Rhodes and Scanlen correspond—Reannexation of Basutoland to Great Britain—Sir Marshal Clarke—Sir Godfrey Lagden.

BASUTOLAND was a burning question in Cape politics when Rhodes entered the House of Assembly. His early speeches were almost confined to the subject, as we have already seen, and his first public appointment was in connection with the territory. It is a mountainous district, with an average altitude of 6000 feet, but possessing peaks towering 9000 feet above the sea. Its boundaries are the River Caledon, and the Maluti and Drakensberg mountains. Its neighbours in those days were the Cape and Natal Colonies, and the Orange Free State. It nowhere touches the Transvaal borders. It is sparsely wooded and possesses few charms for the sportsman. But it was a grain-growing and horse-breeding country, an Alsatia for broken tribes and a Naboth's vineyard to the Dutch. It will always be associated with the name of Moshesh. That remarkable ruler was originally a petty chief, of no great standing in the estimation of those of his own blood. But he rallied men from many tribes, formed them into a nation, and governed

them with conspicuous success for fifty-five years, from the year of Waterloo to the year of Sedan. His natural instincts were not warlike. He was not a Dingaan or a Mosilikatsi, yet he, of all the native chiefs, was the only one who, in the recesses of his mountain fastnesses, defied all comers and defeated with great slaughter the assault of the formidable Zulu power. He was a diplomatist, every inch of him, wary, ingenious and resourceful to a degree. It fell to his lot, during a long career, to be pitted against Presidents, Governors, and High Commissioners, and in the delicate science of negotiation he proved himself equal to them all. In 1833, he received, with tolerance, the Paris Evangelical Society, and its missionaries are still labouring with assiduity in his country at the present day. In 1845, Sir Peregrine Maitland, then Governor of the Cape, asserted authority over the Territory, but it was not until 1848 that the Queen's sovereignty was formally proclaimed. Our new subjects were somewhat unruly. In 1857, a large British force under Sir George Cathcart came into collision with the tribe and met with a repulse. The astute and sagacious chief immediately built a bridge of gold for the flying foe. At a midnight council of war, held on the almost inaccessible summit of Thaba Bosigo, he dictated a politic despatch to the defeated general: 'I entreat peace from you,' he said; 'you have shown your power. Let it be enough, I pray you, and let me no longer be considered an enemy of the Queen.'

Sir George accepted the apology and withdrew his forces.

The ill-advised abandonment in 1854 of our sovereignty over the Free State included our withdrawal from Basutoland. Ere long, hostilities ensued between

the Boers and the Basutos. From 1858 to 1868 a state of warfare existed, varied only by copious and recriminatory correspondence. At length, finding the Dutch too strong for him, Moshesh appealed for protection to the paramount power. Sir Philip Wodehouse received a despatch from the chief urging 'that he and his people might rest and live under the folds of the British flag before he was no more.'

The High Commissioner was not in time to preserve the integrity of the whole Territory, a portion of which had already come under the settled rule of the Free State. But the remainder, in spite of Brand's voluminous protests, became, for the second time, a British Protectorate. Three years later, Her Majesty's Government, in pursuance of its traditional policy of occasionally limiting and occasionally enlarging its responsibilities, handed over Basutoland to the Cape Colony, to whom Responsible Government had just been granted. The Basutos were not consulted in the matter. The decision was a disastrous one. In 1880, Sir Gordon Sprigg, who had succeeded Sir John Molteno as Prime Minister, put in force towards Basutoland the Colonial Disarmament or Peace Preservation Act of 1877, which had been aimed rather at the native tribes within the ordinary Cape borders. Immediate war resulted, and was still in progress when Rhodes entered Parliament.

He took, as already stated, a strong line that the disarmament was unjust and impolitic. The policy was certainly a costly one, for it added largely to the Colonial debt and ended in the entire loss of the Territory. As a last resource, the Premier borrowed, from the Imperial Government, the services of Major-General Gordon, then serving at Mauritius.

In 1881, Gordon, then a colonel, tired of unemployment in England, telegraphed to the Cape Government offering to terminate hostilities in Basutoland and, thereafter, to administer the Territory. The Government made no reply, and he therefore went to Mauritius to supervise 'barracks and drains,' as he scornfully remarked when writing to a friend. Early in 1882, Sprigg being then out of office, his successor, Mr. T. C. Scanlen, asked Her Majesty's Government to ascertain if Gordon would renew his offer. On 2nd April in that year Gordon received the invitation and sailed two days later in the sailing vessel *Scotia*. He arrived in Cape Town on 1st May 1882, not long after Rhodes's return from Oxford. His passage from the island had occupied twenty-seven days, and he was prostrated by sea-sickness, but he characteristically offered to proceed to his destination in three days, provided he could be furnished with full instructions within the period. On perusal of Basutoland papers furnished to him, he suggested, sensibly enough, on 5th May that, as the Colonial officials were discredited with the natives, the High Commissioner should himself visit Basutoland, where the presence of the Queen's direct representative would have, he thought, a great effect.

This, apparently, not being convenient, Gordon recommended calling a Pitso or national gathering, which he proposed to attend unarmed. He also stipulated that compensation should be awarded to those natives who had remained loyal to us throughout the struggle. This was agreed to. A Basutoland Losses Commission was appointed on 24th July 1882, Rhodes being one of its members. Meanwhile, as Gordon's services were urgently needed on the Eastern

frontier, consequent on unrest and disaffection in the Transkei, he proceeded to King William's Town, where he was soon laid aside by influenza. Mr. Scanlen telegraphed to Gordon that H.M. Government could not hold out any hope of intervention in Basutoland affairs, and in August he wrote, 'It is, I think, abundantly clear from public despatches and private information that Her Majesty's present advisers (the Gladstone Cabinet) will leave Basuto affairs severely alone, and I doubt if they would intervene even to save the Basuto people from utter destruction.'

He significantly added, 'I am most anxious to avoid the resumption of hostilities on the one hand, or the abandonment of the Territory on the other. The view of the Colony would probably be in the direction of the latter alternative, but I fear that it would be fraught with great danger, and only pave the way to a struggle between the European and native races on a very extensive scale.'

Gordon remained some time at King William's Town and Kokstad, delayed partly by illness, partly with a view to reorganise the Colonial forces. He is said to have shed tears (Rev. Forbes Robertson's *Letters to his Friends*) because the spiritual ministrations of a chaplain were denied to the Cape Mounted Rifles stationed on the frontier. The permanent command of the Cape forces was offered to him but refused. He found time, however, while there, to study the Basutoland question in all its bearings and to submit a series of Memoranda thereon to the Colonial Ministry. It seems clear that he recommended the stoppage of the war, and an attempt to govern the country by moral force through a British Resident, a course that was also urged by Rhodes and ultimately adopted

with complete success. But for the moment Scanlen was unprepared to give way. 'We are committed,' he writes in August, 'to Parliament to carry on till next session the attempt to bring about the restoration of law and order. . . . Against the programme suggested by you, this fact appears to stand out prominently, that there is no chief in Basutoland who has sufficient energy and power to control the whole, under the advice of a Resident.'

Gordon, soon after this, got under way for Basutoland. Writing on his way up (Dordrecht, 2nd September 1882), he advised the Premier that the King of the Belgians had offered to give him charge of the Congo State at the end of the year, adding with unconventional simplicity, 'Do not be shocked if I say that I would like to go to the Congo for one reason, viz.: that it is a climate which precludes any hope of old age: there is, then, a good chance of the end of one's pilgrimage, which I incessantly long for and have for years done.'

The unimaginative politician, who was then Prime Minister at the Cape, must, I think, have been perturbed at the receipt of a communication of this unusual tenor.

While at King William's Town, Gordon put in some good work in placing Transkeian affairs on a satisfactory basis. In this he was assisted by the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. Sauer, whose valuable aid he repeatedly acknowledged. Later, when together in Basutoland, serious differences arose between them. Gordon had but one object in view—the extrication of the Cape Government from a false position without further bloodshed, and the restoration of the tribe to its old position under direct British rule. Sauer,

on the other hand, was a dexterous politician. The one man acted on rigid principle, the other was guided by political expediency. Gordon sometimes forgot that the Secretary for Native Affairs was his immediate superior. All Colonial officials were 'suspect' in Basuto eyes, whereas Gordon was honoured as the representative of the great Queen over the water. They flocked to the Pitsos in thousands to greet him, while Sauer was ignored. Rhodes, who was on the spot, spoke to Gordon with his usual directness. 'You are doing wrong,' he said; 'you are letting these men make a grave mistake. They take you for the great man and pay no attention to Sauer, whereas you are only in his employment.'

Gordon said nothing, but at the next Pitso he addressed the Basutos in forcible terms, informing them that he was only the servant of Sauer. When the gathering was over, he drew Rhodes aside and whispered, 'I did it because it was the right thing, but it was hard, very hard.'

And so far was this truly great man from bearing malice that he added, 'Stay with me here and we will work together.' Rhodes, however, had already thought out his life and was not to be moved. 'There are very few men in the world,' added Gordon, 'to whom I would make such an offer, but of course you *will* have your way. I never met a man so strong for his own opinion; you think your views are always right.'

The two strong-willed men, akin in so much and yet so apart, remained, however, on excellent terms, nor was it the last occasion on which Gordon urged the young man to throw in his lot with him.

Letsie, the paramount chief, was in a reasonable frame of mind and probably sincerely desirous of

peace, while Masupha, an insubordinate inferior chief, was not disposed to acquiesce. Gordon, after his manner, went straight for the source of trouble and visited Masupha in his fastness. Whilst he was there, Sauer was suspected of having launched an armed force at Masupha, who, naturally suspecting treachery, was within an ace of anticipating the tragedy of Khar-tum by putting Gordon to death. The affair blew over, and it is only fair to add that Sauer always denied the charge.

But the effect was disastrous. Gordon resigned and left the country on 16th October 1882. He and Rhodes parted with mutual regret. They had much in common. Both were Imperialists; both were for justice to the native races; both were, to a marked degree, unconventional; both were frankly unafraid of responsibility, however serious. Gordon regarded money as a positive encumbrance: Rhodes amassed it diligently for great public purposes. But amicable relations between them over a prolonged period were probably out of the question. Both were unyielding, and neither would give way to the other. The utmost that can be said of them is that they were 'save in opinion, not disagreeing.' Gordon, when going to his death two years later, telegraphed to the younger man to join him in the Sudan, and help in putting down the intolerable tyranny of the Mahdi, but without avail, as Rhodes was on the eve of entering the Cape Cabinet, and the most heroic soul of modern times passed away without the support of the one man to whom he felt so strangely drawn. Something of the fine fibre of Gordon's nature touched Rhodes when he heard of his tragic death. Much moved, he exclaimed more than once, 'I am sorry I was not with him.'

The Basutoland Commission sat at Maseru from the 21st August to the 7th September 1882; then at Thlotsi Heights from 11th September to 31st October; at Maseru again on 3rd November; at Mafeking from 9th to 22nd November; at Mohale's Hoek from 24th to 28th of the same month, and finally at Alwyn's Kop until 7th December. Rhodes was diligent in his attendance, and only once permitted himself to take a few days' rest to visit Kimberley where, on 27th October 1882, he made his second Will. The document is in startling contrast to the first Will on which I have already commented. Its brevity is almost unprecedented, for it runs thus:—

'I, C. J. Rhodes, being of sound mind, leave my worldly wealth to N. E. Pickering.'

Neville Pickering, quite a young man, was his Secretary, to whom he was sincerely attached, but who, to his sorrow, died a few years later. At first sight it would appear that Rhodes had forsworn his high ideals and ambitions for the expansion of the Empire, and sacrificed everything on the altar of private friendship. But it was not so. When handing the will to his secretary in a closed envelope, he gave him the subjoined letter.

'KIMBERLEY, 28th October 1882.

'MY DEAR PICKERING,—Open the enclosed after my death. There is an old will of mine with Graham, whose conditions are very curious, and can only be carried out by a trustworthy person, and I consider you one.—Yours,
C. J. RHODES.

'You fully understand you are to use interest of money as you like during your life.
C. J. R.'

It is clear that his views were unchanged, but a little further experience of life, between 1877 and 1882, had convinced him that a sympathetic trustee was not to be expected in the person of a Secretary of State for the Colonies. During these five years there had been three Secretaries of State, Lord Carnarvon, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, and Lord Kimberley. A very cursory study of their policy towards South Africa will illuminate the situation, and enable the reader to recognise why Rhodes had lost faith in the capacity of party men, however high-minded, to carry out his great schemes for extending British rule.

In 1878 Colonial affairs, on Carnarvon's resignation, fell into the unsympathetic hands of Sir Michael Hicks Beach. His conduct towards Sir Bartle Frere is difficult to justify. It was a policy of pinpricks. The High Commissioner was scolded, but not recalled. He was ill defended by his chief in the House of Commons and shorn of half his powers in South Africa. A strong sense of public duty alone kept him at his post. The Colonists were disgusted at such treatment, nor did Sir Michael mend matters by another abortive attempt, in July 1878, to force on Confederation. His interference was warmly resented by the Cape Legislature and did infinite harm. It seemed difficult to fall lower, but his successor, Lord Kimberley, succeeded in doing so. In July 1880, he recalled Frere, to the intense indignation of the Cape and Natal. Rhodes's faith in Secretaries of State was destroyed and he altered his will, not in its essence, but in the selection of a trustee.

On 16th May 1883 the Basutoland Losses Commission reported to the Governor. The Report is signed by the chairman and two of his colleagues, and recommended certain moderate payments to natives,

whose steady loyalty during the war had led to the destruction of their property by the rebels. In this recommendation Rhodes concurred, but when his colleagues went further, and recommended payment of losses alleged to have been incurred by European traders, he declined to follow them, on the ground *inter alia* that this was beyond the scope of the Commission. He accordingly drew up a Minority Report, and as this is his first State paper on record, it is subjoined almost *in extenso* :—

‘ Note. I cannot agree with my fellow-Commissioners with respect to their recommendation in Clause 21 of the Report, and I beg to place on record my reasons for differing from them.

‘ In my opinion the cases of Messrs. Trower and Fraser differ in no material respect from that large class of Europeans who, during the last forty years in the history of the Colony, have suffered from native rebellions, and I contend that if once the principle of the liability of the Government for the losses of its subjects owing to rebellion is recognised, it would expose the Colony to an obligation that it has neither the means nor the power to fulfil.

‘ The recommendation in Messrs. Trower and Fraser’s cases is based on the fact that their stores were used for the purposes of Colonial defence, but, accepting the position that they were loyal subjects of the Crown, I cannot see that the particular defence of their posts by Government forces should entitle them to a special claim for compensation.

‘ Great stress was laid by the Messrs. Fraser upon a telegraphic correspondence between themselves and the late Premier (Sprigg) in reference to the defence of their place of business, but I have failed to find in it anything approaching a special guarantee by Government in the event of the destruction of their property by the rebels.

‘ The Select Committee on the Griqualand East petition for compensation in consequence of losses incurred during the Basuto rebellion divided the claims into four classes, the third of which was Traders and others who were *ordered* to remain

at their residences or stations by magistrates or other officials. Even in this case the recommendation is carefully restricted in the following words: "That the third class of claimants are, in the opinion of the Committee, entitled to compensation in such cases and to such extent as any promise of compensation may have been made to them by a duly empowered officer." Had Messrs. Fraser and Trower come under this head they would only be entitled to compensation in case of a special promise having been made to them by a duly empowered officer, of which there is no evidence whatever in the correspondence.

'They come rather under class 4, viz. : Persons who suffered from the unavoidable calamities attending war or rebellion, as to whom the Report of the Committee was as follows: "That they must be held to have suffered from the known risks incidental to all trading operations on the unsettled frontiers of the Colony. These cases are therefore analogous to those of numerous sufferers at other times and places, all of whom are entitled to the serious and generous consideration of the Legislature; though, as any action in the matter must be of a general character, your Committee does not consider it desirable to adopt any recommendation as to what form it should take."

'In answer to the contention that the Government of a country is liable for the losses of its subjects owing to rebellion, I would quote from a Government Proclamation by Sir Harry Smith dated 27th June 1848, which contains the following words: "Her Majesty's Government has denied that the people of England are bound to indemnify the inhabitants of this or any other Colony against losses or calamities, whether from war or other causes, to which their situation may expose them."

'England, with all her wealth, did not compensate her loyal subjects in India for the losses sustained during the recent Mutiny, and I can find no instances on record of such a course being pursued in other countries where rebellions have occurred.

'For the above reasons I must place on record my protest against this recommendation for compensation to be paid out of the public funds of a poor and embarrassed Colony on principles which are not founded on the practice and precedent of the older and richer countries of the world.

'C. J. RHODES.'

The robust common sense of this document is very remarkable to us who have seen 'compensation run mad' since the late war in South Africa, under which both the Imperial and Colonial Governments have been bled to the extent of millions sterling to rehabilitate not loyalists only, but neutrals and disloyalists also.

I make room here for a characteristic letter written by Rhodes to the Prime Minister (Scanlen), by whose courtesy I am permitted to publish it. It was written during the sittings of the Commission.

'MASERU, *Septbr.* 3, 1882.

'MY DEAR SCANLEN,—I feel sure that you will like a few lines from me whatever they are worth, as the position here is certainly becoming very strained. I wrote to Merriman last week, but he is running all over the country and it is doubtful if one's letters reach him. I hear Sauer has gone into Tembuland and, critical as affairs may be there, I really think his presence is required even more up here. Masupha remains in open rebellion, and no warrant is enforceable outside Maseru. Letsie pursues his usual course of trimming with both sides. I had to go to-day to value 2000 trees of a loyal native who is unable to return to his location, which is near Masupha's. We received notice that it was unsafe to go. I went out last Sunday to make a similar valuation at Sophoniah. News of this reached Masupha and he issued instructions that we were to be turned off if it occurred again. Matters are thus gloomy: Orpen still hopeful, but wants time.

'As abandonment is, with your Ministry, out of the question, and the Colony will not fight, there seems nothing left but to attempt the gradual restoration of

order by moral influence. The only other alternative is a Suzerainty, that is, to have a British Resident with a small Border police force. From what I can gather, Masupha would agree to this and pay Hut Tax for it.

‘It is a humiliating course and should only be resorted to in the last extremity, but you must not shut your eyes to the fact that your present policy may fail. You are attempting to restore the authority of the Magistrates by moral persuasion after physical force has failed. The restoration of such authority means the destruction of that of the chiefs, and they know it. Having by Sprigg’s folly got back into their old position, they mean, if possible, to keep it. I am hopeful that the continual drunkenness and violence of the chiefs may in time alienate the people, but the feudal tie is strong and the people cannot at present forget that the boldness of their chiefs saved their guns and (they think) their lands. They utterly mistrust the Cape. With such factors against you, you should be prepared with an alternative policy for next session. Without the recommendation of a Commission I do not see, however, how you can advocate a fresh policy. I therefore suggest your appointing such a Commission on the future government of Basutoland. They could be up here with Sauer and see something of us. We are likely to be three months in the country. What I fear is that matters may drift, and you may meet Parliament in the same position as last year. The Commission should consist of men like Gordon, Saul Solomon and others whose opinions the country would respect. I hear Gordon was thinking, on his arrival here, of visiting Masupha. I do not see how he could do so in his capacity of General. It would be his duty to send for Masupha, and Masupha would not

come. Were he on a Commission he could fairly go to each chief and consult as to the administration of the Territory. I finish by saying that matters are bad, very bad, and I write strongly because I do not wish to see our party come to grief over this wretched question.—Yours,
C. J. RHODES.'

As we have seen, Gordon did start off to visit Masupha, with nearly tragic results; also that the 'alternative policy' of a Suzerainty with a British Resident proved to be the only practicable way out of the *impasse*. The Basutos had beaten, or, rather, had worn down, the Colonial forces, and had lost confidence in the Colonial Magistrates. As Rhodes, with true political insight, foresaw, the intervention of the Imperial factor became necessary, and under successive British Residents, such as Sir Marshall Clarke and Sir Godfrey Lagden—men of sterling character and great tact—order has gradually been evolved out of chaos, and the Territory has advanced in civilisation and prosperity by the exercise of moral authority alone. To students of our history I commend, with much confidence, a close consideration of the progress of Basutoland under officials of the Empire whose only force was their own integrity and uprightness.

CHAPTER XII

BECHUANALAND (1883)

Rhodes in politics—Relations with Colonial Dutch—Duel with Kruger—Mankoroane—Montsoia—The Freebooters—Rhodes on Basutoland Compensation—Lieutenant-General Leicester-Smyth—Feeling in Cape Eastern Province—Brand complains of Basutos—Rhodes speaks in the House—Basutoland handed over—Rhodes on the Budget—On the Liquor Question—On Interior Trade—On Railways—Customs Union—Rhodes in Bechuanaland—Republics of Stellaland and Goshen—Rhodes and Scanlen correspond—Rhodes returns to the Colony—Proclamation by Van Niekerk—Rhodes in the House—Advocates absorption of Bechuanaland—Fails—Seeley's *Expansion of England*—Baron von Hübner.

RHODES was now fairly launched on the main stream of political life. He already saw that rising Dutch ambitions were the main obstacle to the success of his policy of Northern expansion. He sympathised entirely with their dislike of the fitful intervention of Downing Street. He admired their patriarchal ways, their unstinted hospitality, and the tenacity with which they struggled for their ideals in Church and State. But he mistrusted their ultimate political aims. His first efforts were directed towards working with and through them, and for a considerable period his policy was crowned with success. But he knew all along exactly what he wanted, and was resolute to get it. At the back of his mind, in the shade but ever present, was the determination to succeed; if possible with their aid, but if necessary, without it. In the last resort, he meant fighting. He did not, as yet, realise that his great adversary was Kruger. It was a duel in the dark.

On 5th May 1882, he moved the adjournment of the House in order to discuss the question of the Griqualand West and Bechuanaland boundaries. His contention was that the Scanlen Ministry were not making a firm stand for the integrity of the existing boundaries, and he warned the House, in advance of their information, that Boer filibusters were preparing to erect one or more new Republics on, and even within, Cape borders, and that raids might be expected. He may have suspected that Kruger was an accessory to the movement, or he may not. In any case he did not say so. It may be remembered that when the disagreement of the Arbitrators at the Bloemhof Court resulted in the Keate award, the south-western boundary of the Transvaal was delimited, not wholly to their satisfaction. The award was never respected by the Boers, and the renewed effort at a settlement made by the Convention of Pretoria was equally ineffectual.

During the period I am now reviewing, confusion and disorder ruled throughout the territory. Directly the retrocession of the Transvaal was announced, hostilities broke out between the rival chiefs inhabiting Bechuanaland. Their rivalries were fomented by Europeans of a low class. Mankoroane and Montsoia, on the one side, declared their preference for British protection: Masouw and Moshette, on the other side, expressed their willingness to be incorporated with the Transvaal. The situation was fraught with danger. Between October 1881 and July 1882, there was incessant scuffling as of kites and crows. Each side enlisted volunteers—‘mean whites’ as they were termed—whose interest it was to stir up strife in order to acquire land. These freebooters and nineteenth-century soldiers of fortune kept the whole country in a ferment. The result, as

Rhodes had predicted, was the establishment of new Republics on our Northern borders. Massouw and his Transvaal allies formed the Republic of Stellaland, while Moshette set up the Republic of Goshen. Their recognition would have entirely barred our way to the North.

Meanwhile I must recur to the tangled skein of Basutoland affairs. In April 1883, Rhodes was back there on the business of the Compensation Commission. On 16th May the Commission reported (G. 96 '83), Rhodes, as I have shown, dissenting from the majority of his colleagues, who proposed to extend the principle of compensation so as to include certain Europeans. On 12th September, however, the House accepted the principle, but threw out the proposed award of £25,493 to loyal Basutos, Rhodes concurring, owing to £75,000 compensation having already been made to them in other ways. Gordon had left some months before. The High Commissioner was in London. The control, such as it was, belonged to an officer styled 'Acting Governor's Agent,' who reported on the 3rd June that the chiefs were all at variance, and that he anticipated grave internal disturbances.

In the absence of Sir Hercules Robinson the Cape Parliament was opened on 27th June by the Administrator, Lieutenant-General Leicester-Smyth, who, in his opening speech, excused the lateness of the Session by reminding members that they had already, earlier in the year, attended an Extraordinary Session to discuss the problems of Basutoland. The Administrator went on to say that negotiations were still in progress for a satisfactory and enduring settlement of Basuto affairs, that the liberal terms offered by the Colony had been accepted by a majority of the tribe

but rejected by Masupha. To explain the position to Her Majesty's Government, the Commissioner of Crown Lands had been authorised to proceed to England: full terms were not yet arranged, but the prospect was hopeful. His Excellency added that the determination of the question might not improbably involve the reconsideration of the entire existing relations between the Colony and its Native Dependencies, a plain hint that the Cape might be called upon to accept Gordon's solution, viz. : that all extra-Colonial natives, wherever residing, should be brought under direct Imperial rule.

Meanwhile, on 12th July, President Brand, becoming seriously alarmed for the safety of his own State, drew the Administrator's attention to the lawless condition of Basutoland, and requested assurances that something would be done. Six days later, on 18th July, when the Disannexation Bill was before Parliament, Rhodes made a memorable speech which will be found in the collection by 'Vindex' (p. 44 and *supra*). Speaking with the weight of actual, personal and recent knowledge, he passed in review the various solutions that had been submitted to the House. Fresh from a perusal of Bulwer Lytton's *My Novel*, he asserted that the Colony had committed the mistake of Squire Hazeldean and 'put the best boy in the stocks.' 'Have you no feeling,' he said, 'for your brethren in the Free State? Here we have a despatch from President Brand. You may say he was put up to it, but does any one believe that? He is plainly in a state of alarm as to the safety of his border. There are two policies in the Free State—first that of President Brand, whom I consider the truest Afrikaner in South Africa, and then that of men without any stake in the country, who live along the border and sell guns and liquor to

the Basutos and encourage them to rebel. We have tried every scheme of settlement and failed. We cannot fight; we must not abandon. We are now at the junction of two paths: one leads to peace and prosperity, the other to ruin and disaster. Every member who votes for the second reading of this Bill will take a true and patriotic course; while every member who votes with the honourable member for Colesberg, if he persists in his amendment, will live to regret that, for the sake of a paltry party triumph, he forsook the real interests of the country.'

I have not given the speech in full because it contained passages not strictly relevant to the question before the House. This hit, for instance, at Hofmeyr, who had recently entreated the House to require its members to dress in black, the costume *de rigueur* in the Transvaal Volksraad: 'I am still in Oxford tweeds and I think I can legislate in them as well as in sable clothes.'

And this, the first, but by no means the last, fling at the Transvaal efforts to divert trade from the Cape Colony: 'Do you know it is high time that we began to think of the Cape Colony? We have heard so much about the Free State and about the Transvaal, that it is time to think about the interests of our own Colony. By the accident of birth, I was not born in this country, but that is nothing. I have adopted it as my home. I look upon the interests of the Colony first and those of the neighbouring States second. While sympathising with the Transvaal, I think that the Transvaal should return something of that feeling to this Colony, instead of shutting out our industry by leasing everything to foreigners for ten, twenty, or thirty years. At Kim-

berley your Transvaal trade is ruined by being shut out through foreign monopolies.'

It is noteworthy that so far back as 1883, sixteen years before the great war, the self-centred policy of the Republic was thus evident, in spite of the fact that its Dutch sympathisers in the Colony were going out of their way to befriend it.

Or take this reference to the 'Bond' programme and its thinly veiled disloyalty: 'I have my own views as to the future of South Africa, and I believe in a United States of South Africa, but as a portion of the British Empire!'

Rhodes's views prevailed. The Bill was passed, including a provision that in consideration of the Colony being relieved of the responsibility for the administration of Basutoland, an annual contribution of £20,000 would be made by the Cape towards the cost of governing the Territory. On September 3rd Scanlen, the Prime Minister, sent to the Governor a copy of the Act and asked for the Royal assent. Lieutenant-General Smyth, doubtless in accordance with instructions, elected, however, to reserve the Act for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. On 1st November, Lord Derby ungraciously demanded that the subsidy should be paid quarterly in advance. Within twenty-four hours Scanlen, who was by this time in London, gave the requisite assurance, but requested immediate promulgation of the Act, as both President Brand and Captain Blyth, the Governor's Agent in Basutoland, continued to make strong protests against the impolicy of further delay. The traditional dilatoriness of the Colonial Office was shocked by the idea of prompt action. On 13th November they intimated to Sir Hercules Robinson, who was still in England, that

they could not advise Her Majesty to accept the transfer of the Territory until the Basuto tribe had, by formal vote, demanded to be again taken over. A telegram purporting to come from the Colonial Secretary, but in reality drafted by Sir Hercules, was accordingly despatched to this effect, insisting on a plain answer to a plain question. In response, Letsie, the paramount chief, convened a great Pitso for Thursday, 29th November, to hear the Queen's message, which peremptorily required the tribe to give unanimous expression to their desire to come under the Imperial Government and undertake to obey the Resident and pay Hut Tax. As it was well known that the tribe were not unanimous, this proviso, though probably not so intended, threatened to wreck the ship within sight of port. Letsie and the other chiefs at the Conference were, it is true, for giving the pledge, but Masupha and his adherents declined to attend. Indeed Masupha held a rival Pitso on December 5th, at which complete independence was voted for. The recalcitrants were thought to represent nearly one third of the tribe. Letsie was in despair, and telegraphed in the picturesque phraseology so dear to the native mind: 'Abandon me not, even though Masupha refuses to follow me. Abandonment means our complete destruction. We do not want our independence. Listen, Queen, to my earnest prayer. I and my people will follow faithfully wherever you lead.'

Steady pressure on all sides at length terminated the painful indecision of the Secretary of State, and on 17th December he telegraphed to Lieutenant-General Smyth accepting, for the third time, the allegiance of the tribe. And this is how Basutoland affairs stood at the close of 1883.

Rhodes might have exclaimed with Richelieu, 'Time and I against any two.'

I return to Rhodes and the House of Assembly, where he was already a familiar figure, 'as restless,' says one observer, 'as restless on his seat as a spring doll: rarely does he retain the same attitude for two minutes in succession. When he speaks, he comes to the point at once, but he is somewhat difficult to follow. The statement that he thinks aloud is an apt description of his style of address. His conclusion is as abrupt as his commencement, and one only realises that he has finished by seeing him flop down heavily on his seat and jerk his hands into his trousers' pockets.'

On 1st August 1883, he had made an interesting speech during the Budget debate, having seconded an amendment to the taxation proposals of the Government. The Treasurer, an amateur financier, proposed to meet the deficit due to the war by a House duty, a revision of stamps and licences, and other petty and vexatious imposts. Rhodes declared himself in favour of an income tax, with a heavy excise on Cape spirits, the cheapness of which was demoralising the native races. On the liquor question he was always sound. In regard to the income tax, he was twenty years ahead of his time, no such tax being imposed until after his death. His speech, as usual, took a wide range. He never entirely mastered the difficulty of keeping to the point. Collateral thoughts were apt to occur to him and to mix themselves with the thread of his original subject. His allusions to Adam Smith were quite those of a very young man, but his application to Colonial affairs of Smith's economic doctrines was not without force, and his reference to the possible diversion of Cape trade reads like a prophecy.

‘I am glad,’ he exclaimed, ‘that the House has arrived at the conclusion that we must retain our trade with the interior, or they might have found it entirely removed from us. I say this, not in any spirit of hostility to the Transvaal, for if we are to do anything it must be done jointly with the Transvaal. But unless we do something, we shall lose our trade first to Natal and then to Delagoa Bay, owing to the prohibitive tariff of the Transvaal.’

The ‘something’ he thought the Cape had to do to retain its trade was to extend its railways towards the interior. At this date the line, though authorised, had not reached Kimberley, and there were no railways in either Republic. He saw that unless the Colony pushed on energetically, its trade would be captured by ports with superior geographical advantages. This is precisely what has happened. In 1885, Kruger himself was in favour of an extension of the Colonial line from Kimberley to Pretoria, and opened negotiations on the subject, but the Cape was unready or unwilling, and he fixed on a junction with Delagoa Bay, which possessed for him the double advantage of proximity, and of being a port not under the control of Great Britain. He was intensely annoyed at the refusal of his overtures by Sir Gordon Sprigg, and doubly so because in the same session the Colony exhibited towards him what he considered unwonted unfriendliness by placing a duty on his Transvaal tobacco. It is noticeable that Rhodes, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, spoke up strongly for the acceptance of Kruger’s railway overtures.

Another vital necessity for the Cape, in order to preserve its carrying trade, was a Customs Union to harmonise rival tariffs and terminate the intricacies of

the rebate system, and of the transit duty levied on goods destined for the interior States. But no such union was arrived at till 1889. It will be observed that Rhodes was not content merely to retain the traffic of the two Republics. He saw the necessity of increasing the exports of the Colony itself, an important point then, and for years afterwards, strangely neglected.

‘One of the most serious things,’ he said, ‘for the Colony to consider is that during the last ten years our wool and ostrich feathers and other staple industries have not increased in the slightest degree. Let us attend to the development of our internal resources.’ Disregard of this warning has cost the Colony more than it knows.

But I must return to the affairs of Bechuanaland. Rhodes had been sent up by Scanlen to see what could be done to protect Colonial interests. Between 26th May and 2nd July 1883, a close telegraphic correspondence was maintained between them. Writing from Taungs on 26th May, Rhodes addressed the Prime Minister as follows, though the letter did not reach its destination until 11th June.

‘I beg to forward you the petition of the chief Mankoroane and councillors, making you an offer of the whole of his territory. The Stellaland Boers appear to be leaving him alone just now and he has still a good deal of territory left. Its cession, of course, gives you power to deal with Stellaland. Unless accepted, you will have to reconsider the question of that portion of Griqualand West which I think evidence will prove we have taken illegally as Waterboer’s territory. Mankoroane declines compensation for it. A perusal of Colonel Moysey’s report will show you that he considered we had gone too far. I think it

my duty to go to Stellaland for further evidence on this most important point, as there are several witnesses there who, I hear, were connected with the Mahura-Waterboer treaty. I have also heard that they have been told the Commission is directed against their interests, and it is as well to explain its objects to them. I hear they are not at all inclined to join the Transvaal, and that there are about 350 of them, a good many being from the Free State and the Colony, and that a good many of the original freebooters have been bought out. I will write fully on my return from Stellaland. If the policy of acceptance is adopted by the Cabinet, I strongly urge the immediate placing of a Resident here. I feel confident the question could be settled without firing a single shot, and your trade lines kept open. The alternative is absorption by the Transvaal and stoppage of all Colonial trade with the interior.'

He seems to have lost no time in proceeding to his destination. The very next day he addressed a telegram to the chairman of the Griqualand West Boundary Commission at Taungs, reading as follows:—

'Tendency of evidence so far is to throw a large number of Griqualand West farms, for which titles have been issued, into Batlapin territory. Mankoroane has handed me a petition protesting against any division of his country, and offering cession of whole of it unconditionally to the Cape Government. If your Government accepts this cession, as a step towards solution of a difficulty, I am inclined to think Stellaland may be dealt with. Petition goes by post.'

On the same date (27th May 1883) Rhodes telegraphed also to the Attorney-General, emphasising the importance of not allowing matters to drift by reason of red-

tape delays: 'For goodness sake,' he says, 'meet Parliament with *some* policy.'

On 2nd June, Rhodes and the Prime Minister had an interesting colloquy over the wire, during which the former reported thus:—

'I have been through Stellaland and been very well received. All having interest in that country, including head-men, Niekerk and others, say they cannot stand alone, but must be annexed to Cape Colony or Transvaal. Majority I think in favour of former, and all would be with proper management, especially if they could be told soon that the Imperial Government will not allow of extension of Transvaal boundary. I found Transvaal emissary with Niekerk treating for annexation. Jorissen should be at once informed by Lord Derby that this is impossible. The annexation of Mankoroane's country and Stellaland is the only solution of the Transvaal question. If Transvaal get them, Cape Colony entirely shut out from interior trade, and our railways to Kimberley comparatively useless, as Transvaal will be in possession of Kuruman route as well. I see no difficulty in arranging boundaries between Stellaland and Goshen. There is ample land for Mankoroane's location. If you think this policy a good one, you should act promptly and debar Jorissen from getting any right of extension for the Transvaal. Stellaland consists of 400 farms, has a "Raad" and all the elements of a new Republic. Your people from the Colony are trekking in daily and replacing the freebooters. You cannot expect to clear them out now, nor do I think it is a right thing. It is natural development of country. This is a case of delay being fatal. The Transvaal have helped Stellaland with money and arms, and are now waiting for

permission from home to annex it. There is an English contingent in Stellaland anxious to join the Colony, and the Boer section admit a Cape title is worth more than a Transvaal title, but if no movement is made by us they will join the Transvaal, and you may as well stop your railways. Bethell, Montsoia's agent, will be here to-day. My suggestion is: Accept Mankoroane's offer, take Stellaland, recognise Stellaland titles, place Residents with Montsoia and Masheli. He has joined with Montsoia and, I hear, Sechele also. The land of Goshen sent for help to Stellaland, which was refused. But let me press on you, you must act at once. The key of the position is to stop Lord Derby from giving the Transvaal the right to extend: secondly, have the courage to take it for the Colony. Let Merriman know, and if you won't telegraph to him, I will telegraph myself. I may add that on this question the Kimberley vote is won, and I put it to you: if you have to go out, is it not better to go out on what is a real policy?'

This characteristic and statesmanlike message needs only this elucidation. The fiasco in Basutoland affairs had rather frightened the Cape Parliament, and Rhodes foresaw that Scanlen might hesitate to take the bold step he recommended. He therefore pointed out that it would win the Kimberley vote, a strong one. Merriman (Commissioner of Public Works) was evidently in England. His instructions were divulged in Scanlen's reply message, which reads, 'Is your proposition to confine Transvaal to its present limits? When Merriman left it was understood he was to confer with the Secretary of State, and offer to divide the country, giving the Transvaal any portion to which it might have a reasonable claim, we, on our part,

taking over Mankoroane and extending our borders westwards, thus securing command of the interior trade.'

But Rhodes was never fond of half measures where territory was concerned. Back came his swift reply, which is a typical example of his practice, when much moved, of repeating himself again and again in order to drive a point well home.

'Don't part with one inch of territory to Transvaal. They are bouncing. The interior road runs at present moment on the edge of Transvaal boundary. Part with that, and you are driven into the desert. Transvaal has issued titles for ground claimed by Stellaland. One of the strongest reasons for Stellaland joining the Cape is that they have given their volunteers titles for land, to which, if they joined the Transvaal, there are already Transvaal titles. My reason for saying don't part with an inch to the Transvaal is that the interior runs close to their present boundary, and knowing, as you do, the desert class of the country, if you part with the road you part with everything. Advise Merriman not to let Transvaal have one inch, and if you have any faith in my statement you can take the country to Sechele's without costing you a sixpence. I repeat again Bethell, Montsoia's agent, will be in this morning. Don't commit yourself, but send me word to talk to him. One of the strongest points with Stellaland for joining the Colony is the question of title. The Transvaal has helped Stellaland with money, men, and arms. They are now waiting for their reward, that is the junction of Stellaland with themselves, and the complete annihilation under their protective system of your interior trade. While you have been asleep, they have never failed to have an emissary in Stellaland. The man I

met is waiting for a despatch from Pretoria to say that Jorissen has induced Lord Derby to adopt extension of boundary, on which Republic will be offered to Transvaal and accepted by Volksraad now sitting. The man in Stellaland is paid and sent by Transvaal Executive: what stops them is waiting for England's consent. You must turn their flank by accepting this question as Cape one. Stellalanders want secured title, and though the Transvaal is at bottom of whole thing they would join the Cape Colony to-morrow to get security. Land they have taken is unoccupied by natives. It is the hunting veld: there will be no native complications: my Commission will report that you have illegally taken a large portion of Mankoroane's territory, and unless you act in the direction pointed out, you will have to pay heavy compensation. Any questions?'

Scanlen replied as follows: 'Shall communicate the purport of your message to Merriman and show it to my colleagues. The first step, if anything were done, would be to have the country declared British territory. It appears to me unlikely that Lord Derby would do this unless perfectly assured that the British Government would not be brought into conflict with the Transvaal and unlikely that the Cape Parliament would afterwards consent to annexation unless it had a similar assurance. If Lord Derby asks, "Where is the evidence of their desire to come under British rule?" what answer must be given him?'

MR. RHODES—'Stellanders are willing to petition, but if it is hopeless, they are afraid of annoying Transvaal section, but they all want, if they can get it, Cape rule, because it makes their farms worth more per morgen than the Transvaal title does. Should I get them to

petition ? I ask this not from you as Government but privately, will it help ? ’

MR. SCANLEN—‘ It would help if Lord Derby is to be influenced.’

MR. RHODES—‘ If you are gauging the feeling of the Colony and dare not propose annexation, as the next thing stop Lord Derby from allowing the Transvaal to annex : they have the pluck of bankrupts, and given the right, they would annex up to Egypt to-morrow ! They are moving heaven and earth to annex Stellaland and Goshen. Any questions ? ’

MR. SCANLEN—‘ Not at present.’

On the following day the Prime Minister cabled to Merriman through the Agent-General, giving the purport of Rhodes’s communications, but taking no strong line and being apparently somewhat alarmed at the possible consequences of definite action. His message was as follows :—

‘ 3rd June. Premier to Merriman.

‘ Rhodes states principal men in Stellaland seek annexation to Colony or Transvaal—thinks majority favour former as giving superior value to land, and paid emissary from Transvaal negotiating for annexation. Colonists replacing freebooters. Urges strongly maintenance convention line, taking over Mankoroane and Stellaland, recognising Stellaland titles. Says Commission will report encroachment on Mankoroane’s territory resulting in demands for compensation—thinks best solution as suggested. I think it improbable Parliament would take country if there is difference with Transvaal, but would consent if done by arrangement.’

To check Rhodes’s statements as to the probable loss

of Colonial trade should the Transvaal obtain an extension of their territory westwards, Scanlen, also on 3rd June, telegraphed to the Civil Commissioner at Kimberley to the following effect :—

‘ Confidential. Are you of opinion that the trade from the Colony through the country of Mankoroane, Stellaland and Goshen, northwards, is very considerable, and that if road through that territory is blocked by formation of Republics, who will impose their own duties, the interests of the Colony will suffer materially? Can you form a rough estimate of the value of goods passing over the route indicated? ’

The Civil Commissioner promptly despatched the following reply to these inquiries :—

‘ 4th June. To Premier, Cape Town.

‘ I don’t think the trade from the Colony with Mankoroane’s country, etc., is very considerable at present. Much of it must go from Natal *via* Bloemfontein or Winburg, and the unsettled state of the country would make traders cautious, but the trade will certainly increase when peace is established, and I think nearly the whole of it will pass into our hands when the railway to Kimberley is completed, unless a Republic be formed and heavy custom duties, as in the Transvaal, established. I am afraid I cannot give you any reliable estimate of value of goods.’

Scanlen then despatched the following weighty message to Rhodes :—

‘ 3rd June. Premier to Rhodes, Barkly West.

‘ After communication was interrupted I had to leave town to keep an appointment and was not free until evening. I have sent Merriman a summary of

your message and hope to have a reply to this and the former one indicating what bearing this question is having on Basutoland affairs. It could only be in the event of our shoulder being eased in that direction that we could undertake any responsibility. It is unfortunate that a question of such moment should arise when the Colony has to meet a large deficiency in revenues and in the last session of this Parliament. Under such circumstances consideration of the question upon its merits is improbable. Can you state approximately the number of Europeans in Stellaland and Goshen, what boundaries they recognise among themselves, and what probability there is of anything like unanimity on the part of the people in desiring annexation to the Colony? I need not point out that there is a very strong feeling of sympathy with the Transvaal in parts of the Colony, and that it would be hopeless to expect the assent of Parliament to any arrangement supposed to be adverse to the interests of the Transvaal. To ensure acceptance there would need to be either an almost unanimous desire upon the part of the people, or a friendly arrangement with the Transvaal, or both these conditions concurring. When at Bloemfontein, Wolf, now member for Kimberley, in reply to a remark of mine as to the interior, twice said he had often heard of this trade, but disbelieved in its existence. Can you give any estimate of its extent or value? Assuming that a railway should be made from Delagoa Bay into the Transvaal, could the Colony compete and hold the trade or a reasonable share of it?'

A prompt reply came from Rhodes, 'Will answer your questions to-morrow at nine o'clock when you come into office. They require thinking over.'

The answer duly arrived and reads thus :—

‘Stellaland has about four hundred men entitled to a farm each. In Goshen about one hundred and sixty farms are claimed, but Moshette only offers ninety and we are told is quarrelling with Boers who we hear are in a bad way. For boundaries between Stellaland and Goshen see Moysey’s map. The line runs from a point somewhere near Gouwss Saltpan on Transvaal Convention boundary in a north-westerly direction southward of Setlagoli River, Stellaland being south and Goshen north of it. The boundaries of Stellaland as now defined are approximately as follows. From Koppie Eukel with Convention boundary to near Gouwss Saltpan, thence north-westward with common boundary of Goshen towards Desert, thence south-westerly passing within about thirty miles of Kuruman to within about twenty-five miles of Griqualand West boundary, thence easterly more or less parallel to Griqualand West boundary and cutting about eight miles to northward of Taungs to a beacon on Harts River on a piece of ground marked one hundred and fifty-one B. and thence to Koppie Eukel.

My strong opinion is that majority of Stellaland people are anxious to join Cape Colony, but until they know there is a chance of annexation do not care to declare openly for Colony for fear of offending Transvaal. Niekerk suggested joint Transvaal and Cape Commission to settle question, and says they must join one or other as they cannot go on as at present. Large meeting for Nachtmaal at Vreiburg on sixth and seventh inst., when petition already started will be signed for joining Colony. Stellaland will not care to part with any of its land to Transvaal and my impression is that Niekerk

and Delarey, their head men, are in favour of Colony. I think boundary of Goshen could be adjusted so as to satisfy reasonable claims of Transvaal to "inspected" farms and still preserve our trade route to interior. The furthest route westward that can be used without going through the desert is that from Taungs northward to Kunana and thence to near Ramahlabama as per Moysey's map. The more usual road is that at the Harts River and then along the edge of the Convention boundary. Our trade with and through Transvaal is practically stopped on account of heavy import duties. The trade with Bechuana territories and interior last year, which was a bad one owing to disturbances, was about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds by firms I know, who inform me that if Transvaal is allowed to extend its boundary across present route they will be obliged to go to Pretoria and import through Natal. On even terms I think we have every chance of competing with Delagoa Bay. Study map. If Stellaland elect to be annexed to Colony I don't see how Transvaal can object, seeing that the far greater part of it was never claimed by Transvaal. Moysey's map shows nearly all inspected farms in Goshen not in Stellaland, and no portion of latter was occupied by Boers. Goshen is bounded as follows: northward by Molopo River, south-westward by Stellaland and eastward by Convention line of Transvaal through it. I think a friendly arrangement as regards a boundary might be made with Transvaal and conflict with it avoided, securing our route to interior and Montsoia's rights, which latter are of importance to Imperial Government. The territory claimed by Mankoroane, and which he now wishes to cede, includes whole of Stellaland but none of Goshen, or very little of it, if

any. It is bounded south by Griqualand West, eastward by Convention line, northward by Setlagoli River and westward by desert, including Kuruman. We leave this to-morrow for Griquatown unless you wish me to communicate with you. Please let me know.'

I quote here from a letter written to Rhodes by a Transvaal burgher. The place and date, Bloemhof, 3rd June 1883.

'This morning after you left I had a long talk with Niekerk and am convinced his desire is to be with you, but owing to the manner in which he has had to do with our Transvaal authorities, he does not like to show his hand too quickly. General Schoeman went through to Pretoria yesterday. He does not like the aspect of things there. This place and Christiana are being commandeered for men and goods to fight Mapoch. There is great discontent. People are flying from the Transvaal to Stellaland. Niekerk tells me Mapoch is getting the best of it.'

From the Prime Minister came a message to Rhodes on 4th June, 'I have no reply from Merriman to either of my cables on subject of Bechuanaland.'

And again on 5th June as follows :—

From Premier, to Rhodes, Kimberley.

'Confidential. I have just read a telegram from Bethell to the Private Secretary of the High Commissioner. I should be glad if you will ask him to show you a copy of it. If he is correct, there would appear a combination forming amongst the Chiefs to turn out the freebooters, and assumption of British authority would probably stop this.'

Rhodes sent the following replies on 4th and 6th June respectively :—

4th June.

‘ Bethell says natives have combined and that war will commence in three weeks, but declaration of British rule or protectorate would stop their action. Montsoia’s son will be here in a few days. Bethell says he would send him back to his father to stop war if there was any chance of British interference. Bethell is here trying to buy ammunition. Could not British Government be induced to annex, with understanding that Cape and Transvaal should relieve it, and arrange boundaries by means of joint Commission? Farms in Goshen not yet inspected or allotted. Boers there divided against themselves, find that, after native requirements are met in Goshen, very little land would remain, power of Goshen and Stellaland Boers much overestimated. I feel question could easily be settled, without cost or bloodshed, by prompt action. Should I unofficially send Montsoia message to refrain from attacking pending discussion in Cape Parliament and at home? I think Bethell’s statements should be taken with caution. I leave here at ten o’clock for Griquatown.’

6th June 1883.

‘ Bethell reiterates that combined action has been arranged within fourteen days. Daumas certainly told me at Taungs that Bechuanas had agreed to combined action against Boers. Bethell wants some assurance, as he would at once start back to stop Montsoia. I do not see you can give this, but if your message from Merriman was favourable I could give him guarded sense of this on my responsibility without committing

Government. The difficulty is that I am starting for Griquatown; Commission has already gone. Bethell says he leaves on Saturday, you will find that he is applying for powder. Should I wait, telling Commission to go on without me and begin evidence, or leave matter as it is? Of course he may simply be exaggerating; quantity of powder asked for would be indication, please reply, as I am saddled up.'

The complications referred to in the foregoing messages did not tend to clear up the situation. It is, however, abundantly clear that the policy of Rhodes, swift action, was the only true remedy for the almost intolerable anarchy on the Colonial borders. But the great god Routine loves procrastination, and the wheels of State revolve but slowly. The following message was despatched on 6th June:—

From Premier to Rhodes, Kimberley.

'6th June.—Confidential. Thanks for your message just received, which I shall send to Administrator for perusal. I have communicated with Merriman, and Administrator with Secretary of State. By all means take steps to stop commencement of hostilities, if possible. Once fighting commences, all chance of arrangements will be lost. Am hourly expecting news from Merriman.'

Scanlen seems to have followed this message up with another of the same date.

'June 6.—It would not be possible to give Bethell any assurance until information comes from England. If anything can be done, first step would be to declare country British Territory. Next, Letters Patent author-

ising its annexation to Colony, and then Bill. Probably (illegible) would be taken first. I must await news from Merriman. Perhaps it will be as well for you to remain for the present, instructing Commissioner to take evidence. No application for powder come yet.'

On the 7th June the Prime Minister again wired :—

' *Ju. 7.*—No news yet. Bethell telegraphed to Secretary of High Commissioner, " I have informed them," *i.e.* your Commission, " that I was ready to accept protectorate of Baralongs, with expulsion of Moshette's Boers, but cannot agree to annexation Mankoroane's country, giving Stellaland Boers titles to country. This is too great premium on freebooting." This is contrary to opinion expressed in your conversation on 2nd that Stellaland titles should be recognised. And it would therefore appear that Mankoroane would expect as a result of annexation that the intruders should be expelled either by British or Colonial Government. Neither will, I am sure, undertake that task.'

To elucidate the development of the situation, I give the following :—

Paraphrase of Cypher telegram.

From Administrator, Cape Town, to Lord Derby, London.

' *11th June.*—Confidential. Bethell telegraphs, " News received this morning from Bechuanaland, ' all chiefs but one have joined, will fight next week.' " Three courses would prevent spread war into Transvaal : First—Immediate proclamation annexing country, promising ejection freebooters. Second—Insist Transvaal preserve neutrality, when natives will respect

frontier. Third—Offer to proclaim Protectorate when natives driven freebooters over Transvaal border. Imperial protectorate preferred to Colonial. Message sent before Thursday will reach him. Colonial Government has refused to allow him purchase ammunition for purposes for war. As question is, I understand, under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, I think it right to keep you informed, but have no wish to press Imperial action, which, if solitary, might produce serious complications.'

The following is the next message from Rhodes :—

To Premier, Cape Town.

' Just returned : report finished. Boundary recommended as fair, will cut seventy farms into Batlapin territory, of which about thirty have titles. Your only solution is to take over whole Mankoroane territory, and then arrange Stellaland. Have just got your telegram of seventh. Bethell talks nonsense, he has nothing to do with Mankoroane. Daumas thoroughly understood from me Stellaland could not be cleared ; even if it was, after clearance you would sell it as Crown land. As I told you before, with exception of Harts River, it is chiefly hunting veld. It is better to leave Boers and charge high quitrent. I did not differ with Bethell, as he is wanted to work Montsoia, but he has nothing to do with Stellaland, only with Goshen. He took advantage of my absence to try and bounce you. Solution always suggested by me is, recognition of Boers of Stellaland. Goshen is different, they are unable to hold their own, unable to occupy, and could not be retained without removal of natives ; as far as I can learn, they are in a bad way and not in possession of country like

Stellaland. News from Stellaland just received—there are two parties, one for Cape, one for Transvaal, even latter would join Cape if Home Government does not concede at once right to Transvaal to extend, they are waiting result of Jorissen mission. You must stop extension of Transvaal boundary. Melville leaves to-morrow and will give you all news.'

I now subjoin copy of telegram from Premier to Rhodes, Kimberley :—

' *June 15.—Confidential.* Your message received. No information whatever relating to Bechuanaland has been communicated by Merriman in reply to the messages I sent, nor has anything come officially, and we shall have to await information by mail or on Merriman's return. He leaves to-day. He telegraphs the conditions upon which Imperial Government will take over Basutos. That they give satisfactory evidence of their desire to remain under the Crown, provide revenue required, and undertake to be obedient to laws and orders of H.C. Arrangements with Free State for preserving border relations. Colony to undertake by provisions to be embodied in Repeal Act to pay over Customs duties on goods imported into that territory, or equivalent for such revenue. This is the substance of the conditions telegraphed. I wrote you on eleventh.'

The next message of the series is the following :—

From Rhodes, Kimberley, to Premier, Cape Town.

' Mankoroane has sent message that he will sit perfectly still awaiting result of Cape and home action. Daumas will have nothing to do with Bethell's insane project to commence hostilities. I have certified for

some powder, lead and cartridges for Mankoroane for hunting purposes. His people are starving and he wishes to send out his hunters. I do this on distinct pledge from Daumas that he will not in any way use it for hostilities. He is a gentleman and can be trusted. I have asked him to send Montsoia a message to sit still and wait. Bethell is a firebrand and simply wants fighting.'

A fortnight's lull ensued, and then came the following :—

From Rhodes, Kimberley, to Scanlen, Premier, Cape Town.

'You will see Stewart's message to High Commissioner. Brown of Kuruman also sends message that they are preparing for war. I do not think myself that they will break out, but of course the right thing would be to send some one to Mankoroane at once, who should also communicate with Montsoia, that is if you intend doing anything. All chance of war would then be stopped. The unfortunate thing is when action is required no one has courage to take a bold step.'

The following is a copy of the reply telegram from Scanlen to Rhodes :—

'*June 28.*—I have conferred with the High Commissioner with reference to the message from Stewart. He has had no instructions or reply to the communications he made to the Secretary of State, and, as previously intimated, Merriman made no allusion to the subject in his messages. It does not appear that anything can be done at present, and we must await Merriman's arrival with the despatches coming by the same boat.'

On 2nd July the following were exchanged :—

From Rhodes to Premier, Cape Town.

‘ Have waited till Wednesday hoping Merriman may arrive on Tuesday, as he might send me a message and I could send word to Mankoroane. I have also long letters from Stellaland. On what day do you expect him ? ’

From Premier to Rhodes, Kimberley.

‘ July 2.—The *Trojan* is advertised as due on Thursday. She may arrive on Wednesday afternoon, but I doubt if sooner. I am disposed to think it would be advantageous to you to meet Merriman here as soon after his arrival as possible, and learn fully what has transpired.’

Rhodes evidently acted on the suggestion and returned to Cape Town. We have already seen that he spoke there on the 18th July. But with all his energy he could not bring his own friends or the Home Government to a prompt decision, failing which, Niekerk, on 6th August, issued the following Proclamation :—

STELLALAND

PROCLAMATION

Of His Honour Gerrit Jacobus van Niekerk, Administrator of the Government of Stellaland, thereto authorised by the Territorial Paramount Chief David Massouw Riet Taaibosch, by virtue of the deed of appointment of the 18th January, and in conformity with the Treaty of Peace of the 26th July 1883, and the proclamation of the 16th January 1883.

To all who may see or hear read these presents Greeting :

WHEREAS for the proper maintenance of law, and also for the promotion of the interests of the inhabitants of this

territory, it is necessary that, in conformity with above-mentioned Treaty of Peace of the 26th of July 1883, this country should be proclaimed to be an Independent State :

NOW, therefore, I, Gerrit Jacobus van Niekerk, Administrator of the Government of Stellaland, have deemed it expedient, as I hereby do, to proclaim the territory known until this present time as Stellaland, and situate on and such : to the south and north of the Harts River, to be the Republic of Stellaland, and that the seat of Government of this Republic shall be the already established village of Vrijburg.

And this Proclamation shall be and shall remain of force until such time that the cession of the 19th of September 1882, shall be complied with.

Thus done at Vrijburg, Republic of Stellaland, this 6th day of August, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty Three.

God save the country and the nation !

G. J. VAN NIEKERK,
Administrator.

Thus far, therefore, the efforts of Rhodes to see justice done and British paramountcy maintained were unavailing.

Amid circumstances of great discouragement his strenuous efforts during the Session of 1883, to keep open the route to the North, were frustrated by the apathy of Parliament, many of its members virtually betraying the interests confided to them in order to aggrandise the Transvaal Republic. Rhodes and his Delimitation Commission came back to Cape Town, as I have shown, with a cession of all lower Bechuanaland in their pockets, and a petition from the white inhabitants of Stellaland to be annexed to the Cape. The first document was validly executed by Mankoroane, who preferred to come under civilised rule, rather than witness a continuance of the practice in vogue with the Dutch freebooters of annexing his best lands. On

16th August, Rhodes played his first card by moving 'That this House place a Resident with Mankoroane.' He spoke at a disadvantage, having recently had an attack of 'camp' fever at Kimberley. He prepared no speech and was without notes, but the resolute purpose within him overleapt all barriers. He could not influence votes or overcome the prejudices of the 'Transvaal party,' but his speech was listened to with interest, and he impressed himself on the House as a coming force. He gave, indeed, a masterly exposition of the situation.

'I feel,' he said, 'that the House has not yet risen to the supreme importance of this question which is far more momentous than that of Basutoland or the Transkei. You are dealing with a question upon the proper treatment of which depends the whole future of this Colony. I look upon this Bechuanaland territory as the Suez Canal of the trade of this country, the key of its road to the interior. The question before us is this: whether the Colony is to be confined within its present borders, or whether it is to become the dominant State in South Africa, and spread its civilisation over the interior. Last year I moved for a Commission on the northern boundaries of Griqualand West. The Commission arrived at the conclusion that the boundary claimed by us went further than we were entitled to go under Waterboer's concession. We pointed out that seventy farms in the territory were really outside the Colony and were the property of Mankoroane. That is one reason, though a minor one, why the Colony has a practical interest in the settlement of this Bechuanaland question. I call it a minor reason because a much larger reason is the future of the trade of this Colony. I come now to the second factor in

the question, which is Stellaland. The Republic of Stellaland also offers us its Territory. I feel that it is our duty, when our younger sons go out, so to speak, to acquire land, to follow in their steps with civilised government. Is not this the principle of the British Government? I refer you to a despatch of Sir Peregrine Maitland, to show that this is exactly what was done forty years ago in the case of the Free State farms taken from the Basutos. I solemnly warn the House that if it fails to secure control of the interior, we shall fall from our position of the paramount State, which is our right in any future scheme of Federal Union.'

One of the permanent officials of the House says of this speech, 'It made a great impression on me. I do not pretend that I saw with him the great future that was coming, nor did Members, but I recognised a man who had formed a very definite opinion on a matter concerning which he stood very much alone, and whose determination was only strengthened by opposition.'

The remarks I have quoted are to the point, for in the speech we have distinct allusion to the territories beyond the Cape borders, the vast country now known as Rhodesia. The desirability of preserving access to the North is also dwelt upon, with a view to maintain the status of the Cape in the coming Federation. In this Rhodes never wavered. With profound policy, he kept the Imperial factor in the background and urged annexation solely in Colonial interests. But the effort was in vain. The House would have none of it. The offers of Mankoroane and of the Stellalanders were both declined.

Then Rhodes played his second card. The High Commissioner, as we have seen, was in London. Rhodes,

whose personality had already made an impression on him, wrote suggesting the temporary acquisition of the Territory on the joint account of the Home and Colonial Governments, each side contributing one half of the expense of administration. Lord Derby and the Cape Premier both acquiesced, and the situation was for the moment saved. But even this reasonable compromise was eventually rejected by the short-sighted vote of the parochial Parliament in Cape Town. On 10th September, Rhodes spoke again in support of a motion to prohibit the sale of liquor to any native within five miles of any proclaimed diamond area. The 'brandy interest' was strong enough to defeat the proposal. The House rose and Rhodes returned to Kimberley, much disgusted with the situation. We can imagine him, if we like, finding solace in a remarkable and far-reaching book, recently published—Seeley's *Expansion of England*.

Shrewd observers predicted the early fall of the Ministry, followed by perhaps an appeal to the country. Cape credit was at a low ebb, and Scanlen was only able to negotiate a loan on terms less favourable than those obtained by one of the Colonial Municipalities.

It may be interesting to place on record here the impressions of a keen and cultivated traveller, who came into contact with Rhodes in July 1883. Baron von Hübner, formerly Austrian Ambassador in Paris, was in Cape Town during the session. In his delightful book, *Through the British Empire*, he writes as follows :—

'But who is the young man seated at the same table, with an intelligent look, a grave deportment, and a sympathetic air? Like so many others, he left England and came here when quite young, obscure and poor. He bought a small farm, and failed. He then did what

others do in similar cases ; he went to the diamond fields. There fortune smiled upon him, and by his energy, activity, and perseverance he earned her favours. He returned to the Cape a rich man. But then he discovered something more rare and hard to find than a diamond mine. He discovered that gold is not everything in the world ; that learning and education are wanted also. He returned post-haste to England, took to studying hard, and, ransacking the mines of science, came back here again, a graduate of Oxford and a man of good manners. From that day it was an easy matter to obtain election to the House of Assembly, where he holds a position of some distinction and controls a certain number of votes. He is looked upon as one of the members of the first Ministry which will be formed from the ranks of the Opposition. But his ambition does not stop there. He aims still higher. He hopes to enter the English Parliament, and who knows but that some day he will figure in the Queen's Cabinet ? If he succeeds in so doing, he will not be the first who has reached that goal by passing through the Colonies. The path which he has taken, and means to take, marks him out to me as one of those many links, almost invisible to the naked eye, but which collectively form a bond strong enough to bind the colonies firmly to the mother country and the mother country to the colonies.'

CHAPTER XIII

THE DIAMOND INDUSTRY (1884-1888)

Rhodes at Kimberley—De Beers Mining Company—Local depression—Retains his faith—Merriman and Stow—J. B. Robinson—Mining Board debt—Rhodes and Barnato—Rhodes in Paris—Compagnie Française—Struggle with Barnato—Rhodes wins—Formation of De Beers Consolidated Mines—Comprehensive Trust Deed—Legal difficulties—Rhodes urged to confine himself to politics—Circumvents the Supreme Court—Discovery of alluvial gold—Mr. G. P. Moodie—Quartz mining—Discovery of conglomerate reefs—Foundation of Johannesburg—Rhodes acquires interests there.

DISPIRITED at his failure to move the Dutch phlegm of the Cape Parliament, Rhodes, at the close of the session of 1883, found no solace on returning to Kimberley. The place was indeed in a condition of gloom and despondency. The De Beers Mining Company, which he had founded three years earlier with a capital of £200,000, was slowly gathering strength, but its pecuniary position was not free from embarrassment, and to ordinary observers it gave, as yet, no sign of being the Aaron's Rod of the 'dry diggings.' It was not until 1885 that, by the absorption of additional 'claims,' it became a visibly important enterprise with a capital of £841,000. Meanwhile the permanence of the diamond industry was far from being assured. Thousands of energetic diggers were at work, sometimes buoyed up by high hopes, but oftener oppressed with care and anxiety. Only Rhodes, Barnato and a few other men preserved serenity of mind, and never permitted a doubt to overcloud their robust faith in ultimate success.

The Mining Board, which in 1874 replaced the old Diggers' Committee, seemed to have reached the end of its resources. It had done good work, but at disproportionate cost. Its power to levy rates had been used to the full and exhausted. For some time it had been issuing acceptances, and borrowing from the local Banks until its credit had become seriously weakened. The creditors were clamouring for payment. At one time the assistance of the Cape Government had been rather confidently relied on. But the expectation had been disappointed. During the session Mr. Merriman, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, had officially announced that no such aid would be forthcoming. The importance of preserving the greatest industry of the Colony was unrecognised, and, in fact, the Government were hard put to it themselves to maintain an equilibrium in their finances. The Diamond Mines were left, fortunately perhaps, to work out their own salvation. But a leading Editor remarked to me at the time that it was 'almost a toss up between a boom and bankruptcy.' It was the general conviction that as diamonds were only articles of luxury, appealing to a limited circle of wealthy purchasers, the markets of the world would soon be glutted, and the value of the stones seriously impaired. Fluctuations in value did occur, with an ever downward tendency, and the ultimate triumph of Rhodes over pessimistic criticism is due to the fact that he kept steadily in view the true remedy, amalgamation of interests and a restriction of the output, until the circle of his customers could be extended. But this process of consolidation, with its accompanying diminution of competition and regulation of production, took several years to accomplish. Meanwhile Rhodes pursued his course with dogged determina-

tion and, when interrogated on the point, always answered the question by asking another, 'When,' he would say, 'did you ever meet a woman who owned to having diamonds enough?'

But early in 1885 affairs appeared to be approaching a crisis. The Banks by this time had become, against their will, the compulsory owners of many mining claims on which they had advanced money. Their anxiety at the novel position in which they found themselves, and their determination to realise their securities at any sacrifice, were disturbing factors in the situation. Mr. J. X. Merriman, now out of office, came to Kimberley to study the question on the spot, and Mr.—afterwards Sir—Philipson-Stow, came out from England for the same purpose. Rhodes was at this time endeavouring to amalgamate the Anglo-African, Griqualand West, Hercules and other claims in the Du Toit's Pan Mines. Mr. J. B. Robinson, another leading claim-holder, was ostensibly in favour of the scheme, but Rhodes, rightly or wrongly, held that he was secretly working against it, and the conviction of his bad faith created a prejudice against him, which ripened into a standing feud. Meanwhile, a further heavy fall of reef in the De Beers Mine created some alarm in the minds of Rhodes's staunchest supporters. The growth of the Mining Board debt also caused grave anxiety. A leading claim-holder wrote to me on 29th April 1885, that an ominous whisper of repudiation was in the air. 'Application,' he wrote, 'should be made to Parliament for a short Act empowering a Commission to take evidence and give a final decision. It will be a disgrace to this place and to the Colony if repudiation is permitted. It is a queer thing to see — countenancing such an iniquitous policy.'

It will be seen that the position of Rhodes was not an easy one. He had his full share of monetary troubles. Financially he was far less strong than Barnato, and the claims he had acquired in the De Beers Mine were poorer, claim for claim, than those held by his competitor in the Kimberley Mine. He had none of Barnato's light-hearted geniality or, as some called it, irresponsible frivolity. He possessed few intimate friends, and not even to all of them did he disclose his hand. Mere acquaintances disliked his moody silences, varied with fits of rather boisterous fun. They considered him exclusive, morose, rough and overbearing. And it must be admitted that he was a good hater, violent when thwarted, and at times blunt to the point of rudeness. It is difficult to be sufficiently unconventional to shock a mining camp, but he shocked it. In dress he was almost disreputable. He seldom took pains to ingratiate himself with any one, and a man who too openly scorns his fellows must expect to suffer social ostracism and to have his character traduced. It would be idle to deny that for a time there were unfavourable rumours in circulation regarding him, or that he was, in many circles, unpopular. But like Gallio he 'cared for none of those things.' Behind a mask of indifference, he strove strenuously for wealth, because wealth was power, and he coveted power in order to gain supremacy over rival interests, and because he aimed at making Kimberley a force to be reckoned with and a help to his ripening policy of Northern expansion. To superficial observers he was a cynical, surly dreamer. Only Jameson knew, and Beit and Rudd, and a very few others. To the rest of his little world he was an unknown quantity, and his manners were disliked, but few important transactions

were mooted without his being approached for assistance or advice.

While Rhodes was thus slowly but pertinaciously increasing his hold on the De Beers Mine by the purchase of claims which could no longer be advantageously worked by the individual digger, Barnato was pursuing an identical policy in regard to the Kimberley Mine. Both knew their own home ground thoroughly. 'Both,' as Raymond in his *Memoir of Barnato* says, 'were firmly convinced that the diamonds came from below and would be found richer in the greater depths, and each looked forward to the amalgamation of the Companies and interests surrounding him as the only practical means of reducing the costs and risks of mining. From 1881 the history of the one man is the history of the other, for they were advancing on converging lines which were, as yet, so far apart that they seemed to be parallel. Nothing is more certain than that neither Rhodes nor Barnato had any idea that they would be brought into direct opposition.'

A contest, however, was bound to come. When Rhodes was master in his own house at De Beers and Barnato was almost equally in control of the Kimberley Mine, the question of amalgamating the two companies was certain to arise. There could not be two kings at Brentford, nor could the output be regulated except by the absolute supremacy of one corporation. It was to be a fight to a finish. Barnato had the abilities necessary for the struggle, and financially he was the stronger, but there was one chink in his armour. He had failed to secure the important interests of the *Compagnie Française* in the Kimberley Mine, and without their co-operation his defences were incomplete. Rhodes grasped the position. On 6th July 1887, he

sailed from the Cape with a trusted engineer, arranged in London for the requisite financial support, and then, visiting Paris, purchased the entire assets of the French company for £1,400,000. This was a serious blow to his rival, whose only chance now was to induce shareholders to refuse to confirm the bargain made by their Board of Directors. Rhodes consequently returned to Kimberley, and after some desultory fighting, expensive to both sides, he seemed to lose heart and offered to cede the newly acquired claims to Barnato for the exact amount they had cost him, taking payment in shares of the Kimberley Mining Company. This was considered very generally as an acknowledgment of defeat. Barnato accepted the offer with effusion, and the honours rested, or seemed to rest, with him. But only for a moment. Rhodes loved 'playing the game' and was never more formidable than when his back was to the wall. The transaction gave him a very large shareholding in the Kimberley Mine. This he increased steadily by further purchases. One by one Barnato's supporters sold their holdings to the new bidder, until the latter held a majority which gave him a controlling interest in the Mine. Barnato was, to use his own expression, 'bested,' and he surrendered with a good grace. The whole story is well told by Mr. Gardiner Williams and Mr. Harry Raymond. If Rhodes's sole title to fame rested on his success in saving a great industry from ruinous competition and inevitable extinction, this biography would scarcely be justified. Many a business man has performed an equally serviceable feat. The desire to accumulate riches is a splendid spur to energy, but the general public are only indirectly concerned in the matter. If Rhodes is to live in history, it is not his wealth, but his use of it, that interests us.

And it is to his public rather than to his private career I desire to draw attention. To acquire wealth is easy to a certain order of mind. But the devotion of great wealth to public purposes is much rarer, and had Rhodes never made a fortune by his far-sightedness, to him would still belong the honour of having striven, with extraordinary vehemence of will, to promote the interests of his country. He made mistakes, but he redeemed them, and in season and out of season his thoughts were directed towards the consolidation, not merely of ephemeral business interests, but of the interests of the Anglo-Saxon race. When later, at Windsor, the Queen asked him, 'And what are you doing in Africa, Mr. Rhodes?' his characteristic reply was, 'Extending Your Majesty's dominions, madam.'

It was on the same occasion, and therefore may be mentioned here, that the Queen said, 'They say, Mr. Rhodes, you are a woman-hater. I hope it is not true?' and received the somewhat evasive reply, 'How could I hate a sex to which Your Majesty belongs?'

No sooner had Rhodes and Barnato joined forces to found the De Beers Consolidation Mines than a fresh difficulty arose over the drafting of the Trust Deed. In those days it was customary for Charters and Trust Deeds to limit specifically the powers conferred on their holders, all acts outside these powers being liable, in certain contingencies, to be treated as *ultra vires*.

Barnato desired to have a Trust Deed for Diamond Mining and for nothing else. There is much to be said for the practice, but Rhodes would have none of it. He declined to be fettered by antiquated restrictions. His idea was that the Company should be legally capable of carrying out any business in the world not in itself unlawful. The contest again was a stubborn one.

When, in the crisis of the fight, Rhodes absented himself from the negotiations in order to sit for days by the bedside of his dying secretary, Neville Pickering, it looked to many men as if the great project would be wrecked in sight of port. But ultimately Rhodes resumed the suspended conference, and after an all-night sitting his iron will prevailed, Barnato gave way with the remark, 'You have a fancy for building an empire in the North, and I suppose you must have your way.' Under these circumstances, that great Corporation, De Beers Consolidated Mines, came into existence, being registered at Kimberley on 13th March 1888.

The Trust Deed placed no restrictions on the Directors as to the extent of the capital. The Company was empowered to shift its headquarters to any place on the habitable globe. It could acquire any asset it pleased by purchase, amalgamation, grant, concession, lease, licence, barter, or otherwise. It could hold houses, lands, farms, tracts of country, quarries, mines, water-rights, privileges, waterworks, hereditaments and otherwise. It could deal in diamonds and all precious stones, gold and other minerals, ores, coals, earth and any other valuable product or substance, and also in machinery, plant, utensils, trade marks, patents for inventions, and all other property, movable and immovable, in Africa or elsewhere. It could carry on a mining, trading or other business anywhere in the world, construct, maintain and operate tramways, railways, roads, tunnels, canals, gasworks, electric works, reservoirs, water-courses, furnaces, smelting works, factories and any other works 'conducive to any of its objects.' It could promote, form, undertake and establish any institutions or companies (trading, manufacturing, banking or other) calculated to ad-

vantage the Company. And lastly, it could acquire 'tracts of country' in Africa or elsewhere, together with any rights that might be granted by the rulers thereof, and expend thereon any sums deemed requisite for the maintenance and good government thereof.

I have quoted only a few of the powers taken by Rhodes. No wonder Barnato hesitated for a while to link his fortunes with such a company. The very lawyer who drew up the deed was appalled by its comprehensiveness. Nor have the wide powers been a dead letter. The Company has built railways, tram-lines and roads, established immense dynamite works, electric and other factories, model villages, cattle ranches, fruit farms and in a hundred ways availed itself of the latitude given to it in its Trust Deed. Only four men really combined to form the Corporation—Rhodes, Barnato, Beit and Stow. Between them they held all but an infinitesimal fraction of the shares, and they created themselves Life Governors and Directors of the Company with power to appoint a fifth. One further difficulty, a legal one, remained. Some dissentient shareholders in the Kimberley Mining Company protested against amalgamation with a corporation which was not 'a similar company.' It certainly was not by any means a similar company. The objectors carried their case to the Supreme Court and won it. Their counsel, Mr.—now Sir James—Rose-Innes, is reported to have said (20th August 1888), 'The Company, my Lord, can do anything and everything. Since the time of the East India Company, no company has had such power as this. They are not confined to Africa: they are authorised to take steps for the good government of any country,

so that, if they obtain a charter from the Secretary of State, they could annex a portion of territory in Central Africa, raise and maintain a standing army, and undertake warlike operations. Yet it is argued that this Company is formed for the same purpose as the Central Company which digs for diamonds in the Kimberley Mine.'

The Court held, very naturally, that the De Beers Consolidated Mines, being a Company with powers as extensive as those of any company that ever existed, was not an ordinary Diamond Mining Company 'of a similar nature' to the Central Company and, therefore, that the Directors of the latter could not legally amalgamate with the former. This appeared at first sight a decided check, and Rhodes's friends seemed to have hoped he would now pay closer attention to politics. I find Sauer, for instance, writing to him on 10th September 1888, 'I am of opinion you should give your time and attention to other things than mining: I mean, of course, to the politics of this Colony and the States adjoining—in fact, the whole of South Africa. Things cannot go on as they have been for the last four years. Assuming that the relative strength of parties will remain as at present, it will mean that office and power are separated. Hofmeyr's decision not to take office I regret exceedingly. The elections are moving along slowly, and I don't yet know who all the candidates are.'

There would appear to have been a rumour that Merriman, whose versatility was already acknowledged, might abandon his friends and join Sprigg, if the latter's overthrow was found impracticable. On 3rd October Hofmeyr writes to Rhodes, 'I should like Merriman to offer to enter Sprigg's Ministry. I fancy he would

meet with a reception which even he would not soon forget.'

Rhodes, however, was not to be diverted from his determination to consolidate diamond interests. He at once ran the proverbial coach and four through the judgment of the Supreme Court by placing the Central Company in liquidation, and purchasing all its assets for the De Beers Company. 'If,' he used to say, 'you cannot manage a thing one way, try another.' In this way, court or no court, the amalgamation of the Mines was carried to a conclusion on 29th January 1889. And thus the eighties drew to a close. The industry was saved and Rhodes found himself, at the age of thirty-six, the guiding spirit of the largest corporation in the world.

It must not, however, be inferred that the amalgamation of interests was locally popular. The reduction of expenditure told heavily on certain sections of the population, and Rhodes's life was so seriously endangered that his friends, unknown to him, placed him for some time under police protection.

The whole of his time was not, however, devoted to this great work. Every year from 1882 to 1888, both inclusive, he attended the sittings of the House of Assembly in Cape Town, speaking with increasing weight and frequency. Nor were his energies confined to Parliament. Throughout the period I have just narrated, another industry was arising in South Africa, destined in its magnitude to dwarf even the diamond industry at Kimberley. For many years alluvial gold had been worked at various points in the Northern Transvaal. In 1882, Mr. G. P. Moodie, an ex-Surveyor-General of that territory, who had acquired a block of farms on the De Kaap range, threw them open to

prospectors, with the result of founding the town of Barberton. Quartz mining became an accomplished fact, and in November 1884, the district was proclaimed a public gold field, and in 1886 the Sheba Mine of extraordinary richness was discovered.

But both alluvial and quartz mining were soon to be thrown into the shade. When leaving Pretoria in 1881, after signing the Convention, Sir Hercules Robinson, accompanied by the Imperial Secretary, Captain—now Sir—Graham Bower, rode across country to Bloemfontein. Reining in their tired horses on the summit of a bleak and elevated ridge of almost uninhabited country, Sir Hercules observed to his companion, ‘If we were in Australia, Bower, what would you say of this formation? Would you not prospect for gold?’ The formation was the conglomerate or banket series of the Witwatersrand, in the centre of which now stands the world-famed town of Johannesburg. For several years more it lay there undiscovered until it was ‘rushed’ by enterprising diggers, many of them from Kimberley, and on 20th September 1886, it was declared to be a public gold field. Mr. Rudd, Rhodes’s partner, who from 1883 to 1888 represented Kimberley in the House of Assembly, proceeded to the Rand, where the two men acquired valuable interests and founded, in 1886, a great corporation, still in existence, the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, and several smaller companies, to one of which Rhodes gave the name of his old College.

But I must now revert to the Parliamentary situation in the Cape Colony.

CHAPTER XIV

PARLIAMENTARY LIFE (1884-1885)

Fall of Scanlen Ministry—Upington Prime Minister—Basutoland and Bechuanaland again—Rev. John Mackenzie—Rhodes on the trade route—Sir Hercules Robinson—Kruger's Proclamation—The Warren Expedition—Warren and the High Commissioner—Rhodes and Warren—Rhodes meets Kruger—Dr. Leyds—Debate in the Assembly—Secretary of State upholds Rhodes.

THE Scanlen Ministry, succeeding to place, if not to power, on the fall of the Sprigg Administration in 1881, were now visibly weak. Hofmeyr had for six months been a member of the Cabinet without portfolio, but had retired on the ground of ill-health. Sauer and Merriman remained, but the Ministry as a whole were unfavourably regarded as too British to suit the rising power of the Bond. When, upon the 19th March, the Treasurer of the Colony resigned, the Premier, looking around for a strong man, offered the post to Rhodes, by whom it was accepted. His tenure of the office was short-lived. The Dutch party in the house could not brook the Premier's affront in supporting, however timidly, Her Majesty's Government in its Bechuanaland policy. Not caring, however, to play with their cards upon the table, they censured the Ministry for declining to prohibit the importation of seed potatoes, a step which they professed to think would expose Cape vineyards to the much-dreaded phylloxera. With any stick one may beat a dog. Nobody seriously thought that phylloxera could be conveyed on a tuber, but the excuse served, and on 12th May, 1884, Scanlen

resigned. The Bond, while tenacious of power, had never been greedy for office and the direct responsibility it entails. They, therefore, declined to form a Ministry, and the task was assigned to Sir Thomas Uppington. The administration thus constructed was of a type generally associated with the name of a warming-pan. Rhodes became one of the opposition leaders, and in that capacity delivered, on 9th June, a scathing criticism of the taxing measures of his successor.

Throughout 1884-85, the affairs both of Basutoland and Bechuanaland continued to cause anxiety. Brand was frequently under the necessity of contenting his burghers by entering protests against the alleged unrest in Basutoland. On 15th January 1884, he telegraphed to General Smyth that Joel and Masupha had gathered armed forces around them and were bent on creating a breach of the peace. Ten days later, the Colonial Office displaced Captain Blyth, C.M.G., the experienced Colonial officer hitherto acting as Resident. Colonel—now Sir—Marshal Clarke, R.A., who had seen service in the Transvaal, was appointed to the office. It was a dangerous experiment, but, thanks to the ability and discretion of the newcomer, it gradually succeeded. On 19th March there was an impressive leave-taking, when Letsie, addressing the departing Resident in full Pitso, warmly thanked him for his eminent services. 'You have done great good,' he said, 'go in peace.'

For many months Brand lost no opportunity of directing attention to the unsettled condition of the tribe under Imperial rule, the moral sought to be enforced being that the Basutos, under the sway of the Free State, would be far more effectively controlled. On 15th July he complained direct to Sir Hercules Robinson that he had been forced to call out a Burgher Com-

mando to protect his borders. A few days later, Clarke, on being interrogated, declared that the unrest was due to the action of the Free State in encroaching on Baralong territory. The President returned to the charge again and again, but in November the High Commissioner, in a published Despatch to the Secretary of State, warmly defended the administration of his subordinate. Throughout the early months of 1885 the representations of Brand were incessant, and on 21st January, the High Commissioner, writing to Lord Derby, forwarded an enclosure from Clarke stating that Masupha's excuse for arming was summed up in his own words, 'The Boers tell me night and day that British troops are on their way to Basutoland.' Fortunately, however, tact and firmness prevailed. The High Commissioner, whose fund of common sense was enormous, refused to be rushed, and the situation gradually solved itself without recourse to arms. The condition of Bechuanaland was more alarming. The territory was fairly well known in England owing to the travels of Burchell, Moffat, Oswell, Gordon-Cumming, Hepburn, Mackenzie and Selous. Livingstone himself at an earlier date had sounded a note of warning. 'The Boers,' he wrote, 'resolved to shut up the interior, and I to open it. We shall see who succeeds, they or I.' On 27th February 1884, the Convention of London, modifying that of Pretoria, was signed. If the British authorities believed their further concessions would restrain the Transvaal from prosecuting plans of aggression, they were speedily undeceived. In two days Kruger raided East and West in support of his freebooters in Zululand and Bechuanaland. His policy was severely condemned by Mr. Merriman in a speech delivered at Graham's Town the following year. 'From

the time,' he said, 'the Convention was signed, the policy of the Transvaal was to push out bands of freebooters, and to get them involved in quarrels with the natives. They wished to push their border over the land westwards and realise the dream of President Pretorius, which was that the Transvaal should stretch from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. The result was robbery, rapine and murder.'

This defiance by the President was too much for the High Commissioner. Captain Bower was sent up to Taungs, arriving there on the 12th March. A proclamation followed, formally annexing Bechuanaland, and appointing a Resident in the person of the Rev. John Mackenzie, a veteran missionary but not in all respects a judicious political agent. On 11th July the High Commissioner cabled to the Secretary of State for funds wherewith to raise one hundred mounted police to check cattle-raiding. For once Lord Derby made up his mind with almost indecent haste, and forwarded £10,000 on the following day. On 15th July Sir Hercules again cabled to say that Mackenzie now requisitioned for two hundred men, which he did not recommend, adding that in his opinion all the cattle owned by Mankoroane and Montsoia were not worth the expenditure involved, and he went on to complain that he experienced great difficulty in obtaining facts from the Resident Commissioner, but, for his part, he thought he could rely on the loyalty of Stellaland burghers, seeing how justly they had been treated by Rhodes. Reading between the lines, one sees that His Excellency was losing confidence in Mackenzie.

Matters were in this critical position when, on 16th July, Rhodes rose in the House of Assembly to make one more appeal to members to take a broad and

statesmanlike view of the situation. Speaking of this speech an official of the House says, 'It was in the old House in the Good Hope Lodge—the last session there. Rhodes stood with his back to the wall, on the Speaker's left. He spoke with great power and conviction, still pointing a warning and prophetic finger to the North. It is impossible to read the speech without being struck with its marvellous foresight.'

On this particular occasion he argued forcibly against a policy of drift. 'Is this House prepared,' he said, 'to allow these petty Republics to form a wall across our trade route? Are we to allow the Transvaal and its allies to acquire the whole of the interior? Bechuanaland is the neck of the bottle and commands the route to the Zambesi. We must secure it, unless we are prepared to see the whole of the North pass out of our hands. I do not want to part with the key of the interior, leaving us settled just on this small peninsula. I want the Cape Colony to be able to deal with the question of confederation as the dominant State of South Africa.'

His appeal did not commend itself to those whose definite policy was to aggrandise the Dutch Republics, but the majority of the House concurred with Rhodes in desiring to retain the Hinterland for the Cape Colony. Fortunately, also, there was one man in South Africa who not only recognised the strength of Rhodes's argument, but who had the will and the power to help him. In the long roll of illustrious public servants who have striven to protect the rights of the Crown in South Africa, there is no name more entitled to honour than that of Sir Hercules Robinson. His second term of office was not an unqualified success, for he was then broken by age and infirmity. The appointment was

none of his seeking, and he only yielded against his better judgment to pressure from the highest quarters. There is an element of pathos in his visit to Pretoria after the Raid, when, in enfeebled health and accompanied by a trained nurse, he was called upon to conduct the most delicate negotiations with the wily Boer President flushed with a recent moral and material victory. But in 1884 he was in the prime of life, a man of fine presence, stately dignity, pleasant address, sound business and diplomatic instincts and, withal, cool, wary and sagacious in judgment. As Governor of the Cape his powers were constitutionally limited, and the Dutch party in Parliament were often beyond the range of his influence; but as the High Commissioner he possessed wide and undefined authority, capable, in hands as firm as his, of producing striking results. Distrusting the goodwill of the Cape Government to act loyally on the policy of Rhodes, he took immediate steps to protect its interests. On 19th July Major Lowe, the Assistant Commissioner under Mackenzie, was warned that the border police just raised might not improbably be attacked on their way to Taungs, and Captain Dawkins was sent up to Kimberley to buy additional horses. Lowe reported that Mackenzie was organising forces in excess of instructions. The High Commissioner, distrusting Mackenzie's discretion, recalled him to Cape Town, ostensibly for conference, and offered the post to Rhodes with the title of Deputy Commissioner. The offer was at once accepted, and within a fortnight of his speech in the House, Rhodes was on the Border.

On 30th July the High Commissioner wired to Lowe not to move a policeman without Rhodes's instructions and, as a further precaution, the message was repeated

the following day through Captain Dawkins. During August Rhodes kept the High Commissioner fully advised of his proceedings. On 25th August, he and General Joubert arrived at Rooi-Grond together. His reception was a hostile one, as Joubert, and De la Rey, who was with him, exercised a strong influence on the freebooters of Goshen, who were nearly all Transvaal burghers. In the very presence of the Deputy Commissioner a force started that night to attack Mafeking and drive out Montsoia. Rhodes had no force and, therefore, adopted the only course open to him, of retiring from the Territory after warning the Boers that they were transgressing the terms of the London Convention, and were thus virtually at war with Her Majesty's Government. On 1st September he arrived at Commando Drift, and on 8th September he came to an amicable and satisfactory arrangement with the Stellalanders, whose titles he again frankly recognised with His Excellency's entire approval. On this crucial point Mackenzie had created a disquieting feeling by proclaiming all the farms to be the property of H.M. Government. The settlers, on the other hand, again accepted the flag, and the terms offered of local self-government pending annexation. The peril was averted. Van Niekerk, the Boer Commandant, at public meetings held at Vryburg on 22nd March and 10th May, had absolutely declined to acknowledge Mackenzie as Resident, whereas, early in September, Rhodes was able to report that the armed burghers—400 in number—had dispersed, and that he left the Territory amid cheers for the Queen.

Meanwhile Joubert had returned to Pretoria, and on 16th September Kruger published a proclamation in the *Official Gazette* annexing the whole of Montsoia's

territory 'in the interests of humanity,' thus cutting the Cape Colony entirely off from access to the North. This was too much for the High Commissioner, who, on 8th October, was able to inform Kruger that he had received instructions from Lord Derby to state that Her Majesty's Government regarded the proclamation as a breach of the Convention, and required its withdrawal. Had the protest been unaccompanied by a show of force, the Transvaal would not improbably have defied it, or entered upon a prolonged negotiation to gain time. But Sir Hercules Robinson, acting on the advice of Rhodes, meant business. Immediate steps were taken to strengthen the Cape garrison. The spirit of Cape loyalists was aroused. At a mass meeting held in Cape Town strong resolutions were adopted in favour of Imperial intervention. The Bond leaders threatened armed resistance on the part of their friends. But H.M. Government stood firm, and it was announced that they intended to send a strong expedition to Bechuanaland under Sir Charles Warren, who had already seen service in South Africa. On 10th November, his commission as Special Commissioner was signed, and in a letter from the Colonial Office of even date he was instructed to clear out the filibusters, restore order, reinstate the evicted natives, prevent further depredations and hold the country for the Crown. It was also intimated to the Transvaal that they would be held responsible for the expense of the expedition. Kruger's first open attempt to thwart the policy of Rhodes thus met with a signal repulse.

Her Majesty's Government was for once in earnest. Under date the 26th November 1884, Ernest Rhodes writes to his brother to say that the expeditionary

force would consist at the outset of 8000 men, but would be raised to 20,000 if necessary. He adds the interesting family item of news that all three brothers had received their company, he himself being gazetted Captain on 12th September, Frank (then at Dongola), 15th October, and Elmhirst on 16th October. 'Close running,' he remarks.

Early in December, Warren reached Cape Town and had an interview with the High Commissioner, the nature of which I give in the latter's own words.

'On the afternoon of the 6th December Sir Charles Warren had an interview with me which lasted for more than an hour, during which we discussed very fully in all its bearings the mission on which he was proceeding. I pointed out what I understood to be the position in Goshen, and the possible assistance which might be given to the freebooters of Rooi-Grond by their sympathisers in the Transvaal and Free State. I then alluded to Stellaland, which was at that moment in a quiet state, and remarked upon the importance of preventing the Stellalanders either joining the Goshenites or interfering with the troops passing through their country for Rooi-Grond. Sir Charles Warren inquired how this very desirable result could be effected, and I replied that if I were in his position I should at once take two steps: (1) I should invite Mr. Rhodes, who had come down to Cape Town, to return to Stellaland with a view of keeping that country quiet until the troops had passed through on their way to Goshen; (2) I should telegraph to Mr. Niekerk that we were prepared to adhere to the terms of the agreement of the 8th September, provided it was respected by the people of Stellaland. I added that I thought if the Stellaland people saw that their land titles which had

been promised to them were safe, they would not jeopardise their claims by interfering with the passage of troops through the country. Sir Charles Warren at once replied that he was prepared to adopt both suggestions; but added that he feared Mr. Rhodes, whom he had seen, would not care to return to Stellaland. I said I thought he would consent to do so; that he had undertaken so far a disagreeable and thankless duty at great personal inconvenience, and without remuneration; and that if he were told that he could still be of public service, I felt sure he would not allow any personal considerations, such as a contemplated visit to England, to interfere. It was arranged that Mr. Rhodes should be asked, and Sir Charles Warren then inquired as to the terms of the telegram, which I had suggested should be sent to Mr. Niekerk. I drafted a telegram, with which he expressed himself satisfied, and said he was ready to transmit it. I suggested he might take a night to consider it, as I was not anxious to hurry him into decision. He replied that he had made up his mind, and required no time for consideration. I commenced pointing out to him the nature of the agreement of the 8th September, and the points upon which it differed from Mr. Mackenzie's previous agreement, which was cancelled by it. He appeared a little impatient with these explanations, and said he knew all about Mr. Rhodes's agreement, having read it carefully in the Blue-book on his passage out. I again suggested that he should think well over the telegram before despatching it, at which he evinced a little irritation, remarking that when he had come to a decision he was not in the habit of reconsidering it.'

It is important to remember this interview, as bearing

on the serious differences of opinion which occurred, later on, between Rhodes and Warren.

Meanwhile, the latter proceeded to his destination, having with him a picked force of 4000 men, of whom one half were regular troops. Kruger was evidently alarmed at the turn affairs had taken, and especially at being held responsible for the cost of the expedition. His finances were already in disorder. Towards the end of 1884 the credit of the Boer Government was at a low ebb, and the President, in a conciliatory mood, offered to meet Warren at Fourteen Streams on the Border, to discuss boundary questions in a friendly way, with a view to avoid the necessity of the further progress of the expedition. Early in 1885, the interview took place. A summary of Mr. Rhodes's account of it, sent to the High Commissioner, is as follows (Bechuanaland Blue Book, C4432) :—

‘ From the time of Sir Charles Warren's arrival on the Border, communications of such a nature began to reach me day by day, that I proceeded to Barkly West to confer with the Special Commissioner, with a view to remove misconceptions under which he was evidently labouring. I reached Barkly West on 21st January, and at once perceived that the General's irritation was due to an impression on his part that I was not acting in a sufficient degree of subordination to himself. He went so far, indeed, as to threaten resignation if some change were not made in my official status. As my sole desire was to assist him in his task, I had no hesitation in assuring him of my readiness to act directly under him instead of under your Excellency, whose commission I held, but on the understanding that the engagements entered into with the people of Stellaland should not be disturbed. From Barkly West I pro-

ceeded with the Special Commissioner, at his request, to meet President Kruger at Fourteen Streams. Mr. Mackenzie was also of the party, and I ventured upon representing to Sir Charles Warren that I did not think the presence of that gentleman at the conference would be calculated either to forward negotiations or promote a good personal understanding between ourselves and the representatives of the South African Republic. The General, in the exercise of his discretion, did not think well to be guided by my advice, and in the result it became fully apparent that the presence of Mr. Mackenzie at the conference was provocative of much suspicion and irritation on the part of President Kruger and his advisers. The President, again, had invited us to a friendly conference, and it had been agreed that both parties should be accompanied to Fourteen Streams by nothing more than a personal escort. There was never the slightest reason—none at any rate with which I was acquainted—to fear that an act of treachery was in contemplation, and the fact of our moving to the place of meeting as though we were in an enemy's country, with scouts in advance, and skirmishers thrown out on either side, was not only to my mind ridiculous in itself, but suggested a feeling of distrust which was deeply wounding, and justly so, to the susceptibilities of Mr. Kruger and the officers of his Government by whom he was accompanied. The Special Commissioner arrived at Vryburg on the 7th February, and on the 14th he met the burghers who had come into camp in response to his invitation. His speech on that occasion was devoted mainly to the question of land titles, and here again I found it utterly impossible to concur in the line which the Special Commissioner pursued. Stellaland, with the exception

of its southern boundary, had never been accurately defined, and on that side where a line had been laid down, on the recognition of which the integrity of the Commando Drift Agreement to a great extent depended, Sir Charles publicly intimated his intention of prescribing an entirely different boundary. The effect of this intimation was to nullify to the extent of a considerable number of farms the assurances of the 8th September, frequently repeated, that all duly issued land titles within the recognised limits of Stellaland would be regarded as binding and valid. The action of Sir Charles in repudiating the line agreed upon by a joint Commission I could only regard as a breach of faith.'

The letter to the High Commissioner from which I have quoted was a very lengthy one, and closed with an offer of resignation. It seems clear that Rhodes was much moved, and for a while contemplated the abandonment of Colonial politics. 'I hear from our sisters,' writes Ernest from the Melbourne Club, 24th November 1885, 'that you are thinking of going round the world.'

It is evident that Warren was profoundly jealous of his masterful subordinate, and, while an excellent military officer, was unable to grasp the necessity of accepting the situation so far as it had already received official sanction. Rhodes, however, was supported by the High Commissioner, and his view was upheld by Lord Derby who, in a Despatch dated 30th May, laid it down that the Stellaland titles were to be generally recognised and maintained, except in cases of flagrant coercion. The interview with Kruger, though marred by the unreasonable attitude of the British Commander, was noteworthy for several reasons. It was the first

occasion on which Rhodes and Kruger met. Until then neither knew the other's strength. Rhodes came away with a feeling of sincere admiration for the abilities of the Boer President and playfully described himself as 'one of the young Burghers.' Kruger, who knew a man when he saw him, instinctively recognised in Rhodes a formidable opponent. It may also be noted as the first appearance in South African affairs of a young man, twenty-six years of age, who accompanied Kruger in the capacity of secretary. Dr. Leyds, of Dutch descent but born in Java, was a brilliant diplomatist, suave and polished in manner and of great intellectual power, and he subsequently came to exercise supreme influence over the mind of the President, an influence which in the long-run cost the Republic its independence. At the conference, Kruger protested that he had been powerless to check the raiders except by annexation. Rhodes, however, with not unnatural heat, exclaimed, 'I blame only one man for the events that followed my arrival at Rooi-Grond, and that is Joubert. Why is he not here to answer for himself?' There was not, and there could not be, any satisfactory answer to this question, but Kruger readily agreed that Rhodes, accompanied by Leyds, should proceed to Stellaland to settle as to who was responsible for the cattle-raiding there, and he frankly promised to enforce their award against his own Burghers.

On completion of this work Rhodes returned to Kimberley, and on the 19th May 1885, he left there to attend the Cape Parliament. It was in those days still an arduous journey, railway communication not being opened till the following November. It is beyond my purpose to deal further with the Warren Expedition,

which cost the British taxpayer £1,500,000, none of which was ever recovered from the Transvaal. The result was to check Boer aggression for a time and to define our boundaries with greater precision. All Bechuana-land south of the Molopo, and including the Kalahari, was formed into British Bechuanaland. The remainder of the territory to the north was declared a Protectorate. The route to the North was saved. Despite the puerilities of the Cape Parliament and the eccentricities of Warren, Rhodes triumphed. The Special Commissioner in his way also triumphed, for he checkmated the Boers without bloodshed. On the 24th September he sailed for England. Prior to leaving, he visited Khama, who occupied an extensive territory from the western Matabele border to Lake Ngami. That chief, always with a leaning to civilisation, offered his domains to the Imperial Government, but the cold fit was already on us, and his overtures were rejected.

On the 30th June, three months before Warren left, Sir Thomas Scanlen raised an important debate in the Cape Assembly by moving for copies of all correspondence between the Governor and his Ministers on the subject of Bechuanaland, with special reference to the resignation of the Deputy Commissioner. Rhodes made a masterly and illuminating speech on the occasion, which will be found in 'Vindex.' I need only quote his concluding words :—

'When I went to Kimberley I saw a report in the papers of the settlement proposed by Sir Charles Warren, which contained a provision that no man but those of English descent should have a grant of land in the country. If this question had been raised by my honourable friends opposite, they might have been

charged with trying to get up a question of race distinction. I think all would recognise that I am an Englishman, and one of my strongest feelings is loyalty to my own country. If the report of such a condition in the settlement by Sir Charles Warren is correct, that no man of Dutch descent is to have a farm, it would be better for the English colonists to retire. I remember, when a youngster, reading in my English history that the supremacy of my country was due to its adherence to two cardinal axioms ; that the word of the nation, when once pledged, was never broken, and that when a man accepted the citizenship of the British Empire, there was no distinction between races. It has been my misfortune in one year to meet with the breach of one and the proposed breach of the other. The result will be that when the troops are gone, we shall have to deal with sullen feeling, discontent and hostility. The proposed settlement of Bechuanaland is based on the exclusion of colonists of Dutch descent. I raise my voice in most solemn protest against such a course, and it is the duty of every Englishman in the House to record his protest against it. In conclusion, I wish to say that the breach of solemn pledges and the introduction of race distinctions must result in bringing calamity on this country, and if such a policy is pursued it will endanger the whole of our social relationship with colonists of Dutch descent, and endanger the supremacy of Her Majesty in this country.'

It would be difficult to sum up the situation more effectively.

The Secretary of State sided entirely with Rhodes in the line he had taken up, and his Despatch, No. 17 of 16th September 1886, to the High Commissioner, gave adequate expression to this view. In handing

Rhodes a copy of the Despatch, the Imperial Secretary wrote as follows :—

‘GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN,
13th October 1886.

‘SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the High Commissioner to enclose for your information a copy of a despatch which he has received from the Secretary of State acknowledging the honourable and valuable public services gratuitously rendered by you at a critical time in the affairs of Bechuanaland.

‘His Excellency desires at the same time to express his own grateful appreciation of the disinterested and effective assistance which you rendered to him at that juncture.—I have, etc.,

(*Sd.*) ‘GRAHAM BOWER.
Imperial Secretary.

‘The Hon. CECIL J. RHODES, M.L.A.,
Kimberley.’

CHAPTER XV

PARLIAMENTARY LIFE (1885-1886)—*Continued*

Finances of Transvaal—Arrival of Hollanders—Closer Union with Free State—Growth of unrest—Transvaal Franchise—German annexations—Transvaal Railway Concession—Scramble for Africa—Dilke on Rhodes—Rhodes writes to Lord Harris—Session of 1886—Eastern Pondoland—Merriman on Responsible Government—Rhodes on Religious Education—Sunday trains—Rhodes on the Sinking Fund—On Irrigation—On the Excise—On treatment of Interior States—On Protection—Rhodes in Pretoria.

I HAVE already mentioned that early in 1885 the finances of the Transvaal were seriously embarrassed. A crisis was only averted by the discovery of payable gold. But for the Uitlander, the ship of State would have been driven on the rocks. President Kruger had other anxieties of a domestic nature, one of which is touched on in the subjoined extract from a Transvaal correspondent, which bears date January 8th. 'The President is doing everything in his power to prevent further complications. He has lost a good deal of influence in consequence. The Doppers still believe heartily in him, but many of the ordinary Boers are for putting Joubert in his place. It would not surprise me were he called on to resign. An attempt will be made to re-elect Joubert as Commandant-General, but he is playing a deep game and assures me that he will not accept office under the present Government. There are many people here who would like to bring about a renewal of hostilities. The imported Hollanders especially, are fishing in troubled waters. The *Volkstem*

allows no opportunity to pass of impressing on its readers that they have the Lord on their side, and the Boer is a firm believer in Divine intervention.'

It is not customary to give Kruger the credit of ever being a restraining force, but South African history cannot be read in its true perspective without clear recognition of the fact that the President was at times the sport of circumstance and driven into difficult positions, of which, in his sober judgment, he disapproved. But no man is, at all times, his own master. In a letter received from Sir Hercules Robinson in July 1885, I observe that he deploras the unsatisfactory financial condition of the Republic, and alludes with regret to the rumour then in circulation, that the unsold lands of the State were about to be mortgaged to a private money-lender.

In 1886 the Transvaal again made overtures to the Free State for closer union, but their proposals were declined by the latter under the advice of Brand, who was still resolutely bent on not being entangled in the complications with the Paramount Power, which he clearly foresaw. In the same year, Her Majesty's Government recognised the new Boer Republic in Zululand, which was, a year or so later, annexed to the Transvaal. Slowly, and almost silently, the struggle for supremacy between the two white races in South Africa was gathering to a head. Some years were yet to elapse before the final conflict took place, but already, as my correspondence amply shows, it was foreseen. Consciously on the part of the leaders on both sides; unconsciously on the part of the rank and file, events were marshalling themselves for the great contest. Alike amid triumphs and temporary rebuffs, Kruger kept his eye steadily on the object he had in view.

It was his misfortune that his mind dwelt more on the weakness of successive British Governments, than on the stubborn character of the race they represented.

Rhodes had, for the moment, preserved our right of access to the North, and was steadily endeavouring to convince the Dutch-speaking colonists of the Cape that their primary duty was to their own Colony rather than to their Transvaal cousins. But his success was precarious. Kruger strove to keep alive the Republican elements in the whole country, and was solicitous to hold down the British and foreign citizens now flocking into his state in search of gold. It was a conflict of ambitions and ideals, to be solved by the sword. In 1874, the Transvaal franchise, hitherto free to all comers, was amended so as to require landless men to have one year's residential qualifications. In 1882 the period was raised to five years, and in 1887 to fifteen years. I am not blaming aspirations but recording facts. Under all the circumstances, instinctive efforts for self-preservation were natural and even praiseworthy. It was only when these efforts went farther and were directed towards obtaining mastery from the mountains to the sea, that serious trouble arose.

The introduction of a third factor in the internal affairs of South Africa must not be wholly disregarded. The Upington Ministry (1884-86), which maintained itself in office by the grace of the Bond, must, in justice, bear the main blame of permitting Germany to secure a footing on the sub-continent. The story need only be briefly touched upon here.¹ In January 1884,

¹ Herr Luderitz of Bremen had obtained in 1882 by treaties with native chiefs a considerable area of land around Angra Pequena, and was desirous of knowing on what exact footing he stood.

Her Majesty's Government, under quite legitimate pressure from Bismarck, had informed the Scanlen Administration that Germany desired to know whether her numerous subjects trading in South-West Africa were, or were not, assured of Colonial protection in case of need. Rhodes himself was a subordinate member of that Ministry for some weeks (20th March to 12th May), but it is believed that the Premier could not be brought to realise the urgency of the question. In any case the Ministry went out of office without replying. On 29th May the new Premier, Upington, gave a vague and unsatisfactory reply to the Despatch. Bismarck again pressed for assurances,¹ and on 21st June Her Majesty's Government felt bound to admit that Germany would be within her rights if she took independent action. The Cape Colony had already, some years before, annexed Walfisch Bay, the only practicable port of entry to the territory, but Her Majesty's Government, though strongly pressed by Sir Bartle Frere to do so, declined to annex the Hinterland. Now, on the 16th July, the Cape formally claimed the country, but before she could follow up this step by effective occupation, the German flag was hoisted at Angra Pequena, and all Damaraland and Namaqualand between 26 degrees south and the Portuguese border, an area of over 320,000 square miles, became a domain of the German Empire. Futile protests were subsequently made, but, for good or ill, Germany had definitely undertaken her share of the white man's burden in South Africa. It was a striking warning, not lost upon those who saw beyond the

¹ Failing to secure which he cabled to the German Consul-General in Cape Town on 24th April declaring that Luderitz and his possessions could rely on German protection.

ephemeral politics of the day. Within a fortnight, on the 23rd August, the Transvaal Volksraad gave to a group of German and Dutch capitalists the exclusive right to construct railways within the Republic, a decision that immensely increased foreign prestige at our expense. In September, Germany attempted to gain a substantial footing on the East Coast of Africa by occupying St. Lucia Bay in Zululand, but on the 13th November Sir Henry Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, relying on a cession of the port to Great Britain by Panda in 1843, hoisted our flag there and thus preserved the territory. The scramble for Africa had now fully developed, and the Cape Colony, before the year closed, formally annexed Tembuland, Bomvanaland, Goalekaland and the Xesibe district, while Her Majesty's Government declared Lower Bechuanaland a Crown Colony, and in 1887 warned Portugal to keep her hands off Matabeleland. Simultaneously, the Boers made renewed efforts to induce the Swazis to acknowledge their supremacy. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind if we are to understand aright the history of succeeding years.

Meanwhile, it may be interesting to record the impression made by Rhodes, shortly after this date, on a competent critic who will not be accused of undue partiality. Sir Charles Dilke, in his *Problems of Greater Britain* says, 'Another remarkable figure in the Colony, as popular in South Africa as he was once popular at Oxford, is that of Mr. Rhodes of Diamond Mine fame. I believe that, though of an old English family, he may be said to have sent himself to Oriel College after he had been for some time in Africa. When he first took to politics, which was during a pause in his undergraduate career, he belonged to the Anti-Dutch party,

but he has modified his views with the lapse of time. His wealth, in itself, makes him a considerable power in South Africa, where there have until lately been but few rich men : and although his official experience has been short, he was Treasurer of the Colony for seven weeks in 1886, and might be a Minister to-day if he cared to be one. "The Diamond King," as this modest strong gentleman hates to be called, is a man of common sense, who loudly proclaims the excellent principle that Dutch and English should work together for the welfare of South Africa.'

The proceedings of the Cape Parliament at this time caused much uneasiness in the minds of responsible Colonists. The Government was inherently weak and never really master in its own house. 'Your estimate,' wrote Mr. Merriman to me on 24th July 1885, 'of our Parliamentary proceedings is only too correct. Any one with money to lose may well be apprehensive as to the possible development of legislation in the Colony.' I have already referred to the only reported speech of Rhodes during the Session of 1885, a speech delivered on 30th June. Some weeks earlier he had despatched the following characteristic letter to Lord Harris, then Under Secretary of State for India :—

'CIVIL SERVICE CLUB,
CAPE TOWN, *June* 7/85.

'MY LORD,—On reading your motion for papers in reference to Bechuanaland, I gather you are not quite so prejudiced as the generality of the English public. I should be glad if you would obtain my letter of resignation which has been in Lord Derby's hands for the last two months. I suppose he will have laid it on the table with the papers promised before Whitsuntide.

I have also by this mail replied to a memorandum of Sir Charles Warren, which will afford information. I merely ask for fair criticism. My main object in the whole question has been to retain the interior and shut the Transvaal in, and I felt that England would not stand permanently the cost of a Crown Colony in the interior. A protectorate is liable to be abandoned at any moment, so I worked, throughout, for annexation to Cape Colony. Once made English territory, it could not be abandoned. If you will read the papers by this light you will understand the whole case. The Rev. John Mackenzie and his contingent have persistently misrepresented my objects, but unfortunately he has succeeded in gaining most of the English press who do not understand the question. By Warren's uncontrolled action with him you have lost for this year all chance of Colonial annexation. This would not matter if you are prepared to face the cost of a Crown Colony in the interior, which I estimate at about £300,000 per annum. You are now spending about £150,000 per month. I am so afraid the British public will get sick of it and clear out, and then it will drift back to the Transvaal. If Warren had worked with the Governor we could have carried annexation to the Colony. As it is, nothing has been done. You have spent one million and a half and are practically just where you started. Though personally unacquainted with you, I have often heard of you through my brother Frank who was at Eton with you.—Yours truly,

· C. J. RHODES.

‘ P.S.—Do not be led away by the assertion that I am pro-Dutch in my sympathies. I had to consider the best mode of permanently checking the expansion of

the Boer Republics in the interior. The only solution I can see is to enclose them by the Cape Colony. The British public, I feel, will never stand the permanent expense of a Crown Colony so far removed from the sea. It cannot be made self-supporting, as it would have very few sources of revenue. Having no ports it would receive no Customs, which are the chief support of a Colony, and, directed by an Imperial officer on the Mackenzie lines, you would have to keep a large police force against possible Boer encroachments. If the mother country is prepared to face such an expenditure, I say by all means adopt such a policy. But my instructions have always been that after asserting British supremacy the course desired was Colonial annexation. Against this, Warren has agitated ever since he went into the country and I feel I have been placed in a false position. The Niekerk trial came to an end as soon as he was sent to the Colony. The Crown Prosecutor at Kimberley declined to prosecute on the ground of there being no evidence. I mention this, as it may be stated that it is due to the pro-Boer sympathies of Cape politicians that it was not proceeded with. The real facts are that the barrister who decided on the merits of the case is an Oxford man and certainly thoroughly English in his views. It would have been better for all parties if Warren had sent Niekerk at once to the Colony instead of keeping him in confinement for nearly four months, and submitting him to the farce of an irregular trial in Bechuanaland, at the close of which he re-arrested Niekerk and sent him to the Colony, only to be released as soon as his case was submitted to a qualified legal mind. Conduct such as Warren's is just heaping up future trouble in this country and destroying all chance of success for those

who are earnestly working to cement the two nationalities on the basis of true loyalty to the British flag.'

The letter and the postscript, which is longer than the letter, will be found to constitute an able explanation and defence of his attitude in regard to Bechuanaland affairs. He disliked being misunderstood, and was anxious to put himself right with English official opinion. He was between two fires. The 'Big-drum' party at the Cape distrusted him as at heart a pro-Boer, because he desired justice for all, and, for that reason, had recognised the title-deeds of those Dutch Stellalanders whose claims were based on effective occupation, and because he resented Warren's action in re-opening a closed question. He also vehemently opposed that officer's high-handed procedure in arresting and prosecuting Van Niekerk, the Dutch Administrator of Stellaland, who had abided by the terms of settlement agreed upon. On the other hand, the Transvaal Boers and their friends at the Cape instinctively recognised, with their customary acuteness, that they had to deal with a strong man, whose underlying motive, though unexpressed in words, was the extension of British authority. It must be confessed that, man for man, the Dutch in South Africa are abler politicians than the English. Their outlook in the past may have been narrow, but it was intense. Whatever aims they had, they prosecuted them with fervour and conviction, free alike from the shilly-shally policy of the Home Government and from the internal dissensions of the English-speaking Colonists. They held strongly the principle of nationality. What they failed to see, and what Rhodes saw, was that South Africa was not ripe for nationhood; that its inhabitants, even if

united, could not, for many years, stand alone, and if independent and debarred from the protection of our army and our navy, would fall a prey to the first European power desirous of an additional oversea possession. As a dream it was, therefore, a vain one. Rhodes, on the contrary, realised that South Africa could only grow to maturity under the folds of our flag and as an integral portion of our Empire. History will, in the long-run, confirm the justice of our current belief that, but for Rhodes, the Transvaal and not England would have developed into the preponderating power in South Africa. His persistence alone prevented the rise of a Dutch Republic from the Zambesi to the sea—a Republic without a navy and therefore at the mercy of any ambitious foreign State. He also saw that the expansion of our Empire, to be lasting, must be on an economic basis, and must come about through spontaneous Colonial action and not through the direct and artificial intervention of Downing Street. This, and not more than this, is what he and Sir Hercules Robinson meant when, in a much misunderstood phrase, they publicly advocated the ‘elimination of the Imperial factor.’ They recognised that expansion, to be effective, must be natural; and at the wish and expense of the Colony concerned. If the Home Government called the tune, of course they paid the piper, but Rhodes held that interference with Colonial affairs was seldom wise, and should be discouraged except in grave emergencies.

In affording me the privilege of publishing the preceding letter Lord Harris observes, ‘By the time Rhodes’s letter reached me I was posted to the India Office, and I had enough to do with India without following up South African affairs, but I sent a copy to my

colleague at the Colonial Office and advised Rhodes that I had done so. His letter, I think most will agree, is an extraordinarily accurate forecast of events, and the conclusion shows that, although the means he adopted were to some minds tortuous, the end he aimed at was most loyal to the mother country and, as things have turned out, the most adaptable to South Africa.'

The policy of Rhodes during the sessions of 1885-86 has thus been summarised by 'Vindex':—

'The true policy then was, Mr. Rhodes was convinced, to cultivate in every possible way friendly relations with the Transvaal, and to trust to commercial intercourse to melt away the strong racial animosity which existed there. Accordingly, during the period 1886-88 and, of course, long after, Mr. Rhodes directed his political labours to win the confidence of the Bond party at the Cape, and at the same time to draw closer to the Transvaal by means of a railway and a Customs Union, which would advantage the material interests of the Cape as well as the Transvaal. This is the key to his policy of unification from this time onward, and the key to the understanding of his political attitude and his public utterances, as may be seen from the speeches of this period. Against him he had the Boer ideal of exclusiveness and isolation, with the intense natural suspiciousness of the Boer and his hereditary dislike and distrust of the British Government; and at the head of these antagonistic forces he had, of course, the unresting rivalry and ambition of the strong representative of the Great Trek, President Kruger. At first, no doubt, President Kruger did not perceive the real trend of the proposed railway union and commercial union with the Cape, and was not opposed to them, and would have come to terms had the oppor-

tunity not been thrown away by Sir Gordon Sprigg's Cabinet. Mr. Rhodes was not then a power in Cape politics, and almost alone he fought for the acceptance of the Transvaal proposals. The offer of free trade and railway communication with the Transvaal was refused, in spite of Mr. Rhodes's efforts, and when the Cape Government afterwards attempted to get what they had refused, the result was a humiliating failure.'

The third session of the seventh Parliament of the Colony was opened on 9th April 1886, by the Acting Administrator, Lieutenant-General Torrens, who, after referring to the Governor's absence through ill-health, announced the arrival of the dreaded vine disease caused by the *Phylloxera Vastatrix*, and stated in respect to Native Affairs that the annexation of the Transkeian territories was now complete, and that prolonged negotiations were proceeding with Umquikela paramount chief of Eastern Pondoland. The speech went on to make a hit at Rhodes by declaring that a monopoly of Diamond Mining was to be deprecated. It did not occur to Ministers that the amalgamation of diamond interests had saved the principal industry of the Colony from extinction.

In his Budget speech on 15th April, Sprigg, now Prime Minister, said of Merriman, 'We all know that the hon. member does not believe in parliamentary government. He did not believe in it in 1882 and he does not believe in it now.'

In his reply, Merriman gloried in the charge, saying, 'There is hardly a man outside the House who is not heartily sick of Responsible Government.'

On 30th April Rhodes took part in a debate on School Regulations, and took his usual direct line on education, declaring that although he was in favour

of State Education, he would couple with it religious instruction if the people wished it. 'In the education of our people,' he said, 'lies our only hope of killing race differences.' (Hear, hear.) The speech was on Hofmeyr's motion 'That the managers may provide for the religious instruction of scholars during the ordinary hours of instruction, but no scholar shall be compelled to attend without the consent of parents or guardians.'

The motion was carried by 46 to 11.

On 6th May another Dutch member moved to reduce the number of Sunday trains, and Rhodes, in support, characterised them as a real scandal. The motion was carried by 49 to 5. On 11th May, on the Estimates, Rhodes supported Hofmeyr in his objection to suspend the Sinking Fund in order to square the Budget, as proposed by Sprigg. On 14th May Rhodes brought forward a motion in favour of irrigation in the Harts River Valley and it was carried without a division. On the same date he spoke on the Excise Bill, saying it was uncertain in its incidence, expensive to collect, and the cause of grave inconvenience. He quoted Adam Smith and Fawcett in support of his views. The repeal of the Act was carried by 35 to 31. On 19th May he supported a motion in favour of the 'Precious Stones Mines Act Amendment Bill,' and it was carried. On the same date he moved to impose road rates on native huts within Location areas and on Crown Lands. The resolution was carried by 34 to 10. Here was evidently a young man who knew what he wanted, and how to get it.

On 20th June an important question came before the House. The Transvaal and Orange Free States had applied for a share of the Customs duties collected on

their goods at Cape ports. Upington moved to appoint a Committee to confer with those States, but without power to bind the Colony. But he was dead against their claim to share in the duties. Wiener, Tudhope and Vintcent concurred: Merriman, Sauer and Innes were for fair and even generous dealing.

Rhodes made a weighty speech in favour of treating the interior States with justice, and even with generosity, and as a result of his advocacy the Resolution to confer with the two Republics was unanimously agreed to. His speech was a long one. I quote only one extract from it.

‘If,’ he said, ‘we take a statesmanlike view of the situation, we should deal with the Transvaal about the internal customs and the extension of the railway to Pretoria. They are hard up, and as they have no customs duties, and must get revenue some way, they must put a duty on goods from the Colony. If we are going to approach the Republics by laying down the law that we will not give them any share of the duties, we shall only increase the feeling existing at present. It is time to approach this question from a much wider point of view, and deal with them on the basis of giving them some share of our Customs. It might seem as though I were asking the House to give up revenue, but if the Delagoa Bay Railway is about to be constructed our trade will go through that port. That is the question we must deal with, and if we make no concession, we shall get no Customs duties at all, for we shall lose our trade and our railway receipts. Now is the time to act or we shall find our trade gone, hostile tariffs established against us, and the reason for which we built our railways swept away. I think the House should weigh this question in a broad spirit and with

the idea always before us that we should be the dominant State of South Africa.'

To understand the points here put it is necessary to know that, in the absence of a general Customs Union, the Coast Colonies were, at that period, pursuing a policy of flagrant injustice towards the interior States. To assist in meeting, as they said, the cost of dock accommodation, they persisted in retaining the whole of the Customs duties levied at their ports on goods destined for Transvaal consumption. This course, Rhodes argued, would inevitably drive the Republics to exploit Delagoa Bay to the detriment of Cape ports. Such, in fact, was the natural result, and by the time the Cape realised the fatuity of its conduct and agreed to substitute a mere transit duty to cover the cost of collection, it was too late: trade had been diverted, never to return, and whereas Cape ports once enjoyed nearly seventy per cent. of the traffic, the bulk of it has now passed to other ports. Selfishness, whether national or individual, does not pay. In this instance, as in others, Rhodes was in advance of his time.

Three years later a Customs Convention gave the Orange Free State three-fourths of the Customs duties collected at the Cape, retaining twenty-five per cent. for cost of collection. The charge is now reduced to five per cent.

On 15th June Rhodes presented two petitions to the House and spoke on the Transkeian Territories Representation Bill and against the foolish proposal to give the franchise to raw natives.

On 16th June he censured the Prime Minister for sending a telegram to a parliamentary candidate in which he spoke of the 'Dutch' vote and the 'English' vote. And at an evening sitting on the same day he

carried against the Government, by 26 to 23, a new clause in the Labourers' Wages (Kimberley Compound) Bill.

On 18th June he again spoke on the same Bill, and on 22nd June on the Employers' Liability Bill.

On 25th June Parliament was prorogued by Proclamation.

Before returning to Kimberley at the close of the session, Rhodes paid a visit to the Paarl, an exclusively Dutch village of singular beauty, the Mecca of Afrikanerdom, and the birthplace of that admirably organised political association, the Bond. It was a daring 'raid' on his part, but he was anxious to work with the Dutch if possible, fully recognising that progress was bound to be arrested if their dead weight was against it. In the hope of inducing them to further the interests of their own Colony before all other interests, he addressed them on 21st June at some length, and met with an enthusiastic reception. He avowed himself a Protectionist, and this, in itself, was a passport to their good graces. The Dutch Colonists have never been converts to Free Trade. In their estimation the farmer is the prop of the State, and his products require to be reasonably protected against outside competition. Rhodes himself regarded the Colony as mainly dependent on its mining and agricultural development, and he always spoke with contempt of Colonial efforts to establish what he called 'bastard industries.' Roughly put, he desired to see Great Britain for many years to come the workshop of the world, sending out her manufactured goods to the Colonies, receiving in payment raw materials and food stuffs. In strict accord with these principles, he said in the course of his Paarl speech, 'We must protect our grain and our wine and

whatever the country can economically produce. Where we fail is in the idea that we can produce our own blankets and dress stuffs. There is time enough to think over that. First of all let us see that when the farmer puts his plough into the soil, he reaps a profitable harvest.' It is not surprising that with a pastoral and agricultural people like the Cape Dutch, a prominent young English politician, enunciating these views, became *persona grata*. The views, moreover, were honestly held. Only six weeks before, in an Irrigation Debate in the House on 7th May, Rhodes had said :—

' The House has been wandering year by year in the direction of improper Protection. A Bill has been put in to encourage cotton and woollen manufactures. The true Protection lies in the encouragement of the growth of our grain and wine. I maintain that this country could produce its own grain ; and if a slight protective duty on corn would so develop the agricultural interest of the country as to enable it to grow its own corn, the duty would be a right thing. In the years 1874-82 the country paid no less than three millions sterling for foreign wheat and flour. In 1884 it was £343,000, and in 1885 £296,000, when, in the latter year, there was a fairer crop. There is not a piece of money in the whole civilised world small enough to represent the infinitesimal increase in the cost of a loaf of bread under a tax of one shilling on every 100 lbs. of imported corn. The Protection party has been led away by the cry for cotton and woollen manufactures ; the real Protection is to stop the drain on the country by its payment for foreign corn, and produce our own. I am desirous of repaying my constituents for the confidence they have placed in me for years past ; but I am still more desirous of passing

a measure which would turn a barren desert into a fruitful cornfield.'

From these views he never subsequently wavered. The unthinking party-cry, 'Africa for the Afrikanders,' *i.e.* an Africa outside the Empire, was an offence to him; but complete self-government within the Empire, for which he strove, was common ground with all loyal Colonists whatever their nationality, and it was a party with this policy he aspired to lead.

It was some few months after the close of the session of 1886, probably in December of that year, that Rhodes went over from Kimberley to Pretoria. The visit attracted little attention, and its object is still somewhat obscure; but he is believed to have interviewed the President or some other member of the Transvaal Executive on the subject of railway extension. Be this as it may, he came away with very strong views as to the value of Delagoa Bay and the probable prosperity of the Republic. From undoubted authority I learn that he made a serious effort to purchase land and house property in Pretoria itself, and authorised a trustworthy agent to spend £100,000 in that direction. The project fell through because, with the innate conservatism of Boer landowners, holders would not sell.

CHAPTER XVI

THE COLONY AND THE 'BOND' (1887)

Political Changes—Amatongaland—Count Pfeil—Kruger and Brand—General Beyers—Rise of the Bond—Rev. S. J. du Toit—Merriman on the Bond—Cronwright-Schreiner on the Bond—Du Plessis—Borckenhagen—The Farmers' Association—Hofmeyr—Rhodes on the Native Franchise—On the Native Liquor Question—Railway Construction—Rhodes visits England and returns—Swift Macneill.

AT this stage in the career of Rhodes it is necessary to narrate the establishment and growth of 'The Afrikaner Bond.'

At the date at which I have now arrived, that organisation, though still in course of development, was already sufficiently powerful to mould the policy of the Colony. Before the year 1886 closed, the Upington Ministry underwent nominal reconstruction. The Premier retired but retained the office of Attorney-General. His successor, Sir Gordon Sprigg, had previously been Treasurer. The other portfolios were unchanged. The cards were shuffled, but it was the same pack. The new Ministry, like the old, was opportunist, and incapable of any action distasteful to the Bond. Living from hand to mouth is not, however, a charge specially applicable to Cape Ministries. The tail sometimes wags the dog in other and more important countries enjoying, or at least possessing, Parliamentary institutions. Rhodes chafed under it, but had in his turn to submit, though with a difference. The Colony had its own troubles. Its finances were not prosperous, and it had, as usual, a native war on its hands. The

Goaleka tribe under Kreli, a warrior conspicuous in earlier wars, was in rebellion and invaded the Colony from beyond the Kei. After a stiff struggle he was driven off in October 1887, and deposed. The recognition of chieftainships ended. 'Who is Kreli?' said the Prime Minister shortly afterwards. And he answered his own question, 'A black man living in the division of East London.'

In June of the same year there were troubles in Amatongaland, a district lying between Swaziland and the coast. The Queen Regent, alarmed by the pretensions of Portugal, was further agitated by the persistent efforts of the Transvaal to gain a footing in her country and thus afford the Republic access to the sea. On her urgent entreaty, the High Commissioner came to an arrangement that, in return for the protection of Her Majesty's Government, she would make no alliance with, or cession of territory to, any other power without our sanction. In Swaziland also, Boer pressure was unrelaxed. Joubert and Smit, as Special Envoys, endeavoured to induce the King to cede his territory to the Transvaal. Failing in this they obtained from him a curious document constituting Kruger his executor and general heir. Her Majesty's Government declined to recognise the will. Headed off in this direction, the President again turned his attention to the North. With what concern Rhodes watched his ambitions in that quarter can readily be conceived. Nor was Kruger his only competitor for the reversionary rights of Matabeleland and the far interior. Count Pfeil, a German agent, started in 1887 to visit Lo Bengula, more probably on business than for pleasure. Instead of taking the ordinary route through Bechuanaland, he travelled by way of Pretoria,

and his mission was only suspended by a serious illness contracted in the malarial districts of the Northern Transvaal. It was about this time, or a little later, that Rhodes thus expressed himself to a new acquaintance at the Civil Service Club in Cape Town:—

‘Other people besides myself have hobbies,’ he remarked; ‘some are for collecting pictures or coins, or even butterflies; others for acquiring land or houses. I venture to think that mine is better than any of these. My aim in life is to secure a country, by the nature of its soil and climate fit for white habitation, and which may prove suitable for British occupation. This is what our country urgently needs, and I could have no greater happiness than to be the means of obtaining for Great Britain sufficient land for this purpose. That is my ideal.’

‘I felt,’ says my correspondent, ‘that this was the utterance of a great mind.’

It is only fair to President Kruger to add that his ambitions in the same direction were equally legitimate, and what we deem patriotic effort in the one case cannot be dismissed as mere intrigue in the other. Looking back now, it is easy to understand the friction and heat engendered by this clashing of warring aspirations. The various annexations referred to in preceding chapters were not accomplished without rousing deep resentment in the minds of those who were defeated in the struggle. The Free State, so long as Brand ruled, was content to pursue the even tenor of its way. The aims of the Transvaal were more ambitious. Hitherto Kruger had been more or less restrained by that ‘eternal want of pence that vexes public men.’ This was now to be changed. In 1881, after the retrocession, the revenue was under £38,000, and was collected

with difficulty. In 1887 the revenue exceeded £637,000, and advanced so rapidly, owing to the activity displayed on the Rand, that in 1899, the year of the second war, it had risen to £4,000,000. The Uitlanders were, in reality, Kruger's best asset. Unfortunately he never knew it.

An influential Transvaal leader, General Beyers, who will not be suspected of unfriendliness or disloyalty to his old President, puts the case in a nutshell. Speaking at Burghersdorp in January 1908, he tells the following anecdote :—

‘ President Kruger,’ he said, ‘ once put a question to Brand. “ Men are pouring into my country. What am I to do with them ? ”

‘ “ Make them your friends,” replied Brand.’

Sagacious advice, the acceptance of which would have averted a fratricidal war, and saved the lives of thousands of brave men of both races !

The rising power of the Republic and of its friends in the Cape Colony convinced Rhodes in 1887 that to preserve for his country the vast hinterland of South Africa he must, to use his own expression, ‘ square ’ the Bond. Its organisation was sufficiently complete to determine the fate of Ministries. But its avowed aim, thus far, could not by any stretch of charity be construed as other than disaffected, if not disloyal. It was under these circumstances that Rhodes made his first overtures to them at the Paarl.

A brief history of the rise of the Bond is thus necessary to elucidate the situation with which, as a practical statesman, he had to deal. The founder of the organisation was an astute but emotional Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, residing at the Paarl, where in 1880 he edited a paper entitled *The Patriot*. The Rev.

S. J. du Toit, for such was his name, skilfully used the vernacular press to fan into a flame the smouldering discontent of the Dutch with British rule. His appeal to racial feeling naturally met with considerable success during the first Boer war. Subsequently he republished his articles in pamphlet form under the title of *De Transvaalse Oorlog*, in which, with that remarkable fluency of which the 'Taal' permits, he advocated the formation of an association to focus Afrikaner sentiment. His suggestions came at an opportune moment, and did not fall on stony ground.

'This,' he said, 'is our time to establish the Bond. The English Government talks of a Confederation under the British flag. That will never happen. Let them take that away and within a year the free Afrikaner flag would be established. War against the English language must begin. It must be considered a disgrace to speak English. The aim of the Bond is national development under our own flag.'

Mr. du Toit had no difficulty in achieving his aims in the Cape Colony. In the Transvaal he met with less success. President Kruger always looked askance at political movements even where ostensibly engineered in his own support. An *imperium in imperio* was abhorrent to him, and he regarded all delegation of authority with disfavour. It was on these grounds he afterwards stubbornly opposed the grant of municipal government. In the Free State, Brand, though for other and better reasons, was equally hostile; but Mr. du Toit gained the warm support of Mr. Reitz, one of the judges, and Mr. Borckenhagen, a German who edited a local paper of a violent type. The aims of the Bond were thus set forth by them.

'The object of the Afrikaner Bond is the establish-

ment of a South African nationality through the cultivation of a true love of this our Fatherland. This must be attained by the promotion and defence of the national language and by Afrikanders, both politically and socially, making their power felt as a nation.'

The tendency of these appeals was, of course, pointed out in Cape press organs loyal to the Constitution. In a speech made by Mr. Merriman at Graham's Town in January 1885, he fiercely assailed the new party. 'Each one of you,' he said, 'will have to make up his mind whether he is prepared to see this Colony remain a part of the British Empire, which carries with it obligations as well as privileges, or whether he is prepared to obey the dictates of the Bond. Some years ago, when the poison first began to be distilled in this country, I felt it must come to this—was England or the Transvaal to be the paramount force in South Africa? What can you think of the objects of the Bond when you find Judge Reitz advocating a Republic of South Africa under one flag? My quarrel with the Bond is that it stirs up race differences. Its main object is to make the Transvaal Republic the paramount power. That is the reason of its hostility to John Brand, an Afrikander of Afrikanders, a true friend of the English.'

Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner at a later date (7th October 1893), used equally emphatic language. 'What,' said he, 'is the Afrikander Bond? It is anti-English in its aims. Its officers and its language are Dutch, and it is striving to gain such power as absolutely to control the Cape Parliament. The vast majority of Bondsmen are nearly illiterate, and governed almost entirely by emotion instead of reason.'

But politics, it has been said, accustoms one to

strange bedfellows, and such is the irony of events that the founder of the Bond lived to be drummed out of its ranks as too English, while Mr. Merriman and Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner, its sharpest assailants, came to be its prominent defenders, and the former, its Parliamentary chief. Inconsistency has been charitably defined as holding two opinions at the same time. With a year's interval no charge of inconsistency can apparently arise. It is a comfortable creed.

At a still later date (1898) a Mr. Du Plessis thus addressed his fellow Bondsmen: 'Never forget, young Afrikanders, how the English dominion was to your fathers, as the Kingdom of Egypt, from which the Lord helped them to go free. Keep now from English ways, so in time, under God's blessing, it shall be for the Afrikander nation to rule over a Confederation strong enough to defend itself against the mighty British Empire.'

But the ethics of the Bond cannot be fairly deduced from the shrill and vehement censure of its political opponents, nor from the extravagant utterances of its extreme supporters. By its own words and acts it is entitled to be judged. A recorded conversation between Rhodes and Borckenhagen is not evidence, and I give it only for what it may be worth. 'Mr. Rhodes,' said Borckenhagen, 'we want a United South Africa.' 'So do I,' replied Rhodes. 'I am with you entirely.' 'We will take you as our leader,' said the German pro-Boer; 'there is only one small thing: we must be independent of the rest of the world.' 'No,' said Rhodes, 'you take me for a rogue or a fool. I should be a rogue to forfeit my history and traditions, and a fool because I should be hated by my own countrymen and distrusted by yours.'

But what then were the original and fundamental principles of the Bond stated in its own words? In its first Congress, held at Graaff Reinet in 1882, a programme of principles was submitted and adopted after discussion but without a division. Its governing clause ran thus, 'In itself acknowledging no single form of government as the only suitable form and whilst acknowledging the form of government at present existing, the 'Bond' means that the aim of our national development must be a united South Africa under its own flag.'

For reasons of policy not difficult to understand, it was not deemed desirable to publish officially the definition arrived at, but all branches of the organisation subsequently started in the Cape Colony were formed on this basis, and the text of the Resolution was annexed to the Minutes of the Congress held in 1884. When in 1886 the full Constitution of the Bond was formulated and made public, this leading principle was, in milder terms, thus stated. 'The first object of the Bond is the formation of a South African nationality by means of union and co-operation as a preparation for its ultimate purpose, a united South Africa. The Bond tries to attain this object by constitutional methods, giving to respective governments and legislatures all the support to which they are entitled.'

This cryptic utterance fairly represents the policy of the Bond when Rhodes set himself to win its support for his scheme of Northern expansion. A brief explanation may be useful of the reasons determining the Bond's modification of its original programme.

The suppression of an open declaration of disloyalty was necessary to induce an important body, the Farmers' Association, to join the younger organisation, for its

members were chiefly Eastern Province men of English descent, who would not tolerate any repudiation of the flag. Mr. du Toit himself, as the years passed, was sobered by sad experience. Soon after founding the Bond, he was appointed Superintendent-General of Education in the Transvaal and, while there, came into conflict with the Hollanders whose influence over the President was then becoming supreme, and who disliked a Cape Afrikaner with ideas. They therefore procured his dismissal, and from that date onward he developed a critical tone towards Krugerism and even towards the political organisation he had done so much to create—an attitude which led to his being driven from the counsels of the party by disciplinary methods akin to those employed by the Parnellite leaders against independent supporters in the House of Commons. The change in Bond tactics was accelerated by a sobering influence of responsibility. A power that can make and unmake Ministries, sooner or later acquires a tinge of statesmanship. Even Tammany would cease to be were it not sagaciously led. This sagacious leadership was supplied by Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, of whom it is impossible to speak without admiration. Ill-health, and the reluctance to accept office due to physical infirmity, alone prevented Mr. Hofmeyr from occupying the position of Premier of the Cape Colony. But he was for years a power behind the throne. Disliking publicity, the nickname of 'The Mole' was given him by the satirical wit of Mr. Merri-man, as appropriate to what his opponents described as an underground policy. But he was, until his death, the brain of the Afrikaner Bond. More than this, he was the trusted Councillor in emergencies of successive High Commissioners. As an Imperial statesman, he

displayed his great abilities both at Ottawa and in London. Almost at any time he could have formed a Coalition Ministry enjoying very general respect, and a nationality which in one generation produced a Brand, a De Villiers and a Hofmeyr, cannot be slightly regarded by sensible men.

It is not to be wondered at that a political body controlled by Mr. Hofmeyr became a power in the land and gradually shed the extreme opinions of its immaturity. I have dwelt in some detail on the growth of the Bond, because, being feared, it is often maligned, and because it is necessary to understand the motives of Rhodes in endeavouring to arrive at a working alliance with its members, formidable alike for their numbers and the strength and sincerity of their convictions. His aim was not to weaken their power but to deflect their policy, and to impress upon them that their first duty was to the Empire of which they formed a constitutional part, and not to the Republican burghers of a neighbouring State with whom their sole connection was the accident of distant kinship. His speech at the Paarl may be taken as the first outward and visible sign of the *entente cordiale* which subsequently existed and which remained practically operative until the Raid. He made concessions to their prejudices, with many of which, indeed, he heartily sympathised, and, over a period of several years, he succeeded in maintaining the integrity of our Empire in South Africa by the aid of an Association formed expressly to destroy it.

On 23rd June 1887, Rhodes made an interesting speech in the House on the subject of the Native Franchise, the occasion being a full-dress debate on a Parliamentary Registration Bill, introduced by the Sprigg Administra-

tion to alter the Constitution Ordinance in order to restrict the unlimited franchise held by natives. It must be borne in mind that the franchise had never been granted by the Colony itself, but by the terms of a Constitution drafted by the armchair politicians in Downing Street, as to which the Cape had never been adequately consulted. It being the function of an opposition to oppose, the proposals of the Government were freely assailed, but Rhodes would not lend himself to a counterfeit resistance and broke away from his party. He pointed out with great force that the native franchise existed in no other State in South Africa, and would long ago have been limited at the Cape so as to apply only to educated men of colour, had not the mutual jealousies of Dutch and English caused the two European races to bid, one against the other, for the native vote. He declared against the 'blanket' vote, *i.e.* the vote given to raw natives still in a state of barbarism; and he prophesied that, while such a franchise remained in the Cape Constitution, there could be no Federation with other States. With equal emphasis, however, he spoke in favour of an educational and property franchise for natives possessing those qualifications. Some years later he embodied his principles in the well-known formula 'Equal rights for all *civilised* persons.' He said, 'It was not intended by the spirit of the Ordinance that raw natives should have a vote, and whether it was intended or not, the critical test remains: is it right that they should have a vote? Does this House think it is right that men in a state of pure barbarism should have the franchise? The natives do not want it. All a native has to do under this Bill is to build himself a house worth £25 and he becomes an ordinary citizen. For myself, I tell the Bond that

if I cannot retain my position in the House on the European vote, I wish to be cleared out, for I am above going to the native vote for support. So long as the natives continue in a state of barbarism and communal tenure, we must be the lords over them and keep them from liquor. Why should we not settle all these differences between Dutch and English, of which the native question is the greatest? What is the use of talking about a united South Africa if the native question remains undealt with? Does the House think the Republics would join with the Colony on its present native franchise? It is impossible. It is for the reasons I have given, of precedent, justice and policy, that I shall vote for this Bill.'

The desire of the Missionaries and their friends, backed by the Bond, prevailed. Unrestricted franchise remained unrepealed. But the views of Rhodes, as enunciated more than twenty years ago, are now the views of all thinking men. They were not inimical to native interests. On the contrary, they taught the high and salutary doctrine that the franchise is a trust, and that a man should endeavour to make himself worthy to possess it. Racial differences now, as then, alone prevent the law being placed on a rational footing. It is quite certain that the Union since arrived at will be incomplete until the franchise of the various South African Colonies are assimilated, and a compromise, fair to the natives, arrived at.

A week after making the speech summarised above, Rhodes again addressed the House, urging that liquor should be kept from the natives at Kimberley, and made a pointed appeal to the wine farmers he had lately met at the Paarl. 'If,' he said, 'there is one class in the House that might be expected to object to the Bill

it is those members who represent the wine and brandy interest, for that interest, I confess, would suffer loss by the diminution of the liquor traffic. I hope, however, that many of them will be with me on the liquor question even if their interests suffer. I put it to their consciences whether this liquor traffic to the natives should not be stopped within mining areas.'

The arguments of Rhodes prevailed, and the intolerable condition of drunkenness on the Diamond Fields came to an end, much to the advantage of the natives and also of the Colony, for money heretofore spent in drink came to be remitted to the Transkeian territories for the purchase of cattle, and the gradual growth of wealth and civilisation in those and other native districts was thereby assured.

Rhodes, contrary to his wont, addressed, on the 6th July 1887, a long letter to the *Cape Argus*, in which he gave a masterly review of the railway situation. The concluding sentence deserves to be recorded, though in a condensed form. 'What,' he writes, 'I have now said would have been my contribution to any discussion on the question if I were in my seat when it took place. I feel that the present is an opportunity that may not recur. The Free State is in the humour to join hands with us to mark its resentment at the policy of isolation pursued by the Transvaal, and if the right steps are taken promptly, the Delagoa Bay Extension Railway, which would send all the Witwatersrand traffic through Lourenço Marques, will not be made for years. It is emphatically a case of the first in the field. If we are first and make good our grip, we shall not be soon or easily disposed of.'

The imminence of the peril foreseen by Rhodes may

be judged by the fact that on the 14th December following the section of the Delagoa Bay line was completed to the Transvaal border. There the terminus might have remained for many years had the policy of Rhodes prevailed, but the Cape declined to be 'hustled,' the golden opportunity was lost, and with it, eventually, the carrying trade of the Colony. Had a line been at once constructed to the Transvaal *viâ* the Free State, as the latter wished and as Rhodes urged, any subsequent construction on the Delagoa Bay side would have been deemed by the Free State an unfriendly act. *Divide et impera* may well have been in the mind of Rhodes when he thus strove to separate the interests of the two Republics. In the coming struggle with Krugerism, as to which he was under no illusions, it made all the difference to him, and eventually to England, whether the Free State was for him or against him. Having launched his Parthian arrow, Rhodes sailed for England the same day on urgent affairs connected with the amalgamation of the Diamond Mines, as already mentioned in an earlier chapter. His return to South Africa took place in the autumn, when one of his fellow-travellers, Mr. Swift M'Neill, succeeded in interesting him in that eternal and apparently insoluble problem—the Irish question.

CHAPTER XVII

NORTHERN EXPANSION (1888)

Amalgamation of Diamond interests—Rhodes and Kruger—Piet Grobelaar—J. S. Moffat—Treaty with Lo Bengula—C. D. Rudd—Rochfort Maguire—Piet Joubert and Lo Bengula—Description of Lo Bengula—Sir S. Shippard—Colonel Goold-Adams—Bishop of Bloemfontein—Signature of Concession—Other Concessions—Rhodes in England again—Irish Home Rule—Letter to Parnell—Makes his third Will—Rhodes in the House of Assembly—Death of President Brand—My acquaintance with Rhodes—Customs Convention—Rhodes speaks at Barkly West—Again visits England—Purchase of Dalston Estate—Returns to Kimberley—Visits Cape Town for cricket match.

EVENTS moved rapidly with Rhodes in 1888. His activities were incessant. He had his parliamentary duties to perform, his schemes of amalgamation at Kimberley to bring to completion, added to which he had acquired important interests in the rising gold-mining centre at Johannesburg. But above and beyond all these, his thoughts were centred on Northern Expansion.

The hostility of the Transvaal President to the growth of solidarity between the Colonies was very marked. On the 30th January, a conference between delegates from the Cape Colony, Natal and the Free State met at Cape Town to discuss the practicability of a Customs Union. The Transvaal declined to be represented, and even Natal, after discussion, felt herself unable to join on the bases proposed. But agreement between the Cape and the Free State was reached on February 18th, an agreement confirmed by Parliament in August, which resulted in a formal

treaty ratified by both States later on. Under this Convention the Colony undertook to hand over to the Republic three-fourths of the duties collected on goods in transit. The policy of Rhodes prevailed: the right of an interior State to a refund of duty was recognised, a long-standing grievance was redressed, and a shock was given to the growing alliance between the two Republics.

On the 31st March Rhodes was at Kimberley, where he presided over a Special General Meeting of the old De Beers Mining Company, to confirm the purchase of the French Company's claims and the merging of the Company in his newly formed De Beers Consolidated Mines. His speech, which is to be found set forth in 'Vindex,' is worthy of perusal. On the 12th May he took the chair at the eighth and last annual general meeting of the old company, at which a hearty vote of thanks to him for his services was proposed by his great rival, Barnato. But, as already stated, he had much more on his hands this year than the mere preservation of his fortune by the reorganisation of the diamond industry. The time had arrived to strike and strike hard, if he was to win in his struggle with Kruger for British supremacy in the far North. Although the boundaries of the Transvaal had been repeatedly delimited, and were again settled by a Convention signed at Pretoria on 11th June of this very year, the Boers had never frankly abandoned their hopes of adding Mashonaland and Matabeleland to their dominions. Late in 1887 Kruger sent up Piet Grobelaar as his agent with the title of Consul, with a view to make another effort to come to terms with Lo Bengula. It was a flagrant breach of the Conventions on which the independence of the Republic rested. The sleepy Cape Colony made no protest. But Rhodes

came hurriedly down from Kimberley to Graham's Town, where the High Commissioner was on a visit, and urged him to proclaim a formal Protectorate over the Northern Territories. In the absence of instructions, Sir Hercules Robinson, not unnaturally, declined to take such definite action, but he consented to adopt Rhodes's alternative suggestion, and Mr. J. S. Moffat, the Assistant Commissioner in Bechuanaland, a man of much tact, was sent on a special mission to the Matabele king.

In the meantime Grobelaar, having instilled what suspicion he could into the king's mind, proceeded to Khama's country where he was killed by Mokhuchwane, a petty chief, under circumstances which led the Transvaal to put in a heavy claim for compensation. Lo Bengula, thus worried by the Boers on one side and by the Portuguese on the other, readily signed a treaty with Moffat on the Amatonga model, by which he bound himself not to enter into any correspondence or agreement with any other State without the sanction of the High Commissioner. The precise text of the Treaty runs as follows :—

‘11th February 1888.

‘The Chief Lo Bengula, ruler of the tribe known as the Amandebele, together with the Mashona and Makalaka, tributaries of the same, hereby agrees to the following articles and conditions.

‘That peace and amity shall continue for ever between Her Britannic Majesty, her people and the Amandebele people : and the contracting chief Lo Bengula engages to use his utmost endeavours to prevent any rupture of the same, to cause the strict observance of the treaty, and so to carry out the spirit of the treaty of friendship which was entered into between his late father, the chief Umziligazi, with the then Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, in the year of our Lord 1836.

‘ It is further agreed by Lo Bengula, chief in and over the Amandebele country, with its dependencies aforesaid, on behalf of himself and people, that he will refrain from entering into any correspondence or treaty with any foreign State or Power, to sell, alienate or cede, or permit or countenance any sale, alienation or cession of the whole or part of the said Amandebele country under his chieftainship, or upon any other subject without the previous knowledge and sanction of Her Majesty’s High Commissioner in South Africa.

‘ In faith of which I, Lo Bengula, on my part, have herewith set my hand at Gubulawayo, Amandebeleland, the 11th day of February, and of Her Majesty’s Reign the 51st.

‘ LO BENGULA X his mark.

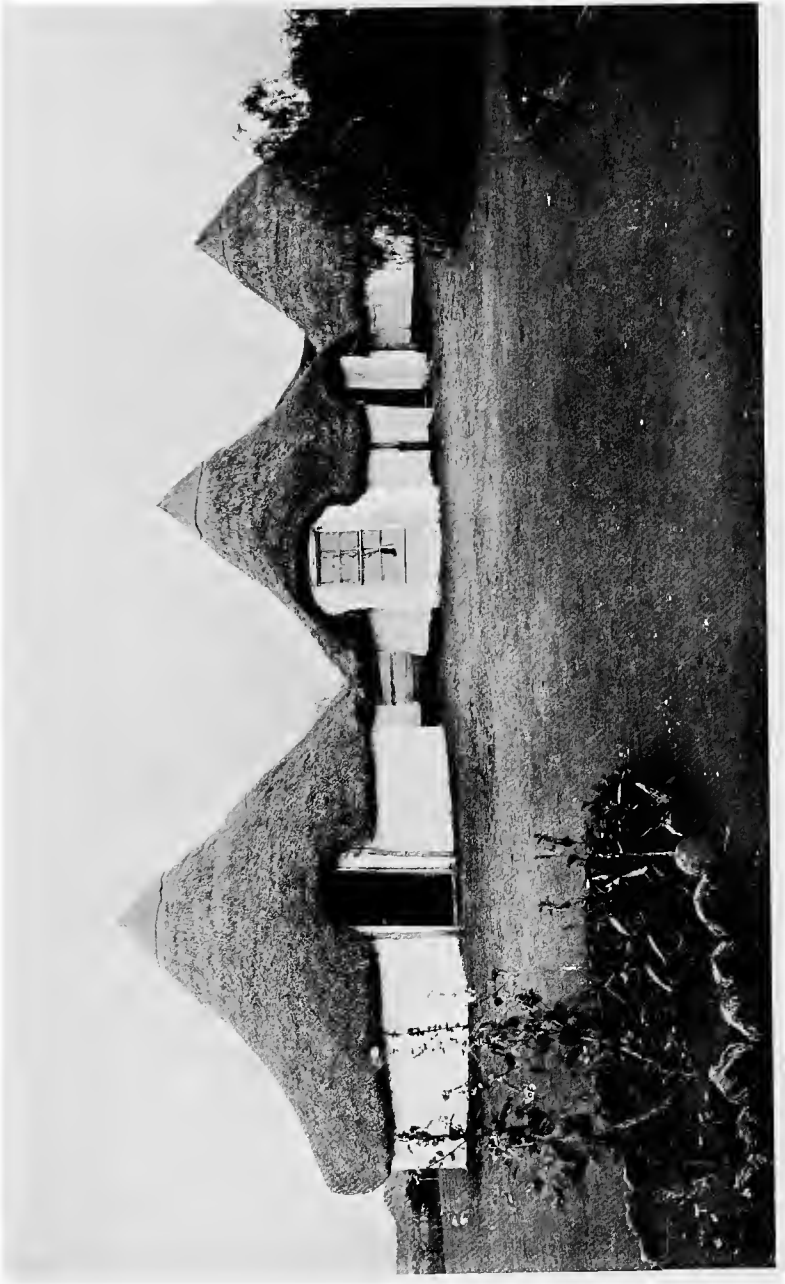
‘ Two witnesses.

‘ Countersigned J. S. Moffat.’

The document, it will be seen, is dated 11th February 1888, and the High Commissioner, duly instructed, gave his ratification on 25th April. Kruger subsequently questioned the validity of the Treaty on the ground that a prior Treaty had been made with Grobelaar, but on the 12th November 1888, Lo Bengula informed Moffat that his signature to the latter document had been obtained by fraud.

Meanwhile Rhodes had not been idle on his own account. In January 1888 he and his friend Alfred Beit had despatched an agent, Mr. Fry, to the King’s kraal at Bulawayo to watch events, and although the mission led to no result, owing mainly to Mr. Fry’s illness and return, he was at once replaced by a large and well-equipped party led by Mr. C. D. Rudd, Rhodes’s old partner on the Diamond Fields, Mr. Rochfort Maguire, a former college friend, and Mr. Frank Thompson, the latter well acquainted with Matabeleland and its formidable ruler. During their prolonged residence in the country, they were shown a very interesting letter

from Piet Joubert, Commandant-General of the Transvaal, dated Marico, 9th March, 1882, addressed, 'To the great ruler, the chief Lo Bengula, the son of Umzilikatse, the great King of the Matabele Nation.' The document enlarged on the defeat of Great Britain in the first Boer War, and expressed a hope that there would be eternal friendship between the Transvaal Republic and Matabeleland so long as one Boer and one Matabele remained alive. To use the vernacular of Dickens, it sought to impress on Lo Bengula that Codlin was the friend, not Short, an amusing commentary on the fond belief then held in England, but not in South Africa, that the Boers were in a grateful mood over our magnanimity in regard to the retrocession of the Transvaal. The expedition obtained many other proofs of the persistence with which Kruger was striving to obtain a footing in Matabeleland. They therefore kept in close touch with the great chief, following him about as he shifted his royal kraal. This he did repeatedly, seldom residing more than a fortnight in one place, relays of his favourite wives being brought in from time to time and kept very busy manufacturing beer for the dusky Court. Lo Bengula travelled in a Dutch-built waggon, where he always slept, partly for reasons of dignity, but partly also for greater security. It may be freely conceded that he was a remarkable man. A somewhat grotesque costume of four yards of blue calico over his shoulders and a string of tigers' tails round his waist could not make his imposing figure ridiculous. In early days he was an athlete and a fine shot, and, though, as years went by, his voracious appetite rendered him conspicuously obese, he was every inch a ruler. He had sixty-eight wives, including several Swazi princesses, but left no



THE HUTS, MATOPO HILLS.

heir who fulfilled the conditions of native law. The envoys had ample opportunity to observe the Draconian severity with which the King enforced submission to his autocratic authority, and some of their experiences can, even now, hardly be recalled without a shudder. They were much struck, however, by his capacity for government, and by the evidences they saw of his far-reaching grasp of the details of his administration. Very little went on in his wide dominions of which he was not instantly and accurately apprised. But, though he placed little reliance on the value of his land and less on its metals, he was visibly resolute not to part with one jot or tittle of his sovereign rights. For a time he played off one applicant against another and proved himself a past master in the arts of procrastination. But at length the persistence of the envoys prevailed. After lengthy interviews with the four principal Indunas, the latter reported direct to the King in favour of a mineral concession. A formal Indaba was then held at the Kraal on the Ungusa River on the 30th October 1888, when the King in Council presided. Previous negotiations were recited with the prolixity dear to the native mind, but in the end, after two days, the opinion of the tribe and its head-men confirmed the recommendation of the Indunas. It was the critical moment. For a while no one spoke. The proposed Concession lay on the table. The massive bronze figure of Lo Bengula loomed large in the eyes of those standing around, and his inscrutable and blood-shot eyes sent a thrill through the assembly. Then, after an ominous pause, the King lurched suddenly forward, seized a pen and affixed his mark. Had he been able to forecast the future, a massacre and not a treaty would have received his sanction. But the

recent visit of Sir Sidney Shippard, who was accompanied by Colonel Goold-Adams and the Bishop of Bloemfontein (Knight-Bruce), had apparently convinced him that his true interest lay in conciliating the English rather than the Boer element in his Territory. Sir Sidney Shippard had only left him a week before he made up his mind. His official description of the King described him as resembling a majestic statue. Here is the exact text of the grant :—

‘ Know all men by these presents, that whereas Charles Dunell Rudd, of Kimberley ; Rochfort Maguire, of London ; and Francis Robert Thompson, of Kimberley, hereinafter called the grantees, have covenanted and agreed, and do hereby covenant and agree, to pay to me, my heirs and successors, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, British currency, on the first day of every lunar month ; and, further, to deliver at my royal kraal one thousand Martini-Henry breech-loading rifles, together with one hundred thousand rounds of suitable ball cartridge, five hundred of the said rifles and fifty thousand of the said cartridges to be ordered from England forthwith and delivered with reasonable despatch, and the remainder of the said rifles and cartridges to be delivered as soon as the said grantees shall have commenced to work mining machinery within my territory ; and further, to deliver on the Zambesi River a steamboat with guns suitable for defensive purposes upon the said river, or in lieu of the said steamboat, should I so elect, to pay to me the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, British currency. On the execution of these presents, I, Lo Bengula, King of Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and other adjoining territories, in exercise of my sovereign powers, and in the presence and with the consent of my council of indunas, do hereby grant and assign unto the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns, jointly and severally, the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in my kingdoms, principalities, and dominions, together with full power to do all things that they may deem necessary to win and procure the same, and to hold, collect, and

enjoy the profits and revenues, if any, derivable from the said metals and minerals, subject to the aforesaid payment; and whereas I have been much molested of late by divers persons seeking and desiring to obtain grants and concessions of land and mining rights in my territories, I do hereby authorise the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns, to take all necessary and lawful steps to exclude from my kingdom, principalities, and dominions all persons seeking land, metals, minerals, or mining rights therein, and I do hereby undertake to render them all such needful assistance as they may from time to time require for the exclusion of such persons, and to grant no concessions of land or mining rights from and after this date without their consent and concurrence; provided that, if at any time the said monthly payment of one hundred pounds shall be in arrear for a period of three months, then this grant shall cease and determine from the date of the last-made payment; and, further, provided, that nothing contained in these presents shall extend to or affect a grant made by me of certain mining rights in a portion of my territory south of the Ramaquaban River, which grant is commonly known as the Tati Concession.

'This, given under my hand this thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1888, at my royal kraal.

'Lo BENGULA X his mark.

'Witnesses: CHAS. D. HELM.

'C. D. RUDD.

'J. F. DREYER.

'ROCHFORD MAGUIRE.

'F. R. THOMPSON.'

It will be shown later that the document thus dramatically signed was sold for shares in the Chartered Company equivalent in value to £1,000,000 sterling. The Concession as regards mineral rights was complete and unqualified. As regards lands and surface rights, it only undertook to grant no concessions from that date. There were land concessions already in existence, not all of them of acknowledged validity. But they had to be faced, especially one known as Baines' Concession, after an early hunter and explorer of that

name. All these grants were subsequently acquired, one by one, by Rhodes and his group, not without much tedious negotiation and, in one instance, litigation. But Rhodes, fresh from his recent experiences at Kimberley, was not easily deterred, and I shall show in a subsequent chapter how, having secured the entire land and mineral rights over an area the size of Central Europe, he applied for administrative powers and obtained them under a Royal Charter. In a speech delivered to the shareholders of his Company in London on the 29th November 1892, he commented forcibly on the immense difficulties he had encountered in meeting the 'paper' claims of alleged concessionaires.

'I may refer,' he said, 'to one of the greatest difficulties we have had. You may think it has been with the Boers, or the Portuguese, or Lo Bengula. No! it has been with the concession hunters. They came like locusts; they followed us everywhere but did nothing whatever, and whenever they found us in occupation of a district, they came with a piece of paper from some wretched petty native chief and claimed the whole of our results.'

There was, in short, the usual rough and tumble incidental to the exploitation of a new country. Claimants had to be bought off or fought off, but Rhodes was exactly the man for the work, and by one means or another all rivals were in time extinguished, and the work of colonisation was allowed to proceed under the formal sanction of the Crown. On 5th December 1888, the High Commissioner received from Mr. Rudd and forwarded to the Colonial Office, a copy of the Concession, and took the opportunity of saying, 'The rush of concession hunters to Matabeleland has produced a condition of affairs dangerous to the peace of the

country. I trust, therefore, that the effect of this concession to a gentleman of character and financial standing will be to check the inroad of adventurers as well as to secure the cautious development of the country, with a proper consideration for the feelings and prejudices of the natives.'

But I must not anticipate. It is necessary to revert to Rhodes's own movements while his agents, with their lives in their hands, were negotiating with the Matabele king. Shortly after he met his shareholders at Kimberley, on the 12th May 1888, he visited England, partly on business connected with the Diamond Mines, but partly to start the requisite spade-work in regard to the great Chartered Company which had already taken shape in his mind. While in London, he took his first and almost his only plunge into British politics, by giving £10,000 to Mr. Parnell for the benefit of the Irish parliamentary party. The gift was much criticised at the time, and writers of the baser sort, whose practice is to impute the lowest conceivable motives for the obscurer actions of public men, did not hesitate to assert that his desire was to 'square' the Irish vote as he had 'squared' Lo Bengula and Barnato and the Bond, and as he once expressed an opinion that, if necessary, he could square the Mahdi. But, as is often the case, the motive so sedulously dug for was all the time on the surface. It is true that the money was thrown away. No audited account of its disbursement was ever vouchsafed. It was accepted by Parnell with cold civility, and what he thought of it and its donor must be left to the imagination. But the motive is transparently simple. Gladstone, in his Home Rule Bill of 1886, had proposed to exclude the Irish members from the House of Commons, and Parnell, for purposes

of his own, had acquiesced. Rhodes regarded this policy as a Separatist one. His greatest aim in life, to which all his other aims were merely subsidiary, was not to disintegrate, but to consolidate, the Empire. He knew, as every political student knows, that Ireland is over-represented in the Imperial Parliament, but between that and total exclusion there was a great gulf fixed. His ambition was to strengthen the Imperial tie, and the Bill, in his opinion, weakened that tie. Cardinal Manning was of the same opinion. Rhodes was, therefore, anxious to convert Parnell, even if such conversion necessitated a cash payment. His views should be studied in the light of his own words in his celebrated letter to Parnell, dated from the Westminster Palace Hotel on the 19th June 1888.

‘Side by side,’ he wrote, ‘with the tendency to decentralisation in local affairs, there is growing up a feeling for the necessity of greater union in Imperial matters. The primary tie which binds our Empire together is the one of self-defence. The Colonies are already commencing to co-operate with, and contribute to, the mother country for this purpose, but if they are to contribute permanently and beneficially, they will have to be represented in the Imperial Parliament where the disposition of their contributions must be decided on. I do not think it can be denied that the presence of two or three Australian members in the House would, in recent years, have prevented much misunderstanding upon such questions as the New Hebrides, New Guinea and *Chinese immigration*.’

The closing words read like a prophecy when one remembers the very gross misstatements made in the House fifteen years later in regard to Chinese labour in South Africa. It may be as well to add that a draft

of Rhodes's letter was submitted to Parnell before being finally despatched, and several of the latter's alterations and omissions were accepted by Rhodes, by whom, in a matter of pressing moment, details were nothing where the principle sought for was admitted. Thus, for instance, Rhodes in express terms had approved of Lord Rosebery's recent proposal at Inverness for *reduced* Irish representation at Westminster. Parnell would not agree to support this. He would have all or none. His failure as a politician may be traced to this unyielding spirit. He could not 'give and take.' Unlike Rhodes, he never realised that compromise is the essence of politics. Parnell replied to the letter on the 23rd June, and on the following day Rhodes sent him £5000 as the first instalment of his donation, adding, 'I feel sure that your cordial approval of the retention of Irish representatives at Westminster will gain you support in many quarters from which it has hitherto been withheld.'

Cynics may smile to think with what contempt Parnell, who never understood us, regarded the Imperial Englishman whose simplicity led him to overlook the fact that the funds, thus acquired, would probably be utilised in prosecuting plans for ejecting 'the English Garrison' from Ireland. But there is nothing in the transaction that is not honourable to Rhodes. A well-known and much-respected member of Parliament writes to me, 'Many years ago I was dining in what was then the only Ladies' Dining-Room in the House of Commons. As I entered the room I saw Rhodes sitting at a table with two members, one of whom was the late Mr. Parnell. I nodded to Rhodes as I went by, and was rather surprised to hear afterwards that he had said, " — cut me the other day. I suppose

because he thinks from my company that I have become a Home Ruler ! ” I took an early opportunity of telling him that I certainly had not “ cut ” him and never dreamed of doing so. We then discussed Home Rule, and he certainly was not what we understand by a “ Home Ruler ” in any way whatever, but he was greatly impressed with the urgent necessity of Imperialising the British Parliament and removing all obstacles, which could be fairly dealt with, from the path of Imperial progress. This was before he had become famous in South Africa, but I remember what a vivid impression he created on my mind by his strong insistence on the Imperial idea.’

During the progress of this correspondence with the Irish leader, Rhodes, on the 27th June, 1888, sitting in the De Beers Company’s office at No. 80 Winchester House, Old Broad Street, made his third Will. His secretary, Neville Pickering, was dead, and it was necessary to make fresh testamentary dispositions. His fortune was now assured, and he disposed of it in a sentence, making fair provision for his relatives and leaving the entire balance to a private friend as Residuary Legatee. In a separate document, as before, he outlined the great purposes to which he desired that his money should be devoted. He then endeavoured, with that strange but not uncommon persistence in such cases, to repurchase his ancestral acres which were still in the possession of another branch of his family. Failing in this, though only for a while, he returned to Cape Town early in July. His arrival coincided closely with the irreparable disaster that befell South Africa in the death of Sir John Brand, who, on the 14th July, was in very truth ‘ taken away from the evil to come.’

On 23rd July, Rhodes addressed the House in Committee on the subject of railway extension. His remarks covered much interesting ground, as the following summarised quotation may show. 'I will first deal,' he said, 'with the broad question, the political future of the country. Three or four years ago, the House believed that communication should stop at the Vaal River. Little thought was spent upon the interior, but, by a fortunate accident, it was not lost to the Colony. The Home Government stepped in, and the road to the interior is now all right. A change of feeling has come over honourable members since that time. When we approached the Transvaal for free trade and railway communication, we found that, good as our feelings may be to them on racial grounds, still business is business. The result is there has been a change of feeling on the question of sacrificing the Cape Colony to the Transvaal. Instead of the feeling which prevailed four years ago that the Transvaal should have the expansion of the interior and that we should join with them, we now see clearly that if we allow the Transvaal to take the interior they will never join with us. I am fully persuaded that honourable members feel now that they are Cape Colonists first, and that their consideration for the Transvaal must be a secondary matter. I do not think members should consider this question as one on which we should be dictated to. President Kruger has already lost in his effort to realise his dream of a Republic for his people and his people alone. When I remember that his dream was to extend his Republic over the whole interior: when I see him sitting in Pretoria, with Bechuanaland gone, and the territory behind it gone, I pity him.'

This is plain straight talk, but consonant with facts. By his refusal to join a Customs' Union, by his taxation on Cape imports, by his hostility to Cape railway progress, by his marked preference for Hollanders over the Cape Dutch, Kruger had succeeded in alienating the sympathies of the Colony and thus played into Rhodes's hands.

On 25th July Rhodes again spoke, and succeeded in defeating an absurd proposal to introduce a Ballot Bill applicable to Kimberley alone. Immediately after this, he must have paid a brief business visit to the Diamond Fields, for I find him leaving Kimberley for Cape Town by the mail train of 31st July.

It was during the first week in August that I happened to make his acquaintance. Our meeting at the outset was of a stormy character—indeed, he had sent me a message which forecast it. At this date Rhodes regarded banks with unconcealed disfavour. He disliked their methodical procedure, their strict adherence to rule and form, their steady bar upon irregular or unusual business transactions. Where he dealt with a bank, he dealt by preference with a Colonial institution managed by a local board; whereas I was the representative of an English bank whose headquarters were in London. To the Imperial banks, and to mine in particular, he was pleased to attribute the severe stringency existing at the moment in the money market at Kimberley, whereas it was a much-needed precautionary measure against excessive inflation of values and speculation brought about, in part, by himself in his struggle with Barnato. During that contest he had purchased on credit, and at ever rising prices, more than £1,000,000 worth of shares in the Kimberley Central Diamond Mining Company. All diamond shares had

thus been artificially raised to figures in excess of their intrinsic value, and I had declined to allow the bank under my charge to be used as a pawn in his game. *Hinc illæ lacrimæ!*

A Kimberley correspondent of mine, writing under date 30th July, said, 'R. says he intends to have it out with you, as the measures you adopted during the late crisis nearly thwarted his plans. He is very simple in some things, but a power here and extraordinarily shrewd for all his simplicity. He is peculiar in his manners and has a rough tongue at times, but he appreciates being stood up to.'

Our first interview took place a few days later, and, acting on the hint, I 'stood up' to him, with excellent results. We parted on friendly terms, and from that day to the day of his death, he threw all the business he could in my way, and on no single occasion let me see the 'rough side' of his tongue, but, under varying circumstances, showed me a courtesy and consideration so complete, that I only briefly and tardily mention it here, and pass away from the subject as too sacred for more extended reference. Indeed, after his exceptionally full experience of the seamy side of life on the Diamond Fields, and of the disillusionment that comes to most men who see poor human nature wallowing in the sty of party politics, Rhodes, to the last, retained a touching confidence in his fellows, and when he once trusted a man he trusted him entirely.

On the 18th August he delivered a further speech in the House of Assembly, in which he urged members to make one more effort to overcome Kruger's opposition to Cape Railway Extension. Two days later the Session ended, or seemed to have ended, but at the last moment, when members of the Assembly were already

homeward bound, the Legislative Council unexpectedly threw out the Customs Convention, which had passed the Lower House and been considered safe. Members were recalled and many came, but not Rhodes, so far as can be ascertained. There was a second session of two days, with Governor's speech and all the customary formalities (23rd, 24th August 1886) and the Convention was passed.

Rhodes now paid a visit to his constituents, where on the 28th September and 5th October he addressed them at some length. The former speech will be found in 'Vindex.' The latter does not seem to have been republished, but was to the following effect. His gift to Parnell had become known even in the mining village of Barkly West, and the rumour was current that he was about to abandon the Cape for the English Parliament. 'I tell you frankly,' he said, 'that I have not the slightest idea of quitting South Africa for any other country. Here I can do something, but were I to become an English politician I should be lost in obscurity. I have been told it is my desire to enter the English Parliament. It may be a presumption to say so, but I believe I could at any time obtain a seat there without paying Mr. Parnell £10,000 for it. I gave that money to his cause because in it lies the key of the Federal system, on the basis of perfect Home Rule for every part of the Empire, and in it also the Imperial tie begins.'

He then went on to restate his favourite doctrine, that the only chance the Cape Colony had of remaining the leading power in any Confederation was to preserve its access to the Northern Territories and its reversionary right to their administration.

'When,' he said, 'I entered the Cape Parliament,

politics were very local. The mist of Table Mountain covered all. The High Commissioner grasped the fact that if Bechuanaland was lost to us, British development in South Africa was at an end. He persuaded Lord Derby to deal with the question and induced Sir Thomas Scanlen to share in the obligations. Sir Gordon Sprigg states that by refusing his assent on his accession to office, he saved the Colony £1,250,000, but if Scanlen had not intervened, Bechuanaland would have passed to the Transvaal. It was at that time I began to admire the man who was ruling in that Republic. I saw that he had inspired the attack on Mankoroane with the object, legitimate from his point of view, of seizing the interior, of stretching across to Walfisch Bay, making the Cape hidebound and ultimately annexing Delagoa Bay. And all this without a sixpence in his Treasury! But, gentlemen, I have ever held but one view, that is, the government of South Africa by the people of South Africa, with the Imperial flag for defence. I am not desirous to interfere with the freedom of the Transvaal, but the Cape Colony must hold the keys of the interior, and must and shall be the dominant State in South Africa.'

It was in connection with this speech that his Dutch friend, De Waal, wrote to him from Pretoria on 12th October, 'I have read your speech with interest, and fully endorse its sentiments. I have had a long interview with President Kruger on different political matters. He approves entirely of your railway policy and appears grateful at what the Cape has done, but is annoyed with Natal for forcing on her railway to his Border, which action, he said, she would soon regret. Oom Paul is also strongly in favour of our annexing Bechuanaland.' *Digitized by Microsoft®*

I have already mentioned that Rhodes tried, but failed, to acquire by purchase the old family estate at Dalston. He was not readily repulsed in a matter of this kind, or indeed in any matter. Before leaving England, he invited Mr. William Rhodes, the owner, to visit him at Kimberley, and the very day of the delivery of the foregoing speech, 5th October 1888, that gentleman sailed from England accordingly. On arrival at the Diamond Fields, he found Rhodes was in Johannesburg and went on there to see him. They returned together to Kimberley to receive Mr. C. D. Rudd, who had arrived with Lo Bengula's great Concession in his pocket. The three proceeded to Cape Town, and before November closed Mr. W. Rhodes again left for England, no longer the possessor of his family estate. No bargain had been struck on shore, but on board ship, in dock, at the very last moment, Cecil Rhodes prevailed, and the property changed hands. The conveyance was on a sheet of notepaper, and its terms were expressed with a brevity and absence of circumlocution horrifying to the legal mind, but it held good, and the estate is now vested in the Trustees of the 'great adventurer.'

This accomplished, Rhodes returned to Kimberley. On 12th December I find Sauer telegraphing to him there, 'Pleased to see you down for cricket week,' from which I infer that he was coming down about Christmas to watch inter-colonial cricket on the Western Province ground at Newlands.

He and Sauer and Merriman, subsequently colleagues, were already on intimate terms, and had probably arranged a plan of campaign for overthrowing the tenacious Sprigg, who, however, was destined to remain in power for another year and a half.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ROYAL CHARTER (1889)

Non-attendance in Parliament—Rush for Concessions—Thomas Baines—Judicious action of High Commissioner—A. E. Maund—Matabele Indunas in England—Aborigines' Protection Society again—Umshete and Babyan—Grant of Charter—Rhodes meets Stead—F. C. Selous—Nyassaland—Jameson in Matabeleland—Railway construction—Sir James Sivewright—Rhodes in Graham's Town—Customs Convention—Transvaal and Orange Free State Treaty—Result of Treaty.

DURING the session of the Cape Parliament in the year 1889, Rhodes, by special leave of the House, was excused attendance. For him it was to be a year of action, not of oratory, and no political speeches of his, of this date, are to be found recorded in the books. Rival claimants to land and mineral concessions in Matabeleland were making themselves extremely troublesome, and some of them were influential persons, having the ear of the English and Colonial press. For a time, as we shall see, even Her Majesty's Government were perplexed, and the official answers to awkward questions in the House of Commons were at times evasive, if not disingenuous. But for the sagacity and steady friendship of Sir Hercules Robinson, the great Concession, however formal, might easily have been cold-shouldered by the Government.

Rhodes lay on no bed of roses. So far back as the 8th April 1870, Thomas Baines obtained a Concession, though not a very definite one. Baines was a hunter, explorer and self-taught artist, and a companion of Livingstone when the latter discovered the Victoria

Falls. His fearless, though gentle nature, his simplicity and integrity, endeared him to all who knew him, and so impressed Lo Bengula that for years afterwards the king's name for him was 'the good white man.' The meeting between them took place only three months after the king assumed the sovereignty, which, strange to say, he did with great reluctance, as a superior heir was believed to be in existence, though living somewhere beyond the confines of the Territory. Lo Bengula made the most searching inquiries to find the lawful chief, and 'took an oath' from all the neighbouring States that he was not known to them. It was only when the interregnum threw the country into confusion that he allowed his *Nolo episcopari* to be overruled. The Concession granted to Baines professed to give him the mining rights over the entire district between the Grovilyo and Guayama Rivers, with the Zambesi as its northern boundary and Sofala as the nearest port. This coincides with Mashonaland between the 18th parallel of south latitude and the 31st degree east longitude. The Concession was soon ceded by Baines to third parties, but without much, if any, advantage to him, for he had no business instincts whatever. Upon his death no one claimed his transferred rights for many years, and it was left for Rhodes to acquire them, which he finally did for a sum of £10,000.

Another and far more insistent claimant was the Wood-Francis-Chapman Concessions Company, which, on the strength of an alleged grant, sought to obtain rights over the territory between the Shashi and Mac-loutsie Rivers, a district said to have been awarded to Lo Bengula by President Burgers of the Transvaal, whereas it was also claimed by Khama, the Bamangwato

chief, as his undoubted patrimony. In May 1889, the Company's agent was in Europe with a power of attorney and, having secured the financial support of a firm of well-known foreign Bankers, he returned to South Africa in the hope of depriving the Rudd Concession of half its value. The situation in Matabeleland was becoming very strained. The younger Matjikas, mostly of slave origin, were out of hand, and, to avoid a possible massacre, the Government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate refused the expedition a passage through that territory. On one occasion an entire regiment, 1000 strong, had importuned the king for a whole day for permission to make an end of every white man in the country, but he contemptuously dismissed them to their quarters. Nothing daunted, the claimants' agent and his party visited Pretoria and, striking northward through the Transvaal, obtained brief access to Matabeleland, but were turned back by Sir Sidney Shippard under the chief's orders, and were escorted out of the country in October. Some months earlier, another similar party under Mr. A. W. Haggard, was ejected by an Impi at the instance, it was said, and under the practical command of Mr. Maguire. On the 8th January 1889, the High Commissioner advised the Colonial Office that the exclusion was justified.

That these precautions were necessary may be gathered from the fact that Moffat, the Assistant Commissioner, who was at Gubulawayo in October 1888, reporting to the High Commissioner, said that concessionaires were holding secret meetings with the Indunas and having recourse to bribery on a large scale. Colenbrander, when in London, also stated that the whites were all armed at the King's own suggestion, and went in hourly danger of their lives.

Consequent on the disturbed condition of affairs, the High Commissioner judged it necessary to strengthen the Bechuanaland Border Police by 200 men, and to recall Colonel Carrington, who was on leave, to resume the command. On 24th November 1888, within a month of the signature of the Rudd Concession, an advertisement, by the Chief's request, appeared in the *Cape Times* to the following effect:—

‘Whereas many speculators and others, seeking concessions of land and mining rights have entered Matabeleland lately against the expressed wishes of the Chief and people. Notice is hereby given that all the mining rights in Matabeleland, Mashonaland and adjoining territories of the Matabele Chief have been already disposed of, and all concession seekers and speculators are hereby warned that their presence is obnoxious to the Chief and people, and those who persist in entering the country hereafter do so at their own risk, and the assistance of all neighbouring Chiefs and States and of all well-disposed persons is solicited in excluding such persons from Matabele territory.—By order,

‘LO BENGULA : Chief of the Matabele.’

Sir Sidney Shippard, the Administrator of British Bechuanaland, who had been sent up in October 1888, consequent on the Grobelaar incident, had repeated conferences with the king, and his tact no doubt helped to keep the peace. The High Commissioner acted with great prudence in declining to report any alleged concessions to Her Majesty's Government until they had been submitted to and verified by him. Of course, one result of this was that disappointed claimants vilified His Excellency in set terms, and instigated members of the House of Commons to put questions imputing to him interested motives. Few persons realised that he and Rhodes were playing a lone hand for the Empire.

In January 1889, the South African Trade Section of the London Chamber of Commerce interviewed Lord Knutsford on the subject of Bechuanaland, urging its retention by Her Majesty's Government, rather than its annexation to the Cape Colony. As expansion of the Empire through Colonial action and not through Downing Street was the avowed policy of Rhodes, the deputation had enlisted the services of his opponent, the Rev. John Mackenzie, and the latter enlarged on his favourite theme at great length, but neither he nor the Cape merchants who accompanied him appear to have appreciated the distinction between a Protectorate and a sphere of influence, and Lord Knutsford had to set them right on the point. The attitude of the Colonial Secretary on the main question was quite correct, for he reminded them that the Cape had twice had the opportunity of acquiring the territory but had declined to assume the responsibility, and that, rather than permit a lapse into anarchy, Her Majesty's Government had no alternative but to intervene. The paramount necessity of keeping open the route to the North was, perhaps designedly, not referred to. Before leaving, the deputation complained of the recognition of the Rudd Concession, Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, of all people, being selected to introduce the subject. The Colonial Secretary, in closing the discussion, remarked with admirable sense, 'As regards concessions made to certain individuals, it is not our business to interfere with them. If our advice is asked we should certainly have no hesitation in giving it, and we should recommend Lo Bengula to be very careful about the conditions he makes. We do not administer his lands. We have a treaty that he will not cede his territory to any foreign power without our sanction, but as regards

making concessions for mining and other purposes, we leave that, and necessarily so, to him. We have not been asked our opinion on these concessions. It appears that often two concessions are given of the same rights, and it is not uncommon for the result to be that the Chief denies that he has made either. It must be left to the enterprise of individuals to settle these questions with Lo Bengula. I will not sanction any concession which has not been made by bargain with Lo Bengula, submitted to the High Commissioner and approved of by him.'

Another claimant, not hitherto mentioned, remains to be noticed. Soon after the Rudd-Maguire expedition left the country, Mr. A. E. Maund arrived on behalf of a syndicate called the Exploring Company, and there can be no doubt he was successful in securing a grant of sorts, but invalid as a clear infraction of the Rudd Concession. But Mr. Maund had powerful financial backing and he was a man of resource. Early in February 1889, he was reported in the press as being on his way home, accompanied by two Matabele Indunas who had been commissioned to ascertain whether there was really a 'Great White Queen' and, incidentally of course, to inform the British public that Mr. Maund and not Mr. Rudd was the holder of a genuine Concession from the Chief. It was a masterly strategic move, and stirred Exeter Hall to its depths. At a meeting on the 22nd February of the Gold Fields Company, of which Rhodes and Rudd were managing directors, shareholders were asked to authorise an increase of capital in order to help in the work of developing Matabeleland under the Rudd Concession, an interest in which had been acquired by the Company. One of the shareholders expressed his anxiety regarding

the approaching visit of the Indunas, but was assured that the Concession was undoubted. It is clear, however, that the Directors were themselves alarmed, for at a subsequent meeting, held on the 8th March, they stated that Mr. Rhodes was on his way to England, and he arrived before the close of the month. A contest was evidently at hand. On the 13th March, a Proclamation appeared in the *Cape Gazette* that Lo Bengula ruled Mashonaland under British influence, and repudiated the pretensions of Portugal. And ten days later a notice appeared in the *Bechuanaland News*, obviously inspired by rival Concessionaires, which ran as follows :—

‘ I hear it is published in the newspapers that I have granted a Concession of the Minerals in all my country to Charles Dunell Rudd, Rochfort Maguire, and Francis Robert Thompson. As there is a great misunderstanding about this, all action in respect of said Concession is hereby suspended pending an investigation to be made by me in my country.

(Signed) ‘ LO BENGULA.

‘ *Royal Kraal, Matabeleland, 18th January 1889.*’

The *Cape Argus* in reproducing the notice cruelly observed, ‘ Any one can put an advertisement in a newspaper and sign it Lo Bengula. It would have been of interest to see the names of the witnesses appended to the document ! ’ As a fact, the notice was afterwards repudiated by the king. On the 11th March, Mr. Chamberlain, then in opposition, put a question in the House as to the Rudd Concession, which elicited from Baron H. de Worms, the Under Secretary for the Colonies, a declaration which made it clear that the clever tactics of the Exploring Company had made a great impression on the Colonial Office.

' Her Majesty's Government,' he said, ' have hitherto abstained from interfering with any concession granted by Lo Bengula, as that Chief is not under their protection, is independent, and has not till lately asked for advice. He has now by his messengers requested that some one may be sent to him by the Queen, and we are prepared to do so should he still desire it.'

Meanwhile the Indunas had arrived by the *Moor* on the 24th February, accompanied by Maund, with Colenbrander as interpreter, and for a brief space of time were the ' lions ' of the London season. On the 2nd March they had an audience of the Queen. Babyan, seventy-five years of age, was gifted with a retentive memory and knew the traditions of his tribe better than any man living. Umshete, who was ten years younger, had apparently been selected for his fluency of tongue, which had gained for him the name of the Matabele orator. Having the advantage of genuine colour that did not come out in the wash, and being a novelty to Londoners, they were feted and made much of, as is our custom. A great breakfast was given in their honour by the Aborigines' Protection Society, *more suo*, to the amused contempt of Colonists. Sir T. Fowell Buxton was, of course, in the chair, and was described as so gentle-looking that he might have been a lady in a frock-coat. Several peers and bishops and Mr. Fred Harrison pleaded prior engagements. Umshete, the orator, declined to speak as he was not unnaturally suffering from a cold. The transition from a Central African summer to an English winter rendered the plea a valid one. Babyan, therefore, was deputed to respond, but confined himself to safe topics. He thanked ' the elderly gentlemen ' who had received him, and declared that ' he had had a good breakfast ':

in short, the function was a social success, tinged with the proper tone of hostility to the Rudd Concession. In due course the envoys returned to their own country and reported that London was 'a great kraal with houses everywhere.' They carried back with them a mischievous letter from the Colonial Office to Lo Bengula, dated the 26th March 1889, which virtually condemned all the concessions and might easily have led to a savage massacre of the whites. Fortunately the High Commissioner's masterly despatch of the 18th March arrived shortly afterwards, which enlightened the Home Government as to the impossibility of peace in Matabeleland so long as concession hunters were permitted to intrigue against one another, and proved conclusively that the only politic course was to confirm the Rudd Concession. Baron H. de Worms, answering questions in the House and admitting that Mr. Rudd had applied for confirmation of the Concession, still denied that Her Majesty's Government had arrived at any decision in the matter. But the battle was won. The envoys, 'in red ties' like present-day Labour members, sailed on or about the 30th March, leaving the field clear for Rhodes, who had just arrived. He, in turn, was to be a London lion later on, but his time had not yet come.

So soon as the envoys left England, Rhodes set to work to found the British South Africa Company. Its competitors were absorbed or 'squared,' as political foes preferred to term it. Financial aid was forthcoming, his own Company, the De Beers Consolidated Mines, contributing £200,000 to the first authorised issue of £1,000,000. Thus armed against objections as to the invalidity of his Concessions, or as to the financial weakness of the new company, Rhodes,

within a month of his arrival (30th April 1889) addressed letters to Her Majesty's Government outlining a scheme for the development and government of Bechuanaland, Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and undertaking to extend railways and telegraphs to the Zambesi, to encourage colonisation and push British trade, as well as to exploit the various concessions he had acquired. In other words, he did not ask the Crown for land or mineral rights which, by grant, cession or purchase, he already possessed or was soon to possess; but for administrative rights which would enable him to make his other rights effective, and maintain law and order among the population whose influx he foresaw. The petition said, in effect, that the responsibility of the Company would be heavy, but would be rendered less onerous if Her Majesty's Government undertook that the interests which had been legally acquired should receive the recognition and moral support of the Government under a Royal Charter. The view of the Colonial Office was thus expressed in their letter to the Foreign Office dated 16th May 1889:—

' In consenting to consider this scheme in more detail, Lord Knutsford has been influenced by the consideration that if such a company is incorporated by Royal Charter, its constitution, objects and operations will become more directly subject to control by Her Majesty's Government than if it were left to these gentlemen to incorporate themselves under the Joint Stock Companies Acts, as they are entitled to do. The example of the Imperial East Africa Company shows that such a body may, to some considerable extent, relieve Her Majesty's Government from diplomatic difficulties and heavy expenditure.'

The advantage of expanding the British Empire at

private expense was perhaps never formulated as a policy with a franker cynicism. Thus encouraged, and after a considerable correspondence with the Colonial Office in June, all of which lies buried in Blue Books and need not be disturbed, a formal petition was presented to the Government on the 13th July 1889, and, after the usual routine procedure, a Royal Charter incorporating the Company was granted on 29th October, a year all but one day since, by the Ingusa River, the Matabele king had affixed his signature to the Rudd Concession. The good offices of the High Commissioner, who was now in London, no doubt expedited the transaction. For the second time in his career Rhodes had played a great game with patient finesse, and again he had triumphed over all obstacles. The text of the Charter will be found in an Appendix. Long before its signature Rhodes was back again at Kimberley, but whilst in London, his life had been a busy one. His practice was to ride in the Park early of a morning, have a late breakfast, negotiate all day, and unbend only after dinner. By steady application to the business of the moment, he achieved great things before sailing.

It may perhaps be noted in passing that on one of these days in London (4th April) Rhodes made the acquaintance of Mr. Stead, meeting him at lunch on the invitation of Sir Charles Mills, the Cape Agent-General. Mr. Stead, always a strenuous man both in his likes and his dislikes, came to be the recipient of many of the great man's confidences.

By an arrangement with the African Lakes Company, whom he subsidised, Rhodes obtained, about this time, a footing in Nyasaland and, after consultation with Mr. Selous, who was in London, he took steps to organise

a pioneer expedition with a view to occupy effectively the territory over which his Concession extended. As it was desirable not to excite the jealousy of Lo Bengula, Dr. Jameson was sent up shortly afterwards to acquaint him with the Company's intention and to seek his friendly co-operation. It was a delicate mission accomplished with great tact. Lo Bengula, always irritable, was now doubly so, owing to an attack of gout. Of this Dr. Jameson cured him, and in return the king agreed to the coming of the pioneer force, provided they kept an easterly course avoiding or only skirting Matabeleland, and making Mashonaland their objective.

Meanwhile, the promise to push on with railway construction was not left unfulfilled. On 24th October, 1889, Rhodes, in a letter to the Prime Minister, Sir Gordon Sprigg, intimated that the Royal Charter was being granted partly on the strength of his undertaking to push the rails northward, which he was resolute to do, but that he desired to work harmoniously with the Cape Government, and felt that it 'was clearly a case for arrangement.' Sir Gordon concurred, and on the 29th October—the very day the Charter was gazetted—a memorandum of agreement was signed between Rhodes acting for the British South Africa Company of the one part, and the Cape Government of the other part, by which the former undertook to construct a railway over Colonial territory from Kimberley to Fourteen Streams, with provisional powers of extension to the boundary of British Bechuanaland and from thence to Vryburg, a distance in all of 126 miles. The witnesses were Mr.—afterwards Sir—James Sivewright and Mr.—afterwards Sir—C. B. Elliott, the General Manager of the Cape Railways: and the document was

executed at Lourensford, the former's beautiful seat near Somerset West. Of Mr. Sivewright we shall hear again. Rhodes did not allow the grass to grow under his feet. Within four days the earthworks were commenced: on the 23rd December the first rails were laid out of Kimberley, and in less than a year the line was completed.

A brief reference to other matters of political concern to South Africa in the year 1889 must conclude this chapter.

At a banquet given at Graham's Town on 10th January, the Prime Minister, referring to his recent visit to Bloemfontein, said that he had made provisional arrangements with the new President of the Free State for a renewed Customs Convention and the continuation of the Cape railway system through the Republic to the Transvaal border on the Vaal River. The Customs Convention was subsequently concluded, and ratified by Mr. Reitz on the 28th March, and by Sir Hercules Robinson on 5th April: and a railway agreement was arrived at in June.

Meanwhile, several steps were taken to bring about that closer union of the two Republics for which Kruger had long struggled with Sir John Braud, and struggled in vain. The new President was more amenable. On the 8th March 1889, he signed a railway agreement with the Transvaal, submitting to various restrictions on construction which his predecessor would have spurned. The following day he signed at Potchefstrom two additional treaties. One of them was a harmless document reciting that, as there was invincible peace and amity between the two States, so there should be Free Trade amongst their respective burghers, except in contraband. The other was a deeply significant

agreement which, beyond a somewhat prolix preamble, contained only two articles. I quote them verbatim :—

Art. I. There shall be perpetual peace between the South African Republic and the Orange Free State.

Art. II. The South African Republic and the Orange Free State bind themselves mutually and declare themselves prepared to assist each other with all powers and means whenever the independence of either of the States is threatened and attacked from without, unless the State which has to supply assistance shows the injustice of the cause of the other State.

Done and signed at Potchefstrom the 9th of March 1889.

S. I. P. KRUGER,
State President, S.A.R.

F. W. REITZ,
State President, O.F.S.

Brand's lifelong policy was thus destroyed at a blow. The offensive and defensive alliance here arrived at was obviously aimed at Great Britain and Great Britain alone, by whose 'magnanimity' the independent existence of both States was preserved. It is to be noted that the Treaty was signed nearly seven years before the Raid, and more than ten years before the second Boer War. Many thoughtful burghers of the Free State, bred up in the traditions of a sagacious statesman like Brand, disliked being dragged at the chariot wheels of a militant Transvaal, but their protests were unheeded. The independence of the smaller Republic was lost in 1889, not in 1902 : at Potchefstrom, not at Vereeniging. Had the Free State kept clear of a quarrel which was not theirs, they would still be a Republic. A serious dispute with them **on our part** was almost unthinkable.

Their State was governed on lines of equity and common-sense : they had no wealth for cupidity to envy, no public debt, no troublesome ' Uitlander ' question, no grievances unredressed. Their existence depended on the maintenance of the strictest neutrality. But their eyes were holden so that they could not see. Listening to false foreign prophets, to Hollanders like Leyds and Germans like Borckenhagen, they left the path of safety and perished in the storm which would otherwise have passed them by. Yet not perished, for it has since gladdened the heart of every admirer of John Brand to see that the little pastoral Republic he loved so well has found an ampler and more enduring freedom under the folds of the Flag of England.

PART III

CHAPTER XIX

PRIME MINISTER (1890)

Departure of Sir Hercules Robinson—His high character—Succeeded by Sir H. Loch—Diamond Syndicate formed—Allotment of Chartered Shares—Sprigg's comprehensive Railway Scheme—His Fall—Rhodes forms a Ministry—Speaks at Kimberley—And at Bloemfontein—Attack on his dual position—James Rose-Innes—Merriman—Sauer—Sivewright—Rhodes censures the Colonial Office—Sir Charles Dilke agrees with him—Close of the Session—Bank Failures—Mr. F. Mac-karness—Lord Knutsford—Rhodes again in England—Dines at Windsor.

It would be ungracious to pass away from the year 1889 without more extended reference to Sir Hercules Robinson, whose ordinary term of office as Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner terminated during the year by effluxion of time. In accordance with precedent, a renewal of his appointments was naturally expected. On the 1st May he left the Colony, ostensibly on leave of absence, his departure being attended by striking manifestations of esteem and regard. Shortly before sailing he had been entertained by the citizens of Cape Town at a farewell banquet, and had made a speech in which he announced that Her Majesty's Government had requested him to rejoin his post at the termination of his leave, but that his decision depended upon whether he could rely on the firm and consistent support of the Ministry in carrying out views which he strongly held. This unconventional and independent utterance gave great offence in official circles and fluttered the dovescotes in Downing Street.

But he was reported to have said much more. The brief cabled summary of his speech represented him as declaring that no place remained in South Africa for direct Imperial rule. His best friends in England regarded the expression as indiscreet, and as a virtual surrender to the Bond. Day by day, with wearisome iteration, the Colonial Under Secretary was put to the question in the House of Commons, and although the Minister declined, very properly, to deal with the quotation apart from its context, there can be no doubt that as a rule it was unfavourably construed. The full text of the speech only reached London towards the end of May, when it became abundantly clear that the summary sent over the wire had been in the highest degree misleading. So far from desiring to eliminate the Imperial factor, the High Commissioner had given a masterly exposition of the relative functions of the Imperial and Colonial Governments, declaring that his policy was that of Colonial expansion under Imperial sanction—in other words, that Great Britain could not and should not undertake to create another India in the interior of Africa, while the Colony should not adopt the Bond principle of expansion on its own account, but with the concurrence and support of the mother country. Even at this late date the speech deserves the close perusal of statesmen both at home and abroad. Sir Hercules drew enthusiastic cheers from his audience by asserting that, while striving to act with equal justice and consideration towards the claims and sensibilities of all classes and races in the country, he had endeavoured above all to establish, on a broad and secure basis, British authority as the paramount power in South Africa. This was hardly a policy of truckling to the Bond, or of eliminating the

Imperial factor. Nevertheless the sting remained, and on the 3rd June, when questioned in the House of Lords by the Earl of Camperdown and others, Lord Knutsford admitted that the High Commissioner had resigned and that his resignation had been accepted. A debate ensued in which the Earl of Carnarvon and the Earl of Kimberley supported Sir Hercules Robinson and his policy in the warmest terms, and though the Secretary of State endeavoured to maintain that no disapproval of either had been expressed or implied, the general feeling was that the High Commissioner had been thrown over, and no doubt the position was accurately and pithily summed up by Sir Hercules himself in a note to me, dated the 25th June, when he wrote, 'I am very sorry not to be returning to South Africa, but I was sick of only shilly-shally support.'

It must also be remembered that he had been made the victim of vulgar and insolent questions in the House of Commons, Mr. Bradlaugh having even accused him of abusing his official position to advance his private interests, a monstrous charge, which should have been repudiated by his official superiors with a warmth of language not falling short of the extremest limit permissible by parliamentary practice. But the defence had been lukewarm and Sir Hercules was touched to the quick, being a man of the nicest sense of honour and a gentleman to his finger-tips. It may not be out of place here to say that Imperial Ministers, irrespective of party, are often thought by Colonists to be frequent offenders in this respect, and to be incapable of appreciating their elementary duty of standing up in defence of distant and distinguished servants of the Crown, who are forbidden by etiquette to stand up for themselves.

It was under the foregoing circumstances that Sir Hercules Robinson retired from the high post he had so conspicuously adorned, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Loch, whose Commission bears date the 20th August 1889. Until his arrival the reins of Government were held by Lieutenant-General H. A. Smyth.

I now arrive at the third and last of the periods into which I propose to divide the career of Cecil Rhodes.

The departure of Sir Hercules Robinson was a blow to him, but he became Prime Minister before Sir Henry Loch reached the Colony, and after a brief interval of mutual reserve, he gained the entire confidence of the new High Commissioner. The year 1890, on which I am now entering, was to Rhodes a laborious and anxious one. Already at the head of the De Beers Mines and playing a fairly leading part in developing the Transvaal Gold Mining industry, he also became the guiding spirit of the Chartered Company, and Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. He had to gather up the loose ends of the negotiations necessary to consolidate the amalgamation of interests at Kimberley. In doing so, he realised that the concentration of the diamond output and its control by one great Corporation, though a great step in advance, was not of itself a complete settlement of the problem he had set himself to solve. Winning the precious stones to the best commercial advantage was one thing. Their sale was quite another matter. To flood the markets of the world meant gradual depreciation of prices. But what those markets could absorb was known, not to the Company at Kimberley, but to experienced dealers in Europe, and to them alone. Before leaving England in 1889, Rhodes accordingly studied the question both in London and Paris, and finally put in train arrange-

ments for the formation of an influential Diamond-buying Syndicate, which undertook, upon carefully drawn conditions, to purchase and dispose of the entire product of the various mines, thus regulating the output and maintaining the value. By this means the supply was restricted to the demand, and it says much for his business capacity that he succeeded, at short notice, in creating a Syndicate of the necessary strength, the usefulness of which has stood the test of time.

Early in 1890, Rhodes was in Cape Town, signing formal agreements with the Government and with the new High Commissioner on behalf of Bechuanaland, for the construction of the first section of the Northern Railway, provisionally provided for by the understanding arrived at during the preceding October. The documents bear date 23rd January. He was also vigorously pushing another of his great projects, the Trans-Continental Telegraph system, and ere the month closed he had the satisfaction of hearing that an Imperial officer had arrived at Gubulawayo and handed to Lo Bengula a letter from the Queen announcing the grant of the Royal Charter, and recommending the Company to his most favourable consideration. In February he was still in Cape Town, busy with the allotment of 25,000 shares in the British South Africa Company, which, at his request, had been reserved for Colonial applicants. His obvious policy was to enlist the sympathy and support of as many Cape Colonists as possible, and especially Colonists of Dutch extraction. It was reported at the time, and probably with truth, that he had shrewdly allocated the bulk of these shares to members or friends of the Afrikaner Bond, whose identification with the Company's work was eminently desirable. Their association with him in his task of

Northern Expansion was also to his advantage politically, as was apparent in the next session of the Cape Parliament. When petitioning the Crown for a Charter, Rhodes foreshadowed the creation of a local board of control in the Colony, and he now endeavoured to carry out the promise. The Presidency of the Board was offered to the Chief Justice, who did not see his way to accept the post, and, owing to the parochial nature of Cape politics, men of sufficient breadth of view to act as Directors were not to be found. The project, therefore, lapsed, and the Company continued to be nominally administered by the London Board though in reality, to a great extent, by Rhodes himself. A very competent defender of the Company and its policy was secured in the person of his friend, Mr. Rochfort Maguire, who entered the House of Commons this year as member for North Donegal.

The accumulation of responsibilities thus thrust upon Rhodes entailed such a severe strain that at one time he had resolved to abandon his seat in Parliament, or, at all events, to apply again for leave of absence during the session of 1890. Circumstances, however, compelled him to reconsider his decision. Sir Gordon Sprigg, whose position had for some time been insecure, met the Cape Parliament, in May 1890, with a comprehensive scheme of railway construction, involving an expenditure of more than seven and a half millions. If he thought that all interests would be conciliated by this forward policy, he was soon disillusioned. Individually, many members were gratified at the prospect of seeing a lavish expenditure of public money in their respective districts, but the prudence of the community as a whole revolted against such a vast outlay on subsidiary lines, the bulk of which could not for many years be

relied on to pay interest on construction. Rhodes himself, profound as was his faith in the advantage of railways, was not prepared to add so largely to the public debt, and he therefore joined Mr. Sauer and others in resisting the Government proposals, which, after a stormy and protracted debate, were thrown out, and Sprigg resigned. The Governor sent for Sauer, but the latter, after negotiation, was under the necessity of advising His Excellency that he was unable to form a Ministry, and the responsibility was then thrown upon Rhodes, who, on the 16th July, mentioned in the Assembly that he had been sent for, and requested a day's adjournment of the House, which was agreed to.

On the 17th July he stated that he had been able to form an administration, but he was very nervous and was almost inaudible in the gallery. He added that he had desired to hold office without portfolio, but found there was a constitutional difficulty in the way. He did not say what particular office he had assumed, but he claimed the indulgence of the House, and announced that he advocated a purely South African policy and, in regard to public expenditure, he should proceed with great caution. Questioned by Sprigg as to the truth of the rumour that he had been sworn in without portfolio—which was the case and a technical irregularity—he required notice of the question, but said that he was now Commissioner of Crown Lands. He then moved the adoption of the Resolution on Railways recently passed in Committee of the whole House on Ways and Means—the Resolution that had upset his predecessor. This was agreed to, but on his first division, on the Ballot Bill, which he opposed, he triumphed only by a majority of one—a close shave.

The following is the text of the Governor's Commission to Rhodes, dated, it will be seen, 17th July 1890 :—

‘ COMMISSION

‘ By his Excellency SIR HENRY BROUGHAM LOCH, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Her Majesty's High Commissioner, etc., etc.

‘ To the Honourable CECIL JOHN RHODES, Esquire.

‘ GREETING :—

‘ UNDER and by virtue of the powers in me vested by Her Majesty's Commission bearing date the 26th day of February 1877, I do hereby, in Her Majesty's name and on Her Majesty's behalf, appoint you, the said CECIL JOHN RHODES, to hold the Office of COMMISSIONER OF CROWN LANDS AND PUBLIC WORKS of THE COLONY, during Her Majesty's pleasure, and to charge you with such duties as have hitherto been performed as COMMISSIONER OF CROWN LANDS AND PUBLIC WORKS by the Honourable Frederick Schermbrucker the previous holder of the said Office, the appointments to take effect from the 17TH day of JULY 1890.

‘ GIVEN under my hand and the Public Seal of the Colony of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, at Cape Town, this 17TH day of JULY 1890.
(Sgd.) HENRY B. LOCH.’

The circumstances under which Rhodes took office can perhaps be best described in his own words. Speaking at Kimberley on 6th September 1890, within less than two months of his acceptance of office, and responding at a banquet to the toast of ‘ The Ministry,’ he is reported as having said :—

‘ Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen, I thank you for the very cordial and hearty manner in which you have received

the toast just proposed. I cannot say that "A prophet is not without honour save in his own country," for I am not a prophet, and I think the honour done to me to-night as one of your citizens, on my being raised to the position of Premier of this Colony, is very great indeed; and I appreciate it extremely. Only about two months ago, being much occupied with the North, I had made up my mind not to attend Parliament, but I found there was a huge Railway Bill proposed, and I thought it was my duty to oppose it, as it would place too great a burden on the revenue of this country. I felt that this community had a very large stake in the prosperity of the country, and a Railway Bill which would cost many millions for railways which it was admitted on all sides would not pay, would be a heavy burden. I hurried down, and we fought the question, and the result you all know. But events hurried on faster than I expected, and before I knew where I was I saw it would be forced upon me to take the responsibility of the government of this country. I thought of the positions I occupied in De Beers and the Chartered Company, and I concluded that one position could be worked with the other, and each to the benefit of all. At any rate I had the courage to undertake it, and I may say that up to the present I have not regretted it. If there is anything that would give me encouragement, it is the kindly and cordial greeting my fellow-citizens have extended to me to-night. I may tell you that before coming to a decision in regard to occupying the position of Premier, I met the various sections of the House. I hope you will not be alarmed when I say that I asked the members of the Bond party to meet me. I trust you will agree with me that when I was undertaking the responsibility of government, the best thing

to be done was to ask them plainly to give me their support. I put my views before them, and received from them a promise that they would give me a fair chance in carrying on the administration. I think that if more pains were taken to explain matters to the members of the Bond party, many of the cobwebs would be swept away, and a much better understanding would exist between the different parties. The Government's policy will be a South African policy. What we mean is that we will do all in our power, whilst looking after the interests of the Cape Colony, to draw closer and closer the ties between us and the neighbouring States. In pursuance of this we have arranged to meet in December next in Bloemfontein, and hope to extend the railway from Bloemfontein to the Vaal River. We feel it is time to arrive at a settlement of the various questions which divide the States of South Africa. It may not come in our time, but I believe that ultimately the different States will be united. The Government hope that the result of the Swaziland Convention will prove satisfactory to the Transvaal. *We feel that if fair privileges were granted to every citizen of the Transvaal, the Transvaal would not be dissatisfied at the terms England will deal out to it.* I feel sure that if the Transvaal joins with us and the other States in a Customs' Union, the sister Colony of Natal will also join, and that would be one great step towards a union of South Africa. The projected extension of the railway will likewise prove that we are getting nearer to a United South Africa.

'It is customary to speak of a United South Africa as possible within the near future. If we mean a complete Union with the same flag, I see very serious difficulties. I know myself that I am not prepared at

any time to forfeit my flag. I remember a story about the editor of a leading journal in this country. He was asked to allow a supervision of his articles in reference to native policy, and he was offered a free hand with everything else. "Well," he asked, "if you take away the direction of my native policy, what have I left?" And so it is with me. If I have to forfeit my flag, what have I left? If you take away my flag, you take away everything. Holding these views, I can feel some respect for the neighbouring States where men have been born under Republican institutions and with Republican feelings. When I speak of South African Union, I mean that we may attain to perfect free trade as to our own commodities, perfect and complete internal railway communication, and a general Customs' Union, stretching from Delagoa Bay to Walfisch Bay; and if our statesmen should attain to that, I say they will have done a good work. It has been my good fortune to meet people belonging to both sides of the House, and to hear their approval with regard to the development of the Northern territory. I am glad that the Cape Colony will also share in the development of the country to the North. I feel assured that within my lifetime the limits of the Cape Colony will stretch as far as the Zambesi. Many of you are interested in the operations of the Chartered Company northwards; and it is a pleasure to me to announce that all risks of a collision are over, and that I believe there will be a peaceable occupation of Mashonaland. I have had the pleasure to-day to receive a telegram announcing the cession of the Barotse country, which I may tell you is over 200,000 square miles in extent. I think we are carrying out a practical object; we have at least sent five hundred of our citizens to occupy a

new country. To show how great is the wish to go north, I may mention that a Dutch Reformed minister at Colesberg has been called to Mossamedes, a place further even than the country we have annexed. I have often thought that if the people who originally took the Cape Colony had been told that the Colony would to-day extend to the Orange River, they would have laughed at the idea. I believe that people who live a hundred years hence will think that the present annexation is far too short.'

He had already spoken earlier in the year (11th May 1890) at a banquet given at Bloemfontein to Sir Henry Loch, who was a very peripatetic High Commissioner ; and he again spoke at a similar function at Vryburg (October 1890) when the High Commissioner was once more on his travels. But he made no speeches of any duration in Parliament this year.

On the 21st July, four days after he assumed office, a formidable attack was made on his dual position. The charge was led by Mr. John Laing, an able and courteous opponent, who moved, ' That in the interests of the country it is impolitic and undesirable that the official representative of the British South Africa Company should be Prime Minister of this Colony.' He admitted that the Charter was a great Christianising and civilising agency and due to Rhodes's ability, foresight and wonderful organising capacity, but he quoted the *Times* and *Morning Post* as throwing doubts on the propriety of his holding office. Several Dutch members, including Le Roex and De Waal, defended Rhodes, who contented himself with the statement that if his interests ever clashed, he would resign. Laing's motion was ~~negatively~~ ^{negatively} without a division.

The following day, sore with his recent defeat, Sprigg again raised the point of Rhodes having been sworn in without portfolio, but the Speaker intervened and the matter dropped.

On the 23rd July Merriman made an able Budget Speech, and Upington endeavoured to revive the question of the dual position, but the attack fell flat.

Some brief reference to Rhodes's colleagues in the Ministry may be conveniently made here. Mr. J. X. Merriman took the Treasurership of the Colony. Mr. J. W. Sauer was Colonial Secretary. Mr. J. Rose-Innes became Attorney-General; Mr. R. H. Faure, a veteran Dutch politician, was Secretary for Native Affairs; while Mr. J. Sivewright joined as Minister without portfolio, but was entrusted, in September, with the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, held in the interim by the Prime Minister himself, and only given up to facilitate his journey to the North, as to which some information will be given in a subsequent chapter. The post thus surrendered to Sivewright was of rising importance, carrying with it the administration and control of the entire railway system of the Colony.

Mr. Merriman, who has since been Premier himself, is so well-known a figure in South African politics, that it seems almost superfluous to describe him. Born in England, his removal to South Africa took place at an early age, his father being an Archdeacon of the Anglican Church in Graham's Town, and subsequently a venerated Bishop of that Diocese. Young Merriman was educated partly in the Colony, partly in England, and entered Parliament in 1869, at the age of twenty-eight, eleven years before Rhodes. He

had already, for nearly three years, been a member of the Molteno Administration, and, afterwards, for more than three years, of the Scanlen Cabinet, but until now he had never been Treasurer of the Colony. By his political foes, whose name is legion, he is always painted with a lurid brush, taunted for his inconsistency, accused of wrecking every Ministry he has ever joined, and being 'everything by fits and nothing long'; a master of 'flouts and jeers,' a creature of impulse, wayward, unreliable and always in extremes. By his friends, of whom he also has troops, he is regarded as the most brilliant and amusing companion, the readiest and weightiest speaker in the House, dexterous in debate, incorruptible in public affairs, charming and lovable in private life. Steering a middle course between rancorous prejudice and amiable partiality, I venture to describe him as the most interesting Cape figure of his generation, extremely well-read, a preacher and practiser of a simple and strenuous life, but one who is constitutionally unable to suffer fools gladly and who, habitually sitting in the seat of the scornful, draws down upon himself the dislike of many mediocre minds whose pretentious self-importance he has ruthlessly pricked. His commanding figure and singularly flexible voice, his keen sense of humour and nimbleness of repartee made him the spoilt child of the House of Assembly; and his fluency of speech on any subject once led to his being characterised by a witty American listener in the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery as 'carrying more sail than ballast!' But those who know him best are aware that for all his persiflage, his administrative abilities are of a high order, and Rhodes, who later on parted with him under circumstances of no little friction, never ceased,

to the day of his death, to speak of him with affection and respect.

Of Mr. Sauer we have already heard in connection with General Gordon. Colonial by birth and upbringing, a lawyer by profession, he is known to his intimates as 'the Bumbler,' a nickname invented by his friend and colleague Mr. Merriman. If the latter is the orator, Mr. Sauer is the debater and tactician of the party with which he happens to be associated.

Mr. Rose-Innes, since Chief Justice of the Transvaal, stands in a somewhat different category. During his political career, it is doubtful whether he ever made an enemy, and owing to his high character he was always a tower of strength to his colleagues. As a fluent speaker and sound lawyer he may have had many equals, but no man of his day was ever more completely possessed of the entire confidence of the average elector, nor was the confidence misplaced.

Mr. Sivewright was a Scot by birth, a graduate of the University of Aberdeen, and a telegraph engineer by profession, who for several years was General Manager of the Cape Telegraphs. While in the Rhodes Ministry, he was energetic and resourceful in extending the Cape railways, but he cannot be said to have left in the House of Assembly a reputation commensurate with his unquestioned abilities.

Taking the Rhodes Cabinet as a whole, it must be admitted to have been a strong one, and but for unfortunate internal dissensions, to which I shall subsequently refer, its duration would, in all probability, have been considerably prolonged. Writing to a friend a few hours before the formation of the Ministry, I said, 'There has been unusual excitement in political circles here lately. After six years of office, Sir Gordon

Sprigg committed the indiscretion of launching out upon an adventurous railway policy without ascertaining the views of the Bond, and the conservative instincts of the Boers threw him out of office. Sauer, who upset the Ministry, proved unable to form an alternative administration, and the Governor fell back on Rhodes. The latter is regarded in some quarters as a dangerous visionary, despite his admitted ability, but any policy of undue adventure on which he might embark would be vetoed by the same power that overthrew Sprigg.'

Sir Hercules Robinson, writing to me on the 24th July said, 'I fear the new Government, with Hofmeyr outside acting the part of a candid friend, will not be strong or lasting. He has the power and he ought to take the responsibility, and it should be forced on him. The last is the third Ministry he has put out, *i.e.* in 1881, 1884 and 1890, and I wonder Rhodes did not refuse to take office without him.'

Few people, if any, realised the fact that whereas, in previous instances, the Bond had used Cape Premiers as puppets, the new Prime Minister was about to use the Bond to advance Cape interests as against Transvaal interests, and to assist in preserving the Imperial tie in South Africa as against the Republican ideals of Krugerism. There lay the difference, but it sufficed. The 'strong man armed' had at length met a man stronger than himself.

On the 28th July Rhodes gave notice of motion, 'That this House regrets that the Government of this country was not directly represented in the recent arrangements entered into between the British Government and the German Empire in so far as those arrangements affected Territories south of the Zambesi; and

is of opinion that the Government of this Colony should have a voice in any future proposed arrangements of boundaries south of that river.'

This led to an interesting debate of several days' duration. Upington, who had been Prime Minister from May 1884 to November 1886, was on his defence. He now declared that Germany had coveted the Territory since 1883 : that in March 1885, during his absence, Sprigg had sent a Minute to the Governor urging that the Cape should be allowed to annex the South-West Territories, but that Lord Derby had cold-shouldered the proposal. He added that he thought the Secretary of State's action or inaction was resented by every man in the Colony. (Hear, hear, from all sides of the House.) Douglass retorted that Upington was himself to blame, as he took sixteen days to reply to a cable from Lord Derby in 1884, though the message was marked urgent.

Rhodes, in winding up the debate, said the Home Government had re-arranged our map without consulting us, but he thought it would not happen again. His Resolution was thereupon agreed to without a division.

On 12th August, Rhodes moved that his Government be authorised to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Orange Free State for the construction of a railway from Bloemfontein to the Transvaal border and, if negotiations were satisfactory, to construct a line with all possible despatch. This was agreed to, and on the 20th August Parliament was prorogued by the Governor, Sir Henry Loch, in person, who referred with satisfaction to the provision made for carrying into effect the agreement between the Colony and the British South Africa Company for the acquisition

by the former of the railway line from Kimberley to Vryburg.

Rhodes's motion of censure on the Home Government was cabled to England and led to an immediate letter from Sir Charles Dilke (29th July 1890), who wrote, 'So glad you have taken the Premiership and given notice that the House regrets that the Cape Government was not consulted with regard to the Anglo-German agreement. I was greatly opposed to the agreement.'

Having thus wound up the session as quickly as possible, Rhodes proceeded to Kimberley on his way to the North. His speech there on the 6th September has already been given. His return to the seat of Government became, however, imperative, owing to a serious commercial and financial crisis, due to over-speculation at the Gold Fields. His favourite banks, of Colonial origin, failed one after the other, and on the 20th September the premier institution, the Cape of Good Hope Bank, closed its doors. Rhodes was for a while obsessed with the idea that the Imperial Banks were contriving, for purposes of their own, to bring about the downfall of their Colonial competitors, and I well remember the unconventional manner in which he burst into my office soon after his arrival, and his surprise when I introduced to him a visitor already there as the Chairman of the Cape of Good Hope Bank; and when I added that the latter had just refused to accept my assistance to enable him to weather the storm, on the ground, which I believed to be mistaken, that the Bank, having lost its Reserve Fund and a certain proportion of its paid-up capital, was bound by its Trust Deed to put up its shutters. I explained that, so far as I could see, the money was

locked up but not lost, and I called upon the Prime Minister to urge the Chairman to borrow from me a quarter of a million to save his Institution. Arming himself with a formidable ruler and striding rapidly up and down the room, as was his wont when moved, Rhodes argued the point at some length and with scant show of respect for trust deeds, and at times I feared the ruler might even be used for purposes of assault; but the painful dubieties of the Chairman remained unmoved, and, in spite of our joint entreaties, he allowed the Bank to succumb. The lesson was not lost upon the Prime Minister, who from that moment was a staunch supporter of the Institution I had the honour to represent.

The following letter from Mr. Frederic Mackarness will, for many reasons, be of interest :—

‘THE REFORM CLUB, *October 9th, 1890.*

‘MY DEAR RHODES,—I hope you will allow me to send you a line, though a late one, of congratulation upon your becoming Premier of the Cape Colony. I was abroad when the change of Government occurred, or I should have written before. I hope your Ministry may have a long lease of life, and that during that time you may be able not only to extend the limits of the Empire, but perhaps also to do something to draw more closely the scattered portions of it to the mother country. I am sure it can be done without sacrificing an atom of the self-government now enjoyed by the Colonies. The Americans by their new tariff will be driving the Canadians to consider the question.

‘I read with much interest your recent speech at Kimberley. The cablegrams, and even the letters in the *Times* from the Cape Town correspondent, gave

misleading accounts of your having said "the question of the flag must be left to the future," giving the impression that you thought the flag of no importance, an opinion which was at once condemned of course by the ultra Tory papers. So I thought it wise to get published what exactly you said, as reported in the *Cape Argus*, and which put a very different complexion on the matter.—Yours very truly,

‘FREDERIC MACKARNESS.’

Before the close of the year Rhodes received the following communication from the Cape Governor :—

‘GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CAPE TOWN, 1st Dec. 1890.

‘DEAR MR. RHODES,—The Secretary of State considers if your duties as Prime Minister do not interfere with your going to England for a short time, there would be advantage in discussing with you various matters relating to B. S. A. C.

‘As these matters cannot fail to have an important influence upon the affairs generally of South Africa—and indirectly upon those of the Cape Colony—I shall have no objection to your absenting yourself from your duties as Prime Minister, provided you can arrange to be back some weeks before the meeting of Parliament—and that satisfactory arrangements can be made with your colleagues for carrying on the business of the country.—Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) ‘HENRY B. LOCH.’

In accordance with the suggestion of the Secretary of State (Lord Knutsford) Rhodes visited England before Christmas and was lionised in London, much to his

dislike. He appreciated fully, however, the honour of dining at Windsor Castle, though his conduct there appeared, it is said, to some of the Court officials, to be somewhat unconventional and brusque.

CHAPTER XX

OCCUPATION OF MASHONALAND (1889-90)

Size of Territory—Matabele strength—Selous—Preparation for occupation—Sir Francis de Winton—Colonel Carrington—Strength of Expedition—Armament carried—Dr. Jameson—Obstinacy of Lo Bengula—Selous again—Start of the Expedition—Colonel Pennefather—A. R. Colquhoun—At Tuli—Khama—Radi-Kladi—Frank Johnson—Progress of Pioneers—The Lundi River—Providential Pass—Ultimatum from Lo Bengula—Excitement among the Matabele—Column arrives at Salisbury.

THE occupation of Mashonaland, a territory embracing an area of 73,000 square miles, must ever be regarded as one of the most venturesome feats accomplished by men of our race during the Victorian era. It is not generally known, however, that the project as originally planned by Rhodes was of a far more daring character. Half measures were never palatable to him, and his desire was to march direct on Bulawayo and occupy Matabeleland itself—peaceably, if not interfered with, but in any case to occupy it. Bearing in mind that the Matabele ruler was in the zenith of his power, with a disciplined force of 20,000 men, the terror of a territory the size of Western Europe, the conception was a bold one. But more cautious counsels ultimately prevailed and the ‘great adventurer’ was thus prevented from emulating the achievements of Hernando Cortez in Mexico. Something, however, had to be done, and done quickly. Rivals were in the field, and action was imperative if the Concessions confirmed by the Charter were not to remain a dead letter. Without effective

occupation of the country, all acquired rights would, sooner or later, have lapsed.

I have already mentioned that, while in London in 1889, Rhodes conferred with Mr. Selous, who had happened to come over in the same boat as the two Matabele Indunas, whose historic breakfast in London and departure, wearing red ties, I chronicled in an earlier chapter. Mr. Frederick Courteney Selous, justly celebrated alike as an explorer, hunter, scientific naturalist and delightful writer, had spent many years of his adventurous life in South Central and South Eastern Africa. His knowledge of what is now called Rhodesia was unrivalled, and he was intimately acquainted with the Matabele king and his resources. To him, therefore, Rhodes naturally appealed to undertake the guidance of the Pioneer Column, then already in contemplation. But the precise route Rhodes would not or could not disclose. Selous replied that he was under contract to conduct a prospecting party to the head waters of the Mazoe by way of the Zambesi, from which expedition he did not expect to return before the close of the year. Rhodes, who had not yet obtained the Charter or official authority for its exploitation, contented himself by requesting Selous to come and see him on his return to the Cape Colony. The latter accordingly sailed for South Africa in May and after visiting Mozambique, Tête and other Portuguese possessions on the East Coast, and carrying out his expedition with thoroughness and success, returned to Cape Town early in December. A record of this and many other trips has been given in his fascinating volume, *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa*.

From Tête on the Zambesi, under date 28th October 1889, one day before the grant of the Charter, he had

written to his business associates in the Colony that if Rhodes desired to take possession of the promised land, there was, in his judgment, no time to be lost, and, as he anticipated the gravest danger in the entrance of the Pioneers into Matabeleland itself, he recommended a more circuitous route, starting from the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, striking eastward to Tuli, thence north-east and north to Mount Hampden, a prominent hill in North-East Mashonaland so named by him on a previous journey. 'Once get a footing,' he sensibly remarked, 'in Eastern Mashonaland, and before very long the Matabele question will settle itself. Now or never is the time to act. If Mashonaland is not worth this experiment, there is no other country in the interior of Africa that it will pay any company to spend any money upon.'

What occurred on Mr. Selous's arrival I cannot do better than give in his own words. 'Upon reaching Cape Town,' he says, 'I proceeded to Kimberley and saw Mr. Rhodes, and was delighted to find that that far-seeing statesman was fully alive to the absolute necessity, in British interests, for the immediate occupation of Mashonaland, and was determined that the country should be taken possession of, in the name of the British South Africa Company, during the coming year 1890. I then laid before him the plan for the occupation of the country by a new road, passing to the south and east of the country actually ruled by the Matabele. This plan Mr. Rhodes did not at first approve, but it was finally accepted as the only means of effecting immediate occupation, with the minimum of risk of collision. It is due to Mr. Cecil Rhodes alone, as I cannot too often repeat, that to-day our country's flag flies over Mashonaland. He alone of all English-

men possessed at the same time the prescience and breadth of mind to appreciate the ultimate value of the country, combined with the strong will which, in spite of all obstacles, compelled the means and the power successfully to carry out the scheme for its immediate occupation.'

For some months the preparations went steadily forward. Official delays and restraints had to be encountered and overcome, though Rhodes chafed and fumed at the inevitable routine. The danger of indefinite postponement became day by day more obvious. A large Portuguese force, under Colonel Ignacio de Jesus Xavier, was believed to be preparing to enter the Territory from the eastward, while a trek was known to be impending from the Transvaal, 1500 Transvaal burghers having already 'signed on.' Everything pointed to a desperate struggle, but the formalities, so distasteful to Rhodes, had to be observed. The High Commissioner was in communication with the Home Government, and with Sir Francis de Winton, their agent in the Swaziland-Transvaal dispute, and with Colonel Carrington, who was in charge of the Bechuanaland Police. The latter, an experienced officer, much impressed with the magnitude of the enterprise, declared that it required a picked force of 2500 men, which would have involved the Company in an expenditure far in excess of its resources. Finally, Mr. Frank Johnson, with his partners Messrs. Heany and Borrow, contracted to perform the work with a small but efficient force, for the moderate sum of £94,000. The exact personnel of the expedition was as follows:— 500 mounted police, 200 pioneers, a few volunteers and a considerable camp following, in all perhaps 1000 souls, but picked men, many of them young Colonists ac-

customed to the veld, enthusiastic in the cause and with unbounded confidence in their leaders, and especially in Rhodes, who was justly recognised by all as the moving spirit. The guns with the column were a mixed lot. One of them was a 3-inch 7-pounder gun, dated 1873, with carriage dated 1879, which had seen service in Cape Colony during the native wars. It was taken over from the British Bechuanaland Police by the British South Africa Company in 1890, in order to form part of the armament taken in by the pioneers. It was also taken in the column which subsequently left Salisbury for Bulawayo and did good service in the different engagements in 1893. It was again used in the Rebellion of 1896; and in 1899 it was placed on No. 2 armoured train for the relief of Mafeking, but was returned to Bulawayo, a more modern gun replacing it. Subsequently, at General Baden-Powell's request, it was presented to Charterhouse School, where it now rests.

Already during March 1890, Selous had paid a visit to Khama at Palapye, and obtained his promise of a native contingent to assist in driving the proposed road through the bush. Colenbrander was to have met him there, with 100 Matabele labourers verbally promised by Lo Bengula, but the party did not arrive, nor was their absence explained. Selous realised that it was a critical moment and that possibly the King was deliberately pursuing a policy of masterly inactivity. He resolved, with his customary courage, to beard the Matabele monarch at his capital. Riding, almost without a break, over 100 miles to the Tati, he drove from there at his utmost speed, arriving at Gubulawayo in four days. He was cordially received, but found the king like a fractious child, at once

petulant and alarmed. His denial that he had granted Dr. Jameson a right-of-way was not shaken by the reminder of a reliable witness, Mr. Dennis Doyle, who had been present on the occasion. He absolutely refused to allow a road to be made. 'There is,' he said, 'only one road to Mashonaland, and it goes through my country, and past Bulawayo. If Rhodes wants to send his men round my country, let him send them by sea. He has sent me many emissaries and amongst them Jameson, whom I like and whom, I am told, is Rhodes's mouth: but I am Lo Bengula, and I want to see the big white chief himself—go back and take Rhodes by the hand and bring him here.'

With this evasive answer, Selous returned to Kimberley after eleven days' hard travelling. Rhodes was disposed to accept the invitation, but men who knew the native character saw in it a ruse to obtain possession of his person as a hostage against the entrance of the column, and it was now realised that the road would have to be constructed, not only without Matabele sanction, but in the face perhaps of their active hostility.

Jameson, though at considerable risk, decided to make one more effort to keep the peace. He and Selous returned together, that being a condition imposed by Rhodes; but at the Tati, Jameson overrode his chief and, pointing out to Selous the impossibility of guiding the expeditionary force without his aid, he instructed him to turn back and make for the base camp at Macloutsie, and begin his survey of the line of march. Selous reluctantly obeyed and Jameson, travelling entirely alone, once more placed himself in the power of the suspicious king, and remained with him until the expedition was almost on its way, when

he escaped and joined the column at Palapye. Selous, meanwhile, had formed a camp of his own a few miles from Macloutsie, where he busied himself in perfecting his arrangements. To 'contain' the Matabele impis, the Bechuanaland Border Police were moved forward by the High Commissioner to Elebi, a strategic position on the south-western border of Matabeleland, thus effectually diverting the king's attention. Thus passed the month of May, on the 27th of which Jameson arrived at Palapye with Selous, who, warned of his coming, had met him on the road. Colonel Pennefather reached the same place the following day.

The expedition was now ready, but was not allowed to start until the High Commissioner was satisfied that its constitution and equipment were, in all respects, satisfactory. This caused a little further delay, utilised by Selous to push on with the new road to Tuli, a distance of 50 miles. All formalities were at length overcome: the officer sent up to examine the force (Lieutenant-General Lord Methuen) handed in a favourable report, and on the 28th June, exactly at midwinter, the expedition that was to lead to such momentous results set out on its long and tedious journey of 400 miles. Thanks to the assistance of Khama, the road as far as Tuli was already completed. The pioneers marched ahead, followed by four troops of the police. For a few days Methuen remained with the column. Colonel Pennefather, of course, was there; and Dr. Jameson as representative of Rhodes, who was detained at Cape Town by the political crisis which, a fortnight later, made him Prime Minister. There, too, was Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, who, later, became the first Administrator of the new State, and with him many younger men, full of enthusiasm and high hope. It was a gallant

band, well led and admirably equipped, but the task on which it was engaged might easily have proved beyond its capacity to perform.

A glance at the map suffices to show that the enterprise was a perilous one. On one flank it was exposed to attack by Boer filibusters, who were known to be on the alert: on the other flank lay the most formidable of all native tribes. The route, except to Selous, was unknown; and although, traversing as it did many of the tributaries of the Limpopo, there was seldom any lack of water, the pioneers suffered many hardships and annoyances. Long marches by day were generally followed by disturbed nights, by the roar of a hungry lion, or the unearthly screams of prowling hyenas. It was close on the dawn sometimes ere the tired men slept, and it was at dawn, if ever, that a Matabele onslaught would be made. At Tuli they received a shock in the arrival of a small Matabele party, bearing a message from their chief that if the 'white impi' crossed the river, he would not be responsible for the consequences. A reply was duly made, the purport of which was unknown to the column. The drivers, herds and native labourers generally exhibited, however, uncontrolled panic, and numbers deserted in the night. The expedition was thus threatened with dissolution at the very outset. Fortunately, a further contingent of Khama's men, numbering 200, of whom some were mounted, arrived at the critical moment, led by his own brother Radi-Kladi, and, under the eye of this chief, native desertion ceased, though pitiable terror remained. The column resumed its march, protected during the day by a far-flung line of scouts, and at night by a searchlight. It was calculated that no impi would be despatched until the envoys returned,

which meant, in all, a respite of three weeks. Before leaving Tuli, a strong fort was erected and garrisoned. The pioneers themselves, under Selous and Frank Johnson, led the van protected by fifty rifles. It being the post of greatest danger, of course Jameson was there. The rear, consisting of the entire transport, was guarded by the police.

On the 9th July, the pioneers reached the River Umsingwan. Thereafter they had to cut their way, and a way for those that followed them, through seventeen miles of dense bush, no water being procurable. Such was their energy that they accomplished the task in a little over four days. On 13th July they arrived on the banks of the Umshabetsi River, passing much game and herds of elephant on the way. But no shot was permitted to be fired. In impressive silence the small column continued on its course, laagering every night as a precaution against sudden attack. On the 14th July, a mounted trooper arrived from Colonel Pennefather ordering a halt, as the convoy was now thirty-five miles behind. Jameson and Selous rode back with him, in order to urge an acceleration of pace, and under this stimulus the expeditionary force was once more reunited on the 18th July. Within twenty-four hours, however, the undaunted pioneers, axe in hand, were again in advance, 'A' troop under an energetic American, Captain Heany, leading the way. Behind came eighty waggons in a straggling line, two miles in length. Everybody was on the *qui vive* by day and night. On 1st August, by a great effort, the Lundi River was reached. Beyond that point it was impossible to obtain local natives to guide the force, and unfortunately it was exactly that portion of the route that was unknown to Selous. With an escort of only

three men, he accordingly pushed on to reconnoitre. On the second day out he ascended to the top of Zamamba, one of those bold granite hills so frequently met with in Mashonaland. From its summit, as far as the eye could reach, he saw a rugged, broken country, peak upon peak, clothed with interminable forest. Beyond the farthest hills lay, he knew, the comparatively open downs beneath Mount Hampden, but, at first sight, no practicable waggon route was discernible. There was indeed one opening visible into the distant hills, but how far it led no one could say. Undismayed, Selous pushed on into this dark gorge, and at sunset on the evening of the 3rd August, from the crown of a hill which he had laboriously climbed, he had the satisfaction of seeing a wide expanse of open country.

'As I stood alone,' he says, 'on that hill and looked first forwards across the grassy downs in the middle of which the thriving township of Victoria now stands, and then backwards down the pass by which I had ascended from the Tukwi River, a weight of responsibility, that had at times been almost unbearable, fell from my shoulders, and I breathed a deep sigh of relief. Had any delay taken place, there is no telling what might have happened, for we were cutting a road round the flank of Matabeleland, in the teeth of the remonstrances and unequivocal threats of Lo Bengula.'

On the afternoon of the 5th August, the intrepid guide was back at the camp on the Lundi River, and gave intense satisfaction by his announcement that he had discovered a practicable exit from the difficult and dangerous country now being traversed. By a happy inspiration the pass was at once named 'Providential Pass.' Eight days of toil still remained before the expedition cut their way through the bush country,

but on 14th August they were able to camp at the head of the ravine and the high plateau lay invitingly before them.

During the trek up the pass, an ultimatum was received from Lo Bengula, peremptorily ordering Colonel Pennefather to turn back. Colenbrander was the bearer of the message, and had been sent by way of Tuli, the King professing to believe that the column was still there awaiting his pleasure. The whole of Matabeleland was reported to be seething with wild excitement, the manufacture of new shields and new sandals—the sure sign of a military expedition—being pushed on with feverish haste. But the little pioneer force was undismayed. Building a strong fort, Fort Victoria, to protect their rear, they pushed on day by day, never resting, until on 1st September they reached the head of the Umgezi River and strengthened their position still further by erecting Fort Charter. Then, for another ten days, they moved steadily forward, preserving all necessary precautions to the very close of the long trek. Scouting was strictly maintained, the men slept in their clothes, and every morning, from *reveille* to daybreak, they stood to arms against a Matabele attack. But none came. Not a shot was fired, and at length, on 11th September, the Union Jack was formally hoisted on a Mopani pole on the site of the present Salisbury, a fort was built, a township was laid out, and, by the persistence of Rhodes, a new Province was added to the British Empire.

The long march will ever be associated with the name of Selous, without whose experienced guidance and sound judgment, success would have been impossible. To this day, by legislative enactment, the

settlers still make holiday on Occupation Day. Without knowing it, the pioneers had done a great deed. The power of the last of the ferocious military native tribes of South Africa was, in effect, broken for ever. War and rebellion had still to be faced and put down, but when the disciplined little force was disbanded at Fort Salisbury, they had dealt, unwittingly, a blow to barbarism from which it never recovered.

Only eleven years before at Hlobani, Kambula Kop, Gingilhovo, and Ulundi, the Zulu monarchy had gone down in a tempest of flame and fire, by the lavish expenditure of blood and treasure, and by the disciplined efforts of large masses of the regular forces of the Crown, and even then only after a disaster ever memorable in the annals of war. Now the Matabele nation, an offshoot of the Zulus and perhaps exceeding them in cruelty and lust, fell from their pride of place before a trifling irregular force and almost in solemn silence, with no tumultuous charge of naked barbarians, and no fire of gun, or beat of drum. But the victory was no less decisive. Patience and forethought, and one iron will at Kimberley, had prevailed, and civilisation took root and grew in one of the fairest quarters of Africa, where rapine and murder had for many weary years held undisputed sway.

Congratulations, of course, poured in upon Rhodes on the accomplishment of his enterprise. I only quote the following :—

‘GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CAPE TOWN, 23rd Sept. 1890.

‘MY DEAR MR. RHODES,—I have a telegram from Colonel Pennefather announcing the safe arrival of the expedition at Mount Hampden—of which you have

similar notice. Allow me to sincerely congratulate you upon the success thus far of the great work you have inaugurated for the development of, and extension of, civilisation into the heart of South Africa.—Yours very sincerely,

‘HENRY B. LOCH.’

CHAPTER XXI

A JOURNEY NORTH (1890)

Rhodes's anxiety—Speaks at Kimberley—Returns to Cape Town—Accompanies High Commissioner to Bechuanaland—Takes two Dutch companions—Speaks at Vryburg—Warns Kruger—Acquires mineral rights in Barotseland—High Commissioner visits Khama—Rhodes on the Transvaal Border—Rejoins Loch at Palla—Tries to follow pioneers—Loch raises objections—Rhodes starts but returns—Crosses into Transvaal—Visits Pretoria—Civilities from Kruger—Rhodes back at Kimberley.

It is not difficult to imagine with what anxiety Rhodes had heard, from time to time, of the progress of his pioneer column. Within a few hours of the date in July on which they effected their concentration on the banks of the far-off Umshabetsi River, he had been gazetted Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. On the 11th August the second annual meeting of the De Beers Consolidated Mines was held at Kimberley, but again he was not there. 'Our chairman,' said his *locum tenens*, amid great applause, 'is detained in Cape Town on very important business, and it will be a gratification to shareholders to know that he has accepted the honourable and responsible position of head of the Government of this Colony.'

On 6th September he managed to visit Kimberley, but within a week he was back in Cape Town, endeavouring to avert the downfall of the Cape of Good Hope Bank. But his heart was in the North during those anxious days, and before the month closed he was once more in Kimberley, ostensibly to accompany the High Commissioner on a tour through Bechuanaland, but

with the, as yet, undisclosed intention of penetrating into Mashonaland.

The cares of office did not, I think, weigh heavily on him. The only attraction of the Premiership was that it increased his influence with Colonial politicians, and helped him to retain for the Empire the Northern hinterland, which would otherwise have passed for a time into Boer hands, and eventually into those of our great trade rival, Germany. Although at once a man of contemplation and of action, he disliked the routine of office life. So long as his principles prevailed, he was content to leave all details to subordinates, and, on the whole, he was well served. By political foes he was sometimes accused of not caring overmuch how his work was done provided it *was* done. It is true that the methods of his agents and instruments were, at this period of his career, not very critically viewed by him, and that he was occasionally compromised by them in a manner distasteful to friends jealous of his name and fame. His ethical standpoint was not a strict one. He probably argued that a man intent on performance, and not on mere talk about performance, must use whatever tools are handy, and that one cannot cut blocks with a razor. There is ground for stating that towards the close of his life, he regretted that he had not always been sufficiently scrupulous in the selection of his agents, but, admitting this, I submit that he was generally served with exceptional fidelity and devotion, and that in great affairs he manifested extraordinary sagacity in the choice of his representatives. In his Ministerial capacity he was, at all events, in a position to devolve his duties upon the experienced shoulders of Mr. J. X. Merriman, and this being so, he now started for the North. In pursu-

ance of his policy to conciliate the Bond, he invited two Dutch Members of Parliament to accompany him on his trip, Mr. D. C. de Waal and Mr. M. M. Venter. They were not, as politicians, in the front rank, but he probably regarded them as shrewd observers fairly typical of their class, and, as such, likely to be useful to him by being given an opportunity of seeing the 'Promised Land.' Mr. de Waal subsequently justified his selection by publishing in Dutch a readable description of the trip and presenting Rhodes in a favourable light, thereby augmenting his growing influence in Afrikander circles.

Early in the morning of 2nd October, the High Commissioner and his staff, accompanied by Rhodes and his party, left Kimberley by special train for the North, arriving in the afternoon at Taungs, the Kraal or Stad of our Bechuanaland acquaintance, Mankoroane. The chief was in a querulous mood, and after a somewhat stormy interview, was dismissed by Sir Henry Loch with scant ceremony. Mr. de Waal's comments on the occurrence are those of the average Dutchman. 'I felt,' he says, 'and Venter felt with me, that there existed far too much ingratitude in Mankoroane and his men towards their benefactors. They should be forced to do labour for the farmers.'

In the evening the party reached the railhead near Vryburg, and had a great reception from the assembled community, followed by the inevitable dinner, at which Rhodes spoke at some length. 'The speech of the Governor was appreciated much,' says De Waal naively, 'but that of our Premier more, for his was a political one.'

Rhodes was apparently in a genial mood. Reminding his audience that on his previous visit to the Territory

he had been accused by a high official (Sir Charles Warren) of being dangerous to the peace of the country, he said that he was there that night to bring them a gift that made for peace, a railway, and to announce the completion of his other project, a Customs' Union. And, ever with an eye on the desirability of Federation, he added, 'We are simply trying in every way to make you a part of the general system of South Africa.' Then, in a graver tone, he addressed a veiled warning to President Kruger in regard to the raid then being engineered under his auspices for the seizure of Mashonaland. 'It was only the other day,' he said, 'that I was informed on what professed to be good authority, that as regards the Territory we (the Chartered Company) have lately occupied, and which has been guaranteed to us by the Crown, the Government of the Transvaal was already devising the seizure of a part of it. I only mention it to show what malicious rumours are in circulation. Could you believe it possible that a friendly neighbouring State, when the ink on a treaty was hardly dry, could enter on a scheme to occupy our Territory? The rumour, of course, is groundless.'

This ironical sentence could not have been pleasant reading to the President, delivered, as it was, before Her Majesty's representative, and in the presence of two typical Afrikaner Bondsmen, both of them members of the Cape Parliament. I think he must have realised that this masterful young man was driving a wedge into the hitherto close ranks of his Cape supporters. At Mafeking, since so famous, there was a similar reception and a similar banquet on the 6th October. Rhodes had recently received the welcome intelligence that the Zambesi was no longer his northern boundary. A cession of land and mineral rights over

Barotseland had been completed, adding enormously to the sphere of the Company's operations. To the pressmen who brought him the news, he said simply, 'See how things grow.' While at Mafeking he rode out to call on the aged chief Montsoia, by whom he was received with demonstrations of sincere attachment, and with whom he exchanged presents.

On 8th October the High Commissioner continued his journey in a northerly direction in order to pay an official visit to the important Bamangwato chief, Khama. Rhodes and his friends took a more easterly course, entering the Transvaal near Marico. All parties agreed to reunite at Palla camp on the Limpopo River. Mr. de Waal draws a pathetic picture of their first night out, which they spent at De Putten on the Transvaal border under the hospitable roof of Mr. Viljoen, a Dutchman eighty years of age, who declared that he knew the Cape Colony and both the Republics and that Mashonaland surpassed them all in fertility. He had been an eyewitness, too, of the nameless cruelties of Lo Bengula and knew his formidable power, and he was filled with forebodings as to the fate of the pioneers of whose expedition he had heard. When he learnt that his visitor was Rhodes himself, the grey-haired old man at once offered his services and those of all his sons to help to repel a Matabele attack, and his wife, who shared his enthusiasm, proudly declared that her husband could still ride as hard and shoot as straight as in his early youth. It is slight wonder that Rhodes always spoke with pride and respect of the indomitable courage of the Dutch Voortrekker, a courage displayed on many a bloody field unrecorded in the pages of history.

On 13th October the party outspanned at the junction

of the Limpopo and Marico Rivers, over 1000 miles from Cape Town; and on the 16th arrived at Palla camp on the Protectorate side of the Limpopo, where they found a detachment of the Bechuanaland Police. While at the camp, Rhodes received the following telegram from his colleague Merriman. 'Reuter has following. *Times* this morning suggests that Chartered Company pioneer force now at Mount Hampden should at once take possession of the Zambesi. It is impossible, adds that journal, longer to humour the vanity of the Portuguese. Message ends, much better let them loose on the Pungwe before the Germans anticipate you.' I have not seen Rhodes's reply to this communication.

The High Commissioner rejoined them on the following day, and after a brief rest the entire party moved on to Macloutsie, which was reached on 28th October. There they were welcomed by 100 men of the British South Africa Police and 300 men of the Bechuanaland Police, the little garrison being maintained at full strength to guard against a Matabele inroad. Mr. de Waal notes, with surprise, that the ranks were filled with young Afrikanders in good health and spirits. Macloutsie was the assigned limit to this tour of inspection, and the High Commissioner now prepared to return to Cape Town. To his dismay, Rhodes announced his intention of following up the pioneers, if he went by himself. With this decision His Excellency remonstrated in the strongest terms, pointing out that he had sure information from Moffat that the Matabele were spoiling for a fight and were almost uncontrollable; and he added that Rhodes, the Prime Minister, had responsibilities which he could not ignore, and that his capture would lead to a costly and danger-

ous war. Sir Frederick Carrington and Sir Sidney Shippard, who were present, joined energetically in the protest. Rhodes rejoined calmly that the real object of his tour was not to see Khama's country, with which he was already familiar, but to enter Mashonaland. The meeting broke up, says De Waal, with 'mutual dissatisfaction,' and to avoid further remonstrances, Rhodes and his companions decamped during the night, leaving the High Commissioner to return to Cape Town at his leisure. Curiously enough, Rhodes having returned to Macloutsie the following night to fetch a doctor for Venter, who fancied himself to be ill, met no less a person than Colonel Pennefather, who had ridden back at speed to announce the safe arrival of the pioneers at their destination. After conferring with that officer, he again rejoined his party, who were in camp on the Lotsani River. He brought with him a letter left behind by the High Commissioner, remonstrating with him, in formal terms, on the peril involved in continuing the journey. The two Dutch members now agreed that it would be unbecoming to proceed, and finally it was decided not to go further than the Tuli River, which was reached on 1st November. There they rested and received further ominous accounts of the excitement in Matabeleland, and also learnt that all the rivers, lately so easily forded by the column, were now in full flood. On the 5th November they crossed the majestic Crocodile or Limpopo River and were upon Transvaal soil. The point at which they crossed is still marked on the maps as 'Rhodes's Drift.' Pietersburg was reached on 8th November, and a few days later they halted at a river fondly called by the Boers 'de Groot Nijl.' Here they met some stalwart Matabele lads who had fled from the wrath

of their king. De Waal's comment is characteristic, 'What excellent labourers, I thought, would these men make for the white men. If Kafirs only knew the advantages of serving under white masters, they would gain more civilisation in one year than they do from missionaries in fifty.'

The following day they found themselves within a moderate distance of Pretoria, and were met by a mounted trooper in uniform who, after saluting, inquired in Dutch, 'Are these the waggons of President Rhodes?' Satisfied on this point, he delivered an official invitation to him and his *entourage* to be the guests of the State, and, later on, State carriages arrived with several Executive members. It must be admitted in justice to the President that he was extremely punctilious in his courtesies to distinguished strangers. They finally arrived in the capital on a Saturday evening, and met with a cordial greeting. It has been affirmed that Kruger declined to grant an interview on Sunday and, therefore, that Rhodes left without seeing him. This is not correct. The President, always true to his convictions, never 'received' on Sunday, but the interview duly took place early on Monday morning, and was of a most friendly nature. The two strong men parted with expressions of mutual respect, and Rhodes was escorted out of town in the afternoon by three Ministers of State and a detachment of artillery. 'Artillery—against whom?' may have been the Premier's unspoken thought. After a brief stay in Johannesburg, the little company left for Kimberley, where they arrived on the 20th November, and thus ended the first effort of the founder of Rhodesia to penetrate into the country subsequently called by his name.

At Kimberley Rhodes heard with satisfaction that

his disbanded pioneers were assuming occupation of the farms allotted to them, or were out on the open veld prospecting for gold, and finding many evidences of ancient working. Civil administration was reported to be in full swing, and the vast expanse of territory hitherto devastated by annual Matabele raids, was now at peace, and entering on an era of progress under a stable and orderly government.

Rhodes had been exactly twenty years in South Africa, and might well be content to rest and be thankful, but such was not his nature. He was already looking after 'those things that are before' and scanning the distant horizon with an ever-widening outlook.

To gain space for the expansion of the British race was his ever-present thought, and in season and out of season he toiled and struggled, spending himself and being spent, to found free communities under our flag, which, in their turn, would carry on under more clement skies than those of England the traditions of justice, freedom and commerce which he held to be the distinguishing characteristics of Anglo-Saxon civilisation.

He might well have exclaimed with Wordsworth :—

' It is not to be thought of that the flood
Of British freedom, which, to the open sea
Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, "with pomp of waters, unwithstood,"
Roused though it be full often to a mood
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
Should perish ; and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever. In our halls is hung
Armoury of the invincible knights of old ;
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake ; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.—In everything we are sprung
Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.'

CHAPTER XXII

EXPLOITATION OF THE CHARTER

¹Mtasa's Kraal—Trouble with Portuguese—Selous at Macequece—Another fight with Portuguese—Captain Forbes—Mr. Fiennes—Gungunhama—His Envoys in London—Further Portuguese fighting—Capture of guns—Renny-Tailyour—Lippert Concession—Cost of Concessions—Acquisition of rights in Bechuanaland—Lewanika—Barotseland—North-west Rhodesia—North-east Rhodesia—Rhodes meets Chartered shareholders—Area of acquisitions—Dr. Jameson at Cape Town—Rhodes writes to Mr. Stead.

IT is, of course, natural, human nature being what it is, that the occupation and development of Rhodesia should have engendered fierce opposition on the part of unsuccessful Concession-holders, as well as on that of neighbouring States. In the press, and sometimes in the Law Courts, conflicting interests made themselves vocal. Controversies raged for months and smouldered for years. One by one competitors were dealt with. Rhodes had a genius for compromise, and gradually the tangled skein was unwound and all rivals disposed of.

Brief allusion has already been made, in passing, to some of the Concessions which Rhodes found it necessary to acquire or extinguish before he could effectively exploit the Royal Charter. A more extended reference to the subject may now be convenient.

The original Rudd Concession over the minerals in Southern Rhodesia did not by any means cover the whole ground. Some idea of the extent of the opposition that had to be bought off may be gleaned by perus-

ing the earlier reports of the directors, and the proceedings at successive meetings of the Company's shareholders. Thus, at the Extraordinary General Meeting held in November 1893, it was reported that the Company had already sustained three assaults in the House of Commons and two in the Law Courts, while other litigants had utilised the public press to carry on an extensive campaign. Attempts to damage the Company in the Commons failed owing to its spirited and convincing defence by Mr. Rochfort Maguire, and both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Balfour declared that no case for inquiry had been made out. In the Courts assailants fared no better, one Judge ruling that the attacks were unprecedented, and another that they were outrageous. In the press, or rather in that section of the press which lent itself to the agitation, statements were made which time alone could refute. A well-known weekly paper repeatedly averred, for instance, that there was no gold in Rhodesia, whereas gold to the amount of eleven millions sterling has since been 'won' and added to our currency. Mr. Hawksley, at the meeting referred to, gave an amusing description of the tactics resorted to in connection with what was then known as the Baines Concession, pointing out that the document had slept from 1871 to 1889, had been treated by Lo Bengula as no longer valid, and had only been revived as a weapon of offence against the Charter. Nevertheless, although barred by the Statute of Limitations, the grant had been treated with respect and acquired by the British South Africa Company. Another very disputable claim of the Austral-Africa Company was similarly recognised, not on its merits, but for the sake of peace.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the claims

sent in and dealt with. Their acquisition was but a fraction of the various rights secured by the pertinacity of Rhodes. Lo Bengula was a great potentate but he did not exercise unquestioned jurisdiction over the whole territory south of the Zambesi. There was a distinct fringe of native States to which his annual raids seldom, if ever, extended. The powerful chief, Umtasa or 'Mtasa, occupied a fertile portion of Mashonaland, then known as Manicaland, a district marching with the Portuguese frontiers. As is well known, Great Britain and Portugal were on distinctly unfriendly terms. Major Serpa Pinto's armed invasion of English soil on the Shiré River had led to our demand for his recall, and on 11th January 1890, an ultimatum was delivered and a British squadron sent to Portuguese waters. King Carlos yielded to superior force, but manifested keen resentment which led to his refusal to accept the Order of the Garter. The representatives of Portugal had for many years neglected to secure themselves on their African borders. Our occupation of Mashonaland galvanised them into temporary activity, and it soon came to our knowledge that they were preparing an expedition to demonstrate to 'Mtasa, by a show of force, that they claimed the over-lordship, a claim already frequently made on paper but never enforced. Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, the first Rhodesian Administrator, judged that there was no time to be lost. When our occupation column was still fifty miles from its final destination, he branched off in order to visit 'Mtasa, guided by Selous, whose knowledge of the route was indispensable. Lieutenant Adair Campbell of the pioneers, and Mr. Christopher Harrison, the Administrator's Private Secretary, accompanied them. After a deeply interesting journey over a well-wooded

and well-watered mountainous country, the party reached 'Mtasa's Great Kraal on the slopes of a vast hill, distinguished even in that romantic region for its picturesque beauty. After a full 'Indaba' a satisfactory Treaty was made with the Chief on 14th September 1890, all native formalities being duly observed. By virtue of this document the Company obtained sole land and mineral rights over a productive and auriferous district. Leaving one solitary policeman there, as the emblem of authority, Selous then rode over the mountain to Macequece to give formal notice of the Concession to the Portuguese Commandant, Baron de Rezende, by whom he was received with scant cordiality. That officer, not unnaturally, resented any appearance of poaching on what he professed to consider his preserves. 'Mtasa, however, had already given us the most explicit assurances that neither he, nor any one on his behalf, had ever ceded an inch of his territory to Portugal, or recognised her pretensions to suzerainty, and he added that the Portuguese resided on his borders merely on sufferance. Leaving Macequece, Selous, with his small escort, visited all the various independent Chiefs in Southern and Eastern Mashonaland, obtaining Concessions for the Chartered Company from every one of them except Matoko, the aged chief of the Mabudga tribe, who had never up to that time held any intercourse with Europeans, and who, though friendly, preferred to stand aside and think it over. On the 27th November, Selous arrived at Salisbury under the impression that peace was unbroken. Such, however, was not the case. While he had been on the veld, several events had happened.

Early in October, alarmed at a rumour that the Portuguese were collecting a force for an unknown

destination, 'Mtasa appealed to the Company for protection. It was, of course, absolutely necessary to demonstrate our power and our good faith by affording him support. Accordingly on 10th October, a small police force was despatched to the Chief, under Lieutenants Graham and Shepstone; and a detachment of 'A' troop, under Lieutenant the Hon. Eustace Fiennes, then an impetuous young officer, but since a staid member of the House of Commons, was ordered to march across country from Fort Charter. Captain P. W. Forbes, a fearless and resourceful soldier, left Salisbury on 31st October to take command, and after several days' hard travelling, he reached the Chief's Kraal on 4th November. Fiennes had not arrived, and Forbes found himself at the head of about ten or twelve policemen and a couple of volunteers. From the 8th to the 15th November, he was practically surrounded by seventy armed men under a Goanese adventurer in the Portuguese service, locally known as Gouveia. 'Mtasa was in abject terror, fearing he had backed the wrong horse, and his anxiety was redoubled when, on 15th November, Colonel d'Andrada and the irritated Baron de Rezende arrived with a large and well-armed following and took military possession of the Chief's enclosed kraal. Fortunately on the same day three civil officials of the Company came in from Salisbury, and Lieutenant Fiennes, by a forced march, entered the British camp with twenty troopers. Forbes at once gave a taste of his quality. With happy audacity he entered the Kraal from the rear and boldly arrested the Portuguese officers with his own hand, while Fiennes and his men disarmed their followers, who submitted and fled. D'Andrada and Gouveia were sent to Salisbury under escort, and the Baron

deported to his own headquarters at Macequece. All of them were men of courage and ability, but the desertion of their levies rendered them powerless to do more than protest, which they did in a copious manner. It was a small skirmish but significant. The incident entirely reassured Mtasa that he was justified in placing himself under the protection of the Company. On 19th December, Selous left Salisbury to revisit Matoko, and after a long palaver, vividly described by the great hunter in language that cannot be bettered, the octogenarian chief and his head-man, influenced no doubt by our recent summary treatment of Portuguese pretensions, executed a valid Concession in favour of the Company. The document bears date 5th January 1891.

With another powerful chief, Gungunhama of Gazaland, whose territories also marched with those of Portugal, a satisfactory treaty was likewise made. The arrangement partook of the nature of a lease, and the Chief received his rents with almost childish delight. Protests from Lisbon were recorded, but the claims of Portugal were not based on treaties or on effective occupation, but on a mere exchange of presents. After full deliberation, the Secretary of State felt justified, on 9th February 1893, in confirming Gungunhama's Concession of mining and territorial rights, though, with that exaggerated and chivalrous deference to the shadowy pretensions of Portugal, which we have always traditionally exhibited in Africa and elsewhere, Lord Ripon qualified his approval as being given only 'so far as it affects or relates to the territories of Gungunhama which lie within the British sphere of influence.' This cryptic reservation left the Chief in a rather unenviable position. He had already sent two Indunas to England,

requesting our protection, but it was officially refused, and in the end poor Gungunhama became embroiled with Portugal and, after a gallant resistance, was overthrown and exiled to Lisbon, where he died in captivity. These Indunas, Huluhulu Umteto and Umfete Inteni by name, were of course officially fêted, shown a review at Aldershot and granted an audience at Windsor. They also attended a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society and were taken the round of our industrial centres, but an East African Blue Book published after their departure recorded Lord Salisbury's decision that the bulk of their territory lay within Portugal's sphere of influence—a decision not visibly in accordance with the facts.

Before leaving this portion of my subject, I should add that, after the fiasco with 'Mtasa, the Portuguese arranged a temporary *modus vivendi* with the Company, which was to expire on 15th May 1891. Unfortunately for their fair fame, their local officials, influenced by resentment and chagrin, violated the truce. On 11th May, a strong mixed Portuguese force made an unexpected attack on the Company's camp near Umtali. But its commander, Captain Heyman, was a dangerous man to meddle with. The assault was repulsed with severe loss, and the police, assuming the offensive, pushed on and occupied Macequece the next day. A Portuguese flag captured on the occasion still hangs in the library of Groote Schuur. The police also captured seven Hotchkiss and two Nordenfeldt guns, and 30,000 rounds of ammunition. The engagement was watched by the delighted 'Mtasa from a hill well out of range. It would be unjust to charge Portugal herself with bad faith, but one of the inconveniences of her position as a colonising power has ever been the inability of

the central authority to restrain the actions of distant officials.

With regard to the Concessions obtained by the Company in Matabeleland, it will suffice to say that the various interests were practically already merged into one when Lord Gifford, on Rhodes's behalf, made provisional application on the 30th May 1889, for the Royal Charter. The application was expressly made on behalf of a Company 'to be formed out of the amalgamation of the most important of the various companies and individuals holding interests in Mashonaland.' The principal parties referred to were the following: the Gold Fields of South Africa, the Exploring Company, the Austral-Africa Company, Baron Erlanger, Rothschild and Sons, Mr. Rhodes, Jules Porges and Company, Mr. Rudd, Mr. Maguire, Mr. Haggard, Mr. Leask, Mr. Thompson and Mr. Fry. The formal petition for the Charter, dated 13th July 1889, was signed by the Dukes of Abercorn and Fife, Lord Gifford, Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Albert Henry George Grey and George Cawston. It must be borne in mind, however, that the 'principal interests' above referred to related, in the main, to mineral rights. The Rudd Concession covenanted, it is true, with its holders to grant no further land rights, and empowered them to exclude from the Territory all unauthorised persons seeking Concessions. But it did not, in express terms, convey concessionary rights over the soil. As it seemed essential to possess such rights, recourse was about to be had to Lo Bengula, when it was discovered that he had already, on the 22nd April 1891, granted a Land Concession to Mr. E. R. Renny-Tailyour, who transferred it on 15th May following to Mr. Edward Lippert, a German subject. The latter hastened to

offer it to Lord Rothschild, by whom it was declined.

The Chartered Company naturally contested the validity of this document, on the threefold ground—that it conflicted with the terms of their own Concession: that it had not been signed by the King and his Indunas but only attested by his Elephant Seal, which was in the custody of a local trader: and that it had not been ratified by the Secretary of State. On 12th September 1891, however, Rhodes, through Mr. Rudd, and in strict accordance with his habitual policy, purchased the document for what it might be worth, but conditionally on its being replaced by a new Concession, validly signed and attested according to native law. The required document, Mr. Moffat being witness, was executed on 11th February 1892, and confirmed by Lord Knutsford, the Secretary of State, on 5th March 1892. This very important agreement, generally known as the Lippert Concession, gives the Chartered Company its undisputed right to deal, as owner, with the entire land rights of Southern Rhodesia. It will thus be seen that the Company gradually, step by step, came to possess the three attributes necessary for its efficient working.

- A. Mineral and other rights obtained under the Rudd and other subsidiary Concessions, examined into and confirmed by Her Majesty's Government.
- B. Land rights granted under the Lippert, Baines and other Concessions and similarly confirmed.
- C. Administrative rights conferred by the original Charter and supplementary Orders in Council which from time to time defined, with precision, the Company's boundaries and sphere of opera-

tions, and authorised its maintenance of an armed force to preserve law and order.

It is clear from the foregoing that the Company's property, as distinguished from their governing power, was not derived from, though it was confirmed to them by, the Crown. Their property was acquired from various sources and at various dates, and also in various ways, *i.e.* by cession, transfer and purchase. Roughly speaking, its acquisition cost, in all, a sum of over £1,300,000; while its administration has cost £4,800,000, and its defence another £2,700,000. These are heavy sums to have been found by merchant adventurers for Imperial purposes. It says much for our country that such men, from the spacious days of Elizabeth to the present date, have never been wanting in the endeavour to extend the Empire by private enterprise.

Rhodes was not for long contented with his dominions in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. To protect his rear as he pushed North, he addressed himself to the tedious task of acquiring rights from the numerous chiefs in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. A brief summary of these may be given. The Sechele Concessions Syndicate, as the assignees of one Sydney Morris, claimed that they held:—

- A. A Mineral Concession from Sechele, dated 28th August 1889, giving them sole prospecting, manufacturing and banking rights for a period of fifty years.
 - B. A Railway and Telegraph Concession.
 - C. A Trading Concession.
 - D. An Administrative Concession for fifty years.
- A Concession Commission, appointed by the High

Commissioner, made short work of these claims, declaring them to have been improperly obtained. Ultimately a new Concession over all mineral rights was secured for a limited period, ratified by the Crown and purchased by Rhodes.

Another Concession, granted by a brother chief, Sebele, on 8th June 1891, to two men, Riesle and Nicholl, was in the form of a perpetual lease over 800 square miles of territory. This was reduced by the Commission to 160 square miles and, in its amended shape, was bought by the Chartered Company at a later date for £12,000 and an annuity to Sebele. A third Concession was obtained on 25th July 1893, from Khama, the paramount Bamangwato chief, giving proprietary rights over the whole of his Territory, under certain specified conditions. This was confirmed to the Chartered Company, also under conditions, by Lord Ripon on 23rd November in the same year. A fourth Concession, dated 22nd July 1898, was granted by Linchwe, the chief of the Bakhatlas, to Mr. Julius Weil, by whom one half interest therein was transferred to the Chartered Company. A fifth, known as the Bangwaketsi Concession, was given by the chief Bathoen and purchased by the Company on 4th May 1889. Under this Concession the Company has developed and settled a considerable area called the Lobatsi block. A sixth Concession was from Moremi, chief of the Batwanas, and was dated 28th August 1889. The document conferred on its holders sole prospecting and other valuable rights. The acquisition of this Concession cost the Company, later on, £52,000. A seventh Concession was secured to the Company over all that land, virtually derelict, which had been abandoned by Khama, and which lay

between the Bangwaketsi Native Reserve and the Transvaal border. In terms of this grant, and under the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, the Tuli and Gaborones blocks have been surveyed and in part beneficially occupied by settlers under the Company. Lastly, the disputed territory referred to in a previous chapter, *i.e.* the country between the Macloutsie and Shashi Rivers, came under the jurisdiction of the Company. It had been claimed by Lo Bengula and by Khama, and both chiefs had granted, or were believed to have granted, Concessions which overlapped. The area of this district is 4000 square miles. Working agreements were come to with all parties in possession, but the formal confirmation of the Crown is still awaited.

Long ere the negotiations relating to the above grants approached completion, Rhodes was far on his way to the interior, and adding province to province. The great chief Lewanika, once a barbarian of the Lo Bengula type, but already softened by missionary influence, had granted various Concessions in 1890, which had been transferred to the Company. The Directors in the first Report to 31st March 1891, say, 'Understanding that Lewanika, king of the Barotse nation, whose power extends over an enormous tract of country to the North of Bechuanaland, was desirous to come under the protection of Great Britain, Mr. Rhodes despatched a mission to that chief, with the object of establishing friendly relations and of obtaining Concessions from him. The Barotse king had already granted a mineral and trading Concession over a portion of his country to Mr. Ware. Terms were made for the purchase of this Concession, and the Company's Mission was able to arrange with the king

that it should be merged into a larger Mineral and Trading Concession over the whole of the Barotsze country, covering an area estimated at 225,000 square miles. As proof of his good will, Lewanika has sent to the Directors two magnificent elephant tusks each weighing over 100 lbs.'

A further Concession over all the land and minerals within a radius of fifteen miles of the Victoria Falls was obtained on 8th March 1905, and finally, on 23rd January 1906, a cession was made to the Company under the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, of the whole of Barotseland, with the exception of Lewanika's own reserve, due safeguards being introduced for the protection of the tribe. Some time before this, the territory had been recognised by Orders in Council as an integral portion of the Chartered Company's domain, and has since been governed by the Company through its own Administrator, whose position is somewhat analogous to that of an Imperial Resident at the court of an Indian feudatory prince. The country is known as North-Western Rhodesia and its affairs fall within the cognisance of the High Commissioner. By other treaties of a similar nature, as well as by occupation, a third province, entitled North-Eastern Rhodesia, has been gradually built up by the Company and recognised by Her Majesty's Government. This province, bounded in part by its sister provinces, stretches away in a north-easterly direction and touches the upper end of Lake Nyasa, and the southern end of Lake Tanganyika.

Among the enterprises absorbed in the process of forming North-Eastern Rhodesia may be mentioned the African Lakes Company, a spirited British enter-

prise engaged in commercial and missionary work, but crippled in its finances by the necessity of waging incessant war against the slave trade. The Chartered Company came to its assistance with a grant of £20,000, and ultimately took over its engagements and assets. Mr. H. H. Johnston, C.B.—now Sir Harry Johnston—became the first Administrator of the new Province, holding at the same time the position of Commissioner for British Central Africa or Nyasaland. The Imperial Government contemplated, for a time, the abandonment of this valuable possession, and it is not sufficiently realised that the Territory was only saved to the Empire by the action of Rhodes, who induced the Chartered Company to pay an annual subsidy of £10,000, being practically the whole cost of its administration. In his speech to shareholders on 29th November 1892, Rhodes made a caustic allusion to this transaction. ‘It is not,’ he said, ‘a case of Her Majesty’s Government paying for the Charter, but the Chartered Company is assisting the Government to govern its Territory (cheers) and the Company is paying £10,000 a year to the Protectorate on the shores of Lake Nyasa. I do not complain, but if there were a little more public spirit, this sort of thing would not happen.’

Some idea of the extent of the country covered by the Concessions enumerated in this chapter may be gathered by a glance at the map of South Central Africa. The three Rhodesias form a compact territory, centrally situated, stretching between 8 and 26 Deg. South Latitude, and from 20 to 34 Deg. East Longitude. The only blot on the picture is due to Lord Salisbury in allowing Germany to drive a wedge of territory into the heart of North-Western Rhodesia in order to gain

access to the Zambesi. Its boundaries are as follows : On the south, British Bechuanaland (now incorporated in the Cape Colony) ; on the south-east, the Transvaal ; on the east, the possessions of Portugal and Nyasaland ; on the north-east, German East Africa ; on the north, the Congo State ; on the west, German South-West Africa and Portuguese Territory.

The area, according to the latest calculations, may be stated thus :—

Bechuanaland,	275,000	square miles.
S. Rhodesia,	148,575	„
N.-W. Rhodesia,	137,105	„
N.-E. Rhodesia,	150,330	„

or a total of 711,010 square miles, a large proportion of which is high plateau land, fertile, well-watered and in parts well-wooded ; a land where, with ordinary attention to hygiene, Europeans thrive and can rear their children without having to send them to Europe at an early age : emphatically, as Rhodes often said, a land for ' more homes,' where the denizens of our overcrowded towns will, in the not distant future, reside in ever-increasing numbers. Making every allowance for the loyal service of his associates, this vast area had been added to the Empire by the genius and persistence of one man, and it is only fitting that it should be called after his name. For a while it was loosely and inaccurately described as Zambesia, but the popular instinct, so seldom wrong, gave it at an early date the name of its founder. On 27th October 1894, Dr. Jameson, at a banquet in Cape Town, so called it amid loud applause, and finally, early in 1895, official sanction was given to the title, and thus Rhodes had the rare satisfaction of living long enough to see this

well-merited recognition of his great and lasting achievement.

It only remains to compare the area of the Company's territory with that of older States :—

Great Britain,	121,000	square miles.
France,	207,000	„
Prussia,	134,600	„
Austria,	116,000	„
Spain,	190,000	„

The united area of these great European States is not much in excess of the dominions of the Chartered Company. It is not too much to say that there is nothing in the climate of Rhodesia to prevent it from ultimately supporting a white population equal to that of any European country of equivalent size ; and from this fact alone, with the exercise of a little imagination, we may measure the extent of the benefit which Rhodes has conferred on his mother country.

‘ I desire,’ he said himself, in his celebrated letter to Mr. Stead, ‘ I desire to act for the benefit of those who, I think, are the greatest people the world has ever seen, but whose fault is that they do not know their strength and their greatness, and their destiny.’

A curious commentary on this remark is that the shareholders are scattered literally all over Europe. In other words, the Province added by Rhodes to the Empire was built up and developed, in part, with foreign money, our greatest trade rivals thus unconsciously aiding us to enlarge our Dominions.

APPENDIX

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION OF THE BRITISH
SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

VICTORIA by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting :

WHEREAS a Humble Petition has been presented to Us in Our Council by THE MOST NOBLE JAMES DUKE OF ABERCORN Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath ; THE MOST NOBLE ALEXANDER WILLIAM GEORGE DUKE OF FIFE Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, Privy Councillor ; THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDRIC FREDERICK LORD GIFFORD, V.C. ; CECIL JOHN RHODES, of Kimberley, in the Cape Colony, Member of the Executive Council and of the House of Assembly of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ; ALFRED BEIT, of 29, Holborn Viaduct, London, Merchant ; ALBERT HENRY GEORGE GREY, of Howick, Northumberland, ESQUIRE ; and GEORGE CAWSTON, of 18, Lennox Gardens, London, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law.

AND WHEREAS the said Petition states amongst other things :—

That the Petitioners and others are associated for the purpose of forming a Company or Association, to be incorporated, if to Us should seem fit, for the objects in the said Petition set forth, under the corporate name of The British South Africa Company.

That the existence of a powerful British Company, controlled by those of Our subjects in whom We have confidence, and having its principal field of operations in that region of South Africa lying to the north of Bechuanaland and to the west of Portuguese East Africa, would be advantageous to the com-

mercial and other interests of Our subjects in the United Kingdom and in Our Colonies.

That the Petitioners desire to carry into effect divers concessions and agreements which have been made by certain of the chiefs and tribes inhabiting the said region, and such other concessions agreements grants and treaties as the Petitioners may hereafter obtain within the said region or elsewhere in Africa, with the view of promoting trade commerce civilization and good government (including the regulation of liquor traffic with the natives) in the territories which are or may be comprised or referred to in such concessions agreements grants and treaties as aforesaid.

That the Petitioners believe that if the said concessions agreements grants and treaties can be carried into effect, the condition of the natives inhabiting the said territories will be materially improved and their civilization advanced, and an organization established which will tend to the suppression of the slave trade in the said territories, and to the opening up of the said territories to the immigration of Europeans, and to the lawful trade and commerce of Our subjects and of other nations.

That the success of the enterprise in which the Petitioners are engaged would be greatly advanced if it should seem fit to Us to grant them Our Royal Charter of Incorporation as a British Company under the said name or title, or such other name or title, and with such powers, as to Us may seem fit for the purpose of more effectually carrying into effect the objects aforesaid.

That large sums of money have been subscribed for the purposes of the intended Company by the Petitioners and others, who are prepared also to subscribe or to procure such further sums as may hereafter be found requisite for the development of the said enterprise, in the event of Our being pleased to grant to them Our Royal Charter of Incorporation as aforesaid.

NOW, THEREFORE, We, having taken the said Petition into Our Royal consideration in Our Council, and being satisfied that the intentions of the Petitioners are praiseworthy and deserve encouragement, and that the enterprise in the Petition described may be productive of the benefits set forth therein, by Our Pre-

ogative Royal and of Our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have constituted erected and incorporated, and by this Our Charter for Us and Our Heirs and Royal successors do constitute erect and incorporate into one body politic and corporate by the name of The British South Africa Company the said James Duke of Abercorn, Alexander William George Duke of Fife, Edric Frederick Lord Gifford, Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Albert Henry George Grey and George Cawston, and such other persons and such bodies as from time to time become and are members of the body politic and corporate by these presents constituted, erected and incorporated with perpetual succession and a common seal, with power to break alter or renew the same at discretion, and with the further authorities powers and privileges conferred, and subject to the conditions imposed by this Our Charter: And We do hereby accordingly will, ordain, give, grant, constitute, appoint and declare as follows (that is to say) :—

1. The principal field of the operations of The British South Africa Company (in this Our Charter referred to as 'the Company') shall be the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese Dominions.

2. The Company is hereby authorized and empowered to hold, use and retain for the purposes of the Company and on the terms of this Our Charter, the full benefit of the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid, so far as they are valid, or any of them, and all interests, authorities and powers comprised or referred to in the said concessions and agreements. Provided always that nothing herein contained shall prejudice or affect any other valid and subsisting concessions or agreements which may have been made by any of the chiefs or tribes aforesaid. And in particular nothing herein contained shall prejudice or affect certain concessions granted in and subsequent to the year 1880, relating to the territory usually known as the District of the Tati, nor shall anything herein contained be construed as giving any jurisdiction, administrative, or otherwise, within the said District of the Tati, the limits of which District are as follows, viz. : from the place where the Shasi River rises to its junction with the Tati and Ramaquaban Rivers, thence along the Ramaquaban River to where it rises, and thence along the Tati River to those rivers.

3. The Company is hereby further authorized and empowered, subject to the approval of one of Our Principal Secretaries of State (herein referred to as 'Our Secretary of State'), from time to time, to acquire by any concession agreement grant or treaty, all or any rights interests authorities jurisdictions and powers of any kind or nature whatever, including powers necessary for the purposes of government, and the preservation of public order in or for the protection of territories, lands, or property, comprised or referred to in the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid or affecting other territories, lands, or property in Africa, or the inhabitants thereof, and to hold, use and exercise such territories, lands, property, rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions and powers respectively for the purposes of the Company and on the terms of this Our Charter.

4. Provided that no powers of government or administration shall be exercised under or in relation to any such last-mentioned concession agreement grant or treaty, until a copy of such concession agreement grant or treaty in such form and with such maps or particulars as Our Secretary of State approves verified as he requires, has been transmitted to him, and he has signified his approval thereof either absolutely or subject to any conditions or reservations, And provided also that no rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions, or powers of any description shall be acquired by the Company within the said District of the Tati as hereinbefore described without the previous consent in writing of the owners for the time being of the Concessions above referred to relating to the said District, and the approval of Our Secretary of State.

5. The Company shall be bound by and shall fulfil all and singular the stipulations on its part contained in any such concession agreement grant or treaty as aforesaid, subject to any subsequent agreement affecting those stipulations approved by Our Secretary of State.

6. The Company shall always be and remain British in character and domicile, and shall have its principal office in Great Britain, and the Company's principal representative in South Africa, and the Directors shall always be natural born British subjects or persons who have been naturalized as British subjects by or under an Act of Parliament of Our United Kingdom; but this Article shall not disqualify any person nominated a Director by this Our Charter, or any person whose election as a Director shall

ave been approved by Our Secretary of State, from acting in that capacity.

7. In case at any time any difference arises between any chief or tribe inhabiting any of the territories aforesaid and the Company, that difference shall, if Our Secretary of State so require, be submitted by the Company to him for his decision, and the Company shall act in accordance with such decision.

8. If at any time Our Secretary of State thinks fit to dissent from or object to any of the dealings of the Company with any foreign power and to make known to the Company any suggestion founded on that dissent or objection, the Company shall act in accordance with such suggestion.

9. If at any time Our Secretary of State thinks fit to object to the exercise by the Company of any authority, power or right within any part of the territories aforesaid, on the ground of there being an adverse claim to or in respect of that part, the Company shall defer to that objection until such time as any such claim has been withdrawn or finally dealt with or settled by Our Secretary of State.

10. The Company shall to the best of its ability preserve peace and order in such ways and manners as it shall consider necessary, and may with that object make ordinances (to be approved by Our Secretary of State) and may establish and maintain a force of police.

11. The Company shall to the best of its ability discourage and, so far as may be practicable, abolish by degrees, any system of slave trade or domestic servitude in the territories aforesaid.

12. The Company shall regulate the traffic in spirits and other intoxicating liquors within the territories aforesaid, so as, as far as practicable, to prevent the sale of any spirits or other intoxicating liquor to any natives.

13. The Company as such, or its officers as such, shall not in any way interfere with the religion of any class or tribe of the peoples of the territories aforesaid or of any of the inhabitants hereof, except so far as may be necessary in the interest of humanity and all forms of religious worship or religious ordinances may be exercised within the said territories and no hindrance shall be offered thereto except as aforesaid.

14. In the administration of justice to the said peoples or

inhabitants, careful regard shall always be had to the customs and laws of the class or tribe or nation to which the parties respectively belong, especially with respect to the holding, possession, transfer and disposition of lands and goods and testate or intestate succession thereto, and marriage divorce and legitimacy and other rights of property and personal rights, but subject to any British laws which may be in force in any of the territories aforesaid, and applicable to the peoples or inhabitants thereof.

15. If at any time Our Secretary of State thinks fit to dissent from or object to any part of the proceedings or system of the Company relative to the peoples of the territories aforesaid or to any of the inhabitants thereof, in respect of slavery or religion or the administration of justice, or any other matter, he shall make known to the Company his dissent or objection, and the Company shall act in accordance with his directions duly signified.

16. In the event of the Company acquiring any harbour or harbours, the Company shall freely afford all facilities for or to Our ships therein without payment except reasonable charges for work done or services rendered or materials or things supplied.

17. The Company shall furnish annually to Our Secretary of State, as soon as conveniently may be after the close of the financial year, accounts of its expenditure for administrative purposes, and of all sums received by it by way of public revenue, as distinguished from its commercial profits, during the financial year, together with a report as to its public proceedings and the condition of the territories within the sphere of its operations. The Company shall also on or before the commencement of each financial year furnish to Our Secretary of State an estimate of its expenditure for administrative purposes, and of its public revenue (as above defined) for the ensuing year. The Company shall in addition from time to time furnish to Our Secretary of State any reports, accounts, or information with which he may require to be furnished.

18. The several officers of the Company shall, subject to the rules of official subordination and to any regulations that may be agreed upon, communicate freely with Our High Commissioner in South Africa and any others Our officers, who may be stationed within any of the territories aforesaid, and shall pay due regard to any requirements suggestions or requests which the said High Commissioner or other officers shall make to them or any of them

and the Company shall be bound to enforce the observance of this Article.

19. The Company may hoist and use on its buildings and elsewhere in the territories aforesaid, and on its vessels, such distinctive flag indicating the British character of the Company as Our Secretary of State and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty shall from time to time approve.

20. Nothing in this our Charter shall be deemed to authorize the Company to set up or grant any monopoly of trade; provided that the establishment of or the grant of concessions for banks, railways, tramways, docks, telegraphs, waterworks, or other similar undertakings or the establishment of any system of patent or copyright approved by Our Secretary of State, shall not be deemed monopolies for this purpose. The Company shall not, either directly or indirectly, hinder any Company or persons who now are or hereafter may be lawfully and peaceably carrying on any business concern or venture within the said District of the Tati hereinbefore described, but shall by permitting and facilitating transit by every lawful means to and from the District of the Tati across its own territories or where it has jurisdiction in that behalf and by all other reasonable and lawful means encourage assist and protect all British subjects who now are or hereafter may be lawfully and peaceably engaged in the prosecution of a lawful enterprise within the said District of the Tati.

21. For the preservation of elephants and other game, the Company may make such other regulations and (notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained) may impose such license duties on the killing or taking of elephants or other game as they may think fit: Provided that nothing in such regulations shall tend to diminish or interfere with any hunting rights which may have been or may hereafter be reserved to any native chiefs or tribes by treaty, save so far as any such regulations may relate to the establishment and enforcement of a close season.

22. The Company shall be subject to and shall perform and undertake all the obligations contained in or undertaken by Ourselves under any treaty agreement or arrangement between Ourselves and any other State or Power whether already made or hereafter to be made. In all matters relating to the observance of this Article, or to the exercise within the Company's territories for the time being, of any jurisdiction exercisable by Us under the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, the Company shall conform to and

observe and carry out all such directions as may from time to time be given in that behalf by Our Secretary of State, and the Company shall appoint all necessary officers to perform such duties, and shall provide such Courts and other requisites as may from time to time be necessary for the administration of justice.

23. The original share capital of the Company shall be £1,000,000 divided into 1,000,000 shares of £1 each.

24. The Company is hereby further specially authorized and empowered for the purposes of this Our Charter from time to time—

- (I) To issue shares of different classes or descriptions, to increase the share capital of the Company, and to borrow moneys by debentures or other obligations.
- (II) To acquire and hold, and to charter or otherwise deal with, steam vessels and other vessels.
- (III) To establish or authorize banking companies and other companies, and undertakings or associations of every description, for purposes consistent with the provisions of this Our Charter.
- (IV) To make and maintain roads railways telegraphs harbours and any other works which may tend to the development or improvement of the territories of the Company.
- (V) To carry on mining and other industries, and to make concessions of mining forestal or other rights.
- (VI) To improve develop clear plant irrigate and cultivate any lands included within the territories of the Company.
- (VII) To settle any such territories and lands as aforesaid, and to aid and promote immigration.
- (VIII) To grant lands for terms of years or in perpetuity, and either absolutely, or by way of mortgage or otherwise.
- (IX) To make loans or contributions of money or money's worth, for promoting any of the objects of the Company.
- (X) To acquire and hold personal property.
- (XI) To acquire and hold (without license in mortmain or other authority than this Our Charter), lands in the United Kingdom, not exceeding five acres in all, at any one time for the purposes of the offices and business of the Company and (subject to any local law) lands in any of Our Colonies or Possessions and elsewhere, convenient for carrying on the management of the affairs of the Company, and to dispose from time to time of any such lands when not required for that purpose.
- (XII) To carry on any lawful commerce, trade, pursuit, business,

operations, or dealing whatsoever in connection with the objects of the Company.

- (XIII) To establish and maintain agencies in Our Colonies and Possessions, and elsewhere.
- (XIV) To sue and be sued by the Company's name of incorporation, as well in Our Courts in Our United Kingdom, or in Our Courts in Our Colonies or Possessions, or in Our Courts in Foreign countries or elsewhere.
- (XV) To do all lawful things incidental or conducive to the exercise or enjoyment of the rights, interests, authorities and powers of the Company in this Our Charter expressed or referred to, or any of them.

25. Within one year after the date of this Our Charter, or such extended period as may be certified by Our Secretary of State, there shall be executed by the Members of the Company for the time being a Deed of Settlement, provided so far as necessary for—

- (I) The further definition of the objects and purposes of the Company.
- (II) The classes or descriptions of shares into which the Capital of the Company is divided, and the calls to be made in respect thereof, and the terms and conditions of Membership of the Company.
- (III) The division and distribution of profits.
- (IV) General Meetings of the Company; the appointment by Our Secretary of State (if so required by him) of an Official Director, and the number qualification appointment remuneration rotation removal and powers of Directors of the Company, and of other officers of the Company.
- (V) The registration of Members of the Company, and the transfer of shares in the capital of the Company.
- (VI) The preparation of annual accounts to be submitted to the Members at a General Meeting.
- (VII) The audit of those accounts by independent auditors.
- (VIII) The making of bye-laws.
- (IX) The making and using of official seals of the Company.
- (X) The constitution and regulation of Committees or Local Boards of Management.
- (XI) The making and execution of supplementary deeds of settlement.
- (XII) The winding up (in case of need) of the Company's affairs.
- (XIII) The government and regulation of the Company and of its affairs.

(xiv) Any other matters usual or proper to be provided for in respect of a chartered Company.

26. The Deed of Settlement shall, before the execution thereof, be submitted to and approved by the Lords of Our Council, and a certificate of their approval thereof, signed by the Clerk of Our Council, shall be endorsed on this Our Charter, and be conclusive evidence of such approval, and on the Deed of Settlement, and such Deed of Settlement shall take effect from the date of such approval, and shall be binding upon the Company, its Members, Officers and Servants, and for all other purposes whatsoever.

27. The provisions of the Deed of Settlement or of any supplementary Deed for the time being in force, may be from time to time repealed, varied or added to by a supplementary Deed, made and executed in such manner as the Deed of Settlement prescribes. Provided that the provisions of any such Deed relative to the official Director shall not be repealed, varied or added to without the express approval of Our Secretary of State.

28. The Members of the Company shall be individually liable for the debts contracts engagements and liabilities of the Company to the extent only of the amount, if any, for the time being unpaid, on the shares held by them respectively.

29. Until such Deed of Settlement as aforesaid takes effect the said James Duke of Abercorn shall be the President; the said Alexander William George Duke of Fife shall be Vice-President; and the said Edric Frederick Lord Gifford, Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Albert Henry George Grey, and George Cawston, shall be the Directors of the Company; and may on behalf of the Company do all things necessary or proper to be done under this Our Charter by or on behalf of the Company: Provided always that, notwithstanding anything contained in the Deed of Settlement of the Company, the said James Duke of Abercorn, Alexander William George Duke of Fife, and Albert Henry George Grey, shall not be subject to retire from office in accordance with its provisions but shall be and remain Directors of the Company until death, incapacity to act, or resignation, as the case may be.

30. And We do further will ordain and declare that this Our Charter shall be acknowledged by Our governors and Our naval and military officers and Our consuls, and Our other officers in Our colonies and possessions, and on the high seas, and elsewhere, and they shall severally give full force and effect to this Our Charter,

and shall recognise and be in all things aiding to the Company and its officers.

31 And We do further will, ordain and declare that this Our Charter shall be taken construed and adjudged in the most favourable and beneficial sense for, and to the best advantage of the Company as well in Our courts in Our United Kingdom, and in Our courts in Our colonies or possessions, and in Our courts in foreign countries or elsewhere, notwithstanding that there may appear to be in this Our Charter any non-recital, mis-recital, uncertainty or imperfection.

32. And We do further will, ordain and declare that this Our Charter shall subsist and continue valid, notwithstanding any lawful change in the name of the Company or in the Deed of Settlement thereof, such change being made with the previous approval of Our Secretary of State signified under his hand.

33. And We do further will, ordain and declare that it shall be lawful for Us Our heirs and successors and We do hereby expressly reserve to Ourselves Our heirs and successors the right and power by writing under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom at the end of 25 years from the date of this Our Charter, and at the end of every succeeding period of ten years, to add to alter or repeal any of the provisions of this Our Charter or to enact other provisions in substitution for or in addition to any of its existing provisions. Provided that the right and power thus reserved shall be exercised only in relation to so much of this Our Charter as relates to administrative and public matters. And We do further expressly reserve to Ourselves Our heirs and successors the right to take over any buildings or works belonging to the Company, and used exclusively or mainly for administrative or public purposes on payment to the Company of such reasonable compensation as may be agreed, or as failing agreement may be settled by the Commissioners of Our Treasury. And We do further appoint direct and declare that any such writing under the said Great Seal shall have full effect, and be binding upon the Company, its members, officers and servants, and all other persons, and shall be of the same force, effect, and validity as if its provisions had been part of and contained in these presents.

34. Provided always and We do further declare that nothing in this Our Charter shall be deemed or taken in anywise to limit or restrict the exercise of any of Our rights or powers with reference to the protection of any territories or with reference to the govern-

ment thereof should We see fit to include the same within Our dominions.

35. And We do lastly will, ordain and declare, without prejudice to any power to repeal this Our Charter by law belonging to Us Our heirs and successors, or to any of Our courts ministers or officers independently of this present declaration and reservation, that in case at any time it is made to appear to Us in Our Council that the Company has substantially failed to observe and conform to the provisions of this Our Charter, or that the Company is not exercising its powers under the concessions agreements grants and treaties aforesaid, so as to advance the interests which the Petitioners have represented to Us to be likely to be advanced by the grant of this Our Charter, it shall be lawful for Us Our heirs and successors, and We do hereby expressly reserve and take to Ourselves Our heirs and successors the right and power by writing under the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom to revoke this Our Charter, and to revoke and annul the privileges powers and rights hereby granted to the Company.

In Witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.

Witness Ourself at Westminster, the 29th day of October, in the fifty-third year of Our reign.

By warrant under the Queen's Sign Manual.



MUIR MACKENZIE.

END OF VOL. I.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
CECIL JOHN RHODES

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Rhodes' Death Mask

LONDON EDWARD ARNOLD

THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
CECIL JOHN RHODES
1853-1902

BY
THE HONOURABLE SIR LEWIS MICHELL
MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, CAPE COLONY

VOLUME II



MITCHELL KENNERLEY
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THE RIGHT HON.
CECIL JOHN RHODES

CHAPTER XXIII

RHODES AT HOME

His home life and character—His appearance and habits—Erects house on Lo Bengula's Kraal—Lives in huts in the Matopos—His negligence in money matters—Anecdotes—Purchase of Groote Schuur—Erects country house—Formation of park—Partiality for simple life—Characteristics summed up.

WE have had glimpses of Rhodes under various aspects. We have seen him at work cotton-growing and diamond winning. We have seen him enter the arena of public life, not ill-equipped for the contest. We know how he bore himself before the world, both in business and in politics. But what of his private life? In what aspect did he present himself in his own home, under his own roof-tree, and among his more intimate friends? The answer is unambiguous. He was wholly lovable. In the strain and stress of great affairs he could be at times abrupt, hard and repellent, but the mood was a passing one. His steel-blue eyes were curiously changeable in expression, he had a quaint break at times in his voice, and his handshake, with a crooked finger, was a thing to be remembered. But unless aflame at meeting crass stupidity, he was kindness itself, especially to those who

needed kindness most. In his own house he was an incomparable host; a delightful and stimulating companion, a thoughtful and affectionate friend. If his political antagonists refuse to say of him, without qualification, what Fitzpatrick said of Charles James Fox, "A patriot's even course he steered 'mid faction's wildest storms unmoved," no man who knew him well will refuse to complete the famous quatrain and say of him, "By all who marked his mind, revered, By all who knew his heart, beloved."

The modern cult of the simple strenuous life, so often preached, so seldom practised, had in him a devout worshipper. Simplicity was his dominant note. Like "Caleb Garth," hard work was his creed. The brilliant trifler, the elegant loungeur were his abomination. His love of cleanliness was very remarkable, and he would not camp out in the veld if a jam tin were found at the place selected. In his early days in Natal he was content to live in a Kafir hut, and on the Diamond Fields in a tent. When he and Dr. Jameson foregathered at Kimberley in 1878, they shared an unpretentious bachelor establishment in a modest cottage on the main street. Indeed, intimate as was his association with Kimberley, he never had a residence there. He built an admirably planned model village for his white workmen, but he built no house for himself. In his later years and during the siege, he resided at the Sanatorium, a place he was instrumental in erecting for the comfort of English invalids, of whom he was always mindful, as he was of the poor consumptive second-class passenger, of whom we have already had a glimpse as voyaging with him to Natal in early days.

It was the same in Rhodesia. Near Bulawayo, on the

very site of the Royal Kraal of the last of the Matabele kings, he built a commodious residence as a Government House. On the lawn still stands the tree of judgment under which Lo Bengula sat and decreed nameless tortures for small and sometimes imaginary offences. Its gnarled and twisted trunk no longer grows on open veld, but amid a trim parterre designed by the skill of a landscape gardener. It is a grim, dumb witness to an era of cruelty that, thanks to Rhodes, has for ever passed away. The house is comfortable, the prospect agreeable, the seclusion complete, but Rhodes did not care to live there. In full view of the mansion, across the wide plain, rises, on the horizon, the mournful hill of Thabas Induna—the scene of a still-remembered Matabele tragedy—but even the historical associations of the place could not tempt him. From the house towards the town, runs the mile long avenue which he planted for the sake of future generations. “You say,” he remarked to a friend, “that I shall not live to see those trees grow. I tell you that in imagination I already see people passing and repassing under their shade.” But even this did not move him to reside there more than occasionally. Urgent business made upon him a higher claim and, as a rule, he preferred to occupy a small and uncomfortable cottage on the main street of the dusty town. It was the same in the Matopos, where, later on, he made his home and his grave. Amid a riot of hills encircling a singularly beautiful valley, he erected, not a house, but a group of native huts and lived there in perfect happiness. No European house intruded on the tranquil scene until he had passed away.

It was the same when he purchased a series of prop-

erties in the valley of the Drakenstein near Cape Town. They were studded with fine examples of those old Huguenot homesteads in which his soul delighted. But he occupied none of them. Their former owners, a simple, kindly, hospitable folk, were permitted to remain in undisputed possession, and he built himself a tiny cottage on the mountain side, looking down upon a panorama of enchanting loveliness. While an ordinary member of the Cape Parliament, he lodged at a small private hotel or took his meals at a club. Long after he had amassed a fortune, his personal expenditure was inconsiderable, though his generosity to others was suspected to be unstinted. I say suspected, because no man knew. He was very reticent about his bounty, nor did he allow his right hand to know what his left hand did. He had mastered the profound secret that a man's life does not consist in the things that he possesses.

Soon after he became Prime Minister, I undertook, at his request, to supervise his household and other expenditure, and subsequently he tricked me into holding his power of attorney, alleging that it was to meet a temporary absence from the Colony. When he returned I sent him back the document, but he refused to receive or revoke it, and I held it till he died. By his express desire I not only paid away such amounts as were legally due by him, but made grants and donations at my discretion. To a banker brought up in the strictest tenets of his sect, he was an undoubted trial. He once lost a diamond worth £70, but he took no steps to recover it. In such matters he was habitually careless. He never had any money in his pocket, and his banking account was frequently overdrawn. He refused to check or investi-

gate any financial statements I submitted to him, nor did he ever know what he was worth until I framed a balance-sheet for him. The compilation of the document was a work of difficulty, and research. His securities were often found to be registered in the names of third parties. Some were in the pockets of disused coats and some in obscure corners of his escritoire. He never kept a set of books or a list of sums due to him. Secretaries of public companies were apt to complain that his dividend warrants were unduly outstanding, and he had to be searched ere they could be found. When I sequestered his cheque-book in his own interests, he issued cheques on half sheets of note-paper, and on some occasions signed them in pencil. While in Rhodesia during the Matabele war, his heart bled for the pecuniary losses suffered by "his settlers," as he called them, and in the space of a few weeks he called on me to disburse more than £16,000 to relieve the distress. When the rinderpest ravaged the Cape Colony and threatened the destruction of his valuable wild animals in the paddocks of Groote Schuur, I telegraphed to him at the instance of the Veterinary Department, suggesting the temporary exclusion of the public from the estate, in order to minimise the risk of infection. Promptly came back the uncompromising answer, "Certainly not: the place belongs as much to the public as to me."

On one occasion I received a remittance from a trader in a small village in the Northern Transvaal, who wrote that Rhodes had set him up in business years before, and, having prospered, he now desired to repay the loan with interest. Upon my mentioning the fact to Rhodes, he only snorted indignantly at the world in general, re-

marking, "And yet they say men are not honest!" On another occasion I remarked to him, "You don't seem to care for money." "For its own sake, no," he replied emphatically, "I never tried to make it for its own sake, but it is a power, and I like power."

I was once weather-bound at a wayside shanty in Mashonaland, kept by two German storekeepers, brothers. On hearing that I knew Rhodes, one of them exclaimed, "Ah! he is a white man all through. We are on the old Portuguese boundary, and our farms were delimited as being on the Rhodesian side. Owing to endless red tape at Salisbury, we failed to get title and decided to approach Mr. Rhodes direct. I had met him once, but only once, and had been of some slight service to him, but it was long ago and I could not expect him to remember me. We hesitated to trouble him while the Matabele war lasted, but when that was over and we learnt he was coming out *via* Beira and must pass our door, we determined to interview him. But the day before he arrived we heard his house was burnt to the ground and that he was much distressed, so we agreed not to worry him. Well, he came and outspanned at our place and, greeting me by name, he reminded me of our last interview and asked was there nothing he could do for us? Then we spoke up. He was very angry, and walked up and down like a bull in a ring fence, but he got on the wire at the next station, and within a week we received our title, with an apology for the long delay."

Many such illustrations of the human interest he took in all sorts and conditions of men might be given. When he arrived at Groote Schuur after the fire he found that his bedroom had been saved. I went over very early

the following morning and, walking into the room as usual, addressed him by name. But the figure in the bed, when it turned towards me, was not that of Rhodes, but of his secretary. "I am down with fever," said a weak voice, "and the chief made me turn in here. You will find him in the corridor in a blanket." And so I did. Another secretary was once summoned to join him in the De Beers railway car, a somewhat ornate vehicle. He found a large party dressed for a public function, and being himself in flannels, felt awkward. Rhodes, noticing this, inquired the reason, and thereupon without a word abruptly left the compartment, returning shortly in his oldest suit to put the secretary at his ease! He once sent a coat to a tailor to be done up, and received for answer that, except as to the buttons, it was worthless and past repair. In fact, the only demand he made on clothes was that they should be loose and easy fitting. It was the custom with the bank I represented and which was the Government Bank, for the Chief Manager to pay a formal call on each successive Prime Minister. When Rhodes took office I did so, and found him in his shirt sleeves, and his first words were, "If you think I am going to put on my coat for you, you are mistaken."

I have described the homeliness of his houses. There was, of course, one notable exception in Groote Schuur, which has been painted and photographed more often perhaps than any other private residence. When he became Prime Minister, he resolved to build a house not for show, but for comfort, and not for his own comfort so much as for that of others. Taking a wide view of his social responsibilities, he desired to entertain on a scale suitable to the dignity of his high office, and, in addi-

tion, to save the beautiful slopes of Table Mountain from the desecrating hands of the ordinary builder, whose covetous eyes were already turned in that direction. The majestic appearance of Table Mountain from the sea is known to all travellers in the Southern hemisphere. Its long, level ridge, broken by but one immense cleft, struck the early navigators with awe. In the first days of the settlement its sides were clothed with indigenous forests, the haunt of lions and leopards. Kipling says of it:—

“Hail! snatched and bartered oft from hand to hand,
I dream my dream, by rock and heath and pine,
Of Empire, to the Northward. Ay, one Land
From Lion’s Head to Line!”

Early in the seventeenth century, the authorities of the Dutch East India Company, finding Cape Town unpleasantly wind-swept, began to build, here and there, on the slopes of the Hill whose summit towered 3600 feet above them. Some excellent soil was found at the base of the mountain, a few miles away from the settlement. Farms and cattle posts were gradually established, where now stand residential suburbs embowered in trees. The early Dutch, unlike their descendants, were keen afforestationers and planted an oak avenue in the town and another at Nieuweland, the present Newlands. At De Rondedoorn Boschje (Rondebosch) they erected a granary with a residence for the Superintendent, and hence its name De Schuur. In 1791, the Company, being short of funds, sold the place to a burgher, Hendrik Christian, who divided it into two lots, calling the larger De Groote Schuur, and the smaller, Klein Schuur. The former passed successively into the hands of the Du Toit and Hofmeyr families, but in 1868 was purchased by a De

Smidt. From 1873 to 1876, during Sir Henry Barkly's Governorship, it was used as his country residence. Subsequently it came into the hands of a well-known Dutch lady of good family, Mrs. Van der Byl, who modernised the name to the Grange. Sir Hercules Robinson lived there for a time, but the place was leased to Rhodes in 1891 and purchased by him in 1893. Characteristically, he at once renamed it Groote Schuur, and rebuilt the house in the Huguenot style, with a thatched roof. It never was a "lordly pleasure house," but a country gentleman's comfortable mansion, simple in design but extremely picturesque. The interior was remarkable for its lavish use of teak, but there was no superfluous ornamentation anywhere. The enclosures and fences on the estate are all of unusual size and strength. You can recognise a Rhodes' gatepost anywhere by its massive construction. Rhodes gradually acquired, from various holders, 1500 acres of surrounding land, on which he planted oaks, camphor-wood and other trees, formed sheltered hydrangea beds, constructed roads and mountain paths, and paddocks for wild animals, threw the estate open to the public, and finally left it by will to the first Prime Minister of a South African Confederation. The house was burnt to the ground in 1896, and priceless specimens of antique Dutch and French furniture perished in the fire, but the library was saved, and also the fine bronze panel over the front entrance representing the landing of Van Riebeeck on the sixth day of April, in the year 1652.

Rhodes at once rebuilt the house on the same spot, and on the same lines, only enlarging the servants' quarters and substituting Dutch tiles for the thatched roof.

It was on these premises, as I have just described them, that Rhodes for several years kept a truly open house. Its hospitable doors were open to both nationalities, and to the ever-increasing stream of distinguished strangers from the mother country. One did not know the real Rhodes until one sat at his table and heard him discourse at large on the great political events and social questions of the day, or, at rarer intervals, on those profounder problems of the future, to which he bent a forward and far-seeing gaze. The freedom he allowed the public was sometimes a severe trial to his friends. On one occasion, a picnic party bivouacked on the marble stoep in front of the house, and commenced to unpack a hamper there. "Shall I turn them off?" said an impulsive companion. "No, I'll go myself," replied the master. Opening the front door, he stepped out, much to the dismay of his visitors, who probably thought the house was unoccupied. "Good-morning, my friends," said Rhodes, "sit there and enjoy yourselves, but please don't light a fire on the stoep."

Yet even the tranquil splendour of a modern residence was, in the long run, less to his taste than a dwelling where he could rough it at his ease. For some time prior to his death, he grew to dislike Groote Schuur, and as all the world knows, he finally breathed his last by the seashore in an unpretentious cottage, surrounded only by two or three devoted friends.

It must not be thought that the urbanity, which sat so well on Rhodes in his own house, was wholly lacking in his intercourse with the outside world. He took, on all occasions, a singularly human interest in the welfare of young men, and read their characters with discern-

ment. To the younger officials of the House of Assembly he was gracious and polite. One of them writes to me, "When he was Prime Minister I naturally saw much of him. He did not himself take charge of the work of the House: I mean in regard to the Order list, but he often came into my room while the House was sitting, and would interest himself in anything that he found interested me, so much so that in a few minutes I seemed to have nothing more to tell him. At one time I drafted a semi-public scheme for him, which he introduced into the House in a lengthy speech. He was so pleased with the details I had worked up for him, that he walked up and down my room, trying to give substance to his appreciation without hurting me with bald flattery, and he ended by insisting on subscribing towards several public institutions, to double the amount I had been persuaded to suggest. These subscriptions were continued till his death. He appeared to me to have an immense capacity for business, but he made things seem so simple that one was apt to overlook the genius that made them so."

Another and older friend, a member of the House, writes, "For years I was frequently at his house and he at mine. He used often to come over on Sunday mornings and chat over men and things, but above all, about the foundations of Life and Being as he regarded them. We seem, at such times, to live in the atmosphere of that wide horizon which surrounded him like a halo. If the Colossus had feet of clay, they were hidden, but the splendid reach of his intelligence was fully revealed."

To an old Kimberley acquaintance, who had left the country but who wrote from England that, although their lives had drifted far apart, he would like to see

him once more were it but for five minutes, he replied:—

“PRIME MINISTER’S OFFICE, CAPE TOWN.

(*No date, but date on envelope 5 Dec., 1890.*)

“MY DEAR G——, I am very glad you wrote to me. I should like to see you again, not, as you say, for five minutes, or with endless fellows waiting, but away down the river (the Modder River near Kimberley) to talk over old times and modern difficulties.”

Rhodes was very fond of discussing the various points of English politicians, and there was one member of the Gladstone Government of 1892 whom he cordially detested. He told me once how he had found himself seated next him at a dinner party in London, and was so bored with him that in the middle of one of his arguments on some political problem he turned away from him and began talking to his other neighbour. “It was very rude of me, I know,” he said, “*very* rude. People who live in London can’t do these things—I *can*. I can do it on the basis of a barbarian!”

An old pioneer, invalided from Rhodesia by fever, once called at Groote Schuur for relief. Out of work, out of elbows and reduced to a pitiable state from privation, he was about to venture to state his case, when, to his inexpressible delight, he was hailed by name. The Chief had recognised him despite all changes. Putting his hand on the man’s shoulder, Rhodes said, “Not a word: a good square meal first!” And to the kitchen he took him for that purpose, telling him to return to the stoep afterwards. He then heard his story and gave him an order on his secretary in town to give him money for what clothes he wanted, and told him to return

the next day, which he did. He found Rhodes in a passion. "You only took ten shillings." The man had been ashamed to ask for more. Rhodes at once took him into town in his own cart, went himself to the outfitters, completely clothed him, and gave him money and a free pass back to his work. "I never," he said, "forget an old face."

On being accused once of changing his views rather hurriedly, he replied, "Yes, as hurriedly as I could, for I found I was wrong."

"Every day," he said, later in life, "I try to become humbler, but it is hard."

Once, when twitted with his preference for young men, he retorted, "Of course, of course, they must soon take up our work; we must teach them what to do and what to avoid."

On another occasion, his sentimental attachment to the Boers was made the matter of a jest. "They were the Voortrekkers," he replied, "the real pioneers. They have always led the way. It is your business to see that our flag follows."

When he travelled, he read Plutarch's *Lives*, *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, and he literally pored over the map of Africa. But the only novel I ever heard him praise was *The Choir Invisible*.

He took a great interest in the Society of Jesus and was sincerely attached to several of the Jesuit Fathers, whose self-sacrificing labours in Rhodesia he readily and repeatedly recognised. His admiration for the world-wide organisation of the Salvation Army is also well known.

But I have said enough. The anecdotes of others and my own personal memories crowd upon me. Let it suffice to record that in private life, and especially under his own roof—even more especially, perhaps, under the vault of heaven in those long treks which he so much enjoyed—he was a fascinating personality, attractive in the highest sense of the word, at times wayward and, to strangers, even taciturn; but as a rule with a charm all his own, which no man I have ever met with could successfully resist, and which impelled almost all men, with whom he was brought into contact, to own that behind that “immense and brooding spirit” there existed a heart of gold, a heart quick and eager to respond to every call, however vast, that humanity could make upon it.

His daring speculations on the future of the Empire, and of the world, will be remembered by many, and the depth of his conviction that the greatness of England is traceable, not obscurely, to the parish churches near which the “village Hampdens” lived unregarded lives and sleep their last sleep in forgotten graves. “He could project his mind,” says a correspondent, “into the future as easily as one turns the pages of a book.”

There is one trait in the character of Rhodes to which I feel bound to refer with disapproval. For many years he allowed himself to be persuaded that indiscriminate almsgiving had its reward, that loyalty could be purchased by *largesse*, and that bread thrown upon the waters always returned after many days. But injudicious charity proved at times a curse, not only to himself but to the recipient. This he saw before he died. In March, 1901, he wrote to me as follows:—

“As to —— he is like many plants, or I should say, *trees*; once you start watering them you must continue to do so. —— was well watered for many years, but it was thought unjust that he should require it for ever, so watering was stopped. He first became threatening, and finally abusive. Moral, don't water.—Yrs.

“C. J. RHODES.”

In Mr. Mortimer Menpes' *War Impressions*, compiled by his daughter (A. and C. Black, 1901), there is a beautiful chapter on Rhodes in relation to his private life. Any one desirous of obtaining a transient glimpse of the real Rhodes—Rhodes at home—should not fail to study this fascinating record of the inner life of a truly great man.

CHAPTER XXIV

RHODES IN RHODESIA (1891)

Visits England—His fourth will—Anecdotes—Returns to the Cape—Speaks to the Bond—Borckenhagen angry—Rhodes writes to the Bond—Speaks at the Paarl—Speaks in Parliament—The Bank Act—Writes to other Colonial Premiers—Writes to Stead—Transvaal Raid into Rhodesia is headed off—Political affairs—Rhodes in Durban—Visits Pietermaritzburg—Lands at Delagoa Bay—Lands at Beira—Dispute with local authorities—Proceeds up Pungwe River—Reaches Macequece—Reaches Umtali—Met by Dr. Jameson—Arrives at Salisbury—Meets Lord Randolph Churchill—Continues his journey—Visits Mazoe—And Charter—And Victoria—And Zimbabwe—De Waal on the country—Rhodes arrives at Fort Tuli—And Macloutsie—Visits Palapye—Sees Khama—Arrives at Mafeking—At Vryburg—At Kimberley.

I HAVE already referred to the abortive attempt made by Rhodes in 1890 to enter Mashonaland in the track of his pioneers, and how the High Commissioner exercised his influence, and even his authority, to place a practical veto on the adventure. Rhodes, while eventually bowing to what was undoubtedly a judicious decision, fully resolved, however, to visit the new territory and judge of its capabilities at the earliest possible moment. I left him, it may be remembered, at Kimberley, where he arrived in November, 1890, from the Transvaal, and where he was just in time to take part in the festivities that marked the completion of the railway to the Diamond Fields on 3rd December. Early in 1891, he again proceeded to England on urgent business, where he is said by Mr. W. T. Stead to have executed his fourth will, dated in March. It must have been executed very

early in March, because there is evidence that he was back at Kimberley before the close of that month.

One of the reminiscences furnished to me by a correspondent deals with this period, and may, therefore, be given here. "You ask me when I first met Cecil Rhodes," he says, "I think it was early in the year 1891, if he was in England during that year. I was in the House of Commons at the time, as member for —, the centre of an agricultural district, and I was what perhaps you may call a 'Bimetallic heretic,' with a view to finding some remedy for the terrible depression affecting agriculture. I remember having an argument with him on the subject. He was much opposed to me, arguing that the balance would be set right by natural causes, and that South Africa would take a leading part in reviving prices by the increased production of gold. I said that the agricultural depression had lasted for a long time and was becoming more acute, that I and my neighbours were being slowly but surely ruined, and that I was seeking for the true remedy. Rhodes argued that the English farmer, as we knew him, was an anachronism, and that he must either conform to the new order of things or perish. I remember being much struck by the ease with which he brushed aside what I had to say. In after years he often reminded me of our discussion. Once, during the Matabele war, we were on the march one lovely moonlight night, expecting a sharp engagement at daybreak, when he suddenly said, 'How glorious this, and how lucky you are to be here! But why are you here? Because turnips did not pay in —shire. Had they paid, you would have remained an average country gentleman and a fairly respectable

member of Parliament. How much better to be here under the stars, thinking out great problems and taking your part in a much more direct and practical way towards the development of the British Empire'; and I shall always recollect when I was leaving for home at the end of the campaign, and was saying good-bye to him at his lonely camp in the Matopo Hills, how, in his quick shy way, he exclaimed, 'I have very few friends in the world now, don't forget me.' "

The object of Rhodes in returning very hurriedly from England to South Africa was the necessity under which he lay, as a practical politician, of cementing his alliance with the Bond before the commencement of the approaching session of the Cape Parliament. In compliment to their new ally, the Bond had decided to hold their annual Conference for 1891 at Kimberley itself, and it was, of course, important that Rhodes should be there. He accordingly, on landing at Cape Town, pushed on at once for the Diamond Fields, thereby fluttering the doves of the metropolis and somewhat scandalising his Ministerial colleagues. He arrived in Kimberley just in time to attend a banquet given to the Bond on the evening of Easter Monday, and to propose the toast of welcome to that great organisation. His speech can only be briefly summarised here. He opened by referring to his having just arrived from England, where he had received the highest consideration from politicians and the honour of dining with Her Majesty, and then went on to say, "In the past it would have been an anomaly for one who possessed the confidence of Her Majesty's Government to come to such a gathering as this, but I feel entirely that the aspirations of the Bond are now in

complete touch with loyalty to the Queen. I come here, therefore, to show that there is no longer anything antagonistic between the people of this Colony and the mother country, provided that the latter recognises the principle of Colonial self-government, and our capacity to deal with every internal question that may arise. The only time I ever differed seriously from the Bond was when I saw that you were relying too much on a sentimental regard for the Republics. At one time you were prepared to let the whole of the Northern Territories go from you, in the vain belief that, at some future period, they would be returned to you. But my rule is never to abandon a position. I have no antagonistic feeling to the Transvaal, but if your ambition is the union of South Africa, the Colony must keep as many cards as it may possess. That idea dominated me in the settlement of Bechuanaland, and in regard to Zambesia. It is not for us to interfere with the independence of the neighbouring States, but it is for us to seek to obtain Customs relations, railway communication and free trade in products with them. It took me twenty years to amalgamate the Diamond Mines here. It was done in detail, step by step, and so our Federation will be done in detail, and you must educate your children in this policy. I may meet with opposition in carrying out my ideas, but I will never abandon them. If you desire the cordial co-operation of the English section of the country, remember that we have been trained at home, we have our history to look back upon, but we believe that, with your help, it is possible to obtain closer union and complete self-government, but you must not ask us to forfeit our loyalty and devotion to our mother country."

This was plain speaking. Rhodes was willing to work with the Bond, but his terms were stated with precision. There was no novelty in his attitude. He had for years, with much pertinacity, endeavoured to raise their political standard, which was local and parochial. His desire was to broaden their narrow ideals and teach them the elements of a wider patriotism, so that they and their children might grow up in the sound belief that their primary duty was to their own Colony and to the great Empire of which it formed a part, rather than to the petty and ephemeral Republics on their borders. His speech made a deep impression. The Kimberley correspondent of a London paper declared that the Congress was effusively in his favour, only one member, for purely local and personal reasons, being anti-Rhodes. Throughout South Africa and England the speech came in for much mutually destructive criticism. Imperialists of the jingo type denounced him for his working alliance with the Dutch. The sombre shadow of Majuba still rested on the minds of many excellent men. Borckenhagen, on the other hand, the German Editor of the irreconcilable *Free State Express*, fiercely assailed him as planning the eventual incorporation of the Republics in a Federation whose flag would be that of England. That there should be no possible misconception as to his desire to welcome the Dutch in Rhodesia, but only under that flag, Rhodes, a few days later, wrote the following important letter to the Bond (17th April, 1891):—

“To the Secretary of the Cape Town Branch
of the Afrikaner Bond.

“SIR,—I have been asked, in consequence of the meet-

ing of the Afrikander Bond, which, I am informed, is to be held this afternoon, to place in writing, for the information of its members, my own ideas about the settlement, subject to the approval of His Excellency the High Commissioner, of that portion of the territory proclaimed as within the sphere of British influence, which is at present in the possession of the Chartered Company, and I take this opportunity of doing so. The regulations regarding mining which, as you are aware, have already been published, provide, *inter alia*, for the security of tenure by the individual miner of his claims, and render "jumping," which was so fruitful a source of trouble in other countries, impossible. Deep levels are likewise unknown, the claim-holder following the reef through all its dips and variations. These mining regulations have been accepted generally as liberal and satisfactory. As regards the land, I think that, so soon as a settlement becomes possible, farmers accustomed to practical farming should be invited into the country in order to personally occupy and work farms whose size will naturally vary according to their suitability for pastoral or agricultural purposes. The manner in which the farms should be given out is a subject for future consideration, depending in a great measure upon the number of applicants. Should the applications exceed in number the farms available, I should then suggest that a committee of representative men (from amongst the applicants) should be appointed for the purpose of selecting and sending in the names of those whom they consider to be the most suitable farmers for the occupation and working of a new country. Although an arrangement has been already made for the admission

of over one hundred farmers from the Transvaal, and although there will be no objection, when opportunity offers, for the admission of others from the Transvaal, Free State, and other South African communities, still I can give the assurance that in the final settlement of the country, with the consent of the High Commissioner, no undue preference will be shown to them over Her Majesty's subjects who may desire to proceed from this Colony or from elsewhere. In order to pave the way for this, I would suggest that a deputation should proceed from the Cape Colony for the purpose of inspecting and reporting upon the country. My idea is that farms should be given out subject to a reasonable annual quit-rent, and that none of the farmers should be handicapped at the outset by being called upon to pay a capital amount upon their land, so that whatever funds they may possess should be available for the stocking and development of their properties. Every intending farmer will be required to sign a declaration that on entering the territory he will be under the flag and conform to the Chartered Company's laws, which will be based in principle on those of the Cape Colony, with the right of appeal from the local courts to the Supreme Court in Cape Town. I should greatly value any practical suggestions which your members might have to make on this question of a land settlement in a new country, but I must tell you now that the Chartered Company cannot permit any other than those who are willing to place themselves under its jurisdiction to enter the territory. It is stated that a trek is being organised in the Transvaal by certain persons, who, in defiance of the concession granted by Lo Bengula, the paramount chief of the country, intend at-

tempting to enter the territory for the purpose of setting up a new republic there within the proclaimed sphere of British influence, independent of, and antagonistic to, the Chartered Company. Bearing in mind the fact that the Pioneer force and the Company's police, composed exclusively of South African English and Dutch Colonists, marched in last year under circumstances which it was generally believed in the Transvaal laid them open to certain attack from the Matabele, and bearing in mind the fact that the country has been occupied at the sole expense of the Company, after an expenditure of half a million of money, I refrain from criticising the action and motives of those who are the instigators of such a step. All I can assure you is, that I consider it my bounden duty to assert the rights obtained by the Company by resisting such a trek, although at the same time quite prepared, as I have already stated, to give consideration to persons desirous of going from the Transvaal or from the other South African communities. And, before closing, it may be just as well for me to repeat what I have all along maintained since the day I consented to become Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, that should from any cause, such, for instance, as this, the interest of the Cape Colony and those of the Chartered Company be considered to clash, I shall at once place my resignation as Prime Minister in the hands of His Excellency the Governor, rather than have it imputed to me that I am sacrificing the interests of the Colony; and very deeply though I should regret my severance from you, I will proceed, so far as is in my power, with the development of those interior regions on which my heart has so long been set, and where it has steadily been up to the present

one of my aims to secure a fair share for your people, and for those who may come after them.—I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant. C. J. RHODES.”

Following up this trenchant letter, Rhodes again visited the Paarl, where, on 23rd April, he delivered an important speech, in which, *inter alia*, he said:—

“It has been borne upon my mind of late that the best thing for a Prime Minister to do is to make as few public speeches as possible, and especially is this the case in South Africa, for in South Africa we have to deal with the feelings of the English people who have lent us all the money we have borrowed; we have to deal with the sentiment of the neighbouring Republics; we have to deal with the development of the Northern territory, and then with the little sister colony of Natal. I defy any one to make a speech as Prime Minister of this Colony without hurting the feelings of some one. I was reflecting only to-day that the *Cape Times* has thought it worth while to spend a couple of hundred pounds on a cable from England, giving a criticism from the *London Times* of my speech at Kimberley; and when I read that criticism I discovered that the English people were not satisfied with me. They think that I am too Afrikander. Then I have just received the *Free State Express*, in which Mr. Borckenhagen slates me in the most fearful language because I am too much an Englishman. I mention this to show you the difficulty in which one is placed. But I do feel that I am steering the right course between Jingoism on the one side and sensitive feelings on the other, if I confine myself to stating what is the policy of the people of Cape Colony.

I have to thank the gentleman who has proposed my health, for the statement of the fact that I am not devoting my mind solely to imaginative schemes in the North, but am carefully considering the interests of this Colony, and amongst other things the industry in which you are all so deeply interested, I mean the wine industry. I will take you into my confidence to-night, and say that when I was at home and was talking to the Prime Minister of England, I said, 'If you wish to retain the sentiment of the colonies, you must consider day by day how you can give the people some commercial advantage, and thus show them that the tie with England is one that is of practical advantage to themselves.' I told him that in 1858 or 1860—I am not quite clear which—we had an arrangement, so far as our wine was concerned, which induced the English people to purchase our wines, and to work them up into wines for the people of that country, basing my statements upon the fact that Mr. Gilbey, the great wine importer, had told me that until the change in the duty he imported very largely from the Cape, and had intended putting a great deal of capital into the trade with the Cape. As it was, however, he had bought vineyards in France, and imported wine from France and Spain, and even from Greece. When I discussed this with Lord Salisbury, I adopted the suggestions I had had from Mr. Hofmeyr about a differential rate, and said the greatest tie England could make with the Cape Colony was to return to the system of 1858. I therefore agree with the gentleman who has proposed my health, that we must in these matters look more deeply than into sentiment, and that the right course for the English people is to offer this Colony some

preferential tariff in regard to their wines over the wines of France and Spain, and so give them a practical commercial advantage."

Speaking of Rhodesia and the threatened Boer trek, he added, "Now, that is the position. And what am I threatened with? I will tell you in very simple language. Your young men, because they are your young men, have gone up sixteen hundred miles, have slept in their boots every night, and have felt they would be murdered at four o'clock in the morning—oh, yes! every one said so, from the President of the Transvaal downwards. They went right through, however, and took the country; but I now own to you that, of all my troubles, that was the most pressing, for I felt I ought to be with them; and when at last I found that they were through to Fort Salisbury, I do not think there was a happier man in the country than myself. But let me continue the story. What has happened since? They have taken the country, and I have continued the position I took up. I kept on taking any one of your people who cared to come to me, and I am preparing a land settlement on that basis. I have asked you to send men to report on the country so that we shall not idly take them away with no prospect. I have done all these things, and now what has happened? A gentleman named Mr. Adendorff, and Mr. Barend Vorster and Mr. Du Preez, say they are going to take the result of the labours of your sons. When I came down from Tuli I visited Pietersburg, and I met Mr. Vorster and Mr. Adendorff. I saw them on several occasions, and Mr. Vorster finally came to me and said he had got a local grant from a native chief and wanted me to buy it. I said I did not recognise local chiefs as

against the chief of the country, but if he would send the grant to me I would look it over and give it careful consideration, though I said to him frankly that I had not much opinion of his grant. He said, 'If you don't buy it, I shall give you trouble.' I then saw the Rev. Mr. Helm, who was astounded at what I told him. It is a new country, and your young people have taken it. It is no question of the kind that arose in the Transvaal. It is a question of a new country, which your people have tried to rescue from barbarism and add to civilisation. But these people came to me, and said unless I gave them so many thousand pounds they would induce ignorant farmers to go in and murder our people in the country. That is the case as it stands; you cannot get out of it. I hope you won't be annoyed at this. Because I would not give Mr. Barend Vorster and Mr. Adendorff a certain sum of money, they have threatened me in the Zoutpansberg that they would give me trouble. And that is the case; and those ignorant farmers in the Transvaal are being rushed in this way. You know that all who desire to come into this new country, whether they come from the Transvaal, from the Cape Colony, from Natal, or from the Free State, are only too welcome. I have no feelings as to where a man was born; all I desire to know is whether he is a good man, and then I want him. Now, when these gentlemen say they are going to take from my young men their rights, and dispossess them of the results of their labours, then I confess I do lose my temper; and I tell you to-night that if they continue with it, and if these people will not accept our rule and law, then there will be a difference between us, and I may have to leave the position which I at present hold. But

I know that, if I had not taken up the attitude I have, they would have got into great trouble with Her Majesty's Government, and we might have had troubles again like that which occurred at Majuba. Now if these troubles were to occur with people whose independence was taken away, you might have some sympathy with them; but I ask you what sympathy you can have with people who, when pioneers have made an effort to lift a country from barbarism, and when it is proved that the Matabele need not be feared, rush in and commit an action of this sort! It is not fair or right. South Africa will say it is not fair, and I feel confident I have the feeling of South Africa when I say it is a wrong thing."

The only other speech of importance made by Rhodes this year was delivered in Parliament, on a proposal by Hofmeyr to increase the voting power of those who possessed a certain property or educational qualification. The object of the measure was indirectly to reduce the power of the native vote, which was felt on both sides of the House to be a menace to the Colony, while, at the same time, it was recognised that its direct withdrawal was impolitic. As a compromise, Rhodes was in favour of the proposal, but his Cabinet was not unanimous on the point, and he declined to do more than give an undertaking to consider carefully the whole question during the recess. One of his colleagues, Sauer, moved an amendment, which Hofmeyr accepted, and the motion was then carried by 45 to 33. Much legislation of a quiet useful kind characterised the Cape Session of 1891, no less than 38 Acts receiving the Royal assent. A couple of railway measures, and a valuable Fencing Act were passed, and a Colonial Medical Council was set up.

Local option in regard to liquor licenses was, for the first time, established, and the Deeds Office was reformed. But the two principal enactments were attributable to the losses and sufferings inflicted on the community by the recent failure of the Cape of Good Hope Bank, as also by that of an important English Life Assurance Company. A measure was, therefore, adopted, requiring such assurance companies to deposit with the Colonial Secretary adequate security for the performance of their contract obligations; while a stringent Bank Act was passed, not without opposition from many quarters, owing to the drastic nature of its provisions. The principle of a completely protected note issue was laid down, as well as of the publication of periodical balance-sheets, occasionally of a "surprise" nature, so as to prevent what, in London, is known as "window dressing." But Rhodes was determined that bank depositors should be safeguarded, so far as this can be arranged without the responsibility of the State; and Mr. Merriman, in whose hands the measure was placed, steered it through all obstacles with conspicuous tact and ability, with the result that, for the last twenty years, the Banking institutions of the Colony have carried on their business with satisfaction both to their shareholders and to the public, recurrent crises have been avoided and confidence has never, in the most anxious times, been for a moment shaken.

During this session, Rhodes found time to write to Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada, and to Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister of New South Wales. Both letters bear date the 8th May, 1891, and deal with questions of Tariff Reform and Colonial

Preference. The letter to Sir John Macdonald was as follows:—

“DEAR SIR,—I wish to write and congratulate you on winning the elections in Canada. I read your manifesto and I could understand the issue. If I might express a wish it would be that we could meet before stern fate claims us. I might write pages, but I feel I know you and your politics as if we had been friends for years. The whole thing lies in the question: Can we invent some tie with our mother country that will prevent separation? It must be a practical one, for future generations will not be born in England. The curse is that English politicians cannot see the future. They think they will always be the manufacturing mart of the world, but do not understand what protection coupled with reciprocal relations means. I have taken the liberty of writing to you, and if you honour me with an answer I will write again.—Yours,

“C. J. RHODES.

“P. S.—You might not know who I am, so I will say I am the Prime Minister of this Colony—that is, the Cape Colony.”

He also seems to have written, with colloquial freedom and unreserve, to Mr. Stead, on various topics of the day, including Fiscal Reform and Home Rule. “An Assembly,” he says, “that is responsible for a fifth of the world has no time to discuss Dr. Tanner or the matter of Mr. O’Brien’s breeches. The labour question is an important one, but deeper than the labour question is that of the market for the products of labour, and as

your local productions can only support about six millions of people, the balance depends upon the trade of the world. Even a Labouchere, who possesses no sentiment, should know that the labour of England is dependent on the outside world; and the outside world, so far as I can see, will boycott the results of English labour. The American has been taught the lesson of Home Rule, and the success of leaving the management of the parish pump to the beadle. He does not burden his House of Commons with the responsibility of cleansing drains. If you had had statesmen, you would at the present moment be commercially at war with the United States, and would have boycotted their raw products until they came to their senses. And I say this because I am a Free Trader."

Before the House of Assembly rose, Rhodes had to deal with the long-threatened raid into Mashonaland by a section of the Transvaal Boers. For some time past a watchful eye had been kept on these freebooters, who were, for the most part, landless adventurers, such as have always existed on the fringe of the Republics. Their ambition, ignoring all treaties, was to found a new Republic where, to use their own words, "a genuine Afrikander nationality could be developed." Kruger did not openly favour the move, and he probably viewed with apprehension the departure of so many of his bolder burghers. Joubert, not being fettered by any such sense of responsibility, was, as usual, for action. For years he had preached the doctrine that the vast North was the heritage of the Boer alone. In 1890, when the proposed "trek" was much talked of, a protest from the High Commissioner led to its postponement to a

more convenient season. Now in 1891 the project revived, and was, curiously enough, coincident with another and more friendly "trek" with which it must not be confounded—I mean the visit of a large group of Cape farmers who investigated the capabilities of the Territory in June, crossing from Tuli to Umtali, a distance of 500 miles, and out by way of Beira. Meanwhile, the Transvaal Expedition, in spite of the High Commissioner's renewed warning, completed its preparations, and the Republic of Banyailand, as it was to be named, was announced as about to be proclaimed on 1st June. Writing to me from Pretoria, under date 25th May, a correspondent advised me that he thought the President was in earnest in desiring to stop the Raid, but that Joubert's son-in-law was taking an active interest in it. Again, on the following day, acknowledging receipt of my information that Rhodes was coming up to Mashonaland *via* Beira, my correspondent expressed a doubt whether the Portuguese authorities would permit him to travel by that route. He added that the Transvaal Burghers were much annoyed with Hofmeyr and the Bond over their alliance with Rhodes, a procedure they described as "worshipping the golden calf."

Early in June 5000 Boers were reported to be waiting the word of command to move. But the word was never given. Sir Frederick Carrington, in command of Imperial troops, moved up to Mafeking, and Dr. Jameson, with the Company's Police, guarded every fordable drift on the Limpopo River. Under these circumstances, a despatch from Sir Henry Loch, read aloud in the Volksraad, had a sobering effect. The President produced a draft Proclamation, threatening the "trekkers" with fine

and imprisonment, and the issue of the document was sullenly authorised. The great majority of the raiders remained at home, and only a limited number ignored the law. On 10th June an air of comedy was sought to be associated with the movement by a Rustenburg Boer telegraphing to the High Commissioner that the "trekkers" were passing through there "in their thousands," whereas, on inquiry, he admitted that he was only referring to a flight of locusts.

On 24th June, the irreconcilables, mustering with camp followers about 200 men, arrived at the main drift on the Limpopo. Colonel Ferreira and two other leaders crossed the river, but were arrested by the police under instructions from the High Commissioner. Dr. Jameson, arriving on the scene shortly afterwards, released the prisoners and accompanied them to the Boer camp, which was by this time seething with excitement.

There for some hours he argued with them on the folly of forcibly entering the country disowned by both Governments, whereas the Chartered Company was willing to allot land to *bona-fide* settlers who were prepared to accept its rule. His courage and tact prevailed, and when the Boers found in the morning that, under cover of the night, Major Goold-Adams, with reinforcements, had joined the Company's Police, they melted entirely away without firing a shot. Of course the extreme Republican press foamed at the mouth. "They seem very rabid with Loch," wrote his predecessor to me, "and have even taken to praise me. *Tempora mutantur!* Mr. Rhodes appears to have acted with great judgment. I hope the 'trek' and his various other troubles will not

impair his health. Were he to break down, I know no man who could take his place."

The *Times* also wrote that the failure of the "trek" was due to the admirable precautions of the Company, and to the fact that President Kruger was wise enough to accept the inevitable. The President, however, was under no illusions. "Rhodes," he said, "is putting a ring fence round me, and that is why I must fight him." Long afterwards referring to the incident, Rhodes declared that Kruger was the arch raider in South Africa, and had been at the back of all such movements for a generation.

On 18th August, 1891, the session came to a close, the Governor's speech reporting that a census had been taken, and a Liquor Law Amendment Act passed "in the highest interests of the people," but that the Bank Act had been reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. Meanwhile a controversy had arisen in England over Hofmeyr's "plural voting" proposals, which were held by uninstructed champions of the natives to indicate a resolve to suppress the coloured vote entirely. The *Times* published an interesting article on the franchise debate, hinting that Hofmeyr was aiming at a South African Union outside the Empire. "The chief players," it said, "keep their heads. Rhodes has a nation at his back. Hofmeyr is the older, perhaps the cooler, certainly the more experienced of the two. He has been giving way ever since Rhodes returned from England. He now asks for his equivalent—more Dutch votes."

Mr. F. Mackarness made, in reply, a strong defence of the alliance between Rhodes and Hofmeyr, asserting

with justice that the latter's attitude at the Colonial Conference of 1887 vouched for his loyalty, and pointed out his very recent appointment by the High Commissioner to proceed on a special mission to Pretoria, as a proof of the estimation in which he was officially held. Mr. Mackarness added that Hofmeyr was not asking for more Dutch votes over English, but for more European votes over uncivilised natives. Only one further reference need be made here to the work of the session. Mr. Merriman's Budget, which he described as "the short and simple annals of the poor!" threw a cold *douche* on the glowing estimates of his predecessor, Sprigg, and condemned with great force the latter's neglect of the policy of internal development in order to become a great "carrying agent" to the Republics. Sprigg retaliated by attacking Rhodes in his vulnerable dual position, to which Merriman retorted that Sprigg, while in England, had spoken in quite a contrary sense, and that the House well knew that it was only the exigency of party politics that led to the change of front.

Once free of his Parliament, and having transacted necessary business in Kimberley, Rhodes, on 14th September, left Cape Town for Port Elizabeth, in company with Mr. de Waal and Major Frank Johnson. He had resolved, at whatever inconvenience, to visit Mas-honaland and see for himself what were its pastoral, agricultural and mineral prospects. At Port Elizabeth the party caught the *Drummond Castle*, a vessel only remembered now for the terrible fate that subsequently overtook it. On the evening of 17th September Rhodes reached Durban, the port at which, as a delicate and friendless lad, he had originally landed twenty-one years

before. Time permitting, he visited Pietermaritzburg to pay his respects to the Governor, Sir Charles Mitchell, but returned to the coast the following day and embarked on the *Norseman*, taking with him a Colonial travelling cart and a number of horses. De Waal complains bitterly of the cockroaches which infested the ship, and of Rhodes's scorn at his complaints. "You are a silly man," said the Prime Minister, "to be afraid of such harmless creatures. As for me, I treat them like flies."

On 22nd September the travellers were at Delagoa Bay (Lourenco Marques) the insanitary condition of which, under Portuguese rule, is noted by De Waal with wrath and contempt. Sailing again the same evening, they next landed at another Portuguese port, Inhambane, where Rhodes engaged sixty stalwart natives to accompany him to Rhodesia as camp followers. The authorities raised technical objections to this recruiting and, as their protest was disregarded, two of the officials clung to the ship and were carried on to Beira. Arriving there on 26th September, they procured an order from the local Commandant prohibiting the landing of the natives. Fortunately H.M.S. *Magicienne* was lying in the river, and the judicious diplomacy of her Commander, backed by the payment of extortionate fees, at length solved the problem, and the party were permitted to proceed up the Pungwe River in a flat-bottomed boat. Anchoring at night in mid-stream, the travellers found it difficult to sleep owing to the concert kept up by lions and hyaenas on both sides of the river, while by day the low islands and mud flats were seen to be swarming with crocodiles, and the river with lumbering hippopotami. After a while Rhodes abandoned the river route

and took to the road, if road it could be called. Herds of buffalo and zebra were met, and the country was low-lying and unhealthy, until on 8th October they reached Macequece, the scene of the encounter with the Portuguese the preceding May. But the Commandant now in charge of the frontier town was a gentleman, and bore no malice, and assisted the little expedition to provision and refit. On 9th October they arrived at old Umtali, within view of 'Mtasa's mountain home. The coming of Rhodes is pleasantly described in the *Adventures of Two Hospital Nurses in Mashonaland*.

"He was besieged," they say, "with petitions of all sorts. Malcontents and chronic grumblers went to his hut and came away cheerful and satisfied. Not that anything was altered in the condition of affairs: the man's personal magnetism wrought the change. His stay was not to exceed two days, so we did not expect to see him. Great was our astonishment when on the morning of the 10th of October one of the officials rushed in breathless to say Mr. Rhodes was coming. Mr. Rhodes rode up alone. His appearance and Roman emperor type of head are too well known to need description. As soon as he was seated on a box in our hut, he asked for pen and ink, saying he would give us something for the hospital. How much would we have? 'Would £100 do? Make it £150.' If we had asked for £500 he would have given it. Everything about the man is big—faults, virtues, projects. We were especially charmed with the great man's simple manners."

Jameson and other pioneers met Rhodes at Umtali, and taking advantage of the excellent road constructed by Selous, the party reached Fort Salisbury on or about

18th October, where Rhodes was received with great enthusiasm by the entire population. Their only recorded complaint is that the stock of consumable liquor had run perilously low, a position never very acceptable to a hard-working mining community in a new country. Rhodes had no difficulty in allaying their fears. He was already familiar with the generous thirst which pervaded Kimberley in its early days.

After a week's administrative and other work, he continued his journey, accompanied for a while by Lord Randolph Churchill, who was then in Mashonaland as correspondent to the *Daily Graphic*, and whose fretfulness is noted by De Waal, who was apparently ignorant that the cause was readily traceable to the chronic ill-health, destined, ere long, to carry the brilliant statesman to an early grave.

The party, after visiting many ancient gold workings at the Mazoe and elsewhere, and having had excellent sport along the Hunyani River, arrived at Fort Charter, where, to the general joy, they were joined by Selous, who enlivened their evening camps with vivid narrations of sport and adventure in the territory through which they were passing. Fort Victoria was reached a few days later, from which point an excursion was made to the mysterious ruins of Zimbabwe, as to the date of which science has not yet said its last word. On 3rd November the travellers were again on "trek," De Waal, a typical Dutchman in his ability to know good land when he saw it, waxing enthusiastic over the prospects of the country. "I am fully persuaded," he writes, "that the day will come when we shall see large cities round about Zimbabwe, and when the produce of the

country will surpass that of any other part of Africa. Now is the time to 'trek' here. Mashonaland is still open to all, and I would be glad to see the descendants of the daring old Voortrekkers occupy this fine, healthy, fertile land. Let not our people hesitate, but set out at once to inhabit a region than which there are few, if any, more beautiful on the globe."

The party subsequently went on to see the Chief, Chibe, whose alleged cession of rights to Adendorff and Vorster had led to the recent "Banyailand" trek. His repudiation of their claim is amusingly told by De Waal: indeed poor Chibe, so far from being an independent chief, was raided shortly afterwards by his overlord, Lo Bengula, and massacred, he and all his—an atrocity which was one of the determining causes of the Company's action against the Matabele a year or two later. On 14th November, Rhodes arrived at Fort Tuli, and a few days afterwards, at the Base Camp, Macloutsie, thus accomplishing the task he had set his mind upon, of traversing a portion of his new dominions and returning in the track of his pioneers. From there he visited Palapye to thank Khama for his eminent services, and making short rests at Mafeking and Vryburg, he reached Kimberley on 23rd November, 1891, after a rough but deeply interesting journey of nearly 4000 miles by sea and land.

CHAPTER XXV

THE FIRST RHODES MINISTRY SESSIONS OF 1891-1892

His ill-health—His accident—His many anxieties—Impending shadows—Approach of war—Contrast between the Republics and the Colonies—Between Kruger and Rhodes—Opening of Cape Parliament—Death of King of Holland—Rhodes on Gladstone—Preferential tariffs—The Ballot Bill—The “dual position”—Rhodes and Municipal taxation—A School of Mines—Close of Session—Makes his fifth Will—Stead on Rhodes—Rhodes on Tariff Reform—Gives £5,000 to Liberal Party—Correspondence with Schnadhorst—Advocates Teaching University—Transvaal affairs—Opening of telegraph line to Salisbury—Visits England—Cape Parliament of 1892—Attacked by Sprigg—Merriman’s Budget—Rhodes on Swaziland—Franchise Bill—Deceased Wife’s Sister Bill—The Dutch language—Conservatives overthrown by Gladstone—Transvaal hostility to the Cape Colony—Prorogation of Parliament—Strong position of the Rhodes Ministry—Rhodes on tour—Accident—Kimberley Exhibition—Rhodes speaks at Kimberley—Sivewright knighted—Rhodes visits England—Addresses Chartered Shareholders—Transvaal Presidential Election—Rhodes on Uganda—African Transcontinental Telegraph Company—Rhodes hears of internal dissensions in his Ministry—Rhodes leaves England—Incident of British graves at Boomplaats.

I HAVE already glanced at the parliamentary proceedings at the Cape during the brief remainder of the session of 1890, in the course of which Rhodes assumed office. I have also briefly alluded to the session of 1891. A more detailed summary of the latter may now be found convenient.

Rhodes’s first Ministry lasted from 17th July, 1890, to 3rd May, 1893, when it broke up from within. His

position as Prime Minister remained, indeed, unchanged, but he never again enjoyed the support of such experienced and competent colleagues, and from henceforth some of his old friends, to their grief and his, were to be seen in the ranks of the Opposition. His health, moreover, began to give way under his manifold activities and anxieties as to the peace of South Africa, and he probably never altogether recovered from the shock caused by a bad fall from his horse while riding with Mr. Merriman on 22nd December, 1891. From about this date onward, to the actual outbreak of hostilities in 1899, the flickering shadow of impending war lay athwart the land he loved. At times the sombre cloud seemed to lift only again to descend with added gloom. There were not wanting men of goodwill on either side, both in the Dutch Republics and in the British Colonies; but the great majority, ranged in opposition camps, saw, some with a stern delight, others with profound concern, that there was no peaceful issue to the conflict of ideals which drew to a climax with all the inevitability of a Greek tragedy. The press, with honourable exceptions, inflamed the animosity of the contending parties. The clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church were as vehement politicians as are Irish priests, and their language seldom made for peace. The "man in the street," generally of alien descent, beat the drum and waved the flag, and was always ready to embark on war, by deputy, with a light heart and a cheerful irresponsibility. The sub-continent was thus full of loose combustibles. There was electricity in the air. No man knew where the blow would fall or when, but that a blow was coming every one instinctively felt. On one side

stood the two Republics, soon to be on terms of strict alliance, practically controlled by one despotic ruler, and possessing the incalculable advantage of having many blood relations and friends in the coast Colonies. Their adherents in Natal were formidable, not so much from their numbers as from their residence in good strategic positions along the Border. In the Cape Colony half the population and the whole of the Dutch press were on their side. Their supporters, moreover, were not unwarlike traders and speculators, but men come of a good fighting stock, whose fathers had proved their prowess on many a field of battle against British forces as well as against native foes. So far back as 1892 the Transvaal was well armed, and for another seven years she perfected her preparations without intermission. The artillery with which she armed herself, both before and after the Raid, could only have been required against an European enemy. Another support she thought she had was the probability of foreign intervention and assistance. The exact hopes held out to her in one or more of the Chancelleries of Europe are known to a very few, and are unlikely to be revealed in our time, unless some one behind the scenes should be tempted to indulge in a blazing indiscretion. But that she relied on such a contingency is unquestionable. Her whole policy was based on the supposition. In the event, she leaned on a reed which pierced her hand. But although possessing no written promise of support, she relied, and I venture to imagine was entitled to rely, on a verbal assurance that in any grave emergency she could count on the moral, and even on the material, friendship of a first-class power. The confidence of the Boer leaders

in the ultimate success of a struggle with the Suzerain power is incapable of reasonable explanation on any other ground. But if, on the one side, stood a wary and resolute Dutch President, the pivot of the aspirations of his people, the type and flower of his stern and unyielding race, so, on the other side, stood a Colonial Prime Minister, an Englishman incarnate, determined to hazard life and fortune rather than submit to the degradation of his flag. Insecure in the support of his own parliamentary majority or of the Dutch element in his own Colony, or of the nerve of the Transvaal Uitlanders in a crisis, his local position was visibly inferior to that of his great antagonist, but he had self-reliance, imagination and genius: he was confident in the loyalty of Natal and of his own Rhodesians, and he had the command of the sea; while behind him, afar off, but indubitably there, he felt he had his mother country and the hardy settlers in her oversea dominions. The contest was thus not wholly unequal. History, regarding, with judicial scrutiny, the bickerings and race feuds of the years now under review, will, I think, eventually pronounce that there were faults of temper and of policy on both sides, but that from the outset the struggle for supremacy could only be determined by the arbitrament of arms. We may be thankful that Englishmen, who have encountered the Boer in the fighting line and on the veld, are now enthusiastic admirers of his soldierly qualities, and freely admit that Kruger, with all his limitations, was a son of the soil of whom any country might be proud. Equally are there Dutch Afrikanders who no longer refuse their tribute of admiration to the memory of Rhodes. One of their foremost representatives, General Smuts,

speaking at Johannesburg on 16th November, 1907, declared that Cecil Rhodes and Paul Kruger were the two dominating personalities in South African history, the men who had laid the "spoor" which would be followed for centuries.

On Tuesday, 26th May, 1891, Sir Henry Loch opened the third session of the eighth Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, and announced the completion of the line of railway to Vryburg on its way to the far North: to Bloemfontein on its way to Pretoria, and to Simon's Town, the Imperial Naval Station. "My Ministers," he added, "have visited Bloemfontein and entered on a fresh Convention for the extension of the line to the Vaal River." Referring to native affairs, he went on to say that Umquikela was dead and that there was much unrest in Pondoland, but that the Cape and Natal had successfully preserved peace on their respective borders.

On 27th May, Rhodes moved and Hofmeyr seconded a motion to prepare and transmit an address of sympathy on the death of the King of Holland, a small but not insignificant act of courtesy which was appreciated by the Colonial Dutch.

On 4th June, during the course of a discussion on the wine industry, Rhodes again declared that it had been ruined by Gladstone for the benefit of foreign countries, and that, in his opinion, there should be closer commercial union between the mother country and her Colonies, based on a system of reciprocal preference. Hofmeyr concurred and gave some interesting details. "Prior," he said, "to the revised tariff of 1860, Cape wine paid a duty of two shillings and tenpence per

gallon, and foreign wine paid five shillings and sixpence per gallon. When this preference was abolished, our exports fell at once from 1,100,000 gallons to 500,000, and we must hope that this Free Trade craze will pass away, as concessions to the Colonies will tend to consolidate the Empire." The craze, though visibly weaker, has not passed away, but, in the meanwhile, the Cape wine industry has been practically annihilated. Rhodes wound up the debate by saying that Lord Randolph Churchill had very recently encouraged him to apply for preferential relations on the ground that among the working classes of Great Britain there existed a strong desire to regain the trade of the Colonies.

On 5th June, in a division on the Ballot Bill, the House tied, 33 to 33, and the Speaker gave his casting vote for the measure, whereupon Hofmeyr moved to go into Committee that day three months. The Ministry were divided on the point, and the motion was carried by 35 to 32. The Bill therefore dropped.

On 17th June, Sprigg, in Committee of Supply, returned to the attack on the Premier's "dual position." Merriman, in defence, said, "Every patriotic man in this House should wish the Chartered Company well and endeavour to help it in every possible way." Uppington supported Sprigg, while Sauer, in a caustic rejoinder, said he believed the Colony would benefit very much by the operations of the Company, and he pointed out to the House that Sprigg, at a meeting of his constituents, had blessed the Company altogether and, on the 19th January, 1890, had sent a formal Minute to the Governor to the effect that Ministers were in entire accord with the Company's managing director, believing the

enterprise on which he was engaged would be an incalculable benefit to the Colony and to South Africa. Hofmeyr followed, strongly supporting Rhodes. Thereon, a leading member of the Bond declared that, Rhodes's ideal being self-government, he should receive the help of all true Afrikanders. But the most interesting incident in the debate was the fact that John Laing, the original mover in the attack during the previous session, now rose and publicly recanted, expressing the opinion that the House and the country had every reason to be satisfied with the Premier and his work. After a spirited closing speech from Rhodes, his opponents prudently feared to challenge a division, and the question dropped.

On 30th June, a private member moved for the abolition of the system of protection by means of preferential railway rates on Colonial products, but Rhodes avowed that he was, and always had been, in favour of affording the farmer moderate protection in regard to those food-stuffs which the Colony could produce. The motion was negatived without a division. On 2nd July, Rhodes moved that Government property within Municipal areas should, in future, be liable to taxation, from which it had been hitherto exempt. His main object, he said, was to augment the Municipal revenue of Cape Town, because that city was, and ought to remain, the capital of South Africa. His motion was agreed to by 40 to 18. On 13th July, on the proposed Railway Convention, he sharply rebuked Upington for missing his opportunity in 1886, when Kruger was willing to allow an extension of the line to Johannesburg and had been sore ever since at the rejection of his over-

tures. A couple of days later he spoke strongly in favour of the preferential use of Colonial coal and other products, thus carrying out the South African policy to which he had pledged himself. On the 20th July, in a discussion on the advisability of establishing a School of Mines in order to train the youth of the country in a knowledge of its greatest industry, he said that he did not want a lad to compete for a "bit of paper" (a diploma), but he would like to see the instruction so practical that a student could always leave the Institution with the offer of a mining appointment in his pocket. On 18th August, Parliament was prorogued with the usual formalities. The Governor congratulated the House on the successful passage of the Bill for the Regulation of Banking, and on its caution in regard to the further prosecution of railways. With this parting shot at Sprigg, the session of 1891 terminated.

Earlier in the year, while Rhodes was in England, he is understood to have made a fifth Will, leaving the bulk of his estate in trust to Mr. W. T. Stead, who, at the time, seemed to him to be the most fitting person within the range of his acquaintance to carry out his ideas (*vide* "Last Will and Testament of Cecil Rhodes," *Review of Reviews* Office, 1902). Mr. Stead states that Rhodes, to elucidate his views, addressed him at considerable length from Kimberley on 19th August and 3rd September, shortly before leaving for Mashonaland.

The former letter was probably written in the train on his way to Kimberley, and illustrates the rapidity with which his mind worked, for, as I have just shown, he only rose from Parliament the previous

day. Both documents are quoted by Mr. Stead in detail and still make interesting reading.

It was on the 23rd February, 1891, that Rhodes, who was then in England, contributed £5000 to the funds of the Liberal party. The donation passed through the hands of Mr. F. Schnadhorst, who, having paid a visit to South Africa the previous year, had formed the acquaintance of the Cape Premier, and strongly impressed the latter with a sense of his exceptional organising ability. The following is a transcript of the letter accompanying the gift:—

Monday, February 23, 1891.

“MY DEAR SCHNADHORST,—I enclose you a cheque for £5,000 and I hope you will, with the extreme caution that is necessary, help in guiding your party to consider politics other than those of England. I do not think your visit to Kimberley did you harm either physically or politically, and I am glad to send you the contribution I promised. The future of England must be Liberal, perhaps to fight Socialism. I make but two conditions: please honourably observe them: (1) that my contribution is secret (if, of course, you feel in honour bound to tell Mr. Gladstone you can do so, but no one else, and he must treat it as confidential); (2) if the exigencies of party necessitate a Home Rule Bill without representation at Westminster, your association must return my cheque.—Yours,

C. J. RHODES.

“*P. S.*—I am horrified by Morley’s speech on Egypt; if you think your party hopeless keep the money, but give it to some charity you approve of. It would be an awful thing to give my money to breaking up the Empire.”

It will be seen that the only vital condition annexed to the donation was that it should be returned if the party passed a Home Rule Bill which excluded the Irish members from Westminster. In a postscript, however, Rhodes expressed alarm at a recent speech by Mr. John Morley which appeared to foreshadow the evacuation of Egypt. Subsequently, his uneasiness deepened, owing to a report that Mr. Gladstone himself favoured the abhorred policy of scuttle, and he accordingly, while on his way back to South Africa, addressed a second letter to Mr. Schnadhorst to the following effect:—

“On board the ‘Dunottar,’ April 25th, 1892.

“MY DEAR SCHNADHORST,—I am sorry to have missed you, but glad to hear that you are so much better, though it robs one of the chance of seeing you again in South Africa. I gather in England that your party is almost certain to come in, though there may be subsequent difficulty as to the shape of the Home Rule Bill. The matter that is troubling me is your policy as to Egypt. I was horrified when I returned from Mashonaland to read a speech of Mr. Gladstone’s evidently foreshadowing a scuttle if he came in, I could hardly believe it to be true and sat down to write to you, but thought it better to wait and see you. I have now missed you, so must trust to writing. I do hope you will do your best to check him from the mad step which must bring ruin and misery on the whole of Egypt, whilst our retirement will undoubtedly bring it under the influence of one or other of the foreign powers, which of course by reciprocal treaties will eventually manage the exclusion of our trade. However, if your respected leader

remains obdurate when he comes into power, and adopts this policy of scuttle, I shall certainly call upon you to devote my subscription to some public charity in terms of my letter to you, as I certainly, though a Liberal, did not subscribe to your party to assist in the one thing I hate above everything, namely, the policy of disintegrating and breaking up our Empire. As you are aware, the question of Egypt was the only condition I made, and it seems rather extraordinary to me that the first public speech your leader should make, which sketches generally his views upon the near approach of office, should declare a policy of abandonment. I asked you at the time I wrote to see him and tell him of my action, and I suppose you must have mentioned the Egyptian question which was really all I cared about. We are now one-third of the way with a telegraph through the Continent from the south, only to hear of your policy of scuttle in the north.—Yours.

“C. J. RHODES.”

Mr. Schnadhorst's reply is subjoined:—

“NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION,
42 PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.

June 4th, 1892.

“MY DEAR RHODES,—I regret very much I did not see you when you were here as your letter places me in a situation of extreme perplexity. Your donation was given with two conditions, both of which will be observed, but in a postscript you referred to John Morley's speech on Egypt in the sense in which you have written about Mr. Gladstone's reference to the same

subject. It is 18 months ago since I saw you, when you referred to the subject in conversation, and I told you then, as I think now, that J. M.'s speech was very unwise, and that it did not represent the policy of the party. The General Election has been coming near and is now close at hand. Your gift was intended to help in the Home Rule struggle. It could do so only by being used before the election; being satisfied that I could observe your conditions and that J. M.'s speech was simply the expression of an individual opinion, I felt at liberty to pledge your funds for various purposes in connection with the election. This was done to a large extent before Mr. G. spoke at Newcastle. I am bound to say that in my view his reference to Egypt was no more than a pious opinion. It did not alter my feeling that a Liberal Government would not attempt withdrawal. Sir W. Harcourt was annoyed at Mr. G.'s reference at the time, and since I heard from you I have seen Lord Rosebery, who will become Foreign Minister, and who, I am satisfied from what he said to me, would not sanction such a policy. Mr. Gladstone, I expect, had been worked on by a few individuals, but in my opinion it would be simply madness for him to add to the enormous difficulties with which he will have to deal, by risking complications on such a subject. There is no danger, besides the next Foreign Secretary will be a strong man who will take his own course, very different from the pliant and supple Granville. Of course I may be wrong: time alone can show, but if I waited for that, the purpose for which I asked your help would go unaided. You will see what a fix you have put me in. I will not make any further promises until

I hear from you.—With all good wishes, I am, Faithfully yours,
“F. SCHNADHORST.”

The incident is worth recording, because some years later, in 1901, a long-sustained controversy arose over an anonymous letter in the *Spectator*, which accused* the Liberal party, and specifically Sir W. Harcourt and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, of having been “bought” for £5000. The accusation was, of course, outrageous. Rhodes was admittedly alarmed at occasional indiscreet utterances of prominent politicians, which conveyed to his mind an impression that the little Englanders were endeavouring to limit the responsibilities of Empire, regardless of the national honour, but he warmly resented the charge that his money had been given with a view to “square” the Liberal party. A great deal more was made of the incident than it deserved, and Rhodes believed, as all sensible people now believe, that both the great parties in the State can be equally trusted to uphold the integrity of all territory once brought under our control. The Marquess of Salisbury was not slow to recognise the growing ascendancy of Rhodes. Speaking at Glasgow on receiving the freedom of that city in May, 1891, he said, “There is the British South Africa Company, which you will probably know better in the concrete form of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, a very considerable man, a man of very many remarkable powers, and remarkable resolution and will.”

During the year with which I have just dealt, Rhodes made a strenuous effort to establish a Teaching University at the Cape, offering a site and large endowment out of his own pocket; but his plans were thwarted

*“Which accused.”—*i.e.* The newspaper, not the correspondent, for whom these reflections are not intended.

by the opposition of the Dutch educational authorities at Stellenbosch and elsewhere, who preferred a Maynooth of their own to a truly National University. The position in the Transvaal also continued to cause him great and growing anxiety. His various overtures to Kruger were disregarded, and even the support of the Bond in the Cape Colony, which he still enjoyed, had no effect on the iron obstinacy of the President.

On the 17th February, 1892, the telegraph line to Fort Salisbury was completed, and Rhodes and I had a long and interesting talk over the wires with Dr. Jameson, the Administrator, a talk which resulted in the establishment of the first bank in Rhodesia on 20th July.

In March Rhodes sailed for England in connection with Chartered finance, leaving the administration of the Cape Colony in the hands of Mr. Merriman. But he was back at his post when the fourth session of the eighth Parliament was opened by Governor Loch on the 3rd June, 1892, a few days subsequent to the opening of the railway to the Transvaal border. In His Excellency's speech he announced the tranquillity of Native Affairs, referred to the rapid expansion of the Transvaal gold industry, and added that his Ministers had made a provisional agreement to advance £650,000 to the Netherlands South African Railway Company for railway extension, in order to secure for the Colony its fair share of Transvaal trade. The session had no sooner opened than Rhodes was called upon to defend himself against persistent attacks by Sir Gordon Sprigg. The first trial of strength occurred on 24th June, when the Opposition endeavoured to wreck the Franchise Bill, but were de-

feated by 52 to 16. On 28th June, Merriman introduced the Budget in a speech of singular ability, closing with the remark that the most hardened pessimist must admit that the past year had been one of undoubted prosperity and that the financial position of the Colony was sound and stable. On 30th June a typical instance occurred of the equity with which Rhodes generally met what he considered a reasonable Transvaal claim. He does not, as a rule, receive credit for having been considerate in that direction. Mr. van der Walt, a Dutch member, asked whether Swaziland was to be annexed to the Transvaal, and Rhodes, in reply, stated that certain paragraphs in the English press, accusing the Cape of hostility to the claims of the Republic, were malicious and mischievous. Such statements, he added, were opposed to the views of the Cape Cabinet as a whole, and contrary to the views of every individual member of his Ministry. On 5th July, Sprigg moved what was practically a vote of censure on Rhodes, for an alleged delay in the completion of the line of rail from Vryburg to Mafeking. There had been some delay necessitating an appeal to the De Beers Consolidated Mines for financial assistance, but on 20th April, 1892, a loan had been arranged. The attack in the Assembly drifted into the old grievance of the dual position of the Prime Minister, but the House, by an overwhelming majority, rejected the motion. On 11th July Rhodes moved the second reading of his Franchise and Ballot Bill and, after a debate extending over many days, carried the point by 45 to 20, Hofmeyr being a strenuous supporter of the measure. On going into Committee, a wrecking amendment was thrown out by 48 to 9, and various

other amendments fared no better. The Bill was finally passed on 1st August by 47 to 13. An interesting amendment to grant Women's Suffrage was resisted by Merri-man, who quoted a Dutch proverb, "Women and brandy are excellent things, but you must handle them cautiously." The House ungallantly negatived the proposition without a division, but I cannot find that any suffragette demonstrations ensued. The following quotation from a recent article in the *Times* correctly describes the Act and the prior Franchise Act of 1887:—"Sir Gordon Sprigg in the year 1887 introduced a Bill 'to make better provision for the registration of persons entitled to the electoral franchise under the Constitution Ordinance.' The real object of the Bill was to strike at the abuse of the 'joint occupation' clause in that Ordinance; and in his speech on the second reading Sir Gordon Sprigg showed how, as the consequence of that abuse, the native vote had increased to an alarming extent. The figures which he gave may be summarised as follows (*Cape Hansard* for 1887, p. 67):—

District.	Number of Voters in 1882.		Number of Voters in 1886.	
	European.	Natives.	European.	Natives.
Aliwal North	1,280	260	1,486	800
Port Beaufort	1,179	160	1,832	400
Kingwilliamstown	1,676	370	3,301	1,300
Queenstown	2,080	220	3,769	1,770
Victoria East	628	90	1,023	520
Wodehouse	1,424	50	2,711	1,325

"As finally passed, the Act of 1887 made it clear that 'joint occupation,' to be a qualification for the franchise, had to be actual occupation of 'a house or other build-

ing' (not occupation of land without actual occupation of the building situated on the land.) It was during the debate on the second reading of this Act of 1887 that Cecil Rhodes came to the front with a speech on the problem of the native franchise in general, which was hailed as 'epochmaking' by the Cape papers of the day, and which shows how well he had realised the true nature and danger of that problem. For our present purpose only his concluding words need be quoted: 'Lastly, as to what should be the policy of South Africa, he would say that it all rested upon this native question, and it would be useless to attempt to form a union of States in South Africa until this Colony was prepared to meet her neighbours in a settlement of this question. This settlement would mean the readiness to take up an Indian despotism in dealing with the barbarism of South Africa. He believed that the Government were now pursuing a right policy in this matter, and that this policy would meet with the approval of a growing number of the European population in the Transvaal and this Colony.' The Act of 1887 aimed only at remedying an abuse of the provisions of the Constitution Ordinance. It did not touch the basis of the property qualification for the franchise laid down by that Ordinance. And it was not till the year of 1892 that any further attempt was made to alter the conditions governing the exercise of the franchise in Cape Colony. That attempt was made by Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister. Following out the policy which he had enunciated in 1887, he raised the property qualification for the franchise from £25, as fixed by the Constitution Ordinance, to £75, left the salary qualification at £50 per annum, and, more im-

portant than either, required every person who claimed a vote to pass an educational test.”

On the 20th July, the ladies were again under discussion, on a motion by a private member in favour of legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister. On the question that the Bill be read a second time, the Ministry were divided, Rhodes and Sivewright voting for the measure and their colleagues against. The division resulted in a tie, and the Speaker gave his casting vote for the second reading. The Bill eventually passed both Houses, but was reserved by the Governor for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. On the 2nd August, Hofmeyr moved that the House concur in the recommendation of the Education Commission, that in the elementary school examination, the proficiency of candidates in both languages should always be ascertained. Rhodes approved of the proposal, declaring that the recommendation of the Commission afforded him great pleasure, as, in view of the increased intercourse that would follow the expansion of the railway system, it behooved Parliament to protect the two mother tongues of the Colony. After this frank recognition by the Premier of the existence of the Dutch “taal,” the motion was agreed to without a division. On 19th August, there arrived news that the Conservatives had fallen and Gladstone was once more at the helm. The “ins” and “outs” had crossed over to Osborne the previous day, the one to kiss hands on appointment, the other to deliver up the seals of office. A few days later, on 24th August, came a rumour that the Transvaal had suddenly framed a new Customs Tariff, bearing with extreme harshness on many Cape industries. A general chorus of indigna-

tion arose alike from Dutch and English members. The tariff was declared to be almost prohibitive and to be contrary to agreement. A motion in the House to protest against the proposed measure was carried unopposed, Rhodes being the only man to keep his head, and urge members to say and do nothing to disturb the relations between the Republic and the Colony. It was by ill-advised and injudicious legislation that Kruger so frequently put the friendship of the Dutch in the Cape Colony to a severe test. Rhodes agreed to make immediate friendly representations to the Transvaal Government, but on 29th August he had to admit that they had not elicited the courtesy of a reply, and a Dutch member thereupon passionately declared that the Cape Dutch papers were treating the Transvaal too leniently in the matter. Rhodes, true to his conciliatory policy, still counselled forbearance, and promised the House that one of the Ministry would visit Pretoria if the subject were left in his hands, and this course was finally agreed to. This was the last important debate of a singularly quiet session, Parliament being prorogued the same day. The position of the Ministry had never once been seriously endangered, and the prestige of Rhodes was almost at high water mark. He had passed forty Acts of Parliament, mostly of a domestic nature, but it is perhaps significant that existing legislation dealing with the Colonial forces was revised and strengthened, and that a measure became law for restricting the importation of arms and ammunition.

Shortly after the prorogation, viz., on the 3rd September, 1892, Rhodes and Sivewright started on a tour through the South-Western districts of the Colony, and

were at Montague the following day. A few days later they were snowed up in the Swartberg Pass, and subsequently were thrown out of their cart and severely bruised, the accident resulting in their having to return to Cape Town.

The Kimberley Exhibition, which attracted visitors from all parts of South Africa, was opened by Governor Loch on the 12th September, in the presence of General Cameron, the officer commanding the forces; the veteran Sir Richard Southey; Mr. Innes, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Sauer, the Commissioner of Works; but, owing to his accident, Rhodes was not there. He subsequently arrived, however, and visited the Exhibition, access to which is said to have been temporarily denied to him owing to his inability to find a coin in his pocket with which to pay the charge for admission. A correspondent of the *Times*, who contributed to that paper from July to October, 1892, remarked in one of his letters, "To the Dutchman space is essential and space alone. Mr. Rhodes was heard to say in a London drawing-room last year that it was the reading of Zola's *Germinal* which had first caused him to realise the necessity of providing decent homes and harmless pleasures for the Kimberley miner. These and the compounds have created conditions of life satisfactory to white and black."

The opening sentence in the above quotation expresses in few words a profound truth. There is no intensive cultivation in South Africa. Kipling's "Vast spaces washed with sun" have come to be essential to the Dutch, and their struggles for more elbow room than the exigencies and the safety of the Empire could allot to them were bound, in the long run, to result in war. But

through war, and through that closer union which has followed war, the problem of orderly expansion on the part of the two races, under one flag, is in a fair way to be solved. The allusion of the *Times* correspondent to "decent homes" is, of course, to the model village of Kenilworth, now so widely known, where the white employees of the De Beers Consolidated Mines are housed in excellent detached cottages, each with a garden plot, and where a working man sits literally under his own vine and fig-tree, and lives a life of self-respect almost unknown to the denizen of a crowded slum, for he possesses the inestimable advantage of fresh air, a church, a recreation ground, a club for himself, and an elementary school for his children.

On 26th September, Rhodes spoke at Kimberley to advocate the assimilation of the judicial procedure of Bechuanaland with that of the Cape Colony. His thoughts were always of union, and of the welding of links of union, however small. Two days earlier he had dined with his miners and declared that great wealth begot great obligations, and that he for his part acknowledged the validity of the doctrine of ransom, and proposed to put it in practice in his own case by developing the far North.

Sivewright, whose energy in railway matters was beyond praise, was knighted for his services about this date. He and Rhodes proceeded to England together in the *Norham Castle* on 5th October, the Governor being a passenger by the same steamer. Before leaving, Rhodes handed to me a formal Power of Attorney, authorising me to supervise the commercial and financial affairs of the Chartered Company, of which he was managing

director, the administrative responsibilities remaining, of course, with Dr. Jameson. He also handed me a letter of the following tenor:—

“CAPE TOWN, 5th October, 1892.

“MY DEAR GENERAL,—During my absence in England Mr. Michell has my power to represent the Charter, so I shall be glad if you will consider him its representative till further notice.—Yrs.,

“C. J. RHODES.

“To His Excellency General Cameron,
“Acting Governor.”

On arrival in England, Rhodes gave the reporters the slip, much to their indignation. I find him calling at the Foreign Office on 27th October to pay his respects to Lord Rosebery, for whom he entertained a strong regard. He was invited to the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield on 3rd November and also, on the same day, to a banquet given to Lord Loch at the Hotel Metropole, but he abhorred these public functions of a carnivorous character, and was present at neither. On 29th November, however, he was in his element, addressing a great meeting of Chartered shareholders at the Cannon Street Hotel, the President of the Company, the Duke of Abercorn, presiding. His speech, a masterly one, is fully reported in “Vindex.” Among the subjects touched upon was that of the African Trans-Continental Telegraph Company, one of his favourite projects. Thus, “When the Charter was granted I formed the idea of an overland telegraph to Egypt, and the other day, when homeward bound, I saw with alarm that a section of our people were desirous of abandoning Uganda. I do not propose to fight the Mahdi, but to deal with

him. I have never met any one in my life whom it was not as easy to deal with as to fight." This is the origin of the famous phrase "squaring the Mahdi"; but having succeeded in transacting business with the ferocious Matabele Chief, it was not perhaps wholly unreasonable for Rhodes to think that he could bargain with the despot of the Sudan. It may be that he failed to realise the religious fanaticism of the latter, a trait entirely absent from the character of Lo Bengula, but the idea underlying his remark was, in ordinary cases, a sound one.

The passage from which I have quoted was characteristic of Rhodes in another respect. He was exquisitely sensitive to any rumour of the abandonment of British territory anywhere, for he kept always before him the necessity of ample elbow room for the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race, in whose governing capacity he had implicit faith. The closing words of his speech were a summary of its general tenor. "I never," he said, "lose an opportunity of pointing out to the people that in view of the fact that these islands can only support six out of their thirty-six millions, and in view also of the action of the world in trying to exclude our goods, we cannot afford to part with one inch of the world's surface which affords a free and open market to the manufactures of our countrymen."

Before passing away from the year 1892 I must refer briefly to the approaching Transvaal Presidential election. The candidates were Kruger, Piet Joubert and Mr. Justice Kotzé. A Transvaal correspondent wrote to me on 24th September that the better class Boer thought the time had arrived for a change of President

and was in favour of electing General Joubert; that the back-veld burghers and also all Concession hunters were solid for Kruger; while the Uitlanders, who were for Kotzé, had no votes. He added that the Church question, then before the Courts, was causing much bad blood, and that the Dynamite Monopoly was the subject of bitter complaint. The Transvaal National Union, an Uitlander body, was formed about this time, and it was to a deputation of theirs that Kruger replied, on the 1st September, in the memorable words, "Go back and tell your people I shall never give them anything, and now let the storm burst!" During October I received many letters from the Republic. One of my correspondents said: "Sir Henry de Villiers is here. I met him at dinner last night; he animadverted strongly on the present state of affairs at Pretoria, and thinks there must be a thorough cleaning out." As we know, no such cleansing of the Augean stable took place. Kruger, by 7881 votes against 7009 for Joubert, was re-elected, not without suspicion of the ballot having been manipulated by his friends: affairs then went from bad to worse until the Ship of State finally drifted on the rocks. In November, Rhodes addressed the following letter to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"Most confidential."

"MY LORD,—Understanding that Her Majesty's Government is considering the question of the retention of Uganda under her protection, I think it well to state for their information that I am prepared to extend at once the line of Telegraph from Salisbury, the capital of Mashonaland, to Uganda, without asking Her Majesty's Government for any contribution. I would

point out that it may be necessary to obtain the sanction of the German Government for the construction of that portion of the line which would pass through their East African territory. I would therefore ask, provided this right is not already secured by treaty, that Her Majesty's Government should take such steps as they may consider necessary to obtain it. It may be well to state that I seek no monopoly in the German territory, all I wish is to have the right of construction, and I beg, provided Her Majesty's Government concur in my proposal, that action should be taken without relay, as I am particularly desirous to order the necessary material before returning to the Cape, so as to commence the construction at once and complete with all possible despatch.

“The British South Africa Company constructed the line from Mafeking to Salisbury, about 1000 miles in length, in less than 18 months, and in my judgment, considering the facilities of water transit afforded by the Lake system, I could complete the line to Uganda in a similar time. The extension northwards from Salisbury will, according to the arrangements I have already made, pass *via* Blantyre, near to which Her Majesty's Commissioner, Mr. H. H. Johnston, resides, up Lake Nyasa and from there to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. Beyond Tanganyika I shall be prepared to extend the line to whatever point in Uganda Her Majesty's Government may desire. I may add that my ultimate object is to connect with the Telegraph system now existing in Egypt, which I believe extends as far as Wady Halfa, but I am fully aware that under existing circumstances at Khartoum such an undertaking cannot be at present carried out.”

It will be observed that he confines himself to strict business, and does not touch on the delicate question of the abandonment of Uganda. In the event, the territory is still ours, and promises to become a great and prosperous Colony. But although the letter I have quoted made no allusion to high politics, there is reason to believe that Rhodes made strong verbal representations to the party in power, as he did not feel altogether at ease as to Gladstone's intentions. He had been reading Russell's book, *The Ruin of the Sudan*, and was much struck by some letters therein from Mr. Francis William Fox, a keen advocate of railways and telegraphs as civilising factors, who pressed for the construction of a line, since built, from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza. The Anti-Slavery Society were also, for once, on the side of the Empire, and urged the retention of territory where, if anywhere, it was in our power to make a successful effort to heal what Livingstone had rightly called "the open sore of the world."

It is easy to see now that the desire of Rhodes to throw a wire across the Dark Continent was doomed to failure. He was too early, because the Imperial spirit stirred by Beaconsfield was still in half-slumbering mood. He was too late, because statesmen responsible for our destinies had permitted other nations to occupy territory along the line of route, and effectually bar the completion of an "all red" line. But, so far as the telegraph wires have penetrated, they have been of essential service to mankind. Financially, the project may not be a success. Some of the world's greatest achievements are not translatable into visible profit in pounds sterling. But a wire from Cape Town to Tête and far Ujiji, though

only a fraction of the original scheme, is successful in accelerating communication between otherwise sundered communities, in checking the slave trade, promoting civilisation, and helping the pioneers of our race to push ever forward on their high and fruitful mission to replenish the earth and subdue it. The line, as it stands, is a living testimony to the genius and determination of Cecil Rhodes. It must, however, be frankly admitted that his references to the Trans-Continental Telegraph line were ill-received in the city. The fear of the Mahdi was wide-spread, the project was characterised in some quarters as of the "wild-cat" order and as a will-o'-the-wisp. "Magnificent," said the Stock Exchange, "but not business." The shares of the Chartered Company fluttered and fell, and Rhodes alone held on his way, resolute and unafraid.

While in England, he received the unwelcome intelligence that there were internal dissensions in his Ministry of a menacing nature, his colleagues being unanimous in desiring the retirement of Sir James Sivewright. A considerable amount of communication by cable failed to result in an amicable settlement of the dispute. With a view to smooth matters over, he proposed, or the solution was proposed to him, that Sir Charles Mills, the Agent-General, should be placed on pension and his office filled by Merriman, who, in turn, could be succeeded, it was thought, by Sir Gordon Sprigg, on whose readiness to join any Ministry it was always considered safe to rely. But the crisis was not to be averted by such a measure as this. Persons whose retirement is arranged for them frequently show a strange disinclination to recognise the expediency of the course proposed.

It was so in this case. Sir Charles declined to retire, the scheme fell through, and towards the end of December Rhodes left England for the Cape, but by the leisurely Eastern route *via* Marseilles, Egypt, Delagoa Bay and the Transvaal. His choice of route was dictated by business reasons of a very important nature, as will appear later on. He arrived in Cape Town on the 8th March, 1893, but Sivewright did not return until nearly the close of April.

At the risk of unduly prolonging this chapter, I must refer to one pleasing incident which passes like a ray of light across the gloomy atmosphere of the year. On 13th May, 1892, Governor Loch wrote to President Reitz of the Free State, who had succeeded Sir John Brand, that it was reported to him that the graves of the British officers and soldiers who fell at Boomplaats in 1848 were in a state of serious disrepair, and he inquired whether the Government of the Republic would authorise him to do what was necessary in the matter. On 18th May Reitz replied promising prompt investigation, and adding, "Should it be found that the graves require repair, I hope you will permit our Government to show its respect for the brave British soldiers who fell there, by having the necessary repairs effected at our own cost."

The offer, so courteously made, was gratefully accepted; the graves were repaired and restored, and surrounded by a wall, and on 30th June, the Queen, with the graceful tact which never failed her, sent to the President an expression of her high appreciation of his action in the matter.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE SECOND RHODES MINISTRY: SESSION OF 1893

The Sivewright quarrel—Abortive negotiations—Hofmeyr declines to take office—Chief Justice and Rhodes—Rhodes resigns—Forms new Ministry—Parliament opens—The dual position again—Innes on the Logan contract—Heated debates—Colonial wines—Rhodes on the tariff—West Coast Railway—Rhodes advocates a Minister for Agriculture—Rhodes on German South-west Africa—Fore-shadows general election—Condemns Transvaal policy—Prorogation of Parliament—Rhodes at Kimberley.

I NOW arrive at a painful chapter in the career of Rhodes as Premier of the Cape Colony, in other words at the dissolution and reconstruction of his Ministry, which left him still at the head of affairs but shorn of his closest friends and most experienced colleagues. I record the circumstances. I do not seek to apportion the blame. The parties have all spoken for themselves.

The storm had long been threatening to burst. Sir James Sivewright was connected with more than one public company whose affairs were the subject of private gossip and press comment. So far back as the 21st May, 1891, Sir James Rose-Innes, a man of the nicest sense of honour, had written to Rhodes that the Johannesburg Waterworks Company, of which Sivewright was a director, was being made the subject of serious allegations, and he went on to suggest that Sivewright should be called upon to clear himself. The incident seems to have blown over, but other causes for

distrust arose, and on his arrival at the Cape Rhodes found himself in the thick of a Ministerial crisis, and was called upon to take sides in a dispute between those who had hitherto worked under him in, at all events, outward harmony. Such quarrels were very distasteful to him, but this one there was no avoiding except by sacrificing three colleagues or one. Most Prime Ministers, acting along the line of least resistance, would have sided with the majority, but this was not always his way. Merriman, Sauer, and Innes declined absolutely to sit in the same Cabinet as Sivewright, and Rhodes was reluctant to eject the latter on grounds which he apparently deemed inadequate. In this emergency he offered to retire in favour of Hofmeyr, but that astute statesman declined to assume the responsibilities of office. Rhodes then approached the Chief Justice, Sir Henry de Villiers, offering to serve under him without portfolio, on the ground that his frequent but unavoidable absences from the Colony rendered his relinquishment of office desirable. He added, however, that he would serve under no chiefs but De Villiers or Hofmeyr. Sir Henry, in the course of an hour's conversation on Tuesday, 28th April, 1893, intimated that the Premiership had no attractions for him, save to promote that policy of Federation which he believed he and Rhodes both had at heart. The two men met again that evening at Wynberg, and again the following morning. On this latter occasion Rhodes committed the mistake of producing a list of the members of a proposed Cabinet drawn up in Hofmeyr's handwriting. To this the Chief Justice, not unnaturally, demurred, stating that if he formed an Administration, he must choose the Ministers himself. He

added that he might not improbably offer an appointment to one or more of the dissentient three. To this Hofmeyr, and possibly Rhodes also, raised objections, and after some further fruitless negotiations, the project fell through, Rhodes writing, "I found your conditions impossible to carry out, so must do my best to pull through." There remained, of course, the alternative of submission to the demand of his three colleagues, but for reasons only imperfectly known, Rhodes, wisely or unwisely, was indisposed to do this, and on 3rd May he placed his resignation in the hands of the Governor, a resignation which involved that of all his colleagues. On the following day he entered on his second Ministry which, so far as he himself was concerned, was merely a prolongation of the first. All the Ministers whose differences had created the crisis were excluded, and the service of the country was the poorer for the exclusion. Sprigg, as had been anticipated, readily succeeded Merriman. He would have taken command of the Channel Fleet with equal alacrity. John Laing, another opponent, succeeded Sivewright. Sauer's office of Colonial Secretary was filled by Mr.—now Sir Pieter—Faure, who had previously been Secretary for Native Affairs. The latter duties were temporarily entrusted to a respected Colonist, Mr.—now Sir John—Frost, but in the ensuing session Rhodes carried an Act abolishing the office and requiring the Prime Minister to discharge its functions. It was thus he became associated with Native Affairs; hence his subsequent passage of the well-known Glen Grey Act. The Attorney-Generalship, held by Innes with general acceptance, was given to Mr. W. P. Schreiner, of whom we shall hear more at a later stage.

The text of his letter assenting to the offer of the office runs as follows:—

“CAPE TOWN, *Tuesday Evening, 2/5/93.*

“MY DEAR RHODES,—I was sorry to be away when you called. As soon as I came home I went round and saw Hofmeyr, who explained the object of your visit. I can work, if you wish me, in the association which you mentioned; and I told Hofmeyr so. I wish you would get a more experienced man than I at present am in the hurly-burly: but I believe that we shall work well together if the opportunity ranges me by your side, and I shall be proud to work with you. I only write in case I miss seeing you to-morrow morning. I must ‘fry fish’ in Court at 10 o’clock.—Yours truly,

“W. P. SCHREINER.”

I must not deny myself the pleasure of recording here the following manly note from one of Rhodes’s outgoing colleagues:—

“CAPE TOWN, *4th May, 1893.*

“MY DEAR RHODES,—Only a word. The coming and going of Ministers must be: but our severance is to me a pain. I shall ever look back to my association with you as one of the honours and pleasures of my life.—Your sincere friend,

J. W. SAUER.”

On the 16th June, Sir Henry Loch opened Parliament. His speech referred to negotiations as having taken place with the Transvaal regarding their imposition of onerous duties on Cape products, but no settlement was

foreshadowed. His Excellency reported the opening to Pretoria of the railway constructed with Cape money, and went on to say that a Bills of Exchange Act would be introduced. It was about time. Up till then the Cape, almost alone among British Colonies, possessed no legislation dealing with negotiable instruments. It should be remembered in commercial circles to the credit of Rhodes that both the Bank Act and Bills of Exchange Act were due to his initiative. At the first sitting of the House an irrepressible Irish member, O'Reilly, uninfluenced by Rhodes's support of Irish Home Rule, gave notice of motion, "That in the interests of the country it is impolitic and undesirable that the official representative of the B.S.A. Company should be Prime Minister of the Colony." The sober pages of Hansard drily record that the notice was received with laughter, laughter no doubt accentuated at the sight of Sprigg and Laing sitting alongside Rhodes on the Treasury benches. It may be added here that O'Reilly, too, in his turn, became an ardent admirer of Rhodes and defended him, later on, with wit and vigour truly Hibernian against all comers. Without further delay Rhodes rose in a crowded house to make a brief explanation of the recent crisis.

"I have now," he said, "to state to the House what has occurred since our last meeting. Owing to differences which arose between some of the Ministers, it was found impossible to maintain that harmonious action that the conduct of public business demands. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) I therefore handed in my resignation and that of my colleagues to the Governor. His Excellency was pleased to accept the same and to entrust me with the formation of another Ministry. We now

present ourselves to the House with the object of continuing the government of the country, that is, if we obtain the support of the House to those measures which we shall bring forward in the public interest.”

It is obvious that a Ministerial crisis of the severity of character I have just recorded could not, in any Parliament, be allowed to pass without further explanation than this. The facts were of public notoriety and the comments of the press had been of a diversified nature. The seceding Ministers, if the term may be fitly used, owed it to themselves, to their constituents, and to the country, to give clear expression to the motives which had compelled them, for conscience's sake, to break up an exceptionally strong Administration in the zenith of its power. They entrusted their defence to Innes, whose reputation for impartiality stood deservedly high. He now rose to state that the Ministry had not been rent asunder on any question of policy, but on considerations of principle and honour. Three of the Ministers, he said, found themselves unable any longer to give their confidence to a fourth, while the latter, nevertheless, still received the support of his chief. He recalled how Rhodes and Sivewright in the first week of October, 1892, sailed for England, and how their colleagues, left behind to carry on the business of the country, discovered a few weeks later that Sivewright, in his capacity as Commissioner of Railways, had entered, before sailing, upon a new Railway Refreshment contract giving increased and undue advantages to a personal friend. Ministerial investigation elicited that on 13th September the contractor had applied for what was a virtual monopoly, and that Sivewright had assented

to it. "The Colonial Secretary," added Innes, "was away and so was Mr. Sauer. We decided to await their return, but I wrote to Mr. Rhodes on 8th November that the contractor had been given a monopoly for twenty years, without the lease being submitted to the Attorney-General's Office. I requested him to show the letter to Sivewright, adding that it was a job and I disliked hanky-panky. On 18th November, after a Cabinet Council, we cabled to the Premier urging him to cancel the contract. The same day we received a joint cable reply that the contract was given on the advice of the railway authorities, but that they (Rhodes and Sivewright) would confirm whatever we did. So far, so good. We replied that the contract must be cancelled. Later on, we cabled to Sivewright direct that Hofmeyr and Graaff advised us that the contract was known and was causing grave dissatisfaction, weakening the Ministry and placing its friends in a false position. I added, 'Retreat in time, show Rhodes.' What was my surprise to find on the latter's return that he had never been shown the cable! The contract had been given to a personal friend, without tenders and without the knowledge of colleagues, and we repudiated it. The contractor took legal proceedings, claiming fulfilment of the contract or £50,000 damages. We pleaded that the contract was not in the public interest and advised Sivewright of the plea, whereupon he replied that he could not concur as he was convinced the contract was in the public interest. We rejoined that the plea was the only possible one under the circumstances, and we inquired if he wished the trial delayed until after his return. On 15th February, Sivewright protested against the repudi-

ation of the contract, adding that he was sailing on the 11th March. On 16th February we cabled that we were unanimous, including Faure."

Innes went on to describe other immaterial cables and futile negotiations for an amicable settlement, failing which on the 2nd May his resignation and that of his two colleagues were drawn up, but were not actually sent in, when, on the afternoon of the same day, Rhodes himself resigned rather than repudiate the Commissioner of Railways. "It is not a light thing," Innes added, "to leave a Ministry, but, speaking for myself, there were considerations which rendered freedom from the trammels of the Treasury benches not altogether displeasing to me. We have been called mutinous Ministers. Mutinous against whom? Not mutinous against the Premier. (Cheers.) Mutinous against monopolies? If so, I am proud to be a mutineer. The country will now pass judgment: to that verdict we shall bow and we await it with confidence." (Loud cheers.)

Sivewright, defending himself, admitted that Rhodes telegraphed to him in Scotland that he thought the contract should be cancelled, but he still maintained that it was a good bargain for the Colony and that, for his part, he left a stainless record behind him. Merriman and Sauer both spoke, but declared that they had little to add to what had been said by Innes, with every word in whose speech they fully concurred. The discussion then terminated, but on 20th June, Sivewright, in a speech of portentous length, moved for all papers connected with the contract. A debate ensued in which both Innes and Merriman spoke, after which the motion was agreed to. On the following day Sauer, by leave

of the House, made a personal explanation, to deny what he understood had been stated in the previous debate, viz.: that he and his friends had offered to resume office on conditions. Rhodes, who had rather kept out of the fray, now rose and recapitulated the steps he had taken to heal the breach amongst his colleagues. Innes and Merriman replied defending the stand they had made for purity in the administration of public affairs, the latter exclaiming, "Why did the Prime Minister, who is generally considered a man of extraordinary ability, sacrifice three colleagues who had done nothing (Hear, hear), who had the confidence of the country (Hear hear), against whose Departments there was not a breath of complaint?" Sivewright replied and the matter again dropped.

On 22nd June, O'Reilly brought forward his motion against the dual position, and made sarcastic reference to the pliability of Sprigg in joining Rhodes. Schermbrucker, a subsequent speaker, declared that Rhodes had publicly asserted that every man could be squared. This brought Rhodes indignantly to his feet. "I said," he remarked, "that it was easier to deal amicably with a man than to fight him. In other words, if one sat down and reasoned with a man it was almost always possible to arrive at a settlement. I am not ashamed of the phrase!" He then went on to defend his dual position and the opportunity it gave him of pushing the interests and even the boundaries of the Colony, and upon a division, he had an extraordinary triumph, O'Reilly being beaten by 56 to 2.

On 29th June, Krige, a Dutch member, moved for papers relating to the Imperial duties on Colonial wines.

In reply Rhodes narrated the steps he had taken when in England to bring the question before Her Majesty's Government in order to obtain relief, and he read a letter he had written to Sir William Harcourt showing how the Cape wine trade had been ruined by the Cobden Treaty. The difficulty, he went on to explain, was that Treaties existed with foreign Powers which prevented the mother country making any Tariff Concession to her Colonies. Several members of the Liberal Cabinet had assured him, however, that as soon as they saw British sentiment turn in the direction of such preference, they would take steps in accordance therewith. He, personally, believed that the Empire as a whole was tending in the direction of a freer interchange of goods and produce on a preferential basis as to the rest of the world. The papers called for were then laid on the table.

On the same day another private member asked if any line of railway was in contemplation, starting from Walfisch Bay. Rhodes replied that no proposals had been made to his Government regarding such a line, nor would he enter upon negotiations without submitting them to the House. He admitted, however, that, in his opinion, there was a distinct possibility of Walfisch Bay eventually competing for South African trade, but he had been careful in all dealings between the Chartered Company and Her Majesty's Government on railway construction, to stipulate that no competing line should enter the Protectorate without the Company's consent. This he had done to protect Cape trade, and he was willing to transfer this Concession to the Cape. Accordingly on 5th July a birthday present from Rhodes in

the shape of a letter from the British South Africa Company was read to the House stating, that by agreement between Her Majesty's Government and the Company, no competing line of railway from the West Coast to any point in Bechuanaland or the Protectorate would be constructed without the sanction of the Company, the latter having an exclusive right to build such line. Rhodes now gave the House his assurance that the Company's rights would not be exercised without the approval of the Cape Parliament.

On 7th July a warm discussion took place upon another of Sivewright's railway contracts, that dealing with the cartage of goods at Johannesburg. Unedifying charges were made and the production of papers called for. On the 10th July, Sivewright moved for a Select Committee to investigate the Refreshment Contract, which was agreed to, but his novel proposal to elect its members by ballot was opposed by Innes who moved, as an alternative, that Rhodes should nominate the members, as the House had full confidence in the Premier's impartiality. It was a courteous and even a magnanimous offer, but Rhodes shrank from the delicate duty and moved that the matter be left to Mr. Speaker, which was agreed to. Later in the same day, Rhodes moved the second reading of a Bill to create a Minister of Agriculture, and spoke strongly for agriculture as the real permanent interest of a country rather than mining, the nature of which was precarious. "There is," he said, "a bottom to every mine." The debate was adjourned.

On the 25th July Merriman moved for papers connected with the proposed renewal of a Railway and

Customs Convention with the Orange Free State. Rhodes, in reply, mentioned incidentally that on his way back from Europe *via* the East Coast route, he had visited the Republics and discussed the whole question with the President at Bloemfontein. He had hoped the House would not tie the hands of Ministers. On this hint the motion was withdrawn. His speech gave great pleasure to President Reitz, as the subjoined letter will show.

“KANTOOR VAN DEN STAATSPRESIDENT,
“BLOEMFONTEIN, 28th July, 1893.

“MY DEAR MR. RHODES,—I have read your speech on Railways—report of which you kindly sent me—with much pleasure. What you say there is as true as gospel, and as clear as ‘twice one are two.’—Yours truly,
F. W. REITZ.”

On 28th July, Rhodes, after a powerful speech, carried the second reading of the “Minister for Agriculture Bill.” On 7th August, in discussion on the estimates, an important question was raised. A private member complained that the Government of German South West Africa was permitted to import arms and ammunition into the Territory through the Cape port of Walfisch Bay, while private traders were under prohibition even when British subjects. Rhodes, in reply, said, “There is no unfairness in the matter. Any British subject desiring to land arms and ammunition for the purposes of legitimate trade, can apply to the Magistrate for a permit. The question has to be treated with delicacy because there is already a certain feeling aroused in Germany, owing to my recently stating that no line of Rail-

way will be allowed to enter the Bechuanaland Protectorate from any port on the West Coast, but that the basis of the South African Railway system must be Cape Town. I hold that after our immense expenditure on Docks here it would be foolish for us to assist any rival port to develop our trade with the interior.”

On 14th August, the Select Committee on the Railway Refreshment Contract reported, condemning the Contract on four main grounds—its long duration, its non-submission to the Attorney-General, its completion without public tender, its virtual monopoly. Its cancellation was declared to be justified. This was, of course, a triumph for the seceding Ministers.

On the 15th August the House was informed that there would be a general election about the middle of January, 1894, and on the ensuing day De Waal renewed the old complaint regarding the unfriendly action of the Republics in imposing high duties on Colonial products. Rhodes made a conciliatory reply, praising the action of the Orange Free State, but admitting that, although he had done all in his power, by remonstrance, to influence the Transvaal to agree to closer commercial relations, he had failed. “Our waggons,” he said, “our fruit, wine, grain, butter, even our cattle, are being heavily taxed. We have been promised consideration, but the Volksraad has done nothing. The President is in favour of a system which refuses the franchise to seven-tenths of the population, and rejects commercial relations with a friendly and neighbouring State, which had come forward to help him in time of need. Read history and see if it be possible for this to continue. The Transvaal cannot isolate herself in this way. Meanwhile, we

may be thankful that our route to the Zambesi and beyond is open and free, and that the far North will some day be a portion of the Cape Colony. We must then be patient and not lose our tempers. Our only course is to maintain a statesmanlike and dignified position."

The motion for papers was hereupon withdrawn. A careful study of this utterance will detect a veiled threat behind its correct phraseology. It is to be regretted that the President did not read between the lines and become a member of the South African concert, instead of holding aloof in an attitude of unfriendly isolation. But he did not read history, as his great rival assiduously did.

On 7th September, the House, without debate, approved of the Select Committee's Report on the Railway Refreshment Contract, and two days later Parliament was prorogued without the customary formality of a Governor's speech. Thirty-five Acts of Parliament had been added to the Statute Book. On the whole, Rhodes surmounted the difficulties of the session with greater ease than might have been expected. But there was no factious opposition. His three ex-colleagues were still under the spell of his personality and treated him with considerate courtesy. Later on, other and graver differences arose to widen the breach. But at present their attitude was one of friendly neutrality rather than acrimonious opposition. They had a grievance, many will say a legitimate grievance, for Ministers are but men, and men, especially when struggling for what they honestly believe to be the cause of purity in public life, cannot be unmoved when they see themselves deserted by a Chief to whom they were undeniably loyal.

Their patriotic conduct merits, therefore, commendation from all who hold with Wellington that the Queen's Government must be carried on.

It is noticeable that Rhodes found time to be absent from his post for a few days during the session. On the 30th June, he was at Kimberley presiding at the annual meeting of the shareholders in his great Mining Company. His speech made no reference to politics, although the gathering discontent manifest in the Transvaal offered a pretext not easily thrust aside. But his self-denying ordinance is readily accounted for. At the moment he was under an anxiety more pressing than any connected with Cape or Transvaal politics.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE MATABELE WAR AND AFTER (1893)

Rhodes an optimist—Lo Bengula—Dawson's warning—Helm's warning—Captain Lendy—Dr. Jameson—J. Colenbrander—Border Police—Khama's levies—Umjaan and his impi—Fighting on the Bembezi—Allan Wilson's death—Flight of the King—Rhodes speaks at Bulawayo—Views of Selous—Lord Knutsford—Delagoa Bay negotiations—Sir Hercules Robinson on Home Rule.

IT was not to be expected that a warlike tribe like the Matabele would acquiesce without a struggle in the loss of prestige inseparable from the lodgment in their midst of a small but powerful white population. Lo Bengula probably recognised the futility of an armed struggle with the subjects of the mysterious great white Queen across the water, but despots are frequently driven into dangerous courses by the irresistible pressure of their people. Rhodes, who six years later was wrongly of opinion that the Boers did not mean fighting, was here equally mistaken in holding that self-interest alone would restrain the Matabele ruler from aggression. On 29th November, 1892, at a meeting of the British South Africa Company with which I have already dealt, he expressed himself as an optimist regarding the peaceful developement of Rhodesia. "I have not the least fear," he said, "of any trouble in the future from Lo Bengula." His confidence was based on the latter's undisguised pleasure at receiving a monthly subsidy from the Company in hard cash. But he forgot that though

the king received money, his warriors were not partners in the transaction. Avarice, therefore, had no restraining power over them, and a savage despot can only effectually control his armed forces by allowing them an occasional taste of the blood to which they are accustomed. So it was in this case. Lo Bengula was a man of considerable mental ability, and he had no desire to fight the white men who were pouring gold into his coffers. But his impi were used to periodical raids involving massacre and plunder, and they objected to an enervating peace. They clamoured to be allowed to "wash their spears," and the king had to submit. Various minor raids and individual murders had already taken place. A pretext for killing off inoffensive Mashonas was now found in the alleged theft by them of royal cattle. On 29th June, Mr. James Dawson, the king's scribe, despatched the following letter:—

"BULAWAYO, 29th June, 1893.

"To the Magistrate or other Officer in Charge
at Victoria.

"SIR—An impi is at present leaving this neighbourhood for the purpose of punishing some of Lo Bengula's people who have lately raided some of his own cattle. The impi in its progress will probably come across some white men, who are asked to understand that it has nothing whatever to do with them. They are likewise asked not to oppose the impi in its progress. Also, if the people who have committed the offence have taken refuge among the white men, they are asked to give them up for punishment.—Written at Lo Bengula's request by

"J. W. DAWSON."

Early in July the impi was in motion. On 14th July Mr. Helm, a missionary at Morgenster, sent a letter to Captain Lendy to this effect:—

“MORGENSTER, *July 14, 1893.*

“Captain Lendy, Resident Magistrate, Victoria.

“DEAR SIR,—Alarming reports have reached us as to the attitude of the Matabele towards the white people in and about Victoria. We do not know whether there is any danger or not. Will you kindly send us some information by our messenger, and at the same time let us know what we should do? What we really wish to know is whether there is any immediate danger.—I remain, dear Sir, Obediently yours, S. P. HELM.”

The approach of danger was unfortunately beyond question. For some days an impi, under Umgandine, had been in the settled district of Victoria, and the alarm was general. Captain Lendy, the local magistrate, was away, but his *locum tenens* wired to Dr. Jameson for instructions, and received the following reply, “You can give up nothing. On Lendy’s arrival the induna can lay his complaint against him as a Magistrate.” On 12th July Jameson again wired, “Leaving for Victoria to-morrow. Keep the induna till my arrival. Tell him I will give him a reply to the king’s orders myself.”

To explain the tenor of these messages it is necessary to say that Colenbrander, another European agent of the king, sent, on the latter’s behalf, the following telegram to Captain Lendy on 9th July, or at all events it reached its destination on that date. “I wish to let you know that the men you met were sent by my orders

to recapture some cattle stolen from me by the Amaholi, and I also wish to warn you and the people in your vicinity that I am despatching within a day or so, a very much larger force to punish Bere and others for theft and various other reasons, but I do not wish to frighten you or your people and therefore send you warning that my impis will pass your way, but have orders not to molest any white men. Why should I send an impi against the white men? We have not quarrelled. I have given you now my reasons for punishing these Amaholi, and yet the people will say that I am killing human beings unnecessarily."

Attached to this royal message, Colenbrander adds these words, "While I was at Hope Fountain yesterday, the king sent for me in order to address a letter to you to be sent direct to Victoria by special messenger, but finding me away, went to Mr. Dawson, who has sent the messengers for me, and I trust these will reach you in good time for a warning." This would appear to be a second letter from Dawson, unless the former letter and telegram were both delayed in transmission. Dr. Jameson, to whom the telegram was no doubt retransmitted, sent the annexed reply without the loss of a day.

"Thank the king for his friendly message, and tell him that, of course, I have nothing to do with his punishing his own Maholis. But I must insist that his impis be not allowed to cross the border agreed upon by us. He not being there, they are not under control, and Captain Lendy tells me that some of them have actually been in the streets of Victoria, burning kraals within a few miles, and killing some Mashonas who are servants of the white men: also that they have captured some

cattle of the Government and of other white men. I am now instructing Captain Lendy to see the head induna and tell him those cattle must all be returned at once. His impi must retire beyond our agreed border, otherwise he is to take his police and at once expel them, however many they are. The king will see the necessity of this, otherwise it is possible the white men, getting irritated, his expedition may never return to Bulawayo at all."

At the same time Jameson wired to Captain Lendy, "Have you heard the king's message to me? You will see he is very anxious and, in fact, frightened of any trouble with the whites. But you have done absolutely right in taking all precautions. What you should do now is this: See the head induna as soon as possible. Tell him of the king's message and my reply, and, if necessary, that you would act up to it with police, volunteers and your machine guns. At the same time remember the excessive importance of not hinting at this, if avoidable. From a financial point of view, it would throw the country back till God knows when. In short, you have authority to use extreme measures if necessary, but I trust to your tact to get rid of the Matabele without any actual collision."

This desire to avoid a struggle unless it were absolutely unavoidable was due, in great part, to the fact that the finances of the Chartered Company rendered the strictest economy necessary. Jameson had recently succeeded, beyond his expectation, in reducing expenditure, and was reluctant to face a heavy supplementary budget. On arrival at Victoria, he wired to Rhodes at Cape Town explaining the situation, and adding that if a

blow were once struck, it might become necessary to assume the offensive and march on Bulawayo. Rhodes, then sitting in the House, replied laconically, "Read Luke xiv. 31." On receipt of this message, Jameson called for a Bible and replied, "All right." His decision was soon translated into action. On 18th July, the impi entered the outskirts of the little town. Dr. Jameson, who had arrived, interviewed the head induna, who thereupon agreed to retire, but the younger bloods got out of hand and would have continued their murderous career had not Lendy, with a small force of thirty-four men, attacked and scattered them in all directions. The whole impi then retired on Bulawayo, and a demand was made on the king for 1000 head of cattle, as a fine for damages and expenses incurred. This he agreed to pay, provided the Mashonas in and around Victoria—men, women and children—were handed over to him for execution. To this inadmissible ultimatum no direct reply was given, but the High Commissioner exchanged messages with Lo Bengula without result, until it became clear that war was inevitable. Lo Bengula recalled an impi 5000 strong, which had been raiding in Barotseland beyond the Zambesi, and made other arrangements for an immediate campaign.

On the other hand the Company, duly authorised by the High Commissioner, raised volunteers, strengthened the police, and prepared to strike a blow for civilisation. To effect a demonstration on the other flank of the Matabele, Sir Henry Loch sent up 220 men of the Bechuanaland Border Police to the western border, where they were joined by a contingent of 1880 men offered by Khama. The native levies soon ran away. Rhodes sold 50,000

of his own shares in the Chartered Company to provide funds, and on 18th September, a few days after Parliament rose, he proceeded coastwise in the *German* to Beira, and thence to Salisbury, where he joined the little column then starting for the front. While between Beira and Salisbury, he was of course out of touch with the High Commissioner, who became very impatient to speak to him over the wire. Hourly inquiries were made by Cape Town of Salisbury as to whether Rhodes had arrived, until at length the telegraph operator, with a picturesque touch all his own, wired, "I see Mr. Rhodes approaching over the brow of the hill."

The various forces of the Company, all told, amounted only to between 800 and 900 men, but among the officers were Sir John Willoughby, Major Forbes, Major Allan Wilson, Captain White, Captain Lendy, and an experienced Dutch fighter, Commandant Raaf. It was only on the 5th October that the High Commissioner gave the Company permission to advance, and then only because the Imperial Police had been fired on that day by Matabele on the Shashi River. Dr. Jameson and his two columns at once advanced. He himself, with the northern column, had already reached Fort Charter, which he left on 9th October, accompanied by Sir John Willoughby, Major Forbes, Captain the Hon. Alan Finch, Captains Heany, Borrow, Spreckley, Moberley, with Lieutenant Carden as A.D.C., and several other gallant men who have since left an indelible mark on Rhodesia. With the scouts, under Gwynneth and Ivor Williams, were the Hon. Maurice Gifford, Burnham and other well-known pioneers. Dr. Jameson's total white force did not exceed 220 men. The Victoria column,

414 strong, was under Allan Wilson, with whom were Captain Kennelly, Captain Bastard, Captain Lendy, R.A., and others.

The columns came into touch with each other on 16th October, and on 25th October a severe engagement took place on the Shangani River, where the column was attacked and entirely surrounded by 5000 Matabele from the Insukameni and other famous regiments under Umjaan. In spite of a panic flight on the part of our native levies, the column with its machine guns repulsed three furious charges and finally routed the Matabele with great slaughter, and Unondo, the commander of the leading regiment, hanged himself on the nearest tree rather than face Lo Bengula after a defeat.

On the 1st November, near the head waters of the Bembezi River, another severe action was fought against even larger numbers than before. The splendid courage of the enemy was unavailing. They lost 1000 men, the Imbeza and Ingubo regiments being practically annihilated. The war was virtually over. Lo Bengula fled, after giving orders to make a Moscow of Bulawayo, his great Kraal and his European house there, and this was done. On the 2nd November the advancing column heard loud explosions in the direction of the Kraal. The following day they entered and occupied Bulawayo, Dr. Jameson at once despatching a flying column, under Forbes and Allan Wilson, in pursuit of the king. The latter now sued for peace and sent in a large sum in gold, by the hands of two troopers, as an earnest of good faith. To their eternal shame, these men embezzled the money and made no report as to its being in their possession. They were afterwards convicted

of the crime and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, but their action had meanwhile resulted in the death of Allan Wilson and all his men, who were destroyed by the Matabele impi engaged in acting as rear guard to the flying king. Forbes, also, was hard pressed, being only rescued by the arrival of a relief column among whom was Rhodes himself.

Lo Bengula was never again heard of, and with him expired the capable, but ferocious and short-lived, Matabele dynasty. The campaign cost the Company about £100,000 and had a very tranquilising effect upon the Territory. The fear of the trained regiments of the king was removed. Prospectors, who had walked in the valley of the shadow of death, now went about their business with fresh hope and in perfect security; trade revived, and white settlers poured in from all parts of South Africa.

On 19th December, Rhodes made an excellent speech at Bulawayo to the disbanded forces, in which he recapitulated the causes of the war and drew a picture of its incidents and effects. With some heat, he resented certain captious criticisms which were being made in England, principally by Mr. Labouchere, on the heroic action of the settlers in defending their lives and property against a formidable foe. "You would have thought," he said, "that Englishmen would have been satisfied. On the contrary, you are called freebooters, marauders and murderers, and so on. But this has not been said by our people as a whole, but only by a section. I am as loyal an Englishman as any one, but I cannot help saying that such conduct as this alienates colonists from the mother country. We asked them for nothing,

neither for men nor money, but still we are vilified. There are no more loyal people than our colonists in Africa, but persistent misrepresentation will alienate the best of us. You were the first to conquer this Territory and, though our settlement with the natives must be a fair one, it cannot be left entirely to the negrophilists of Exeter Hall. All arrangements regarding the settlement are subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, and that is the principal reason why I am hurrying back to Cape Town to confer with him."

That the criticisms to which Rhodes alluded were founded on imperfect knowledge, few will now deny. Mr. Selous, a singularly humane man, who served with distinction during the war, arrived back in England on 4th February, 1894, and at a press interview, while on his way home, he delivered his views as follows. The reporter says:—

"He considers that the war is over, and that no further rising of the Matabele is to be feared. He thinks that the want of cohesion among the Matabele had a great deal to do with the rapid success of the Chartered forces. 'You will understand,' he continued, 'that the greater portion of the so-called Matabele are what is called Maholies, low-class Kafirs, many of whom have since the last few years been to work on the gold fields. For them the unbridled despotism of the Matabele made life not worth living. Under the cruel rule of rapine and murder of the latter they were not safe for a moment as to life and property. No sooner were a few cattle accumulated than the owner was killed by order of the king. These men, who made the majority of the so-called Matabele power, prefer the just government of

the white men to the rule which has been over them till now. They have seen Khama's people living in peace, and wish to do the same.' "

Mr. Selous was asked if he had quite recovered from the bullet wound received at the Fort Adams attack on the rear columns of Raaf's forces. The great hunter smiled, and, opening his flannel shirt, showed two nasty spots, healing rapidly, just below the third rib on the right side, where the bullet had hit the bone, glanced along under the skin, and finally performed a happy despatch to the outer regions again. "A narrow squeak," he said, "but I am quite well again, thanks."

"The Matabele power," continued the visitor, "has fallen to pieces. The Maxims, of course, were an immense assistance, though their effect is perhaps somewhat exaggerated. I believe that great work will be done in the country, which is equal to Mashonaland in every way in agricultural and mineral resources."

"How about Lo Bengula?" quoth the interviewer.

"I fancy the king will rally the remnants of the war-like forces around him, and after a few months across the Zambesi, try to form another State north of the great river, as Mosilikatze did before him, when he left the Transvaal."

"How about the cutting off of Major Wilson and his men?"

Mr. Selous was silent for a few moments, and then said, "Well, you know, it is very easy to criticise these things from afar. I do not care to express my opinion; only I know this—that nothing was done except by joint consultation between Major Forbes and Commandant Raaf, on account of the latter's great experience in native

warfare. There is a tendency to blame Major Forbes, but I can assure you that everything was carefully and jointly considered according to orders from headquarters, and nothing was left undone that had to be done. Without entering into any arguments about Mr. Oliver Davis, I can only tell you that the shooting of those Matabele at Victoria in July last, who were only four miles from the township, was amply justified. Every one of these Matabele was a murderer. If not in the streets themselves, still these very men had atrociously assegaied numbers of innocent Mashonas within sight of even the white women living at Fort Victoria. Would you hold argument with men whom you see commit flagrant murder in open daylight? I consider the action of Captain Lendy was fully justified."

The Company was not without its influential supporters. In June, 1894, Lord Knutsford, an ex-Secretary of State, speaking at a public dinner, said, "I cannot regret that during my term of office the Charter was granted to the British South Africa Company by Her Majesty. (Loud cheers.) The Company have loyally performed the covenants they entered into, and I think they may treat with contempt the denunciations of Mr. Labouchere (loud cheers), denunciations which he is very ready to make without any foundation. (Renewed cheers.)"

The attacks of Mr. Labouchere and others, while discredited in all well-informed quarters and deeply resented in Rhodesia itself, had the effect of lowering Chartered Company shares to under par. But they soon recovered. The personal bitterness of the criticism defeated its own object. Sir Hercules Robinson, then in London, wrote

a sensible letter to the *Times* on 7th November, which met with general approval, except from the "Labbyites," as he called them, who—to use his own words to me—were "as impracticable as ever with their cry of 'Take care of the poor natives, but don't spend anything!' They would like to play the part of the good Samaritan without the oil and two pence."

Later, on 17th November, Sir Hercules wrote to me, "The Matabele debate last week was a victory all along the line for the Chartered Company. Labouchere's indiscreet remark that the advent of the Liberals to power was always followed by a massacre in Africa, made the G.O.M. furious, and probably led to his taking a stronger line on the Chartered side than he otherwise would."

The efforts of Rhodes to round off the British possessions in South Africa and defeat the Republican aspirations for an East Coast port, by obtaining Delagoa Bay for England, continued over a period of several years, but as his principal negotiations were in or about 1893, they may be referred to here. So far back as 22nd January, 1892, Merriman, then in London, wrote to Rhodes that, as requested, he had interviewed a well-known international financier, who said that the Cape ought to purchase all the South-Eastern African possessions of Portugal, that it would solve the South African problem, and that the transaction was not beyond the limits of probability, as Portugal was in sore straits for money. On 5th February, Merriman cabled to Rhodes, "Am in constant communication with ——. I fully share your views as to importance." During the whole of 1893 Rhodes was in close correspondence with the Cape

Agent-General, and with a representative he had despatched to Lisbon. He also addressed Her Majesty's Government on the subject, but received for reply, on 23rd May, a somewhat frigid note to the effect that, as a Government, they could do nothing to help him, although he was warmly supported by the High Commissioner. A gleam of hope is visible on 26th August, 1893, when a highly placed official informed him that it might be possible to take action upon publication of the Berne Award. It was accordingly arranged to offer £700,000 for the Territory, but on 15th September Baron — cabled that another competitor was in the field offering one million sterling, and requesting discretion to bid up to £1,300,000.

In March, 1894, Rhodes prepared an elaborate minute on the subject, from which I make the following extract, "I have for several years done my best to obtain for the Colony, by purchase or otherwise, the Portuguese Province of Lourenco Marques. With that view — went to Lisbon in 1891 and endeavoured to effect purchase on my behalf. He found the national sentiment opposed to parting with any territory. Lord — intervened and kept me advised of the position. It was arranged that should favourable occasion arise, he was to act. When in England with Sivewright at the end of 1892, Baron — was introduced to me by the Colonial Office as a man of much influence in Lisbon. He thought the time ripe, but was only to receive a commission if the deal went through. I then left for Egypt, and while there I heard that the moment had arrived, and I cabled to — to take the matter up. At Zanzibar I also received cables. For several months *pourparlers* proceeded.

Sivewright returned to the Colony in April, 1893: there was a change of Ministry in Portugal, and things took an unfavourable turn. At one time success seemed assured, but America intervened on behalf of MacMurdo's relatives. Sivewright paid £3000 for the option over their interests, but the option expired before anything could be done and the money was lost. I could not ask Parliament to pay, so I paid it myself. The whole circumstance was known to Her Majesty's Government. They are aware that the Cape Government is prepared to purchase the province. The Treasurer (Merriman) concurred and was a help to me while in England."

On 26th April, 1894, Rhodes, being at Butterworth in the Transkei, the High Commissioner wired to him that he had received a cable communication from the Secretary of State. "—— says, tell Rhodes —— declares that Portugal will not sell, but might lease Bay for 100 years. Cape Government should state minimum concessions they would require in lease and maximum sum they would pay. —— thinks they must offer amount of Berne award, estimated at £1,250,000, besides £400,000 for the lease itself."

On 4th May Rhodes received a direct cable from Lord —— to confirm the statement that Portugal would do nothing until after the Berne award. He added that all investigations showed that Portugal was financially ruined. During June and July negotiations continued, but obstacles arose and the project was eventually abandoned. The references to the Berne award relate, of course, to the Arbitration over the forcible seizure by Portugal of the railway line constructed by MacMurdo, an American subject. It is probable that had the Bay

and its surrounding territory been sold or even leased to us by our ancient ally in 1893, there would have no Raid and no war. If so, uncounted millions would have been saved to the British taxpayer. But Chancellors of the Exchequer, who live from hand to mouth, cannot be expected to take long views, and though the Cape Colony would have eventually paid the money, the temporary intervention of Her Majesty's Government would no doubt have been required. British statesmen carry heavy and increasing responsibilities, and may be pardoned for exercising a certain scepticism in regard to proposals involving exceptional expenditure. Disraeli is perhaps the only Prime Minister of the last generation who had sufficient imagination and insight heartily to support the transaction which Rhodes had at heart, and to overcome the reluctance of a bankrupt State to part with any fraction of its oversea possessions.

I have referred more than once to correspondence I received from Sir Hercules Robinson from time to time, and I may perhaps conclude this chapter with a reference to his views on the Home Rule Bill then before the House of Commons. Like Rhodes, he held tenaciously to the view that under certain restrictions and with certain safeguards, Home Rule would tend to federate rather than disintegrate the Empire. But he shall speak for himself.

On 17th February, 1893, he wrote as follows:—
“Nothing is talked of here but the Home Rule Bill, which I think is not a bad bill. It is the Cape and Victorian system *plus* representation at Westminster. It will pass the first reading to-day, and I expect the second reading will be carried by a majority of 40. I

like the proposal chiefly from a Federal point of view, as it could be extended to England, Scotland and Wales, and to the self-governing Colonies whenever they may be prepared to bear their fair share of the common burdens of British citizenship."

CHAPTER XXVIII

A BUSY YEAR (1894)

Matabeleland Order in Council—Resignation of Attorney-General—Rhodes speaks in Cape Town—Excitement in English press—Cape General Election—Rhodes wins—Speaks at Kimberley—at Barkly West—At Klipdam—Affairs of Pondoland—Historic Survey—Rhodes visits and annexes all Pondoland—Parliament opens—Theron Chairman of Committee—Rhodes on preferential duties—The “Rhodes clause”—High Commissioner arrives from England—Visits Pretoria—The flag incident—Loch warns Kruger—Debates in the Cape Parliament—Uitlander grievances—Transvaal Green Book—Growing unrest—Van der Walt—Colonial Conference at Grey Bill—Parliament prorogued—Visitors to Groote Schuur—Ottawa—German troubles in South-west Africa—Scab Act—Glen Schreiner returns to office—Rhodes goes North—John Hays Hammond—Rhodes visits England—Agreement as to British Central Africa—Rhodes a London “Lion”—Avoids public speaking.

WE have seen that at the close of 1893 Rhodes had to hurry back to Cape Town to confer with the High Commissioner touching his future administration of Matabeleland, as well as to settle those many details inseparable from a general election. Hitherto, the pioneers in Rhodesia had, perforce, to be content to occupy and develop Mashonaland itself, leaving Matabeleland severely alone. But the king's flight rendered it necessary to provide for the government of his Territory, which was lapsing into a condition of anarchy.

As the result of the negotiations between Rhodes and Sir Henry Loch, Her Majesty's Government, on 18th July, 1894, issued the Matabeleland Order in Council,

which was at once acted on, though not promulgated in the Cape *Gazette* until the 10th September. The Order handed over the work of government to the Chartered Company, reserving the ultimate control to the High Commissioner. The Company, as I have shown, were already in possession of the land and mineral rights by virtue of Concessions ratified by the Secretary of State, and they now obtained the complementary administrative rights. The limits of the Company's jurisdiction were defined as comprising that portion of South Africa which was bounded by the Portuguese East Coast possessions: by the South African Republic to a point opposite the mouth of the River Shashi: by the River Shashi itself, and the territories of Khama of the Bamangwato, up to the Zambesi: and, finally, by that river as far as the Portuguese boundary on the West Coast, including an area of ten miles round Fort Tuli, but excluding the district of Tati already dealt with in the original Charter.

Unfortunately, Great Britain, by the Treaty with Germany, commonly called the Heligoland Agreement (1st July, 1890) had "spoilt" the natural boundary of Rhodesia, which was the Linyanti River, by granting Germany access to the Zambesi by a twenty-mile strip of territory which cuts like a wedge into the extreme north-west border of Matabeleland. A glance at the map, however, will show how large was the accession of territory accruing to the Company and to the Empire as its reversionary heir. As he surveyed the two fertile provinces now under his control, Rhodes might well have exclaimed, "Exegi monumentum aere perennius." But political and other anxieties claimed all his leisure. On his arrival in Cape Town, he was confronted with the

resignation of Mr. W. P. Schreiner, his Attorney-General, whose place, after some little delay, was taken by Mr. H. H. Juta. Mr. Schreiner declared that the thought of resignation had long been on his mind, and that he would not stand again for Kimberley, though he might stand as a colleague of Rhodes's at Barkly West.

On the 6th January, 1894, Rhodes was entertained at a banquet by the citizens of Cape Town, on which occasion he made a memorable speech. Representatives of all political parties were present as a protest against the malicious criticisms of Labouchere and other irreconcilable enemies of Rhodesia in England, and as a practical expression of sympathy on the part of the Colony with the gallantry of the Rhodesian force against heavy odds. "When I look around at this assemblage," said Rhodes, "and see gentlemen here who, as regards the politics of the Colony, feel it their duty to be in opposition to myself and yet are so broad-minded as to express, by their presence, that they consider I have deserved well of the community, it makes it, Mr. Mayor, very difficult for me adequately to express my feelings."

He went on to tell them some amusing anecdotes as to his gradual extension of British territory, and the anxiety expressed by the late High Commissioner regarding when and where he proposed to halt. And he reminded his audience of what scanty support he had received when he first mooted the subject of keeping open the trade route to the North.

"You must remember," he said, "that in those days every one was against me: you must remember that when I pointed out to the House that our Hinterland

must be preserved, I could not get a vote, not a single vote, and I had to persevere in the face of the greatest difficulties. But if you have an idea, a good one, and stick to it, you will generally come out all right. I made the seizure of the interior a paramount object of my politics, everything else was subordinated to that. I knew that Africa was the last uncivilised portion of the Empire, and that it must be civilised. I often try to imagine what my colleagues must have thought of me as I was sitting in the House brooding because of a telegram that the Mashonas were being murdered within our own district of Victoria, that the settlers would not stand it, and would 'trek' unless I faced the position. Well, sir, in those long hours we spent in the House, I made up my mind that at the conclusion of the session I would go up to Mashonaland, knowing full well what was before me. When I arrived at Salisbury I found that hostilities were in progress, and that out of 1500 people, 650 had already gone to the front. These men went to face a power equal to that of the Zulus and with the idea that they might never return. But they went, and they won, and they occupied Bulawayo. Remember, please, not only the two great fights in which they were victorious, but the daily and nightly apprehension that the Matabele might be on them at any moment, the fifty occasions when the waggon's were laagered and the Maxims got ready. And thus a few hundreds of our people conquered a savage power which otherwise, to subdue, would have cost Her Majesty's Government millions of money. And yet the Aborigines Protection Society communicated with Lord Ripon, and stated that, in their opinion, the Province should be assigned to the

Crown and not to the Chartered Company, which, they added, would govern the country in the interests of unscrupulous traders."

The speech was a sledge-hammer one, ranging over a wide variety of topics, and it closed with the passionate declaration that although, for his efforts on behalf of unborn millions of the Empire, he claimed the highest reward that a human being could desire, that reward was only the trust and confidence of his fellow-citizens. As with Sir Hercules Robinson, on a somewhat similar occasion, the necessarily condensed cabled reports of this speech conveyed a very false idea of its general tenor.

The English press, with some honourable exceptions, raised a shrill cry of reprehension. The *Spectator* declared that there was in the speech an unmistakable threat of independence if the mother country did not yield. The *Saturday Review* considered that the language used was of a very questionable character. The *Pall Mall Gazette* had yet to learn that the House of Commons could be browbeaten by after-dinner speeches. Even the *Times*, more in sorrow than in anger, thundered its disapproval. On the other hand, the provincial press expressed saner views. The *Western Morning News* said that Mr. Rhodes had put his case strongly but discreetly, and as he had borne the burden and heat of the day he was entitled to its fruits. The *Nottingham Daily Guardian* asserted that Her Majesty's Government could not permanently thwart Colonial opinion and it would be an act of wicked folly to try. The *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* remarked that Mr. Cecil Rhodes and the population of South Africa were pitted

against the Marquis of Ripon, with the odds immensely against the latter.

When the text of the speech arrived in London, this storm in a tea-cup subsided in a remarkable manner. Meanwhile, Rhodes took an active part in the Cape general election which, during January, was in full swing. On 15th January he was entertained by his white employees at Kimberley, and dealt with a charge that was being made to the effect that they could only vote as they were bid. "Let us," he said, "get rid of this ridiculous statement which scarcely deserves refutation. My test in regard to you is not your political ideas but your manual work and your ability to keep your positions, and though, in one sense, it would be pleasant to me if you supported those who support my policy and thus make me secure for the next five years, at the same time it would be almost a satisfaction if some of you voted the other way just to refute this wretched insinuation."

After this unconventional political speech, Rhodes proceeded to his own constituency, having meanwhile, however, addressed his shareholders at their annual meeting on the 18th January. On 29th January he made a declaration of policy at Barkly West, stating that the aim of the Cape should be to pool all South African railway receipts and divide the proceeds. He added that in regard to native land tenure, his idea was to give individual title to agricultural land, and communal title for grazing land. Pondoland, he said, was the greatest problem he had to deal with at the moment. Speaking as Minister for Native Affairs, he declared that although the Colony must proceed tactfully and with the approval of the High Commissioner, yet the

Pondos must be sternly dealt with if they continued their cruel internal dissensions.

On 30th January Rhodes spoke to other constituents of his, the river diggers at Klipdam, and answering the taunt that his was a Bond-ridden Ministry, he asked them to say whether they had ever had such a volume of progressive legislation before his assumption of office. The election struggle over all parts of the Colony was severe, but the final issue was a triumph for the Ministry. Rhodes was returned at the head of the poll for Barkly West, and the only remaining outspoken critic of the "dual position" lost his seat. In a House of 76 members the Opposition could only rely with confidence on the votes of 18 of its supporters. But an eyewitness describes Rhodes about this date as "thin, grey and haggard."

Having thus consolidated his political position, he concentrated his attention upon the affairs of Pondoland. For months past the Cape Mounted Police had been occupied in protecting the Colonial borders from the raids of the unquiet tribes whose rival factions were desolating the territory. The Ama-Pondos, 200,000 strong, who inhabited the fertile East Coast country between the Umtata and Umtamvuna Rivers, were a turbulent rather than a warlike race. Their land borders marched with those of the Cape provinces of Tembuland and Griqualand East, and touched Natal at its south-eastern corner. Driven from their original home by the forays of Chaka, the Zulu king, they found shelter in the broken country through which runs the beautiful river of St. John. The country was ruled by two chiefs of a common ancestry, but who now inhabited East and West Pondoland respec-

tively. To prevent an illicit trade in arms, the port of St. John was secured in 1878, by a treaty between the paramount chief Nqwiliso and Sir Bartle Frere, and a protectorate over the whole coastline was declared by Her Majesty's Government in 1885. Umquikela, one of the two chiefs, was subsidised by the Cape Government and supervised by the High Commissioner, whose influence had some slight effect in limiting the atrocities to which the tribe was addicted. When, however, Sigcau, "the spider," succeeded Umquikela, the enormities he perpetrated and permitted called aloud for intervention. Sir Henry Loch attempted by a personal visit in 1893 to recall the chief to a sense of his duty, but Sigcau kept His Excellency waiting for three days before he would accord him an interview, and in this and other ways behaved with great arrogance. The visit, therefore, was fruitless. Rhodes was not to be so treated. Negotiations with Her Majesty's Government and Natal resulted in an agreement that Pondoland should be annexed to the Cape and, as soon as the general election was over, Rhodes set out for the Territory, accompanied by his private secretary, Mr.—now Sir William—Milton, and an escort of 100 Mounted Police under Colonel Stanford. Strong representations were made to him not to undertake such a dangerous journey, but he persisted. The omens were not propitious. On one occasion an immense boulder blocked the road and rendered further wheeled transport impracticable. Whether it fell by accident or was placed there by design, the effect on the native mind was decisive, and the camp following deserted in a body. Even Stanford, an experienced officer, advocated a retreat, but Rhodes replied that he would go

forward if he went alone, and the little party, though much diminished in numbers, pushed on. The first visit was paid to Nqwiliso. The meeting took place on the 8th April, 1894, at a spot about fifteen miles from Umtata, the chief's "Great Place," but now the site of a flourishing township with an Anglican Cathedral. Nqwiliso and his councillors, Bokleni and Nqweketo, attended by 300 armed followers, came to the Indaba in barbaric state. Rhodes informed them that their country was annexed, and that all he said and did was with the authority of the great White Queen: that he was actuated by no greed for territory but in the interests of the tribe and of humanity. Nqwiliso, now an old man, and weak rather than wicked, raised many querulous objections with all the ingenuity of a Kafir lawyer. But Rhodes, while making conciliatory replies to reasonable requests, put his foot down whenever the chief blustered; and when a young induna, Valelo, questioned Rhodes's authority in an insolent manner, he was peremptorily told to take himself off. Nqwiliso finally submitted to the inevitable and entered upon a long historical disquisition to show that from the days of his grandfather Faku, the tribe had always been loyal, adding that he had sent a message to Sigcau advising him to be amenable. Rhodes listened with patience, but after the articles of annexation were signed, he called Bokleni aside and, addressing him with stern severity, told him that his numberless crimes were known to him, and that if he continued his career of murder he would fare badly. "I am now your chief," he said, "and what I say I will do. If you talk mischief, even at night, I shall hear you. You will never be safe. I

will kill you if you deserve it, as I killed Lo Bengula."

Bokleni was speechless and terror-stricken, and, what to him was worse, the tribe saw it. Rhodes now proceeded to St. John and from there to the neighbourhood of Sigcau's chief kraal. Bearing in mind the chief's treatment of the High Commissioner, Rhodes pitched camp, and instead of seeking an interview, summoned Sigcau to attend on him at once. After some hesitation, the chief complied, but on one pretext or another was kept waiting for three days, the precise treatment he had meted out to the High Commissioner. The punishment exactly fitted the crime, and appealed irresistibly to that sense of humour which is so marked a characteristic of the native races of South Africa. Sigcau found himself the object of ridicule, and for a time it humbled him. When at length an interview was granted, Rhodes used that tone of authority which is alone intelligible to the native mind. Sigcau, for the first time in his life, heard his conduct described as it deserved, and sullenly acquiesced in his fate.

It may be stated here that Rhodes was censured in some quarters for not disarming the Pondos, but the recent failure of the disarmament policy in Basutoland doubtless influenced him, and his decision has been amply justified by results. He was also blamed about this date for a declaration made at Umtata that no concessions by Pondo chiefs would be recognised by Government until they had passed the scrutiny of the High Commissioner. The reservation was a very wise one.

On 17th May, in the absence of Sir Henry Loch, the first session of the new Parliament was opened at Cape Town by General Sir W. Cameron. His speech recorded

the peaceful and prosperous condition of the Colony, but stated that Pondoland was still disturbed, Sigcau having declined to admit the Resident, although all other chiefs had loyally submitted. To avert civil war a Colonial force had been concentrated in the Territory under the control of the Chief Magistrate of Tembuland.

On the same day Rhodes gave notice that at an early date he would move the formal annexation of all Pondoland. On 21st May he moved accordingly, and gave the House a graphic description of the steps he had already taken to maintain order and put down witchcraft. He said the chiefs had pleaded for Home Rule as in Basutoland, for which they were as yet unfit, and that in his opinion Colonial Magistrates must exercise sole jurisdiction. Sauer concurred, but quizzed the Prime Minister for his silence as to the details of his own visit to the Territory. The motion was agreed to without a division.

On 22nd May Rhodes proposed for Chairman of Committees, Mr. Theron, the titular Chairman of the Afrikaner Bond, of whom he spoke in terms of warm admiration. The Opposition nominated Sir Thomas Scanlen, an experienced lawyer and former Prime Minister. The appointment, being thus made a party question, a trial of strength ensued, and Rhodes carried his man by 42 to 27. The soundness of his judgment may be inferred by the fact that from that day to his lamented death in 1908, Theron was elected to the post session after session without serious opposition. Small in stature and mild in manner, his inflexible integrity and exemplary fair-mindedness carried him triumphantly through many anxious years, and few Houses of Assembly have been

presided over, for so long a period, by a Chairman of such marked ability and unquestioned impartiality.

On 4th June the Pondoland Annexation Bill was read a second time without a division, and a fortnight later Rhodes made an interesting speech on the course of trade in Rhodesia, stating that when applying for the Matabeleland Order in Council, he endeavoured to insert a clause stipulating that Rhodesian Customs duties should, in respect of British goods, at no time be permitted to exceed the tariff then in force at the Cape; and secondly, that no duties at all should be leviable on Cape produce. Her Majesty's Government, he said, had vetoed his suggestion on the ground that differential duties were incompatible with their general fiscal policy. He read *in extenso* his Minute on the subject, dated 22nd May—a Minute which had received the support of the High Commissioner, but in which Her Majesty's Government had declined to acquiesce unless the phrase "British goods" was altered to read "imported goods," so as to ensure against Great Britain obtaining any advantage over foreign competitors.

"The provision," he said, "was suggested by me to prevent the imposition of prohibitive duties hereafter and in the interests of Great Britain, whose people are beginning to see that the only return that can be made by the Colonies they have founded for all the blood and treasure they have spent, is a preferential tariff in favour of home manufactures. If Her Majesty's Government persist in rejecting this offer, the onus rests with them. The insertion of the clause is immaterial to the Chartered Company and is solely in the interests of the mother country. The matter is over for the present,

but the views of home politicians change, and I shall continue to use all my influence to insist on my offer being carried into effect. I mean to fight until Her Majesty's Government give in, and I am quite sure that wiser counsels will ultimately prevail. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)”

Rhodes was as good as his word. He fought strenuously for four years, with the result that clause 47 of a new Order in Council, assented to on 20th October, 1898, runs as follows:—

“No customs duties levied on any articles produced or manufactured in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions or in any British Protectorate, and imported into Southern Rhodesia, shall exceed in amount the duties levied on such articles according to the tariff in force in the South African Customs Union at the commencement of this Order, etc.”

By virtue of this provision the settlers in Rhodesia have for many years enjoyed the tariff rates prevailing in 1898, although far higher duties have since been levied by the remaining parties to the South African Customs Union: and secondly, they have been led to transact the bulk of their trade with Great Britain, owing to the rise in the duties on foreign goods.

Other more important oversea dominions of the Empire have since followed where Rhodes led the way.

A day or two after the above speech was delivered, the High Commissioner arrived from England, but proceeded at once to Pretoria under instructions from the Marquis of Ripon to discuss with President Kruger the burning questions of the future of Swaziland, the commandeering of British subjects against their will, and the

other growing grievances of the Uitlanders. It is important to note that this, the first step to protect British subjects in the Transvaal, was taken by a Liberal Government.

Unfortunately Sir Henry Loch's arrival in Pretoria was made the occasion of an unseemly demonstration, the British flag being offensively displayed, much to the President's annoyance. This was an inauspicious prelude to a delicate negotiation. Ultimately the working basis of an agreement in regard to Swaziland was arrived at, and British subjects at the front—or in gaol for refusing to go to the front—were released, but the redress of other substantial grievances was evaded. A month after the High Commissioner's visit, a mass meeting at Johannesburg having demanded the franchise, the Volksraad, by a piece of lightning legislation, passed at a single sitting an Ordinance prohibiting, under threat of fine and imprisonment, any outdoor meeting composed of more than six persons.

This was a poor return for the High Commissioner's acquiescence in the President's request that he would not visit Johannesburg. His letter in reply to that of the President is dated 27th June, 1894, and is a model of dignified courtesy. "I am encouraged by your frankness to be equally frank with your Honour," he said, "and to explain the views I have formed from an impartial and friendly observation of the existing situation. British subjects have, I think, some very real and substantial grievances. . . . It is not for me to make any detailed suggestions to your Honour on this subject, but I may bring to your notice one consideration which will prove to your Honour the importance of dealing

with any grievances that may exist in a sympathetic spirit. There is, I believe, an alien white population at present in the Republic of about 40,000 persons. A few years may see this population almost doubled, and if they suffered under the same grievances, it would be almost impossible to avert the dangers which have already threatened. I am sure your Honour will not misunderstand my motives in making these observations. They are made in the spirit of a true friend with a genuine desire to promote the prosperity of the people of this country, and I shall be gratified to learn that any grievances of which British subjects may complain will receive the early consideration of your Honour and your Honour's Government."

The President may be excused for doubting whether the "alien population" were anxious to possess a franchise which, with burgher rights, entailed burgher responsibilities; but it is regrettable that he did not recognise the ring of sincerity underlying these utterances of an English gentleman.

Before Sir Henry Loch left Pretoria, an address was presented to him signed by 14,800 British residents in the Republic, assuring His Excellency that the situation was fraught with the possibility of very serious results. But the President was inexorable and obsessed with the idea that Rhodes was at the bottom of the agitation. The best evidence of the fallacy of this assumption was subsequently published by the Transvaal Government itself. The Republican Green Book No. 2, issued after the Raid, contains a variety of letters and telegrams captured by the Boers at Doornkop, which conclusively prove that at the date of Sir Henry Loch's visit the

leading capitalists were holding aloof from the Reform movement and manifesting a disinclination to consult Rhodes on the matter. Thus on 10th June Mr. Lionel Phillips, writing to Beit, says:—

“Kruger is no friend of the industry. He suspects we are all working in concert with Rhodes, sees imaginary combinations looming in the distance and the whole country bought up by Rhodes.”

Again, on 16th June, “—— and —— urge me to go down to Cape Town and talk over matters with Rhodes. . . . Would it be wise to trust Rhodes’s advice? If you trust him and cable ‘See Rhodes,’ I will run down, but my own feeling is still to wait.”

On 15th July he writes, “Just got your cable ‘Do not see Rhodes,’ of which I am rather glad.”

The Green Book, from which these extracts are made, shows, incidentally, that at this time the influence of Rhodes was a moderating one. One of the extracts from the Hon. R. White’s captured diary reads as follows:—

“14th April, 1894. Arrived at Groote Schuur in time to lunch with Rhodes. He hopes in time, by force of reason and weight of population, to win over the Transvaal.”

But I must return to the Cape Parliament, whose Dutch members were much moved by the press reports of the alleged insult to the Republican flag in Pretoria. For once their allegiance to Rhodes was seriously strained. Blood was thicker than water and they did not, as a rule, possess that larger patriotism which regarded the welfare of South Africa as a whole. Their anxiety was rather lest their Republican cousins should

be coerced to abate their sovereign rights. Our suzerainty they ignored. A grave warning, given by the House of Assembly to Kruger on the lines of that formulated by Loch, would have carried great weight, but it was never given, and the President was thus tacitly encouraged to persevere in the course which led to his undoing.

On 27th June Van der Walt, subsequently a rebel to his own Government, moved as an unopposed motion, "That this House desires to express its regrets at and disapproval of the unseemly display of disrespect towards the President and Government of the Transvaal Republic by individuals representing themselves as British subjects on the occasion of the official and friendly visit of His Excellency the Governor and High Commissioner." An objection being raised, the motion could not be put, but the mover attained his object by now moving the adjournment of the House.

Rhodes, as a practical politician, was anxious not to break with his Bond followers, but, on the other hand, he sincerely believed that the President's obstinacy threatened the peace of South Africa. He accordingly rose and, while condemning the flag incident, pointed out that the High Commissioner's visit was a timely one and conceived in the best interests of the country. After considerable discussion, the motion, at his request, was withdrawn.

On 3rd July the subject of the approaching Colonial Conference at Ottawa was discussed and, led by Rhodes, the House reaffirmed "its adherence to the policy of preferential relations with other Colonies and with the mother country."

On 4th July, in discussion on the Estimates, the House exhibited a desire to reimpose Customs duties at Walfisch Bay, which had been suspended in favour of the German Government. Rhodes while admitting that Germany had blocked his Transcontinental Telegraph Company for two years on paltry pretexts, still deprecated the system of reprisals, and the matter dropped.

On 7th July an attempt, annually repeated, was made to emasculate the law for the eradication of scab in sheep. The Cape Dutch flock-master, always an individualist and unable to grasp the value of corporate action, passively and sometimes actively resists a measure designed to improve the quality of Colonial wool. Rhodes would not yield to the obsolete prejudices of his supporters on the point, and in various divisions he won by large majorities.

On 26th July he moved the second reading of his principal measure, the Glen Grey Bill, which he proposed as a solution of the vexed question of native land tenure, and as calculated to raise the status of the coloured races by interesting them in a simple system of local self-government. He propounded his scheme in a speech extending over an hour and forty minutes. Briefly put, he desired to prevent white men from obtaining a footing in native territories and ousting the natives from the soil. He therefore proposed to establish Village and District Councils on which natives could sit to discuss educational and other questions, with power to levy rates and partially remit them where the applicant had served a white master for a specific period. It was in many respects a novel and courageous Bill, and was received by the House with approval. The

debate was continued on 30th July and on 2nd August. Criticisms there were, but no important member challenged the principles of the measure. Merriman made a fine speech, critical but appreciative. Sauer and Innes displayed the same spirit, and Rhodes having summed up, the second reading was carried by 62 to 3.

The following week in Committee, the Bill met with a stormier reception, culminating in obstruction, whereupon Rhodes announced that he would sit all night rather than give way. And sit he did, till seven o'clock on the following morning. The Government majorities, save in regard to one unimportant sub-section, were always substantial, and on 9th August the Bill was read a third time by 51 to 16, and after some slight amendments in the Upper House, it was finally passed into law.

As it is important to define the attitude of Rhodes to the natives in his own words, I subjoin the following extract from his introductory speech.

"There seems," he said, "a general feeling that the natives are a distinct source of trouble and loss to the country. I take a different view. When I see the troubles that are going to arise in England over the social and labour questions, I feel glad that here the question of labour is a native question. We shall, therefore, not have here what recently occurred in Chicago, where the labour party wrecked the city. Properly directed and looked after, I think our natives should be an assistance to us and a source of wealth. I have the responsibility, on one side of the Zambesi and the other, for 2,000,000 natives, and the House has generally left to me the settlement of the questions bearing upon the government of these people. They are increasing

enormously: their locations are too small for them. The old diminution by pestilence and wars has ceased. We have put nothing in the place of their old tribal war and intrigue, which were excellent things in their way to keep their minds employed. (Laughter.) We have instead placed canteens in their midst and never taught them the dignity of labour, though their labour is badly wanted. (Hear, hear.) Natives have said to me, 'do let us try to deal with some of our own questions.' In submitting these facts to the House, I may say I desire to give the natives an interest in the land: to allow the superior minds among them to attend to their local wants; to close the canteens and give a stimulus to labour. These are the four principal points in the Bill. Glen Grey alone is dealt with, but if the policy succeeds, I shall ask the House to apply the Act to other areas. Then there is the question of polygamy. Some members urge that the natives should, in this respect, be as ourselves. Whatever may happen in the future, this is not at present a tenable proposition. When in the Transkei a little while ago, I came across an intelligent native with six wives. He told me the Missionaries had urged him to read the Bible and put away all his wives but one. But he had read in the Bible that many people had many wives—(laughter)—and he could find no instruction to put away all but one. He asked my opinion—(laughter)—but I told him I had no wife at all. (Laughter.) With regard to the franchise, it will remain the same as before. If natives are already validly on the register they will have a vote, and in any case the erection of a house of the value of £75 will qualify them. I propose to displace those who have

been improperly placed on the register for party purposes. The next feature of the Bill is the Labour Tax. It is not slavery but a gentle stimulus. I think it will prove an inducement to men to go out and work. Those who do will be better off under the Act than they were before. I would tax the natives moderately, but, by means of a native Council, I would allow them to deal with their own revenue and their own local affairs, their roads, bridges and schools. Veldman (a Fingo chief), whose name is a household word, begged me to do something of this kind. Then as to the liquor. I know its curse: I have studied the Report of the Labour Commission. I have personally helped at the Diamond Fields to make 10,000 of these poor adult children healthy and happy. In their former condition they were living in a hell upon earth. I would close the canteens with compensation.

“Now I come to the question of Title. My idea is that the natives should be in Reserves and not mixed up with white men. I would allow no native allotment to be sold without Government consent, and I would forfeit an allotment for crime or neglect to cultivate, and lastly, I would prohibit subdivision. It is now for the House to determine whether the Bill carries out the policy aimed at. It is an earnest effort to deal with the natives for their own benefit and ours, and to teach them how to contribute to the common prosperity by giving us some return for the good government we have afforded them.” (Loud cheers.)

The insight displayed in this speech contributed to the passage of the Bill, and as soon as the measure was through both Houses the session terminated, Rhodes's

parting words being, "The Government are perfectly satisfied with the session. (Laughter and cheers.) I have been fourteen years in the House and have never known a session—(more laughter and cheers)—well, the decision can be left to the country. (Hear, hear.)"

During the session Rhodes had found time to send a long letter to the *Saturday Review* to elucidate his views on the Tariff question, and to remove the apprehensions of that paper as to the possible results of his Fiscal policy.

Groote Schuur, by this time, had become an open house for political and private friends and distinguished visitors. The Archbishop of Armagh was there during the session, followed, later, by Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, by the Duke of Abercorn and many others. But Rhodes was seldom at home. On 10th September Schreiner returned to the Ministry as Attorney-General, and Rhodes started for the North. There was no longer any necessity for travelling coastwise by way of Beira. On this occasion, therefore, he proceeded overland *via* Kimberley and Bulawayo, taking with him as travelling companion the well-known American mining engineer, Mr. John Hays Hammond. He left some threatening complications behind him. The troubles of Germany in South-West Africa were already coming to a head, while on the East Coast the Portuguese were virtually besieged by native tribes, who threatened Lourenco Marques itself. True to his policy of supporting white rule against native revolt, Rhodes offered armed assistance to the Portuguese, which, on the 11th October, was gratefully declined as unnecessary.

The Swazis were also discontented at the terms of

Sir Henry Loch's Convention, which virtually handed their Territory over to the Boers, and they sent a deputation to England praying for a British protectorate, which was refused.

Mr. Hammond shall tell the story of his trip with Rhodes in his own words. Under date the 31st October, 1907, he writes to me:—

“There is an impression in this country, where little is really know of Cecil Rhodes, that an important part of his fame rests upon the fact that he was a great financier, and was not altogether scrupulous as to his methods of finance. This is a great injustice to him, and my business relations, which were most intimate, entirely refute such impressions.

“He was a man who cared little for money, save to do big things, chiefly for the benefit of South Africa, and he was exceptionally scrupulous as to the methods employed to make money. I think I can tell you an experience that I had with him which was strikingly characteristic of him in this regard.

“In 1894 I made a trip, with Rhodes and Jameson, through what was then known as Matabeleland and Mashonaland. I visited those countries in a professional capacity to determine their value from a mining point of view. It was of the greatest moment to Rhodes at the time that my report should be favourable, both for political and financial reasons. Notwithstanding this fact, during the many days that we rode and drove together there was not the slightest attempt on his part to influence my opinion, nor, indeed, did he endeavour to obtain from me any premature expression of opinion as to the value of the country. He showed most excep-

tional delicacy in abstaining from embarrassing questions—questions that nine men out of ten would have asked me—and, as he was making these trips solely for the purpose of showing me the country, with the hope that my report would be favourable, which meant the investment of large sums by the British capitalists for the development of the country, this showed extreme consideration on his part.

“Before my examination was completed I was enabled to give Rhodes an expression of opinion from a geological point of view as to the mining possibilities. After several weeks spent in this work, we arrived in Johannesburg, and I prepared my report and submitted it to him shortly afterwards. Dr. Jameson, and another man prominently connected with the Chartered Company and interested in the stock of that Company, were present when I read my report. This other party (not Dr. Jameson) after I had read my report, said, ‘Well, if we have to depend on Hammond’s geological report to raise money for this country, I do not think the outlook is very encouraging, for, if he cannot say anything stronger than that, I have not much hope for the future of the Chartered Company.’ Mr. Rhodes replied immediately, ‘You are one of the men that simply look on the Chartered Company as a means of making money through the sale of shares. But Hammond is absolutely right. He has said everything that he is justified in saying, and the public will see that it is the report of a conscientious engineer and fully credit every word he says. You had better go and sell your Chartered shares.’

“There are other hard things said against Rhodes by people who are not friendly or did not know him.

Among these things I have often heard it stated that he was a cold-blooded man who would not hesitate to sacrifice his best friend, and I was told after our arrest and imprisonment during the time of the Jameson Raid in 1896, 'that it was not worrying Rhodes very much.' On this point I have absolute refutation from information that I received some time afterwards from those persons who were present with him when he heard of our death sentence. He was almost frantic at that time with anxiety about us. I met him a few months after our release, in London, the first night he arrived from South Africa in connection with the Raid investigation. I called at his hotel, at his request. There were a great many very important persons to see him on his arrival. He espied me in the back of the crowd and came forward and took me by the hand and said, 'Hammond, I want to see you, old fellow.' I said, 'I can wait awhile, for there are a lot of others ahead of me here, and if you have not any other engagement, I will stay and take dinner with you to-night, and we can have a long talk then.' He replied, 'No, come with me now.' He took me to his bedroom and was greatly affected when he told me how anxious and distressed he had been about the four leaders, and, especially, about me, as my wife was in delicate health at the time.

"On another occasion, shortly afterwards, there was another episode which indicated greatness of character in Mr. Rhodes. Soon after his return to England, on the occasion I have referred to, the Baroness Burdett Coutts gave a large dinner and reception in his honour. Mrs. Hammond and I were invited, and, as we entered the door, Mr. Rhodes, who was receiving with the

Baroness, grasped my wife by the hand and took her aside and said, 'Mrs. Hammond, I know what you have been thinking about me. The last time I saw you I told you that I never spent sleepless nights, but I have spent many of them since that time. You have also thought,' he went on, 'that this setback that I have had in my career would be a good thing for me, as I was getting too arbitrary in my ways of thinking and acting, and I want to tell you that you are entirely right. It is a terrible humbling of my pride, but, in the long run, it will be a splendid thing for me, because it will make me a far more reasonable and considerate man.' "

Another companion of Rhodes during the trips with Mr. Hammond writes to me as follows:—

"One incident of our tour may be described. It occurred on the way out to the Ayrshire Mine. We met a prospector walking to the mine. Mr. Rhodes pulled up at once and insisted on his getting into the waggon and travelling with us the rest of the way. At dinner that night at Mr. Rhodes's request, he related some of his experiences and told us he was going home to be married at the end of the year. 'Mind you let me know the date,' said Mr. Rhodes, and the man got a handsome present when the event came off. It was by such acts as this that he made himself so beloved. He always had a sympathetic ear and never refused an interview, and he frequently sought out and helped the pioneers of 1890 and the members of the Matabele field force of 1893."

On 23rd October Rhodes, back at Kimberley from the North, again left for Cape Town, where, on 27th of the same month, he attended a banquet given to Dr.

Jameson. In response to the toast of the Ministry, Rhodes paid a high tribute to the courtesy, love of order and consideration for opponents characterising the various Cape Parliaments in which he had been privileged to sit.

Four days later, he sailed in the *Dunottar Castle* for England, where he arrived on 17th November, and at once plunged into negotiations with the Foreign and Colonial Offices regarding the administration of that portion of South Central Africa now known as North-Eastern Rhodesia. The arrangement finally came to took effect from 31st December, but the document, signed for Her Majesty's Government by H. Percy Anderson and for the Chartered Company by Rhodes, is dated 24th November, only a week after the latter landed. No wonder one of the Foreign Office officials ruefully described him as a "hustler." Moreover, this transaction by no means exhausted his business activities, for he threw himself simultaneously heart and soul into his great project of the Cape to Cairo Transcontinental Telegraph Company; and he found time to visit Constantinople, interview the Sultan and, contrary to all precedent, obtained permission to export thoroughbred Angora goats to South Africa.

The whole year 1894 is, indeed, a signal example of Rhodes's untiring and successful energy. At its close he again found himself one of the lions of the London season, a transient glory for which he had no fancy. On Friday, 7th December, Sir Hercules Robinson writes to me:—

"I met Rhodes at dinner last night. He is in great form and being made much of all round. He dined and

slept at Windsor on Tuesday last, and next Sunday is to stay with Lord Rosebery at Mentmore. I advised him, on landing, to avoid speechmaking, and he has done so—I think with much advantage.”

On 20th December, Rhodes received a note from Sir W. Vernon Harcourt, from which I quote a characteristic sentence, “Is there any chance of persuading you to pay us a visit in our Forest, almost as savage as your Matabeleland? You cannot transact any business in London at Christmas time, and we could sell you any number of telegraph poles here.”

Earlier in the year Mrs. Gladstone had written to him from Dollis Hill, recommending a friendless young settler to his notice and adding, “My husband wishes to be remembered to you. He is well and enjoying his freedom.”

It is clear from many other letters found among his papers, that during the year now under review Rhodes was recognised in the most influential circles as a great Colonial statesman, a man to be counted and reckoned with on all the burning questions of the day.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE GATHERING STORM (1895)

Rhodes a Privy Councillor—Blackballed at Travellers' Club—Reform and Athenæum Clubs elect him—Meeting of Chartered shareholders—Kruger and Germany—Dr. Leyds—Swaziland—Amatongaland—Mr. St. Leger—Mr. Edmund Garrett—Retirement of Sir H. Loch—Rhodes in House of Assembly—An educated native—Arrival of Sir H. Robinson—Annexation of Bechuanaland—Merriman calls for papers—Walfisch Bay—Hofmeyr's birthday—House prorogued—Mr. Chamberlain—Selous—Transvaal pin-pricks—Orange Free State policy—High Commissioner visits Transvaal—A "jumping-off" ground—Drifts question—Gravity of position—Jameson Raid.

THE year 1895 will long be remembered in South Africa. The Uitlander question in the Transvaal developed day by day. At first a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand, it gradually overspread the political firmament. Reflective minds saw, as a possibility, that an armed conflict between the two white races might open up the far greater question of the attitude of the native population towards both.

During the year Rhodes touched both high and low watermark. On 1st January he was gazetted a Privy Councillor, and on 2nd February, at the Court at Osborne House, he took the quaint oath to "lett and withstand anything said or done against the Dignity Royal." On 31st December his unique power and prestige tumbled into ruin, and he was apparently a broken man.

During January he remained quietly in England, gathering up the threads of his multifarious business

affairs. Sir Hercules Robinson, writing to me on 18th January, said, "I had a long talk with Rhodes yesterday. He is well and less irritable than on his last visit."

His headquarters were, as usual, at the Burlington Hotel, and its manager still recalls with pleasure that, having a son born to him that month, Rhodes made daily inquiries as to the health of the baby.*

It was also in January that he came up for election at the Travellers' Club and was blackballed. Inconspicuous, respectable mediocrities generally pass this ordeal successfully, but a much-advertised candidate, the theme of newspaper gossip, the man with many friends and therefore with many foes, often finds the ballot-box utilised against him. An indignant friend and admirer wrote to Rhodes that the Committee of the Reform Club were prepared to make amends by electing him as one of three eminent persons, whom they were entitled annually to appoint members without a ballot. Rhodes, however, had returned to the Cape in the *Athenian*, arriving there on 19th February. The following was his reply, which, for a wonder, bears a date:—

"10th April, 1895.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for your kind offer as to the Reform Club. I have, however—for a non-resident—clubs enough, as I belong to St. James's and Union. I hear they declined to have me at the Travellers': I suppose because I am written about. I was not aware I was up, as I was put down by an old friend, Guy

* During this month he attended the Imperial Institute on one occasion when Dr. Jameson delivered a lecture. The Prince of Wales was present, and made a short speech which contained graceful reference to the presence of Rhodes.

Dawnay, dead these ten years ago, and I had forgotten all about it.—Yours truly,
C. J. RHODES."

The Committee of the Athenæum, however, on the proposal of Mr. R. H. Meade, seconded by Lord Rosebery, elected him while he was on the water, and cabled to him that they had done so.

Before leaving England, Rhodes, on 18th January, spoke at a meeting of the shareholders of the Chartered Company held at the Cannon Street Hotel. The meeting was fixed for noon, but an hour before, the doors had to be thrown open owing to the vast crowd assembled. The Duke of Fife was in the chair, supported by Earl Grey and others. Rhodes, and Jameson who was with him, had an enthusiastic reception. The Duke, who made an excellent speech, closed with these words: "It has sometimes been said that my friend, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, exercises a spell over our fellow-subjects in South Africa. I do not know if this be true, but when I made his acquaintance six years ago, and when he sketched out his views and emphasised them by huge pencil strokes on a map, I could not but see what vast possibilities for British enterprise and colonisation were opening out in this, almost the last, unoccupied space of the world, and it will always be to me a pleasure to have been associated, however humbly, with this great Company which has added two immense provinces to the British Empire."

Rhodes in his subsequent speech was in his happiest vein and, while holding out hopes that the country would eventually become a great asset of the Empire, he was careful not to promise dividends; indeed, he remarked, "When you shareholders came into our Company you

came into a speculative concern, certainly not into Consols or French Rentes." He even admitted that portions of the Territory were unhealthy, and that the drawbacks to success were many and formidable, but underlying these words of caution there breathed such a cheery optimism and such high Imperial aspirations, that shareholders, usually so prosaic, were fascinated by an address in which imaginative powers and business capacity were strangely interwoven. A much larger circle of Englishmen, when reading the speech, were reassured as to the future in South Africa, by an incidental utterance of Rhodes to the effect that he expected no trouble with the Transvaal.

Eight days later, however, came a disturbing response from Pretoria, where a banquet was given in honour of the Kaiser's birthday. Kruger attended and made a significant speech. "I know," he said, "I may count on the Germans in future, and I hope Transvaalers will do their best to foster the friendship that exists between them. . . . I feel certain that when the time comes for the Republic to wear larger clothes, you (*i.e.* Germany) will have done much to bring it about. . . . The time is coming for our friendship to be more firmly established than ever."

In the light of after events it is easy to see that the President was relying with confidence on German intervention in the event of an armed conflict with the British Government. Dr. Leyds, at that time holding a roving commission as Plenipotentiary to all Europe, was no doubt the channel through whom Kruger received verbal assurances of moral, if not of material support. We shall see later what the assistance amounted to.

The difference in temperament and policy between Rhodes and Kruger is illustrated by an interview given by the former to the *Morning Post* before he left England. "If I," he said, "were President Kruger, I dare say I might not have given the Uitlanders the franchise, because that might have ended my own power. But I would have made my new population comfortable and given them justice. The law, as we know, is under the heel of the President. A Judge gives a decision, and then a motion, slipped through the Raad, revokes it. Every concession, almost every piece of Departmental business transacted, must be arranged with bribes."

Here is the position in a nutshell. Rhodes, having power, would have clung to it like Kruger, but by other methods, by contenting the people as to their material interests; by "making friends" with them, as Brand sagaciously advised. The great body of the Uitlanders valued franchise rights only as a means to an end, and that end rational legislation as affecting the gold industry, and pure administration.

In accordance with the terms of the Swaziland Convention, the President now issued a Proclamation assuming the government of that Territory, the acquisition of which he regarded as a step towards obtaining access to the sea. In this he was disappointed. Her Majesty's Government promptly checked this dangerous ambition by annexing the whole of Amatongaland, which lay between Swaziland and the coast. The President expressed his "astonishment and regret," and declared that the act was an unfriendly one. But after the Pretoria speech no other course was possible.

Early in 1895 an event occurred in South Africa, su-

perificially unimportant but not without results. The *Cape Times* was then, as now, the leading organ of British Colonial opinion in the country. Its editor, Mr. F. Y. St. Leger, an able craftsman distinguished for his high sense of honour and no less keen sense of humour, retired owing to ill-health, and was succeeded by one of the young lions of the London press, a disciple of Stead and trained on the staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Mr. Edmund Garrett was a brilliant writer and possessed of extraordinary energy. Into the whirlpool of South African politics he threw himself with infinite zest, and ultimately secured a seat in the Cape Parliament. His foes accused him of taking himself too seriously, and he himself probably over-estimated his influence over Rhodes, but there can be no question that he and his paper became a power in the land, and, on more than one occasion, he may fairly claim to have deflected the course of our history. His independent support was of essential service to Rhodes, although the attitude of candid friend is not always a palatable one.

At the expiration of his term of office in 1895, Sir Henry Loch left the Colony without awaiting the arrival of his successor, and Parliament was opened on 2nd May by General Goodenough. The Administrator's speech stated that the completion of the Transvaal Railway from Delagoa Bay had stimulated competition and unfavourably affected the through transit trade of the Colony; that a conference of the States concerned had recently been held in Cape Town, but without arriving at any agreement as to a division of traffic. As a remedy for this diminution of external trade, Ministers recommended internal development through the medium of branch rail-

ways. A reduction in cable rates, so long striven for, was announced, as well as the extension of the Glen Grey Act to the Transkeian territories. The annexation of Pondoland was described as complete, despite temporary local resistance. General Goodenough added that in pursuance of settled policy a Resolution would be submitted for the annexation of the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland. Transvaal ambitions in this direction were thus finally extinguished.

On the first day of the new session, Rhodes voiced the regret of the House at the enforced absence of Hofmeyr, owing to continued ill-health.

“He himself, his colleagues and the whole House regretted,” he said, “the absence of its distinguished member. He was a man of broad mind, who had deeply considered all questions affecting the Colony. Through his efforts the Swaziland Convention had been brought about—a Convention which was, he believed, an act of justice to the Transvaal.” The motion was carried unanimously. The skill will be observed with which Rhodes identified Hofmeyr and his followers with the policy of effecting, wherever possible, an amicable settlement of outstanding South African differences.

On 16th May I find Rhodes and Merriman in friendly correspondence on the subject of colonising the Kalihari to relieve the distress of landless Colonists. “You are right,” says Merriman, “in thinking the subject of great importance.”

Among the lighter touches of the time I quote from a letter to Rhodes from an educated native stating *inter alia*, “I never forgotten the well treatment I received from you at Queens Town. I consider you my

father and beg to inform you that I want to come and work for you in Cape Town."

It is evidence that employment was given, for the letter is endorsed in the handwriting of Rhodes, "The faithful native! He worked a week, but household duties beneath his dignity."

On 29th May the new Governor and High Commissioner arrived in the person of Sir Hercules Robinson, who, against his better judgment, had been persuaded to accept the arduous responsibilities of a second term of office. It was moved that the House adjourn in order to meet His Excellency on arrival. An English-speaking member raised objections to this course and criticised the appointment with acerbity, whereupon a Dutch member declared that he was ashamed of the speaker. Sauer defended the Governor as one of the most distinguished servants of the Crown, and Merriman remarked that Sir Hercules was beyond the suspicion of a reproach and that his previous rule had been of the greatest service to the Colony. The adjournment was carried with only one dissentient voice.

On 5th June Rhodes gave notice to move, "That in the opinion of this House it is expedient that the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland should be annexed to this Colony, and that the Government take such steps as may be necessary to procure the consent of Her Majesty's Government to such annexation upon suitable terms and conditions to be submitted to this House."

His former colleagues were not against this proposal, but they were now in Opposition and saw what appeared a favourable chance of thwarting Rhodes. Between Bechuanaland and Southern Rhodesia lay a vast tract

of territory commonly known as the Protectorate, the administration of which had already been assigned to the Chartered Company, though the assignment had not yet been carried into effect. Sauer, therefore, moved as a rider, "And further, that in the opinion of this House the Protectorate should not be altered or affected without the previous consent of this House."

On 10th June a full-dress debate on the whole subject ensued. Rhodes made a powerful speech, narrating the history of both Territories. Touching on the Royal Charter, he said his effort had always been to create a system of free Tariffs from the Cape to Tanganyika; that the Chartered Company could not permanently administer its extended possessions, and that some day they would be united to the Cape Colony either by amalgamation or through Federation. He appealed to Sauer to withdraw his rider as not germane to the precise question before the House. Schreiner, in support, declared that although the land and mineral rights in the Protectorate had unquestionably for the most part been already ceded to the British South Africa Company, its administration would sooner or later accrue to the Cape Colony. In the end the rider was rejected, and the motion carried by 45 to 23.

Previously, on 6th June, Merriman had launched another attack upon the Charter by moving for copies of all correspondence between the Imperial and Colonial Governments and Rhodes as managing director of the British South Africa Company, relating to the proposed stipulation in the constitution of all Territories administered by the Company, prohibiting the imposition of Customs duties in excess of any duties then in force in

the Cape Colony. He whimsically objected to this provision on the ground that he was a Free Trader, though it was not easy to see why a Free Trader should object to a clause which prohibited protective duties. The House being transparently unsympathetic, his motion was not pressed to a division.

On 18th June Rhodes again took an opportunity of referring to the acquisition of Damaraland by Germany. He admitted having been in the Ministry at the time, and that he and Merriman—then a colleague—used to say daily, "We must have Damaraland," like the old Roman insistently crying, "Delenda est Carthago," but other Ministers were supine, and when the telegram was at last sent it was too late.

The following day, Merriman, in a debate on the Estimates, admitted his dislike of the intrusion of Germany in the sphere of South African influence, and he again urged, as a retaliatory measure, the imposition of Customs duties at Walfisch Bay, which remained Cape territory, although Germany had annexed and occupied the Hinterland. But Rhodes adhered to his previous decision, and declined to be led into the thorny path of retaliation.

On 4th July Hofmeyr celebrated his fiftieth birthday by giving a reception at his Cape Town house at which there was an influential gathering. Rhodes proposed his health and eulogised his patriotism, stating that his great and successful task had been to induce Dutch Colonists not to stand outside politics, but to come in and take their legitimate share in the government of the Colony.

During the whole session Rhodes's three colleagues made strenuous efforts, as in duty bound, to overthrow his Government, especially on his railway policy. But

consistently supported by Bond members, he held his own in a series of divisions and, in the end, his Railway Bill was carried by 39 to 26, and the Bechuanaland Bill without a division.

On 3rd August the House was prorogued, having passed forty-three measures, mostly of a useful domestic character, including one entirely exempting property in the United Kingdom from Cape Succession duties, and also exempting similar property in sister Colonies, conditionally on the latter granting reciprocal privileges. Rhodes had again every reason to be satisfied with the results of the session, for, in spite of the parliamentary experience and ability of the Opposition leaders, he had sustained no defeat, and appeared to be firmly in the saddle.

A word may be said regarding events occurring this year of general, if not of exclusive, interest to South Africa.

On 28th June Mr. Chamberlain became Secretary of State for the Colonies, thus inaugurating what was practically a new era, by drawing the mother country and her over-sea dominions closer together, and stimulating the long dormant idea of Imperial unity.

Mr. F. C. Selous, the great hunter and attractive writer, who had performed yeoman service in Rhodesia as a pioneer, and during the Matabele war, but who had left the country without intending to return, found himself in 1895 drawn to the theatre of his former exploits. Sailing on 30th March, he spent some time in the old Colony and elsewhere, but subsequently on 20th August reached Bulawayo, and was still in the neighbourhood when, early in the coming year, the Mashona rebellion

burst in thunder and flame on the scattered white population of Rhodesia.

At the time of his arrival, however, the peace of the Territory appeared to be in no danger. The one lowering cloud was the daily increasing probability of a conflict between Her Majesty's Government and militant Republicanism in South Africa. Incident after incident occurred to lower confidence in a peaceful solution of existing disputes, and though Rhodes, even to a much later date, believed or judged it politic to affect to believe, that there would be no war, business men thought otherwise and made preparations for the worst. On 14th March the acting State Secretary at Pretoria issued a circular to the effect that the circulation of "foreign," *i.e.* British, silver coin was prohibited by law No. 14 of 1891, and that the Government were determined strictly to enforce the prohibition. The inconvenience caused by the revival of an obsolete measure was immense.

Another sign of the times was the abandonment by the Orange Free State of Brand's judicious policy of avoiding entangling alliances. In the month of June the Volksraad of the smaller State passed a momentous resolution affirming its readiness to consider any proposal from the Transvaal for a Federal Union. This decision ripened later into a treaty, and, when war came, the State had no alternative but to throw in its lot with its neighbour, although it had not a shadow of a grievance against Great Britain.

Early in August Sir Hercules Robinson visited the Transvaal and, in more than one judicious speech, besought the Republic to remain a member of the South African family, and have none but friendly differences

with the other States; but he had hardly returned to the Cape before an influential petition from the Uitlanders to the Volksraad for redress of grievances was rejected with derision, one of the Raad members daring the petitioners to "come on and fight."

It may be a coincidence, or it may not, but within a few weeks of this incident Colonel Frank Rhodes, on behalf of his brother, was at Ramoutsa in the Protectorate, significantly close to the Transvaal border. There, on 23rd September, he obtained cession from two native chiefs—Ikaning, chief of the Bamaliti, and Montsoia, chief of the Bora-Isile Baralong—of certain areas not in themselves extensive, but suitable for a "jumping-off" ground. The cession was duly confirmed by the High Commissioner, who, in a Proclamation to that effect, dated 18th October, admitted the withdrawal of his direct jurisdiction and its transfer to the British South Africa Company, and expressly authorised the latter to appoint and control a force sufficient to maintain peace, order, and good government in the territory.

In October occurred what is known as the Drifts question, on which I need only touch with brevity. The President, a zealous supporter of his Delagoa Bay line, had permitted the railway company to put in force a prohibitive tariff between the Vaal River and Johannesburg, and when, in rejoinder, Cape merchants resorted to waggon traffic, a Transvaal proclamation was issued (1st October), closing the Drifts into the Republic on the Cape side, while leaving them open on the side of Natal. This was a clear infraction of Article 13 of the London Convention, and Rhodes called upon Her Majesty's Government to enforce their treaty rights.

On 22nd October he read to me a confidential telegram to the effect that Kruger would give the Cape one-third of the heavy traffic as against two-fifths which the Colony claimed, which meant a loss of £15,000 a year to the Cape Revenue. He asked my view as to whether an amicable settlement was worth that sacrifice. I answered without hesitation in the affirmative, and he concurred, but said he must consult Hofmeyr.

Whether this offer was subsequently withdrawn or rejected, I cannot say, but no settlement was arrived at; and Mr. Chamberlain, having on 1st November arranged with the Cape Government a secret agreement to send an armed force into the Transvaal at joint expense, an intimation was despatched to the President, which convinced him that the position was a serious one, and he at once climbed down and re-opened the Drifts on 5th November.

The incident, however, was not lost on Rhodes, who immediately began to strengthen the British South Africa Police Force on the Transvaal border. Kruger, on his side, was urged by his extreme supporters to strike at once and strike home. In reply, and with a touch of that homely humour for which he was noted, he stated that before one could kill a tortoise, he must put his head out.

As the year drew to its close the tension deepened. A correspondent in the Transvaal (27th December) wrote to me:—"The situation is grave. There is a stampede of women and children. People are transferring their money to the Colony. At any moment an insurrection may take place. The leaders say they are prepared, but I think they underestimate the Boer strength. Moreover, the Uitlanders are divided amongst themselves."

It is, of course, now known that Dr. Jameson had been for some time in possession of an undated letter from the Reform leaders urging him to come in for the protection of women and children.

Meanwhile Rhodes made no sign. What he knew and what he only guessed cannot even now be stated with precision. But at 11 o'clock at night on 29th December he verbally informed the Imperial Secretary that Jameson was moving in with an armed force. The High Commissioner commanded his instant recall, threatening to advocate abrogation of the Charter. For two days South Africa trembled with excitement and fear. Kruger appealed to Germany. Telegrams flashed continuously over the cables, and the old year died amid a scene of passion and resentment to which it would be difficult to find a parallel since the boulevards of Paris resounded in 1870 with the cry "*à Berlin.*" To this position unyielding obstinacy on one side and precipitate retaliation on the other had brought South Africa, and changed in a moment the whole face of affairs.

As a matter of record it may be added that Jameson's column left Mafeking on Sunday evening, 28th December, was reinforced at Pitsani the following day, received on Tuesday an order from the High Commissioner to return immediately, and, disregarding the warning, pushed on and came into action on 31st December, thus bringing a fateful year to a disastrous close.

CHAPTER XXX

THE RAID AND ITS RESULTS (1896)

Kaiser's cablegram—Mr. Schreiner—Rhodes resigns—In seclusion at Groote Schuur—Objects of Raid—Rhodes in Kimberley—Returns and sails for England—Leaves for Rhodesia—Fate of Johannesburg Reform Committee—Trial of Dr. Jameson—Rhodes at Salisbury—Second Matabele war—Mashona rebellion—Rhodes Speaks at Bulawayo—Peace negotiations—Incidents of the campaign—Rhodes starts for Cape Town—Groote Schuur burnt down—Reception at Port Elizabeth—Proceeds to Kimberley—De Beers Meeting—Arrives in Cape Town—Anecdotes.

THE literature of the Raid, official and unofficial, is on a generous scale.

Apologists on the one part and denunciators on the other have outwearied the world with applause or invective. More sober conclusions will be found by studying the reports of the English and Colonial Select Committees.

I do not propose to stir these troubled waters afresh. A few salient dates and facts must suffice, and the only point I desire to emphasise is that the great Adventure was not a cause but an effect. The Raid was not the cause of the Boer War, but a picturesque and irregular episode in the long duel between Republican aspirations and the settled convictions of those who preferred British institutions under the supremacy of the Crown. The Raid, indeed, retarded rather than accelerated the final struggle in that it tied for a while the hands of the paramount power.

On New Year's Day, 1896, Jameson, still on march, received a second warning despatch—this time from the British Agent in Pretoria; but it was too late to recede, and he contented himself with calling on the Johannesburg Reform Committee to send out a column in aid. But the Committee, as my correspondent had predicted, were divided among themselves, and unprepared for heroic action, or even for action of any kind. The raiders were left to their fate. Jameson, after several skirmishes by the way, made a last stand at Doornkop on 2nd January, was crushed by superior numbers, and surrendered.

The same night the High Commissioner, in a deplorable state of health, started for Pretoria. He was intercepted at Salt River Station by Rhodes, who tendered his resignation, but was requested to retain office for a few days.

It was, I think, on 1st January and again the following day, that Rhodes sent peremptory telegrams to Salisbury to stop the reported mobilisation of the Rhodesian Horse.

Two days later—3rd January—the President received the following consolatory message from the German Emperor:—

“I tender you my sincere congratulations that without appealing to the help of friendly Powers you and your people have been successful in opposing with your own forces the armed bands that have broken into your country to disturb the peace, in restoring order, and in maintaining the independence of your country against attacks from without.

“WILHELM I.R.”

This impulsive communication was of essential service to South Africa as showing to what lengths foreign intervention might be carried, unless we composed our own internal differences. Those who loved England burst into a flame of resentment. The *Times* regarded the step as a distinctly unfriendly one. Even men who loved England little, but who loved Germany less, took the message ill. It drew from Hofmeyr an indignant reply. "Allow me," he wrote to his Dutch organ *Ons Land*, "to say publicly what I have repeatedly stated to friends privately ever since Kaiser Wilhelm's blundering utterances on recent South African occurrences became known. I took his interference for mere bluster not deserving any consideration . . . Nobody knows better than His Imperial Majesty that the first German shot fired against England would be followed by a combined French and Russian attack on 'das Vaterland,' and by the acquisition by England of all German colonies, Damaraland included, which would not be an unmixed blessing for the Cape."

The power behind the Throne became visible a little later when, to the accompaniment of ribald laughter, it was announced that Dr. Leyds, the Transvaal agent, was in Berlin at the time "consulting a throat specialist."

Repulsed in this direction, the Kaiser now applied to Portugal for permission to land marines at Delagoa Bay "to guard German Consulates in the Transvaal." The request was refused.

Meanwhile Rhodes continued to press for the acceptance of his resignation, and on 8th January it was known that Sir Gordon Sprigg had agreed to form a ministry. Owing, however, to the refusal of Mr. Schreiner to

accept the position of Attorney-General, delay occurred, and the cabinet were not gazetted until 13th January. The combination, as finally arranged, was not a strong one, but not even his political enemies ever accused Sir Gordon Sprigg of want of courage where the acceptance of ministerial responsibility was concerned.

The sincere attachment of Schreiner to his late leader breathes, not without pathos, in a letter from him dated Kalk Bay, 13th January:—"Whatever you suffer and whatever you seem to have lost or be losing, don't let them induce you to do anything small. You must go on living your life on big lines. Rest and wait, and your grasp will return. I am so anxious about you, and my anxiety about your health is less keen than my apprehension, foolish perhaps, that you may be persuaded not to take and acknowledge your full responsibility for all that has occurred. If you were not, as I know, shaken by the past fortnight I would not say a word, but you will understand how my heart yearns towards you. As for me, I am all right in a way: I catch small fish with my little boy off the rocks here—and I dream still."

I will not spoil the effect of this letter by any comment of mine.

Mrs. Schreiner, senior, was one of Rhodes's most devoted friends. To her, on 29th December, with a foreboding of approaching trouble, he must have written manfully yet tenderly, for he preserved her reply, which I here insert:—

"GRAHAMSTOWN, 29th January, 1896.

"Surely my guardian angel prompted you to write to me on 29th December. The words have been—as

you said they would be—pleasant and helpful to me in these dark days. So, too, are words just to hand from my dear son Will. He writes, 'I know how you value the friendship between me and dear old Rhodes. For your comfort let me assure you that political severance does not and will not impair my respect and affection for him.' I thank God for these words."

It was quite true that Rhodes for a while was "shaken." For days he remained at Groote Schuur, inaccessible and alone. Even the *New York World* failed, I fear, to raise a smile from him when it cabled to ask whether he had declared South Africa independent and, if so, why. But he replied gravely repudiating the charge. The *World* still "wanted to know." An enterprising modern journalist, thirsting for "copy," is not easily repulsed. Back came a demand to be informed of the exact position of affairs. To this Rhodes replied at some length, quoting the numbers of the new Transvaal population *largely composed of Americans*, their inability to obtain civil rights, their disgust at the threatened intervention of Germany. "All my mine managers are Americans," he added. As an appeal for sympathy the document is a clever one.

Rhodes also despatched a message, or perhaps a series of messages, to the Board of the Chartered Company, acknowledging to his colleagues what he would not acknowledge to the public, that "Jameson had acted without instructions." In other respects and to all other people he maintained a grim silence.

One of his secretaries writes to me, "Although I was so intimately acquainted with him I never had the slight-

est suspicion of what was going on. No one in the office had any knowledge of the impending invasion of the Transvaal. I suppose he thought he had no right to implicate Government officials. After the Raid he remained in his bedroom for days. I used to take his letters there. I don't think he slept for five nights. 'Tony' (his personal servant) said the 'Baas' never stopped walking up and down all night. He looked terribly worried."

On the morning of 4th January Rhodes's body-servant came to me with a message that "the master was calling" for me. I had hitherto respected his privacy, but now went over and had a long talk with him. At first he was quite unmanned and, without a word spoken, we held hands like two schoolboys. I was struck by his shattered appearance. After a while—never ceasing to walk the room like a caged lion—he poured out his soul and swept away many of the misconceptions which then and subsequently possessed the public mind. The idea, he said, was this:

First. The Raid was to be subsidiary to a rising within the Republic. If and when the latter occurred, the Chartered Company were to strike in *along with* other forces.

Second. The Republic was not to be overthrown. A Conference was to be called, the High Commissioner to be convener. The independence of the Boers was to be guaranteed in return for redress of grievances.

Third. A Customs Union: equalisation of railway rates: a common Court of Appeal: leading on to ultimate Federation.

Fourth. Zululand to be annexed to Natal and Basuto-

land to the Free State, provided recognition of British Supremacy was frankly accepted. Result—a Federal Union under the Crown, powerful enough to say “Hands off” to Germany.

This great conception, he said, had been marred by the precipitancy of the Raid, the unpreparedness of the Rand and the timidity of Hofmeyr when the crisis came.

Reverting to the litter of telegrams on the floor, he stated that he had not replied to any of them. I reminded him that he was still Prime Minister, that policy required them to be acknowledged, and that I was ready to send “safe” replies to every one of them. “Read them,” he replied, “and then you will understand.” I waded through them and saw his difficulty. A majority were from Dutch supporters asserting their personal regard and continued political support, conditionally on his public disavowal of Jameson. “You see my point,” he said, “and why there can be no reply.”

On 7th January Rhodes wrote to me in pencil (letter undated), requesting me to come over to him again. He was recovering his balance, but disliked the intrusion of visitors, so we left the house by a side door and took refuge in a shady recess, where he went fully into his plans and prospects. Even here we were followed by a man to whom Rhodes was about to speak sharply, when I persuaded him to be silent. The visitor—a market-gardener—came forward somewhat timidly and laid on the bench a basket of flowers. “It’s all I’ve got,” he said, and was gone. Rhodes was much affected.

It goes without saying that the world did not take the silence of Rhodes in good part. Journalists are not the only people eager for the latest news. The public,

uninformed and therefore apt to be censorious, demanded of the hermit of Groote Schuur that he should emerge from his cell. But in his more spacious days he never wore his heart upon his sleeve, and now, in dishonour and despair, he looked stonily upon a garrulous universe, vocal with anger. A thousand speculative and contradictory explanations of his attitude were given. His reticence was attributed to wounded pride, to callous indifference, and to conscious guilt. But, Gallio-like, he cared for none of these things. He stood in the position of an accused man, and while the case was *sub-judice* he would not speak. In these days of unrestrained publicity this was regarded as intolerable, and many of his fair-weather friends discovered that their idol had feet of clay. A dumb oracle was felt to be insufferable, and Rhodes was insistently called upon to draw aside the veil and reveal the springs of action underlying recent events.

It is clear now that he deliberately chose the line of policy most difficult in itself, but least compromising to his associates. The Right Hon. James Bryce, writing to him, helpfully, from London on 10th January, advised him not to attach too much importance to attacks which political and personal adversaries could not be expected to lose the opportunity of making.

He himself was under no illusion. He recognised that the Raid was a reversion to the mediæval right of private war, and as such, indefensible; and that an attack on the Transvaal, apparently under his general authority, even if not on his specific order, was an event carrying with it swift and terrible retribution. Smitten with blindness, like a modern Samson he had essayed to pull down the pillars of an oppressive commonwealth, and, having

failed, he must abide the result, or, in his own words, "face the music." He had not ordered the assault, but cognisant of the preparations, he must have known all along that his hand was liable to be forced. His precautions were not in themselves unwise, because trouble was inevitable, but in being clandestine they became impolitic. Had he acted throughout on higher authority he would have stood on firmer ground. Had he pressed for preliminary preparations, threatening resignation in case of refusal, he might have obtained sanction for steps which, without such sanction, were patently irregular. Without publicity, an admirably equipped and mobile force had been concentrated within striking distance of the disturbed area. Had refusal to grant reform led to actual revolt, had Johannesburg been in danger of vindictive punishment, Her Majesty's Government would have possessed an advance guard on the Border capable of rendering excellent service pending the arrival of regular troops. As an auxiliary corps the force at Pitsani had immense value: as an instrument for overthrowing the Republic of itself, it was a negligible quantity.

On 10th January Rhodes left for Kimberley, where he arrived two days later, receiving an enthusiastic reception at the railway station from the entire population. In response to calls for a speech, he told the crowd that he thanked them from the bottom of his heart for so kindly a welcome. "In times of adversity," he said, "people come to know who are their real friends, and I am proud to see that at this crisis I can count on so many trustworthy friends on the Diamond Fields. There is an idea abroad that my public career has come to an end. On the contrary, I think it is just beginning, and I have

a firm belief that I shall live to do useful work for this country.”

After attending to necessary business he left at once for Cape Town, he and his friend Beit sailing for England in the *Moor* on 15th January, and landing on 4th February. His stay was a very brief one, but during that period the Chartered Board, at whose urgent request he had come over, met *de die in diem*, and on 6th February he visited Mr. Chamberlain at the Colonial Office and remained two hours. The *Times* declared his return to England would be generally recognised as the right course to pursue, and in its issue of 10th February it added:—

“It is difficult to conceive that for the next four or five years Mr. Rhodes could be more profitably occupied than in the assiduous and legitimate development of this province (Rhodesia). By the realisation of his views concerning it he will strengthen every tie which binds together Great Britain and South Africa. He will assist in a manner to which his genius is peculiarly adapted in the development of British influence in South Africa.

“He will at the same time cause South African influence every day to acquire more importance in Great Britain. Gradually, by the safe channels of successful industry and commercial intercourse, he may look forward to cementing a union of which his own view has always been that it should be based on an elevated conception of mutual interests, and in the pursuit of this object by the means to which he proposes to devote himself his energy may be safely put forward to its full extent.

“The most sensitive of foreign neighbours cannot deny out right to develop the great British sphere won for the nation chiefly by the exertions of Mr. Rhodes; the least reasonable can hardly fail upon reflection to perceive that, subject to the judgment of Her Majesty’s Government, and to such restrictions in respect of military and police authority as it may be thought proper to impose, the first duty which Mr. Rhodes now owes to his countrymen is to redeem the late disaster in South Africa by devoting his best efforts to the realisation of a peaceful and substantial British success.”

Meanwhile, a Dutch supporter, writing to him on 25th January, says, “On arriving at Grootte Schuur I was amazed to find you gone. Feeling is calming down, and Kruger’s demand to be free of the Suzerainty has caused a revulsion. Only to-day, at the Paarl Show, leading men declared that it could not be tolerated.”

During the excitement of the moment, enemies of Rhodes, both in and outside of Parliament, did not fail to seek to improve the occasion by demanding the revocation of the Charter, but the Directors of the Company, conscious of their innocence, were undisturbed by the clamour, and at their meeting on 5th February they passed a Resolution to proceed at once with an extension of the Beira Railway from Chimoio to Umtali.

The British press had hardly grasped the fact of Rhodes’s arrival before he was gone again. As the *Pall Mall Gazette* said, “He has faced the music of his directors and of Mr. Chamberlain to whom he is responsible, and having done that, there was no need for more. He has done the business that brought him here,

and has gone back to go on with his work in Charterland."

Another London paper affords the details. "Mr. Rhodes," it says, "left London early on the 10th inst. for the Continent, embarking at Naples on the 13th idem by the German boat *Kanzler*, which is due to arrive at Beira on March 16th. He is *en route* to Rhodesia, but will return in time for the trial of Dr. Jameson should his presence be required."

As a matter of record Rhodes arrived at Beira on 20th March, and after a long interview with the Portuguese Governor there, he proceeded to Umtali, where for the present I must leave him.

The High Commissioner remained in Pretoria until by diplomatic action, marked by consummate ability, he secured the release of Dr. Jameson and his officers who were surrendered to Her Majesty's Government for trial in England, escorted to the Natal border, taken thence to Durban, and sent home by the East Coast route in the troopship *Victoria*.

It is to the honour of the President that he dealt thus leniently with the Raiders, especially as, in doing so, he ran counter to his own Boer stalwarts, who clamoured for the death penalty. But, with all his limitations, Kruger was a strong man. With the four leaders of the Reform movement, and also with the Committee as a whole, he dealt with far greater severity. Colonel Frank Rhodes, Mr. Hays Hammond, Mr. Lionel Phillips and Mr.—now Sir George—Farrar were all sentenced to death, but eventually, owing to a well-organised agitation on the part of practically all South Africa, escaped with a fine of £25,000 each, while subordinate members of

the ill-starred committee had to pay £2000 apiece. Out of his own pocket, as the first fruits of the Raid, Rhodes paid £62,000 towards these penalties.

On 16th January Sir Hercules Robinson was back in Cape Town, having performed a conspicuous public service in masterly fashion. His return, he cabled to the Secretary of State, was due to his presence being urgently needed on account of a change of Ministry.

On 31st January Lord Loch wrote to me, "The shortcomings of the Government of the Republic made the Raid a possibility, but do not justify it. . . . In one way what has happened has done good, for the Continental Powers now know that we would go to war if they interfered in South African questions. We have never stated this more distinctly, and it is now fully understood."

Jameson's preliminary examination before Sir John Bridge commenced on the 10th March and lingered on until 18th June, when he was committed for trial. The trial took place on the 20th October, and ended a week later in a sentence of fifteen months' imprisonment. Owing to continued ill-health, Jameson was released in December, went abroad and vanished from South African history until 1898, but by no means for ever. Like that of Rhodes, his career was only beginning.

In March the general manager of De Beers Mines at Kimberley and a subordinate agent of the company at Cape Town were tried in the Cape courts for causing arms and ammunition to be moved without a licence, and were fined for the offence.

In view of the approaching opening of the Cape Parliament on 30th April, fresh attempts were now made to induce Rhodes to return to politics. Among the appeals

thus made to him, one influential telegram ran as follows: "We unanimously think it is of utmost importance, and necessary to your interests as well as the whole of South Africa, that you should be present at the opening of Parliament or as soon as possible after. If you be present you can rely on support of all your friends, as well as a large number of waverers, and those at present unfavourably disposed to you. Sprigg and Uppington both urge this, and say you must not allow Mashonaland troubles to interfere, and if you do not come even friends will feel it is of no use fighting any more, and your opponents will say you fear meeting Parliament. A large number of Dutch say if you return you can rely on their support notwithstanding all that has been done, and you will be sure to have a majority. J. H. Hofmeyr fears if you return many of his party will leave him and follow you. D. C. de Waal and your friends cannot too strongly urge you to come. Only your opponents hope you may not."

The date of this message is 8th April. But by this time Rhodes had a sterner struggle on his hands. Even in February, before his arrival at Salisbury, there were mutterings of a coming storm. One of the most experienced native commissioners reported that the proceedings of the U'mlimo—the Makalaka witch-doctor—presaged revolt. Early in March Rinderpest swept through Rhodesia and disturbed the minds of the natives, who at the same time heard very exaggerated accounts that the Raid had wiped out the white man.

Rhodes was at Salisbury and exerting all his powers to help his territory along the path of peaceful progress, when on Sunday, 22nd March, he heard of the murder

of a native policeman and of other outrages by the Matabele in the Filabusi and Insiza districts. Shortly afterwards Selous and his wife, living quietly at Essex Vale, were driven to take refuge in Bulawayo and their cherished homestead went up in flames. Parties of the Matabele now occupied the rocky fortresses so numerous among the Matopo Hills. It was clear that a crisis was impending, and Rhodes, with all his customary energy restored to him, took immediate measures to protect his settlers.

Excellent accounts of the war were subsequently written by Lieutenant-Colonel Baden-Powell and Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Plumer. Here it can only be lightly touched upon.

Within ten days of the receipt of the news of the revolt, Rhodes was on the march from Salisbury. Telegraphing on 31st March to the Hon. Maurice Gifford at Bulawayo, he says, "I'm off to Gwelo with 150 men—100 mounted. I have news that 140 of Jameson's police will arrive 2nd April from England and will rejoin." The reply he received was a curt one, "Much more serious than you think. To go into Matopos with less than 500 is madness."

On 11th May a force under Colonel Napier left Bulawayo to meet him, and the columns joined forces on 20th May. With Rhodes were Colonel Beal—hitherto besieged in Gwelo—Sir Charles Metcalfe and other well-known Rhodesians. With Napier were Arthur Rhodes, Spreckley, Molyneux, Wrey, Burnham the Scout, and Father Barthelemy, a devoted Catholic priest for whom Rhodes had a high regard. It is noticeable that a Dutch contingent under Van Rensburg and Van Niekerk were

with the Bulawayo column and performed splendid service.

An eye-witness says, "I thought Rhodes looked well, but his hair is turning grey and the strong face tells a tale of excessive mental strain. There was severe fighting all along the route." The combined column reached Bulawayo on the 31st May, and shortly afterwards Sir Frederick Carrington arrived with some Regular troops and assumed the command.

The position was aggravated in June by the Mashonas unexpectedly joining their hereditary foes, the Matabele: fighting was furious over a wide area, and Rhodes was often under fire. Negotiations for peace began in July, but it was not until late in October that the troops were disbanded after nearly eight months' active service, and even then it was the diplomacy of Rhodes that brought the war to a close.

I shall now let him speak for himself. At Bulawayo, shortly after his arrival, he was called upon to speak at a public meeting. After expressing his heartfelt sympathy with the settlers and his confidence in Carrington, he outlined his policy for the future, and added, "It is a wonder to me how we have got through our difficulties as we have. Nearly everything has had to be carried six hundred miles. Providence sent Rinderpest among our cattle, and horse-sickness continually kills our horses. But do you know they do without horses in Egypt? They have, however, excellent donkeys, and when recently there, I arranged for a monthly shipment of them to Beira. . . . Now, gentlemen, I observe that all the neighbouring States are discussing and settling your future for you: they have forgotten that you must have a voice

in it. If I am allowed to remain and work with you, I look for the Charter to ultimately lapse and for you to become a self-governing body. I see clearly that you will become another State in South Africa. You have only to look at the map. . . . I wish to clear away the idea that because one's situation changes, one's policy changes. My policy will never change. I should be a very small man if I altered, through recent troubles, the ideas of a lifetime. I hope you will prepare your minds for some mode of self-government as the means of making you one of the States of South Africa, that the end of our efforts shall be South African Federation."

This is the old Rhodes—not casting backward glances, not crying over spilt milk, but looking forward in high hope and with steadfast faith. Later on in the campaign, when the war was practically over and he was about to leave Bulawayo, he spoke again and said, "You have done me the honour of calling this country by my name. My return for that will be to make the country as great as I can. We must develop the State, not on lines of antagonism to the rest of South Africa, but in perfect harmony with our neighbours."

On a third occasion, he is reported as saying, "I have been a happier man since I have been among you. The great secret of life is work."

Now that hostilities had ceased, it became the duty of Rhodes to proceed to England and appear before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. The question for the moment was by what route to travel. Against the Cape Town route was the fact that many of his old associates in and out of Parliament were now hostile, and he expected that his reception would be a mixed one,

and might embarrass the Cape Government. Against the Eastern route, its adoption might have been taken to mean that he dared not face his foes. He decided for the bolder course.

Before, however, I describe his journey South, I must quote a few extracts from personal reminiscences on the part of some of his comrades during the Matabele War. This is what one of them says, "On his arrival at Bulawayo he telegraphed to me to leave the Cape Civil Service and join him as private secretary. I went up in August and found him very busy with his peace negotiations in the Matopos, where I arrived shortly after the now historical indaba, the first of a series. No settlement was arrived at, and the natives returned to the hills. During the interviews he seemed to be entirely without fear. Colonel Plumer was there with 800 men, but Rhodes insisted on pitching his camp about two miles from the troops, between them and the enemy. I thought it a very risky thing. He sometimes had General Carrington, Earl Grey and Sir Richard Martin (the new British Resident) in his camp, and if the natives had attacked any dark night, they could have assegaied the leading men of the country. His idea was to terminate the war at the earliest possible moment, as the expenditure of the Chartered Company was very heavy. The Matopos are seventy miles long and thirty broad. The Matabele seldom made a stand, but the troops could do no more than drive them out of the caves and kopjes at heavy sacrifice. The next day the enemy were back again. Mr. Rhodes grasped the situation. He was convinced that the only thing to be done was to get the chiefs to come out of the hills to see him and come to

terms. It took him six weeks before the first chief would come from his stronghold. Old Babyan was the first to come. He was very nervous the first night, but Mr. Rhodes gave him food and blankets and made him feel at home. In a few days Babyan looked well-pleased with himself. He seemed greatly to appreciate the attentions paid to him. He ate, drank, and slept well, and frequently remarked that this new life suited him admirably, and that it was a great contrast to the one he had led in the hills. There, he stated, when he felt cold in the early morning and longed to pull his blanket round him, he had to get up and spy from his hiding-place to find out whether the British indunas were not marching on him. Here in the camp it was different. He could sleep till the sun was high and till his food was brought to him.

“And so it came about that Babyan at last consented to send for his indunas to come out of their fastnesses to see the white man. They came, and by degrees other chiefs were persuaded to come also. After many weeks, they had all been to the camp. A big indaba was then arranged, at which all were present. Several head of cattle and sheep were killed for the occasion. Two or three meetings were held, and eventually peace was concluded.

“We spent in all about two months in the Matopos, and during that time I marvelled at Mr. Rhodes’s patience. The native mind moves slowly, and even when the chiefs had grasped a simple fact they always returned to their people in the hills, where they would sit round their fires and repeat and repeat what they had heard at the white man’s camp till everybody understood the position. The chiefs would then take their own time

about returning to camp. They had no conception of the value of time, and three or four days, or even a week, made no difference to them. In the meanwhile Mr. Rhodes would anxiously await their return to know how the men of each particular chief took his messages. This was the principal reason why the negotiations were so protracted. From the time that Babyan first came to the camp Mr. Rhodes spent hours and hours every day talking to him, and afterwards to the other chiefs as they came, preparatory to the big indabas when all would be present. It was a very hot time of the year—just before the rains commenced—but Mr. Rhodes never heeded the heat. He used to sit day after day in the blazing sun talking to the chiefs and cracking jokes with them until we were all tired to death of them. But his patience and perseverance gained the day. He inspired the chiefs with confidence, and eventually he was able to conclude the much-desired peace.

“Mr. Rhodes’s physical strength and powers of endurance were phenomenal at this time. Sometimes his morning ride would extend from 5 A. M. to 12 noon, but he usually returned between 10 and 11 o’clock, after having been five or six hours in the saddle. Sometimes I felt almost too tired to dismount, but Mr. Rhodes never seemed to feel the strain of a long ride in the least. He used to hurry through his breakfast, and then started talking to the chiefs right through the heat of the day till four in the afternoon, when the horses would be saddled again and he would ride until dusk. After dinner the chiefs would turn up again, and he would chat with them till late at night. Sometimes after an unusually long ride on a hot morning he would quietly

rise from his chair at the breakfast table, throw himself down under the nearest tree on the bare ground, and fall asleep at once. He would sleep for about half an hour and then commence his chatting with the chiefs.

"I often think his work in the Matopos at this time was the greatest he ever achieved. I do not think any other man could have done what he did. The natives loved to chat with him, and although he was then bereft of all authority (having resigned as Director of the Chartered Company) he was looked upon by them as the head of the white men. It was a great pleasure to watch him whilst these informal indabas were going on. He would chaff and tease the chiefs, and sometimes one almost fancied he was one of them by the way he adapted himself to their customs. His face would beam all over when he thought he had the best of an argument and had them in a corner.

"We left the Matopos in October, 1896, stayed a little while at Bulawayo and then trekked to Salisbury by mule waggons. Mr. Rhodes was very fond of shooting and we had grand sport. Travelling about twenty-five miles a day, we generally started at daybreak, halted at about 10 or 10:30, had breakfast at 11 and rested till 2 P. M., when the waggons would be inspanned again and the horses saddled for the evening trek. We did away entirely with the midday meal by having a late breakfast and an early dinner. We arrived at Salisbury at the end of November. There we found the people full of grievances. They asked for redress and assistance on every conceivable pretext. Mr. Rhodes felt sorry for them, as they had just gone through a very trying siege, and most of them had practically lost everything

they possessed. We stayed at the Government Residency and for three weeks, from early morning till late in the afternoon, there was literally a string of applicants winding their way to the Residency and back. They all wanted something, and I do not think there was a single applicant for assistance who did not get something. My time was fully occupied in writing out cheques, and in a short time Mr. Rhodes had given away in charity a sum considerably exceeding £10,000. When remonstrated with by his friends, he always replied sympathetically, 'These people have had a trying time, and I must encourage them so that they should not leave the country.' "

Another comrade of Rhodes sends me the following, "Save for a few minutes in Cape Town in 1895 I did not see him again after this visit till the middle of 1896. He had paid a short visit to England before the Jameson Raid, and on his way back *via* the East Coast he decided to interview the Sultan of Turkey for the purpose of getting some stud Angora goats from him, so as to endeavour to effect an improvement in the South African herds, which owing to inbreeding and neglect had deteriorated very greatly. His friends laughed at him, and said he could not possibly succeed; they even said, 'You will not as much as be granted an interview.' 'Well,' he replied, 'I shall try, and if I fail it will be some satisfaction to know I have made the attempt.'

"The services of Sir Philip Currie, as he then was, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, were enlisted on his behalf, and to his delight an interview was arranged for the following morning. About 10 A. M. next day he turned up at the Palace in his ordinary garb—a suit of flannel—and was met there by the Ambassador,

whose face fell very much on seeing his costume. 'Good gracious,' he said, 'you can't go and see the Sultan like that; you must go and get your frock coat.' 'That is impossible,' replied Mr. Rhodes, 'for I don't possess one.' In the end a compromise was effected by his taking off his flannel jacket and squeezing into the Ambassador's overcoat, which was much too small for him. He met the Sultan, who was much taken with him, and agreed to let him have a considerable number of his Angoras, the benefit of which South Africa is reaping to-day.

"During the war he was present at several engagements—at Thaba Zamamba, Kantora, and various other fights in the Matopos. When the rebels had been finally driven to the hills he said that in fighting there, though we might be victorious, the system which they had adopted made our losses heavier as a rule than theirs, so he suggested to Major-General Carrington that he should consent to his asking the leading chiefs to confer with him. At first Carrington opposed the idea, but eventually agreed, and about the 7th August, 1896, Mr. Rhodes left Bulawayo for this purpose. His party travelled to Umlugulu and camped about a mile from Colonel Plumer's fighting column. At once Mr. Rhodes set to work. Three or four well-known natives who had remained loyal undertook to carry a message to the chiefs, and early one morning they were sent off. Part of the way they were accompanied by Mr. J. C. Richardson, who was attached as interpreter to Plumer's column, and there is no doubt that it was largely owing to his support that they carried their undertaking through. That they were doubtful as to their reception is certain, but his presence with them till they had reached a deserted

kraal, where a very old woman had been left to tell them that the chiefs would receive the message provided no white man accompanied them, prevented them from turning back. The rebels were, of course, aware of the start of the native delegates as soon as they set out from our camp, owing to the well-known system of signalling which they possess.

“Mr. Richardson returned late on the night of the day the four boys were sent off, and he told us about the old woman and of certain bits of white cloth which had been tied to trees, so we all felt very hopeful as to the result, but we realised that two to four days must elapse before our messengers could return, and Mr. Rhodes at once said we must not pass the time idly, and suggested we should form shooting parties, and so show the rebellious natives that we stood in no awe of them.

“On the fourth day our messengers arrived, and said a few of the older chiefs would see Mr. Rhodes, but that there were not to be more than four all told from our party, so it came to a question of deciding who should go, and in the end Dr. Sauer was chosen, and a newspaper correspondent from Plumer’s column—Mr. V. Stent. Early next morning they were off, Mr. Grimmer and I going a few miles with them and then waiting about half a mile from the spot arranged for what is known as the first indaba. After some three hours the party returned and informed us that peace was in sight, as the chiefs had promised to call a big meeting of all the others not present for that day week, at a point some twenty-five miles further west in the hills. We at once set to work packing up, and trekked off next morning to fix our camp at the new place and be all ready by the

day appointed. Colonel Plumer and his column followed us about a day later, Mr. Rhodes insisting that no troops should come nearer our camp than two miles, as he wished to show the rebels he had full confidence in their word that until they had discussed matters fully at the second indaba there would be no further fighting. It had been arranged that seven of us might attend this meeting, but that all of us should be unarmed, and this condition was agreed to on the understanding that the rebels should also carry no weapons.

“On the day appointed we set off, being accompanied by Mrs. Colenbrander and her sister, all of us being well mounted on horseback. The spot fixed was some two miles from our camp and about four from the fighting column. About fifteen to twenty natives were visible when we arrived, but suddenly some 400 to 500, armed to the teeth, came out of the bush and surrounded us. ‘Keep on your horses,’ shouted Mr. Colenbrander, and we all did save Mr. Rhodes, who dismounted and walked right up to the rebels, despite Colenbrander’s entreaties, and began upbraiding them in no measured terms regarding their broken promise as to coming unarmed. ‘How can I trust you?’ he questioned. ‘You asked us to carry no guns and stated you would not, and what do I find? Until you lay them down, every one of you, I will not discuss a single point with you.’

“This led to much muttering among the ‘amajacas’ (fighters), and they all looked very sulky. Calling up three or four of the older chiefs, Mr. Rhodes said, ‘Why do you permit this? These young men are out of hand; you cannot control them, and yet you call yourselves their indunas.’ ‘Alas,’ they replied, ‘they *are* out of hand,

but the young men of to-day are no longer to be controlled as they were when Lo Bengula was alive; they are too much for us.' 'Do not allow your authority to be set aside in such a fashion,' said Mr. Rhodes, 'I will stand by you. Order these amajacas to put down their guns at once, else we shall go back and the war will begin again.' Somewhat heartened, the chiefs went in among the impi while Rhodes walked up to a stone in the midst of them and sat down on it. The rest of us remained on our horses, thunderstruck at his actions and conversation, which was carried on in Matabele without the aid of an interpreter. In ten minutes or so, loud shouts of Inkosi (Master, Chief) went up, and all the arms were laid down. Dismounting, we others gathered around him, and he then asked Colenbrander to tell them that as the indaba was an important one, and as he spoke their language far from well, he would speak to them through him.

"Beginning, he said: 'I have come to ask you what you are fighting for, and if you have any real grievances I will try to put matters right for you; but before I listen to what you have to say I must say to you that, while I do not blame you for fighting if your complaints have not been listened to, I tell you most emphatically that I look on all of you as wolves, if you have killed women and children. Many such have been killed—or murdered, rather. Now, if any of you here have had a hand in such work, leave this conference, for I wish to talk to men, not murderers.'

"'Inkosi,' they shouted, 'it is well said, but there are no such dogs here, so let us talk.' A fine-looking chief, named Umlevu, to whom we all took a fancy, was loud-

est in his protestations. 'Be quite sure,' said Mr. Rhodes, 'for the Great Queen will never rest until all murderers have been tried and hanged.' 'It is only what such curs deserve,' was the reply.

"For the next three hours the chiefs poured out all their troubles, some of which Mr. Rhodes saw were genuine and promised to rectify. Others, he pointed out to them, were the result of their own folly. In the end a perfect understanding was arrived at, but before getting up Mr. Rhodes said to the chiefs, 'Are you all here, all the chiefs of the Matabele?' They looked much upset at this question, then one of them came forward and said, 'No, Helae and Mapisa would not agree to come and meet you; they still want to fight.' 'Where do they live?' said Mr. Rhodes, and on being told it was some eighteen miles further in the hills, he said, 'Well, tell them I shall go to the door of their kraals and stay there till they come out.' Helae and Mapisa, it may be mentioned, controlled a very large number of Matabele, and had much influence.

"'And now,' he said, 'is it peace?' 'Yebo, Inkosi (Yes, Master) it is peace. We look at you now with white eyes. Hail, Lamula'mkunzi (separator of the Fighting Bulls), Lamula'mkunzi, Lamula'mkunzi,' shouted the impi, and the hills re-echoed the name given him by the natives, who were now overjoyed at the end of the war, but who a few minutes before were full of bitterness.

"The old chiefs approached him again. 'We shall call you always Lamula'mkunzi,' they said. (And they did till he died, and he is still spoken of by that name.) 'But now that we have no longer Lo Bengula, you are

our father, our friend and protector, and to you we shall look in the years that are coming.' 'It is well,' he replied, 'you are my children, and I will see to your welfare in future.'

"Turning to the impi, the old men called, 'Lamula'mkunzi, our father, says he will protect us and give us his counsel always. He is our father and our chief.' The impi, with wild shouts of Baba (father), Inkosi, Lamula'mkunzi, sprang forward and rushed among us, shouting and laughing and dancing and begging, all of them, for salt and tobacco, their arms and grievances forgotten together. We gave them what tobacco we had, and asked some twenty of them to come to our camp for salt, etc., including Umlevu, already referred to, and Babyan, one of Lo Bengula's chief councillors, who had visited the Queen in 1889, and who was held in great repute by the Matabele.

"The return to our camp was in the nature of a triumphal march. Though we only asked some twenty of the impi to come with us, at least fifty came, all of them singing and shouting the most lavish praise of us and eulogising Mr. Rhodes in unmeasured terms. After reaching our waggons they were liberally supplied with food and given as much salt and tobacco as we could spare, and all of them left full of protestations of loyalty. Next morning we broke camp and trekked towards the strongholds of the two chiefs who had refused to come to the indaba—Helae and Mapisa.

"It took us three days' travelling to reach our objective, and Mr. Rhodes was full of hope that in a week the two recalcitrant chiefs would hand in their submission. Colonel Plumer's column followed, but was not

allowed nearer than four miles, this being arranged so as to give confidence to the Matabele, many of whom were constantly coming to see their 'Father.' To a message sent them, the two chiefs vouchsafed no reply, so Mr. Rhodes said, 'Very well, we will sit here till they come out and seek us. It will not be long.' But it was not for six weeks (9th October, 1896), and those who know the impatient nature of Mr. Rhodes would have marvelled at his persistency. Nothing seemed to trouble him save the one thing, the conquering of these two men. Many people urged him to give the matter up and leave one of his lieutenants to deal with it, but he would not. He had, he said, stated he would end the rebellion, and till these chiefs had submitted, the embers were still there.

"One morning, in company with Earl Grey and Mr. George Wyndham, he went out riding, and when they came back about one o'clock, he was full of a discovery he had made. 'We found a hill in the Matopos,' he said, 'from which a perfectly wonderful view can be obtained. It may be considered one of the Views of the World. We must have a road made to it later on.' He talked of little else that night at dinner, and got both Lord Grey and Mr. Wyndham to describe it to us.

"Riding in another direction one morning, he found an ideal spot for conserving a large quantity of water, with some wonderfully rich soil underneath it. 'Providence,' he said, 'left this gap in the hills at this point for a purpose, and we must respond. Get a good engineer and arrange for him to prepare surveys for a dam and furnish us with an estimate of the cost.' Matters were put in hand, and before he died the dam was finished at a cost of thirty thousand pounds. When full it con-

tains 987 million gallons of water, and is capable of irrigating a thousand acres of land which lies below its outlet.

"Having made up his mind to build the dam, Mr. Rhodes at once set to work and arranged all about clearing the land which it would dominate of stones and bush, and everything was planned out for the work to be commenced immediately after the chiefs gave in. Meanwhile, a man was sent to the Cape to buy machinery, implements, etc. Though apparently taking a long rest, Mr. Rhodes was really working quite hard, for his mind had to be occupied, and he threw himself into all such matters in his usual strenuous way.

"Babayan, who had come along with us, was one day called up after we had waited for the two chiefs some three weeks, and it was suggested to him that he should go and interview them on our behalf. But he was too well content. 'Why,' said he, 'it is better that I should remain where I am, for they will hear that Babayan is at the camp of Lamula'mkunzi, and they will say, "He is the cunning one; the war is over and he stays there to get fat; we had better go and join him." If I were to go to them now, I am still thin from being chased like a baboon by your troops, they would say, "We hear you are at the camp of Lamula'mkunzi, but he is not feeding you surely—you are very thin." Believe me, it is better for me to remain here.' And so the old schemer stayed. He amused us frequently during the evenings by telling us of his adventures in England when he went on his mission to Queen Victoria, and showed us a fine gold bangle with the inscription 'To Babayan from the Queen' engraved on it.

"The days went on and still no signs of yielding on

the part of the rebels; they would receive no one, and though they did not seek to molest us when we were out shooting, they looked out at us from their kraals in a very sulky fashion. A missionary, the Rev. D. Carnegie, came from his station some considerable distance south of Bulawayo and offered his services, and though he made a plucky journey into the hills it brought us no nearer to a solution. Still Mr. Rhodes never wavered, and taught all of us a lesson never to be forgotten. One day his private secretary arrived from Cape Town with a huge basket of correspondence, but he declined to deal with it until he had gained his point. Sir Charles Metcalfe, to our surprise, rode into our camp one morning, having ridden across country some hundred odd miles all alone. Mr. Rhodes was delighted. 'The natives never gave you any trouble?' he asked. 'Not a bit,' replied Metcalfe, 'they were most friendly.' 'I knew it,' said Mr. Rhodes. It was indeed wonderful that from the hour peace was declared, never another shot was fired by the Matabele—their word was indeed their bond.

"Day succeeded day, but still Helae and Mapisa were obdurate. No trace of impatience was, however, to be noted in Mr. Rhodes. The days were spent in all sorts of expeditions, and the evenings in discussing the development of Africa. One remark of his I remember, which might well be recorded, 'You cannot have real prosperity in South Africa,' he said, 'until you have first established complete confidence between the two races, and henceforth I shall make that part of my work, but all must help, all must help.'

"News of the outside world seldom reached us, and no one seemed to miss it. Some six weeks had elapsed

since we came to the 'doors' of the two rebel kraals, and all of us save Mr. Rhodes were much surprised when one evening just at dark a message came from the chiefs, carried by three of their councillors, to say they would come and talk to Mr. Rhodes shortly after sunrise the next day. 'Get everything ready to move to Bulawayo by noon to-morrow,' said Mr. Rhodes. 'Why,' said some one, 'how do you know they will submit?' 'How *did* I know, you mean,' was the reply; 'they have already submitted when their messengers are here.'

"Next morning the two chiefs with their head-men turned up about 7 o'clock, and in two hours everything had been settled. Helae put his points clearly, and Mr. Rhodes dealt fully with them, and they parted in the most friendly manner, and sure enough we were on the way to Bulawayo at 12 o'clock, and next day Mr. Rhodes was trekking to Salisbury.

"On the way, the little village of Enkeldoorn was passed through, and he found the inhabitants living in laager, afraid to move outside. Asking the reason, he was told that a large body of Mashonas, who lived in a kraal some ten or twelve miles off, came out 'sniping' daily and were strong enough to keep them in laager till they had some assistance. 'Well,' he said, 'I'll assist you. We must go and clear them out.' He arranged the whole thing and personally led the party. (Three-fourths of the men only went, the others had to remain in laager in case of failure.) Accompanied by Sir Charles Metcalfe and Mr. Grimmer, he led the party from the laager at 3 A. M., surrounded the kraal as day broke, and called upon the rebels to surrender. A volley from

their rifles was their reply. Leading the men, he rushed the kraal, and after twenty minutes of hot fighting, put the natives to flight, and they troubled Enkeldoorn no more.

“When he left the Matopos for Salisbury, people said he was flinging the lives of himself and party away, but he replied that he was as safe as in Piccadilly and that he desired to show that the roads were quite safe and fit to reopen for mail service.

“It took him some sixteen days’ travelling to reach Salisbury, where he was given a great reception. From there he went on to Umtali and paid a visit to Inyanga, regarding which he had heard a great deal, and was so struck with its possibilities for sheep raising that he purchased some 120,000 acres for the purpose of experimenting with sheep.”

Among the amusing incidents of the campaign this may be quoted. A detachment on patrol, with whom he was once travelling, was distracted by the rival claims of two officers of equal rank. Rhodes vainly tried to settle precedence, and failing, suggested that he should command as colonel. To this both of them agreed, and the press gave him the title, much to the disquietude of the High Commissioner, who was apparently nervous of resulting comment in England. The Administrator, Earl Grey, was under the necessity of sending the following message:—

“From Earl Grey to High Commissioner.

“Your Excellency’s wire of May 11th. Rhodes accepted colonelcy because of friction between officers in charge of different columns, neither of whom would serve

under the other, but both agreed to serve under Rhodes. If Rhodes had not taken post, column would have separated. Private and confidential. Rhodes asks me to send you the following message. Begins, For the Secretary of State. Tell him there is no Colonel more unhappy than I am. Had to take the position to smooth over individual jealousies as to rank between the various officers, the result is I have to go out into the field and be fired at by horrid Matabeles with their elephant guns which make a fearful row. It is a new and most unpleasant sensation. Ends. The idea of Rhodes taking general command of police and military operations is of course absurd, he fully realises that Martin has the right to control movements of troops as Commandant-General.

(*Sd.*) "J. N.

"for LORD GREY,

"13/5/96."

It is said—but I have no evidence for the truth of the story—that, later on, a medal arrived for "Colonel" Rhodes, but accompanied by a War Office inquiry for the date of his Commission, which could not be found on the records.

Here are a few more personal reminiscences from a friend:—

"Everybody who knew Cecil Rhodes in those days, will also remember his faithful Cape Boy 'Tony,' who went everywhere with him, and was the best cook on the veld I ever saw. The moment the column halted and almost before the waggon was outspanned, Tony would have his fire lighted, and be hard at work preparing the next meal of the day.

“Rhodes was fond of telling the story of how once when commanded to Sandringham he asked Tony when he called him in the morning what time breakfast was. Tony replied, ‘Royalty doesn’t breakfast, sir, but *you* can have it in the dining-room at half-past nine.’

“On 24th June, 1896, when on Macfarlane’s Patrol, news reached Rhodes, through runners sent by Earl Grey, of the rising of the Mashonas, and he determined to get back to Bulawayo at once. We were by no means certain that there was not a large force of Matabele between us and that place, for although Colonel Plumer’s Patrol down the Gwaai had been moving parallel with us, it was a wide extent of country to cover with a small force. We started off for our ride of sixty miles at 3 o’clock in the afternoon; Rhodes, Metcalfe, Colonel Nicholson (7th Hussars), and myself with an escort of twenty men and of course Rhodes’s small travelling waggon with the redoubtable Tony.

“Shortly before midnight we were approaching the Nyamondhlovo Kraals, and were very uncertain whether they had been cleared by Plumer. Hearing a number of dogs barking, we came to the conclusion that the Kafirs were ‘at home,’ for the Kafir dog, as a rule, is rather aggressive if his master is near, but slinks away into the bush if he is not. Nicholson and two men went forward to reconnoitre, and returned with the report that the kraals were occupied, and we had a short conversation as to how we should ‘rush’ the place, Rhodes laying great stress upon the fact that a few men should be told off to remain with the waggon until we made it safe to proceed, ‘for,’ as he said, ‘at all costs Tony *must* be protected!’

“There was probably no man more misunderstood by a certain section of the British nation than Cecil Rhodes, and the following little anecdote should bring a blush of shame to the cheek of those who used to argue that his one object was self, his one aim money-making, and his one ambition a United States of South Africa with himself as President.

“We had got into Bulawayo for a few days after the patrol with Macfarlane to the North, and the outbreak of the Mashonas, which had been unexpected, was naturally an additional weight on Rhodes’s already burdened shoulders. We stayed, as before, at Government House, and early one morning Lord Grey relates how Rhodes came into his room before sunrise in order to congratulate him on his good luck in having been born an Englishman. He had been thinking out his own position during the night and could not wait even until sunrise to pass on to him the reasons why he should congratulate himself on having that good fortune. ‘Have you never realised,’ said Rhodes, ‘that you might have been a Chinaman, or a Hottentot, or that most degraded of men, a Mashona? But you are not, you are an Englishman, and have subsequently drawn the *greatest* prize in the lottery of life. I always think of that when I am bothered, and it carries me through all my troubles—I am an Englishman. And by the way, Grey, how old are you?’ ‘Forty-four,’ said Grey. ‘You’ve no incurable disease, I believe?’ said Rhodes. ‘No, thank God,’ said Grey. ‘Ah!’ said Rhodes, ‘you’ve arrived at the age of forty-four; you have no disease which as far as you know is certain to kill you, and you are an Englishman. Why! you have drawn *two* of the greatest prizes in the lottery

of life!' There was no resisting the philosophic argument, and the consolation which he had felt after the night's reflection that, when everybody was throwing mud at him, he possessed one prize of which nobody could rob him."

The prize of long life, however, was not to be his, and he was already aware of it.

"If there was one thing in the world Rhodes disliked more than another, it was the feeling of being cramped and confined, without 'elbow-room,' so to speak. He also hated many of the discomforts of a camp unless there was lots of room. Naturally, when on the march in a bush country in savage warfare, it was essential that the waggons should always be formed into a close laager, the horses being picketed inside, and the men detailed to each waggon in case of attack. Rhodes always resented having his little travelling waggon included as part of the laager and, if possible, selected a spot outside, between the laager itself and the line of outposts.

"Colonel Plumer had left Bulawayo on 29th June to attack a large force of Matabele reported to be at Thabas-a-Momba. Rhodes joined the column on 30th June, when camped close to Thaba Induna, and had his waggon outspanned some hundred yards or so outside the laager. On 1st July, after the early morning trek, Frank Rhodes and I went out to loot some kraals for grain for our horses, leaving Cecil lying down by his waggon reading a book. When we came back in the afternoon we found him much amused about something, and after a few minutes he said, 'I wish you fellows had been here this afternoon, you would have been much amused. I was lying here reading when a trooper came

across from the laager and said, "Good-day." "Good-day," said I. "Have you got any fish?" said the man. I tumbled to the situation at once. "No," said I, "I'm sorry to say I've got no fish." "Got no *fish*," said he, "have you got any *jam*?" "No," said I, "I'm sorry to say I'm out of jam." "You've got no fish, and got no jam, what *have* you got?" said the man. "You may well ask me that," said I. "I've got precious little left, and what I *have* got, they are all trying to take away from me as fast as they can." "I'm sorry for that," said the man. "But (looking at some six of eight books lying on the ground), you've got some books, I see, and (picking one up on Buddhism) pretty deep subjects, too!" "Well!" said I, "I certainly do read a bit, that's my recreation. You see, it's pretty hard work selling fish and jam *all* day." "I should think it must be," said the man. "Well, I'm sorry for you, for you're a civil-spoken kind of chap, and I'm still more sorry that you've got no fish or jam, but it can't be helped—good-day." "Good-day," said I, and he went back to the laager.

"We naturally laughed heartily over the incident, and wondered what the man's feelings would be when he saw Rhodes riding with Plumer the next morning at the head of the column and discovered that the man he had mistaken for a purveyor of tinned stores to the troops was the greatest Englishman of modern days.

"Three and a half years later, early one morning during the Boer War, in November, 1899, I was out with the Scouts of my squadron in the direction of Bryce's store, between Tuli and the Limpopo River. We were waiting for daylight, and the men were discussing various incidents amongst themselves. The conversation turned

upon the Siege of Kimberley, and the name of Cecil Rhodes was mentioned when one of the men named Gooch, said, 'I shall never forget in all my life the first time I saw Cecil Rhodes.' 'When was that?' said another. 'Oh! you would none of you remember,' said Gooch, 'but you would, sir (turning to me), for you were there. It was in the Matabele War when Colonel Plumer was marching to Thabas-a-Momba, and I didn't know him by sight and he had got his waggon stuck outside the laager——' 'Wait a minute, Gooch,' said I, interrupting him, 'I believe you are the very man I've been looking for for three and a half years. *I'll* finish the story, and you shall correct me if I am wrong.' I thereupon told the other men the story of the fish and jam, Gooch looking more astonished every moment as I proceeded, and every now and then ejaculating, 'That's Gospel truth.' *How* the other men laughed over it, and I only wish Rhodes had been there himself to renew his acquaintance with his would-be customer of former days.

"Rhodes was very fond of asking men to come and dine with us at the waggon when on the march or in camp, and there was rarely a night that we hadn't *one* guest, at all events, to share our frugal meal which the culinary art of Tony always made appetising.

"I well remember upon one occasion our guest for the evening being Father Barthelemy of the Jesuit Mission in Bulawayo, a man who had endeared himself to every one in the column by his self-sacrifice and devotion, always ready to lend a hand, as brave as a lion, and about the best parson I ever met.

"After dinner the conversation turned upon religion, and Rhodes astonished our Jesuit friend by describing

to him in detail the course of probation he had been obliged to undergo for seventeen years before he could be thought worthy to be raised to the dignity of a 'Father.' 'How is it, Mr. Rhodes,' at last said Father Barthelemy, 'that you know so much about us and our course of training?' 'Well,' said Rhodes, 'I study all these questions, and I am not at all sure that, if I was not what I am, I should not have been a Jesuit.' 'You say,' said the Reverend Father, 'if you were not what you are. What *are* you?' 'Ah! there,' said Rhodes, 'you have asked me a very difficult question. Let us think it out.' And then he began, as he was so fond of doing, to think out the whole problem aloud. 'I suppose you would call me an Agnostic—Agnosco, I don't know. I believe in a future state, but what it is I don't know and what is more, *you* don't know. I have never found any one who could tell *me* what it is, and you have never found any one to tell *you*, but I believe that if one does one's best in this world according to one's lights, and does no harm intentionally to any one, I shall get as good a place in that future state as you will who make a profession of your religion.' 'That is the highest form of religion,' said the Father. 'Yes,' said Rhodes, still following his train of thought, 'in fact if I were to go before the Almighty to-morrow, and He were to tell me that He thought I had acted very badly at times and had wronged some people wittingly, say Kruger, for instance, well—I should be prepared to have it out with Him.' 'Upon my soul, Mr. Rhodes,' was the reply, 'I believe you would,' and so the debate ended.

"On the 29th July we were camped in the Matopo Hills, and the news came out to us of the sentences of

imprisonment which had been passed in England upon Dr. Jameson, Sir John Willoughby, and the other participants in the Jameson Raid. Rhodes sat silently thinking for a time, and then exclaimed, 'A tribute to the upright rectitude of my countrymen who have jumped the whole world!' A characteristic summing-up of the position.

"For some weeks after that memorable day in August, 1896, when Rhodes met Somabulana, Sekombo, 'Nyanda and the other native chiefs in the Matopo Hills and brought the rebellion to an end, he camped close to the hills without any escort or guard, in order that he might be easily accessible to any of them who desired to come and confer with him and restore confidence in British rule. The fact of his being unarmed soon proved to them that they had nothing to fear, and a day rarely passed without an informal 'Indaba' taking place between the Great White Chief and his dusky 'children,' who in a very short time learned that all he desired was that they should once more return to their peaceful avocations, and let 'bygones be bygones.'

"There was, however, at this time in Matabeleland an official, who shall be nameless, who considered that Rhodes should have taken him into his confidence with regard to the terms he was making with the chief, and desired that arrangements should be made for a grand 'Indaba' at which he should be present. The date was fixed, and the time arranged for the meeting. The chiefs, who were still somewhat suspicious of every white man except Rhodes himself, were lurking on the outskirts of the hills before coming to the rendezvous, when this great official was seen riding over the plain towards

Rhodes's camp with an escort of twenty men armed to the teeth, and the Union Jack flying in the breeze.

"After exchanging greetings with Rhodes, the Union Jack was planted in the ground, and the great man sat down under its folds upon the only chair available, Rhodes sitting beside him on a biscuit box. Not a native arrived. After a time Rhodes looked up at the flag and said to his visitors, 'What's this?' 'The Union Jack,' was the reply. 'I'm well aware of that,' said Rhodes, 'but what is it doing here?' 'It is my symbol of authority,' was the reply. 'Well! do you expect the Kafirs to come?' said Rhodes. 'I thought you had arranged for them to meet me here to-day,' was the answer. 'So I had,' said Rhodes, 'but I don't expect them to come when they are all watching from the hills and have seen you arrive with this flag and an armed escort. They will come and see *me*, but of course they will now expect they are summoned in order to be arrested and shot.' The official looked rather foolish, and after waiting some time longer Rhodes impatiently said, 'I think I had better go into the hills and tell them this is all nonsense, and that they are perfectly safe in coming.' After some discussion, he was dissuaded from going himself, but a messenger was sent, and in a short time they came dropping in, evidently somewhat ill at ease, and sat down on their haunches in a semi-circle.

"Rhodes had been having some luncheon and threw them scraps of food as one would to a dog, and turning to the great official said, 'You will think me a funny fellow. I *am* a funny fellow, but you must remember I *am* a Privy Councillor!' The official returned to Bulawayo a sadder and a wiser man."

It was not until December that Rhodes was able to leave Rhodesia. It was on the 17th of that month that he and Sir Charles Metcalfe, travelling together, overtook Colonel Baden-Powell on the Revewe River. "I am sorry," he said to Baden-Powell, "but I shall not be able to give you accommodation at Groote Schuur, it has been burnt to the ground. Providence has not been kind to me this year: what with Jameson's Raid, rebellion, famine, rinderpest, and now my house burnt, I feel like Job, all but the boils."

The little party went round to Durban in the *Pongola* and arrived at Port Elizabeth on 23rd December, all but Rhodes transhipping into the *Moor* and reaching Cape Town on 27th December. The reception of Rhodes at Port Elizabeth was enthusiastic. Deputations from all parts of the Eastern Province were there to meet him. The genuineness of the welcome pleased him greatly. A luncheon was given to him in the Feather Market, at which 500 delegates and leading townsmen were present. His absolutely impromptu speech ranged over a wide area and is far too long for insertion in extenso here. Quotations must suffice.

"If I may put to you a thought," he said, "it is that the man who is continuously prosperous does not know himself, his own mind or character. It is a good thing to have a period of adversity. You then find out who are your real friends. I will admit, Mr. Mayor, that I have had a troubled year. From those from whom I expected most I got least, but from many quarters—some the most remote—I received a kindly support I never anticipated. I am confident enough to say that I do not feel that my public career has closed. I am going

home to meet a Committee of my own countrymen. As soon as they release me I am coming back. I shall keep my seat in the Cape House. You may tell me my faults, but until you turn me out, I mean to remain with you. I am determined still to strive for the closer union of South Africa. I only hope that in my future career you will recognise that I have never abandoned this programme.

This was the speech that caused resentment in some quarters in England by his gibe at what he called the unctuous rectitude of his countrymen.

On the conclusion of this speech, Rhodes, with characteristic energy, left by train for Kimberley, where, on 28th December, he presided at the annual meeting of the De Beers Consolidated Mines. It was a long and tedious land journey at the hottest time of the year, and it was a bold journey, for it took him through Dutch districts; but at every station English and Dutch "Afrikanders" alike gathered to welcome him. In spite of his long absence from the mines, he made to his shareholders an able financial exposition of their affairs, and having done so he returned to the train and travelled another six hundred miles to Cape Town, and took up his residence among the blackened ruins of Groote Schuur, the destruction of which had been the crowning calamity to a year of unexampled misfortunes.

As he neared the capital and traversed the beautiful valley in which the Dutch for many generations have made their homes—a valley inhabited for the most part by members of the Afrikaner Bond—it might well have been that he should receive a hostile reception from those who held—or were instructed by their leaders to hold—

that he had betrayed them and their nationality. But to their eternal honour, they not only forgot but forgave. No amount of wire-pulling shook their belief that Rhodes, with all his faults, was a great man, and, at heart, one of themselves. At every halting place he was enthusiastically received, and even at the Paarl, Wellington and elsewhere Dutch addresses of welcome were read which deeply moved him, contrary to his wont. And thus the year closed, not inauspiciously, on the returned wanderer.

On his arrival, and when the published report appeared of his speech at Port Elizabeth, I was afraid the biting phrase—unctuous rectitude—would give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme, and I suggested to him that the reporters were in error, and that the expression he used or meant to use was “anxious rectitude.” But he would have none of it, remarking, “I said it and I stick to it.” Indeed, the unco’ guid, so ready to take a mote out of a brother’s eye while oblivious of the beam in their own, were always an abomination to him. On various subsequent occasions he returned to the subject. Thus, in a letter dated 26th July, 1897, he wrote to me from Bulawayo, “I notice the Home Committee have made me the sacrificial lamb. I wonder whether the decay of our race will come through unctuous rectitude!”

It has often been said and thought that Rhodes was a woman-hater, and it may be conceded that a really frivolous woman was distasteful to him; but a womanly woman and a woman of culture and ability were always sure of respect and friendship at his hands. During the trying months of the Matabele war he received many heartening letters from women of all ranks, and, contrary to his practice, he replied to them. Here is a charming

answer to one of them, which I have been privileged to publish:—

June 25/96, BULAWAYO, KING'S KRAAL.

“MY DEAR DUCHESS,—I am just in from the West on the Gwaai River; the natives bolted, so we had not much fighting. I find about 100 letters, I turn them over and find this one from you, and read it. It is dated March 11th. I am doing my best, and you need not fear that in my adversity I shall cave in. I must do my duty. I wanted just to say to you one thing, now do not be annoyed. You always make me feel that you are my exact idea of an Englishwoman.—Yours truly,

“C. J. RHODES.

Before passing away from the painful subject of the Raid, I desire to make one closing remark. The idea prevalent in some quarters that the inception of the Raid is still wrapped in mystery is wholly erroneous. The vital facts are all in print, and there are no unrevealed secrets. The sooner this is recognised the better for the peace of South Africa.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE CAPE PARLIAMENT (1896)

Governor's speech—Merriman on the war-path—Governor's departure—Debate on the Raid—Select Committee—Debate on leave of absence—Schreiner defends—Report of Committee—Schreiner's great speech—Prorogation of Parliament.

ON Thursday, 30th April, the Cape House of Assembly met to elect a new Speaker in the place of Sir David Tennant, who had resigned. Its late leader, as I have already shown, was not there, having other than political battles to fight, nor did he attend during the session.

On the following day Parliament was opened with the customary formalities by Sir Hercules Robinson, who said, *inter alia*, "I cannot refrain from referring to an event which has recently occurred which, although outside the limits of this Colony, was of the first magnitude as regards the interest it has excited and its far-reaching consequences throughout South Africa.

"An armed force from an adjoining Territory crossed the border and entered the South African Republic contrary to the rules of international law.

"Such entry, deeply deplored by every right-minded Colonist, has produced the most lamentable results.

"My advisers have entire confidence in Her Majesty's Government taking such steps as shall prevent the recurrence of a calamity which has stirred so deeply the sentiments of all people in South Africa and so gravely

endangered the friendly relationship between the British Colonies and the neighbouring States.

“My Ministers, while steadily recognising the advantage to South Africa of maintaining unimpaired the existing authority of the Crown, are directing their best efforts towards the promotion and maintenance of a cordial understanding with the neighbouring States and Colonies and they trust the troubled state of affairs in the South African Republic, which necessarily agitates the people of this Colony, will, by the exercise of a wise spirit of moderation and conciliation on the part of all concerned, present before long a calmer aspect.”

The phraseology of the speech was cautious and correct, but its temperate warning must not be overlooked. The President still had three years in which to set his house in order, but his spirit, it is to be feared, was the spirit of Pharaoh who “hardened his heart” against a similar admonition. There seems reason to believe that Mr. Hofmeyr and other prominent Cape Afrikanders repeatedly gave the President private advice to conciliate his new subjects, but they refrained from public warning, and their representations, therefore, went for nothing.

Later in the day Sir Gordon Sprigg announced that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had requested the Governor to proceed to England, which he proposed to do at an early date.

It was not to be expected that a powerful opposition would allow so magnificent an opportunity of damaging Rhodes to escape them. Accordingly at the next sitting of the House, on 4th May, Merriman gave notice of motion, “That in the opinion of this House, the exercise of Sovereign rights by a trading and financial Company

such as the British South Africa Company is not consistent with the peace and prosperity of South Africa: that Her Majesty the Queen be requested by respectful address to take the matter into her gracious consideration, and by the revocation or alteration of the Charter granted to the said Company, to make such provision for the government of the Territories comprised therein as may to her seem desirable."

Mr. Sauer also gave notice to move, "That in the opinion of this House, the absence of His Excellency Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor and High Commissioner, from South Africa at the present time is detrimental to the best interests of South Africa."

On 5th May Mr. Hay, a private member, gave notice of an amendment to Merriman's Motion, an amendment framed in a more violent form and demanding a searching inquiry.

On 7th May Sauer announced that on second thoughts he desired to substitute for his Motion, one expressing the deep sense of the House of the great services of the Governor, deploring his approaching absence, and hoping for his speedy return. In its altered shape, the Motion, after debate, was carried without a division, Mr. Theron, on behalf of the Afrikander Bond, asserting that the Governor possessed the entire confidence of that body.

On 8th May Schreiner, as an amendment to Merriman's Motion, gave notice to move on 12th May to express regret at the Raid, and appoint a Select Committee of seven members to inquire into its origin and character.

On 12th May Innes moved a still further amendment, expressing an earnest hope that such steps would be taken in the South African Republic towards the favourable

consideration of any legitimate grievances of the population which had settled in that State from the Cape Colony and elsewhere, as might conduce to the peace, unity and welfare of South Africa.

The great debate on the Raid, originating in these various Motions, opened on 12th May with a powerful speech from Merriman, who admitted having, while sitting in the same Cabinet as Rhodes, given the Charter reasonable assistance and support, but added that recent events had opened his eyes to its danger. Schreiner followed on the lines of his amendment, and declared that he moved for a Committee because a full investigation was necessary before a just and final judgment on the subject could be given, and that, meanwhile, it was not the duty of the House to cry, "Away with the Charter."

On the following day Innes spoke at some length in support of his proposal to express a desire on the part of the House that Kruger would endeavour to content his large Uitlander population, and urged Dutch members never to forget, in their indignation at the Raid, that the causes which led to it still existed. Wise words, and well befitting the speaker whose judicial intellect now adorns the Transvaal Bench.

The discussion afterwards became general, the great bulk of members of both races feeling it incumbent on them not to give a silent vote. Rhodes, of course, was severely criticised, but found some staunch defenders, and many of the speeches against him were delivered more in sorrow than in anger. As a deliberative Assembly the Cape House, throughout its long and not undistinguished career, has ever exhibited an impartiality and sobriety of judgment which would be creditable to any

Parliament in the world. Its character for fair play did not desert it on this unprecedented occasion. Feeling necessarily ran high and the wrong done to the Transvaal was common cause on both sides of the House, but a veteran member voiced the opinion of the majority when he exclaimed, "We are told not to offend the Transvaal, but we must consider our own people. (Cheers.) The Uitlanders have grievances—(cheers)—and they ought to have been redressed before now." (Renewed cheers.)

Mr. Holtzhausen, a Dutch member, declared that he did not believe it would be good for the country if "Charterland" was taken over by the Imperial Government.

Mr. P. de Waal trusted the House would treat the Chartered Company leniently. Mr. Venter followed, and said Rhodes was his best friend, and there was no better statesman in the country, and it was necessary that Rhodesia should be left in the hands of the Charter.

Mr. D. C. de Waal thought that in the years to come the Cape Colony would find out what the Charter had done for South Africa. He did not regret having followed Mr. Rhodes.

Mr. van der Walt wound up by asserting that the spirit of the speeches of many Dutch members was one of latent confidence in Mr. Rhodes.

The great debate, after frequent adjournments, came to a close on 28th May, when Merriman's Motion was put and lost by sixty votes to eleven. Mr. Innes's various amendments were then put and rejected, and Schreiner's proposal was finally carried without a division, the feeling of the House being unmistakably in favour of suspending judgment pending the Report of a Select Committee.

The following day the Speaker announced that the Committee, as nominated by him, would consist of

Sir Thomas Upington, Attorney General (Chairman).

Mr. Schreiner.

Mr. Innes.

Mr. Merriman.

Mr. C. T. Jones.

Mr. T. E. Fuller.

Mr. Du Toit.

As the Chairman, Schreiner and Innes were all trained lawyers, an investigation on almost judicial lines was thus ensured.

Innes and Merriman, as I have already described, had been colleagues of Rhodes, but parted company on the Sivewright incident in 1893: and were now in Opposition. Schreiner was also a later colleague, whose allegiance had been rudely disturbed by the Raid. Fuller, of a moderate and philosophical temperament, was admittedly friendly to the late Premier, but Jones had always been an opponent, and Du Toit was the representative of the Afrikander Bond.

It cannot be said that the composition of the Committee foreshadowed any whitewashing of parties found guilty, and indeed, as we shall see later, they dealt faithfully with the issues involved.

On 1st June the Committee presented an interim Report—which was adopted—asking the Governor to ascertain whether the Transvaal desired to furnish any evidence on the Raid. Four days later a second Report was handed in, praying that a special Act might be passed to

afford the Committee extended and unusual powers. The Report was adopted, and the necessary Bill drafted and read a first and second time within the space of a few minutes. On 8th June it was read a third time, without amendment.

A few days later one of Rhodes's opponents—not a Dutch member—endeavoured to strike a side blow at him by interfering with the legal rights of the De Beers Mines in regard to the maintenance of Native Compounds, but the House, detecting animus, would have none of it.

On 25th June the Premier announced, amid general cheering, that he had offered the assistance of the Colony to Rhodesia to subdue the rebellion, which Rhodes was then engaged in suppressing, and he read a telegram from Earl Grey, the Administrator, thanking him for the offer and stating that the forces in the field were adequate for the purpose, and that the Company's difficulty was the transport of food and material. Again amid cheering, Sir Gordon Sprigg added that he had sent a Minute to the Governor for transmission to the Rhodesian authorities, offering to organise and send up a Transport Corps without delay. After considerable correspondence over the wires the offer of the Colony was courteously declined for the time, but, subsequently, in July, was accepted and acted upon.

A storm, long brewing, arose, however, on 14th July when Schreiner moved that leave of absence be granted for the session to the "senior member for Barkly West," his colleague in the representation of that constituency. It was a delicate task and gracefully performed. He admitted that Rhodes, through a common friend, had

expressed a wish that the Motion should be made by him, if not embarrassing, and he himself thought that he was the appropriate channel through which the application should be brought before the House.

"I move," he added, "with the deepest regret for all those circumstances which have combined to take the Honourable Member away from the place he has adorned in times past—(cheers)—but with no wish to raise any discussion or give a clean bill of health or—as has been suggested—to whitewash the Right Honourable gentleman. . . . He has shown by his action in the North that he is determined to do his best to carry out the great purpose he has set himself, and it would ill become the House if it were to waver in granting him what I hope, though I dare not believe, will be an unanimous leave of absence, leaving on one side the judgment which will have to be pronounced by the Select Committee."

Several Dutch members objected to the Motion with great heat. Even Merriman took the same line, but Theron, in a spirited speech, deprecated the action of his compatriots, and said that his sense of fair play made it impossible for him to adopt their view. After considerable debate, the Motion came to a division and was carried by the overwhelming majority of fifty-two to twelve, the House thus again asserting its traditional sense of justice. Fourteen Dutch members voted with the majority and the issue would, therefore, have been decided by their votes alone.

On Friday, 17th July, Sir Thomas Upington at length brought up the Report of the Select Committee, with a Minority Report attached to it signed by himself alone. The Speaker, to mark the importance of the occasion,

read the whole Report to the House, a document of forty-five clauses. I need not quote here more than its principal conclusions. After summarising the evidence, the Committee say:—

“As regards Mr. Rhodes, your Committee can come to no other conclusion than that he was thoroughly acquainted with the preparations that led to the inroad . . . but there is no evidence that he ever contemplated that the force at Pitsani should at any time invade the Transvaal uninvited. It appears rather to have been intended to support a movement from within . . . but your Committee cannot find that that fact relieves Mr. Rhodes from responsibility . . . and they are reluctantly forced to the conclusion, upon the evidence before them, that the part taken by him in the organisation which led to the inroad was not consistent with his duty as Prime Minister of the Colony.”

Sir Thomas Upington's Minority Report differed from the others mainly by the following clause, “That Mr. Rhodes was not only without knowledge of Dr. Jameson's intention to move the armed force under his control into the South African Republic at the time, but when he became aware of Dr. Jameson's illegal act, he did all that lay in his power to prevent further inroad.”

On 24th July, Schreiner, in an exhaustive and masterly speech, which will still repay perusal as a dignified and closely reasoned example of parliamentary oratory, moved the adoption of the Majority Report. The House and the galleries were crowded and the scene was an impressive one. The mover's concluding sentences were as follows:—

“I would just say that nothing in the course of the

inquiry has caused me in any way to waver in the estimate I hold as to the motives of Mr. Rhodes. Misguided though they were, they were the highest of motives. The supreme powers that Mr. Rhodes has are fit to adorn a position of the highest eminence, and I am sorry to think that these great powers have not been coupled in this matter with more respect for what is right and what is wrong. If Mr. Rhodes had had that respect, the Colony would not be standing in the position it is to-day. Mr. Rhodes sought to gain his ends by a short method, which was a wrong method, and I believe a day will come when he will say that his methods in this connection were utterly wrong. But I will never be led into the suggestion that his motives were at any time low or grovelling or sordid; and I believe that a vast majority of the people, not only in this Colony but throughout South Africa, including the Transvaal, would say the same. The aim of Mr. Rhodes was a high one. I wish it had been a right one."

The effect of this memorable utterance was almost unprecedented. Not a single member on either side of the House rose to continue the debate and, without a word spoken, the adoption of the Report was carried unanimously.

A few days later—on 29th July—Parliament was prorogued. There was no anti-climax to a difficult session. The House had condemned the conduct of the late Prime Minister, while absolving his character from reproach. It could not have done less: the temptation, in those wild and whirling times, was to do much more. No deliberative Assembly could have done better.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND AFTER (1897)

British supremacy—Acquisition of land—Fruit farms—Dynamite factory—Reception at Groote Schuur—Banquet in Drill Hall—Rhodes and Labouchere—Sails for England—Cables to and from the Sirdar—Rhodes in London—Kruger and Judicial Bench—Rhodes before the Committee—Sails for South Africa—Re-enters the House of Assembly—Speeches outside—Permissive Federation—Lord Rosmead retires—Sir A. Milner—Rhodes a fatalist—Views on religion—House of Commons Committee Report—I visit Rhodesia—At the Matopos—Trek with Rhodes—Anecdotes.

ON reaching Cape Town at the end of 1896, and before leaving for England to appear before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Rhodes took steps to carry into effect a policy he had elaborated while in Rhodesia. During the weary months in which, encamped under the stars, he strove to induce the Matabele chiefs to sue for peace, his thoughts doubtless strayed far afield, and especially in the direction of the future of the British in South Africa. The efforts of successive Governors of the Cape to strengthen the position of Great Britain as the predominant partner in the affairs of the sub-continent had failed. The attempt to achieve by arbitration the acquisition of the Eastern port of Delagoa Bay had failed. The belated effort of the Cape Colony to annex the territory now known as German South-West Africa had failed. Ever since Majuba and

the retrocession, Dutch aspirations had steadily soared upward. For a while the alliance between Rhodes and the Bond had afforded England breathing time, but the death of President Brand had given a racial bent to the politics of the Orange Free State, and the extraordinary extent of the mineral discoveries in the Transvaal had placed its hitherto impecunious Burghers in possession of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. Despairing to untie the Gordian knot, Rhodes had planned to cut it: unable to trace any clear indications of a broad high-road, he essayed, or allowed to be essayed, a short cut. The results were disastrous. A course of patient diplomacy could now alone be relied on to restore our lost prestige.

Meanwhile Rhodes, out of power in South Africa and out of favour in England, never for a moment lost his grasp of the essential fact that the peace and prosperity of the country could only be achieved by union under the Crown and flag of Great Britain. His sleeping and his waking thoughts were centered on this problem, and he saw, as indeed he had always seen, that one of the main requisites to success was to augment the English-speaking population in South Africa, and especially on the land. The Witwatersrand mining industry was essentially cosmopolitan, and little reliance could be placed on a floating population anxious only to accumulate wealth and be gone. The man on the soil was the permanent factor to be reckoned with, and to plant out more Englishmen on the soil now became the leading idea of the Imperial dreamer. In this direction he worked with ever-increasing energy till death terminated his labours for ever.

Nor did he work altogether in vain. In Rhodesia he allotted enormous blocks of land to influential companies in the expectation—as yet only imperfectly realised—that they would subdivide their vast holdings without undue delay and thus create the “more homes” for which he sighed. For himself, and to give the territory an object lesson in stock-farming and agriculture, he acquired 100,000 acres in Matabeleland and a similar estate in Mashonaland, and added to his Will a codicil dealing with their permanent upkeep. Similarly, in the heart of the Cape Colony he purchased a large interest in properties of about equal size.

He now submitted to me a plan for acquiring a preponderating influence in the sugar industry in Natal, and another for creating a fruit-growing industry in the very centre of the Dutch districts in the Cape Peninsula. The former project was balked by unexpected obstacles, but he carried through the latter regardless of expense, and by placing the development of the estates in the hands of Californian experts, he built up a trade which has had the most important results, besides incidentally strengthening the British electorate exactly where it had for years been persistently weak.

On similar lines and under the management of Americans, for whose thoroughness he always expressed profound admiration, he started in the Western districts as an offshoot of De Beers Mines a Dynamite Factory, which became one of the largest in the world, and which conferred an immense benefit on the whole mining industry of the country by breaking the monopoly hitherto enjoyed by a foreign Company under the protection of the Transvaal Government.

The year 1896, though an anxious one in many respects, was thus a year of great achievements.

Any doubt that may have existed as to the reception of Rhodes by the inhabitants of Cape Town was speedily set at rest. On a night shortly after his arrival an immense crowd wended its way five miles by road to Groote Schuur and there, amid the glare of innumerable torches, he came out upon the balcony of his ruined house, and in response to an enthusiastic reception, addressed a few earnest and courageous words to his audience.

On 5th January he was entertained at a memorable banquet in the Drill Hall, the Mayor, Sir John Woodhead, presiding. Mr. T. E. Fuller, consequent on the Mayor's precarious state of health, was called on to propose the toast of the evening, and stated that the address to Rhodes had been signed by three-fourths of the registered voters of Cape Town. After alluding to the wonderful welcome given to their guest at Worcester, Wellington and Paarl, he proceeded to censure the conduct of Mr. Labouchere.

"It has been said," he remarked, "that it is bad form when Mr. Rhodes is going home to present himself before a Commission of Inquiry, for us to give him a word of welcome, but we should remember that one of the members of that Commission has been hounding down Mr. Rhodes with passionate vindictiveness. He was to be one of the judges of the tribunal. (Shame.) Was that fair play? (Loud cries of 'No.')

We, as friends, say to our guest, 'You have done great things for Africa and we want you back again.' We see around us a new Cape Town. What has created it? The

opening of the North. (Cheers.) Within two or three years time we shall be awakened at De Aar by the shout, 'Change here for the Zambesi.' And the second thought of Mr. Rhodes is that of a Federated South Africa. That is the last and greatest dream of his life. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Rhodes is going away, but he must come back. (Prolonged cheers.) I say to him, Come back: appeal to the manhood of the people and in the end no name will be inscribed higher than yours on the roll of those who have brought prosperity to our country." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Rhodes, whose rising was the signal for a remarkable demonstration of enthusiasm, made a long and interesting speech of an hour and forty minutes' duration, in which he traversed the whole ground of his past political career and declared that, in spite of many faults and errors, he felt that he had rested securely in the confidence and affection of his fellow-citizens.

The next day, after arranging to rebuild Groote Schuur and acquire the various properties to which I have alluded, Rhodes sailed for England in the *Dunvegan Castle*. From the city to the docks he was cheered by immense crowds, and no less than 5000 people assembled on the pier to witness his departure. It was a memorable send-off. The last letter he received was from a prominent Dutchman at Worcester, who concluded with, "May the year 1897 bring you much happiness and success, and may you soon be our Premier and leader again." And the last letter he penned was to me, authorising a payment of £2500 towards the proposed memorial at Bulawayo to those who had fallen in the war, and £11,000 as a contribution to party funds in the Cape

Colony so as to ensure a satisfactory registration before the general election. "It is," he wrote, "the crisis of the country. I think we may just win. I believe it would be better for the hereafter if we lost, so that I could devote my whole time to Rhodesia, but I owe much to the Cape and must pay my debt to her."

On his arrival in England he received a cablegram from Lord Kitchener, dated Cairo, 30th January, 1897. "Can you spare three locomotives Gordon asked you for? Would assist me immensely." Endorsed on the message in his own handwriting is his immediate reply, "Yes, only too pleased to help you. Rhodes."

During February he bombarded me with cablegrams urging expedition in acquiring land for settlement purposes. Current events in South Africa convinced him of the pressing need of action. The disturbed condition of the Transvaal entered, in February, on a new phase, the President having followed up his other successes by a determined attack on the independence of the Judicial Bench. So far back as September, 1895, a critical question had arisen as to whether a Volksraad Resolution had the force of law, in other words, whether a settled statute could be overridden at any moment by a chance majority of the Raad. On 22nd January, 1897, while Rhodes was on the water, a case came before the High Court at Pretoria (*Brown v. Leyds, N.O.*), in which the Government nakedly avowed this doctrine, but the Chief Justice and his colleagues were unanimously against their contention and gave judgment accordingly. It is only fair to add that in 1884, and again in 1888, the Court had seemed to favour a different view.

By Law No. 1 of 22nd February, 1897, Kruger now

sought to deny the right of the Court to test any Volksraad Resolution to see if it conformed to existing law. The Act was passed through all its stages in three days, and the Chief Justice (Kotzé) was dismissed from office, and although he appealed to the Burghers he obtained no satisfaction. Nevertheless, all five judges had the courage to issue on 1st March a declaration that the law was invalid. The Chief Justice of the Cape Colony thereupon, on 12th March, visited the Transvaal, and under his advice the Bench finally agreed to recognise the Act provided the Grondwet or Constitution were altered to meet the case. But men felt that a serious blow had been dealt at the administration of justice.

Meanwhile, Rhodes was now fairly before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, one of whose members, as stated by Mr. Fuller, was the Editor of *Truth*, a virulent and pronounced enemy of the man practically on his trial.

The Committee met on 16th February, and Rhodes, being anxious to return to South Africa, was the first witness called, and made a frank admission that he had sympathised with the intolerable grievances of the Uitlanders, assisting them with his purse and advice; that he placed the British South Africa Company's Police within striking distance of Johannesburg without informing the High Commissioner or his co-directors of the step he had taken; but that the actual Raid took place without his authority. His action, he said, was greatly influenced by a belief that the Transvaal Government sought to introduce the intervention of a foreign power in the already complicated affairs of South Africa.

Rhodes was, of course, subjected to cross-examination of a rigid character, and he placed a written statement before the Committee, but substantially his defence was the simple one that he had acted under great provocation and in the interests of the Empire. His examination was spread over eight days in February and March.

In his defence of Rhodes (4th June, 1897), Mr. Pope quoted the view of a not too friendly critic, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, who had already written, "Now, whatever one may come to think of the policy and action of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, it must be owned that his statement seems to be full, clear, candid and consistent. He has indeed presented to the Committee a State paper of great historic importance."

Subsequently, Mr. Pope, in a masterly review of the circumstances leading up to the Reform Movement in the Transvaal, and, incidentally, to the Raid, said, "I do not know whether that statement of grievances is sufficient justification for revolution, but it reads to me very like a statement which 200 years ago was sufficient, at all events, to change the dynasty of this country and to lay the foundation of our present freedom."

In conclusion he said, "I invite this Committee to report upon Mr. Rhodes's connection with this case as being an episode in a great career, which, though it may give us cause for regret, ought not, and cannot, properly be made any occasion of lasting or permanent reproach."

Meanwhile Rhodes, to be not in the way, yet not out of the way, went for a short Continental tour with a few personal friends, visiting Paris, Madrid, Rome, Milan and Florence, and returning to England on 30th March. One of his objects was to ascertain whether

the olive could be profitably introduced into South Africa.

Long before the Committee reported to the House, Rhodes was back again in South Africa. With one exception, members had treated him with fairness and courtesy. Sir William Harcourt remarked genially to him, "I should not mind being in such a scrape if I could change the years that I carry for yours." Nevertheless, Sir William outlived him.

Rhodes sailed from England on the 3rd April in his favourite ship the *Tantallon Castle*. He arrived in Cape Town on the 20th of the same month, and was received by the Mayors of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth and an immense gathering of citizens, to whom, in answer to a cordial address, he said he had returned to strive for equal political rights for every white man south of the Zambesi. "But I shall fight," he added, "constitutionally."

He found that the Afrikaner Bond, sitting at Malmesbury, had been in hot discussion regarding him. One member, Mr. Du Plessis, M.L.A., had the courage to say that he believed Rhodes to be as good an Afrikaner as ever, and other members admitted that, in spite of the Raid, Rhodes would head the poll in any Dutch constituency; but the rank and file were too deeply hurt to be appeased, and passed a resolution declining to co-operate with him further, though they also rejected—by 29 votes to 12—a proposal to co-operate with their brethren in the two Republics. Their aim was to secure the re-entry of Hofmeyr into Parliament and, failing this, to induce the Chief Justice to enter the arena. Both schemes failed.

The day after his arrival Rhodes took his seat in the

House of Assembly and received a warm welcome, only one irreconcilable Dutchman uttering a sepulchral groan amid general laughter. The House, Rhodes inclusive, immediately adjourned to take leave of the retiring High Commissioner, who sailed that afternoon in the *Norman*. From that date until the 3rd June, Rhodes was a diligent attendant but not a conspicuous contributor to debate, though he voted steadily with his party and laboured actively in its reorganisation. He had undergone his great trial and emerged from the ordeal, not indeed scatheless, but carrying with him the openly expressed conviction of his countrymen at home and abroad that despite the terrible check to his career, he was still a force to be reckoned with, and the foremost man in the Colonial Empire. It was a source of sincere gratification to him that on 2nd April the Colonial Office wrote to the High Commissioner that, in view of the fact that the term Rhodesia was in December, 1895, accepted by Her Majesty's Government for postal purposes, and looking also to its general use in South Africa in official and non-official documents, it was now resolved henceforth to use this designation for all purposes to describe collectively the territories under the administration of the British South Africa Company.

His reception on arrival was by no means the only recognition Rhodes received. On 22nd April, 1500 trade representatives, railway artisans and others marched in the evening with torches to Groote Schuur, ere reaching which their numbers were increased to 5000. He readily complied with their demand for a speech. "I have had enough"—he told them—"of physical agitation. Henceforth it must be constitutional and based

on votes. You are partners with me in the far North, which is—if I may venture to utter the word—under the British flag. Take my advice. Join no party whose direct programme is to keep race feeling alive. Use your time, your energy and any influence at the polls you may possess, to see that the hopeless system prevailing elsewhere in South Africa shall end. We must as a party be for equal rights and equal laws for every white man. Let us have free trade throughout the country, and let the best man win irrespective of his race. (Loud cheering).”

On 23rd April he spoke with equal force to the Typographical Association, and public references to his work by the Salvation Army and the Young Men’s Christian Association were enthusiastically received.

Intense feeling was aroused about this time by President Kruger in a speech at Bloemfontein describing the Queen as “een kwaaje vrouw,” but it is doubtful whether any offence was intended, the words being capable, by a fair interpretation, of meaning “a determined woman.”

An active campaign against Sir Gordon Sprigg was about this time in progress, but all British sections of the population drew together in the face of what now seemed a common danger.

In June Rhodes granted transfer to the inhabitants of Mowbray and contiguous suburbs of a large piece of land, being an outlying portion of his Groote Schuur Estate, for the purposes of a recreation ground, and recast his Will, vesting the remainder of his property in the Federal Government, for the early formation of which he was now strenuously resolved to work. Rather than see any delay in this direction, he was prepared to

advocate the passing of an Act in the Cape Parliament in favour of permissive Federation, provided the general election gave him even a small majority, and he arranged with Mr. Harry Escombe to introduce a similar measure in the Natal Legislature.

In April, business required my presence in Pretoria, and, before leaving, I said good-bye to the retiring High Commissioner, Lord Rosmead. His successor, Sir Alfred Milner, arrived and assumed office on 5th May. Rhodes had proceeded to Kimberley on 3rd June, and gone on to Bulawayo on 17th of the month. While at the former place he took the important step of inducing the De Beers Mines to help to develop the coal industry in Natal, much to the advantage of that prosperous little Colony, now a Province of the Union.

Again in June it became necessary for me to visit the Transvaal, and I wrote to Rhodes from there on 24th June. His reply, which is an unusually long one, is dated 3rd July, and deals comprehensively with his financial position. He had not then asked me to be one of his Trustees, but, speaking of his Life Governorship of the De Beers Consolidated Mines, he writes, "Beit and I have an arrangement which comes in force on the death of either of us. I mention this as I propose to cross the Zambesi this year, and it would be very ridiculous to lose one's ideas by death. I know you sufficiently to ask you to read my Will. It will amuse you. I am almost superstitious. I knew Barnato would not outlive me, so I made no arrangements with him. If Beit had not made the arrangement with me, he would have also died first. Now the thought has come that I might go first and my ideas be lost. Beit

will honourably carry out our agreement, but I thought it better to mention it to you, and on my return I will have it settled by a legal document."

On 14th July he laid the foundation stone of the Wesleyan Church in Bulawayo. The silver trowel handed to him for the purpose being of flimsy construction, he threw it down amid general laughter, and used the contractor's trowel. Speaking on this occasion he said, "There was nothing one noticed in life more than the similarity of religions. Whether one inquired into the religion of the ancient Egyptians and took up the *Book of the Dead*, the precepts of which were almost similar to those of Zoroaster or Confucius; or went back to the religion of the Romans, and read the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*; or considered the religion of the Greeks, and read the works of Aristotle; in all the same idea arose—to raise humanity higher. The idea was not new—it was as old as the beginning of civilisation in the world. What they had to be thankful for that day was that the superstitions of the religions of the past were disappearing. One was the superstition in connection with human sacrifice. If they only looked back a short time in the history of the country (Rhodesia), they would find the superstition of the M'limo, which gave the happy despatch to so many. That was also a religion, but a bad one. The object of all religions in the future would be the betterment of humanity, and he would ask all those present to help in however small a degree towards the settlement of that object."

During July he telegraphed to me from Bulawayo almost daily. Even after writing an ordinary letter, he

generally telegraphed to say he had done so. I find that I telegraphed to him with congratulations on his birthday (5th July), and again on 15th July to say I had carefully read his Will and found it interesting rather than amusing.

Foiled in his hopes of crossing the Zambesi owing to administrative business requiring his early presence in Salisbury, he now urged me to come up to Bulawayo and accompany him in a mule-waggon. Meanwhile the House of Commons had received and considered the Report of its Select Committee. It had originally been appointed on 30th July, 1896, and consisted of fifteen members, including the Attorney-General (Sir R. Webster), and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks Beach), and its terms of reference were, "To inquire into the Origin and Circumstances of the Incursion into the South African Republic of an Armed Force, and into the Administration of the British South Africa Company, and to report thereon: and further, to report what alterations are desirable in the government of the Territories under the control of the Company." On 14th August the Committee decided that at that late period of the session it was undesirable to prosecute the inquiry, and a postponement was consequently sanctioned.

On 13th July, 1897 the Committee presented its Report in a volume, with annexures, of 780 pages. They had examined a very large number of important witnesses and asked nearly 10,000 questions. They admitted having had before them the Report of the similar Committee appointed by the Cape Parliament, and recorded that Rhodes had expressed his willingness, generally, to accept the finding of that Committee as to the facts, and that he

had made it clear to them that he accepted responsibility for the actions of those who had served, directly or indirectly, under his orders. Their conclusion was, in brief, that whatever justification there may have been for action on the part of the people of Johannesburg, there was none for the conduct of a person in the official position of Rhodes, but they added, as the Cape Committee had virtually added, that in regard to allegations that the Raid had been engineered for stock-jobbing purposes, the charge was entirely without foundation.

It may be noted that when the Report, which was drafted by the Chairman, came up for consideration on 6th July, Mr. Labouchere endeavoured to substitute for it an alternative report of his own, but he found himself in a minority of one. The Report was finally adopted by 10 votes to 1, Mr. Labouchere absenting himself.

During the debate that ensued in the House of Commons, it became clear that the object of several extreme members was not so much to punish Rhodes as to "get at" Mr. Chamberlain and the Colonial Office for purely party purposes. Ultimately Mr. Philip Stanhope moved, "That this House regrets the inconclusive action and Report of the Select Committee on British South Africa, and especially the failure of that Committee to recommend specific steps with regard to Mr. Rhodes." The robust common sense of the House threw out the Motion by 304 votes to 77, amid loud cheers, and although a press controversy raged for some weeks, the subject gradually dropped, especially as the nation came to see that, though the Raid was dead and buried, the causes that led to it were still very much alive and would probably result, sooner or later, in an appeal to arms.

On the 4th August I at length paid my first visit to Rhodesia, reaching rail-head at Francis Town five days later, and Bulawayo on 11th August. There I found Rhodes deep in conference with railway contractors, traffic managers, and with a formidable body of would-be interviewers lounging at his office doors. Not caring to disturb him, I retired to my bedroom, and there, midway in a leisurely bath, was surprised by him. He burst upon me like a whirlwind, threw himself on the bed, and, while I dressed, plunged into local, Colonial and Imperial politics with the abandon of a man who had long been tongue-tied. He was at times a difficult man to converse with, as he often assumed that you knew more of the workings of his mind and of his plans than was actually the case.

In the cool of the evening we rode together to Government House, and as it was dark ere we again reached town we walked our horses, while Rhodes discoursed of "fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute"; recited his religious beliefs, discussed his past career and future schemes, and finally came round to the point at which he all along aimed—"Would I be one of his executors?" I pointed out my seniority in age, which he met by declaring that his heart was affected to such an extent that he was like a man under sentence of death. I then objected that under his Will all Cape Colony scholarships were vested in the South African College and the Victoria College at Stellenbosch, two institutions mainly frequented at that date by Dutch-speaking students, whereas I desired to strengthen the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and the St. Andrew's College, Graham's Town, which were conducted more on the lines of English public



Photo by F. H. Melland.

RHODES'S GRAVE ON THE MATOPOS
"HERE LIE THE REMAINS OF CECIL JOHN RHODES."

schools. He at once agreed to provide for both these Institutions, and requested me to draft a codicil to that effect. Early next morning the document was drawn up and duly executed, whereupon he exulted like a great schoolboy—sat upon his hands as was his wont when pleased, and cried, "I've got you: I've got you now."

On 14th August he drove me to his huts in the Matopos where we spent Sunday. He explained to me *en route* that he had settled 4000 natives on the estate, including old Babyan and several witch-doctors and other dangerous characters recently in rebellion. In almost every second hut there was a chief. Every step in the Matabele "peerage" was represented. Lo Bengula's own brother was there, with several of his wives, children and sisters. I suggested that we should all have our throats cut, but he jeered at me as a "Town-bird," and asked with some force whether it was not good policy to have all the malcontents under his eye and control rather than allow them to live scattered over a vast area to be centres of sedition.

After an early breakfast he rode with me to what he called the view of the world, in order to point out the exact spot in which he desired to be buried, and he lay down there "to see how it felt!"

On the Sunday afternoon we held an indaba of the indunas. We sat in a small group surrounded by at least fifty stalwart natives, and Rhodes, addressing them in their own language, said a few words to each chief. To some he spoke graciously, much to their delight. With others he was jocular, whereupon the whole assembly, after the immemorial custom of courtiers, laughed immoderately. To one man alone he was mina-

tory and severe—a man who was reported to be still mischievously disposed. To him Rhodes addressed a few scathing remarks, till the fellow slowly changed from darkest bronze to ashen grey, and the beads of perspiration stood out upon his abashed forehead.

Finally, he spoke to them collectively on a subject very near his heart—on the distinction drawn by white people between killing in fair fight and massacring unprotected non-combatants on lonely farms. On this theme he appeared to speak with real eloquence, and as the crowd, in excitement, closed in upon us, he put the crucial question, "Will you promise never to kill our women and children again?" An immediate, unanimous and unmistakable cry in the affirmative was given, but Rhodes looked disconcerted, and a smile flickered on the faces of those who knew the language, for the reply, as I afterwards ascertained, was "We will kill no women, Inkoos, Baba, unless thou order it."

For him, and at his bidding, they were prepared to commit any atrocity, and therefore, like the Town Clerk at Ephesus, he judiciously dismissed the Assembly.

On Monday morning we visited Mosilikatze's grave in the hills to see that it was intact. During the war a ruffianly trooper rifled the cairn and was preparing to sell the dead king's bones as curios, but Rhodes came down upon him like an avalanche, recovered the fragments and summoned the Matabele far and wide to come and restore them to their resting-place with all the pomp and ceremony dear to the native mind. It was this intimate insight into their thoughts and habits that gave Rhodes so strong a hold upon all native tribes with whom he was brought into contact.

On 18th August we left Bulawayo for Salisbury, where we arrived in a fortnight after a most enjoyable trek in the veld, starting very early every morning, shooting along the road, and sitting late around the camp fire. It was a severe mental discipline to be at such close quarters with Rhodes. He had a habit of throwing at one the gravest problems and requiring their instant and intelligent discussion. Weak platitudes and slipshod reasons were an abomination to him, and he kept one's faculties at full stretch.

On 23rd August we slept at Enkeldoorn, an exclusively Dutch settlement. Rhodes had an informal and afterwards a formal talk with them in their own language, and they subsequently cheered us vociferously on our way, as if there had never been any Raid at all.

At Charter we had an amusing experience. The young non-commissioned officer in charge came to report that a local chief, Umswitchwe, was mutinous and required to be promptly dealt with, as he had shot Major Ridley in the foot and killed one of his troopers and a policeman. "He even defies me, sir," said the complainant, as if that filled up the chief's cup. Rhodes mildly reminded him that he himself was no longer a man in authority, as the armed forces of the Company had been vested in Sir Richard Martin, but the officer gave a tolerant smile at this absurdity and stood his ground. The following dialogue then took place:—

RHODES. "But how did the chief defy you?"

N.-C. OFFICER. "He jeered at me."

RHODES. "Jeering does not constitute a *casus belli*."

N.-C. OFFICER. "Well, I'm blest!"

RHODES. "I tell you what you can do. *You go right*

up to the kraal and be fired at. That will be a *casus belli*."

N. C. OFFICER (*saluting*). "Very good, sir, I'll go on Wednesday."

This tranquil arrangement rather took my breath away, but a day or two after our arrival at Salisbury the imperturbable non-commissioned officer rode in, bringing the chief a prisoner. He had drawn fire on the Wednesday as arranged, stormed the kraal and captured Umswitchwe red-handed. Of such is our Island brood.

I had a pleasant time at Salisbury, rough-drafting Acts and Ordinances required by Rhodes, and finally left the Territory by way of Beira and reached Cape Town on 17th September. Rhodes, though suffering from influenza, was a delightful companion and comrade, as all who ever travelled with him will testify. His thoughtfulness for others was proverbial, and he was never seen to better advantage than when on trek.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SERIOUS ILLNESS

Transcontinental Telegraph—Rhodes at Inyanga—Opening of Railway to Bulawayo—Native newspaper—Subscribes to party funds—High Commissioner in Rhodesia—Rhodes back at Salisbury—Transvaal claim for Moral and Intellectual Damages.

DURING our journey between Bulawayo and Salisbury, Rhodes thought and spoke much of his project of linking up Cape Town with Egypt by means of his African Transcontinental Telegraphic Company. For nearly two years he had frequently re-erected the section between Salisbury and Tête—an unhealthy district 220 miles in length. Telegraphists died at their post, natives cut the wires, elephants destroyed the poles, and the maintenance of the section seemed to present insuperable difficulties. Beyond Tête to Tanganyika the line was progressing satisfactorily, but the Salisbury-Tête section caused continual anxiety.

Soon after we left Enkeldoorn, we fell in with Lieutenant Wood of the 7th Dragoons, with fifty men, bound to Salisbury with telegraph material. Thereafter Rhodes dropped into a brown study of at least an hour's duration, terminated by an imperious call for a map of South Africa. This he studied intently for some time until suddenly his brow cleared and he exclaimed, "Thank God, that's settled." In an hour he had entirely altered the route of the line, abandoned Salisbury as a base,

and decided to pull down the poles and re-erect them from Umtali, carrying the wires over the high and healthy plateau of Inyanga to where Manicaland slopes to the Zambesi in the north-east corner of Rhodesia. With his thumb he had roughly calculated distances. He had, moreover, chosen an experienced telegraphist to relay the line, and decided to request Dr. Jameson to supervise the work, and had sketched out a plan to erect a Sanatorium for disabled workmen. At the next telegraph station he despatched the necessary messages to all parties concerned, and left a note for Lieutenant Wood to take men and materials across country to Umtali, after which he dismissed the subject from his mind.

In consequence of this decision Dr. Jameson travelled down with me to Umtali and went from thence to Inyanga, and Rhodes soon followed him, while I returned to Cape Town by sea. Inyanga is a healthy district over 6000 feet above the sea, but hardly an ideal residence for a man with a weak heart. He had barely recovered from influenza when he contracted fever, and for a while his life hung in the balance. Serious rumours at length reached Cape Town as to the condition of his health, and during September and October I received numerous messages on the subject, in which he admitted a breakdown. So late as 15th November he wired that he was progressing favourably but obliged to keep very quiet, and in December he stated that the Magistrate at Umtali was down with fever, and that he had ordered him away to Muizenberg, where he was to occupy the cottage which I was requested to furnish for his reception.

Even in illness his thoughtfulness for others never

slackened. Throughout this period he sent me a large number of business telegrams dealing with the general election, the re-building of Groote Schuur and the purchase of fruit farms. All these had to be despatched by native runners to Umtali, a distance of sixty miles.

On 7th November, 1897, he wrote to his agent at Bulawayo as follows, "As regards the farmers I am helping in the Matopos, insist on their making butter daily, and that they keep the plough going now the planting season is here. People must learn that they must work all day. We must have no loafers; our farmers must work, otherwise they will fail."

On 4th December the railway was opened to Bulawayo amid general rejoicings, but Rhodes, of course, was too ill to attend. In August, before he left for the Eastern part of Rhodesia he had, however, given instructions that all those who came up for the opening ceremony should be sent out to the Matopos, arranging that a good road should be constructed and mule coaches engaged for the conveyance of the large number of visitors who came from all parts of South Africa as well as from England. Every one was delighted beyond measure at his forethought, and it was far and away the feature of the occasion.

About this time he was interesting himself in a project for starting a respectable native newspaper in the Cape Colony, which resulted in the publication of *Izwi Labantu* (The Voice of the People) as a rival to an existing paper which had been captured by the Afrikaner party. He also authorised considerable additional political expenditure in connection with the approaching elections.

A delicate question was also remitted to him for settlement, owing to an announcement that Dr. Jameson had been invited to stand for the Cape Parliament. On 12th and 13th November, telegrams were sent to him by party agents and by prominent politicians urging that the candidature should be withdrawn, but Rhodes declined to intervene and Dr. Jameson was duly elected, thus commencing a public career which rehabilitated him in the good opinion of South Africa and led at no distant date to the Premiership of the Colony.

Meanwhile, the new High Commissioner had lost no time in visiting Rhodesia where, on 25th November, at Umtali, he received an address from the inhabitants which, *inter alia*, said:—

“We desire to call your Excellency’s attention to the fact that the man whose conception the occupation of this great country was, and who has led us successfully through years of doubt and danger to a continually increasing prosperity, no longer holds any controlling or official position in its government, and to assure your Excellency of the determination of the people of this country to stand firmly by Mr. Rhodes, who has stood so well by us.”

In his reply, the High Commissioner struck a bold and sympathetic note. “He could not fail,” he said, “to refer to the prominent services of Mr. Rhodes. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) He believed it was the desire of the country to stand by Mr. Rhodes, and it was the strong and hearty support of the people which pulled him through as critical a time as had ever occurred in the life of any contemporary British statesman.” (Loud cheers.)

During December Rhodes, though still an invalid, managed to travel back to Salisbury. While there he received a joint telegram from an influential group of friends and political supporters, declaring that his presence in Cape Town was urgently needed; that Mr. Hofmeyr was exerting himself strenuously at the Paarl and other Dutch districts to ensure the success of his party at the polls in the following March, and that Transvaal secret service money was being disbursed with a lavish hand. The doctors, however, put a veto on the journey and ordered him a long sea voyage. For a while he amused himself by planning a trip to Canada to see Sir Wilfrid Laurier, for whom he always expressed great admiration, but when the time came he found that it was impossible to get away. He accordingly proceeded to Bulawayo on 31st December, 1897, reaching that town on 3rd January, 1898, his health having temporarily improved. He arrived in Cape Town later in the month, and at once proceeded to discuss with me the Transvaal claim for £677,938 for material damages in connection with the Raid, but the further claim of £1,000,000 for "moral and intellectual" damages he refused to regard as serious. He suggested the appointment of an arbitrator on each side, and requested me to act for the British South Africa Company. The claim, as we know, came to nothing—indeed, there seems reason to believe that the Transvaal Government made a substantial profit out of the unfortunate expedition, as a War Tax had already been levied on every property-owning Uitlander who happened to be an absentee, and the fines on the Reformers, levied with unsparing severity, came to a large sum.

During this period of enforced idleness owing to ill-health, Rhodes dwelt frequently, in conversation with friends, on his desire to be buried in the Matopos. "Lay me there," he would say; "my Rhodesians will like it: *they* have never bitten me."

The approach of death was familiar to his mind, and although he was wont to refer regretfully to the brevity of modern life, and to scoff at Methuselah as a man who must "have missed many chances," he uttered no unmanly repinings at the approach of the dread Shadow.

It was his consolation that Rhodesia was on the way to greatness.

"Don't forget," he said about this time, "that Rhodesia will some day be the dominant factor in South African politics. All the other States will court her, but she must be wary of accepting their advances. They will seek her in their own interests, but she must remember the rock from which she was hewn, and the Empire of which she is one of the outposts."

CHAPTER XXXIV

A STRENUOUS YEAR (1898)

Matopo Dam—Rhodes in Cape Town—Interviewed by *Cape Times*—New Order in Council—Addresses Cape electors—Sails for England—Present at meeting of Chartered Company—Attends meeting Transcontinental Telegraphs—Cape Parliament assembles—Efforts to overthrow Sprigg by Schreiner and the Bond—Redistribution Bill—Sprigg defends his letter to Chamberlain—Government defeated—Appeal to the country—Rhodes's political speeches—Result of General Election—Sprigg resigns—Schreiner succeeds—Rhodes presents the Van Riebeeck statue to Cape Town—Attends the De Beers meeting—Sails for England.

HAVING strenuously endeavoured to give a favourable turn to the fortunes of his settlers in Rhodesia, Rhodes now addressed himself to the task of giving an object lesson to that country by completing the construction of his immense Dam in the Matopos, capable of placing under irrigation an extensive area of good soil on the flats below the little kopje on which he had built his residential huts. It was a bold undertaking, for such works involve a considerable outlay, and in South Africa—a country of torrential rains—are not unseldom washed away, with disastrous results. But his choice of a Contractor, as well as that of a supervising engineer, was a wise one. The Dam has stood the test of time, and below it there is now a smiling valley where formerly there was nothing but bare veld.

In January, 1898, he was back in Cape Town arranging with the Commissioner of Railways for joint working

arrangements and in-transit rates between the Cape Colony and Rhodesia, a task involving much delicate negotiation.

On 11th February a deputation from the Progressive organisation, the South African League, visited Groote Schuur and discussed the rumoured closer union between the two Dutch Republics, when Rhodes made the important suggestion that in such a case the Cape, Natal, and Rhodesia should federate under the British flag.

On 8th March he created a widespread sensation by according an interview to the *Cape Times*, at which, in very outspoken fashion, he declared that his old supporter the Bond, under its new leadership, was entirely against progress, unity and equality, and was dominated by a Continental gang in Pretoria. He added that Rhodesia now offered more fascinations for him than Cape politics, and that he was willing to retire from the latter provided the people of the Colony would let him go.

About this time his many anxieties were aggravated by the announced intention of Her Majesty's Government to make important alterations in the Matabeleland Order in Council (1894) so as to limit the power of administration and control hitherto exercised by the Chartered Company. Authority over the police had already been withdrawn as the result of the Raid, and it was not an unreasonable contention of the Company that any further restriction of their powers might re-act disastrously on the native mind.

On 12th March Rhodes addressed the electors of Cape Town in support of the Progressive candidates then in the field.

After dealing with local politics and putting in a

weighty plea for a Colonial contribution to the Royal Navy, he touched on the burning question of the misgovernment of the Transvaal, pointing out that, though the newcomers outnumbered the Boers and were practically bearing the whole taxation of the country, the President was depriving them of the franchise, forbidding the use of their language and the right of public meeting, and tampering with the independence of the Judicial Bench.

Referring again to the frequent suggestion of his opponents that he would do well to disappear from public life, he declared that he had many faults to atone for, and the best atonement he could make would be to work for great South African objects and sacrifice everything for the cause.

Reuter's cable to London reported that Rhodes had a splendid reception from an immense audience which completely filled the hall. On 15th March he was equally well received when addressing a workman's meeting at Salt River. The report says he spoke with unusual ease, and never for a moment lost touch with his audience.

The next day he left for England in the *Tantallon Castle*, undertaking to return, if possible, in time for the meeting of Parliament in May.

From Madeira he cabled a large additional grant to party funds—a grant supplemented later on. Transvaal secret service money was, rightly or wrongly, believed to be the great resource of his political opponents and, rather than be unfairly beaten, he was prepared to help every Progressive candidate who was judged unable to afford the expense of the general election now approaching. There is much to be said by the purist against these

subsidies, but let those who have never accepted such assistance cast the first stone.

On 21st April, the British South Africa Company held an important meeting of its shareholders. No meeting had been held in 1897, and therefore the accounts of two years were presented. Rhodes was present and was made the subject of an extraordinarily enthusiastic demonstration. Shareholders were receiving no dividend and no promise or prospect of one, but with a vein of sentiment extremely rare on such occasions they received him with frantic applause. "Vindex" remarks of him, "As he stood and looked over that crowd of eager faces he seemed less impassive and more human than usual: more like a modern man who knew what failure and suffering meant than—as he usually looked—a Roman Emperor born with an ambition to administer the world."

His speech is far too long for insertion here. It was a sound defence of the policy of the Company, and in regard to the Customs Tariff he was able to announce that his prophecy had come true. The British Government had at length yielded to his importunity and forbidden the imposition in Southern Rhodesia of any higher duties on goods of British manufacture. He had established his point and granted the mother country preferential rates almost in her own despite. Sooner or later his will generally prevailed.

On 19th May he addressed a meeting of shareholders in the Transcontinental Telegraph Company, at which he reviewed the position and prospects of the concern in an interesting and characteristic speech. He must immediately have sailed for the Cape, as we find him in the House of Assembly there three weeks later.

The Cape Parliament held a short session from 20th May to 25th June. In his opening speech Sir Alfred Milner, after remarking that he was addressing them for the first time, thanked members for their loyal welcome, referred to the shadow cast over the Empire by the death of Mr. Gladstone, and announced, in guarded terms, that the relations of the Cape with other South African States were cordial, and that Natal had joined the Customs Union.

Sir Gordon Sprigg, however, was soon to feel that the anti-Rhodes party were determined to drive him from power. On 31st May Schreiner, whose abilities were recognised and perhaps utilised by extremer men, led the assault by giving notice that at an early date he would move "That the Government does not possess the confidence of the House." The motion did not come on for a fortnight. During the interval several reactionary Dutch members gave a taste of their quality. In a debate on Native Labour they reviled the lazy habits of the natives, but the Premier, in defence, said the native was a good servant if properly treated by farmers, and that under Rhodes's Glen Grey Act, natives, instead of loafing and stealing, now went out to work.

On 2nd June a private member drew attention to a resolution of the House of 1st June, 1897, requesting the Transvaal to rescind the prohibitive and unfriendly tax on Cape tobacco, but the Premier had to reply that his representations to the President had been unavailing.

On 10th June an adjourned debate on the Parliamentary Representation Bill was resumed. The measure had been referred to in the Governor's speech in the following terms:—

“Since the Constitution was conferred upon the Colony nearly half a century ago, many changes have occurred in regard to the number and location of the inhabitants, and on this account it has been generally recognised that the time has arrived when the electoral divisions and the number of their representatives should be brought into line with the distribution of the people to-day.” The Governor proceeded to add that an experienced Committee had reported on this subject, that their recommendations had been accepted in the main, and that a Bill had been drafted in terms thereof to provide for the better representation of the people.

In theory the necessity for such a redistribution was unquestioned, but, as we know, in the absence of any automatic system, every adjustment of the franchise by one political party is jealously scrutinised by the opposition. It was so on this occasion. The towns, which during many years had grown to a considerable extent, were now much under-represented, while the country districts had more than their share. But the towns were preponderantly British and progressive: the rural districts were Dutch. It was a bold step on the part of Sir Gordon Sprigg to endeavour, at this juncture, to redress the balance, and the Bond were not unnaturally quick to suspect that although the voice was the voice of Sprigg the hand was the hand of Rhodes.

Rhodes was present during the adjourned debate, but beyond an interjection of disagreement when attacked by Schreiner for fanning racial flame—a flagrantly unjust charge considering the facts—he again contented himself with a bare denial of the statement. It was evident that his opponents were endeavouring to taunt him into

injudicious speech, but he was too shrewd to be caught, and the net was spread in vain.

After prolonged debate, the second reading of the Bill was carried on 20th June by 42 to 35, Rhodes voting with the Government. An analysis of the division list shows that, but for a certain amount of unexpected support from a few moderate Dutch members, the Government would have been defeated. Indeed, a few days earlier, and on a minor point, they had been left in a minority of ten, and they now had to face the direct issue of "No confidence" raised by Schreiner.

This motion occupied the House for several days and led, as might have been expected, to extravagant displays of racial feeling which Rhodes was so anxious to avoid, and the responsibility for which history will probably place on Schreiner alone.

On the 14th June, the latter spoke for two hours, and after accusing Sprigg of endeavouring to prevent the Raid inquiry in 1896, and criticising all the latter's colleagues with eloquent acrimony, he fell upon Rhodes with cold and calculated fury. The next day, after what all parties admitted to be a masterly speech from Innes in support of the Government, Rhodes at length spoke, in justice, he said, both to his constituents and himself. "If," he added, "the motion is carried, we know what will be the result. We shall go to the country. As far as I am concerned I am only too ready to go to the country." (Loud cheers.)

On 22nd June, Sprigg summed up the debate. Replying to a debating point that he had endeavoured to whitewash Rhodes in the course of a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he replied that he

adhered to every word he had written, and especially to the following, which he read to the House *in extenso*:

“With respect to Mr. Rhodes, it is my belief that he still retains to a large extent the popularity he has held in South Africa for some years. Speaking for the Cape Colony, I should say the vast majority of the English population support him strongly, and I doubt whether more than half even of the Dutch population are really opposed to him. I observe that a notice of motion has been given for the removal of his name from the Privy Council. I am convinced that such action would not be favourably reviewed in the Cape Colony: it would indicate a vindictive feeling, and that feeling is certainly not entertained by many persons in the Colony. Of course, every one recognises that a wrong has been done and that punishment must follow, as a matter of course. But Mr. Rhodes’s punishment has been great. He has lost, for a time at least, the great position he held. The public generally see and understand that, but what they do not see is the terrific force of the blow that has been received: that can only be measured by those who, like myself, have been intimately associated with him. We would say, ‘Do not strike him down to the earth.’ But there is something beyond this. Rhodes has rendered great services to the Empire in South Africa: services so great that they should be regarded as a set-off against the one wrong he has committed. That will be the verdict of history: that, I am convinced, will be the judgment of the great majority of the people of the Colony if a poll were taken on the question to-day. The desire is that the errors of the past should be forgotten and that Mr. Rhodes should be cheered and encouraged

in the great work he has undertaken in the interior of South Africa, so that he may be able to offer the fruits of his labour as a rich atonement for his past offences."

It was a courageous letter, and it was addressed to a courageous and Imperial statesman, and had its due weight. The Premier, in one of the finest speeches he ever made, defended the policy of his administration as cautious, conciliatory and suited to the dangerous times in which the country found itself, but owing to the defection of the three notorious mugwumps, whose consciences frequently impelled them to vote against their own party on critical occasions, the Government, on a division, were left in a minority of five, and on the following day Sprigg announced that the interests of the country demanded a dissolution of the House, and that the Governor was prepared to act accordingly. The Opposition, who had apparently relied on the immediate resignation of the Government, were obviously chagrined, and threatened to refuse to pass the Partial Appropriation Bill required, but after several days' debate, during which Rhodes repeatedly spoke with dignity and effect, more patriotic counsels prevailed, supply was granted, and on 28th June the House was prorogued.

The election that followed was a memorable one. The Bond, after serious questionings, had definitely broken with Rhodes and accepted Schreiner as his successor. Party feeling ran high, and neither side would give quarter. Rhodes threw himself into the contest with great energy.

During August he visited all the outlying stations in his own constituency of Barkly West, speaking on the first at Windsorten and Barkly West; on the second

at Klipdam twice; again at Barkly West on the third, and at Longlands on the fourth. Later in the month he again spoke at Klipdam. Everywhere he was received with enthusiasm. Schreiner, hitherto his colleague, wisely did not seek re-election at Barkly West, a safer Bond seat being provided for him at Malmesbury, a Dutch district.

On 3rd September, he spoke at Taungs, and twice at Vryburg, in support of the Progressive candidates. A press report says:—

“At Taungs the station was decorated with bunting, and a large crowd had assembled, who cheered vociferously as the train steamed in. Mr. Rhodes and party having alighted, Mr. Green, Secretary of the local Election Committee, presented an address of welcome and congratulation.

“Mr. Rhodes, in reply, said: ‘I have to thank you, gentlemen, for your kindness in coming from Taungs to see me, and also for the address with which you have been so good as to present me. I think I am justified in saying that had it not been for myself this country would now form a portion of the Transvaal, and it is for you to judge whether you are better off under Her Majesty’s flag, with all the advantages accruing from the extension to the North, or whether it would have been better if you had become an integral part of the Transvaal Republic. But I do claim that owing to myself to a great extent the map has been changed. You have given me a very cordial greeting to-day, and we have at the present moment entered upon a contest on the basis of progress against what is termed retrogression. As you are no doubt aware, this is the last of the

elections, and if we have any success on the petitions that have already been instituted against the return of several Bond members, we—the Progressives—shall be in a majority in the new Parliament. But really the whole fate of the country turns upon the issue of the election which is now taking place in this constituency. I hope that you will use your best endeavours to return the Progressive Candidates. (Cheers.) For if there is one part of the country more than another which should give its undivided support to the cause and the party of progress it is, I firmly believe, this territory of Bechuanaland. That is, if you agree with me that it is better that you should live under the rule of Her Majesty than under the flag of the South African Republic. (Loud cheers.) That was the battle which was fought here nine years ago with the successful result that this country was saved and eventually added to the Cape Colony under Her Majesty's flag. Now, on Monday next, you have once more to decide, this time at the polling booths, whether that policy was right or wrong. (Cries of "Quite right" and cheers.) The issue before the country has been confused and complicated by the introduction of all sorts of side issues, but, squarely faced, the paramount question before the country which one has taken, and the old Cape Colony—the issues which are before you—involve not only the past but the future of this country. You feel with me that if the Bond party is returned to power it means the triumph of Krugerism in the Colony, and it means also the development of a line of policy tremendously hostile to the North. Well, we can break loose, for we are in no sense dependent on the South, but your case is very different. You recognise

that the tie with the North is a growing one, and to you, in this part of the country, it means a great deal. You have lost a large portion of your cattle, but these will be renewed, and there is a daily intercourse going on between yourselves and the people of the North, in which lies the best hope for the future. Well, gentlemen, let me repeat to-day that it is the firm and settled policy of the party of progress to strengthen those ties in every possible way. (Cheers.) Many of you will some day proceed to the North, at the same time keeping your tie with the South. Will you on Monday next declare that the policy of the Progressives is the right one, or do you believe in that alternative policy of the separation of the North from the South which must ensue upon a policy of hostile and provocative tariffs? That is the issue which I want you by your votes to decide, and I believe that you will give your answer with no uncertain voice in support of the policy of the Progressive party. And I believe that were it not for that wretched, miserable race-feeling which has been imported into this contest, the whole of this territory to a man would join with you in an unanimous verdict. (Cheers.) But owing to the machinations of those party leaders who have appealed, only too successfully, to the prejudice of the people, and stirred up a hostile feeling between the English and the Dutch, a large section of the electors have been blinded to the real issue. (Cheers.) Well, I trust that the people of this constituency at all events will face the situation fairly, and especially would I impress upon them that it is really very important which way they decide. Your two members may make all the difference, and upon your choice may depend whether

the party of progress shall be returned to power, or whether a new Ministry shall be installed in office with whom the interests of the Transvaal Republic shall be first and paramount. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, I have detained you longer than I anticipated in my anxiety to place the real issue clearly before you. I thank you once more for your cordial greeting. I regard it as a token of your recognition of my efforts long ago, when I was largely instrumental in making this territory a portion of the Cape Colony. Looking at your faces I feel sure that you do emphatically prefer Her Majesty's rule to that of any other power.' (Loud cheers.)"

Three cheers were given for the Queen, followed by a fresh outbreak of acclamation as Mr. Rhodes resumed his seat in the train.

At Vryburg where he received a vote of confidence, both proposer and seconder being Dutch, Rhodes declared that Kruger was the greatest Raider in Africa.

On 6th September I find Rhodes back at Kimberley, sending the following cable message to General Kitchenner: "Glad you beat the Khalifa. We have just finished our elections and result promises to be a tie. I hear Frank is wounded. They certainly should now restore his commission; his heart is set on it. My telegraph will shortly be at south end of Tanganyika. If you don't look sharp, in spite of your victory, I shall reach Uganda before you."

To this he received the following reply:—

"OMDURMAN, 26 *September*, 1898.

"From Sirdar to Rhodes, Groote Schuur.

"Thanks. Frank well. Reinstated. My southern station Sobat. Hurry up."

Rhodes, amid all his great enterprises, did not overlook minor matters of sentiment. I find him writing this year to a far-off official in North Eastern Rhodesia offering to pay for the upkeep of the lonely grave of "Roza" (his brother Herbert), near the Shiré River, and receiving the reply that an old native headman, who knew him, saw to it and would accept no reward.

Some few extracts from his election speeches may be preserved from the scrap heap to which all such ephemeral literature ultimately goes.

In several passages he described his past work—his prevention of German and Krugerian extension, and his schemes for Afrikander union. In this connection he said: "If it had not been my good fortune to think of those questions while looking for diamonds, there is not the slightest doubt that these territories would have passed to other European Powers. I do not claim any credit—I simply say that they were the thoughts that came to me—that is all. You may discover the microbe of the rinderpest, but I defy you ever to find the microbe of the human imagination. You do not know where it comes from, but it comes and the thoughts come, and you are moved as a human atom to carry out those thoughts; and all that I can say is that before and during the period when I was your Prime Minister these thoughts came to me, though later, gentlemen, changes have been brought about owing to my own fault. I lost my position through my acts, but I am now simply putting this to you that, during the period while I had the responsibility, and questions occurred which I dealt with, I think that I dealt fairly with them, and long, long after you and I are dead I think history will say

that certain big questions were dealt with by me for the benefit of the country at large.”

In connection with a discussion on the value of Rhodesia, Rhodes said: “Any farmer in asking him (Rhodes) about the country would ask if there were many natives, and if he replied, ‘Yes,’ the farmer would say that it was a good country. The natives had always selected the best land, and here he would like to relate a charming story of the member for Piquetberg (Mr. D. C. de Waal). Mr. de Waal’s people were abusing him for having anything to do with him (Rhodes), but he replied, ‘You know that Rhodes has taken a country twice as big as the Cape of Good Hope, and we shall get that. So far as Rhodes is concerned, he will only get six feet by four.’” (Laughter.)

In even lighter vein he remarked, “Once, as you know, Messrs. Merriman, Sauer and myself were all in the Cabinet, and we used to have a good deal of chaff together. Mr. Merriman had a way of giving nicknames to everybody. I was called ‘the young burgher,’ because at a banquet in Johannesburg, at which Kruger was present, when some one—I think it was the then Minister of Mines—had been talking a great deal about the old burghers, I said, in reply, that for my part I was a young burgher. (Laughter.) Mr. Sauer’s name was ‘the bumbler.’ (Loud laughter.) Why he was called ‘the bumbler’ I hardly know—(laughter)—but I think Mr. Merriman must have invented the name for him because he was sometimes so mixed that he did not know his own politics. At all events he has remained ‘the bumbler’ down to the present day. (Loud laughter.) But I think the most amusing nickname of all was the one Mr.

Merriman fastened on to his present friend Mr. Hofmeyr. I remember that he always used to say 'How is the Mole to-day?' It struck me as rather a happy invention, so one day I inquired from Mr. Merriman what he meant. 'Oh!' he exclaimed, 'I call him the Mole, because you never see him, but you know he is somewhere near; there is a little heap of ground thrown up which tells you he has been there, but you never see him.' (Loud laughter.) There is a good deal of thought in that one word, because if a party has ideas it should have a leader, and that leader, instead of burrowing underground like the mole, should appear on the surface, so that you may hear the language and arguments with which he is prepared to support his position as the leader of his party."

And this is perhaps new:—

"I honestly believe that my years of trouble have made me a better man. I had had a life of uninterrupted success, and then I had two years of considerable trouble, and I found, if I might put it to you personally, that I had an individuality that could stand trouble. I can tell you a rather good story. When I was proceeding from Salisbury to Bulawayo I was continually receiving telegrams from a gentleman who came from Mr. Farrar, then in gaol, stating that he had a most important message for me. This went on for some time, while the fighting was going on in the North. Ultimately I met him, and he gave me the message. It was this: 'Don't bother about me. Do your work. I have found out one thing—that there are those who are men and those who are monkeys.' (Loud laughter.) I don't know under which of these he placed me, but I do say

that my two years of trouble have made me a better man—(cheers)—and I am determined to go on with my work, the work of forming a railway junction with Egypt—(loud cheers)—and the work of closer union in South Africa.” (Renewed cheers.)

On 17th September Rhodes addressed the electors of Port Elizabeth, where he met with a great and generous reception. He judged it necessary to speak plainly, as the domination of Kruger in the politics of the Cape Colony had been naked and unashamed. The following is an extract from the *Times*:—

“I will admit this—that there is one just complaint against me—the unfortunate incident in the Transvaal. But if you go into details it will be brought home to you in the clearest light that the coming Prime Minister (Schreiner) once felt that the conduct of the Transvaal Government was so hopelessly bad that he was prepared to go to war with them—(cheers)—and that the coming Commissioner for Public Works (Mr. Merriman) had encouraged the people in Johannesburg to fight the question out, expressing the hope that they had no corns on their hands. (Laughter and cheers.) Well, that was the position. Two members of the coming Ministry were equally desirous that Kruger should either change or disappear. On hearing this the Dutch people naturally said, ‘Well, then, what are we fighting with Rhodes about? (Cheers.) At any rate Rhodes has given us a new country, where our people can live on equal terms and with equal rights; why should we drive this man out of the country and put in a Bond Ministry, two of the members of which are equally desirous that Kruger should disappear, one stating it openly and the

other stating it by means of confidential communications?' (Cheers and laughter.)

"Now one of the accusations made against me—and made even by my friends—is that I have no right to interfere with Port Elizabeth in the present election. I will put to you the case very fairly. After considerable thought I have come to the conclusion that in our politics, with the points before us, there is no room for three parties—(cheers)—that it will take us all our time to beat Krugerism, which I have already described as Afrikanerism upon the basis of the Transvaal—(cheers)—which simply makes difference between those who are born here and those who come here. We can see no difference. (Loud cheers.) That is what we are fighting, and we cannot afford to have a third party. (Cheers.)

"What is your great desire? (Several cries of 'Progress.') Yes, progress, and that you should be properly represented in Parliament for progress. (Loud cheers.) Your desire is that you should have proper representation in your councils, so that you will progress, and lead the Dutch—the progressive Dutch—to go with you. (Loud cheers.) Now let us look at last session. We had the Redistribution Bill, which was carried.

"As soon as it was carried the leader of the Bond in the House, Mr. Schreiner, found out that some of the Independents did not like the Government. They said that Sir Gordon Sprigg was this and that Sir James Sivewright was that, and so he put forward a motion of no confidence. He carried it and by what vote? By the vote of the Independents—(cheers)—by the votes

of Mr. Hay, Mr. Wiener, Mr. Solomon, Mr. Beard and Mr. Molteno; in fact, all the Independents except their leader. (Cheers and laughter.) Just look at my point. You had your chance of proper representation in Parliament, and the Bill was actually carried, whereupon the Independents voted 'No confidence,' and now we are fighting the election over it. And suppose that we are beaten, you will be without your proper representation for the next five years, and to whom do you owe this position? To the Independents again. (Cheers.) I can respect your Bondsmen, and I can fight your Bondsmen. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) I am a Progressive—with the Progressive party—(renewed cheers)—and I am going to fight on their side whatever my position may be. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) But these Independents! I cannot stand them. (Cheers and laughter.) But I know exactly what is going to happen, and I am going to make a prophecy. I only hope that the Independent here is not going to be returned. (Cheers, and voices 'No fear.') Well, the number of them is small, and they are going to end in the arms of the Bond. (Cheers and laughter.) That is my prophecy. Of course they will give all sorts of reasons for their attitude. They will say that they are going to hold the balance between the two races; that they are going to avert bloodshed. But how absurd all this is. I have been amongst the Dutch people, and I know there is not the slightest desire for bloodshed. All this comes from Camp Street; that is where all this talk comes from. (Loud cheers.) Why, the country people, the Dutch people, have not the slightest idea of it. (Cheers.) They say with regard to the Transvaal—

the Progressive Dutch say—they want a change in the conduct of the Transvaal as much as we do. (Loud cheers.) But the Independents are to hold the balance, though I am not at all sure that we will not find the old gentleman in Camp Street (Hofmeyr) will hold the balance. I have marked them down in that character, and every Independent I place a cross against, meaning that whenever the contest is over we can count them as with the Bond. I know that you are all strong in the hope that the Progressive party may win. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) You need not think that I have indulged in this speech against Independents without due thought. When I look back and see that they have wrecked the principle of redistribution; when I know that they, and especially your member—(groans)—nearly upset the railway to the North, and kept you out of communication for a whole year, I think I have a right to speak. (Loud cheers.) I am not afraid of the Bond party. (Cheers.) Day by day I have gone amongst the Dutchmen in many parts of the Colony, and have found that they are with me—(loud cheers)—and I know I can work with them again. (Renewed cheering.) But I know we have to defeat Krugerism as applied to this Colony. (Cheers.) That is the idea, to keep the power in the hands of a few people subservient to the power in Camp Street, and that is what we are fighting in this election. (Cheers.) And we are going to win.” (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

He concluded by saying, “There is another very big question—an approaching question—the question of union, or South African federation. (Loud cheers.) That federation is very close. By federation I mean

that the native question, the laws and the railways should be dealt with together. Local questions should be dealt with by the local States. The solution does not rest with me; it is being discussed elsewhere to-night. If we could look to-night into the various mining camps hundreds of miles away, we should see strong men returning from their daily toil. On them depends federation. (Cheers.) If that country is rich, the prize of Africa will be the North. (Loud cheers.) If you will not have it, Natal will federate to-morrow; and I can state here that if I am driven away by a Bond Ministry under Hofmeyr management, I shall turn my thoughts to Natal. I am determined to have union. (Cheers.) Some people say, 'But how about the Transvaal, situated as it is between the Colony, Natal and the North?' I do not consider the Transvaal of to-day. I am thinking of the next twenty-five years when the new population must have a position. If we get Natal the other States must fall in. (Cheers.) Now you are beginning to follow my thought. The question is: Will the Cape, by its own conduct, be left out in the cold? ('No, no.') The people in the North are not going to have any feeling for a State in the South which is not necessary to them, and which is dominated by the tactics of the Bond. Assume that a Bond Ministry gets into power. In your responsible position I talk to you boldly. I must speak out. (Cheers.) I see the danger that is coming. My North is all right. No human beings could have better prospects. Five hundred thousand miles of territory with a loyal people. (Cheers.) You might fairly say, 'Why don't you go there?' I will tell you why. I am determined not to leave the South till I see you are clear

of the risk of being dominated by Krugerism." (Loud cheers.)

The Bond, while perfecting their own political organisation, deeply resented the attempt of their political opponents to do the same. Mr. Schreiner, elected by Bond support, permitted himself to use language which even a general election hardly justifies. In his address of thanks he exclaimed, "You have shown by placing us closely together by a very large majority at the head of the poll—an exceptionally heavy one—that, while you condemn the false doctrine that the intrusion of unjustified force provides a satisfactory remedy for tardy growth of enlightened political institutions, you equally condemn the more insidious doctrine that, under the cloak of constitutional methods, capital perverted from its proper uses may hope to succeed in attaining objects which conspiracy and violence have failed to compass."

A large discount must of course be deducted from election oratory of this nature.

As Mr. Edward Dicey said of Rhodes in the *Fortnightly Review* of October, 1898, "His support of the Uitlanders cannot be regarded as a criminal offence," so it may be said of his support of his party at the polls.

When the elections were over it was clear that parties were very evenly balanced. Several prominent members lost their seats, and numerous petitions were lodged against the return of others. The first session of the new Parliament met on 7th October and elected a Speaker in the person of Dr. Berry, the Progressives thus weakening their available number by one. The House met again on 10th October for the transaction of business, when Schreiner promptly moved a fresh vote of "No

confidence." Several moderate Dutchmen were at the outset inclined to the policy of giving the Government a fair trial, but Mr. Innes refused to be a party to the arrangement, and the fate of Sir Gordon Sprigg was sealed.

The debate was over in an hour, Schreiner being almost the only speaker and Sprigg disdaining to reply. One Bond and One Progressive member were absent, but otherwise it was a full House and the Government were defeated by thirty-nine to thirty-seven, Rhodes, of course, voting with his party. The Progressives still possessed a small nominal majority in the Legislative Council, but Sprigg resigned without delay, although some of his followers were for fighting in the last ditch by forcing the Opposition to refuse supply.

The local press was severe on Innes for deserting his uncle, Sir Gordon Sprigg, and reminded him of Lincoln's sage advice not to swap horses while crossing a stream. Schreiner had some difficulty in forming a Cabinet, and the inclusion of Mr. R. Solomon as Attorney-General, fulfilled the cynical comment made by Rhodes that every Independent was a Bondsman at heart.

The *Times* asserted that Hofmeyr was the real head of the Ministry, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* asked how long Schreiner would last against Rhodes in one House and a hostile majority in the other. History has answered the query. The Ministry lasted for twenty unhappy months, and would not have lasted ten had Rhodes not been locked up in Kimberley.

On 17th October the new Premier made a statement of policy, to which Rhodes gave an energetic reply. A Redistribution Bill was promised, so as not to break faith

with the Resolution of the previous Parliament, but it was speedily apparent that it was intended to be an illusory measure, adding to the size of the House, but not redressing admitted inequalities. On 19th, and again on 27th October, there were unusually stormy scenes in the House over this measure. Rhodes again spoke and at his suggestion supply was refused. On 25th October he addressed an immense meeting in Cape Town, and urged the absolute necessity for a better representation of the people. It was a good fighting speech and enthusiastically received.

Four days later Schreiner, unable to carry any Bill that would not benefit the other side, foreshadowed the postponement of the measure till a future session, remarking that he was no believer in "government by counting heads." On 2nd November, when, in accordance with this policy, he moved to adjourn the debate, the voting was thirty-nine to thirty-nine, and the Ministry were only saved by the Speaker's casting vote.

By the irony of fate this, of all days, was the day when the Governor and High Commissioner, in response to a request from Her Majesty's Government, sailed for England in the *Scot*, leaving behind him an excited Parliament, a discredited Ministry, and great and general public uneasiness. The position of Transvaal affairs must, indeed, have been critical to warrant his enforced absence at this juncture. Two days later, a proposal was made for a conference between leaders. Schreiner opposed, a tie was again the result, and this time the Speaker decided against the Government, and the Motion was carried.

On 7th November the Premier asked for a vote on

Supply before the Conference, but Rhodes was inexorable, and Schreiner submitted. In the end, the Conference was held and an agreement reached, which was estimated to add nine Progressive and five Bond members to the House. No wonder that *South Africa* declared that Ministers "were in office on sufferance"; indeed, on a question relating to the Ocean Mail Service, they were beaten on 11th November by thirty-nine to thirty-six.

On 21st November Rhodes made an excellent speech, mainly on non-party lines, taking the House into his confidence on the subject of Northern expansion.

On 25th and 29th November there were angry debates in the House over the Meat Duties Bill, Rhodes, on the latter occasion, being present and speaking. On the question that the debate be adjourned, the Government majority was only two.

On 2nd December the Premier endeavoured to rush a Rhodesian Appellate Jurisdiction Bill through the House, and was accused hotly by Rhodes of wanting in courtesy in not previously consulting either the Rhodesian Government or himself. Innes, on this occasion, supported him, and between them, after a warm debate, they forced the Premier to agree, though with a bad grace, to report progress. The debate was resumed on 5th December, when Rhodes, who was still sore, remarked, "The position taken up by the Prime Minister is such that it is hopeless to expect from him any consideration for the Territories with which I am connected."

The same day on the Meat Duties Bill the Government, on a division, could only muster thirty-six sup-

porters to thirty-six on the other side, and on the following day they were actually defeated, the votes being thirty-seven to thirty-six, Rhodes voting with the majority.

On several subsequent days an examination of *Hansard* shows that Rhodes was in attendance, and on 15th December he brought forward an important Motion for the prosecution of Irrigation Works, which Schreiner at first resisted, but, later, on his agreeing to introduce a Bill during the ensuing session, the Motion was withdrawn.

Rhodes's speech exhibited his far-sighted grasp of the most essential problem then and now facing the Cape Colony—the vital necessity for the conservation of water; and it is to be noted that this is the last occasion on which he addressed the House during the session.

On 19th December, on a question of reducing by £100,000 a vote for the Table Bay Harbour Works, the Government were defeated by thirty-two to twenty-eight, and four days later Parliament was prorogued by the Acting Administrator, leaving the Government battered and shaken, and apparently unable to carry any contentious business.

Before Parliament finally rose, Rhodes, having presented the city of Cape Town with a fine statue of Van Riebeeck, the first Dutch Governor, and completed his scheme for planting a settlement of loyal Fingoes in Rhodesia, with ten acres of land for every adult male, proceeded to Kimberley. There he applied himself to the selection of candidates for the new seats in the Assembly, and to preparing his defence to an election petition raised against his own return.

On 19th December, he presided at the annual meeting of De Beers Mines, and on 28th of the same month he again sailed for England in the mail steamer, arriving there on 14th January, 1899.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY (1899)

Importation of arms—Rhodes not a believer in war—Rhodes busy in London—Visits Egypt—Interview with the Kaiser at Berlin—Arrangements arrived at—Interview with King of the Belgians—Made D.C.L. by Oxford—Attends Chartered meeting—Overflow meeting—Rhodes back in Cape Town—Public addresses—House of Assembly—Rhodes speaks repeatedly—Growing uneasiness—Heated political debates—Renewed importation of arms—Exodus from the Rand—Cape Government weak and vacillating—Parliament dismissed.

TOWARDS the close of 1898 and partly as a result of the overthrow of the Progressive Ministry at the Cape, affairs in the Transvaal went from bad to worse. The Boers were now fully armed, and with rifles to spare for outside friends. No less than 147,000 Mauser rifles passed into the Republic in one year *via* Delagoa Bay (E. T. Cook), and on 28th December a Dutch paper, *De Rand Post*, openly advocated the shooting down of all critics of the Government. The anxieties and responsibilities of the High Commissioner, advised as he was by a Bond Government at the Cape, became overwhelming. A vast majority of Colonists now believed war to be inevitable, and it has always been an unexplained problem why Rhodes himself continued to express a contrary view—a view he backed with his money, and lost.

A then Cabinet Minister writes to me, "It was in

the year of the war, Rhodes and I met at Windsor on the occasion of the Royal County Show. We returned to London by the same train, and while the train was getting ready we walked up and down the platform together. Rhodes suddenly stopped, turned round and looked me in the face, and said, 'How much longer are you men (meaning the Cabinet of which I was a member) going to allow Kruger to humbug you? He is only bluffing, and if you were to employ your troops you could undoubtedly bring him to subjection.' This is interesting, as showing how little even he realised how serious the war would be."

In a cablegram to Beit (undated, but apparently despatched during 1899) he said, *inter alia*, "Kruger will yield everything the Home Government demand. The Cape Ministry are sitting tight. Our party will leave them alone as long as they leave the Governor alone, which I think is their policy. The Government are entirely in our hands, as we have a majority in the Legislative Council pledged to do as we require. We can even throw out Estimates in the Council, and the Government are not at all sure of the effect of another appeal to the country, as we have improved our position on registration. Remember that Kruger, if the Home Government are firm, will in the end give way. All they need do is to continue preparations as openly as possible. Nothing will make Kruger fire a shot."

This fallacious estimate of the real position is one of the curiosities of history, but it was deliberately made and must here be recorded. Many influential members of Dutch descent were undoubtedly striving for peace. Ex-President Reitz, writing to me on 10th January, said,

“May God grant your prayer for the growth everywhere in South Africa of peace and goodwill. With His help I shall strive to promote brotherly love amongst the different national elements that have made this Land of Good Hope their home.”

Peace, however, was not to be had, so long as the sinister figure of Dr. Leyds loomed large on the European horizon. His visits to various Chancelleries will perhaps some day afford the historian material for an interesting chapter.

On the 23rd January Rhodes wrote to me from the Burlington Hotel that the whole of the new issue of the Chartered Company had been enormously over-subscribed. He was less successful, however, in a strenuous effort he made to induce Her Majesty's Government to give a financial guarantee for the further prosecution of the Cape to Cairo Railway—a guarantee which would have enabled him to borrow money on easy terms. It was in connection with this abortive negotiation that he always subsequently described the then Chancellor of the Exchequer as a man of no imagination.

A private correspondent in London writing to me towards the end of January remarked, “Rhodes is in capital form, and back to the position he was in before the Raid. He has had the whole story about Gladstone, Rosebery and himself republished, which I regret, but he is so surrounded by people ready to lick his boots, that he is apt to have his better judgment warped. However, he is a great man and all will come right. He has settled many important matters, and talks of going to Egypt next month.”

The *Times* of about this date said of him, “Mr.

Rhodes's presence in England is now becoming a matter of annual recurrence. Every year, when the prorogation of the Cape Parliament sets the local politician free, the prosecution of larger schemes brings the statesman to the centre of the Empire. Each visit is connected with some special piece of work, and his visit this year is no exception to the rule. The dream of a complete line of British communications by railway and telegraph through Africa, from south to north, which ten years ago appeared to represent the imagination of a visionary, has by the late events in the valley of the Nile been brought within a measurable distance of realisation. The whole public is now able to perceive the goal at which Mr. Rhodes's Imperial ambition aimed when ten years ago he came to England for the purpose of obtaining a Royal Charter for the British South Africa Company. He told his friends then that the project in his mind was to unite South Africa locally by a federation of the Colonies and States, and to bind the federated entity to the Empire by a chain of British communications which should stretch unbroken from the Cape to Cairo. Reverses, obstacles and failures, in which he has openly acknowledged his own share of shortcoming, have but strengthened his determined grip upon the scheme of his life's work. All is not done, but his measure of success has been on the whole remarkable. The end has never been abandoned, and step by step advance is made towards its attainment. He confidently hopes to carry through the federation of the British States of South Africa in the near future, and the chain of communications by which the federated States are to be held in touch with British influence north of the Equator

approaches by practical stages to its completion.”

Early in February, 1899, Rhodes visited Egypt, and on his way back touched at Berlin on 10th March, where, on the following day, he was received by the Kaiser, with whom he had a forty minutes' audience. On the evening of 14th March he dined with the British Ambassador at the Embassy, both the Kaiser and Kaiserin being present, and on the following day an agreement was reached on the subject of the African Transcontinental Telegraph Company which, as he told an interviewer, he carried away in his pocket signed by himself for the Company, and by Richthofen, Von Buchka and Sydow for the German Government.

I imagine that a verbatim report of the interview between Rhodes and the Emperor will never see the light of day, but there is reason to believe that during their conversation the Emperor asked for his opinion of his famous “Kruger telegram” at the time of the Raid, and that Rhodes replied, “I will tell you, your Majesty, in a very few words. It was the greatest mistake you ever made in your life, but you did me the best turn one man ever did another. You see, I was a naughty boy, and you tried to whip me. Now, my people were quite ready to whip me for being a naughty boy, but directly *you* did it, they said, ‘No, if this is anybody's business, it is *ours*.’ The result was that your Majesty got yourself very much disliked by the English people, and I never got whipped at all!”

Be this as it may, Rhodes came away with a vivid impression of the Kaiser's great personality, and ever afterwards spoke of him with respect and admiration, and as a memento of the visit founded scholarships at

Oxford for German students, leaving the selection entirely in His Majesty's hands.

A correspondent writes to me: "At a visit which I paid to Sir F. Lascelles in April, 1899, he mentioned that the Emperor was delighted with Rhodes, and expressed strong regret that he was not his Prime Minister, called him a reasonable man, and said he offered every guarantee before it was required, and thus left nothing to be demanded. He added that he was in favour of according Rhodes hearty support in his scheme for carrying his Cape to Cairo line across German territory, but his Ministers could not rely on the Reichstag, which was not yet permeated by an Imperial spirit."

It was on the morning after this dinner that Rhodes received the following brief note, "SIR,—By command of His Majesty the Emperor I have the honour to send you the accompanying portrait.—PLATEN."

Finally, however, later in the year, an agreement was arrived at between Germany and the British South Africa Company, dated Berlin, 28th October, 1899, and signed by Von Bulow. The terms were as follows:—

1. In the event of the Company constructing a line across its western boundary or through Bechuanaland at any point south of 14th degree S. latitude, such crossing of the boundary shall only take place at a point of the British-German boundary S. of the degree of latitude agreed upon: so that the continuation of the Company's railway system to the West African coast, S. of the 14th degree, shall always pass through German territory.
2. Germany to be bound to link up the rails, in default of which the Company to have the right to build on German territory to the coast.

3. The B.S.A. Company not to connect with the coast north of the 14th degree S. latitude before the other connection is carried out.
- 4, 5. Contain provisions for a transit duty.

Rhodes's representative in Bulawayo writes to me that for various reasons the project for a Dam in the Matopo range hung fire for a while, but he adds, "In February, 1899, I received the following laconic letter from Mr. Rhodes from the Savoy Hotel, Cairo:—

"DEAR MACDONALD,—I have seen what water can do when it has brains and energy behind it. Begin the Matopo Dam at once. This letter is authority for Michell to finance you. The work is left entirely to you. Begin at once and have it ready for next season's rains. We must not let any floods go to waste. The contracts are left to you; you have my authority to go to work at once.'"

While on the Continent, Rhodes also had an interview with the late King of the Belgians, but found him an impracticable man to deal with. His letter to an exalted person, describing his interviews with both monarchs, would make interesting reading were publication permissible.

On his return to England Rhodes saw a good deal of Lord Kitchener, of whose powers of organisation he held a very high opinion. They were in the habit of riding together in the Park of a morning, and in the month of June they were at Oxford together receiving their D.C.L. Degree amid the most enthusiastic scenes on the part of the undergraduates.

On 2nd May an extraordinary general meeting of the

British South Africa Company was held, to enable Rhodes to meet the shareholders and lay before them his views as to the future policy and prospects of the Company. Shareholders began to arrive at the Cannon Street Hotel soon after seven o'clock in the morning, and at noon, when the meeting was announced to be held, there was not a vacant seat in the great hall. A large force of the City police were in attendance. On the arrival of the directors, headed by the Duke of Abercorn, who was followed by Rhodes, an extraordinary demonstration of enthusiasm occurred, which was repeated when the latter rose to speak.

In his opening sentences he declared that just before a speech such as he was about to make and to such a vast audience, he was the most unhappy man alive, and could feel sympathy with those of our forefathers who, in accordance with custom, made an oration on the scaffold just prior to their execution. It was a strange remark if we remember that, although he lived for another three years, this was his dying speech and confession, for he was never able to address his shareholders again. The speech will be found in "Vindex," and I will only subjoin the following extract respecting his recent interview with the Kaiser.

"But I was fortunate in this through the kindness of the German people—(cheers)—and owing to the character of the German Emperor, who, whatever might have been his feelings in the past as to certain little incidents—(laughter)—which resulted very unsatisfactorily to myself—(laughter)—and which he deemed it right to censure, is still a broad-minded man. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, when it came to the question of the development of

Africa, and when I appealed to him in connection with the portion of Africa which is under his rule, he met one with a breadth of mind which was admirable, and afforded one every help to carry out one's plans—(cheers)—while duly safeguarding the interests of his people. I signed an agreement with his Minister within three days, providing for the telegraph line being extended throughout his territory, and though at the end of forty years the line passes into the possession of the Germans, still they are willing to maintain our through line at actual cost. (Cheers.) It was a most just bargain on their part, because the custom of Europe is to levy blackmail in connection with every telegraph that passes through it, ably assisted by those of our own people who have invested their money in telegraphs.

“You may have noticed that Mr. Henniker Heaton has moved for a Committee in the House of Commons on this question, and you would be simply appalled at the telegraph charges which exist in the world. This enormous monopoly has risen up, and I am glad to see that some of our friends in the House of Commons are turning their attention to it. But in connection with the agreement I have mentioned, the German Emperor charged nothing for through telegraphy excepting the cost of the maintenance of the line. (Loud cheers.) I think that that is satisfactory, especially when you think that a few years ago this telegraph in Africa was considered a ‘wild-cat scheme.’ (Laughter.) It is no wild-cat scheme nowadays; if it was, I am sure that the German Emperor would not have lent himself to it. The question, however, is how soon will it be completed, and

I think it will be three years; but I wish to point out to you that you will share in the result of that from a mercantile point of view, while the limit of demand on you for having a share in it will be confined to that which relates to your own territory."

He afterwards dealt thus with the pregnant lesson that the rich but misgoverned Transvaal could not borrow money in Europe, although it was freely obtained by Rhodesia:

"There is a neighbouring State to us producing £17,000,000 of gold per annum; and what has it been doing? It has been around every Bourse in Europe for the last two years to borrow £2,000,000, and what is the result? That it cannot do it. (Loud cheers.) It is causing unrest in Africa, and it will do so until those people who have been invited to develop the wealth of that country share in its civil rights. (Cheers.) There is a picture for you—a picture for the people of England. We, a small and new State, have obtained during the last seven weeks—including the funds necessary for administration, which were obtained shortly before that—nearly £10,000,000, while our friends adjoining us producing £17,000,000 per annum, cannot get a State loan of £2,000,000 anywhere. Some of you may say that it is sentiment with us, but it is not sentiment with Berlin and Paris. (Cheers.) It is a matter of practical common-sense, and until our friends have changed their system they will not get European money. (Cheers.)

"I have said in simple language that the duty of our people is to occupy and administer new territories, and work up the wealth of those territories and distribute it throughout the world. I think that we have

adopted this principle. At any rate we have obligations in every part of the world, and we have not lost our knack of administration. I can remember well talking to Mr. Gladstone about the various countries we have annexed, and he said, 'My fear is that we have not the people to administer them.' I replied, 'There is no fear of that; if you will only take the countries, you will find people who are capable of administering them.' (Cheers.) This view was brought home to me only the other day. I went to Egypt, where there are 8,000,000 of people governed by one man—Lord Cromer. (Cheers.) Civil administration, defence, irrigation, justice, he has to attend to it all, and in connection with all he is equally competent. (Loud cheers.) We have not lost our capacity for administering new countries, especially if they are occupied by what are called the subject races."

Rhodes subsequently found it imperative to address an overflow meeting on the staircase of the Hotel, where he was received with the same enthusiasm, and had to be escorted to his office by the police, the crowd showing no disposition to melt away, though it was long after the usual luncheon hour in the city.

While Rhodes was addressing his shareholders in London, the High Commissioner, who had returned to Cape Town, was penning his famous Despatch of 4th May, in which he gave a masterly presentation of the serious grievances of British subjects in the Transvaal, which led up to the Bloemfontein Conference (31st May to 5th June), on the failure of which war became inevitable.

Towards the end of June, a Kimberley correspondent

informed me that there was an uneasy feeling current there as to coming events, and that De Beers Mines were quietly preparing for the worst.

About the same date a Pretoria correspondent wrote that the situation there was critical, and that unless prominent Afrikanders like Steyn, Hofmeyr and Fischer, would come up at once and urge moderation on the President, a struggle was bound to ensue.

Meanwhile Rhodes returned to the Cape by the steamer *Scot*, arriving on 18th July. During the voyage he had thought much on his Will, and its Scholarship provisions, and addressed a letter thereon to one of his friends, who was subsequently a Trustee of his Estate.

On 20th July he attended a mass meeting at the Municipal Hall, Claremont, when he received addresses from a large number of public bodies. His speech covered a wide range and dealt with all the great South African questions of the day, venturing on a prophecy which has since been fulfilled, that the moment all white inhabitants of the various South African States were granted equal rights there would be a Federal Union. Referring to the Transvaal, he said, "I should feel alarmed if the Czar were moving on Peking, or the French on the Niger territories or Fashoda, but when I am told that President Kruger is causing trouble, I cannot really think about it. It is too ridiculous. If you tell me the natives of Samoa are giving anxiety to H. M. Government, then I will discuss the proposition that the Transvaal is a danger to our Empire."

He was to be speedily undeceived.

On 14th July Parliament had been opened by Sir Alfred Milner, whose address was noticeable mainly for

the fact that all references to the Transvaal were studiously omitted. Four days later, Sprigg pointedly inquired whether the Government proposed to submit to the House any motion having reference to the situation of affairs in the South African Republic.

Schreiner, in reply, read a Resolution of the House, dated April, 1897, to the effect that peace could best be assured by the reciprocal observance of all obligations under Treaties, Conventions, and other agreements. The answer begged the question, but it served and the matter dropped.

On 26th July, in a debate on the Rhodesia Customs Duties Collection Bill, Rhodes, amid cheers, drew attention to the fact that the products of the Cape entered Rhodesia free of charge, whereas Cape products seeking a market in the Transvaal were heavily taxed. The debate was continued on 31st July, when Rhodes again spoke with force and effect.

On 4th August, in the Budget Debate, he said he was confident as to the growth of the Colonial Railway revenue, provided the Transvaal question were settled, and he added, "I am confident it will be settled—if the Imperial Government stands firm—and in two months, without firing a shot, assuming moderation on both sides." He resumed his seat amid general cheers.

On 8th August, Schreiner made a violent attack on Rhodes, apparently for having described the atmosphere of the House as that of a human pigsty; but, in truth, the session throughout was one of unbridled turbulence, singularly at variance with the decorum generally prevailing in the Assembly.

On 22nd August, Rhodes again spoke on his favourite

subject. "As for the Transvaal question," he said, "I am perfectly clear that, as I have said before, there is going to be no bloodshed (cheers). If Kruger is a sensible man, he will climb down in the end, and there will be a settlement. The less we deal with that question in the House the better. Many of us have been burnt over it. (Laughter and cheers.) Many say the Transvaal must be an English-speaking community. Once the settlement is over, we shall be better friends in South Africa." (Cheers.)

In the division that ensued, the consolidated Dutch vote went with the Government, who won by a majority of ten. The action of the House, of course, hardened Kruger's heart.

It may be mentioned here that Mr. Harry Escombe, one of the leading statesmen in Natal, shared the views expressed by Rhodes. Writing to him on 4th September, 1899, Escombe said, "My hope and belief is that Kruger will yield sufficiently to avert war, though not with a good grace."

On 24th August, in an attack by Merriman on Rhodes, there was a violent scene, and even a Dutch supporter of the Government was moved to say, amid cheers, that he regretted the Treasurer should have spoken as he had, and hoped he would long remember the lesson he had received.

The next day, in reply to a question by Sprigg as to the quantity of arms and ammunition removed from the Colony to the Republic since 1st July, Schreiner admitted that the public were alarmed, especially by a large removal of arms to the Free State on the 16th July, but pleaded that he was trying in his own feeble way to do

his duty in not very easy times and circumstances, and as a loyal and earnestly devoted subject of Her Majesty. It was a pathetic speech of a good man struggling with adversity and unequal to the task.

On the same day Rhodes made an excellent speech, free from rancour, on the taxation proposals of the Government.

On 28th August, Sprigg returned to the charge on the subject of the removal of arms, stating that in seven weeks 1,253,000 cartridges, 1100 guns, besides other munitions of war, had been permitted by Government to enter the Orange Free State from the Colony. He pointed out that even the Portuguese authorities at Delagoa Bay had acted more stringently. It was a statesman-like and impressive utterance, to which for a while there was no reply, until goaded by speeches from a succession of Opposition members, Schreiner at last arose and, as a diversion, attacked Rhodes, who had not spoken at all. Great uproar ensued, and with a view to tranquilising an angry House, the Prime Minister finally read the following telegram from the President of the Orange Free State:

“With reference to the discussion regarding the importation of arms and ammunition for the Orange Free State, I believe that no assurance from any side is necessary to contradict the ridiculous, false, and malicious reports that there exists in the mind of this Government or this people any intention or contemplation of taking up weapons in any aggressive or offensive manner, against the British Government or any British colony or territory (Ministerial cheers). It is now as always our fixed principle that the Free State will never have

recourse to weapons otherwise than when attacked or in defence of its rights, or in support, or in fulfilment of its obligations (Opposition cries of 'Oh'). I utter the desire of the whole of our people when I say that no means will be left untried by me to preserve peace in South Africa. I see no reason why those points of difference between the British Government and the South African Republic cannot be settled by peaceful methods and I remain of the conviction that to have recourse to arms upon differences such as those which exist, would be to commit an offence against civilisation." (Ministerial cheers).

The Prime Minister went on to express his belief that this was a message of peace and not a message of war, and he therefore declined to do more than watch the further removal of arms. Yet he was within a few weeks of the launch of the Boer ultimatum, followed by the immediate siege of Kimberley!

A passionate debate followed. The House seemed charged with electricity. It was left to a shrewd private member to point out that President Steyn distinctly stated that he would fight to fulfil obligations, *i.e.* obligations to the Transvaal, such as had already been contracted.

Schreiner finally tendered an apology to Rhodes, and, after Sprigg had drawn attention to the offensive and defensive alliance between the two Republics, the matter dropped, leaving a feeling of dismay in the minds of all loyalists.

On 30th August another heated debate took place on the alleged use of Transvaal Secret Service money during the recent Cape elections. Rhodes spoke at some length and averred that his opponent at Barkly West,

a poor man, had been fed from that source; that he came, like a swallow, from Pretoria, and, when defeated, flew back there. He admitted having been sued for the statement, when the plaintiff claimed heavy damages, but was awarded £5.

Colonel Schermbrucker specifically mentioned another constituency in which Transvaal money had been disbursed, and, after recrimination all round, the subject was allowed to drop.

The next day Rhodes, in more conciliatory mood, besought the House to get back to the practical business of the country, and his intervention expedited the passing of the Partial Appropriation Bill. The next day, on a Division, the Government had a majority of 7.

On 4th September there was a debate on the continued exodus coastwise of the inhabitants of the Transvaal, and Sprigg drew attention to an alleged further removal of rifles from the Colony, but the Premier denied having granted the necessary permit.

On the same day, on the Parliamentary Voters' Registration Bill, Rhodes is reported in Hansard as saying that Schreiner, contrary to all his professions, was seeking to disfranchise the natives. "Under one of the clauses," he said, "a regular examination has to be gone through (Cheers), and that means the absolute disqualification of every native. . . . (Cheers.) I am surprised to see the Attorney-General lending himself to this clause. . . . You have drafted a Bill which disqualifies the native voter and I wish the natives to wake up to the fact. . . . I shall fight this clause to the end."

On 8th September, on the Grant of Lands to Native

Chiefs Bill, Rhodes—always interested in native affairs—spoke with effect on the policy and advantage of keeping faith with natives. On 18th September he again spoke earnestly in defence of the native vote, and reasserted his belief in the principle of equal rights to every civilised man irrespective of colour. On a Division, however, the Government carried the anti-native clause by a majority of 11, all the Dutch supporting Schreiner, and all the English supporting Rhodes and Innes.

But though now completely out of touch with the Dutch of the Cape Colony, his settlers of that nationality in Rhodesia adhered to him. On 15th September he received the following telegram, "From Dutch settlers, Melsetter. Kruger's attitude and policy strongly condemned by our community here. You may place confidence in our fidelity."

On 27th September, on the Voters' Bill, the Government majority fell to 9, afterwards rising to 13, but their principal financial measure was thrown out by the Legislative Council.

On 3rd October, when the shadows of impending war were deepening, a private member moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, steps should be taken to ensure the return to the Colonial side of the Orange River of all Colonial Railway Locomotive and Rolling Stock now running on the Netherlands and Free State lines." Sauer replied that he had tried to get his trucks back but had received evasive answers, and an official return showed that while the Cape held only 187 trucks of other Administrations, they had 535 of ours.

The House, now thoroughly alarmed, passed the resolution unanimously, but it was too late. During the

war that ensued, not only were the Burghers armed with rifles obtained from the Cape, but they entrained for the front in trucks belonging to the Cape Railways.

On 5th October the Orange Free State seized 800 tons of coal *en route* to the Colony, and though it was subsequently released, the blow fell a day or two later when the Transvaal authorities boarded the down train and forcibly removed raw gold to the value of half a million sterling, and robbed the mails of a further £45,000.

On 6th October Rhodes spoke on the Finance Bill—a final utterance. I do not find that he again attended any sitting of the House.

On 12th October Sir Alfred Milner dismissed Parliament, and Schreiner, in a parting speech, enunciated the remarkable doctrine that his efforts would be directed to prevent the Colony from being involved in the vortex of war—a declaration of neutrality which must have sounded oddly in the ears of loyal subjects of the Crown throughout the Empire. The House broke up in impotent wrath. Its conflicting ideals had paralysed its usefulness and this was perhaps the least satisfactory session in its long and hitherto unblemished career.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE SIEGE OF KIMBERLEY (1899)

Preparations for defence—A lion cub returned without thanks—Orange Free State and Transvaal drawing together—Against protests, Rhodes throws himself into Kimberley—Boer Ultimatum—Martial Law—Attacks and sorties—Scott-Turner killed—Labram makes "Long Cecil"—Boers reply with "Long Tom"—Labram killed—Garrison resume the offensive—Furious fighting—General French arrives—Boers in retreat—Anecdotes.

THIS, as I have said, is not a history of South Africa, nor is it a history of the Boer War, nor even a chronicle of the siege of Kimberley, save in regard to the connection of Rhodes with that episode.

That a struggle was impending had for months been the fixed conviction of the vast majority of South African colonists. Rhodes, judged by his utterances, and Schreiner, by his actions, were notable exceptions.

So far back as 11th July the Queensland Government had offered the services of a contingent—a forecast of the enthusiastic support afforded later on to Great Britain by her Colonies, the significance of which was apparently overlooked at Pretoria.

On 19th July the Natal Parliament, untroubled by the racial divisions which paralysed that of the Cape, passed a unanimous resolution to stand by the mother country. No idle talk of neutrality marred their loyal action.

On 1st September several of the leading members of the Johannesburg press were placed under arrest, and

a week later 10,000 troops were ordered to South Africa. The inhabitants of Kimberley, unlike the Cape Premier, profoundly distrusted the assurances of President Steyn, and they sent Schreiner the following blunt telegram:—

“If you cannot, or will not, protect us, give us arms and we will protect ourselves.”

The answer received was to this effect:—

“There is no reason whatever for apprehending that Kimberley is or will be in any danger of attack and your fears are therefore groundless.”

Foiled in this direction, the Town appealed to the High Commissioner, nor was the appeal in vain. Major Scott-Turner had already been sent up by His Excellency to draw up a plan of defence and organise a Town Guard. On 13th September Lieutenant-Colonel R. G. Kekewich arrived and took over the command. Kimberley would have been even more anxious than it was had the cables of that date between Leyds and the President been public property, but they were not published till they appeared in the *Volkstem* in November, 1908.

Early in September Leyds had stated that Europe wondered why the Transvaal was losing time, and on 27th of that month he expressly advised the issue of an ultimatum, to be followed by an attack before England was ready.

On 15th September a Burgher of the Orange Free State, with British sympathies, wrote to me, “I have sent my children to the Colony and there is a black mark

to my name. The feeling has intensified enormously since you passed through, and men who were anxious for peace are now clamouring for war. The strain is more than the country can stand for long, and our Mausers will soon go off by themselves."

An incident during September has its humorous side. Rhodes, whether out of pure good nature or with a spice of irony, had presented the Pretoria Zoological Gardens with a fine lion cub. He now received the following amusing reply:—

"PRETORIA, DEN 25th September, 1899.

"The Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes,

"The Grange, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.

"SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that my Government and my Committee are highly displeased at my lion transaction concluded with you at your house on Friday, September 15th; they have forbidden me to keep the lion, and have ordered me to return it to you. I have made arrangements for feeding the lion well on the road down, and hope it will arrive in good condition.

"I regret exceedingly I accepted your generous offer, which I could have known would not be favourably received by my countrymen; but only my great desire to acquire the animal for our local Zoo, made me forget all existing differences.—I have the honour to be, Sir,
Yours obediently, (Sgd.) DR. J. W. R. GUNNING,

"Director of the State Museum."

On 27th September the Orange Free State Volksraad by resolution agreed to stand by the Transvaal, though curiously enough five days later President Steyn sent

another very pacific telegram to the High Commissioner.

Kimberley, however, was now thoroughly aroused, and strenuous efforts were made, not indeed by the Government, but by the townspeople, to put the place in a position of defence. The volunteers were called out on 4th October, and on the following day the Town Guard and the Diamond Fields Artillery began to muster.

Rhodes, while still sitting in the House of Assembly, received the following letter from a colleague in Kimberley:—

“KIMBERLEY, 1st Oct., 1899.

“DEAR MR. RHODES,—I hear you are thinking of coming up to Kimberley about the end of this week. I have been thinking it over and the result is that I am writing you this note. I am not an alarmist, but I really think you should not think of coming up until the storm has passed. You know the Boers say everything *ill* that happens you are the cause of and the coming war is put down to your account.

“We have heard more than once that there are men who, when war is declared, will be only too glad of the chance of murdering you.

“The whole world knows how you risked your life in the Matopos while we in fear and trembling were afraid you might stop a Matabele bullet. Now is it wise to run any unnecessary risk?

“You have laid out a programme that *no* one but yourself can carry out. If anything should happen to you it would be a cause of rejoicing to a few thousands of ignorant Boers, but would cause world-wide sorrow, and would be a great national calamity.

“Everything that we can do will be done to protect the Company’s property, and if our men have the chance they will show what they can do in the fighting line.

“I am writing as I feel so you must please pardon me.”

Many other representations, official and private, were made to him to the same effect, as Kimberley feared that the presence of their formidable townsman in their midst might accentuate the Boer attack, as it probably did. The following telegram reached him on 4th October:—

*“From Mayor, Kimberley, to Rt. Hon. C. J. Rhodes,
Rondebosch.*

“Confidential. Citizens generally feel that your presence here would serve to induce a rush with view to do the town, your Company, and all our joint interests great damage. Under all circumstances would ask you kindly to postpone coming in order to avert any possible risks.”

His private secretary urged me to add my entreaties to those of other friends, which I did, until Rhodes put it to me on a point of honour. Kimberley, he said, had made him: was he, in its hour of distress, to be absent “from its midst?” I could say no more, and he went.

The Boer ultimatum is dated 9th October and was to expire at 5 P. M. on Wednesday, the 11th of the month. On the evening of the 9th, Rhodes and his friend, Dr. Smart, slipped away from Groote Schuur without giving notice to the guests staying in the house, and entrained at a wayside station without being observed. Their train was due to arrive in Kimberley an hour or two before

the expiry of the Ultimatum, but owing to a slight accident *en route*, they were several hours late, and, as the Boers were already closing in, they narrowly escaped capture.

It may be said at once that Kimberley was safe all through the siege from direct assault, for it numbered among its defenders 4500 good shots, and its capture would have entailed a much larger loss of life to the Boers than they were prepared to face. But the aggregate of its inhabitants, white and black, was roughly 45,000, and it ran great risk of being starved into submission. Its perimeter of defence exceeded eight miles, in addition to which it became necessary to hold the Premier Mine, another mine three miles away, as the town's only permanent water supply came from there. There was also the possibility of being shelled into surrender, but the place was known to the besiegers to be heavily mined and they were therefore content to keep their distance.

On 15th October, martial law was proclaimed by the officer commanding, and Rhodes tackled the difficult problem of how to keep 25,000 natives out of mischief. Those who cared to risk slipping through the Boer lines were encouraged to do so: the others were set to work to plant trees, make roads and clear ground for the erection of future suburbs. Strict discipline was maintained, and everybody placed on half rations: hospitals and soup kitchens were improvised, and all prominent buildings sand-bagged.

Throughout October the pressure by the Boers gradually increased, and in November the garrison found that the investment was complete. Rhodes still occa-

sionally found an adventurous spirit to renew communication with the outer world, and rumours of relief ever and again deluded the town into the temporary hope that succour was at hand.

On 4th November Commandant Wessels summoned the garrison to surrender, and Colonel Kekewich in Homeric vein bade him march in if he could. The bombardment thereupon commenced, and it was judged necessary to make vigorous sorties from time to time, some of which led to the acquisition of both prisoners and provisions; but on 28th November the able and fearless second in command, Major Scott-Turner, was killed, to the lasting regret of Rhodes, by whom he was highly esteemed.

December was a month of gloom. The civil and military officers did not pull well together after Turner's death. Rhodes was the life and soul of the defence, but he was apt to forget that Colonel Kekewich was responsible to the Commander-in-Chief and could not delegate his authority even to a Privy Councillor. The De Beers Company spent money lavishly, only a small portion of which was subsequently repaid to them. Rhodes, with Dr. Smart, and a few personal friends, went the rounds daily, and his escapes were very numerous, as he persisted, in spite of protest, in wearing a conspicuous white suit. His favourite question to any fagged and anxious official was, "Do you want anything?" Naturally replies were seldom in the negative. As a rule requirements were easily met, but on one occasion an artillery officer said, "Yes, I want forty-three horses, sixty-two mules, seven waggons and four carts, to make my guns mobile." He was rather surprised

three days later to hear that they had all been delivered at his camp.

It is, of course, well known that the Boer artillery outclassed ours at the sieges of Ladysmith and Kimberley, and hence the prophets of evil consistently predicted the fall of both those places. A London friend writing to me late in December, remarked, "I am dreadfully anxious about Rhodes. All the officials of the War Office and outsiders combine in saying that Kimberley must fall. I refuse to believe it or contemplate the consequences, but people are already discounting the effect on the market of anything happening to Rhodes. It is agreed on all hands, that such a tragedy would send chartered shares below par."

This refers to a current rumour that Rhodes, if captured, would be shot. I venture to characterise this as a baseless calumny. There are hot-heads in every camp, and judgment, not mercy, is the dominant note in war; but the Boers are a kindly people and, on the whole, they conducted the campaign with a moderation and restraint that is seldom to be found in the ranks of the most civilised and best disciplined armies on the continent of Europe. The following telegram, however, was afterwards picked up in Cronje's laager at Paardeberg.

"October 19th, 1899.

"From Pretoria, Swemmer, to Express, Bloemfontein.

"I trust my Free State brothers will not allow Rhodes to escape out of Kimberley. Your brothers on this side of the Vaal are standing firmly and watching. May God help us and the Free State to cast off the yoke of the English for good. For this purpose we offer, with God's help, property and blood."

During December Rhodes had close conference with one of his American engineers, Labram by name. He appreciated to the full the competence and resourcefulness of trained Americans. His general manager, Mr. Gardiner Williams, who was one of them, proved a tower of strength throughout the siege. Labram was another. As the result of much discussion, he offered to construct a powerful gun. He had no expert knowledge in any of the numerous processes involved, he had not even the necessary tools: but he was a man of genius and Rhodes was another and the De Beers workshops, then standing idle, were at his disposal. On 27th December, "Long Cecil" was put in hand, and on 19th January, 1910, it was sending heavy shells into the Boer camps "with C. J. Rhodes's compliments." The incident has been narrated by abler pens than mine. It was a *tour de force*, a veritable triumph of mechanical genius over what appeared insurmountable obstacles, and it put heart into the somewhat despondent garrison. The Boer reply came on 8th February, when a sensation was caused by the besiegers, after incredible exertions, bringing a 6-in. Creusot gun to play upon the town. The next day Labram was killed and buried at night, amid a tornado of shot and shell. There was for a while a panic in the town, but Rhodes was equal to the occasion. The banks were closed, the people betook themselves to "dug-outs" in the débris heaps. On Sunday, 11th February, a notice appeared, signed by Rhodes, offering shelter to women and children in the shafts and galleries of the mines. Food, light, and guides were provided and ere sunset, 2500 people were accommodated some hundreds of feet below ground.

One incident of the siege must here, in defence of Rhodes, be touched on. On 10th February he and the Mayor handed in a message to Colonel Kekewich deprecating further delay in relieving the town. In some manner, never satisfactorily explained, the summary transmitted to Lord Roberts conveyed the impression that the town had decided to surrender, and the reply of the Field-Marshal was an earnest entreaty to hold out to the last. But there was no shadow of a threat to surrender in the original message.

On 14th February the garrison, far from losing heart, made an effective sortie and occupied Alexandersfontein, three miles away. The Boers brought up their artillery, and the struggle was furious and prolonged, but the garrison maintained the position. It is curious to note that their last movement was an offensive and not a defensive one. On 15th February—the 124th day of the siege—at 2:30 P. M., a large mounted force was seen approaching from the south-east. An Australian officer was the first to enter Kimberley, closely followed by a war correspondent, and shortly after 7 o'clock, General French was conferring with Rhodes at the Sanatorium. The long agony was over: the Boers were in full retreat, and the inhabitants of Kimberley had written one further inscription on the glorious roll of national history.

It was a characteristic note of the general confidence in Rhodes that, during the very crisis of the siege, a letter reached him from a neighbouring village, appealing to him for armed assistance, as they had "been left defenceless by the Government"; and another letter of sympathy from outside, the writer of which, though a

hard business man, signed himself, "With undying attachment, your most devoted servant." Who will say that, even in these prosaic days, sentiment counts for nothing? Even from the women entombed in the depths of the Kimberley Mine came the cheering message, "Thanks for your many kindnesses received. We hope you are safe and well."

Safe indeed, but far from well, and never again to be well in this world. Undaunted in spirit, but broken in health and surrounded by many anxieties, Rhodes emerged from Kimberley a chastened, shattered man, with the sentence of death—a sentence of God and not of man—visibly imprinted upon him.

CHAPTER XXXVII

NEARING THE END (1900)

After the siege—Rhodes on Federation—Native Franchise—Lord Roberts on Rhodes—Addresses and appreciations—Supper at Oriel—Mining work resumed—Letter to Archbishop—Milner and Rhodes—Visit to England—Sir Frank Lascelles—Returns to the Cape—Visit to Rhodesia—Fall of Schreiner—Veiled disloyalty—Sir Gordon Sprigg—Jameson a candidate—Letters from supporters—South African League—Rhodes on Mugwumps—Donation to Cathedral—Cession of Barotsi territory.

A FEW days after the relief of Kimberley, Rhodes will be found presiding there at the Annual Meeting of the De Beers Consolidated Mines. The meeting had been first called for the 27th November, 1899, but thrice postponed owing to the exigencies of war.

His speech (23rd February, 1900) deserves attention. His political sagacity had returned to him. Until the Ultimatum was launched, he held the view that President Kruger was "bluffing" the British Government. He now recognised, with clearer vision, that the war, by solving many problems, would lead to South African Federation. The peace of Vereeniging was not yet in sight, but he expressed a very definite conviction that it was near at hand, and would usher in the union of South Africa.

"All contention will be over," he said, "with the recognition of equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambesi. That principle, for which we have been so long striving, is the crux of the present struggle, and my belief is that, when the war is over, a large

My motto is
equal rights for every civilized man
South of the Zambezi

What is a civilized man?
A man whether white or black who has
sufficient education to write his name, ^{has some property or work.} _{'is fact is not a law' L. J. Rhodes}

number of the Dutch in this country will throw in their lot with us on this basis, that neither race shall claim any right of preference over the other. We have no feeling against them. We have lived with them, shot with them, visited with them, and we find, owing I suppose to the race affinity, that there is not much difference between us. But they have been misled in Pretoria and Bloemfontein, and even in Cape Town."

Although his speech, on the face of it, dealt mainly with the two white races, he adhered without flinching to his old formula that an educated coloured man should be permitted, if otherwise qualified, to exercise the franchise. When approached shortly afterwards by the coloured community on this point, he wrote his views, characteristically enough, on a scrap of newspaper, of which a facsimile is subjoined.

In this speech at Kimberley he used the phrase that for

all commercial undertakings the best asset in the world was Her Majesty's flag. Opponents endeavoured to twist this into an expression of rank materialism, but, of course, his meaning was not open to misconstruction on the part of any one possessing even a low average of ability. His shareholders were not exclusively British. Many thousands of them were subjects of France and Germany, who must be acquitted of any sentimental desire to promote the expansion of our Empire, but whose interests lay in supporting the authority of a pure and honest system of government. To them, from amid the débris of a battered but unconquered Kimberley, Rhodes addressed the pregnant question, "Under which administration do you prefer to carry on your business: under the oligarchic rule of the Transvaal, or the just and capable jurisdiction of Great Britain?" And he answered his own question by asserting that nowhere in the world is a mercantile corporation surer of equitable treatment than under the British flag.

The truth of his answer is demonstrated by the fact that in every British Colony a large number of German and other Continental subjects reside and flourish under our rule without abating one jot of their affection for the country of their birth.

The efforts of Rhodes to keep the flag flying were recognised, even in despite of their differences, by Colonel Kekewich in his Despatch of 15th February, 1900, and by Lord Roberts, who, in a Despatch dated 20th March, wrote: "I would add that the citizens of Kimberley seem to have rendered valuable assistance. By the active part which he took in raising the Kimberley Light Horse and in providing horses for all the mounted troops in Kim-

berley, Mr. Rhodes, in particular, contributed materially to the successful defence of the place."

The inhabitants of Kimberley were even more emphatic. The ministers of all the Free Churches addressed him as follows:—

"KIMBERLEY, 5th March, 1900.

"DIAMOND FIELDS MINISTERS' ASSOCIATION.

"*To the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, Kimberley.*

"DEAR SIR,—On behalf of the European, Coloured and Native Congregations to which we minister, we desire to express our hearty thanks to you and the Company of which you are the head, for all that you have done for the town during the four months' siege which has so recently been brought to a close.

"We feel that the town owes you far more than we can express. But we should not like the occasion to pass without assuring you of our appreciation and admiration of what you have done for the defence and comfort of the inhabitants during this time of severe trial. We are glad to know that a lasting memorial of Kimberley's gratitude is to be erected in the town. Meanwhile we venture to bear our testimony to the generosity and resourcefulness which you have manifested on our behalf. —We beg to remain, yours faithfully,

(*Sgd.*) JAMES SCOTT, Wesleyan Methodist Church.

C. MEYER, Lutheran Church.

W. H. RICHARDS, Presbyterian Minister.

HARRIS ISAACS, Jewish.

JOHN GIFFORD, Baptist Minister.

WILLIAM PESCOD, Wesleyan Methodist Church.

ARTHUR GEO. RENIER, Congregational Minister.

JOSEPH WARD, Wesleyan Methodist Church.

PETER MILNE, B.D., Presbyterian Minister,
Beaconsfield.

A. J. LICHENBERG, Dutch Reformed Minister.

WILLIAM H. IRVING, Wesleyan Methodist
Church.

J. S. MORRIS, Wesleyan Minister, Beaconsfield."

The Malay community also sent him the subjoined address:—

"Thanks to the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes,
P.C., M.L.A.

"From the Mahommedan Community residing in the
Kimberley Electoral Division.

"HONOURED SIR,—We, the undersigned, representing the whole of the Mahommedan Communities residing in the electoral Division of Kimberley, viz.: Kimberley and Du Toits Pan townships, feel deeply the debt of gratitude we owe you who, with the assistance of Almighty God, came generously to our aid, when through the ill-advised and cruel action of the enemies of our beloved and gracious Queen we were laid under siege and deprived of all our accustomed means of securing a livelihood for ourselves and our wives and children, and all who are dependent on us for their daily bread.

"We all feel deeply and sincerely grateful to you, for we know that beyond question it is to your goodness of heart, coming forward as you did at a moment when starvation was staring us in the face, and providing us with work so that we could earn bread for ourselves and those dependent on us—and this too at a great cost of

money, and expenditure of thought to yourself. We see in this the hand of God guiding you, and our prayer is that the great God may help you and the great work which you have undertaken in South Africa, giving you health and vigor to pursue that great work, and conferring his blessing and favour on the work at every step.

“We regard you as a father, caring for the lives and welfare of the Malay people, defending them from the attacks, the very cruel attacks, made upon them by warlike savages during the long period of the siege. And believe us, Honoured Sir, you will be remembered in all our prayers, public and private, to Almighty God, to the end of our existence.

“It will always be met with thanksgiving to hear of your welfare, health and happiness, and to be assured that your great work is progressing well and effecting the glorious object you have in view.

“We have the honour to subscribe ourselves for and on behalf of the Mahommedan Community.—Your humble and obedient servants,

CHIEF PRIESTS OF BEACONSFIELD.

CHIEF PRIESTS OF KIMBERLEY.

PRIEST OF KIMBERLEY.

PRIEST OF KIMBERLEY.

SECOND PRIEST, KIMBERLEY.”

Nor was Rhodes forgotten across the water. On 21st February a friendly Don wrote to him from Oxford:—

“We had a big supper at Oriel at the end of last term to celebrate our winning the Association Football Cup. In proposing the health of the team, I alluded to the pleasure it would give Oriel men all over the world, *not*

forgetting one at Kimberley. Then they stood up and cheered and cheered and cheered again."

The *Evening Citizen*, a Glasgow paper, said a little later: "Mr. Rhodes's services during the siege are scarcely yet appreciated at their proper value. In big things, as in little, it was he who kept Kimberley together. While chicken and such-like delicacies lasted, he gave up his daily ration to the sick in hospital. He himself equipped four-fifths of the garrison, and his soup kitchen daily fed 10,000 people. During the terrible days when Kimberley was bombarded by a 100-pounder gun at a range of two miles (not five as at Ladysmith), it was he who devised the scheme of sheltering women and children in the De Beers Mine, and he helped with his own hands to pass the children down to their underground shelter."

On 7th March De Beers recommenced "washing," although mining proper was delayed for another month. Rhodes had proceeded to the coast on the 2nd of the month, filled Groote Schuur with visitors and invalids, but himself resided at the little cottage by the sea in which he ultimately died.

From there emanated the following brief note addressed to the Archbishop of Cape Town, for whom he entertained sincere affection as one who never hesitated to appeal to the spiritual side of his nature.

"MUIZENBERG, *March*, 1900.

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—Thank you for your letter. I think matters are coming all right, though while everything is in the melting-pot there must be trouble. I often think that prayer represents the daily expression to oneself of the right thing to do, and is a reminder to the

human soul that it must direct the body on such lines.—
Yours,
C. J. RHODES.”

Early in March the native inhabitants of several frontier districts telegraphed their earnest desire to receive a visit from Rhodes before he left for England, but the state of his health precluded him from complying with their request, and he sailed from Cape Town on 18th March, taking with him a cordial letter from the High Commissioner expressing the hope that the voyage would set him up.

Many efforts were made about this time to sow dissension between Lord Milner and Rhodes, but they wisely arrived at a practical agreement to allow no such interested influences to prevail.

The visit of Rhodes to England was a brief one. A friend, under date 7th April, 1900, writes to me: “I met him at Southampton, and he is in good spirits, though far from well. We hope to get him thoroughly overhauled by the doctors. He will make but a short stay as he is very anxious to be again in Rhodesia.”

Under date 11th April, Sir Frank Lascelles wrote to him from Berlin on the subject of the war. “Public opinion is dead against us, but the Emperor himself has been friendly throughout. He is dining with me on Tuesday, but it may not be so interesting a dinner as the one at which you were present.”

But neither friendly correspondents nor medical specialists could detain him, and in a fortnight he was again outward bound to South Africa. On arriving at Cape Town he found that the land route to Rhodesia was closed to him, as the war still dragged on, and the coastal

service being somewhat intermittent, delay threatened in that direction. But, nothing daunted, he cut the Gordian knot by chartering a small steamer, in which he sailed for Beira early in May. Before the end of the month he was at Salisbury, from which centre he toured around Mashonaland, visiting Melsetter and other districts, and then proceeded to Matabeleland accompanied by Sir Charles Metcalfe.

The Cape Parliament met on 20th July, but before that date the Schreiner Ministry had fallen in dramatic fashion, not by an adverse vote of the House, but by internal dissension and because the veiled disloyalty of the Bond was more than the Premier could stand.

The crisis came to a head in June, while Rhodes was busy at Salisbury. He had decided to apply for leave of absence for the whole session, and though urgent appeals were despatched to him to come down and assume the reins, he declined to move, using an invariable formula, "You can trust Miller."

Thus on 2nd June he was advised of a recent "scene" at a meeting of the Cabinet, when Schreiner, Solomon and Herold expressed moderate views, whereas Merri-man, Sauer and Te Water were vehemently in favour of obeying the behests of the Bond. The telegram added that the organisation in question would vote solid against further support of Schreiner.

The precise ground of the quarrel was the introduction by the Attorney-General (Solomon), with his chief's consent, of an Act for the punishment of Colonial rebels. To bring matters to a head, the Premier convened a caucus meeting of his supporters in Committee Room No. 18. The discussion that ensued was a stormy one. A

prominent Dutch member declared with passion that Schreiner would be guilty of shedding Afrikaner blood. In the end a vote was taken. Only two of his colleagues and ten other supporters stood by him. The rest of the party, as had been foreshadowed to Rhodes, were solid against their hitherto trusted leader. The sacred right of rebellion was thus vindicated, and the mere "neutrality" of Schreiner was deemed insufficient to warrant the retention of his services. To such a depth had fallen the great party once so loyal to Rhodes!

The episode was caustically commented on in the local press on June 11th, and the same day Schreiner tendered his resignation. Three days later it was officially notified in the *Gazette* that the resignation was accepted. Wild rumours were at once put in circulation as to the composition of the new Ministry. In some quarters a coalition was advocated as the only solution. A round-table conference was suggested, but the Bond held aloof and would accept nothing short of an amnesty to rebels, whereas Schreiner had screwed up his courage sufficiently to propose their disfranchisement.

It is believed that for a day or two Mr. Rose-Innes was put forward as a possible leader, but ultimately Rhodes was asked by wire to pronounce his benediction on a Ministry, supported by Schreiner, in which Sir Gordon Sprigg was to be Premier, and Rose-Innes Attorney-General. His acquiescence was somewhat ungracious to the latter. "I have no objection, and can swallow a mugwump if it will help the Governor."

On the 18th June the new Ministry was sworn in, and Rhodes, to be out of the way of further molestation, betook himself beyond the reach of the wire. Before

the close of the month, however, he was in Bulawayo. On 22nd June Dr. Jameson made his first appearance as Parliamentary candidate for Kimberley by addressing the electors in the Town Hall there. In his speech he thus referred to the tentative efforts previously made to place him in Parliament.

"Two years ago," he said, "at the General Election, I was invited to become a candidate for a Colonial constituency with every prospect of being returned, but on my arrival at the Cape I found that by many not very sturdy but very prominent Progressives my comfortable theory of oblivion was not believed in. It was represented that my candidature and, still worse, my election might damage the cause and further embitter racial feeling. Of course, I stood aside. Again last year, at the elections brought about by the passing of the Redistribution Bill, the same result awaited me, after a 6000 mile journey. You see, I have been persistent, but fairly patient. Now I feel free to come forward in response to your requisition."

The speech is still worth reading, but I refer to it only because there is evidence before me that timid members of the party urged Rhodes to veto the candidature, and that he again refused.

During July and August he continued to travel extensively in Rhodesia. On 2nd August he telegraphed to me from Salisbury: "Sorry to miss you. Am going steadily through the country. The mines are promising."

A few days later an influential member of the House wrote to him with gentle malice: "I am afraid it will take another six weeks to carry the Rebel Bill. Hofmeyr

is hard at work trying to smash up the Schreiner-Sprigg compact. If it were not for Milner he would succeed, for Sprigg is not in the same plane, for craft, as the other side. Innes is very happy. Everybody ladles treacle over him, and you can hear him purring all over the House."

On 31st August, another staunch supporter addressed him at great length.

"MY DEAR CHIEF,—I hear that we are to have the pleasure of seeing you before the session ends. In the first place, will you allow me to congratulate you heartily on the line of action you have this year adopted? You have done absolutely the right thing in having avoided the quarrelling on the Treason Bill, but I think you would be making a mistake if you did not put in an appearance before the session ends.

"The animus against you on the part of the rank and file of the Afrikaner party is wonderfully disappearing. Many—more than you think—no longer regard you with the old distrust, and I speak sincerely when I tell you that there are definite indications of a reaction in your favour.

"South Africa is not the unknown factor it once was, and he who can reunite its white races so as to make them no longer a source of suspicion to one another, or of danger to the Empire, is not going soon to disappear from the ranks of fame. Utopian as it may now seem to talk of reunion, I am *quite* sure that you can do so within the next six months, and I am speaking with more information than I care now to explain.

"Don't imagine that there are serious difficulties in

the way. There is not the slightest need of any humiliating sacrifice on your part, as either the great South African or as the still greater Imperialist.

“Rightly or wrongly, our Afrikaner friends have regarded you as the one who has disunited them, and I know they now look to you to reunite them.

“I am now writing—a little in parables and absolutely in confidence—to give you some hints as to what I know is before you, and to ask you to pave the way for the great future you have practically at your feet.”

But Rhodes declined to be drawn, and although he was back in Kimberley on 28th September, and arrived in Cape Town early in October, and Parliament was not prorogued till the 15th of that month, I do not find that he took his seat in the House.

Before leaving Bulawayo, he had been drawn for the first and last time in his life into writing a preface to an excellent book of travel then about to appear. His unusual compliance was due to the fact that the author was a young man, and one who had exhibited, during an arduous journey in Africa, a remarkable combination of pluck and common-sense, that appealed strongly to Rhodes. The writer, in short, was Mr. E. S. Grogan, and the book was the now well-known work *The Cape to Cairo*.

The preface contributed by Rhodes was as follows:—

“GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
BULAWAYO, 7th Sept., 1900.

“MY DEAR GROGAN,—You ask me to write you a short introduction for your book, but I am sorry to say that literary composition is not one of my gifts, my cor-

respondence and replies being conducted by telegrams.

“I must say I envy you, for you have done that which has been for centuries the ambition of every explorer, namely, to walk through Africa from South to North. The amusement of the whole thing is that a youth from Cambridge, during his vacation, should have succeeded in doing that which the ponderous explorers of the world have failed to accomplish. There is a distinct humour in the whole thing. It makes me the more certain that we shall complete the telegraph and railway, for surely I am not going to be beaten by the legs of a Cambridge undergraduate.

“Your success the more confirms one’s belief. The schemes described by Sir William Harcourt as ‘wild cat’ you have proved are capable of being completed, even in that excellent gentleman’s lifetime.

“As to the commercial aspect, every one supposes that the railway is being built with the only object that a human being may be able to get in at Cairo, and get out at Cape Town.

“This is, of course, ridiculous. The object is to cut Africa through the centre, and the railway will pick up trade all along the route. The junctions to the East and West coasts, which will occur in the future, will be outlets for the traffic obtained along the route of the line as it passes through the centre of Africa. At any rate, up to Bulawayo, where I am now, it has been a payable undertaking, and I still think it will continue to be so as we advance into the far interior. We propose now to go on and cross the Zambesi just below the Victoria Falls. I should like to have the spray of the water over the carriages.

“I can but finish by again congratulating you, and by saying that your success has given me great encouragement in the work that I have still to accomplish.
Yours,
C. J. RHODES.”

On 10th October, Rhodes delivered an important speech at the Congress of the South African League, of which he had been elected President—a speech that traversed much debatable ground and dealt with all the South African problems of the day. His objection to lukewarm followers was amusingly stated at the outset.

“What,” he said, “I would point out to you is that the practice in older countries having parliamentary government is to divide into two parties. In England there are Liberals and Conservatives. With us there are Progressives and the Bond. It should be distinctly understood, that you cannot sit on a fence. (Loud cheers.) You must take party government with its rules and bow to the majority of your party. If your conscience tells you that you cannot go with your party, your duty is to resign and ask your constituents to confirm your position or reject you. But this is not my experience in this country. When first I entered the House it was considered the right thing to say you belonged to no party, and you would decide each question as conscience might direct. Well, it is an excellent theory, but it won’t work. (Laughter.) Now I will tell you what happened in this country. You have heard that so-and-so, and so-and-so was the cause of the war. I will tell you the cause of the war. We had a party in the Assembly called Mugwumps, and they caused the war, and I will show you why.”

He then proceeded to show how on the Redistribution Bill, as introduced, the Progressives would have had the majority to which they were equitably entitled, but the Mugwumps wrecked the measure on a plea of conscience, and placed their own invertebrate party in power.

"I hold," he added, "that if we had carried the Bill, and had a majority in the House, Kruger would not have dared to throw down the gauntlet to Her Majesty's Government. These are hard facts, and so, in a way, we owe the war to the Mugwumps."

He went on to congratulate the members of the League on having risked their lives for their opinions, and he strongly urged early preparation for the next general election. Recognising the obligations of capital, he declared that De Beers had done its duty in protecting Kimberley, and in founding a great Cold Storage Company to cheapen to the poor man the price of meat, which the exigencies of war had unduly raised.

"Well, gentlemen," he continued, "we have had a great battle, not with the Dutch—(cheers)—but with Krugerism. (Cheers.) We must say of this wretched racial feeling—we will have none of it. Let us drop disputes, evacuate our hostile camps and work for closer union with one another and the mother country."

Soon after delivering this speech, Rhodes was laid up with a bad touch of fever—imbibed no doubt during his recent Rhodesian tour—and it was not until 17th November that he was pronounced convalescent and able to resume his morning ride.

Even during this illness he was busy. Early in the month he gave £300 towards the building of the Cape Town Cathedral, and a handsome Challenge Cup to

the Frontier Districts Rifle Association in order to encourage accurate shooting. In December he collected a large number of Transvaal refugees and gave them a dinner at Groote Schuur, which he personally attended.

About this time an English correspondent writes to me, "Lord Salisbury says, and I agree, that Rhodes should come out into the open and assume the Prime Ministership."

A day after his address to the League a highly placed Dutch official, on reading it, wrote to Rhodes, "I am always telling my Afrikaner friends that you are their best friend, if they will only recognise the fact."

Under ordinary circumstances there can be no doubt that Rhodes would have responded to the call, with what result it is idle to speculate. But imperative considerations of health intervened. He was under no illusions. His life's work was practically done. The inexorable shadow that stands ever closer and closer to us all was already beckoning him with decisive gesture, of the meaning of which he was well aware. For a while he struggled strenuously on, performing important duties with all his old masterful power, but the House of Assembly was to hear him no more: the shareholders in the great Corporations he had created had no further opportunity of listening to his rough persuasive eloquence: the day was far spent and the night was at hand.

Towards the end of the year a general officer, who had made his acquaintance during the war, wrote to him, "I told the Queen you and Gordon were the same man, but with different methods. This fairly made Her

Majesty jump, but she saw the point. I gave her your message."

A message—I venture to think—expressing his unflinching loyalty to her throne and person.

Another correspondent writes to him from the Hague, "I have just seen Kruger, Leyds, Fischer, Wessels, Wolmarans, Van Alphen, Boeschoten and others, and found them all obdurate except Leyds, who thought, if you came forward, you might do something."

He was still deeply interested in securing official recognition of his rights over Barotseland, concerning which some doubts had arisen. On 7th December he was cheered by the receipt of the following communication from the Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia:—

"I arrived at Lealui on 7th October and have got both the new Concessions signed by Lewanika and seven of his highest chiefs with five witnesses. The full Council of twenty-seven Indunas was present at the three preceding Indabas and at the execution of the documents. . . . Both are on parchment and the king has duplicates."

With this gleam of sunshine a stormy year drew to a close.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE LAST YEAR (1901)

Scholarship founded—Shangani Monument—Honoured Dead Memorial—Mowbray Hostel—Plague Camp—Chinese Labour—Meeting of S.A. League at Mafeking—Helps Kimberley Town Council—Visits Bulawayo—Speaks there—Plans a seaside residence—Troubled by forgeries—Visits England—Takes Rannoch Lodge—Visits Italy and Egypt—Returns to England—Purchases Dalham—Projects a Land Scheme.

THE year 1900 passed away, and it was well into 1901 before Rhodes succeeded in arranging his proposed visit to England. His final Will was already executed, and he dwelt much, and with satisfaction, on those of its provisions which dealt with his great Scholarship scheme. But he began to manifest feelings of pardonable curiosity as to how they would work in actual practice, that is, whether it would be feasible to elect his scholars by the joint decision of examiners, headmasters and schoolmates. The idea was novel, and some of his friends asserted that it would not work. To test the matter—if possible, in his own lifetime—he determined to found at once an experimental scholarship on the lines of his Will at the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, an institution within his own Province, in which he took a strong interest.

On 28th February, therefore, he addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Cape Town, as Chairman of the College Council, in which he offered a scholarship at Oxford, worth £250 a year, to come into immediate

operation. After describing the method of election, he concluded with these words, "I do not know whether your governing body will accept this rather complicated scholarship, but it is an effort to change the dull monotony of modern competition. There must have been some pleasure in viewing contests in the Gymnasium at Athens. I am sure there is none in a modern competitive examination. But the more practical point is, do we, under our system, get the best man for the world's fight?"

During March he was gratified at hearing that Tweed's bronze panels for the Shangani Monument were approaching completion, as he was anxious to erect in the Matopos a lasting memorial to Allan Wilson and his brave men who perished in the vicinity of the Shangani River.

With a similar desire to honour the fallen, he also threw himself into the project of erecting in Kimberley an "Honoured Dead Memorial" to Scott-Turner and those of his comrades who fell gloriously in its defence.

Few travellers now visit South Africa without paying a tribute of admiration to these magnificent structures.

In the same month he took steps to found at Mowbray, near Cape Town, a hostel or home for British immigrants—women who can thus, upon arrival in a strange land, be sure of a temporary shelter until they secure employment. The Institution, which is still in existence, is under the auspices of the South African Immigration Association, of which the devoted President is H.R.H. the Princess Christian.

About this time or a little earlier, he offered ground on the Groote Schuur Estate for the purpose of forming a Military Plague Camp, that dread disease having

effected a lodgment at Cape Town. Many men—but he was not one of them—would have hesitated to allow the formation of such a camp so near his own residence. The following letter bears on the case:—

“BASE COMMANDANT’S OFFICE, THE CASTLE,
CAPE TOWN, *April 6th*, 1901.

Proposed Camp at Groote Schuur.

From Base Commandant, Cape Town.

To Right Honble. Cecil Rhodes.

“SIR,—In reference to our conversation some weeks ago when you kindly gave permission to form a Plague Camp on your ground at Groote Schuur should it unfortunately be necessary to form a separate Plague Camp for soldiers, I am now writing to tell you how highly your liberality was appreciated by the General Officer Commanding the Lines of Communication and also by the Medical Military Authorities. Unfortunately we are unable to avail ourselves of your permission, as the Colonial Government are very averse to forming a Plague Camp on the site selected, and in deference to His Excellency the Governor’s wishes the General has directed a site to be sought elsewhere.

“Again thanking you for the prompt and courteous way in which you met my request, and expressing my extreme regret that an ideal site for an infectious disease camp should be lost at the present moment.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(*Sgd.*) “H. COOPER, Colonel,
“Commanding the Base.”

On 22nd March Rhodes again visited Kimberley,

working with great application there until 22nd May, when he went on to Bulawayo.

As dealing with the question, which subsequently assumed political prominence, of the proposed introduction into South Africa of indentured Chinese labour, I may here quote the views of Rhodes. On 13th March, 1901, the matter came before the Mashonaland Chamber of Mines at Salisbury, and the principle of Asiatic immigration was almost unanimously affirmed. The only dissentient speaker warned the Chamber that Mr. Rhodes, on more than one occasion, had strongly advised Rhodesia to keep the Chinese out of the country.

On 7th June, 1901, Mafeking—a year or so after its relief—made a great demonstration of flamboyant loyalty under the auspices of the South African League. The gallant little town after all its sufferings may be pardoned, I think, for the vehemence of its patriotism. Otherwise one might be tempted to smile at the very stalwart resolutions adopted by the meeting. One was to this effect: "That English be the sole official language in South Africa, and the medium of instruction in public schools."

Another ran: "That the suspension of Responsible Government in the Cape Colony for a time is imperatively necessary to secure peace and loyalty."

A third resolution, carried unanimously, was as follows: "That this meeting considers the suppression of the Bond, as a seditious organisation dangerous to the peace and welfare of the country, the first essential step to a satisfactory settlement."

I quote these utterances as illustrating the depth of feeling on the part of British-born subjects of the Crown

smarting under the strain of a great war, fomented and kept alive, in their opinion, by fellow-citizens, equally subjects, who gave to their Government at best lip-loyalty, and, in many cases, active resistance.

The meeting proceeded to discuss the position, assuming that their wishes were complied with, and, not unnaturally, they decided that no one but Rhodes was capable of dealing, as Prime Minister, with the delicate situation.

His conception of his duties was, however, of a different nature. Studiously effacing himself so far as politics were concerned, he divided his time between Kimberley and the North.

At Kimberley he persuaded the De Beers Mines, notwithstanding their grave losses, to extricate the local Municipality from financial embarrassment by a grant of £8000 a year for three years, and then, on 22nd May, though the route was still somewhat unsafe, he proceeded to Bulawayo, arriving there with Dr. Jameson on 25th May. Five days later he met the Chamber of Mines, and early in June he made two short speeches on matters of local concern.

On 15th June he laid the foundation stone of the Volunteer Drill Hall and, in the course of a speech, dealt with various questions.

On the subject of the Charter he said, "We—that is, the Chartered Company—are only temporary. We are preparing the way for you. We shall be only too ready to part with the position of administrators when you are ready for self-government."

On the question of Federation he said, "The consideration of statesmen will shortly be the unity of South

Africa, and you must get ready for that. You must be prepared for the time when a scheme of federation will be submitted. . . . This great dominant North—and I call it a dominant North—with the Transvaal, will dictate the federation. . . . The whole situation lies with the Northern States and nothing can alter it.”

Regarding the part taken by the inhabitants of Rhodesia, he said, “If there is one thing that the people of this country feel, it is that they are assisting in a new development. I would put it to you that after all, even now at the saddest time, when you are worried—if I might put it so—with a scarcity of capital, worried with the many difficulties of a new country, would you prefer to be here or on the old spot that you came from, here sharing in the interests of a creation? This is surely a happier thing than the deadly monotony of an English country town, or the still more deadly mediocrity of a Karoo village? Here, at any rate, you have your share in the creation of a new country, you have to deal with those extraordinary questions which arise in a new country, and you have the proud satisfaction of knowing that you are civilising a new part of the world. Those who fall in that creation fall sooner than they would have done in ordinary life, but their lives are the better and grander. For myself, every time I go home it is a satisfaction to me to see the progress of the panels representing the death of Allan Wilson and his party. I hope shortly to be able to erect them in the Matopos. This is no new idea, as I am simply copying Mosilikatze (the first king of the Matabele). I found him sitting in his cave (where at his request they had placed him after his death) looking over the wide Matopos. It is the

idea and the thought of the native Matabele—all we have done is to copy his thought, and if I could make a suggestion to you, it is that when a mausoleum is built the idea should be considered of recovering from the unknown veld the remains of the various friends of yours who, as Rhodesians, have fallen and are buried in different parts of the Transvaal, Orange River Colony and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Their graves are being well cared for in the first instance, but protections fail, the wild beasts come in, and if you think of a hundred years hence, there will be little to record their existence. It is a question whether we should not take the opportunity of gradually with reverence collecting their bodies and placing them in a mausoleum in this country as a record of those who not only have done their best to assist in the creation of this new territory, but who also, when called upon by their Sovereign to assist in the maintenance of the Empire's position in South Africa, left their work and gave up their lives to prove that, wherever we live, as Englishmen we never forget our country."

On 18th June, at the request of the Town Council, he inspected their farm, and on 21st June he presented the prizes at St. John's School and made an excellent speech.

"I hear," he said, "there are over 100 children in the school: six years ago there were only little barbarians in this locality. Education is the whole difference between barbarism and civilisation. This is perhaps the only country in the world where an attempt is being made to solve the religious difficulty in education, by allowing the children to be taught their different religions in the same school. If your children were at a Board School in England, you might hear a chapter of the Bible read,

but if you asked the teacher, "What does that mean?" he would not be allowed to answer you. He can read the Bible to you, but must not answer questions. It is most ridiculous for one of the most advanced countries in the world. But we have a system, that for half an hour in the morning the clergy of each Church can teach their special dogmas to the children of the members of their congregations, but the boy whose father does not want him to have any religious teaching does not get playground—he gets geography. (Laughter.) We have, I believe, hit on a solution which is going to work. In England a Board School can have no religion. I think this is a mistake, just as I think it is a mistake in Australia, that they have excluded religion from the schools. It is an absolute mistake, because a child at school is at that period of its life when it is most pliable to thought, and if you remove from it all thought of religion, I don't think you make it a better human being. I am quite clear that a child brought up religiously is a better human being. I am quite sure that to couple the ordinary school teaching with some religious instruction is better than to dismiss religion from within the walls of the school. Their school years are the years in which to tell the children that there is one thing in life better than material instruction, and that is religious belief."

Let it be remembered that this was almost the last public utterance of a great man not over given to sentimental emotion, but who, after a stormy life, and within a few months of his own death, went out of his way to disclaim all desire for, or sympathy with, a national system of Godless education.

On 24th June, Rhodes was back at Kimberley on his

way to Cape Town, and busied himself on the way down with the plans of a house he was proposing to build at St. James's near Muizenberg, a seaside resort of which he was becoming increasingly fond. On 2nd July, he arrived at Groote Schuur, but the next day he sailed for England, accompanied by several old friends. His equanimity was somewhat disturbed by an annoying incident of recent occurrence. On 5th June, I had been under the necessity of telegraphing to him that various forged bills, bearing his name, were in circulation.

On 20th July, he arrived at Southampton and proceeded at once to London, where for a few days he transacted business, but declined to be interviewed on the plea that he was no longer a public man. He had, some months before, hired Rannoch Lodge, in Perthshire, from Sir Robert Menzies, and on 31st July he left by the night mail for that place, where he and a small party enjoyed the shooting. Even there, however, his thoughts were on his Will, and on 25th August, he addressed a remarkable letter to one of his designated Trustees, giving expression to the view he hoped and believed would prevail on his decease, as to the disposition of his surplus revenues after payment of the annual expense of his Scholarship scheme.

The keen northern air seemed to benefit him a little, but the improvement was only temporary. On 6th October, he was again in London on his way to the Continent, arriving at the Hôtel des Thermes, Salso Maggiore, on 16th October.

Early in November, he was at Bologna, motoring from there to the Hôtel de Londres, Verona, and proceeding on the 9th of that month to Venice. A fort-

night later he was in Egypt, on his way to Khartum, but the heat affected his heart, and he returned to England before the end of the year. Meanwhile he was kept continuously posted in South African affairs by his numerous Colonial correspondents.

The following telegram was, I am sure, gratifying to him:

“RONDEBOSCH, CAPE TOWN, *August 20, 1901.*

“To Rhodes, Rannoch, Aberfeldy, Scotland.

“We have spent a very pleasant day at Groote Schuur, and much admired your charming house and place. We much regret your absence. The Duchess is most grateful for the beautiful diamonds presented to her by the De Beers Company. I am writing this in your own room.

(*Sgd.*) “GEORGE, DUKE OF CORNWALL and YORK.”

But in addition to the suffering attending failing health, and to anxiety he felt at the unexpected prolongation of the war, he was for some months still worried by the discovery, time after time, of forgeries bearing his name. During September, I was under the necessity of advising him repeatedly on this painful subject, and the shock to his simple trustful nature was immense.

He found time, however, to pay his tribute of respect to the memory of the late Empress Frederick, as the following telegram will show:—

“Kaiserlich Deutsche Botschaft in London.

“Count P. Metternich, German Minister on special mission in charge of the German Embassy, presents his compliments to the Right Honourable Cecil Rhodes, and

has the honour to inform him that he has been instructed to convey to him the thanks and warm appreciation of his Majesty the Emperor and King for the wreath which was sent on occasion of the funeral of the Empress Frederick. The wreath has been placed on the hearse of Her late Imperial Majesty.

“GERMAN EMBASSY, LONDON,
“September 25th, 1901.”

On 21st November, writing to me from the Savoy Hotel, Cairo, he declared himself to be “very fit,” but the whole tenor of his letter was so clearly designed to adjust various long outstanding business obligations with as little delay as possible that I drew from it the mournful inference that he believed his time to be short.

On 3rd December, writing from the Dahabeah *Oonas* on the Nile, he was more specific. “You will be glad to hear,” he says, “I am better. The heart has quieted down, though I still have pain, which they say is the enlarged heart pressing on the lung. The great thing is rest.”

But rest was the one thing denied to him. About this time the Editor of a great London paper was writing, “Won’t you see Rhodes and tell him he *must* come back? — says either Rhodes or suspension. You might tell him this. But he should be here soon. I have faith enough in that man to believe that he, and he alone, can end the war quickly and not disgracefully.”

While in Egypt, Rhodes lost no opportunity of studying its agricultural problems, believing that its immemorial experience might be serviceable to Rhodesia. Writing to his agent in Bulawayo in December, he said,

“With good land such as we have got, and plenty of water which we *will* have, for I mean to begin the extension of the catchment area in winter, there is no reason why we should not grow good crops, but we must begin with the water we have got, which will irrigate 300 acres.

“You and I,” he went on, “will be the laughing-stocks of the country if, after spending twenty-five thousand pounds to get water, we have not the brains to find a man or men to use it properly, and make a success of the land. Let us set to work. I give you a free hand again, so get a good man. I will be with you in four months, and we will discuss what crops to lay down. I think lucerne should be one of the largest.”

On one occasion he saw a mealie (Indian corn) which seemed to do well with very little water, and his practical mind at once seized on the likelihood of its being successful in Matabeleland, which had been suffering from a partial drought; and he ordered some of the seed to be sent to Bulawayo, to be planted on his farm, and then, if it turned out successfully, he desired that the seed should be distributed broadcast throughout the country. It was found that the grain was a good drought resister and came to maturity very rapidly, and it has now spread all over Rhodesia.

On the same visit, the idea struck him that the Egyptian donkey, though smaller in bone, was so much better in speed than the South African animal that it would be an excellent thing to cross the two breeds and with this end in view, he bought two dozen good Egyptian stallions, and sent them to Rhodesia, where their offspring show to-day the great improvement of the imported strain.

The close of the year 1901, found Rhodes still in Egypt, but he returned to England in January. He had purchased from the Affleck family the estate of Dalham in Norfolk, believing that the keen air of the East coast enabled him to breathe with less difficulty.

In December, he sent to the *Daily Telegraph* copies of communications he had addressed to Lord Milner and Mr. Arnold-Forster, on the subject of Land Settlement in South Africa on the conclusion of the war.

His suggestions, which always had a practical basis, were to purchase land in the new colonies, *while it was cheap*, and to settle thereon time expired soldiers, and especially Imperial Yeomanry, who would otherwise have to be repatriated at great cost. He pleaded for an Imperial guarantee for £3,000,000, but other more elaborate and less convincing schemes prevailed, and the opportunity of trying an interesting experiment was lost beyond recall.

CHAPTER XXXIX

CLOSING DAYS

Suspension of the Constitution—Growing infirmity—Removal to Muizenberg—Letter to Archbishop—The Matopo Dam—Letter from a lady correspondent—Daily bulletins—Sufferings—Last hours—Death.

THE Cape Parliament, prorogued on 15th October, 1900, did not meet again until 20th August, 1902, thus violating the letter of the Constitution. But in the interval Martial Law prevailed and though, owing to a special agreement between the Cape Government and the Commander of the Forces, civil administration did not wholly cease, Parliament was not in a position to exercise its ordinary functions, for it was no longer supreme. Several of its members were under sequestration as "suspects." Some were fighting loyally for the throne; one, at least, was in the enemy's camp; but the bulk were sitting sullenly on their estates. To this pass had neutrality or muddleheadedness brought the great body of Dutch gentlemen who once were the devoted followers of Rhodes!

Under these circumstances, and as the Constitution had virtually suspended itself, there is much excuse for the action of those Colonists who now petitioned for a more formal but temporary abrogation of their cherished Constitution.

Foiled in their efforts to capture Kimberley, Mafeking

and Ladysmith, scattered into small commandoes by the overwhelming forces of the Empire, the Boers were now conducting a guerilla warfare, and conducting it to a great extent in the Cape Colony itself, aided and abetted, covertly or openly, by British subjects of Dutch extraction.

A Report by General Smuts to his Government, published some years later, is conclusive on this point.

"Since the beginning of September, 1901," he writes, "I have been in the following districts of the Colony." He proceeds to enumerate twenty-eight divisions into which his mobile force had penetrated, and he names seven other districts visited by his lieutenants. It was, of course, manifestly impossible for these Raids to have been made with impunity without the secret co-operation of the inhabitants.

A petition presented to the Governor opened with the undeniable assertion "That, owing to the prolongation of the war, His Majesty's Parliament in the Cape Colony has been unable to meet and the ordinary registration of voters, as provided for by law, has not been carried out. On these two questions the Constitution has been practically violated."

The petitioners went on to recite that it would be idle to expect impartial legislation, or obtain an indemnity for acts committed under Martial Law, or confirmation of the unauthorised expenditure which it had been found necessary to incur. And they concluded. "We are strongly of opinion that the proper solution of the problems now confronting the Colony is a temporary suspension of the Constitution for a period during which His Majesty would be enabled to deal with the existing diffi-

culties, and afterwards to restore the Constitution as amended."

The first signature attached to the document is that of C. J. Rhodes, who had returned to the Colony in connection with the approaching trial for forgery, to which I have already alluded.

The suspension of the Constitution had much to recommend it, but the Colony was fairly divided on the subject and the petition was, wisely I think, rejected.

The evidence of Rhodes as to the forgeries could have been taken on commission, but he was true to his invariable policy of facing the music. In spite of the resistance of a London specialist and of Dr. Jameson, he sailed from Southampton on 18th January, promising to return on the conclusion of the trial.

It was evident on his arrival in February that he was desperately ill, the heat of the tropics having seriously affected him. It was pathetic to see him when he gave evidence at the preliminary examination, which resulted in the accused being committed for trial. In due time a conviction was secured, but Rhodes was, alas! no more.

During February he continued on occasions, as his physical strength permitted, to take an interest in public affairs. I was present at a Conference between Rhodes and a representative of Lord Kitchener to deal with an intricate question of Colonial accounts, and I never saw the financial genius and robust common-sense of Rhodes shine with a steadier light. His mental powers were absolutely unimpaired, but his thoughts were for others, and he worked strenuously to settle all open questions and leave behind him a clear slate.

Abandoning Groote Schuur, he took up his residence

in his humble cottage at Muizenberg, surrounded by three or four of his staunchest and most intimate friends. From there, in February, he addressed the following kindly letter to the Archbishop of Cape Town:—

“MUIZENBERG, *February*, 1902.

“MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—I was glad to hear that the test for the scholarship passed off well, and up to the present there are no amendments suggested, but we must watch carefully and improve as we gain experience. I have been looking into the question and have an amendment to make. I find £250 per annum is sufficient for Oxford, but then the young fellow spends six months with his people. Our young South African will be without a home to run to and will have to pay for himself for twelve months as against the ordinary undergraduate who lives on his people for six months. I think therefore one must increase the scholarship to £300 per annum. I send you a cheque for £1800, which will provide for the next six years, by which time it is probable that the provisions of my Will may have come into force under which a continuance of *our* attempt is provided for.

“You will be glad to know that I have obtained from some friends a provision for a similar scholarship for the Kimberley Public School.

“I am thankful to you for undertaking the experiment which is a scholarship for a combination of mental, moral and physical qualities.

“Who knows it may be the grain of mustard seed which produces the largest tree?—Yours,

“C. J. RHODES.”

The Archbishop, in sending me this letter, added: "The last conversation I had with him was a few weeks before his death. It was known that his life was extremely uncertain, and I felt it was my duty to have a conversation of a serious kind with him. This was too sacred for me to enter upon here. I need say only that he expressed himself most gratefully to me for what I had said to him, with the hope that he would see me again. This was never realised. I was shortly afterwards compelled to leave home, and when I returned I was not permitted to see him. He was then within a day or two of his end.

"Whatever Mr. Rhodes's faults may have been, I shall always believe that he was at heart a really religious man, and of his noble ideals and breadth of view there cannot, I think, be any doubt in any unprejudiced mind."

Towards the end of February he summoned from Rhodesia the tenant to whom he had entrusted the work of cultivating the valley below his great Dam in the Matopos, and having signed a new agreement with him, he said to us, "Now the Dam will be all right. I can see it will be a success. You have now the right man to work it." His judgment has stood the test of time.

Early in March a daily bulletin of his condition began to be sent to England by cable, to meet the many urgent inquiries we were receiving from there. Thus on 4th March I find the following, "He is distinctly worse."

On 9th March he took to his bed. I am not sure whether he ever read the following letter arriving about this time from a lady for whom he had a strong regard.

"MY DEAR MR. RHODES,—To my disappointment, I

found on my return from Berlin that you had flown to sunnier climes and so I write this (much as I know you detest getting letters) to tell you that when lunching with the Emperor at Potsdam, I gave him your message about the telegraph—he actually knew where Ujiji was! and said he had no idea the telegraph had got so far—and he was delighted. He talked of you with much admiration—and thinks you ‘a wonderful man’—and he was so interested in you and your interview with him. I told him I would tell you what he said. He was most kind to me and is as charming as ever—and we had a pleasant time in Berlin. Didn’t you leave England sooner than you intended? It was a pleasure having that little glimpse of you and to see you looking so well. How I should like to be back at beautiful Groote Schuur! It was a delightful time I spent there—and I shall never forget your kindness to me.”

On 10th March a message was sent to London. “Intellect quite clear. He went through all business matters yesterday with Michell.”

On 21st March the despatch from Dr. Jameson ran, “Stevenson and I convinced case hopeless. It has lasted longer than we expected owing to extraordinary vitality, but the end is certain, though patient still anxious to sail on Wednesday.”

His sufferings were at times indescribably painful, and the administration of oxygen afforded him only very temporary relief. In lucid moments he continued to deal with questions that occurred to him with all his old force, endeavouring to the very last to make arrangements for the welfare of his friends.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 26th March, I sat for a while by his bedside, while Dr. Jameson, worn out by persistent watching day and night, took a short rest. The patient was restless and uneasy. Once he murmured, "So little done, so much to do," and then after a long pause I heard him singing softly to himself, maybe a few bars of an air he had once sung at his mother's knee. Then, in a clear voice, he called for Jameson. I slipped away to my own house a few miles off, intending to return later in the evening, but within an hour came the fatal telegram that, to the accompaniment of the thunder of the surf breaking on the beach in front of his little bedroom, the greatest of modern Englishmen had passed away.

Opinions may reasonably differ as to whether the time has yet arrived to do adequate justice to the memory of Rhodes. It is a growing fame. When his foibles and his faults are all allowed for, there outstands the figure of a great and inspiring personality. One must, perhaps, be personally and thoroughly acquainted with South Africa to understand the depth of the mark he has carved on the history of the sub-continent.

I will not dwell on his simple but pathetic grave, placed far from the busy haunts of those he called in affectionate terms "his people": nor on the memorials and statues that have already arisen to his memory in Cape Town, Kimberley, and Bulawayo.

It will be more to the purpose to say that he still lives in the hearts and imagination of colonists: that almost all our high and fruitful thoughts and acts of late years are traceable to his compelling example. South African mining, agriculture, and education, all owe their new life to

his tenacity of purpose and his resourceful energy. His Scholarship Foundation, still in its infancy, may in time move the world, though as yet its potentialities are hardly realised beyond a narrow circle. Above all we have to thank Rhodes for his preservation of that immense territory called after his name—a territory which in alien hands would have barred our further expansion northward, seriously shaken the prestige of Great Britain and rendered nugatory all prospect of friendly union under the flag of England. We have also to thank him that throughout his career he preached in season and out of season the salutary doctrine of equal rights—a doctrine the negation of which drenched South Africa for nearly three years in the blood of its noblest sons.

Regard him as we may, with critical or uncritical eyes, we must all admit that he was a great Englishman and one of the few who have left a permanent mark on the Empire. For my own part I confidently leave his fame to the verdict of posterity.

APPENDIX

COPY OF THE WILL OF THE RIGHT HON. CECIL JOHN RHODES

I, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CECIL JOHN RHODES of Cape Town in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope hereby revoke all testamentary dispositions heretofore made by me and declare this to be my last Will which I make this 1st day of July, 1899.

1. I am a natural-born British subject and I now declare that I have adopted and acquired and hereby adopt and acquire and intend to retain Rhodesia as my domicile.

2. I appoint the Right Honourable Archibald Philip Earl of Rosebery K.G. K.T. the Right Honourable Albert Henry George Earl Grey Alfred Beit of 26 Park Lane London William Thomas Stead of Mowbray House Norfolk Street Strand in the County of London Lewis Loyd Michell of Cape Town in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope Banker and Bouchier Francis Hawksley of Mincing Lane in the City of London to be the Executors and Trustees of my Will and they and the survivors of them or other the Trustees for the time being of my Will are hereinafter called "my Trustees."

3. I Admire the grandeur and loneliness of the Matopos in Rhodesia and therefore I desire to be buried in the Matopos on the hill which I used to visit and which I called the "View of the World" in a square to be cut in the rock on the top of the hill covered with a plain brass plate with these words thereon—"Here lie the remains of Cecil John Rhodes" and accordingly

I direct my Executors at the expense of my estate to take all steps and do all things necessary or proper to give effect to this my desire and afterwards to keep my grave in order at the expense of the Matopos and Bulawayo Fund hereinafter mentioned.

4. I give the sum of £6,000 to ——— Kahn of Paris and I direct this legacy to be paid free of all duty whatsoever.

5. I give an annuity of £100 to each of my servants Norris and the one called Tony during his life free of all duty whatsoever and in addition to any wages due at my death.

6. I direct my Trustees on the hill aforesaid to erect or complete the monument to the men who fell in the first Matabele War at Shangani in Rhodesia the bas-reliefs for which are being made by Mr. John Tweed and I desire the said hill to be preserved as a burial-place but no person is to be buried there unless the Government for the time being of Rhodesia until the various states of South Africa or any of them shall have been federated and after such federation the Federal Government by a vote of two-thirds of its governing body says that he or she has deserved well of his or her country.

7. I give free of all duty whatsoever my landed property near Bulawayo in Matabeleland Rhodesia and my landed property at or near Inyanga near Salisbury in Mashonaland Rhodesia to my Trustees hereinbefore named Upon Trust that my trustees shall in such manner as in their uncontrolled discretion they shall think fit cultivate the same respectively for the instruction of the people of Rhodesia.

8. I give free of all duty whatsoever to my Trustees hereinbefore named such a sum of money as they shall carefully ascertain and in their uncontrolled discretion consider ample and sufficient by its investments to yield income amounting to the

sum of £4,000 sterling per annum and not less and I direct my Trustees to invest the same sum and the said sum and the investments for the time being representing it I hereinafter refer to as "the Matopos and Bulawayo Fund" And I direct that my Trustees shall for ever apply in such manner as in their uncontrolled discretion they shall think fit the income of the Matopos and Bulawayo Fund in preserving protecting maintaining adorning and beautifying the said burial-place and hill and their surroundings and shall for ever apply in such manner as in their uncontrolled discretion they shall think fit the balance of the income of the Matopos and Bulawayo Fund and any rents and profits of my said landed properties near Bulawayo in the cultivation as aforesaid of such property And in particular I direct my Trustees that a portion of my Sauerdale property a part of my said landed property near Bulawayo be planted with every possible tree and be made and preserved and maintained as a Park for the people of Bulawayo and that they complete the dam at my Westacre property if it is not completed at my death and make a short line from Bulawayo to Westacre so that the people of Bulawayo may enjoy the glory of the Matopos from Saturday to Monday.

9. I give free of all duty whatsoever to my Trustees hereinbefore named such a sum of money as they shall carefully ascertain and in their uncontrolled discretion consider ample and sufficient by its investments to yield income amounting to the sum of £2,000 sterling per annum and not less and I direct my Trustees to invest the same sum and the said sum and the investments for the time being representing it I hereinafter refer to as "the Inyanga Fund" And I direct that my Trustees shall for ever apply in such manner as in their absolute discretion they shall think fit the income of the Inyanga Fund and any rents and profits of my said landed property at or near Inyanga in the cultivation of such property and in particular I direct that

with regard to such property irrigation should be the first object of my Trustees.

10. For the guidance of my Trustees I wish to record that in the cultivation of my said landed properties I include such things as experimental farming forestry market and other gardening and fruit farming irrigation and the teaching of any of those things and establishing and maintaining an Agricultural College.

11. I give all the interest to which I may at my death be entitled in any freehold copyhold or leasehold hereditaments in Dalston or elsewhere in the County of London to my Trustees hereinbefore named Upon trust that my Trustees shall lease or let and generally manage but not sell the same and pay all requisite outgoings usually paid by me in respect thereof and maintain the same in proper repair and insured against fire And upon trust that my Trustees shall so long as any one or more of my own brothers and sisters (which does not include my sister of the half-blood) shall be living pay the net income derived from the said hereditaments to such of my own brothers and sisters aforesaid as shall for the time being be living and while more than one to be divided between them in equal shares And shall after the death of the survivor of them such brothers and sisters hold my interest in the said estate and the rents and profits thereof Upon the trusts hereinafter contained concerning the same and inasmuch as those trusts are educational trusts for the benefit of the Empire I hope the means will be found for enabling my Trustees to retain my interest in the said estate unsold and with that object I authorize and require them to endeavour to obtain at the expense of my estate a private or other Act of Parliament or other sufficient authority enabling and requiring them to retain the same unsold.

12. I give the sum of £100,000 free of all duty whatsoever to

my old college Oriel College in the University of Oxford and I direct that the receipt of the Bursar or other proper officer of the College shall be a complete discharge for that legacy and inasmuch as I gather that the erection of an extension to High Street of the College buildings would cost about £22,500 and that the loss to the College revenue caused by pulling down of houses to make room for the said new College buildings would be about £250 per annum I direct that the sum of £40,000 part of the said sum of £100,000 shall be applied in the first place in the erection of the said new College buildings and that the remainder of such a sum of £40,000 shall be held as a fund by the income whereof the aforesaid loss to the College revenue shall so far as possible be made good. And inasmuch as I gather that there is a deficiency in the College revenue of some £1,500 per annum whereby the Fellowships are impoverished and the status of the College is lowered I direct that the sum of £40,000 further part of the said sum of £100,000 shall be held as a fund by the income whereof the income of such of the resident Fellows of the College as work for the honour and dignity of the College shall be increased. And I further direct that the sum of £10,000 further part of the said sum of £100,000 shall be held as a final fund by the income whereof the dignity and comfort of the High Table may be maintained by which means the dignity and comfort of the resident Fellows may be increased. And I further direct that the sum of £10,000 the remainder of the said sum of £100,000 shall be held as a repair fund the income whereof shall be expended in maintaining and repairing the College buildings. And finally as the College authorities live secluded from the world and so are like children as to commercial matters I would advise them to consult my Trustees as to the investment of these various funds for they would receive great help and assistance from the advice of my Trustees in such matters and I direct that any investment made pursuant to

such advice shall whatsoever it may be be an authorized investment for the money applied in making it.

13. I give my property following that is to say my residence known as "De Grootte Schuur" situate near Mowbray in the Cape Division in the said Colony together with all furniture plate and other articles contained therein at the time of my death and all other land belonging to me situated under Table Mountain including my property known as "Mosterts" to my Trustees hereinbefore named upon and subject to the conditions following that is to say—

(i.) The said property (excepting any furniture or like articles which have become useless) shall not nor shall any portion thereof at any time be sold let or otherwise alienated.

(ii.) No buildings for suburban residences shall at any time be erected on the said property and any buildings which may be erected thereon shall be used exclusively for public purposes and shall be in a style of architecture similar to or in harmony with my said residence.

(iii.) The said residence and its gardens and grounds shall be retained for a residence for the Prime Minister for the time being of the said Federal Government of the States of South Africa to which I have referred in clause 6 hereof my intention being to provide a suitable official residence for the First Minister in that Government befitting the dignity of his position and until there shall be such a Federal Government may be used as a park for the people.

(iv.) The grave of the late Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr upon the said property shall be protected and access be permitted thereto at all reasonable times by any member of the Hofmeyr family for the purpose of inspection or maintenance.

14. I give to my Trustees hereinbefore named such a sum of money as they shall carefully ascertain and in their uncontrolled discretion consider to be ample and sufficient to yield income amounting to the sum of one thousand pounds sterling per annum and not less upon trust that such income shall be applied and expended for the purposes following (that is to say)—

(i.) On and for keeping and maintaining for the use of the Prime Minister for the time being of the said Federal Government of at least two carriage horses one or more carriages and sufficient stable servants.

(ii.) On and for keeping and maintaining in good order the flower and kitchen gardens appertaining to the said residence.

(iii.) On and for the payment of the wages or earnings including board and lodging of two competent men servants to be housed kept and employed in domestic service in the said residence.

(iv.) On and for the improvement repair renewal and insurance of the said residence furniture plate and other articles.

15. I direct that subject to the conditions and trusts hereinbefore contained the said Federal Government shall from the time it shall be constituted have the management administration and control of the said devise and legacy and that my Trustees shall as soon as may be thereafter vest and pay the devise and legacy given by the last preceding clauses hereof in and to such Government if a corporate body capable of accepting and holding the same or if not then in some suitable corporate body so capable named by such Government and that in the meantime my Trustees shall in their uncontrolled discre-

tion manage administer and control the said devise and legacy.

16. Whereas I consider that the education of young Colonists at one of the Universities in the United Kingdom is of great advantage to them for giving breadth to their views for their instruction in life and manners and for instilling into their minds the advantage to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire And whereas in the case of young Colonists studying at a University in the United Kingdom I attach very great importance to the University having a residential system such as is in force at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge for without it those students are at the most critical period of their lives left without any supervision And whereas there are at the present time 50 or more students from South Africa studying at the University of Edinburgh many of whom are attracted there by its excellent medical school and I should like to establish some of the Scholarships hereinafter mentioned in that University but owing to its not having such a residential system as aforesaid I feel obliged to refrain from doing so And whereas my own University the University of Oxford has such a system and I suggest that it should try and extend its scope so as if possible to make its medical school at least as good as that at the University of Edinburgh And whereas I also desire to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which I implicitly believe will result from the union of the English-speaking people throughout the world and to encourage in the students from the United States of North America who will benefit from the American Scholarships to be established for the reason above given at the University of Oxford under this my Will an attachment to the country from which they have sprung but without I hope withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth Now therefore I direct my Trustees as soon as may be after my death and either simultaneously or gradually as they shall find convenient and if gradually then in such order as they shall

think fit to establish for male students the Scholarships hereinafter directed to be established each of which shall be of the yearly value of £300; and be tenable at any College in the University of Oxford for three consecutive academical years.

17. I direct my Trustees to establish certain Scholarships and these Scholarships I sometimes hereinafter refer to as "the Colonial Scholarships."

18. The appropriation of the Colonial Scholarships and the numbers to be annually filled up shall be in accordance with the following table:—

Total No. appropriated.	To be tenable by Students of or from	No. of Scholarships to be filled up in each year.
9	Rhodesia	3 and no more.
3	The South African College School in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.....	1 and no more.
3	The Stellenbosch College School in the same Colony	1 and no more.
3	The Diocesan College School of Rondebosch in the same Colony.....	1 and no more.
3	St. Andrew's College School, Grahamstown, in the same Colony	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Natal	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of New South Wales	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of South Australia	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Queensland	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Western Australia	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Tasmania	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of New Zealand.....	1 and no more.
3	The Province of Ontario in the Dominion of Canada	1 and no more.
3	The Province of Quebec in the Dominion of Canada	1 and no more.
3	The Colony or Island of Newfoundland and its Dependencies	1 and no more.
3	The Colony or Islands of the Bermudas....	1 and no more.
3	The Colony or Island of Jamaica.....	1 and no more.

19. I further direct my Trustees to establish additional

Scholarships sufficient in number for the appropriation in the next following clause hereof directed and those Scholarships I sometimes hereinafter refer to as "the American Scholarships."

20. I appropriate two of the American Scholarships to each of the present States and Territories of the United States of North America Provided that if any of the said Territories shall in my lifetime be admitted as a State the Scholarships appropriated to such Territory shall be appropriated to such State and that my Trustees may in their uncontrolled discretion withhold for such time as they shall think fit the appropriation of Scholarships to any Territory.

21. I direct that of the two Scholarships appropriated to a State or Territory not more than one shall be filled up in any year so that at no time shall more than two Scholarships be held for the same State or Territory.

22. The Scholarships shall be paid out of the income and in the event at any time of income being sufficient for payment in full of all the Scholarships for the time being payable I direct that (without prejudice to the vested interests of holders for the time being of Scholarships) the following order of priority shall regulate the payment of the Scholarships.

(i.) First the Scholarships of students of or from Rhodesia shall be paid.

(ii.) Secondly the Scholarships of students from the said South African Stellenbosch Rondebosch and St. Andrew's Schools shall be paid.

(iii.) Thirdly the remainder of the Colonial Scholarships shall be paid and if there shall not be sufficient income for the purpose such Scholarships shall abate proportionately; and

(iv.) Fourthly the American Scholarships shall be paid and if there shall not be sufficient income for the purpose such Scholarships shall abate proportionately.

23. My desire being that the students who shall be elected to the Scholarships shall not be merely bookworms I direct that in the election of a student to a Scholarship regard shall be had to (i.) his literary and scholastic attainments (ii.) his fondness of and success in manly outdoor sports such as cricket football and the like (iii.) his qualities of manhood truth courage devotion to duty sympathy for and protection of the weak kindness unselfishness and fellowship and (iv.) his exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his schoolmates for those latter attributes will be likely in afterlife to guide him to esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim As mere suggestions for the guidance of those who will have the choice of students for the Scholarships I record that—

(i.) My ideal qualified student would combine these four qualifications in the proportions of 4-10ths for the first 2-10ths for the second 2-10ths for the third and 2-10ths for the fourth qualification so that according to my ideas if the maximum number of marks for any Scholarship were 100 they would be apportioned as follows:—40 to the first qualification and 20 to each of the second third and fourth qualifications.

(ii.) The marks for first qualification would be awarded by examination for the second and third qualifications by ballot by the fellow-students of the candidates and for the fourth qualification by the headmaster of the candidate's school; and

(iii.) The results of the awards would be sent simultaneously to my Trustees or some one appointed to receive the

same I say simultaneously so that no awarding party should know the result of the award of any other awarding party.

24. No student shall be qualified or disqualified for election to a Scholarship on account of his race or religious opinions.

25. The election to Scholarships shall be by the Trustees after consultation with the minister having the control of education in such colony province state or territory except in the cases of the four schools hereinbefore mentioned.

26. A qualified student who has been elected as aforesaid shall within six calendar months after his election or as soon thereafter as he can be admitted into residence or within such extended time as my Trustees shall allow commence residence as an undergraduate at some college in the University of Oxford.

27. The Scholarships shall be payable to him from the time when he shall commence such residence.

28. I desire that the Scholars holding the Scholarships shall be distributed amongst the Colleges of the University of Oxford and not resort in undue numbers to one or more Colleges only.

29. Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained my Trustees may in their uncontrolled discretion suspend for such time as they shall think fit or remove any Scholar from his Scholarship.

30. My Trustees may from time to time make vary and repeal regulations either general or affecting specified Scholarships only with regard to all or any of the following matters that is to say:—

(i.) The election whether after examination or otherwise of qualified Students to the Scholarships or any of them and

the method whether by examination or otherwise in which their qualifications are to be ascertained.

(ii.) The tenure of the Scholarships by scholars.

(iii.) The suspension and removal of scholars from their Scholarships.

(iv.) The method and times of payment of the Scholarships.

(v.) The method of giving effect to my wish expressed in clause 28 hereof and

(vi.) Any and every other matter with regard to the Scholarships or any of them with regard to which they shall consider regulations necessary or desirable.

31. My Trustees may from time to time authorize regulations with regard to the election whether after examination or otherwise of qualified students for Scholarships and to the method whether by examination or otherwise in which their qualifications are to be ascertained to be made—

(i.) By a school in respect of the Scholarships tenable by its students and—

(ii.) By the Minister aforesaid of a Colony Province State or Territory in respect of the Scholarships tenable by students from such Colony Province State or Territory.

32. Regulations made under the last preceding clause hereof if and when approved of and not before by my Trustees shall be equivalent in all respects to regulations made by my Trustees.

33. No regulations made under clause 30 or made and approved of under clauses 31 and 32 hereof shall be inconsistent with any of the provisions herein contained.

34. In order that the scholars past and present may have opportunities of meeting and discussing their experiences and prospects I desire that my Trustees shall annually give a dinner to the past and present scholars able and willing to attend at which I hope my Trustees or some of them will be able to be present and to which they will I hope from time to time invite as guests persons who have shown sympathy with the views expressed by me in this my Will.

35. My Trustees hereinbefore named shall free of all duty whatsoever at such time as they shall think fit set apart out of my estate such a Scholarship fund (either by appropriation of existing investments or by making other investments or partly in one way and partly in the other) as they shall consider sufficient by its income to pay the Scholarships and in addition a yearly sum of £1,000.

36. My Trustees shall invest the Scholarship fund and the other funds hereinbefore established or any part thereof respectively in such investments in any part of the world as they shall in their uncontrolled discretion think fit and that without regard to any rules of equity governing investments by trustees and without any responsibility or liability should they commit any breach of any such rule with power to vary any such investments for others of a like nature.

37. Investments to the bearer held as an investment may be deposited by my Trustees for safe custody in their names with any banker or banking company or with any company whose business it is to take charge of investments of that nature and my Trustees shall not be responsible for any loss incurred in consequence of such deposit.

38. My Trustees shall after the death of the survivor of my said brothers and sisters hold my said interest in the said Dalston

estate as an accretion to the capital of the Scholarship fund and the net rents and profits thereof as an accretion to the income of the Scholarship fund and shall by means of the increase of income of the Scholarship fund so arising establish such number of further Scholarships of the yearly value of £300 each as such increase shall be sufficient to establish. Such further Scholarships shall be for students of such British Colony or Colonies or Dependency or Dependencies whether hereinbefore mentioned or not as my Trustees shall in their uncontrolled discretion think fit. And I direct that every such further Scholarship shall correspond in all respects with the Scholarships hereinbefore directed to be established and that the preceding provisions of this my Will which apply to the Scholarships hereinbefore directed to be established or any of them shall where applicable apply to such further Scholarships.

39. Until the Scholarship fund shall have been set apart as aforesaid I charge the same and the Scholarships upon the residue of my real and personal estate.

40. I give the residue of my real and personal estate unto such of them the said Earl of Rosebery Earl Grey Alfred Beit William Thomas Stead Lewis Loyd Michell and Bouchier Francis Hawksley as shall be living at my death absolutely and if more than one as joint tenants.

41. My Trustees in the administration of the trust business may instead of acting personally employ and pay a Secretary or Agent to transact all business and do all acts required to be done in the trust including the receipt and payment of money.

42. My intention is that there shall be always at least three Trustees of my Will so far as it relates to the Scholarship Trusts and therefore I direct that whenever there shall be less than three Trustees a new Trustee or new Trustees shall be forthwith appointed.

IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand the day and year first above written.

Signed by the said Testator The Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us both present at the same time who at his request in his presence and in the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses

C. J. RHODES.

CHARLES T. METCALFE,
P. JOURDAN,
ARTHUR SAWYER.

Jan. 1900

[Really January, 1901.]

On account of the extraordinary eccentricity of Mr. Stead though having always a great respect for him but feeling the objects of my Will would be embarrassed by his views I hereby revoke his appointment as one of my executors.

C. J. RHODES.

Witnesses

LEWIS L. MICHELL.
H. GODDEN.

America has already been provided for. C. J. R. This is a further Codicil to my Will. I note the German Emperor has made instruction in English compulsory in German schools. I leave five yearly scholarships at Oxford of £250 per ann. to students of German birth the scholars to be nominated by the German Emperor for the time being. Each scholarship to continue for three years so that each year after the first three there will be fifteen scholars. The object is that an under-

standing between the three great Powers will render war impossible and educational relations make the strongest tie.

C. J. RHODES.

Witnesses

G. V. WEBB.

W. G. V. CARTER.

ENDORSED ON BACK OF ABOVE

A yearly amount should be put in British Consols to provide for the bequests in my Will when the Diamond Mines work out: the above is an instruction to the Trustees of my Will.

C. J. R.

Jan./1901.

As a further Codicil to my Will I leave J. Grimmer ten thousand pounds and the use of my Inyanga farms for his life. This bequest takes the place of the previous written paper given to him.

C. J. RHODES.

Witness

W. G. V. CARTER.

H. GODDEN.

THIS IS A CODICIL to the last Will and Testament of me THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CECIL JOHN RHODES of Cape Town in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope which Will is dated the First day of July One thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine. I appoint the Right Honourable Alfred Lord Milner to be an Executor and Trustee of my said Will jointly with those named in my said Will as my Executors and Trustees and in all respects as though he had been originally appointed one of my Executors and Trustees by my said Will And I associate him with my residuary legatees and devisees named in clause 40 of my said Will desiring and declaring that they and he are my residuary legatees and devisees in joint tenancy

I revoke clauses 23, 24 and 25 in my said Will and in lieu thereof substitute the three following clauses which I direct shall be read as though originally clauses 23, 24 and 25 of my said Will:—

23. My desire being that the students who shall be elected to the Scholarships shall not be merely bookworms I direct that in the election of a student to a Scholarship regard shall be had to (i.) his literary and scholastic attainments (ii.) his fondness of and success in manly outdoor sports such as cricket football and the like (iii.) his qualities of manhood truth courage devotion to duty sympathy for the protection of the weak kindness unselfishness and fellowship and (iv.) his exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his schoolmates for those latter attributes will be likely in after life to guide him to esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim As mere suggestions for the guidance of those who will have the choice of students for the Scholarships I record that (i.) my ideal qualified student would combine these four qualifications in the proportions of 3-10ths for the first 2-10ths for the second 3-10ths for the third and 2-10ths for the fourth qualification so that according to my ideas if the maximum number of marks for any Scholarship were 200 they would be apportioned as follows—60 to each of the first and third qualifications and 40 to each of the second and fourth qualifications (ii.) the marks for the several qualifications would be awarded independently as follows (that is to say) the marks for the first qualification by examination for the second and third qualifications respectively by ballot by the fellow-students of the candidates and for the fourth qualification by the head master of the candidates, school and (iii.) the results of the awards (that is to say the marks obtained by each candidate for each qualification) would be sent as soon as possible for consideration to the Trustees or to some person or persons appointed to receive the same and the person or persons so appointed would

ascertain by averaging the marks in blocks of 20 marks each of all candidates the best ideal qualified students.

24. No student shall be qualified or disqualified for election to a Scholarship on account of his race or religious opinions.

25. Except in the cases of the four schools hereinbefore mentioned the election to Scholarships shall be by the Trustees after such (if any) consultation as they shall think fit with the Minister having the control of education in such Colony Province State or Territory.

IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand this Eleventh day of October One thousand nine hundred and one.

Signed by the said Cecil John Rhodes as and for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament in the presence of us all present at the same time who in his presence at his request and in the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses

C. J. RHODES

GEORGE FROST,

FRANK BROWN,

Servants to Mr. BEIT,

26, Park Lane, London.

I, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CECIL JOHN RHODES of Cape Town in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope declare this to be a second Codicil which I make this 18th day of January 1902 to my Will which is dated 1st day of July 1899.

1. I renew the statement contained in my said Will relating to my domicile.

2. I appoint the Trustees or Trustee for the time being of my said Will (hereinafter called "my Trustees or Trustee") to be the Trustees or Trustee for all purposes of the Settled Land Acts 1882 to 1890 and also for all the purposes of Section 42 of the Conveyancing and Law of Property Act 1881.

3. I devise free and discharged as hereinafter provided of all incumbrances created by me all my messuages lands and hereditaments in or arising in the parishes of Dalham Gazely Moulton Ousden and Hargrave in the County of Suffolk and in the parish of Ashley in the County of Cambridge and in any adjoining or neighbouring parish or parishes and including the Manors of Denham Dalham-cum-Dunstall and Bovills and the advowson of Dalham Rectory and all my tithe rent-charge issuing out of any of my said hereditaments in any of the said parishes and all other the hereditaments forming my Dalham Hall Estate whether included in the purchase (now in course of completion) from Sir Robert Affleck Baronet or subsequently acquired by me (which messuages lands and hereditaments are hereinafter included in the expression "The Dalham Hall Estate") to the uses and subject to the powers and provisions hereinafter contained that is to say—

4. To the use of my brother Francis Rhodes for his life without impeachment of waste With remainder.

5. To the use of his first and other sons successively according to seniority in tail male With remainder,

6. To the use of my brother Ernest Frederick Rhodes for his life without impeachment of waste With remainder.

7. To the use of his first and other sons successively according to seniority in tail male With remainder,

8. To the use of the devisees of my general residuary estate.

9. If any person hereby made tenant in tail male of the Dalham Hall Estate shall be living at or be born in due time after my death then I revoke the state in tail male hereby limited to any and every such person and instead of and by way of substitution for the estate in tail male hereby revoked of any person I devise (freed and discharged as aforesaid) the Dalham Hall Estate (but subject to and in remainder after the estates preceding such estate in tail male) To the use of the same person for life without impeachment of waste with remainder To the use of his first and other sons successively according to seniority in tail male with the like remainders over as are hereinbefore limited after such revoked estate in tail male.

10. Whereas I feel that it is the essence of a proper life that every man should during some substantial period thereof have some definite occupation and I object to an expectant heir developing into what I call a "loafer" And whereas the rental of the Dalham Hall Estate is not more than sufficient for the maintenance of the estate and my experience is that one of the things making for the strength of England is the ownership of country estates which could maintain the dignity and comfort of the head of the family but that this position has been absolutely ruined by the practice of creating charges upon the estates either for younger children or for the payment of debts whereby the estates become insufficient to maintain the head of the family in dignity and comfort And whereas I humbly believe that one of the secrets of England's strength has been the existence of a class termed "The country landlords" who devote their efforts to the maintenance of those on their own property And whereas this is my own experience Now therefore I direct that if any person who under the limitations hereinbefore contained shall become entitled as tenant for life or as tenant in tail male by purchase to the possession or to the receipts of the rents and profits of the Dalham Hall Estate

shall attempt to assign charge or incumber his interest in the Dalham Hall Estate or any part thereof or shall do or permit any act or thing or any event shall happen by or in consequence of which he would cease to be entitled to such interest if the same were given to him absolutely or if any such person as aforesaid (excepting in this case my said brothers Francis Rhodes and Ernest Frederick Rhodes) (i.) shall not when he shall become so entitled as aforesaid have been for at least ten consecutive years engaged in some profession or business or (ii.) if not then engaged in some profession or business and (such profession or business not being that of the Army) not then also a member of some militia or volunteer corps shall not within one year after becoming so entitled as aforesaid or (being an infant) within one year after attaining the age of twenty-one years whichever shall last happen unless in any case prevented by death become engaged in some profession or business and (such profession or business not being that of the Army) also become a member of some militia or volunteer corps or (iii.) shall discontinue to be engaged in any profession or business before he shall have been engaged for 10 consecutive years in some profession or business then and in every such case and forthwith if such person shall be tenant for life then his estate for life shall absolutely determine and if tenant in tail male then his estate in tail male shall absolutely determine and the Dalham Hall Estate shall but subject to estates if any prior to the estate of such person immediately go to the person next in remainder under the limitations hereinbefore contained in the same manner as if in the case of a person whose estate for life is so made to determine that person were dead or in the case of a person whose estate in tail male is so made to determine were dead and there were a general failure of issue of that person inheritable to the estate which is so made to determine. Provided that the determination of an estate for life shall not prejudice or affect any contingent remainders expectant thereon

and that after such determination the Dalham Hall Estate shall but subject to estates if any prior as aforesaid remain to the use of the Trustees appointed by my said Will and the Codicil thereto dated the 11th day of October 1901 during the residue of the life of the person whose estate for life so determines upon trust during the residue of the life of that person to pay the rents and profits of the Dalham Hall Estates to or permit the same to be received by the person or persons for the time being entitled under the limitations hereinbefore contained to the first vested estate in remainder expectant on the death of that person.

11. I give all arrears of rents and profits due to me at my death and all shares and proportions of rents and profits not actually due but accruing due at my death and payable to my estate after my death from the Dalham Hall Estate but subject to payment of all outgoings properly chargeable against the same and not discharged in my lifetime and also all my wines liquors and consumable stores at my death in or about Dalham Hall and all my carriage horses harness and stable furniture and effects and garden and farming live and dead stock and effects which at my death shall be in or about Dalham Hall or the stables thereof or in or about any other part of the Dalham Hall Estate to my brother Francis Rhodes or other the person who at my death shall become entitled to the possession or to the receipt of the rents and profits of the Dalham Hall Estate.

12. I give all my plate linen china glass books pictures prints furniture and articles of household use or ornament which at my death shall be in or about Dalham Hall (hereinafter referred to as "the heirlooms") unto the Trustees named in my said Will and Codicil Upon trust that my Trustees or Trustee shall allow the same to be used and enjoyed so far as the law permits by the persons or person who under the limitations hereinbefore contained is or are for the time being in the actual possession or in the receipt of the rents and profits of the Dalham Hall

Estate but so that the heirlooms shall not vest absolutely in any person being tenant in tail male by purchase who does not attain the age of 21 years but on the death of such person under the age of 21 years shall go and devolve in the same manner as if they had been freehold hereditaments of inheritance and had been included in the devise in settlement hereinbefore contained. And I direct that an inventory of the heirlooms except such of them as from their trifling value or perishable nature or from any other cause it may be considered inexpedient to include in an inventory as to which I give full discretion to my Trustees or Trustee shall be taken in duplicate as soon as convenient after my death and each copy shall be signed by the person entitled to the use of the heirlooms therein specified and by my Trustees or Trustee and one copy shall be delivered to the person entitled to the possession of the heirlooms therein specified who shall sign a receipt for the same and the other copy shall be kept by my Trustees or Trustee. And I empower my Trustees or Trustee from time to time and until the heirlooms shall become absolutely vested to inspect the same and to provide for the custody preservation or restoration and repair and insurance thereof (so far as the same are capable of insurance) at the expense of the usufructuary but my Trustees or Trustee shall not incur any liability by neglect or omission so to do. And I declare that the heirlooms or any of them may from time to time with the consent of my Trustees be exchanged or the form or fashion thereof altered or other articles substituted at the expense of the usufructuary for the time being provided the intrinsic value thereof be not diminished and thereupon the inventories shall be altered accordingly And I declare that when a receipt as hereinbefore provided shall have been signed by the person entitled to the use of the heirlooms my Trustees or Trustee shall not be liable in any way for any loss damage or deception or for any omission to insure or any other omission or any unauthorised dealing or disposi-

tion therewith. And that my Trustees or Trustee may with the consent of any usufructuary or if there be no such person of full age then at their or his discretion let the use and enjoyment of the heirlooms or any of them together with Dalham Hall under any lease capable of being made thereof provided that the tenant covenant or agree with Trustees or Trustee to keep the same during his tenancy in repair and insured against loss or damage by fire so far as they are capable of being so insured and during any such tenancy my Trustees or Trustee shall not be liable for any loss damage or depreciation in respect of the heirlooms delivered to the tenant.

13. I direct that within two years after my death my Trustees or Trustee shall by means of moneys forming part of or raised by sale or mortgage of my South Africa property situate out of the United Kingdom pay off and discharge any incumbrances on the Dalham Hall Estate or any part thereof created by me and existing at my death and procure the incumbered property to be freed and discharged from such incumbrances and in the meantime shall out of the like moneys pay the interest payable in respect of such incumbrances.

14. Whereas I am not satisfied that the fortune of my said brother Francis Rhodes is sufficient to enable him to keep up the Dalham Hall Estate therefore I give to him out of the income of my South African property situate out of the United Kingdom an annuity of £2,000 during his life but only so long as he shall be entitled to the actual possession or to the receipt of the rents and profits of the Dalham Hall Estate under the limitations hereinbefore contained.

15. If at my death the aforesaid purchase from the said Sir R. Affleck shall not have been completed then I direct my Trustees or Trustee at the expense of my South African property situate out of the United Kingdom to pay the purchase-

money for and in all respects to complete such purchase and I give them or him all sufficient powers and authorities to enable them or him to do so including power to raise money for such completion by the mortgage of the said purchased estate such mortgage being for the purpose of clause 13 hereof considered an incumbrance created by me existing at my death and I direct that the purchased estate shall be conveyed to the Trustees named in my said Will to uses necessary or proper to give effect to this present Codicil And subject as aforesaid I confirm my said Will and the said Codicil of the 11th day of October 1901.

IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand this Eighteenth day of January One thousand nine hundred and two.

Signed by the said Cecil John Rhodes as and
 for a second Codicil to his said Will in the
 presence of us present at the same time
 who at his request in his presence and in
 the presence of each other have hereunto
 subscribed our names as witnesses.) C. J. RHODES.

A. SAWYER,

C. PIRMIN,

Servants at the Burlington Hotel, W., London.

March 12, 1902.

I make Dr. Jameson one of the Trustees to my Will with the same rights as Lord Milner Lord Rosebery Mr. Michell Lord Grey Mr. Beit and Mr. Hawksley.

C. J. RHODES.

Witness

G. J. KRIEGER.

A. HELALER.

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