

SOUTH AFRICA FROM WITHIN

SOUTH AFRICA FROM WITHIN

BY

MANFRED NATHAN, K.C.

Author of "The South African Commonwealth," "The
Renaissance of International Law," etc.

WITH MAP.

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

First Edition

1926

PREFACE

I HAVE endeavoured in this work to give a bird's-eye view of life in the Union of South Africa, beginning with an account of its history and political development, a knowledge of which is necessary to understand the relationships between the different races which inhabit the Dominion. As far as I am aware, no work deals with the history of the Union after its inauguration in 1910, and I have accordingly devoted more attention to events since that date. Of these I have treated in what, I hope, is a strictly historical spirit, without regard to political prepossessions or prejudices.

The second part deals with life in the Union and its problems at the present day, my object being to convey some idea of existing conditions to the reader who desires information in a small compass. Although this work is in no sense a guide-book, the last chapter contains some indications with regard to places to visit and the means of getting there, so that the work may, in some measure, serve for reference by those who are unacquainted with the country.

M. N.

JOHANNESBURG,
SOUTH AFRICA,
1926.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
PREFACE	5

PART I

HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

I THE FOUNDATIONS	11
II THE BOER REPUBLICS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS	26
III BOER WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND ITS RESULTS	40
IV THE NATIVE PROTECTORATES—	
(a) The Basutos	48
(b) The Bechuanas	51
(c) The Swazis	53
V PRESIDENT KRUGER AND THE "UITLANDERS"	60
VI THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899-1902).	81
VII THE POST-BELLUM PERIOD (1902-1910)	106
VIII THE FIRST YEARS OF UNION	126

PART II

SOUTH AFRICA AS IT IS

IX THE COUNTRY	193
X THE PEOPLE	220
XI GOVERNMENT	239
XII INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE	255
XIII POLITICAL PARTIES AND PROBLEMS	268
XIV TRAVEL AND SOCIAL LIFE	291

PART I
HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATIONS

THE quotation from Pliny, *Ex Africa semper aliquid novi*, though hackneyed, nevertheless has in it several elements of truth, particularly when it is applied to the southern portion of the continent. Throughout its eventful and sometimes dramatic history, South Africa has, in one aspect or another, presented surprising phases; and, though far removed from the world centres of civilisation, it has at all times attracted attention—not so much, perhaps, by reason of its fascination and allurements as of the atmosphere of mystery which has surrounded it.

It is as well to remember, at the outset, that the term “South Africa” is used in three senses. There is, firstly, the South Africa of the geographers. This extends, roughly, below and along the 15th parallel of south latitude, from Mossamedes on the west coast to Mozambique on the east. Next, the term is used in a conventional sense, as including the territory to the south of a line drawn from the mouth of the Cunene River on the west to the mouth of the Zambezi on the east, including the whole southern or right bank of the Zambezi. Lastly, the term is restricted, in a political sense, to the Union of South Africa. Nevertheless, there are several other territories included within this sphere, which are separate political entities,

and are classed as South African. These are the colony of Southern Rhodesia, the British Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa, and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique or Portuguese East Africa. The present work deals, in the main, with the Union, and incidentally with the other British territories and protectorates which have been mentioned, including the Mandated Territory.

When Bartholomew Diaz, the Portuguese navigator, rounded the peninsula at the south-west extremity of the continent in 1486 (later authorities say 1487), he called it the Cape of Storms. Dom John of Portugal, however, changed it to the Cape of Good Hope—more, it is presumed, by reason of the prospect it offered of a fair passage to the Indies than on account of the expectations which it created in itself. Notwithstanding the change of name, seafaring men dreaded the uninviting Cape and its unknown inhabitants for one hundred and seventy years after this, making it no more than an occasional place of call. In 1620 Andrew Shilling hoisted the British flag, but made no effective occupation. Only in 1648 did two shipwrecked Hollanders suggest to the Dutch East India Company that it might be worth its while to take possession of the territory at the Cape and establish a settlement there. Accordingly, in 1652, the Company sent Jan van Riebeeck as its Commander to establish a fort and a place of call for East Indiamen. The Company retained possession of the Cape for one hundred and forty-three years. During this period comparatively little was done to develop the settlement. The first burghers were Hollanders and Germans, the latter mainly from Holstein and Lübeck. They worked for

the Company or paid it tribute, and were settled mainly in what is now known as the Cape Peninsula. The most interesting event of the early period was the importation of a number of French Huguenot refugees, who were placed on the land in the neighbourhood of Stellenbosch and Paarl, and chiefly at Frenchhoek and Drakenstein. The Company, which had its seat in a country famed for toleration, nevertheless took care to suppress the French language entirely. The settlement was slow to extend. It was not until the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century that farmers began to settle near Mossel Bay, 240 miles east of Cape Town. In 1752 an expedition reached the Kei, which was for many years the eastern boundary of the Cape Colony. In 1778 the north-eastern limit was fixed at a spot near the present town of Colesberg, not far south of the Orange River. The Orange River itself was crossed for the first time by a Boer named Coetzee in 1760, but only received its name in 1779. The first journey to the extreme north-west of the Colony was made by Governor Simon van der Stel in 1685. He found copper ore in the Copper Mountains of Namaqualand, and conceived vast dreams of the fabulous wealth of that region, which were not destined to be realised. It is, in truth, a barren desert, and was left neglected for many years, although copper did, in fact, exist, and was mined on a fairly profitable scale from 1852. The largest venture, the Cape Copper Company, paid some £5,000,000 in dividends between 1864 and 1915.

The rule of the Company was harsh, and many burghers who were desirous of escaping from its effective jurisdiction "trekked" eastwards, first to Swellendam, then to Oudtshoorn, and north-eastwards to

Graaff-Reinet. At Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet they set up republics, and the trouble between them and the Company had not terminated when, to everybody's surprise, a British force under Admiral Elphinstone captured the Cape during the Revolutionary War (1795). General Craig assumed the government, and, though a military man, was probably the best civil Governor the Cape ever had. He was conciliatory to the Dutch people, and respected their laws and customs. In 1802, by the Peace of Amiens, the Cape was returned to Holland. In 1806 it was recaptured by a British force under Sir David Baird, but the cession to Great Britain was legalised by the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, when a sum of £6,000,000 was paid for the Dutch colonies retained by England.

In 1815, under Governor (Lord Charles) Somerset, a rising of Boers took place at Slachter's Nek, near Cookhouse, in the Eastern Province, in consequence of the shooting of a farmer named Bezuidenhout, who had fired on a party sent to arrest him for disobeying a warrant. The rising was suppressed, and five ring-leaders were hanged. This affair was for fully a century the cause of anti-British feeling. It is fair, however, to mention that the judges who tried and sentenced the men were Dutch, as were the witnesses for the prosecution, while the Governor himself suggested leniency. On the other hand, he was weak in confirming some of the death sentences—though it must be remembered that, in South Africa, when Dutchmen have been sentenced to death for alleged rebellion or treason British officials have, as a rule, remitted the sentences in whole or part, whereas Dutch politicians have carried out such sentences to the letter in the case of their own countrymen. A note-

worthy exception to this stern practice occurred in 1896, when President Kruger commuted the death sentences of the leading "Reformers" at Johannesburg—and they were not Boers.

Lord Charles Somerset, however, was an autocrat, although, at the same time, he was desirous of improving the condition of the Cape Colony. He advocated the settlement of the Eastern Districts by emigrants from England, his main object being to erect a barrier against the irruption of Kaffir marauders, who inhabited what was comprehensively known as Kaffirland. The first Kaffir War began in 1811, and there was a whole series of such conflicts at intervals until 1880, when the country was pacified (except for a sporadic outbreak in Pondoland in 1894). Into the details of these Kaffir wars it is unnecessary to enter. The case of the colonists (both British and Boer) was that native raids and robberies on the border made life unsafe, and that the perpetrators were aided and abetted by their chiefs. The native side of the case (for there are two sides to every case) has never been adequately presented. The fact remains that the Kaffir was gradually pushed back, losing his territory proportionately in the process. It might be said of him that "he drags at each remove a lengthening chain." The ultimate result was that the whole of the territory eastwards from Grahamstown and north-eastwards from Bedford to Natal was annexed to the Cape.

In 1820 the main party of British settlers reached Algoa Bay (thenceforward known as Port Elizabeth), and were located mainly in Albany, of which Grahamstown is the capital, while some few of them went to the Bedford and Tarka districts. They were some 4,000 in number, and were the ancestors of the main

portion of the British population of the Cape Colony. They were not treated sympathetically by the Governor, and one of their leaders, Thomas Pringle the poet, went to Cape Town to fill the position of librarian, but chiefly to wage a Press campaign. Lord Charles Somerset then instituted a Press censorship. He also restricted the right of public meeting, and even interfered with a private debating society (of which the Chief Justice, Sir John Truter, was a member). In 1827 the English language was introduced in the Courts. At the same time the judicial use of the Dutch language was suppressed, and it was not restored until 1884.

The Boers, who, on the whole, had settled down peaceably under British rule, began to complain of unjust treatment during the time of Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban, although they had no fault to find with the Governor himself. One of their long-standing grievances was that too ready an ear was lent in Downing Street to the representations of the missionaries among the Hottentots, who stated that the Hottentots were maltreated by the Dutch. One of the most aggressive of the missionaries was the Rev. Dr. Philip, who was both unbridled and reckless in his statements. Lord Glenelg, the Secretary for the Colonies, was a firm adherent of the Exeter Hall School, who vigorously supported the missionaries, and—at a distance of 6,000 miles—confirmed their reports. The Boers, as well as the British, of the eastern border, also complained of the policy pursued with regard to the Kaffirs. After the border war of 1835 the chiefs acknowledged all the country to the Kei as British, and its inhabitants as British subjects. This settlement, made by D'Urban, was reversed by Glenelg, who moved the boundary back to the Great

Fish River, and subsequently dismissed D'Urban from office. In 1834, also, had come the emancipation of slaves; and many of the slave-holding farmers complained that the compensation paid them was on so inadequate a scale that they were reduced to beggary. The Great Trek of Boers from the Colony to the unknown regions in the north now began (1836). Comparatively few of the former slave-holders took part in the Trek, and the main cause of grievance seems to have been the policy of the Colonial Office in regard to the native aborigines, coupled with the undue weight given to the statements of the missionaries, and the memory of Slachter's Nek.

The Trek is the great epical period in Boer history. The vicissitudes of the pioneer parties constitute an Odyssey, comparable with the experiences of Daniel Boone, Kit Carson, and others who first opened the way into the Middle and Western States of the American Union. All that was known of the country beyond the Orange, whither they were bound, was that it was inhabited by savage beasts and still more savage men. The first party was led by Louis Trichard, who crossed the Orange and the Vaal, and penetrated as far north as the Zoutpansberg. There they were attacked by fever, and were compelled to make their way to the coast. They passed through Ohrigstad, and ultimately Trichard reached Delagoa Bay, in Portuguese territory, where he died. At the close of 1836 Pieter Retief left the Colony. Before he crossed the Orange, he issued a declaration in which he set forth the reasons for the departure of the Boers from their mother country (the Cape), and asserted their independence thenceforth of the British Government. Other notable leaders were Maritz and Potgieter,

Landman and Uys. In the Free State the *trekkers* encountered the warriors of Moselikatse, who murdered some Boers, but were put to flight, and subsequently, after further fights in the territory now known as the Transvaal, went north, and founded the Matabele nation. The Boers established their first republic at Winburg, Retief being elected "Governor," and Maritz President of the *Volksraad* or People's Council. Retief now conceived the idea of settling with some of the *voortrekkers* (pioneers) in the territory east of the Drakensberg, known as Natal. This was regarded as the domain of Dingaan, the Zulu King, and it was accordingly deemed necessary to visit that potentate and obtain his permission to settle there.

The Zulu nation had been welded into shape by Chaka, and had become the most powerful of the native tribes. It was of comparatively recent origin, although in these matters one is on uncertain ground, as the African aboriginal tribes have no written records. About 1780 the chief of the comparatively small Zulu tribe was Senzangakona, and he paid tribute to the then powerful tribe known as Umtetwa. Godongwana, one of two sons of the Umtetwa chief Jobe, plotted with his brother to kill their father. The plot was discovered, and Godongwana fled. He returned after fifteen years on a horse, a strange animal which no native north of the Umzimvubu had ever seen. Thenceforward he was called Dingiswayo ("the Wanderer"). During his exile he had lived at the Cape, and had there noticed how the British forces were divided into regiments and companies, and how they were disciplined and trained. He was now hailed as rightful chief of the Umtetwa, and organised his young men according to the system he had observed. About

1805 a son of the Zulu chief Senzangakona, named Chaka, was compelled, as the result of a quarrel to flee from his ancestral *kraal*. He took refuge with Dingiswayo. On the death of Senzangakona, Chaka, though not the lawful heir, was chosen chief of the Zulus. He trained them according to the methods he had learned from his patron. About 1818 Dingiswayo was taken prisoner by Zwide, chief of the Umdwandwe, and was put to death. His tribe then attached themselves to the Zulus. Thereby Chaka became a powerful chief.

Chaka, who lived until 1828, was both ambitious and bloodthirsty. He aimed at dominion over all the natives of South Africa. In order to attain this, he organised the whole tribe on a strict military basis, and introduced the short stabbing *assegai* as their destructive weapon. All who could not fight were useless, and were accordingly put to death. Warriors were not allowed to marry, although the king's choice of brides was unlimited, and he might seize the wife of any man. He was known as the "black Napoleon," and was not devoid of military ability, though he succeeded rather by the terror of his name than by any special genius in strategy or tactics. Another cognomen, derived from his more ferocious attributes, was "the Hyena-man." At the height of his power he had an army of 100,000 men, so-called Zulus, but really drawn from nearly every tribe between Delagoa Bay and St. John's River. Chaka was always friendly in his attitude to the English, and in 1824 he made a grant of land, twenty-five miles along the coast and one hundred miles inland, situate at Port Natal (now Durban), to three Englishmen, Fynn, Farewell, and King. In 1828 Chaka was murdered by his brothers Dingaan and Mahlangana, with the connivance of his

prime minister Umbopu. Dingaan became king of the Zulus. The story of Chaka's life and death is romantically told in Haggard's novel, *Nada the Lily*. In three other stories (*Marie, Child of the Storm*, and *Finished*) Haggard has completed the tale of the whole Zulu royal house. *Nada the Lily* has a considerable foundation in fact.

Dingaan had neither the ability nor the courage of the brother whom he had assassinated. He was both treacherous and a coward, as well as a wholesale murderer, without military qualities to redeem his vices. Nevertheless, it was to him that Retief had to pay court, if he wished to gain a grant of land in Natal. In October, 1837, Retief visited the English at Port Natal, and then proceeded to Dingaan's *kraal* at Umgungundhlovo. The chief received the Boer leader graciously, but it was not until the third day that Retief was able to prefer his request for a grant of land. In response, Dingaan accused Retief's men of having shot certain Zulus and stolen their cattle. Retief repudiated the charge, designated the Mantatee chief Sikonyella as the aggressor, and promised that he would try to recover the cattle. With his men he proceeded to Sikonyella's country, and captured that chief, whereupon the stolen cattle were restored. At the end of January, 1838, Retief, with a party of seventy, set out once more for Dingaan's *kraal*. The cattle were restored, and, to show his gratitude, Dingaan executed a deed (whose authenticity has since been disputed by Sir George Cory), ceding to Retief and his countrymen "the place called Port Natal," with all the land annexed, from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu River westward, and from the sea to the north. On the morning of February 6th, as the Boers were preparing to depart, a message arrived from the

king inviting them to drink a parting draught with him at his *kraal*. They were asked to leave their muskets outside, as it was contrary to Zulu etiquette for weapons to be brought within the royal precincts. They were without suspicion, and complied. It may be mentioned that this was the only occasion in history on which Boers allowed themselves to appear unarmed in the presence of a force of unknown natives. After the Boers entered, they sat down to drink beer, in the presence of Dingaana. The Zulus executed a war dance, and drew nearer to the guests. All of a sudden they threw themselves on the Boers, and felled them to the ground. Some few attempted to resist with their clasp-knives, but it was of no avail. All were dragged to the hill of slaughter outside, and there despatched with *knob-kerries*. Retief was kept alive till the end to witness the death of his friends.

Flushed with his "success," Dingaana ordered his *impis* to cross the Tugela and slay every Boer who had entered Natal. The advanced Boer parties were massacred at Weenen (Weeping), six hundred men, women and children being killed within a week. A party of twenty English settlers, at Port Natal, led by R. Biggar, now attempted, with the aid of seven hundred friendly Zulus, to make a diversion in favour of the Boers, but was overwhelmed, only four men escaping. The Boers beyond the "Berg," when the news was brought to them, made preparations to avenge their comrades, and some four hundred of them, under Hendrik Potgieter and Piet Uys, advanced to meet Dingaana. On April 11th, however, they fell into a trap laid by the Zulus, and escaped with difficulty, among the slain being Uys and his son Dirk, a boy of fifteen, who rode at his side. The Boers now had

to wait for reinforcements. In December, 1838, Andries Pretorius led four hundred and sixty men to the final assault. On the 16th, while laagered on the Umhlatusi (since known as Blood River), they were attacked by the main Zulu army; but, having fire-arms, whereas the natives had only assegais, they totally defeated the attackers in a three hours' fight, killing thousands, while their own losses were under a dozen. Dingaan did not wait to meet the Boers, but fled. The Boers advanced to the centre of lower Natal, and founded Pietermaritzburg, where they established the Republic of Natal. They now made an alliance with Panda, Dingaan's brother, and with him made an attack on the remnant of Dingaan's forces in January, 1840. Dingaan was defeated, and fled into Swaziland, where he perished shortly after (some say he was assassinated, which would have been more in conformity with the traditions of his house).

The constitution of the Republic of Natal was not designed to ensure stability or permanence. There was a *Volksraad* or legislature of twenty-four members, but the president and executive were changed every three months. If any measure of importance was to be taken, a meeting of *het volk* (the people) was summoned to sanction it, and the measure was passed or rejected by those who chose to attend. It is true that in this there was the germ of the referendum (such as was adopted at this period in Switzerland), but as decrees of one day were reversed on the next; there was no continuity. Everyone was free to disobey the laws—which, often, had ceased to be laws at the date of disobedience. The Republic, also, had its external troubles. On the one hand, it attempted to exercise a sort of suzerainty over the Boers at Winburg (Free State) and Potchefstroom (Transvaal),

which was resented. On the other, Sir George Napier, the Cape Governor, who was at first friendly to the Boers, strongly disapproved of an attack made by Andries Pretorius on a Kaffir tribe living on the Cape frontier. In obedience to instructions from London, he notified the *Volksraad* that the Queen (Victoria) could not acknowledge the independence of her subjects. He suggested self-government with an acknowledgment of British supremacy, but this was indignantly rejected. Napier then issued a proclamation stating that he intended resuming occupation of Port Natal, from which the British garrison had been withdrawn. A force under Captain Smith now occupied Durban, and a fight ensued, the Boers capturing the harbour and settlement, and blockading the British camp. Dick King, a British resident (and since then a Natal hero) escaped, and rode six hundred miles to Grahams town in nine days to beg for reinforcements. These were sent, and Natal was relieved. It is a curious commentary on subsequent events that at this stage the authorities in London were undecided as to their policy, and doubted whether a colony could with advantage be established in Natal. At the same time, they would not admit Boer independence. Finally on the strong representations of Napier, Lord Stanley (afterwards 14th Earl of Derby) consented to the proclamation of Natal as a British colony. This took place in 1843. Henry Cloete was appointed special commissioner to attempt to conciliate the people of Pietermaritzburg. The Boers consented that the Drakensberg should be the boundary of Natal, and that the Winburg and Potchefstroom republics were not to be interfered with. In fact, most of the Boers left Natal altogether, and at the end of the year not

more than five hundred Boer families remained there.

The story of the *voortrekkers* has been dealt with at some length, for three reasons. It shows that in times of extreme need, British and Boers were prepared to stand side by side to resist the menace of overthrow at the hands of barbarian enemies. Secondly, it affords a clue to the attitude which the Boers have always assumed towards the natives. The treachery of Dingaan made an indelible impression on their minds. They have been accused of ill-treatment of the natives, and David Livingstone, when a missionary in Bechuanaland, charged them with various malpractices, such as slave-holding. These charges the Boers have repudiated; their constant claim has been that the native must be treated firmly and justly, but without undue indulgence; and they justify their attitude by many instances of cruelty and treachery on the part of the natives towards the whites, of cruelty and savage superstitions practised by native chiefs on their own subjects, and by the incontrovertible fact that even at the present day a white woman, English or Dutch, is not safe from molestation or assault at the hands of natives, whether on a remote and solitary farm, or in the heart of a large town. Lastly, and most important, it shows that the authorities in Downing Street were never content to leave well alone, and allow the colonists, British or Boer, to work out their own salvation. If only the home authorities had sat still, everything would have dropped into England's lap. The Boers had their own internal dissensions, which even resulted in civil war. Their republics became impoverished and enfeebled, and at one time they would have been glad to be "taken over" at any price. The result was resistance and

warfare instead of contentment. Instead of sitting still, however, some British administrations loved nothing better than ignorant and ill-timed interference with the colonists; and the policy of one Cabinet was constantly reversed by its successor. There is nothing which colonists, equal heirs with the fellow-Englishmen or fellow-Hollanders to the traditions of liberty bequeathed by William the Silent and the advisers of William the Third, resent more than not being left to manage their own affairs. The lack of continuity and of any settled principle in colonial policy was the blight of English administration throughout the nineteenth century. It arose, in the first instance, from the habit of lending a ready ear to charges against the Boers; but, before long, the English colonist found that, if anything, people in England regarded him as something lower than a Boer. He resented the contemptuous way in which "colonists" (a term of which he was, and is, proud) were spoken of. He resented the constant disregard of his advice, born of local knowledge and experience. To-day, perhaps, the pendulum has swung too far in the other direction. Colonists are *fêted* and made much of, without regard to their real merits and to the extent to which they have deserved well of their country. And, while the South African honestly endeavours to treat the native with justice, it cannot be said that he is invariably equitable in the consideration of native claims to fair treatment. Apart from this, at least one judge (whose sentences have been widely commented upon both in the British and the South African Press) has created an impression (possibly erroneous) that the black man, in the eyes of the law, does not stand on the same footing as the white.

CHAPTER II

THE BOER REPUBLICS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

IN the territory north of the Orange and west of the Drakensberg the British Government was not prepared to exercise control over the emigrant farmers. At the same time, inconsistently enough, it concluded a treaty with Moshesh, the founder of the Basuto nation, placing him under its protection; and a similar treaty was made with Adam Kok, chief of the Griquas, and ultimately the whole of the territory was placed in the hands of a British resident, whose post was on the site of the existing town of Bloemfontein. In 1848 the Cape Governor, Sir Harry Smith, issued a proclamation declaring British sovereignty over the territory, which was now known as the Orange River Sovereignty. The republican party, headed by Andries Pretorius, resisted this, but were repulsed in a fight (hardly to be called a battle) at Boomplaats (August 28th, 1848). Pretorius, with other opponents of British rule, then retreated beyond the Vaal. The next thing was that Moshesh became a source of trouble to the British resident, and asked Pretorius to help him. To avoid this new danger, a British commissioner (Sir George Clerk) entered into the Sand River Convention in 1852, whereby the independence of the Transvaal was acknowledged. And now the British

Government, repenting of its earlier annexation, decided to abandon the sovereignty. This was done by formal proclamation (January 30th, 1854). On March 11th, 1854, the republican flag was hoisted, and later in the same month the constitution of the Orange Free State was adopted. It was a simple document, providing for a president and a *Volksraad*, and in the result presented no difficulties in its working. Apart from wars with the Basutos, who for many years were a source of trouble, until a definitive treaty was made in 1869 by the intervention of the British High Commissioner, the Free State had an uneventful and orderly existence and, on the testimony of an impartial student like Mr. James (Viscount) Bryce, was one of the model republics of the world.

In the same year (1854) the Cape Colony received what was then regarded as a very liberal constitution, with a legislature of two houses, an assembly and a legislative council. The franchise was based on a property and earning qualification, no distinction being made between Europeans and natives, with the result that in course of time a considerable number of natives became voters. The grant of the constitution was really the outcome of another blunder on the part of the British Government, which in 1849 had proposed to settle convicts at the Cape who had been sentenced to transportation. This led to the Anti-Convict Movement, in which the feelings of the colonists were so vigorously roused that Downing Street ultimately had to give way.

In the Transvaal there were three little republics—at Potchefstroom, Zoutpansberg, and Lydenburg. There was discord between them, both civil and ecclesiastical—the latter resulting in a separation between

the orthodox or "Dopper" section and the more liberal section of the Dutch Reformed Church. Through the efforts of Marthinus Wessels Pretorius, son of Andries Pretorius, it was resolved, at a series of public meetings held throughout the territory, to form a new state. The constitution of the South African Republic was accordingly adopted in 1858, and in 1860 Pretoria became the capital. The new constitution, however, gave dissatisfaction, and it was not until 1860 that Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg were incorporated. Pretorius was the first president of the South African Republic. In this year, also, he was elected President of the Orange Free State, a somewhat anomalous position, but one which he accepted in the hope of uniting the two Republics. He had previously attempted to force union by military measures, but had been worsted. Dissension again arose, and Pretorius resigned, the Transvaalers being opposed to union. There were rival acting presidents and rival commandants-general in the Transvaal. Civil strife broke out, and Commandant Paul Kruger, of Rustenburg, attacked Potchefstroom. In 1863 Pretorius resigned the presidency of the Free State, and sought anew to bring the contestant parties to terms. At the beginning of 1864 a conference was held at which peace was made.

The struggle had left the Transvaal exhausted, and its treasury in a state of bankruptcy, from which it was not to recover for over twenty years. The Cape Colony, also, was in a state of extreme depression in the eighteen-sixties. For some years before that, it had made considerable progress under Sir George Grey, who, by common consent, was one of the wisest administrators, both at the Cape and in New Zealand,

who ever represented the mother country. Like D'Urban, however, Grey did not escape recall at the hands of a Secretary of State, although he was reinstated after a short period. Later on, Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Hercules Robinson (Lord Rosmead) obtained the distinction of recall. Among the more promising performances of the 'sixties were the opening of a railway from Cape Town to Wellington (1863), the construction (1860) of a breakwater in Table Bay, the incorporation (1865) of the Province of British Kaffraria, and the establishment (1869) of the ostrich feather industry through the successful domestication of ostriches. Notwithstanding these marks of advance, however, the fortunes of the Colony were at an extremely low ebb.

It was at this moment that the unexpected happened. In 1867 diamonds were discovered in the district of Hope Town, near the Orange River. Then came the discovery of the "river diggings" on the Vaal. Next followed the "dry diggings" at Dutoitspan and Bultfontein, and in 1871 came the "New Rush" in the immediate vicinity, at the mines now known to fame as Kimberley and De Beers. Before long it was realised that here were the richest deposits of diamonds in the world. A fresh source of wealth—in fact, the greatest industry the Cape Colony ever possessed—was opened up, and new settlers flocked to this region from all parts of the world. Among them were Cecil Rhodes, Alfred Beit, B. I. Barnato, Dr. L. S. Jameson, Dr. J. W. Matthews, and other well-known names.

Difficulties, however, arose with regard to the territory of Griqualand, in which the diamond mines were situated. On the one hand, it was claimed by Water-

boer, the Griqua chief; the Orange Free State laid claim to the eastern portion, in which part of the "fields" was situated. The respective claims were based on alleged treaty rights. Waterboer now offered to place himself under British administration. On October 27th, 1871, British sovereignty was proclaimed, whereupon a party in the *Volksraad* of the Free State, which was ruled by a moderate and able President, John Henry Brand, who was truly regarded as the father of his people (he continued in the presidency from 1863 to 1888), desired to go to war with Great Britain. More pacific counsels, however, prevailed, and in the end the matter was settled, after much irritation, by a grant of £90,000—which was, of course, a totally inadequate compensation for the rights surrendered by the Free State. An important mine was discovered in the Free State itself, at Jagersfontein, and this, and the trade with Kimberley, considerably enhanced the prosperity of the State. The Transvaal also claimed rights over the diggings on the northern bank of the Vaal, through grants from Baralong and Batlapin chiefs, while Waterboer, through an enterprising agent, asserted his rights to these as well. The matter was referred to an arbitration court, with the British Governor of Natal (Mr. R. W. Keate) as referee. As usually happens in arbitrations, the arbitrators disagreed, and Keate gave his award in favour of Waterboer. A consequence of the award was that the district of Bloemhof, which undoubtedly had always belonged to the South African Republic, now fell within the land assigned to Waterboer. It was felt that this was going to extremes, and, though no actual restoration was made, Bloemhof continued to be treated as part of the Republic.

The diggers of Griqualand were not as ready as Waterboer to be brought under British jurisdiction. They formed a free-and-easy community, and much preferred a state of anarchy to the rule of law. Even they found it necessary, however, to maintain some sort of control, in order to protect themselves against thefts of diamonds. At first their justice was Lynch law. However, they instituted a form of government. At Klip Drift (now Barkly West) they elected a digger and stump-orator named Stafford Parker as their "President." When a Cape magistrate was appointed at Klip Drift, "President" Parker resigned. The Governor then appointed three commissioners, and these were replaced by an administrator, Sir Richard Southey, in 1873. The diggers did not welcome the new administration, and there were riots, culminating in the hoisting of the black flag. A force had to be sent from the Cape to overawe the rioters. After this a legislative council was appointed for Griqualand West, and Sir Owen Lanyon became administrator. In 1880 the territory was annexed to the Cape Colony, and was given representation in the Cape Parliament.

In the South African Republic, although earnest efforts had been made to introduce good government, the outlook was far from reassuring. The settlement after the civil strife had been followed by conflicts with native tribes in the Transvaal. To some it seemed that the only solution was to annex the whole territory northwards to the Zambezi and eastwards to the Indian Ocean. President Pretorius shared these views, and in 1868, on the report of gold discoveries at Tati, he issued a proclamation annexing to the Republic the whole of Bechuanaland on the west and the country as far as Delagoa Bay on the east. Objections were

raised by Great Britain and by Portugal. In 1869 Pretorius acknowledged the title of Portugal to Delagoa Bay, officially known as Lourenço Marques. Great Britain subsequently asserted a title to the Bay, and the dispute between it and Portugal was submitted to the arbitration of the French President. In April, 1875, Marshal MacMahon gave his award in favour of Portugal, subject to a previous agreement between the parties whereby the unsuccessful contestant was to have the right of pre-emption in case of sale or cession. For many years the fortunes of the Portuguese colony were unprosperous, and shortly after 1880 the Bay was offered to a Transvaal resident for £5,000. Matters began to mend with the construction of a railway to the Transvaal, which was a favourite project of President Burgers. This railway was built by an English company, but was seized by the Portuguese authorities, as a result of which another dispute arose, which was settled by the payment, after arbitration, of nearly £1,000,000 to the shareholders in the company.

The acceptance by Pretorius of the Keate Award in regard to the western boundary of the Transvaal aroused a storm of indignation in the breasts of his burghers. To this he bowed, and resigned the presidency in November, 1871. Thomas François Burgers, a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church at Hanover in the Cape Colony, was elected to succeed him, and assumed office on July 1st, 1872. Burgers was a man of enlightened views, and was ambitious of placing the affairs of the Republic on a sound and permanent basis; but the times were out of joint. In furtherance of his aim of linking the Transvaal with Delagoa Bay, he went to Europe to raise capital. He

managed to borrow only £90,000 in Holland, but the railway plant which he purchased was seized for freight on its arrival at Lourenço Marques. On his return, Burgers was involved in hostilities with Secocoeni, chief of the Bapedi, in the north-eastern Transvaal. The campaign was unsuccessful. At the same time the Zulus, under Cetewayo (pronounced Kitchwayo) were threatening invasion. The Republic fell into a condition of anarchy and insolvency, and it was said that there was not a shilling in the treasury. Burgers was at loggerheads with his *Volksraad*; and in this state of affairs some of the inhabitants made representations to Sir Bartle Frere, the Cape Governor, that it would be desirable for Great Britain to take over the country. Frere sent Sir Theophilus Shepstone, a well-known Natal official, to investigate affairs, and on April 12th, 1877, Shepstone issued a proclamation annexing the Republic to Great Britain. Burgers acquiesced in the necessity for annexation, and it was alleged that a majority of the inhabitants supported this step. A considerable body, however, were bitterly opposed to annexation. They were led by Paul Kruger, who headed two deputations to England to ask for the restoration of the country. Meanwhile, Burgers retired to Richmond in the Cape Colony, where he died (1881).

The Cape Colony received the grant of responsible government in 1872, when Sir Henry Barkly was Governor. The first Premier was Sir John Molteno, who led the party which was more particularly associated with the interests of the Cape Western Province. Between the Western Province and the Eastern Province a sort of rivalry had existed for many years, due largely to distance and want of easy communica-

tion. The new government showed that it was by no means docile so far as Downing Street was concerned. In 1874, Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State, propounded a scheme for South African confederation (which had first been advocated by Sir George Grey), and sent James Anthony Froude, the historian, to advocate his views in South Africa. Froude antagonised the Cape politicians, and the Cape Parliament passed a resolution stating that any scheme of federation must originate within South Africa itself. Sir Bartle Frere was now appointed Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner for South Africa (1876), being charged to bring about confederation if that were at all feasible. Almost as soon as he took office, however, he found himself face to face with troubles on the Kaffir frontier. The Galekas and Gaikas rose in 1877, this resulting in what was known as the Ninth Kaffir War, during which the famous chief Sandili lost his life. Sir Arthur Cunynghame was the commander of the Imperial forces, and Mr. John Xavier Merriman, the stormy petrel of Cape politics, who was a minister, tried to interfere with his conduct of military operations. The result was that Frere dismissed the Molteno ministry, which was succeeded by that of Sir John Gordon Sprigg. Frere had the support of the Imperialist party in the Colony, and there can be no doubt that, though he was one of the many Governors who found the grave of their reputations in South Africa, he was sincerely desirous of pacifying the country and furthering its interests. His misfortune was that he was the instrument of an unpopular policy. Frere's first aim, in furtherance of the confederation plan, was to settle matters with the natives. After the Kaffir War, trouble arose

with the Zulus, concerning whom it has been cynically said that if the British had not interfered, either the Zulus would have attacked and overwhelmed the Transvaal Boers, thus settling the Transvaal problem, or the Boers would have "wiped out" the Zulus, thereby settling the Zulu question. In fact, Cetewayo was a source of alarm both to the Natal colonists and the Boers. He permitted outrages by his men on both the Natal and the Transvaal borders, and met protests with defiance, regarding himself as the true successor of Chaka. He had reorganised the Zulu army, which, in addition to its traditional native equipment of shields and *assegais*, was also to some extent armed with guns. An award had been given by Lieutenant-Governor Keate in favour of the Zulus against the Boers in regard to a boundary dispute, and Frere, who disagreed with Keate, stipulated that if the award were enforced the Boers must either be compensated for leaving, or protected if they remained. Cetewayo would not guarantee this. He was now called upon to remodel his army, to allow Zulu youths to marry on attaining manhood, to agree not to call up his troops without the consent of both his own national council and the British Government, to refrain from molesting the missionaries, and to accept a British resident. An answer to these demands was required by December 31st, 1878. No reply was forthcoming, and in January, 1879, the British forces moved forward to occupy Zululand. Unfortunately, it appeared to have become a tradition (subsequently exemplified in the Anglo-Boer War) for Great Britain to make demands and, when these demands were refused, for her generals to be unable or incompetent to enforce them. The British commander was General Thesiger (Lord Chelmsford),

who invaded the country with three columns, Ulundi, the royal *kraal* being their objective. On January 22nd, 1879, the centre column was encamped at Isandhlwana (pronounced Sand-lahna). The Zulu *impis*, 10,000 strong, took it by surprise, and slaughtered nearly the whole force, 806 Europeans and 471 natives. Nevertheless, those who were attacked accounted for many of the enemy before they died. The Zulus next besieged the garrison at Rorke's Drift, where there were eighty men under Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead. These were attacked by 4,000 of Cetewayo's men. After a heroic resistance by the garrison, the Zulus were compelled to retire, leaving 350 dead. Other surprise attacks by the Zulus followed, and Sir Evelyn Wood's force was nearly outflanked and captured by Cetewayo's main army at Hlobane Mountain. It was not until April that Lord Chelmsford was able to reorganise his forces, on the arrival of reinforcements. The advance was not made until June, on the 1st of which month Louis Napoleon, the Prince Imperial of France, was killed while out with a reconnoitring party. On July 4th the Battle of Ulundi was fought, resulting in a decisive British victory. Cetewayo fled, but was captured and sent to Cape Town. His deposition was announced, and Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had been appointed High Commissioner for South-East Africa, drew up a plan to divide Zululand among thirteen petty chiefs. A British Resident was appointed. The settlement, however, did not bring peace. In 1882 the British Government determined upon one of its favourite reversals of policy, and restored Cetewayo. Usibepu, one of the new chiefs, attacked Cetewayo and his followers, with the result that Cetewayo was beaten, and fled,

though wounded, into the Umhlatuzi Reserve, where he died in February, 1884. The adherents of Cetewayo, the Usutu, acknowledged Dinizulu, his young son, as his successor, and fighting continued between the Usutu and the Umandhlakazi ("men of great strength") the followers of Usibepu. The Usutu, finding themselves unable to make headway, called to their aid a party of Transvaal Boers led by Lukas Meyer and Louis Botha, and Usibepu was defeated and in his turn fled to the Reserve. These Boers, in return for their services, received a grant of country in the north-west of Zululand, where they hoisted the independent flag of the "New Republic," with Meyer as president. Meyer and Botha, who belonged to the younger and more progressive party among the Boers, subsequently became influential in Transvaal affairs. This, however, is to anticipate. After the foundation of the New Republic, England, in order to show that she would not permit the creation of new "spheres of influence," hoisted her flag at St. Lucia Bay (December, 1884); though the independence of the New Republic was acknowledged in 1886. It was subsequently (1888) incorporated in the South African Republic. Zululand was declared British territory in May, 1887, and placed under the Governor of Natal. In 1888 there were fresh disturbances, culminating in a rebellion against British authority, in which Dinizulu was implicated. He was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, and was banished to St. Helena. In 1897 Zululand was made a district of Natal, and soon after, incredible as it may appear, Dinizulu was allowed to return. Having regard to the traditions of his house, it was natural that he should resume his old ambitions. The result was another rebellion in 1906,

in which he was a principal actor behind the scenes. Natal was now a self-governing colony, having obtained responsible government in 1893, and the colonists took matters into their own hands. The rising started in Natal proper, the first rebel being Gobizembe, who was followed by Bambata, who had always been turbulent. After creating trouble in Natal, Bambata fled into Zululand. Dinizulu volunteered to drive Bambata from his hiding-place; but he was suspect, and his offer was not accepted. The colonists had their own field force, led by Colonel McKenzie, and they now (May, 1906) moved out to attack Sigananda, with whom Bambata had taken refuge. The Mome Valley was attacked on June 10th, and the rebels lost 575 men, Bambata being among the slain. Other recalcitrant chiefs were now pursued, and on July 3rd Messini, chief of the Amaqwabe, was attacked and defeated. He was captured and, with twenty-four other rebels, sentenced to imprisonment for life. In order to serve their sentence they were deported to St. Helena. During this rising serious trouble arose between the Colonial Office in London and the Natal Ministry. Certain rebels were tried by court martial and sentenced to death. Lord Ripon, the Secretary of State, intervened, and directed that the death sentences should be postponed, pending consideration of the matter by the Home Government. The Natal ministers thereupon resigned, and Lord Ripon was compelled to recede from his position. The rebels were hanged. Dinizulu was still suspected of treasonable practices. At length, in 1907, he was arrested and charged with high treason in having collected and distributed arms, in having conspired to levy war, and in having instigated armed resistance. His

DINIZULU SENTENCED

39

trial began in November, 1908, and, after lasting seventy days, resulted in his conviction for harbouring Bambata's family during the rebellion and for sheltering escaped rebels. He was sentenced to four years' imprisonment and a fine of £100, which was paid. In June, 1910, Dinizulu was transferred to a farm at Middelburg, in the Transvaal. His annual subvention of £500, previously paid by the Imperial Government, was restored to him. He was subsequently allowed to return to Zululand.

CHAPTER III

BOER WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND ITS RESULTS

I

IN 1879 Shepstone had been succeeded by Lanyon as administrator of the Transvaal. Lanyon was a martinet, and his unconciliatory methods did not appeal to the Boers. They might still have hesitated to cause any trouble had they been treated with greater tact; but Wolseley, who came on a visit to the Transvaal in September, 1879, issued a proclamation stating that the country would for ever form part of the Queen's dominions; he predicted, at a banquet, that "so long as the sun shone" the Transvaal would be British; and he proposed to satisfy the Boers by the grant of a legislative council which was not representative of their opinions. With tactful treatment, the Boers might have been led to acquiesce in the existing state of affairs, and they might have been content to let the second visit of Kruger to England stand as a protest. But the semi-military government of the country converted nearly the whole Boer population into potential enemies. Meetings of the Boers were called at various places throughout the country. Sir Bartle Frere was still anxious to keep the peace; but the time had come to make a scapegoat of him on account of the Zulu War of 1879. The Radicals

in England attacked him, and Lord Carnarvon not only failed to support him but appointed Sir George Pomeroy Colley as Governor of Natal and successor to Wolseley in the High Commissionership of South-East Africa. In August, 1880, Frere was recalled.

From the 8th to the 13th December, 1880, a great meeting of the Boers was held at Paardekraal (now Krugersdorp), and they resolved to fight for independence. A triumvirate, consisting of Kruger, Piet Joubert, and Pretorius, was elected to carry on the affairs of the country, and a declaration of independence was issued. The Boers lost no time in showing that they were in earnest, and, as usual, the British were taken by surprise. On December 16th ("Dingaan's Day") the flag of the Republic was again hoisted. On December 20th, Colonel Anstruther's command, which was marching from Lydenburg to Pretoria, was ambushed at Bronkhorst Spruit while the band was playing. A messenger with a white flag called upon him to surrender, but he refused, and the Boers opened fire, with the result that in ten minutes over one hundred and fifty British officers and men were killed and wounded. There was nothing for it but surrender. Anstruther, wounded, lived only a few days. The Boer forces invested Pretoria, Standerton, and Potchefstroom. Colley now moved forward with the British forces in Natal. On January 27th, 1881, he attacked Laing's Nek, the pass over the Drakensberg, but was repulsed by Joubert, losing 73 dead and 100 wounded. He next (February 8th) moved on Ingogo, where he was repulsed with a loss of 150, who were either shot or drowned in the flooded Ingogo River. By a strange mischance, Sir Evelyn Wood, who had joined Colley, returned to Pietermaritzburg

to hasten the forward movement of reinforcements. During his absence, Colley, anxious to retrieve his two defeats, planned and carried out an expedition to seize the top of Mount Amajuba or Majuba, which overlooked the Boer camp. In the darkness of February 26th his men climbed the heights, reaching the top at three in the morning of Sunday, February 27th. Some of his troops incautiously showed themselves on the ridge, and Joubert, seeing that no movement was made by the British, called for volunteers to climb the mountain. The Boers hid themselves behind rocks and bushes, firing as they advanced. At last they reached the summit, whereupon panic seized the British troops. Colley was killed, with 92 of his men, while 134 were wounded. The Boers lost one man killed and five wounded. The beleaguered towns held out, however, and soon after an armistice was arranged. Sir Frederick (Lord) Roberts had been sent out from England, but was recalled on reaching the Cape. Mr. Gladstone's Government now decided to restore the Transvaal to the Boers. A Royal Commission, consisting of Sir Hercules Robinson (the new Cape Governor), Sir Evelyn Wood, and Sir Henry de Villiers (the Cape Chief Justice), was appointed to arrange terms of peace. This was done by the Convention of Pretoria (1881). The Republic was restored, subject to British suzerainty, a British Resident being appointed to represent the English Government at Pretoria.

In 1883, after affairs had been settled in the Transvaal, Paul Kruger was elected President of the South African Republic. He was re-elected in 1888, 1893, and 1898. In 1884 he proceeded to England to obtain a modification of the terms of the Convention of Pretoria. In this he succeeded, certain boundary rectifica-

tions being agreed to, while the suzerainty was modified, though it was still stipulated that the Republic might enter into no treaty with a foreign power without the consent of Great Britain. During this year an event occurred which forecasted an increase in the wealth, resources, and importance of the Transvaal. This was the discovery of gold at Barberton.

II

The same year (1884) also witnessed another significant event. F. E. A. Lüderitz, a German merchant, had obtained concessions from Hottentot chiefs in 1883, and established a trading station at Angra Pequena (now known as Lüderitzbucht), under the patronage of Prince Bismarck, the German Chancellor. The territory had previously been offered to Great Britain, but a typically short-sighted Colonial Secretary declined the offer, and England was content to remain at the barren and benighted post (it could not be called a settlement) of Walfish Bay. Further concessions were made, and at length the German Government asserted a protectorate over the whole region (1884), thenceforward known as German South-West Africa. Against this step the British colonists in the Cape protested, but in vain. The Protectorate was formally recognised by a treaty between Prince Bismarck and Lord Salisbury, concluded in July, 1890.

The territory was inhabited by several native tribes. Among these were the Bushmen, mainly living in the north, near Grootfontein; the Namaquas, a large Hottentot tribe, inhabiting the southern portion of the Protectorate, from below Rehoboth to the Orange River; the Afrianders, a small clan of mixed Hottentot and European descent, with headquarters at Okahandja,

who were successful marauders; the Bondelswarts, of mixed Hottentot and Bantu origin, living in the south, in the district of Warmbad; the Hereros or Damaras, who are Bantus, and are the most numerous, inhabiting the north-central portion as far south as Windhuk (the capital of the Protectorate); and the Ovambos, also Bantus, inhabiting the northern portion, known as Ovamboland or Amboland. In the centre of the territory, at Rehoboth, a tribe of half-breeds, who called themselves the Bastards of Rehoboth, established a republic, with a written constitution of their own, about 1870.

For many years these tribes were engaged in wars with each other. The principal event was the attainment of independence by the Herero, under their chief Kamaherero, who threw off the Afrikaner yoke, and was recognised as an independent chief by the Treaty of Okahandja (September, 1870). In June, 1882, the southern Hottentot chiefs, who had been fighting each other since 1880, agreed to make peace.

After the German occupation, territorial rights were granted to the German Colonial Company (familiarly known as the D.K.G.). In 1889, however, Kamaherero, at the instigation of his "Foreign Minister," Robert Lewis, drove the German Commissioner, Dr. Goering, away from Okahandja, and forced him to take refuge at Walfish Bay. In 1890 the Germans were allowed to return. A long period elapsed, however, before the Germans were at peace with the native tribes. Hendrik Witbooi, who styled himself "King of Namaland," gave them much trouble. In 1894 he was captured by Major von Lentwein, and signed a "Protection Agreement," which he respected for ten years. Lentwein became Governor of German South-West Africa, and made great efforts to settle and pacify

the country, which, however, suffered much from the ravages of rinderpest in 1897. In 1902 the first railway, from Swakopmund to Windhuk, was opened.

In 1904 came what was known as the Herero War, which from first to last entailed an expenditure of nearly £30,000,000, and employed 19,000 German soldiers, of whom 1,487 were killed and 907 wounded. Over 60,000 natives are said to have perished, and the once warlike Hereros became a race of fugitives and degenerates. Both sides adopted unjustifiable methods in carrying on the war, though there was more excuse for the Hereros, who did not claim to be a civilised nation. In the end, the Germans lost far more than they gained, by the obloquy which their methods of warfare brought upon their name. Theal says: "Most fearful atrocities were committed by these barbarians (the Ovaherero), who murdered German men, women and children indiscriminately, but the retaliations of the white soldiers were hardly less reprehensible." - It must be admitted that many of the German settlers protested against the methods of the German commander, General von Trotha. The Namas under Witbooi and the Bondelswarts also joined in the fight for liberation from German rule. Ultimately, in November, 1905, von Trotha, who had succeeded Leutwein as Governor, proclaimed a general amnesty. He set aside two Reserves for the Hereros, and kept the Ovambos in hand, although no white men have ever succeeded in completely dominating this tribe. Witbooi was killed in battle, towards the end of 1905, at the age of seventy-five. Morenga, a Hottentot leader, fled into the Cape Colony, where he was interned. The Bondelswarts finally surrendered in December, 1906. Morenga re-entered the territory, but was pursued by

a party of the Cape Police, and was killed in the Kalahari. It was the end of 1908 before all traces of sporadic disaffection were at an end.

In April, 1908, diamonds were discovered in the desert sand near Lüderitzbucht, August Stauch being the first man to apply for claim licences. Several companies were formed, and it was soon apparent that this was the most valuable discovery that had ever been made in the Protectorate. The German Government ordered the closing of the area which had not been pegged off by companies. This area, known as the *Sperrgebiet*, and believed to be of great value, was also closed to prospecting by the succeeding British Administration. The *Sperrgebiet* extends from Lüderitzbucht to the Orange River.

The discovery of diamonds brought about a great change in the fortunes of the Protectorate. The population, trade, and revenue of the territory increased greatly, and its future seemed to be assured, when the Great War came.

III

Trouble arose on the western border of the Transvaal in 1885. Certain independent farmers had established two little republics, known as Stellaland (Vryburg) and Goshen (Mafeking), with the connivance of President Kruger. Ultimately (September 16th, 1884), Kruger declared these territories under Transvaal protection. John Mackenzie, a missionary in Bechuanaland, made strong representations to England to the effect that the men of these little republics were nothing but raiders and marauders, with designs against the native chiefs to the west. He was appointed resident commissioner; but, the raids continuing, an expedition was sent under Sir Charles Warren, which reduced the country to order without

bloodshed. Cecil Rhodes went with the expedition, and he met Paul Kruger on the border. The result of the expedition was that a British Protectorate was created over Bechuanaland. In 1890 the districts of Vryburg and Mafeking were annexed to the Cape Colony.

It was at this period that the Afrikaner Bond became an active force in Cape politics. It was the outcome of the Boer War of Independence of 1881, and the Bechuanaland events were a stimulus to the movement. Men of Dutch birth at the Cape sympathised with the national aspirations of their brethren across the Vaal, and felt that they were the victims of English aggression. Among those who encouraged the movement was Chief Justice (afterwards President) Francis William Reitz, of the Orange Free State. The most eloquent promoter of the Bond in the Cape Colony was the Rev. S. J. du Toit. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, a Cape politician and journalist, was elected Chairman of the Bond. He was a moderating influence, and secured the elimination from the constitution of the Bond of all references to the Afrikaner flag. His abilities lay rather in secret diplomacy than in oratorical exercises, and this earned for him the *sobriquet* of "the Mole." The Bond was vigorously denounced by various politicians, such as J. W. Leonard, the Cape Attorney-General, who throughout his life was a convinced Imperialist; and J. X. Merriman, who said his quarrel with the Bond was that "it stirred up disloyalty and race differences"—though Merriman subsequently became Prime Minister of the Cape with the support of the Bond members. Cecil Rhodes coquetted with Hofmeyr, but in 1890, when he formed a ministry, he also had to rely again upon Bond support; though ultimately, after the Jameson Raid, the Bond became his bitterest foe.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATIVE PROTECTORATES

(a) THE BASUTOS

THE Basutos, originally a warlike people, were welded into a nation by Moshesh, who had successfully resisted Matiwana and his raiding warriors when these were driven across the Drakensberg by Chaka. At Thaba Bosigo (the Dark Mountain), Moshesh established his stronghold. We have seen how he held out against the Orange Free State, until at length he and his people became British subjects (1868), and their territory was declared British. Moshesh died in 1869, and was succeeded in turn by Lerothodi, Letsie, and Griffith. In 1871, the Cape Parliament passed an Act annexing the territory to the Cape Colony. The Basutos, however, like all the natives in the independent or semi-independent native areas, preferred to be governed directly from Downing Street to being ruled by the white colonists. This was only natural, as the Colonial Office in London had always lent a sympathetic ear to the representations of the natives or of missionaries on their behalf—sympathetic, that is, as long as the Colonial Office retained control in its own hands. It is fair to add, however, that Basutoland was attached to the Cape in 1871 not by the desire of the Colony but by the action of the Colonial Office.

The Basutos were a thriving people, both pastorally and agriculturally. They had also acquired money as labourers at Kimberley, and, amongst other things, they bought guns. After the early troubles of the Zulu War, Moirosi, a Basuto chief, was encouraged to raise a rebellion, which extended over nearly one-fifth of the province. He entrenched himself in a strong hill-fortress in the heart of the country, and was blockaded by Colonial troops. Frere asked Wolseley for the aid of two or three hundred British infantry to finish the affair at once, but this was refused. At length (November 20th, 1879), the Colonial troops took the fortress unassisted, but at greater expenditure of men and money than would have been incurred had the help asked for been granted. This was by no means a settlement of the Basuto trouble. The Cape Parliament had passed an Act for disarming the natives, who had been a source of unrest and worse for several years, and the Government saw no reason why it should not apply to Basutoland. Moirosi, Masupha, and other chiefs, had never approved of the action of Moshesh in handing over the territory, and there were lively internal dissensions, accompanied with raids and loss of life. A Peace Preservation Proclamation was issued, and the Basutos defied this. The Cape Government had to respond by taking up the gauntlet, and despatched troops to settle the territory (1880). It is true that Letsie, the Paramount Chief, obeyed the Proclamation; but he was opposed by a strong party "which clung to the ancient customs, the witch-doctor and the *impi*, in preference to the British magistrate and the native constable, vain and headstrong semi-savages, whose desire was a life of idleness, varied by war and plunder." The insurgents had many British and Colonial sym-

pathisers, and were thus encouraged in their attitude, which led to the Basuto War. This lasted intermittently until 1883. The example of the revolting Basutos was followed by their fellow-tribesmen in East Griqualand, and by the Pondomise, Amaquate, Tembus, and others on the eastern side of the Drakensberg.

In April, 1881, Colonel Gordon (afterwards General Charles Gordon of Khartoum fame), "tired of doing nothing," telegraphed to the Cape Government offering to assist in terminating war and administering Basutoland. They did not even deign to reply. Later on, when they found the war did not end and the Cape was in danger of bankruptcy (1882), they invited him to renew his offer and come out to crack the Basuto nut. Gordon, after his arrival at the Cape, came to the conclusion that the administration had been unjust, and, with his characteristic honesty and directness, told the Ministry that it must admit its errors, and begin to do right. They must send to the Basutos "magistrates of unspotted reputation." As Sir W. Butler says—"Of course, the 'vested interests' were at once in revolt. It was necessary to get rid of this just steward." The Cape Government, to do them justice, did not support the opposition cabal against Gordon. He sought out Masupha, the only one out of four chiefs who had refused the terms offered. Masupha was on the point of yielding to Gordon's diplomacy when, through the machinations of the Opposition, a hostile force was seen to be approaching. "If Masupha Moshesh did not make the envoy (Gordon) pay with his life for this breach of all the rules of fair fighting, it was assuredly not because the men who were at the bottom of this movement had taken steps to prevent such a calamity." Gordon threw up his task in disgust and quitted South Africa.

At length the trouble was ended by negotiation. The Basutos kept their arms and their freedom, and came under the direct protection of the Imperial Government. An Order-in-Council was issued on March 18th, 1884, declaring the territory to be a British Protectorate, and such it has since remained. The territory is governed by a Resident Commissioner under the direct control of the High Commissioner, who legislates for the Protectorate by means of Proclamations. Europeans are practically excluded from the territory, except for the mission stations and traders. The native population numbered 497,178 at the census of 1921, as against 1,603 Europeans (including officials). On the whole the natives are contented, and they are regarded as one of the most prosperous aboriginal communities in South Africa. Purely native affairs are advised upon by the Basutoland Council, of one hundred members, of whom ninety-five are nominated by the chiefs and five by the Government, but the Council has no executive powers. The chiefs adjudicate on all cases between natives, subject to a right of appeal to the magistrates' courts.

(b) THE BECHUANAS

The people of Bechuanaland are one of the two main offshoots of the Kaffirs (known to the scientists as Bantu) who settled in the western portion of the interior of South Africa, that is, to the east of the Kalahari. Like the other offshoot, the Basutos, they are distinguished by the prefix Ba; while the eastern coast tribes have the distinguishing prefix Ama, such as the Amazulu, Amaswazi, Amapondo, Amaxosa. Among their tribes are the Bakwena, Bataung, Bamangwato, Batlapin, Baralong, and many others. The largest in

more recent times are the Bamangwato, Batawana, Bakgatla, and Bangwaketse. The territory known as Bechuanaland was occupied by these tribes about the beginning of the nineteenth century. From early times Bechuanaland was a scene of great missionary effort. Among the more famous missionaries were Robert Moffat, who was assisted by his equally able and energetic wife, Mary Moffat; their son-in-law, David Livingstone; John Smith Moffat; and John Mackenzie. The Bechuanas of the south, who bordered or lived partly in Griqualand, were the Batlapin, whose original capital was Lithako or Lattakoo. The station of the Moffats was at Kuruman, and they laboured principally among the people (the Baralong) near Mafeking, whose best-known chief was Montsioa. To the north were the Bamangwato, who in recent times were for many years ruled by Khama.

After the border troubles with Stellaland and Goshen, the territory south of the Molopo River, north of Griqualand, and east of South-West Africa was annexed and called British Bechuanaland, being divided into the districts of Vryburg, Mafeking, Taungs, Kuruman, Gordonia, and Mier. Soon afterwards an Order-in-Council declared a British Protectorate over the part north of this, as far as the 22nd parallel of south latitude, and extending the British sphere of influence to the Zambezi. British Bechuanaland was at first governed by a Resident Commissioner, but became an integral part of the Cape Colony in 1895.

The Bechuanaland Protectorate was at first placed under the administration of the British South Africa Company. In consequence, however, of the Jameson Raid, the administration was restored to the Imperial Government, and since then (1896) the Protectorate

has been governed by a Resident Commissioner in a similar mode to that obtaining in Basutoland, the High Commissioner legislating for the Protectorate by Proclamation. For administrative purposes the territory is divided into eleven districts, each with a magistrate. There are a European Advisory Council and a Native Advisory Council to advise the Resident Commissioner in matters affecting the Europeans and the natives respectively. The head-quarters of the Administration are at Mafeking. The capital of Khama was at first Palapye, but in 1903 it was removed to Serowe. The population of the largest tribe, the Bamangwato, was 58,047 in 1921, the entire native population being 150,185. There were 1,743 Europeans.

Generally, the history of the territory since the declaration of the Protectorate may be said to have been uneventful; although, in 1922 and 1923, charges were made that Khama (who has since died) allowed his tribe to oppress a smaller tribe, with the sufferance of the Imperial authorities. The charges were indignantly denied, and an Imperial officer reported that they were unfounded.

(c) THE SWAZIS

The Swazis are related to the Zulus, and, with them and other Bantu tribes, are supposed to have migrated from north of the Zambezi to South-Eastern Africa in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The traditional founder of the tribe was Mswazi I, who is said to have lived about 1565. Its history is obscure until 1780, when Dingiswayo, chief of the Mtetwa, reduced the surrounding tribes, including the Swazis. In 1815 Sobhuza I became the chief of the Swazis, and, with his tribe, was settled to the north of the Pongolo River.

About 1818 they were forced by Zwide to move still farther north, and returned to the country originally occupied by Mswazi I, crossing the Great Usutu River. The principal *kraal* was at Zombode, though the *kraals* at Lobamba (the residence of the present Paramount Chief) and at Embekelweni have also been occupied. Dingaana, after his defeat by the Boers, sent four regiments to clear the way for him into Swaziland, but they were defeated, and subsequently Dingaana, when a fugitive, was killed by the Swazis. Sobhuza I was succeeded by his son Mswazi II, who had considerable administrative ability. He created a systematic military organisation, forming regiments to protect his tribe against the Zulus. He was fully acknowledged as King of the Swazis, and the nation gained the respect of the surrounding tribes, including the Zulus, who were never able to conquer the Swazis, and lived on terms of amity with them after Sir Theophilus Shepstone had made representations to the Zulus on behalf of the Swazis. An additional reason for the respect shown to the Swazis by the surrounding tribes was that the Swazi kings were the pre-eminent rainmakers, they alone possessing the secret of the rain "medicine." The custody of the rain medicine was, however, always entrusted to the Queen Mother, if alive; and the matriarchal system is part of the Swazi native constitution. Mswazi died in 1868, and his son Ludonga, who was then only eleven, did not live to enter upon the kingship. Another son, Umbandine (Mbandeni), then aged seventeen, was proclaimed as king in 1875. The Government of the South African Republic sent a party of Boers to demonstrate by their presence the fact that the Republic was overlord; but the Republic had, in fact, no title whatsoever to the territory. If anything,

it was the other way, for the Swazi domains had once embraced the present Transvaal districts of Ermelo and Carolina, as well as a portion of Lydenburg. The Swazis, nevertheless, remained on friendly terms with the Boers, and aided them against Secocoeni; and, after the Transvaal annexation of 1877, Sir Evelyn Wood requested the aid of the Swazis against that chief. The Swazis sent a force of 8,000 men, who, after fighting for a month, reduced the Bapedi, Secocoeni's tribe (1879). It has always been a complaint of the Swazis that these services to both Boers and British were forgotten when subsequently protectorates were proclaimed over Swaziland.

Unfortunately for the Swazis, what is known as the "concession" era now began. In the first place, Mswazi had sold the territory of Lydenburg Republic for one hundred head of cattle; and in 1860 he granted a land concession within Swaziland itself to a white man. In 1875 the youth Umbandine was induced to grant to Rudolph, the Transvaal representative, a document confirming all earlier concessions, and placed Swaziland in the position of a protectorate. The Convention of Pretoria (1881), however, expressly stipulated the independence of Swaziland, and this was reaffirmed in the Convention of London (1884). In 1876, Umbandine granted the first land concession; and, in the early 'eighties, many Boers obtained grants of winter grazing for their cattle. After the discovery of gold near Barberton in 1882, numerous concession-hunters flocked into the country, and few of them went away empty-handed. One applicant even obtained the grant of a concession to grant concessions. Many concessions overlapped and conflicted, and great confusion prevailed, as Umbandine could not control the whites, who quar-

relled among themselves and with the Swazis. He then appointed Theophilus Shepstone (son of Sir Theophilus) as his resident adviser and agent, and various white committees were appointed in succession for the purpose of framing rules for the government of the European concessionaires. Confusion still continued, and the position was not improved by the openly-expressed desire of the South African Republic to annex Swaziland. Thereupon the British Government proposed a Joint Commission. The British Commissioner was Sir Francis de Winton, and the representatives of the Transvaal were Generals Joubert and Smit. A month before the arrival of the Commission in Swaziland, however, Umbandine died (October, 1889).

Labotsibeni, the widow of Umbandine, now became Queen Regent, the heir to the kingship being Bunu (Ubhunu or Ngwane), then aged fourteen. With the consent of the Queen Regent, a Provisional Joint Committee was set up to regulate the affairs of the whites. It had three members, one respectively representing Great Britain, the South African Republic, and the Swazis. In August, 1890, a Convention was made between Great Britain and the Republic, providing for the continuance of the Provisional Committee and the appointment of a Chief Court to adjudicate upon the validity of the concessions, and reaffirming the independence of the Swazis. The Queen Regent issued an "Organic Proclamation," giving effect to the provisions of the Convention. The Chief Court was presided over by Chief Justice Kotzé, and within a few months it investigated the concessions, confirming several and rejecting others.

In 1893 the Government of Lord Rosebery entered into another Convention with President Kruger, giving

the Republic the right to obtain from the Swazis another Organic Proclamation, which was to confer on the Republic the administration of the country, without incorporating it with the Transvaal. This the Queen Regent flatly refused to sign, and a Swazi deputation was sent to England. Another Anglo-Boer Convention was signed in 1894, which embodied the conditions of that of 1893, without requiring the prior consent of the Swazis. The Swazis, however, were guaranteed in the continued use and occupation of the land then in their possession. A British consul was to reside in Swaziland, and Mr. J. Smuts was appointed to this office. From this time until the Boer War the administration of the country, as far as Europeans were concerned, was in the hands of the South African Republic.

Trouble now arose with Bunu, who had assumed rule over the Swazis, and was alleged to have killed Mbaba, the *induna* of his *kraal* (1898). He was summoned to appear before the judicial authorities at Bremersdorp, but fled to Zululand. The High Commissioner prevailed upon him to return. After an enquiry by the presiding judge of the Chief Court, he was fined £500. In consequence of this affair, a protocol to the Convention of 1894 was signed, whereby native offences of a serious nature were to be tried by the European Court, and the native authorities no longer had power to inflict the death penalty.

Bunu died in 1899, and was succeeded by his son, Sobhuza II, who was an infant. Labotsibeni continued to act as Queen Regent until 1922, when Sobhuza II was installed, and Labotsibeni retired. The Queen Mother, Nomawa, a daughter of the Zulu royal house, continued in charge of the rain medicine,

After the Boer War, Mr. Enraght Moony was sent by Lord Milner to Swaziland as Special Commissioner, and established the administrative capital at Mbabane. His first act was to disarm the Swazis. In 1903 an Order-in-Council was issued, whereby the administration was placed under the Governor of the Transvaal. The King of the Swazis (for whom the Queen Regent and her Council continued to act) was to exercise jurisdiction in purely native matters, so far as not inconsistent with civilised law; but the criminal jurisdiction was taken away. In 1904 a Proclamation was issued, providing for the administration, and appointing a commission to regulate the rights of concessionaires and place them on a satisfactory basis. A survey was then set on foot, and by 1908 the Commission had issued its decisions, according to which all persons holding leases for ninety-nine years were to receive freehold title, subject to reservation of mineral rights. To the natives was reserved the continued use and occupation of the land then in their possession.

On December 1st, 1906, an Order-in-Council was issued, placing Swaziland under the control of the High Commissioner for South Africa. In March, 1907, a proclamation was issued appointing a Resident Commissioner, and declaring the Roman-Dutch law to be the common law of the territory. In the same year a Partition Proclamation was issued, the practical effect whereof was that one-third of the land in the territory was reserved to the natives, one-third to concessionaires, and one-third to the Crown. The native chiefs were hostile to the scheme and sent a deputation to England to obtain an audience of King Edward. The deputation failed to secure a revision of the Partition Proclamation. In 1923, Sobhuza

himself, with his principal chiefs and *indunas*, went to England to endeavour to obtain the restoration of his title as King (he had latterly been styled Paramount Chief by the Administration), and restitution of certain funds, together with the cancellation of the Partition Proclamation. In this, also, he was unsuccessful.

The first Court for Swaziland was that of the Resident Commissioner. In 1912 this was replaced by a Special Court, presided over by a judge, having as his colleagues the Resident Commissioner, the Deputy-Resident Commissioner, and assistant commissioners of the various districts. In the office of Resident Commissioner Mr. Moony was succeeded by Sir Robert Coryndon, and the present holder of the office is Mr. de S. M. G. Honey, C.M.G.

No census of Swaziland has been taken since 1911. At that date there were 98,733 natives and 1,226 Europeans.

CHAPTER V

PRESIDENT KRUGER AND THE “UITLANDERS”

THE two dominant figures in South Africa between the years 1880 and 1900 were Paul Kruger and Cecil Rhodes. The outlines of their characters were summed up during their lifetime in the following epigrammatic phrases: “Of the five strong characters of all countries who have of late decades been most in the eye of the world, two men have been products of purely South African conditions—Cecil Rhodes, who has an archangel’s sweep over human affairs, whether to create or ruin; and the other one, that huge antediluvian monster who has strayed into the world some four thousand years too late, who combines the titanic will of a Cromwell, the mother-wit of a Lincoln, with the shrewdness of a Richard Croker, and with the education of a Red Indian—Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger.”

It is certain that Kruger owed everything to his own mother-wit and his strong, unbending will. With a little less strength and the ability to make concessions of no great cost at the right moment, he might have laid the foundations of an enduring Republic and indefinitely extended the area of its influence. Nevertheless, he was a great patriot; and, in view of his want of experience of world affairs, which natur-

ally made him suspicious of the difficulties, both internal and external, with which he was faced, and the constant misrepresentation to which he was exposed, much must be forgiven him. He was, truly, the product of his environment. Born in the district of Colesberg, Cape Colony, in 1825, of mixed Dutch and German descent (though it is said that French Huguenot names also occur in his ancestry), he was a lad in the Great Trek, which brought him into the Transvaal. For many years he lived in the district of Rustenburg, where he was a mighty hunter and took part in punitive expeditions against native tribes. He was a member of the Dopper sect, and had a literal belief in the Bible, which was, throughout life, his only book. Of a somewhat mystical turn of mind, he is said to have believed that he was the especial object of Divine guidance, and he was in the habit of remaining alone in the veldt for days at a time, under the influence of religious fervour. This did not prevent him from taking a keen, practical interest in what went on around him. At twenty he was a field-cornet, and at twenty-seven a commandant in an expedition against Sechele, the Bechuana chief, during which David Livingstone's house was destroyed. It has been shown that he took an active part in the civil troubles in the Transvaal between 1856 and 1864, in which year he was elected commandant-general. Kruger was bitterly antagonistic to the policy of President Burgers, and led the opposition to him. It has been charged against him that after the Annexation of 1877 he accepted paid office under the British Government; but at the same time he worked openly for the restoration of the Republic, and was dismissed from office by Shepstone. After being a member of the Trium-

virate, he was, as we have seen, elected President in 1883.

It is not remarkable that Kruger's experiences had led him completely to distrust the English Government and Englishmen. Throughout his life it was his firm belief that the cardinal object of British policy was to destroy Boer independence, if not to eliminate the Boers altogether from South Africa. Accordingly, he conceived that he was not merely justified in opposing any real or fancied encroachment upon the rights of his State, but that he was bound to extend its influence wherever possible. For this reason he endeavoured to secure the untrammelled right of the Republic to make treaties with foreign Powers, and he tried to throw the mantle of his protection over the raiders of Stellaland and Goshen. He felt that most of his people were untrained in the business of State; and for this reason he encouraged the introduction of men from Holland, who were versed in affairs and in modern ways of thought—thinking thus to oppose trained minds to the wily machinations of the foe.

When Cecil Rhodes appeared as a special commissioner on the Bechuanaland border, Kruger, with his natural shrewdness, realised that there was a man who was likely to prove a considerable obstacle to the expansion of the Republic. Rhodes, born in 1853, had come to South Africa at the age of sixteen, seeking the restoration of his health, which had broken down. After a period of farming in Natal, he went to Kimberley, and was soon engaged in successful digging with his brother. He then returned to England, with the object of completing his education by reading for a degree at Oriel College, Oxford. At Oriel he matriculated; but in 1873 his health again failed, and, as

his physician was of the opinion that he had "not six months to live," he went back to South Africa, where he regained his health and laid the foundation of a large fortune. Between 1876 and 1878 he kept his terms at Oxford and took his degree, returning during each Long Vacation to Kimberley. In 1881 he was elected a member of the Cape House of Assembly. At that time, and for many years afterwards, Cape politics were in a confused and uncertain condition. It was the era of the "mugwumps," the men who "sat on the fence." There were no very distinct lines of cleavage in party politics. Those who at one time bitterly attacked the Afrikaner Bond were, a little later, supporting or supported by that organisation. In some cases there was deliberate opportunism; but several of the "mugwumps" must be credited with honest convictions. They voted "according to their lights"; and if the light was at times dim and even fogged, this must be set down to the general obscurity of the situation. In these circumstances, Rhodes thought it wise to take an independent course. At this period, his mind does not appear to have been made up definitely with regard to the orientation of Imperial policy in South Africa, although he had once confided to a friend that he wished to see the whole of unoccupied Africa "painted red on the map." He was in favour of local union, subsequently expanded into a proposal for the "United States of South Africa." In local affairs the Imperial Government was to have no right of interference. On one occasion he went so far as to advocate "the elimination of the Imperial factor" in purely South African affairs. On the other hand, he was in favour of Imperial unity, and wished for the expansion of the Empire at large. But his ideas

of northern expansion began with a proposal for the annexation of Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony. It was only when the Cape politicians opposed this that he conceived the idea of securing a way into the remote interior of Africa by the acquisition of territorial rights over northern Bechuanaland and the country which now bears his name. Bechuanaland was to be the "Suez Canal" of South Africa. In this way he hoped to set a permanent limit to the expansionist ideas of the South African Republic. But the long duel between Rhodes and Kruger began with the Warren Expedition, which had been undertaken partly on the strength of representations made by Rhodes.

It was in the eventful year 1885 that something occurred within the South African Republic itself which—though few saw this clearly at the time—was eventually to prove a source of unrest and even of menace to the existence of the Republic. This was the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, a sparsely inhabited region in the centre of the High Veld of the southern Transvaal. The news of the discovery spread rapidly, and in the following year (1886) thousands of diggers, financiers, merchants, and adventurers of all kinds flocked to the district, which subsequently turned out to be the richest goldfield in the world. The Government realised that it was necessary to establish and maintain order in this new community, and officials were appointed to supervise the application and working of the mining law. At the same time, though Kruger never regarded this new element in the population with favour, the Government realised that here were the potentialities of a great increase in the revenues and resources of the State. Accordingly, a township, named Johannesburg, was proclaimed, and

"stands" or building lots were surveyed, which were sold by the Government at public auction. The population rapidly increased, and before long it was equal in numbers with the older Boer community. Their neighbourhood to the scene gave many of the "speculators" of Kimberley and of the merchants of Natal the opportunity to be the "first on the spot," and Kruger soon realised that the tone, and influence of the new settlement, which was only thirty-six miles by road from his capital, were predominantly English. He did not know enough of the diverse class and economic interests in English life to realise that he might, by adroit manipulation, create a cleavage in the ranks of the new population—a device which was adopted with advantage, many years afterwards, by those who claimed to be his successors in upholding the ideals of Boer independence. All he knew was that, just as Napoleon conceived of Antwerp as a dagger aimed at England's heart, so the Witwatersrand was a dagger planted in the heart of the Republic.

At first, however, to all outward seeming, all went well. The President, notwithstanding his bluff, gruff manner, was readily accessible to all and sundry; and he kept a sort of informal court at his residence in Pretoria in the early hours of the morning, to which all who had complaints or requests, whether *oprechte* (genuine) burghers or *uitlanders* (as the new foreign population was termed), resorted, and where they were regaled with cups of coffee. Some said that he and a great many of his officials were too accessible. Concessions for the manufacture of dynamite and numerous other articles were freely granted, and many of the concessionaires amassed wealth; though this did not prevent several of them, at a later date, from denouncing

the iniquities of the Republican officials in words of burning and scathing eloquence. That some of the officials took bribes is true; but much must be forgiven them. They were not merely ignorant, but their salaries amounted, in each case, to a bare pittance, that being all which the poverty-stricken country, now newly-grown rich, could afford. Confronted with sudden temptation, urged by plausible adventurers who were equipped with every wile and argument, it is not remarkable that they succumbed. In countries which lay claim to a far higher culture and ethical standard than the primitive Transvaal possessed, men have not always been found proof against temptation.

As for the population in the goldfields, they were entirely engrossed in pegging claims, digging, floating mining companies, or ministering to the material wants of others. Many who had arrived there penniless suddenly found themselves rich beyond the dreams of avarice. On the whole, they were a reckless, irresponsible, happy-go-lucky community, and their only aim was to amass a competence in the shortest possible space of time, and then to return to the places whence they had come, and lead a life of leisured ease. There was not much that was attractive in their surroundings; but when the mass of the people found that fortunes were not made as readily as they had been led to expect and that some considerable time was likely to elapse before they achieved financial emancipation, they left the tents and wattle-and-daub habitations of Ferreira's Camp, built permanent homes, laid out gardens, and cultivated large plantations, which grew rapidly in an unsuspectedly fertile soil, and within a few years had greatly altered the aspect of Johannesburg and its environs. On the whole, the Government was fairly

responsive to the needs of the mining population. As soon as it was seen that the future of the goldfields was assured, a concession was granted to the Netherlands Railway Company to construct a line (then known as the "Rand tram") between Springs, at the eastern end of the Reef, and Krugersdorp, at its western end. The building of a line to connect with the Cape Government line through the Free State was rapidly pushed forward; and this was opened in 1892. In 1895 the railway was opened between Johannesburg and Lourenço Marques; and in the same year the Rand was connected with Natal through Heidelberg, Standerton, and Volksrust. Thus, the Republican Government indicated that, far from seeking isolation, it was anxious to bring Pretoriá and the Witwatersrand in touch with the coast ports (even though they were situated in foreign territory) and thereby with the markets of the world.

As long as there was prosperity, there was no trouble in the political sphere. In 1889 there came a period of prolonged depression, largely due to the winding-up of numerous mining companies which had been over-capitalised, and whose earnings did not justify their continued existence. There was a great drop in the market price of securities, and many investors were ruined. There were loud murmurs against those who had led the public to embark in reckless speculation; and they, to divert attention from themselves, began to blame the Government for the existing state of affairs. This was urged upon the public so insistently that at length it was believed. The people were told that the depression was due to over-taxation. It was said that the mining industry was hampered by the dynamite monopoly; but it was not pointed out

that those who profited by the monopoly were themselves intimately associated with the mining industry. In fact, the people were not unduly taxed; and no one was able truthfully to say that the conditions of life were harder than those existing in any other country. All the taxation of the Transvaal was indirect, and was levied through the customs and the railway rates. But the cost of living was infinitely lower than it has been at any time since the Republic ceased to exist. On the whole, money was easily earned and freely spent. No income-tax was levied. The only direct impost was a poll-tax of one pound per annum; and this was not enacted until some years had elapsed; even then it was not collected with rigidity—in fact, the only way in which the authorities succeeded in enforcing it was to make its payment a condition precedent to the right to participate in a lottery of mining claims. However, it is easy to manufacture a grievance; and an imaginary grievance is more irksome than a real one. And now the people were told that the only remedy for the existing state of affairs was the grant of a liberal franchise, so that they might have a voice in the government of the country. It is difficult to see how the franchise, as it then existed, could have been made more liberal. In 1881, after the retrocession of the Transvaal, the period of residential qualification for the franchise was two years; in 1882 it was raised to five years. But five years was the period required for naturalisation in England; while in the United States it was nine years. It was now (1890) that the President committed his initial blunder in diplomacy. He genuinely believed that these people were plotting to obtain the grant of the franchise in order that they might out-vote his faith-

ful burghers, and thus deliver the country into the hands of England. He secured the passing of a new law by the *Volksraad*, by which the qualifying period was raised to ten years instead of five. In fact, the vast majority of the *witlanders* did not want the Transvaal franchise. It is not the habit of Englishmen or of citizens of the United States to divest themselves of their allegiance to their own country. As one of the leaders of the mining industry, who was a strong opponent of the Kruger Government, wrote, the *witlanders* did not "care a fig for the franchise." Had Kruger left the period at five years, or even reduced it, few would have taken advantage of it. In fact, *witlanders* who became naturalised were regarded with disfavour. Nevertheless, agitation had done its work so effectively that when Kruger visited Johannesburg in that year (1890), a hostile crowd assembled before the house of the *landdrost* (magistrate) where he was staying, and tore down the *vierkleur*, the Transvaal flag. This incident did not serve to improve the President's opinion of the unwelcome guests within his borders. On the other hand, so firmly attached were the British miners to their home allegiance that when in January, 1892, the Duke of Clarence, the heir-presumptive to the British Crown, died, and a Johannesburg newspaper, *The Star*, referred in terms of disparagement to the dead Duke, a crowd stormed the printing works, and a serious riot was only averted by the tactful intervention of the *landdrost* (Von Brandis).

From this time forward the Transvaal was in a continual state of unrest. In 1892 the Transvaal National Union was founded at Johannesburg. It held numerous meetings, and the agitation for a reduction of the franchise period was vigorously carried on. Meetings

were held at which the grievances of the *uitlanders* were enlarged upon, and the future was painted in sombre colours. The people were told that they were "helots," a phrase subsequently adopted by Sir Alfred Milner. The helots were the serfs of the ancient Spartans. It is difficult to see how the *uitlanders* were serfs. No restrictions existed in respect of their rights of residence or trade. They had free access to the Courts, in which the same system of law was administered as that which prevailed in the rest of South Africa—in fact, the criminal procedure was the same as that in vogue in England. They might acquire real property and mining ground without restraint, and they freely purchased many farms and properties from the older population. The Government even made free grants of land to the churches of various denominations. Although elected on a limited franchise, a "Sanitary Board" was created to manage municipal affairs in Johannesburg. The only serious ground for complaint was that the State devoted very little of its revenue to the education of *uitlander* children, whereas it lavished money upon schools for burgher children. The *uitlanders* had to meet their educational necessities by providing their own voluntary schools.

It was in the internal affairs of his own people that the President showed to least advantage. Nominally republican, the system of administration was really patriarchal, and there was much nepotism. A special seat on the Executive Council was created for a former State Secretary, at a salary of £1,500 a year. This aroused strong criticism and a considerable amount of opposition, but the President, who brooked no contradiction, had his way. The official in question had for many years rendered services to the State, and

ought properly to have been rewarded with a pension—but no proper system of pensions existed. For another friend of the President the sinecure post of “Minute Keeper,” with a seat on the Executive, was created. The President pointed triumphantly to the fact that he had voluntarily requested the *Volksraad* to reduce his own salary from £8,000 to £7,000 a year. At the same time, he had no real cause of complaint, as he and several of his relatives had managed to secure several valuable mining and town properties in the gold area. More serious were the attempts of the President to interfere with the administration of justice. On more than one occasion, when civil judgments relating to land rights were given against the State by the High Court, the Executive Council passed resolutions purporting to interfere with or set aside the judgment. And great scandal was caused when a friend of the President was convicted on a charge of embezzlement and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, and the Executive immediately granted the offender a free pardon. The judge who had passed the sentence at once resigned, and the Chief Justice (Kotzé), who was on circuit, returned immediately to Pretoria and ordered the re-arrest of the man who had been convicted, until certain legal points reserved at the trial should have been argued. These points were subsequently decided in the prisoner's favour; but a bad impression had been created by the interference of the Executive. At the Presidential Election of 1893 strong opposition to Kruger manifested itself on the part of those burghers who considered that his rule was not adapted to modern conditions. The Commandant-General, Piet Joubert, was nominated as the opposition candidate, but Kruger was elected with a majority of about 700

votes. Joubert accused the Government of tampering with the election returns, and an investigation was ordered, which, however, resulted in the confirmation of the election. Another accusation was that the new State Secretary, Dr. W. J. Leyds, who, after having been State Attorney since 1884, had been appointed to this office in 1889, unduly favoured Hollanders at the expense of burghers.

In 1894 an incident occurred which greatly incensed the *uitlander* population. A military expedition was undertaken by the State against a native chief named Malaboch, and the field-cornet at Pretoria, purporting to act under the commando law, impressed five *uitlanders*, all British subjects, into service. They contended that they were not liable to service, and refused to obey the order. They were then brought before the *landdrost*, who fined them and directed them to surrender themselves to the field-cornet. Thereupon they applied to the High Court, which decided that according to the principles of International Law all residents were liable to be called upon to take part in the suppression of disorder within the State. They then complained to the British Agent, Sir J. A. de Wet, who replied that they must obey the law. The Government now intimated that they would release the men on payment of a monetary contribution. The National Union at Johannesburg then communicated with Lord Rosebery, the English Prime Minister, who directed the High Commissioner at the Cape, Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Loch to proceed to Pretoria and discuss the situation with the President. On Loch's arrival at Pretoria a huge crowd besieged the railway station and, while greeting him with enthusiasm, assailed the President with opprobrious epithets. The President,

however, remained calm, and negotiations between him and the High Commissioner were conducted in a friendly manner. They resulted in the unconditional release of the five men. Adherents of the Republic were able subsequently to point to the fact that while, during his interview with Kruger, the High Commissioner was "all smiles," he admitted at a later date, during a debate in the House of Lords (1896), that he had given instructions to British police and soldiers to post themselves on the borders of the Republic; and to march into the country if necessary.

The incident gave occasion for renewed and continuous agitation on the part of the Transvaal National Union. That body was accused by the Boers of being the instrument of Cecil Rhodes, and at one meeting of the Union a workman had the temerity to ask the chairman whether Mr. Rhodes had anything to do with that body. A forcible and indignant reply was given in the negative. Thus far, the outward behaviour of Rhodes towards the Republic had not been open to criticism. He had met the President on several occasions, and at a banquet held in Johannesburg in 1887 had referred to him in flattering terms. In fact, a pretext had offered itself for complaint on his part against the Republic. In 1888 the High Commissioner (Sir Hercules Robinson) had concluded a treaty of amity with Lobengula, King of the Matabele. In the same year (October 30th) Lobengula made an agreement with C. D. Rudd, Rochfort Maguire, and F. R. Thompson, by which a concession was granted to them, in return for a payment of £100 a month and 1,000 rifles, giving them complete control over all metals and minerals in his domain, with power to exclude from it all other persons seeking land or mining rights. Rhodes

74 KRUGER AND THE "UITLANDERS"

thereupon extinguished the rights of all other concessionaires by purchase, and formed the British South Africa Company, which received a charter from the Crown (dated October 29th, 1889). The Company was thereafter familiarly known as the "Chartered Company." A "pioneer expedition" was sent (1890) to open up the country, being accompanied by the great hunter, Frederick Courteney Selous, as guide. Archibald Ross Colquhoun was appointed the first administrator. He was succeeded in 1891 by Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, who had been for many years the close friend of Rhodes. Immediately on assuming office, he was confronted with the difficulty created by a party of Boers from the Transvaal under Colonel Ferreira, known as the Banyailand Trek. Two large parties of Boers proceeded to the banks of the Limpopo. The Boers had long contemplated a settlement in Matabeleland, but they were forestalled by the British treaty with Lobengula. Sir Henry Loch now sent a strong protest to the President, informing him that any attempt to invade the territory would be an act of hostility against the British Crown. The President thereupon issued a proclamation forbidding the *trekkers* to proceed. The history of Rhodesia (as the new territory was named, after its founder) during the remaining years of the century was one of struggle in the face of difficulties. The Matabele had always been in strife with the Mashonas, whom they had subjugated in the days of Mosilikatse. In July, 1893, a large *impi* was sent into Mashonaland to raid the Mashonas. It made its appearance in the streets of Fort Victoria, and caused alarm among the new settlers. Jameson undertook an expedition against the invaders, and marched upon Bulawayo, Lobengula's capital. Several fights fol-

lowed, in the course of which Maxim guns were used for the first time, with terrible effects. In November, 1893, Bulawayo was reached, and Lobengula fled. A party of thirty-four, under Major Alan Wilson, were, however, surrounded and killed on the Shangani River. Lobengula died near the Zambezi in January, 1894, and the Matabele submitted. At the end of 1895 came the Jameson Raid. Taking advantage of the situation which this event created, the Matabele rose in 1896, and a lengthy campaign followed, which was not ended until September, 1896, when Rhodes, Dr. Hans Sauer, and Colonel Colenbrander went unarmed into the Matoppos Hills and met the Matabele chiefs at an *indaba*, at which peace was made. The Mashonas also rose in rebellion, and were not pacified until October, 1897. On October 20th, 1898, a new charter was granted, an Imperial Commissioner being appointed, with an executive council, and a legislative council of five nominated and four elected members.

As the Transvaal National Union grew more vociferous in its demands, the policy of the Republican Government grew more hostile to British influence in South Africa. It conceived, and with justice, as appeared before a long time had elapsed, that a plan was on foot to rob it of its independence; but it adopted diplomatic methods which placed it in an unfavourable light and went far to deprive it of sympathy. In 1895, with the advent to power of the third Salisbury ministry in England, Joseph Chamberlain had become Secretary for the Colonies. Beginning his political career as an advanced Radical, he was now a militant Imperialist. It is only fair to him to say, however, that he had for many years been a convinced Imperial Federationist; and he now declared that he aimed at

forging closer the links that bound the world-wide empire whose minister he was. He was keenly alive to the delicate situation in South Africa—though it cannot be said that he was invariably well-informed. His temperament was as masterful as that of President Kruger; and it was certain that any step taken by the President which was regarded as aggressive in its nature would meet with determined opposition from the Colonial Secretary.

On the completion of the railway to Delagoa Bay, the President determined to divert as much as possible of the Transvaal traffic to that line. To further this object a prohibitive tariff was put on goods coming along the Netherlands Railway line from Vereeniging, on the Free State border. The merchants at Johannesburg declined to be coerced into using the Delagoa line, and brought their goods by ox-wagon from the "drifts" or fords on the Vaal River. The President thereupon issued a proclamation closing the drifts to traffic. This evoked from the new Colonial Secretary what was equivalent to an ultimatum, and the President once more had to give way. Chamberlain reinforced his contention by reference to the Convention of Pretoria and the Convention of London; and now began a diplomatic argument, contained in numerous despatches and counter-despatches, as to the meaning of these Conventions, which did not end until the outbreak of war in 1899. On the British side it was claimed that England was the suzerain of the African Republic; on the Republican, that the suzerainty which had been admittedly established by the Convention of Pretoria had been abrogated by the Convention of London. The controversy was only determined by the arbitrament of war.

Now an event occurred which transferred the sympathies of the whole non-British world to the side of President Kruger, and led to sharp divisions of opinion in Great Britain itself and in the Cape Colony, while at the same time it was a cause of the greatest embarrassment to Chamberlain. In August, 1895, an *witlander* petition for redress of grievances, with 35,000 signatures, was forwarded to the Government at Pretoria. It was rejected. The virtual control of the Transvaal National Union was now in the hands of several of the leading mine-owners, who were closely associated with Rhodes, who had been Prime Minister of the Cape Colony since 1890. A proposal was made to them by Rhodes, with the concurrence of Jameson, that Jameson, then still administrator of Mashonaland, should assemble a force of 800 men on the western border of the Transvaal, and that, at a convenient moment, Jameson should be invited to come to the assistance of the *witlanders*, and attack the Republic. For this purpose, he was to be armed with a letter of invitation, which was to be dated at the time he should make his inroad. In fact, the letter was handed to him during a visit to Johannesburg, several weeks ahead of its nominal date (December 20th, 1895). The Johannesburg leaders were four in number—Lionel Phillips, George Farrar, Colonel Francis Rhodes (brother of Cecil Rhodes), and John Hays Hammond, an American mining engineer, who, it was thought, would enlist the sympathy of the American community. The leaders did not take the general public into their confidence as to their intentions; and it is certain that had the matter been submitted to a popular vote of the *witlanders*, the proposal would have been decisively rejected. Instead, they formed a Reform Committee,

which sixty-four prominent citizens (many of whom were totally ignorant of the venture upon which they were embarking) were invited to join. The nominal leader of the National Union, Charles Leonard, issued a manifesto setting out the case of the *uitlanders*, and summoning a mass meeting for January 6th, 1896. Large numbers of the public took alarm, and left for the Coast; one of the immediate results being a terrible railway accident at Glencoe Junction, in Natal, in which hundreds of innocent *uitlanders* were killed and wounded. The leaders themselves now feared for the success of the movement. If the rising took place, was the Republican flag to be raised, or the British flag? On December 25th messengers were despatched to Rhodes at Cape Town, counselling delay. Charles Leonard was one of these messengers, and he did not return to the Transvaal for many years. A few others escaped in disguises, more or less ignominious. The "Reformers" decided to postpone action.

Jameson, however, heard nothing direct; and, to make assurance doubly sure, he ordered the cutting of the telegraph wires in front of and behind him. On December 29th he started from Pitsani, and crossed the border with his force, largely consisting of Bechuanaland Police; and so began the famous Jameson Raid. Officials at Malmani at once informed the Government at Pretoria, and the Burgher forces were at once called out. Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner, despatched an urgent message to Jameson commanding him to return immediately, and threatening him with punishment; but it was too late. With his rashness Jameson combined courage and determination. At Doornkop, near Krugersdorp, however, he was surrounded by a Boer commando led by General

Piet Cronjé, a veteran of the War of Independence, and, after a short fight, was compelled to surrender.

The consequences of the Raid, immediate and remote, were numerous. In the Free State, the commandos had been called out and stood ready to march to the aid of the sister Republic. An intense feeling of anger was created in Dutch breasts throughout South Africa; on the other hand, Jameson was acclaimed as a hero by most British Imperialists. Chamberlain was widely accused of complicity in the Raid, but no proof was ever forthcoming. An intense feeling of antagonism against England was aroused on the Continent of Europe, particularly in France and Germany. The German Emperor, William II, sent a telegram of sympathy to President Kruger, and was immediately rebuked for this by his grandmother, Queen Victoria. It has been suggested that the Raid was the germ of the World War in 1914. Rhodes, who remarked to W. P. Schreiner, his Attorney-General, that "poor old Jameson has upset my apple-cart," at once resigned office as Prime Minister; though his enemies—and England's—pointed out that he was not deprived of his position as a Privy Councillor. In Johannesburg there was at least a genuine manifestation of feeling—but it was on behalf of Jameson, the chivalrous, who was represented by some of the "Reform" leaders to be on his way to aid the Johannesburgers, though at the time he was actually being taken as a prisoner to Pretoria. The High Commissioner, who was in ill-health, and had been completely deceived by Rhodes, was himself at Pretoria, negotiating with the President, and sent Sir Jacobus de Wet and Sir Sidney Shippard, the Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland, to Johannesburg to allay the excited feelings of the population.

80 KRUGER AND THE "UITLANDERS"

The "Reformers" were arrested and taken to Pretoria; but the President issued a proclamation to the *uitlanders*, admonishing them to keep the peace, and, stating that, apart from the "Reformers," who were to be brought to trial, he would "forget and forgive." As the result of the negotiations between Kruger and Robinson, it was decided that Jameson and his men should be sent to England for trial. Later in the year they were tried at bar in the Queen's Bench Division, before the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Russell of Killowen), for breaches of the Foreign Enlistment Act, 1870, and received short sentences of imprisonment, varying from fifteen months in the case of Jameson to much shorter periods in the case of the rank and file. The "Reformers" were tried at Pretoria by Judge Gregorowski, who had been specially brought from the Free State to hear the case. The four leaders pleaded guilty to high treason, and were sentenced to death. The others pleaded guilty to *crimen læsæ majestatis*, a lesser form of treason, and were sentenced each to two years' imprisonment and a fine of £2,000, or in default of payment to further imprisonment for one year, and also to banishment for three years. Subsequently, however, the Executive commuted the punishment of the leaders to a fine of £25,000, and three years' banishment; and that of the lesser offenders to a fine of £2,000. Two of the latter, Captain (later Sir) Aubrey Woolls-Sampson and Major Karri-Davies, refused to pay the fine, and remained in prison until the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897, when they were released.

CHAPTER VI

THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899-1902)

FOUR years of tension followed the Jameson Raid. On both sides, national sentiment was crystallising. As far back as 1889, under its President, Mr. Francis William Reitz, the Free State had entered into a political treaty with the South African Republic, which, after referring in general terms to a federal union between the two States, bound each of them to help the other whenever the independence of either should be assailed or threatened from without, unless the State so called upon for assistance should be able to show the injustice of the cause of the quarrel in which its neighbour was engaged. In 1896, Marthinus Theunis Steyn became President of the Free State, in succession to Mr. Reitz, who was appointed a judge in the South African Republic. During the same year Steyn visited Pretoria, and a further offensive and defensive alliance was entered into. Later on (December, 1897), however, the Free State showed that its policy was by no means reactionary. The period for the franchise qualification was reduced from five years to three years, and no renunciation of former allegiance was insisted upon for naturalisation, as was the case in the Transvaal. Nevertheless, the Free State was fully committed to stand by the South African Republic.

In the Cape Colony there was much bitterness. In the

eastern districts, which were peopled mainly by men of British descent, the Loyal Colonial League was formed, which was largely instrumental in spreading British Imperial sentiments. On its model, the South African League was founded in the Transvaal, and it did much, by weekly smoking-concerts and periodical mass meetings, to mould sentiment on the Witwatersrand. The Press on both sides was largely nationalistic, which is, perhaps, a more appropriate term than "racialistic," though the latter term has since been commonly adopted to mark the cleavage between the two main sections of the white population. Broadly speaking, the English newspapers strongly urged the Imperial cause; while the Dutch papers were adherents of the two Republics. The Prime Minister of the Cape, Sir Gordon Sprigg, represented the British point of view, although he was vulnerable to attack as the supposed inheritor of the Rhodes policy. At the general election in 1898, however, his Ministry was displaced by that of W. P. Schreiner, who took office with the support of the Afrikaner Bond. Schreiner did his utmost to steer a neutral course, but this was almost a matter of impossibility in the tense atmosphere which existed. The Dutch party blamed him because he was too lukewarm; the British, because he was "pro-Boer." He was ultimately driven to express his public disapproval of the policy pursued by Chamberlain and Milner. As events proved, his views were sound; but in times of political passion and hatred people are not disposed to listen calmly to the voice of sweet reasonableness. Ultimately, British feeling against him was inflamed to an inordinate degree because, during the period of the negotiations between Chamberlain and Kruger in

July, 1899, he had permitted 1,000,000 rounds of ammunition, consigned to the Free State Government, to be forwarded to Bloemfontein. Schreiner pointed out, in reply to the attack upon him, that Great Britain was at peace with the Free State, and he had no right, according to international law and practice, to prevent the passage of these warlike stores. At a later date he was accused of delay in forwarding artillery and rifles for the defence of Kimberley and Mafeking. He justified himself on the ground that he did not anticipate war, and that he did not wish to excite unwarrantable suspicions in the minds of the people of the Free State.

In Natal, the people, as a whole, were strongly and almost fanatically attached to the Imperial connection, and opinion hostile to the South African Republic was practically unanimous. The only differences of opinion which existed between parties were as to the best means for promoting the industrial and economic development of the Colony. Though small, and although not free from difficulties in relation to the public finances, it had grown rapidly in point of material prosperity, and individual traders and planters were extremely successful. There were none of the garish excitements and pleasures, such as were sought after on the Witwatersrand, to lure the ordinary citizen from the paths of frugality and respectability; nor was Natal hampered, as was the Cape Colony, by the continual presence of a large mendicant section of the population. The unskilled work was done by Zulus, who, after the troubles of 1879, had settled down in an extraordinary manner to the peaceful pursuit of labouring and industrial occupations. There was also present in the Colony a considerable body of Indians, who had been imported from 1860

onwards through the representations and efforts of the Natal coffee and sugar planters of the Coast. These Indian labourers, by their industry, built up huge fortunes for the Natal landowners and manufacturers, and it was not foreseen that in later years the Indian population would be regarded as a *damnosa hereditas*, from which the Natal capitalists, grown rich and repentant, were to endeavour to free themselves in vain. The only external matter which troubled the Natalians was the attitude of the Transvaal. While desirous of aiding Great Britain by every means in their power in the event of the outbreak of hostilities, they were not unnaturally apprehensive of what would happen if adequate preparations were not made for war, for they judged correctly that the brunt of battle would fall on their own territory. Natal was the Belgium of South Africa. From the time of Chaka onwards nearly every struggle, whether between black and white, or between Boer and Briton, had been waged on her soil. In May, 1899, the Ministry of Colonel (Sir Albert) Hime, foreseeing the outbreak of war, had informed Mr. Chamberlain that Natal support would be given to the full, but expressed the fear of serious consequences to the Colony if the frontier line were not held by British troops. They requested the Imperial Government to take steps for the effectual defence of the whole Colony. Subsequently, the military authorities decided that they would hold Glencoe, although Sir George White, on his arrival from India to command the Imperial troops in Natal, advised the Governor that in his opinion this was dangerous from a military point of view, and that the troops should be withdrawn to Ladysmith. This advice was not adopted, with disastrous results.

In the Transvaal, the policy which was followed by the Government after the Raid was not such as was likely to terminate in a peaceful solution. The President was convinced that the *uitlander* movement was designed to rob the State of its independence, and that England stood behind it. Instead of disarming the opposition by wise and timely concessions, he and his burghers stiffened their backs and were resolved to yield nothing. The Government made a claim for compensation for injury and loss caused by the Raid, as they were fully entitled to do, but they made this claim ridiculous by adding a count of £1,000,000 for "moral and intellectual damages." Next, they asked for the total abrogation of the Convention of London, as injurious to the dignity of an independent republic. This was not acceded to. Internally, a series of measures was devised to overawe the *uitlander* population. Towards the end of 1896 there were passed an Aliens Expulsion Law, an Aliens Immigration Law, and a Press Law. The two former measures, though nominally designed to deal with persons who by reason of their criminal or immoral character were deemed undesirable residents, had for their real object the expulsion and the exclusion, respectively, of persons whose residence was considered objectionable on political grounds. They were never, in fact, applied in practice. In 1897, however, the Press Law was made to apply to two journals at Johannesburg which had been especially vigorous in attacking the policy of the President. These were *The Star* and *The Critic*, whose further publication was suspended. *The Star*, however, immediately made its appearance under another name, *The Comet*; while *The Critic* called itself *The Transvaal Critic*, and continued publication as though nothing

had happened. The construction of a fort at Johannesburg, to overawe the inhabitants, was taken in hand. At the same time, in response to extreme pressure from the leaders of the mining industry, the Government appointed an Industrial Commission to investigate local grievances and report thereon. The Commission, which had as its chairman Schalk Burger, recommended various reforms, and, had these been adopted, a great deal might have been done to allay discontent. But the Government disregarded the recommendations.

While these things were happening, a change had taken place in the representation of Imperial interests in South Africa. At Pretoria, Mr. W. Conyngnam Greene was appointed British Agent instead of Sir Jacobus de Wet, who was represented as "too backboneless." More important still, Sir Hercules Robinson (who had been raised to the English peerage as Lord Rosmead) was succeeded by Sir Alfred Milner, who, having begun his career as a doctrinaire Radical journalist under the tutelage of Mr. John Morley, and thereafter been Financial Adviser to Lord Cromer in Egypt and Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue in England, was now, apparently, an advanced Imperialist, and was selected by Chamberlain as a "strong man," who would not be browbeaten by President Kruger. Milner lost no time in showing that he had come to South Africa to uphold British prestige, and to teach a lesson to those among the Colonists who were favourable to the Boer cause. On his tour through the Cape Colony he was presented with an address at Graaff-Reinet, in which he was assured of the loyalty of the local population. To this he replied: "Of course you are loyal; it would be monstrous if you were not."

It was unfortunate for the peace of South Africa that there were no opportunities for informal personal intercourse between Kruger and Milner, in which case many misunderstandings might have been avoided and many "pin-pricks" saved. As it was, they met only on the diplomatic field, and then not privately, but as public contestants, with the whole world looking on. There have been many objections to so-called "secret diplomacy," but it cannot be denied that by this method concessions are often made and difficulties smoothed over in a way which is impossible when every member of a legislature and every newspaper editor has full opportunity of criticising and even of interfering in what is going on. At least, this is the position where only two parties are concerned; it is not applicable, perhaps, to the case of interested third parties, as is demonstrated by the diplomacy preceding the World War of 1914. As it was, Milner and Kruger were constantly at arm's-length; and the situation was not eased by the fact that Kruger, both on account of his prepossessions and the tone of the new High Commissioner's despatches, regarded Milner as being merely the mouthpiece of Rhodes and Chamberlain. Milner certainly was the official representative of the Colonial Office; but there is reason to believe that on several points he did not agree with Rhodes. However, he deemed it incumbent upon him to take a rigidly uncompromising tone in his correspondence with Kruger; and his critics said that he was the very embodiment of a "prancing proconsul."

(There were many subjects of debate between the two protagonists. Milner raised the question of the treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal, whose

movements the Republican Government had attempted to restrict. A law had been passed in 1885 regulating the residence of Asiatics and preventing them from acquiring land. It was now pointed out that this was contrary to the London Convention. Here Milner was on very insecure ground, for a dozen years had elapsed without the raising of any serious objection. However, Kruger agreed to refer the matter to arbitration. The arbitrator, Mr. Melius de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Free State, gave his award in favour of the Transvaal. Then the Republican Government attempted to apply the native pass law to coloured people from the Cape Colony, and Milner took up the cudgels on their behalf.)

Meanwhile, the President had taken a step in connection with the judiciary which furnished his opponents with a new argument, and gave occasion for serious uneasiness to many burghers of the State. In January, 1897, the High Court, presided over by Chief Justice Kotzé, delivered a judgment declaring that, tested by the *Grondwet* or Constitution of the Country, a mere resolution of the *Volksraad* had no legal force, and could not repeal or override another law which had been duly passed. There was much to be said on both sides of the question. It had been decided previously that such a resolution was valid; and many such resolutions had been accepted without question. When this judgment was given, the President secured the enactment by the *Volksraad* of a law which declared that the Court had no jurisdiction to enquire into the validity of any of its resolutions, or to "test" them by reference to the *Grondwet*, and called upon the judges to take an oath that they would obey the provisions of this new law. Nearly a year later, the President

called upon the Chief Justice to take this oath. This he refused to do, and he was thereupon dismissed from his office.

Nevertheless, in 1898, there were hopes that a new era had set in. Dr. Leyds, who had always been regarded as hostile to the *witlanders*, was sent to Europe as minister plenipotentiary of the Republic. His mission was to plead the cause of the Transvaal at various European Courts; but he found that foreign chancelleries, which were quite willing, through their agents, to create trouble for England at a distance of 6,000 miles, were not so ready to welcome a new disturbing influence on the Continent of Europe itself. Leyds was replaced by F. W. Reitz as State Secretary of the Republic; and J. C. Smuts was appointed State Attorney. They were regarded as representatives of the newer generation, known as the "Young Afrikaners," and it was thought that a more enlightened and conciliatory spirit would prevail. But representatives of the old *regime* were still strongly entrenched, and in certain directions these new officials could make no headway. The judiciary had been weakened as the result of recent changes and resignations; but useful reforms were initiated in the appointment of new public prosecutors, and in the exercise of a better supervision over the police and the detective departments. Really, however, the new officials had been chosen because it was thought that their dialectical skill would be useful in the negotiations with the British Government, and for many months their time was occupied in forging literary bolts for Milner and Chamberlain. Much of the correspondence on both sides was concerned with the question of the Suzerainty, and the discussion of points of international law; and Dr. Farrelly, an

international expert, was called in to assist on the Republican side.

Early in 1899 an event occurred which was made use of to inflame the population of the Witwatersrand to a white heat against the Government. A man named Tom Jackson Edgar, who had felled another to the ground in the course of a quarrel, and left him apparently dead, retreated to his cottage in Marshall's Town, where he locked himself in. A policeman named Barend Stephanus Jones, believing that Edgar had committed murder, went to his door and demanded admittance for the purpose of arresting him. Being met with a refusal, he broke open the door, and, as he deposed at his trial, found Edgar standing behind the door, threatening to strike him with an iron bar. He thereupon drew his revolver and shot Edgar dead. Jones was charged with murder, and was condemned in advance by the Press and a considerable section of the public. The jury, however, acquitted him. The presiding judge, Kock, in discharging Jones, made the unwise remark that he hoped the police would in future discharge their duty with equal faithfulness in similar circumstances. The whole town was in an uproar. Mass meetings were held, at which inflammatory speeches were delivered. An "Uitlander Council" was constituted to watch over the interests of the Witwatersrand. A "monster" petition was prepared to be forwarded to Queen Victoria, to which the signatures of 21,000 British subjects were said to have been obtained. It pointed out that these British subjects were deprived of all political rights in the Transvaal, which was governed under a system of mal-administration and peculation, and that the police, instead of affording adequate protection to the lives

and prosperity of the inhabitants, were rather a source of danger to the *uitlander* population.

On May 10th, in reply to this petition, Chamberlain proposed a conference at Pretoria. On the same day, however, President Steyn, acting on the suggestion of friends of both parties, invited Kruger and Milner to meet in conference at Bloemfontein. The invitation was accepted, and the conference was held at Bloemfontein from May 31st to June 5th. Milner put in the forefront of his proposals a request for the grant of the franchise to the *uitlanders*, after a residence of five years. It was a strange position, this, of the British High Commissioner asking that British subjects should be permitted to become citizens of a foreign State; although there is no doubt that both Chamberlain and Milner genuinely believed that a reasonable franchise might result in peace. On the other hand, the President resented what was, in effect, an interference with the internal government of his State. Nevertheless, he offered to reduce the franchise period to seven years. This was not accepted, and the Conference broke up. Milner had failed as a diplomatist, if his object was to induce Kruger to agree to a five years' franchise. Kruger had been wanting in his usual political sagacity, for the offer of a five years' franchise would have put his opponents "out of Court." It would have been acted upon by comparatively few *uitlanders*, and the British Government would have been deprived of all pretext for further interference in the internal affairs of the Republic. Kruger returned to Pretoria and Milner to Cape Town. Although Chamberlain wrote another despatch supporting the High Commissioner, and although the *Volksraad*, to give effect to the offer of the President, passed a law

in August granting the franchise after seven years' residence, it was felt on all hands that the time for negotiation had passed.

The Republican Government came to the conclusion that the Gordian knot could only be cut by war. Nevertheless, they delayed until the winter should pass away and the grass be growing on the veldt, which would not happen until after the September rains. Final arrangements had also to be made with the Free State, which had determined to cast in its lot with the sister Republic. Moreover, the preparations for mobilisation, from a departmental point of view, were not as advanced as they would have been in the case of nations accustomed to large military operations. The main objective of the Boer leaders was to invade Natal and, if possible, capture the port of Durban, while "containing" the British troops in the north of the Cape Colony and on the west of the Transvaal: and, had they acted promptly, they had an excellent chance of attaining their objective. But, for the reasons previously mentioned, the ultimatum to England, which had been ready drafted on September 27th, was delayed.

If the Boers had their reasons for waiting, the British Government had no such excuse. After the breakdown of negotiations they had, through the Colonial Secretary, threatened to "formulate their own demands." It was plain that, having gone so far, they must, as a matter of national self-respect, be prepared to enforce those demands *vi et armis*. In fact, no adequate steps had been taken to secure co-ordination between the policy of the Colonial Office and that of the War Office, which had over and over again shown, in Indian and Egyptian campaigns, that at the critical

moment it was unprepared. Sir William Butler, the Commander-in-Chief at the Cape, had in 1897 warned the War Office that a force of more than 100,000 men would be needed to defeat the Republics. He was recalled for his candour. In September, 1899, Lord Wolseley, Commander-in-Chief at the War Office, had himself written—"If this war comes off it will be the most serious war England has ever had." (Early in September the British Government sanctioned the despatch of 5,600 troops to Natal from India, and two battalions from the Mediterranean.) The Boers, on the other hand, had some 85,000 men on their commando-lists, though only 40,000 were in the field at any one time. But they constituted a nation in arms, and every man could be called out to service if need be.

President Kruger is reported to have said that if war resulted, the Republics would "stagger humanity." Having regard to his habitual phraseology, it is improbable that he used these words; but, in effect, they were fulfilled. There were still very many who refused to believe that, in spite of all, he would dare to challenge the might of Great Britain. Nevertheless, on October 9th, 1899, the ultimatum was presented to Conyngham Greene, the British agent at Pretoria. It demanded that all points of difference should be referred to arbitration; that the British troops on the borders of the Republic should be instantly withdrawn; that all reinforcements of troops which had arrived in South Africa since June 1st, 1899, should be removed within a reasonable time to be agreed upon; and that the British troops then on the high seas should not be landed in any part of South Africa. An answer was required within forty-eight hours. To

this ultimatum the Orange Free State gave its adherence. The demands, obviously, were such as Great Britain could not accede to, and a state of war existed from five o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, October 11th, 1899.

The war was received with great enthusiasm throughout the British Empire. Its announcement was a revelation of the real solidarity of the Empire, for testing which no such occasion had previously arisen. The attitude of Kruger towards the British had grown into a legend, and almost superhuman powers of annoyance and offence were attributed to him. It was felt that Britain must assert herself, once and for all time. Volunteers flocked from all parts, and many regiments were raised and equipped at private expense. They came from the great Dominions, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, from India, and from the smaller colonies. The despised *uitlanders*, who had been charged with pusillanimity when they refused to be commandeered, raised regiments which were destined to be remembered in history as the Imperial Light Horse, the Johannesburg Mounted Infantry, the Rand Light Infantry, and the Imperial Light Infantry. From Natal came the Durban Light Infantry and Bethune's Mounted Infantry, and, from the Cape, Brabant's Horse.

From a military point of view, the Boers had a great advantage. Although they were invading Natal, they were fighting all the time on interior lines. The British forces would have to make their way inwards from the sea, and, in the Cape Colony, through a country which was largely unfriendly. Their communications were tied to the main railway lines—in Natal, that leading from Durban through Pietermaritzburg to Charles-

town in the north; in the Cape, the line from Cape Town to Kimberley and Mafeking, from Port Elizabeth to Norval's Pont, and from East London to Bethulie.

General Piet Joubert had chief command of the Boer forces. One of his chief lieutenants was Louis Botha, who was soon to attain distinction. The Free State forces were led by General Christian de Wet, whom none excelled in wiliness and the ability either to take advantage of an opportunity or to escape from a seemingly desperate situation. Nevertheless, it is probable that the Boer forces suffered from the disadvantages of a divided command. Respect for tradition and law, also, had placed the Transvaal legions under Joubert; but he was old and tired, and greater advantages might have been gained in the early stages had a younger and more alert man been at the head of the forces. Another old and tired man, though his past deeds had ranked him as a hero in the eyes of the Boers—General Piet Cronjé—was sent to lead the commandos in the west. Orders were given to besiege Kimberley and Mafeking, and within a few days these towns, commanded respectively by Colonel R. G. Kekewich and Major-General R. S. S. Baden-Powell, were enveloped and besieged. They remained in a state of siege, their inhabitants undergoing great privations, until February 15th, 1900, and May 17th, 1900, respectively, when they were relieved.

General Sir Redvers Buller was appointed to command the British forces. He had seen much service in South Africa, in days when methods of warfare were different, but he, also, was now old and enfeebled; nor had he any experience of modern artillery, such as the Krupp guns and Creusot guns with which the Boers soon showed themselves to be equipped. Ever

since the Jameson Raid the South African Republic had made large increases to its armaments, and its men were armed with Mauser rifles, the most effective weapons of the age. Yet these things appeared to come as a matter of surprise to the British intelligence officers.

Pending Buller's arrival, Sir George White had chief command in Natal. He was handicapped by the fact that, contrary to his original advice, his troops were divided, a large number, under General Penn-Symons, being at Glencoe in the north. So ill-equipped was he with artillery that he had ultimately to depend upon some naval guns, which were mounted at Durban by Captain (afterwards Admiral Sir Percy) Scott, and sent to Ladysmith, where they proved of great value.

The first encounter in Natal was at Talana Hill, near Dundee, on October 20th, when the Dundee brigade attacked Lukas Meyer's force, which had come from the eastern Transvaal, and drove it back, though at considerable cost, General Penn-Symons being mortally wounded, and 226 officers and men killed and wounded. The British forces had to fall back before the main Boer army, and were nearly surrounded, but retreated to Ladysmith. On October 21st, General (Sir John) French was sent by Sir G. White to clear the Boer forces from Elandsplaagte. This he did, at a loss of 258 men. After an action at Rietfontein, on the 24th, to cover the retreat of the Dundee brigade, the main Boer forces from the Transvaal and the Free State came up, and on the 29th was fought the battle of Lombard's Kop, in which the whole British force was engaged. The operation was too large for them to undertake with success, and the result was that White was driven back into Ladysmith, and found

himself besieged. The town was not relieved until February 28th, 1900, after the garrison had been decimated by fever.

On the day following Lombard's Kop, Buller arrived at Cape Town from England. He decided to go himself to Natal, and divided his available forces into three small armies, one under Lieut.-General Lord Methuen, which was sent to relieve Kimberley; another under Gatacre (who had less than a brigade), to Queenstown in the Cape Eastern Province; and the third under General Clery, who went with Buller to Natal. Sound strategy would have dictated a direct advance of the whole army upon the Free State, but political reasons and the exigencies of the situation forbade this. Nevertheless, the division of forces was disastrous. Methuen pushed the Boer advance forces back from Belmont and Enslin, and on November 28th forced the passage of Modder River, though at such cost (485 killed and wounded) that he had to halt and wait for reinforcements, being himself wounded. Meanwhile Gatacre had moved forward. On December 10th he undertook a night march upon the enemy's position at Stormberg with the object of effecting a surprise attack, but his guides misled him, and he was himself surprised, with the result that he had to retreat with a loss of 719 men. The next night, December 11th, Methuen moved forward upon Cronjé's position at Magersfontein. The Boers had entrenched themselves and covered their approaches with barbed wire. Now, for the first time, the deadly use of trenches and barbed wire in warfare was demonstrated. The British forces found themselves hopelessly entangled, the Highland Brigade under General Wauchope was severely punished, Wauchope being killed, and in the battle which followed on

the next day Methuen was beaten back and forced to a standstill, with a total loss of 950 men, 750 of these being from the Highland Brigade. On Saturday, December 15th, Buller himself moved forward from Chieveley, in Natal, with the whole world looking on. Buller had the trust and affection of his troops, and the confidence of the whole nation. He was faced by the Boer army under Louis Botha, which was filled with natural anxiety, only equalled by a stern determination to hold its own. The Boers were lined in trenches along the Tugela River. Buller made a direct frontal attack upon Colenso, without adequate knowledge of the topography. He was repulsed with a loss of ten guns and 1,100 men, and did not resume the fight. This was the "Black Week" for the British arms.

When this bad news was received, the British Government appeared for the first time to realise that it was engaged in a serious war. Reinforcements were hurried out to South Africa, and continued until, by the end of the war (which cost £350,000,000), 350,000 men, from first to last, had been shipped to South Africa in transports, this being the largest expedition, by far, that had ever been carried such a distance over-sea. It was felt that the utmost skill was called for in the conduct of operations, and Lord Roberts, the "hero of Kandahar," was appointed Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, with Lord Kitchener as his chief of staff.

While Roberts was on his way to the Cape, matters remained at a deadlock; though the Boers invaded the northern part of Cape Colony at Colesberg, where they were kept from advancing by a mounted force under General French. On January 6th, 1900, they delivered a fierce attack upon Ladysmith, the two

points selected for attack being Cæsar's Camp and Wagon Hill, and they were only beaten back after a desperate fight, the Boers losing 500 men. The brunt of the fight, on the British side, was borne by the Imperial Light Horse.

To retrieve his reputation, Buller ordered another attack by a division under Sir Charles Warren, who crossed the Tugela at Trichardt's Drift, west of Colenso, on January 17th and 18th. He seized Spion Kop and, had he retained it, might have commanded the Boer position towards Ladysmith. But the hill was too weakly held, and Warren, after the battle of Spion Kop on January 24th, had to re-cross the Tugela and retreat to the main camp. On February 5th, against the advice of Roberts, Buller again crossed at Vaal Krantz, but was beaten back.

Roberts began his advance, with a fresh army, from Ramdam, near Graspan in Griqualand, on February 11th. French, with a light cavalry force, dashed through Cronjé's outposts and relieved Kimberley. Two days later, the investment of Cronjé's forces began. The veteran realised his danger when too late, and attempted to slip away, but was surrounded and kept at bay in the bed of the Modder River. Kitchener made a premature and costly assault on him, and had to withdraw, but after a prolonged bombardment Cronje surrendered, on February 27th (the anniversary of Majuba), with 4,000 men. De Wet, however, escaped.

On the same day, after Buller had at last managed to secure his footing on the north bank of the Tugela, and had fought another engagement at Pieter's Hill (with a loss of 1,600 men) in which he was successful, Ladysmith was relieved. The Boer army in Natal

fell back to the north, and the Republican forces withdrew from the Cape Colony.

Roberts at once continued his advance into the Free State, and on March 13th, 1900, he entered Bloemfontein. Here he was compelled to await reinforcements and supplies. In Bloemfontein, enteric fever proved a worse enemy to the British soldiers than gunfire, and thousands of men died. On May 1st, Roberts again moved forward, this time in a northerly direction, towards the Transvaal. His rear was harassed by De Wet, who, before the British troops reached Bloemfontein, had captured a large convoy, and now ambuscaded Broadwood's brigade at Sanna's Post, near Bloemfontein, on March 31st. On April 4th De Wet repeated this exploit at Reddersburg, the victim being the unfortunate Gatacre. De Wet then moved south-east and invested Dalgety's force at Wepener, which was only relieved by Hunter after a siege of ten days.

On May 10th the army fought a sharp engagement at Sand River, but pushed forward, entering Kroonstad on the 12th. Eight days later it moved on again, and marched into the Transvaal. On May 28th a proclamation was issued formally annexing the Orange Free State to the British Dominions. On May 31st, after some skirmishing, Johannesburg was entered. Paul Kruger had fled on the previous day from Pretoria to Waterval Boven, taking with him the State archives and a considerable quantity of gold. Pretoria was occupied on June 5th, and 3,000 British prisoners of war were set free. The Boer armies, however, were still free to move about, and on June 9th a battle was fought by Roberts against Botha at Diamond Hill, east of Pretoria, with the result that the Republicans were pushed back from the Capital. Their forces, how-

ever, were active in the Magaliesberg to the west, while Botha went eastwards along the Delagoa railway. Meanwhile, the Natal field force, under Buller, had come through Natal and occupied Laing's Nek. The most successful operation of this period was at the Brandwater Basin, in the Eastern Free State, where 4,000 men under Prinsloo were surrounded by the troops led by Hunter and Rundle, and compelled to surrender—though De Wet escaped again. Within a few weeks he was once more harassing the British troops, this time in the Western Transvaal.

The main British forces now followed Botha, while Buller marched to meet them from the south-east. On August 26th and 27th, an action was fought at Bergendal, near Belfast, with the result that Botha's forces were temporarily dispersed, taking refuge in the Bush-veld, north of the railway. The remaining British war prisoners, who were at Nooitgedacht, were released. Kruger now took refuge in Lourenço Marques, and in October sailed for Europe. It was said that he had deserted his countrymen, but he stated that he went to seek aid on the Continent, and he never suffered in the estimation of his own people. On October 25th the Transvaal was annexed by the British Commander-in-Chief.

In November it was believed that the war was over, except for the necessary process of "rounding up" such Boer detachments as were still at large. Accordingly, Roberts handed over the chief command to Kitchener and returned to England. In reality, the most difficult and wearing process of the war had only then begun, and was to last for another eighteen months before there was a general pacification. It is not necessary to enter into the details of the opera-

tions which now ensued. The Boer forces were split up into small bands, which adopted guerilla tactics, attacking isolated British detachments, breaking up the railway lines at convenient spots, and capturing convoys and stores. De Wet was here, there, and everywhere; Botha operated chiefly in the Eastern Transvaal; and De la Rey had command in the west. At the end of 1900 rebellion broke out in the Cape Colony, necessitating the proclamation of martial law early in 1901. De Wet and Kritzinger invaded the northern part of the Colony, but were obliged to return. However, Hertzog penetrated to the west coast, and Smuts to within sight of Table Mountain. Kitchener now brought all the Boer women and children into concentration camps, where, unfortunately, there was terrible mortality. He also built fortified block-houses along the railways, and at many points in the interior, with the object of making safe his line of communications. In February, 1901, negotiations were opened between him and Botha at Middelburg, Transvaal, but these broke down mainly over the treatment to be accorded to Cape rebels.

From this time onwards, although there were still small defeats of the British troops, which reflected no great credit on their brigade and battalion commanders, the Boer forces, as a whole, began to show signs of the strain put upon them by war, and their power of resistance diminished considerably. In July, 1901, Botha applied for permission to communicate with Kruger, who, however, advised a continuance of the struggle. In August, Kitchener issued a proclamation threatening such Boer leaders as were captured with perpetual banishment. It had no effect, and was contrary to the rules and practices of warfare. Botha

now made an abortive attempt to invade Zululand. After his return, however, he inflicted a severe defeat on a force under Colonel Benson at Bakenlaagte (October 30th), Benson himself being killed.

Although de Wet and others succeeded in breaking through the lines on several occasions, the block-house system was now much more effective, although field operations were still necessary to clear the country of the forces which had caused so much annoyance by their guerilla tactics. At the end of 1901, Kitchener instituted a system of "Drives," and thus began the last phase of the war. Large bodies of troops, extending over many miles, were successively employed in separate areas to sweep the whole country before them. They denuded the country, and established a cordon through which their opponents could not break. First of all, they cleared the Eastern Free State, sweeping the area four times; then, the same method was employed in the Transvaal; and, lastly, against the Cape rebels, mainly in the north of the Colony. But even at the last there was a slight reverse, De la Rey making a rush upon a column under General Paris, and capturing Lord Methuen, who was wounded.

The Boer leaders now made overtures for peace. From March 23rd, 1902, negotiations were set on foot at Pretoria, and were then transferred to Vereeniging. At length, on May 31st, 1902, the Treaty of Vereeniging was concluded (though actually signed at Pretoria). It stipulated:

- (1) The surrender of the burgher forces in the field, with their arms and munitions of war; they were to desist from further resistance to the authority of King Edward VII, whom they recognised as their lawful Sovereign;

- (2) the gradual return to their homes of burghers in the field outside the limits of the two new Colonies (Transvaal and Orange River Colony) and of all burgher prisoners of war outside South Africa who agreed to become British subjects, all burghers being guaranteed their personal liberty and property ;
- (3) that no proceedings should be taken against burghers so surrendering or returning for any acts of war, except such as were specially notified to the Boer generals as being breaches of the laws of war outside South Africa, which were to be tried by court-martial immediately after the close of hostilities ;
- (4) that the Dutch language should be taught in public schools in the new Colonies where the parents of the children so desired it, and was to be allowed in Courts of law when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice ;
- (5) that possession of rifles would be allowed to persons requiring them, on taking out licences according to law ;
- (6) that military administration would be succeeded as soon as possible by civil government, and, as soon as circumstances permitted, representative institutions, leading up to self-government, would be introduced ;
- (7) that the question of granting the franchise to natives would not be decided until after the introduction of self-government ;
- (8) that no special war tax would be imposed on land in the new colonies ;
- (9) that Commissions should be appointed to assist

the restoration of people to their homes, and supply those who were in need with food, shelter, and necessary stock and implements, for which purposes the British Government was to place £3,000,000 at the disposal of the Commissions.

Apart from the annexation of the former Republics, which naturally came as a great blow to the burghers, the remaining terms of the Treaty were moderate, having regard to precedents in war, such as had been applied to the defeated side in the American Civil War ; and for this credit must be rendered to Kitchener, whose policy, on the whole, was more humane than that of Milner, who was his co-signatory to the treaty.

Cecil Rhodes, though he knew the end of the Republics was near, did not live to see the conclusion of the treaty. He died on March 26th, 1902, at Muizenberg, and was buried in the Matoppo Hills, where, in after years, his friend Jameson was laid beside him. Perhaps his greatest achievement was his will, under whose terms scholarships at Oxford were established for students from the British Dominions, the United States, and Germany. His great antagonist, Paul Kruger, who had taken up his residence at Utrecht, Holland, survived for over two years, and died on July 14th, 1904, at Clarens, on the Lake of Geneva, after he had seen his world come crashing down to ruin. His body was brought back to South Africa, and interred at Pretoria on December 16th, 1904.

CHAPTER VII

THE POST-BELLUM PERIOD (1902-1910)

EARLY in 1901 Sir Alfred Milner was appointed Governor of the two new Colonies, retaining the office of High Commissioner for South Africa, and later in the year he was raised to the British peerage as Baron Milner of St. James' and Cape Town. Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson was appointed Governor at the Cape, and Sir Henry McCallum Governor of Natal. After the Peace of 1902, Crown Colony government was instituted in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and two Lieutenant-Governors were appointed under Milner: Sir Arthur Lawley for the Transvaal, and Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams for the Orange River Colony.

The great task of the new government was reconstruction. The repatriation of the *uitlander* population, many of whom had left the Transvaal as refugees on the outbreak of war, was taken in hand. A more serious task was the restoration to their homes and farms of the burgher ex-prisoners of war. This was a laborious process and, in the nature of things, satisfaction could not be given in every case. Work on the mines was gradually started afresh. A central judicial commission was appointed to investigate disputed claims, and in the various districts local compensation commissions were set up in pursuance of the Treaty, which

made recommendations and awards in respect of war losses. For the purpose of assisting him in reconstruction, the Governor had gathered round him a select band of young Oxford graduates. Owing to their newness to the country and their inexperience, they aroused a certain amount of resentment in the breasts of the older inhabitants, the great complaint being that young colonials were not given a chance to show the stuff of which they were made. The youth of this staff of secretaries and assistant-secretaries earned for them the nickname of "the Kindergarten." They probably made mistakes, and "rubbed people the wrong way," but there is no doubt that they were men of ability and even distinction. In after life, several of them achieved reputations in other spheres—such as Geoffrey Dawson (editor of *The Times*), Philip Kerr (private secretary to the British Prime Minister), Lionel Curtis (a well-known advocate of Imperial Federation), John Buchan (author and publisher), W. L. Hichens (managing director of great engineering firms), and R. H. Brand. The real brunt of the administrative work, however, fell upon Sir Richard Solomon, the Attorney-General. In legislation, however, his task was comparatively easy, as it was found convenient to adapt as much as possible of the Statute Law of the Cape Colony to the Transvaal, in such matters as the administration of justice, deceased persons' estates, bills of exchange, and the like. Provision was made for a system of elementary and secondary education, and the population of the Witwatersrand was at last provided with adequate schools—perhaps one of their most serious grievances under the Kruger régime. At the same time, the Boer population felt that a system was being set on foot whereby their

children were prevented from learning their own (the Dutch) language. The former position was now reversed. Dissatisfied with the State schools, they set up their own educational system, known as the C.N.O. (Christian National Organisation), where, they considered, they could give their children proper instruction in Dutch.

In November, 1902, the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, visited South Africa, and made a tour through the new Colonies, returning to England in March, 1903. The main object of his visit was to make satisfactory arrangements whereby a portion of the war debt might be assumed by the new Colonies. The amount for which they were liable was ultimately fixed at £30,000,000. A loan was also to be sanctioned for reproductive works. Numerous deputations from the inhabitants, British and Boer, waited upon the Colonial Secretary, gave expression to their views, and made various requests relating to administrative improvements. His visit was noteworthy as the first of the kind ever paid by a Colonial Secretary in office to the Dominions, and hopes were expressed that this would be the forerunner of similar visits. It was not until 1924, however, that another Colonial Secretary, Mr. J. H. Thomas, visited South Africa, and the impression produced by his tour showed that much misunderstanding and trouble might have been avoided in the past had such visits been more frequent and regular. In the case of Joseph Chamberlain himself, however, the physical effects of his tour on him were disastrous, and led ultimately to a complete breakdown in his health.

Under the Crown Colony system, the Lieutenant-Governor presided over two nominated bodies, the

executive council and the legislative council. In the last resort, however, everything was referred to the Governor, who was supreme and, in effect, without responsibility. His task, of reconciling the two populations, and of laying the foundations of a well-ordered State, was no easy one, and it was not rendered less difficult by the "one-man" system of government which was adopted. Citizens found the Governor both autocratic and unapproachable. It is true he made a show of receiving deputations and listening to them, but their representations and advice were seldom accepted. It was said of him that, as he was born in Germany, he had imbibed the spirit of German bureaucracy. The representatives of the older Boer population, Botha and Smuts, stood aloof, and declined his offer of seats on the legislative council. A great section of the new-comers, the people on the Witwatersrand, was at first perplexed at his attitude, and ultimately grew hostile. They could not understand how it was possible, now that the settlement of the country was on the point of completion, to withhold from them the grant of self-government, when the ostensible cause of the war had been the refusal of the franchise to the *witlanders*. They did not regard the new nominated legislative council as in any way representative of them or responsive to public opinion, composed as it was, for the most part, of persons intimately associated with the control of the mining industry. Remembering the earlier association of Lord Milner with the government of Egypt, many of them said that the former *witlanders* were now no better than *fellaheen*. There can be no doubt that the mine-owners appeared to bulk largely in the councils of the government, and Sir Richard Solomon often com-

plained that he had no voice in its affairs ; but Lord Milner may have thought honestly that the mine-owners, who had assented to the new burden of debt which was to be borne by the country (although its payment was not to come out of their pockets), were entitled to be listened to with respect. This opinion was not shared by the majority of the people, and an agitation was set on foot (March, 1903) for the grant of representative institutions. The only measure conceded to them was the institution of elected town councils, which could not in fairness be withheld (1903). It was also announced that in view of the difficulty of procuring a regular supply of native labour for the mines, a system of importation of mine labourers from China would be instituted. This new departure in labour policy had been pressed upon the Governor by several of the mine "magnates," such as Sir George Farrar, and he capitulated completely to their arguments. The announcement aroused great resentment. The inhabitants of the Transvaal at large felt that an unknown and a dangerous element was being introduced into the country. Many of the miners thought that the ultimate intention was to replace white by yellow labour. In any case, the mine-owners, as a body, had not shown themselves sympathetic to the claims of the white mine-workers for consideration. Very little had been done to improve the amenities of life on the mines, and such ordinary facilities as habitable quarters, clubs, and recreation grounds had only been wrung from the overlords of the industry as reluctant concessions. Already it had become apparent that a special industrial disease—miner's phthisis—existed among the miners of the Rand ; but no measures were taken to prevent its spread or

mitigate its effects, nor was any compensation provided for those whom it rendered incapable of doing further work, or for their dependents in case of their death. Nor was there a workmen's compensation law. It was now that the nucleus of a Labour Party, with the object of representing the workers' interests, was formed. At first, however, it had no opportunity of making its voice heard, as the most powerful organs of the Press were ranged on the side of the mining "industry"—the term "industry" being used as synonymous with the directorates of the principal mines. Mass meetings were held to protest against the importation of Chinese labour, and a baker named Quinn led the opposition; he was, however, warned that this might result in serious consequences to his business, and before long, to the indignation of the people, he declared that he had recanted his views, narrowly escaping personal violence as a result. However, the public memory is short, and within a few years Quinn was elected mayor of Johannesburg—though not, it is true, by the popular vote.

The importation of Chinese labour was set on foot, and, for the next two years, controversy raged fiercely on the subject. To all outward appearance, the Governor was not perturbed. He rode in the whirlwind, and directed the storm. He had had his way, and the people might rage as they listed. Nevertheless, the seeds had been sown of great industrial strife, and few at the time foresaw even dimly what the ultimate consequences would be. The immediate consequence of the greatest importance was the effect produced upon the English electorate, although, curiously enough, the opinion held upon the matter in England was directly opposite to that entertained

by the white population of the Witwatersrand. They considered that the importation of Chinese miners meant economic, and ultimately social, subjection for themselves; whereas, on political platforms in England, the system was represented as being in no wise different from slavery, the Chinese being the slaves. In the strict sense there was no slavery—the Chinese were said to be recruited voluntarily, and they were paid wages. Nevertheless, such an effect was produced upon the British electorate that the Balfour administration was swept from power at the general election of 1906, and replaced by that of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. One of the first acts of the new English Government was to cancel the importation of Chinese labourers into South Africa.

The agitation for political rights which was now proceeding alarmed several of the mine-owners, who had themselves fostered political agitation before the Boer War. A body which had held meetings in 1903 to urge the grant of citizen rights was encouraged by them to form itself into the "Progressive" Association, which in 1907 became the Transvaal Progressive Party. The main object of this body was to retard the advent of full representative institutions as long as possible, and to suggest that only a half-measure of representation should be conceded. It was pointed out that if the parliamentary franchise were freely accorded, the certain result would be to place the Boer population in political control. As even the promoters of this movement recognised that it would be both impracticable and unfair to confer full voting rights upon only a section of the people, they proposed that parliamentary government should be delayed for an indefinite period. There were others, however,

who held a more enlightened opinion, and were unable to support a system which meant that one section of the community would be placed in the saddle for ever. In their view, no people could be regarded as truly free unless it was in full possession of the rights of citizenship. Accordingly, they formed the Transvaal Responsible Government Association (1904), and set on foot an agitation for the complete parliamentary franchise and the institution of a legislature to be elected by popular vote. Two cries which came into fashion and were bandied about between the rival Associations were "one man, one vote," and "one vote, one value." Broadly, the former meant manhood suffrage and the prohibition of plural voting; while the latter indicated single-member constituencies with equal voting power. In a sense, however, all this was premature. No new legislature had, as yet, been granted; nor had anything been decided as to its constitution. The mine-owners, through the newspapers which they controlled, were able to represent their voice as the voice of the people, and to obtain a favourable hearing from the Government which was then in power in England. At length the grant of a new legislative constitution for the Transvaal, known as the Lyttelton Constitution (from the name of its author, Alfred Lyttelton, who had succeeded Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary), was announced. This was promulgated by Royal Letters Patent on March 31st, 1905. It provided for a legislative assembly consisting of nine official nominated members and from thirty to thirty-five elected members. There were to be from thirty to thirty-five electoral districts, with one member for each district. The franchise was extremely liberal, being conferred on every white male British

subject aged twenty-one, but the constitution of the assembly (in which the Lieutenant-Governor was to preside) was such as, in the opinion of those who desired free self-government, to render the franchise qualification illusory, and of no real value. However, the new constitution never came into operation. When the Campbell-Bannerman Ministry took office in England at the end of 1905, it was announced that a new constitution would be granted, on the basis of full self-government. This was promulgated on December 12th, 1906, immediately after the report of a commission headed by Sir J. West-Ridgway had been received, which recommended a completely elective house of assembly. There was to be a Parliament, consisting of a legislative council of fifteen members, nominated by the Crown, and an assembly of sixty-nine members. To the existence of a nominated legislative council there was no serious objection, as this was, in effect, the system prevailing in England and several of the British Colonies—though there were some who desired the Second Chamber to be elective as well.

It was the work of a new Governor to supervise the introduction and working of the self-governing constitution of the Transvaal. In April, 1905, Milner finally left South Africa. He was succeeded as High Commissioner and Governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies by Lord Selborne. Although Lord Selborne had been a member of the English Administration which the Boers regarded as peculiarly hostile to themselves, he had the supreme requisites of a colonial administrator—tact and common sense. He was especially sympathetic with the Boer point of view, and it was not long before he won the esteem and regard of the whole population.

As soon as the new constitution was promulgated, the Boer leaders, headed by General Louis Botha, came forward and announced that they would take part in the forthcoming election campaign. They formed a party more distinctively representative of the Dutch population, known as *Het Volk* ("The People"), with which was allied an urban party known as the Nationalist Party, which was the lineal successor of the Responsible Government Association. The first general election was held in February, 1907, and resulted in the return of *Het Volk*, which obtained a majority of seven over all other parties. Botha became Prime Minister of the Transvaal, and invited two of the Nationalists to join his Ministry.

In the same year (1907), Letters Patent were issued constituting a Parliament in the Orange River Colony. Here parties were divided on much the same lines as in the Transvaal. On the one side was the *Oranjië Unie*, led by Abraham Fischer, a veteran politician of the Free State; on the other, Sir John Fraser led the "Constitutionalists." The election, in November, 1907, resulted in the return of twenty-nine members of the *Unie*, five Constitutionalists, and four Independents. Fischer became Prime Minister, with Christian de Wet as a leading member of his Cabinet.

The Governments of the two Colonies, after taking office, set themselves seriously to grapple with the various administrative and social problems which were awaiting solution. Owing to the greater variety of industrial and financial interests, the Transvaal had more of these problems to face; whereas, in the Orange River Colony, the population was more homogeneous, being mainly rural, and there were few or no class divisions which were to be reconciled. In

both Colonies, however, the fostering of agriculture on a scientific basis was regarded as a prime necessity. General Botha had himself taken the portfolio of agriculture in his Ministry, and he instituted various reforms in that department. Provision was made for better and more advanced agricultural education, and co-operative farming schemes were set on foot, some of which, however, did not succeed, although they were by no means as extravagant or financially disastrous as various "settlements" which had been founded during the Crown Colony *régime*. Education was another department which, it was felt, stood in need of reform, and which must be brought more closely in touch with the people. An Education Act was passed in 1907, which provided for the election of school boards in each district. The first step was taken to reach a solution of the "language problem," which involved the respective rights of the English and Dutch languages, by providing that in the lower standards of Government schools the medium of instruction should be the native language of the pupil; but beyond the third standard the use of English was to be compulsory, though Dutch might be used as a medium in not more than two subjects. In fulfilment of its obligations to the Labour Party, which had given its adhesion in the elections, the Government carried measures designed to improve the condition of the workers. These were a Workmen's Compensation Act (1907), and a Shop Hours Act (1908). Nevertheless, there were the beginnings of open industrial discontent, and in the winter of 1907 there was a strike of miners on the Witwatersrand, the first of its kind, which involved 6,400 men, and cost over a quarter of a million pounds in wages. The Transvaal Govern-

ment also found itself involved in serious trouble relating to the Asiatic question. In 1907, in pursuance of its election pledges, it carried a measure for the registration of all Asiatic residents, including British Indians, and imposing penalties for non-registration and failure to possess registration certificates. The matter of the Chinese mine-labourers or "coolies" was set at rest by the announcement of the Government that the existing Labour Ordinance relating to them would not be renewed, although the repatriation of these labourers was to take place gradually; and by February, 1910, all the Chinese coolies had left the Transvaal and returned to their native country. The British Indians, however, led by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, led a powerful agitation against the registration statute, and a "passive resistance" movement was inaugurated, which ultimately assumed large proportions. Gandhi and several other Indian leaders were imprisoned, and large numbers were deported to India. The Indian Government made a protest; but the Imperial Government did not see its way to interfere in the affairs of a self-governing Colony. The measure in question was accompanied by another, providing for the restriction of immigration, which was also aimed, in the main, at the British Indians. Attempts at compromise were made in 1908, but these failed, and in the same year fresh registration and immigration Acts were passed, which, while modifying the law in certain respects, made it more stringent in others. However, a large number of Asiatics registered themselves under the Act of 1908. On the other hand, until the end of 1909, eight thousand Indians had been compelled to leave the country, and 2,500 had been imprisoned for failure to comply with the Regis-

tration Act. Agitation on the subject continued under Gandhi's leadership, and had not ended when the Union was inaugurated.

The history of the Cape Colony after the Boer War was comparatively uneventful, apart from the passing of an Act restricting alien immigration (1902), and another (1903) which ratified the first Customs Convention between all the South African Colonies, which was notable for the grant of a preferential rebate in favour of imports from the United Kingdom (amounting, on the average, to 25 per cent. of the duty). In 1904 Sir Gordon Sprigg, who had obtained a majority of five in a House of ninety-five members at the general election early in the same year, resigned, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Dr. (afterwards Sir Starr) Jameson—another illustration of the sudden and remarkable reversions of fortune in South African politics. The chief measure of his ministry was one for the increase of parliamentary seats, by the creation of a larger number of urban constituencies. It was carried, in the face of considerable opposition. In 1905 an Act was passed for the gradual introduction of compulsory education. During this period there was a great shrinkage in the public revenue, although the development of local manufactures and agricultural industry had made considerable advances, and by the time this ministry came to an end there was a total decline in revenue of £4,000,000. Various measures, such as the introduction of the first income-tax, and increases in the excise, failed to improve the situation, and there was general depression. The popular remedy in such cases is a change of government, and at the general election in 1908 Mr. Merri-man became premier for the first time, leading the

South African Party, which was supported by the Bond; while the Progressive opposition renamed themselves the Unionists. There was, however, no improvement in the financial situation, and the end of Mr. Merriman's first year of office revealed a deficit of £1,000,000. The only apparent remedies were drastic retrenchment and increased taxation, but, although these were applied, there was no improvement during the following year, which was the last one of the separate existence of the Colony.

The history of Natal during this period was one of internal disputes over commercial policy, which led to frequent changes of ministries, and of native troubles (which have been mentioned in connection with the Zulus). It had long been apparent that some definite policy must be undertaken with regard to the Native problem, in the interests of the natives themselves as well as of the white colonists. In 1903 and 1904 a general Native Affairs' Commission, representative of all the four Colonies, had investigated the matter, and had come to the conclusion that a spirit of individual independence was being developed amongst the natives, and that tribal ties were being correspondingly loosened. It recommended direct political representation in the Colonial legislatures, on the same basis as that accorded in New Zealand, and the imposition of direct taxation on all adult natives. While Colonial sentiment, generally, was opposed to direct political representation of the natives, it was not averse to taxing them, and a poll-tax was imposed, the consequence of which was rebellion. In 1906 a Natal Native Affairs' Commission was appointed, and its report recommended the creation of a Native Advisory Board entrusted with wide powers. Ultimately, in

1909, an Act was passed placing native affairs in the hands of four district commissioners, giving the minister for native affairs direct executive authority, and creating a council for native affairs. After the Union came into being, this system was modified, and the administration of native affairs is now in the hands of a Chief Commissioner at Pietermaritzburg, having jurisdiction over the whole of Natal and Zululand, and the assistance of a staff of inspectors of locations and mission reserves, though in many districts the control of these matters is in the hands of the local magistrates. In Natal, natives in urban areas are practically uncontrolled, squatting on the town lands, and the "location" system has not been adopted.

Natal also had its troubles in connection with the Indian problem. In 1895 an Act was passed imposing a yearly tax of £3 on Indians whose indentures of service had expired and who remained in the Colony. Various other restrictive measures were: an Indian Immigration Restriction Act (1897), directly aimed at Indians; a general Immigration Restriction Act (1903), excluding immigrants who could not write in a European language; a Dealers' Licences Act (1907), restricting the trading activities of Indians. The Colony was beginning to feel the pressure of competition caused by the presence of a growing community of industrious people, who were enterprising traders and serious commercial rivals. (In these matters there is usually no such thing as the application of abstract justice. Indian labourers had been imported for the benefit of the Natal planters, and, so long as they remained bound by indentures, subject to rigid control, and worked for their masters, there was no objection to them. But when they were freed from their inden-

tures, and began to earn an independent livelihood, they were regarded as a menace. Seeing this, the Government introduced a bill to provide for the cessation of Indian immigration at the end of three years. This met with criticism, based on the respective interests which were involved, and the bill was not proceeded with, though a new Commission was appointed to enquire into the subject. The Commission reported that the importation of indentured labour should not be discontinued, as such labour was essential for the development of sugar, tea, wattle-growing, farming, coal-mining and other industries—in fact, all the industries of Natal except trading.) The Commission recommended that, except as labourers, the Indians were undesirable in Natal, and that there should be compulsory repatriation. Nothing was done in the matter, however, while Natal remained an independent Colony. During this time the free Indians had firmly entrenched themselves, and they owned the most valuable town properties in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and other urban centres.

The experience of Natal in financial affairs was similar to that of the Cape Colony. The expenditure exceeded the revenue, and for the first time an income-tax was levied. Nevertheless, affairs improved, and at the end of the independent existence of the Colony there was a surplus, and the taxation which had been recently imposed was remitted. These improvements were in large measure due to the Governor, Sir Matthew Nathan, who subsequently filled the office of chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue in England.

Meanwhile the problem of the mutual relations of the four Colonies had been occupying many minds. It was impossible, in the nature of things, that these

Colonies could either be or remain "watertight compartments." In many respects, they were interdependent, and had common interests. There were no marked geographical boundaries between them, if we except the Drakensberg and the Orange River, which were no longer obstacles to intercourse as they had been in olden times. This was due to improved railway communications; and the railways, which served as carriers of goods from the coast ports, which were keen rivals for the inland trade, formed a main source of the revenue of all the Colonies. Uniformity and unity in railway policy were, therefore, eminently desirable; so was a common system of Customs duties, with the concomitant of internal free trade. Another matter on which policy must be harmonious was defence, both in connection with obligations to the Empire at large, and so far as common action in relation to possible trouble from aboriginals within the boundaries of South Africa might be necessary. Most important of all was a common Native policy. Considerations such as these, together with the pressing financial needs of the Cape, led the Jameson Ministry, at the end of 1906, to invite Lord Selborne to address himself to the general problem of union between the four Colonies. Many tentative movements towards such a union had been made in the past. It had been originally mooted by the Free State *Volksraad* in 1854, and in response to this Sir George Grey had advocated federation in 1858. Then had come the ill-starred efforts of Lord Carnarvon in this direction from 1874 onwards; but the Colonists would have nothing to do with any form of union imposed from above. Even now there was no direct mandate from the citizens at large towards union. Nevertheless, the ministers

felt that serious consideration of the problem could no longer be delayed.

In response to the invitation, Lord Selborne prepared a careful memorandum on the whole question, which is in many respects comparable with the famous Canadian report of Lord Durham in 1838. The memorandum, which was dated January 1st, 1907, dealt with the historical causes of South African disunion, and with the results of that disunion on railway development, fiscal policy, Native and Labour questions, and the economic position. Lord Selborne then considered the problem of national expansion, and, in dealing with this, pointed out the evil of "piecemeal" institutions as compared with those which were representative of the people as a whole. After dealing with the situation at the moment, he concluded by observing that, while union would not necessarily mean a satisfactory solution of every problem, unless the people took the path to union they would be committed to that of separation.

Nothing was done in the matter during 1907. In May, 1908, an inter-colonial conference met at Pretoria to discuss the tariff and railway rates, and resolved that "in the opinion of this Conference, the best interests and the permanent prosperity of South Africa can only be secured by an early union, under the Crown of Great Britain, of the several self-governing Colonies." An agreement might subsequently be made for the admission of Rhodesia into such a union. The members of the conference agreed to submit these resolutions to their respective legislatures, and to obtain their consent to the appointment of delegates to a National South African Convention, which was to consider and report on the most desirable form of union and prepare a draft constitution.

These recommendations were accepted by the four Colonial Parliaments, and, though the electorate was not consulted directly, delegates were appointed to the National Convention. This body met at Durban in October, 1908, and was presided over by Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) de Villiers, the Chief Justice of the Cape. Amongst its members were several who had played a prominent part in South African history, such as ex-President Steyn, Botha, de Wet, Delarey, Jameson, Merriman, Schalk Burger, Smuts and Hertzog. After sitting at Durban, the Convention was adjourned to Cape Town, and on February 9th, 1909, it made public the results of its deliberations by the publication of a draft Act of Union. The proceedings of the Convention were conducted in secret, and were not published. The new Constitution was submitted to the four Parliaments for their approval. The Transvaal Parliament accepted it in its entirety. That of the Free State made some slight alterations. In Natal it was submitted to a referendum of the people, after the local Parliament had made certain minor amendments. The referendum, which was taken in June, 1909, was in favour of its adoption, 11,121 voting for, and 3,701 against, union. Certain provisions, however, aroused strong opposition in the Cape Colony. Among these was the principle of "one vote, one value." On this the other Colonies stood firm, and the Cape withdrew its opposition. On two other points, however, that Colony had its way—proportional representation was abandoned, and single-member constituencies were substituted for three-member constituencies. The document, with its alterations, was finally adopted on May 11th, 1909.

A delegation was now appointed to proceed to

England to secure the passing of the Constitution as an Act of the Imperial Parliament. The only alteration of importance now made was that the control and administration of affairs specially or differentially affecting Asiatics was to vest in the Governor-General-in-Council instead of in the Union Parliament. Save for this, the bill passed without alteration, and came into force as the South Africa Act, 1909, receiving the Royal assent on September 20th, 1909. May 31st, 1910, was fixed as the date when the Union should be established formally. For good or ill, the four former Colonies were now united in one Government.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST YEARS OF UNION

LORD SELBORNE had left South Africa in April, 1910, to make way for the first Governor-General of the Union, Viscount Gladstone, the son of the great Liberal leader in England, from whom great things were expected, owing to the wide political experience he was assumed to have gathered as his father's private secretary. These hopes were not destined to be realised to any large extent. On May 31st, 1910, he assumed office, and it was announced that he had invited General Louis Botha to become the first Prime Minister of the Union. There was only one possible choice, between Botha and Mr. Merriman, the Cape Premier. Neither Sir Frederick Moor, the Natal Premier, nor Abraham Fischer, the Premier of the Orange Free State, filled the same place in the public eye. Merriman was the oldest member of the Cape House of Assembly, and had filled many ministerial offices; but he had also taken part in wrecking several administrations, and had the reputation of being a debater and critic rather than a constructive statesman. Botha, on the other hand, at that time enjoyed the confidence of the entire Boer population. He had distinguished himself in war, and had led his people with courage in their time of adversity. During three years in office as the head of the Transvaal ministry he had shown capacity and

moderation in the direction of public affairs, and had kept faith with his new allegiance to the British Crown. The first Union Cabinet which Botha gathered round him was drawn from the leading supporters of his policy—which he announced to be one of conciliation—in the four new Provinces. From the Cape came J. W. Sauer, an experienced politician, who had always been regarded as Merriman's first lieutenant; Mr. F. S. Malan, the leader of the Bond party; Mr. Henry Burton; and Sir David Graaff, a capitalist. From the Transvaal, Mr. J. C. Smuts, who was spoken of as "the power behind the throne"; and Mr. H. C. Hull, who, as treasurer, had enabled the Transvaal to enter the Union with a surplus of a million pounds to its credit—a surplus destined soon to be swallowed up irrevocably. From Natal, Sir Frederick Moor and Dr. O'Grady Gubbins (who held no portfolio); and from the Free State, Abraham Fischer and General Hertzog, who, in addition to being Minister of Justice, held the important portfolio of Native affairs.

The first task of the Ministry was to arrange for the merging of the various administrative departments of the Union. Thus, the railways came under one administration, with a single general manager. In each Colony there had been a Colonial Secretary; this office now disappeared, and was replaced by the Department of the Interior. The same process followed in the other departments of State, and unification of their activities throughout the Union was applied to the fullest extent possible. In terms of the South Africa Act, an administrator, to hold office for five years, was appointed in each of the new Provinces. The new Court of Appeal for the Union, officially termed the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South

Africa, was constituted, with Lord de Villiers as the first Chief Justice.

In the nature of things, party government was inevitable. Tradition had ranged politicians and their supporters in two main lines of opposition, which, unfortunately for the country, were based largely upon the national differences between English and Dutch. Through this traditional opposition Botha found it impossible to break, and parties formed themselves upon so-called "racial" lines, although there were many, with no Dutch affinities, who supported Botha, and desired to see an obliteration of racial distinctions. Other lines of cleavage were suggested as more suitable, such as an urban and a rural party, or a party of the interior and one of the coast, but these were purely artificial, having no correspondence with the real sentiments of the people, and would have led to as much trouble as was caused by the racial division, possibly even to a break-up of the newly formed Union. The result was that Botha formed the South African Party, with the former Cape South African Party, the Transvaal *Het Volk* Party, and the Free State *Unie* as its components; while the main opposition to them was that of the Unionists, who claimed the authoritative right to voice British sentiments in South Africa. The nucleus was also formed of a Labour Party, led by Mr. F. H. P. Creswell, the representatives of Labour stating that they were dissatisfied with the industrial policy of the Botha ministry in the Transvaal after the strike of 1907. These parties at once embarked upon the first Union election campaign. A prominent feature was the cartoons issued by the Unionists, which, strangely enough, designated Botha and Smuts, who had so recently taken an important part in the

creation of the Union, as the "wreckers," who were luring the barque of South Africa on to the rocks. Controversy, however, chiefly centred round the policy voiced by General Hertzog, who claimed that the language rights of the Dutch people should be fully secured, and that the children of Dutch parents should have the same rights of learning their own language as were enjoyed by English children. The Unionists, most unwisely, seized upon this as the main point of attack. The children of English parents suffered from no disadvantages in relation to the teaching of their own language; while the training of Dutch children was plainly no concern of the Unionists, and did not affect them in any way. Nevertheless, they did concern themselves with the matter, the result being a recrudescence of racial strife, which it had been fondly hoped had been allayed by the creation of the Union itself. From this time forward the "language problem" was the cause of great bitterness in South African politics. It led to an unnatural and unnecessary division on racial lines, and the feelings which it aroused affected the general well-being of the country, and were not allayed for many years. Once these feelings were aroused, both sides indulged them to an inordinate extent, and in the last result few were free from the fault of arousing or keeping alive racial passions. The election resulted in the return of the South African Party, with Botha as its head, by a majority of thirteen over all other parties (September 15th, 1910). On November 4th, 1910, the first Union Parliament was opened by the Duke of Connaught.

During its first two sessions (1910 and 1911), the Parliament was concerned mainly with legislation of a formal character, dealing with the regulation of

various departments of government, and laying down a systematic basis for the management of the public finances. Accordingly, Acts were passed which stated the powers and privileges of Parliament, fixed the liabilities of the Crown in civil actions, and established the office of a High Commissioner for the Union in London. The general financial measures included a statute regulating the appointment and duties of commissions for the management of the public debt, a law dealing with the customs, and another relating to the control of the exchequer and audit of the Union. The last statute of general interest was one fixing the public holidays to be observed in the Union. The main interest of Parliamentary debates, however, centred in discussions which were not concerned with actual legislation. Resolutions on subjects of general, and even academic, interest began, almost immediately, to form a recognised portion of Parliamentary business; and, after the emergence of the National Party, a motion of non-confidence in the Government was a matter of almost annual occurrence. Generally, it may be said that the discussions of subjects of this kind occupied an inordinate amount of Parliamentary time, which was increasingly taken up with non-essential matters in the years that followed. Nevertheless, they had their value as tactics from a party point of view. Recurring motions, alleging the deplorable state of the country, or directing attention to sins of omission and commission on the part of the Government, even though they might not always have had a foundation in fact, had their effect upon the electorate, which, as succeeding general elections proved, progressively showed its want of confidence in the policy of the Government.

Outside the political sphere, great interest was created in the announcement that, by a bequest under the will of Alfred Beit (the life-long associate of Rhodes in his financial enterprises), to which Beit's partner, Sir Julius Wernher, made a larger addition, a gift of £500,000 had been made for the foundation of a teaching university. The only existing university, that of the Cape of Good Hope, was a purely examining body, with affiliated colleges, conducted on the same system as the University of London. Owing to the language of Beit's will, a claim was made that this gift was in reality intended for the South African College, situated at Cape Town, whose governing body had planned to develop it into a teaching university. Considerable discussion arose with regard to the destination of the gift. In the Transvaal, it was argued that Beit and Wernher had always contemplated the foundation of a university at or near Johannesburg. In 1912 the Minister of Education introduced a bill for the establishment of a new university, which met with much criticism, as it contemplated a post-graduate university, for which, it was argued, the standard of higher education in the country was not sufficiently advanced. It was now proposed to convert the Cape University into a teaching university for South Africa. To this, also, opposition manifested itself, and a Government commission was appointed to enquire into the whole subject, which recommended the creation of a second university at Pretoria, and the incorporation of the various colleges as constituent colleges either of the new University or of the Cape University. This aroused local opposition between Cape Town and Pretoria. Ultimately, the Beit trustees were induced to agree to the bestowal of the bequest upon a university situated

at or near Cape Town, the site ultimately chosen being Groote Schuur, the estate of Cecil Rhodes at Rondebosch, near Cape Town. The authorities of the Victoria College, at Stellenbosch, feared the effect on their institution of a teaching university at Cape Town, and bestirred themselves actively in obtaining fresh endowments. Ultimately, three Acts were passed in 1916, incorporating three new universities. The South African College was transformed into the University of Cape Town, receiving all the benefits of the Beit bequest. The Victoria College became the University of Stellenbosch, and subsequently received large gifts from local residents. The Cape University became the University of South Africa, with its seat at Pretoria. It remained an examining body, but embraced six constituent colleges—the Transvaal University College (Pretoria), Grey University College (Bloemfontein), Rhodes University College (Grahamstown), Natal University College (Maritzburg), Huguenot University College (Wellington), and the Johannesburg University College (afterwards replaced by the Potchefstroom University College). Without large endowments, the Johannesburg University College, which had a large number of students, appeared likely to become the Cinderella of all these institutions. The citizens of the town, however, began a vigorous movement to obtain funds and to arouse public interest, and in 1921 secured the passing of an Act whereby the University of the Witwatersrand was incorporated. At the end of 1923 the number of students in these institutions (excluding music students, who might, perhaps, not fairly claim to be ranked as full university students) was: Cape Town, 981; Stellenbosch, 644; Witwatersrand, 1,008; Grey, 233; Huguenot, 82;

Rhodes, 244 ; Transvaal, 640 ; Natal, 218 ; Potchefstroom, 114.

In 1911 two measures were passed which were designed, the one, to secure greater safety for miners during their work, and the other to compensate Transvaal miners in rock mines who were suffering from the scourge of miner's phthisis. The former, the Mines and Machinery Act, conferred an extensive power of framing regulations, and elaborate rules for "safety" were subsequently promulgated. Other regulations were framed with the object of designating the respective spheres in which European or white and coloured labour should be employed, and the "colour bar" regulation, which prevented persons other than Europeans from engaging in certain specified occupations, subsequently became famous in connection with the industrial disturbances which arose during 1922. The Miner's Phthisis Act of 1911 was an experimental measure, and it was improved and strengthened by amending statutes in subsequent years, until, finally, a consolidating Act was passed in 1925. The mortality and disability from miner's phthisis in the early years were great, and constituted a serious industrial burden ; and it is strange that, in the case of a measure so purely remedial, opposition to its passing should have come from certain members on the Unionist benches of Parliament. They seemed to be concerned more with the interests of the shareholders in the mining companies than with the protection of the miners from disease and death. They were also doing the so-called "British" cause no good, for they drove these miners into the ranks of their opponents. The best justification for this legislation is to be found in the fact that there was a gradual improvement from year to year

in the health and general condition of the miners. The principle of the Acts was the payment of compensation on death or disablement, the expense being met out of a fund to which the mining companies were compelled to contribute in varying proportions. After so short a period as the end of six years from the institution of the measure, the department concerned with its administration was able to report that the conditions on the mines were steadily improving, that the actual average service of miners was considerably greater, and that their average age had increased every year. In 1925 it was estimated that a sum of £800,000 yearly would be necessary to carry out the purposes of the Act. At the end of 1923 the gold mines had paid the sum of £8,537,944 in dividends for the year; and the amount paid to compensate for or to ward off miner's phthisis did not appear inordinate in comparison.

An event occurred during this year (1911) which, though not directly connected with the Union, aroused great feeling within it as well as outside its borders. A native named Alukuleta was convicted by a jury in Rhodesia of having committed an atrocious assault upon a white woman, and the presiding judge (Watermeyer) sentenced him to death. At the beginning of January, 1911, it was announced that Lord Gladstone, in his capacity as High Commissioner, had commuted the sentence to one of imprisonment for life. This action aroused intense indignation throughout South Africa, and in various centres, such as Johannesburg, mass meetings were called to protest against it. It was pointed out that in the lonely districts of Southern and Northern Rhodesia white women were peculiarly exposed to what is known as "the Black Peril," and

that the capital penalty was appropriate in such cases, and had, in fact, been inflicted previously. Attention was drawn to the fact that the Administrator of Southern Rhodesia had not advised Lord Gladstone to exercise his prerogative and commute the sentence, nor had the judge done so. In response to the agitation, Lord Gladstone wrote a dispatch to the Administrator, justifying his action on the ground that full legal evidence of the commission of the crime was wanting. One of his contentions which was most open to criticism was that "while the complainant's evidence was given absolutely in good faith, and in its main features was no doubt true, having regard to the fact that the assault must inevitably have led to a state of great excitement and distress, it is impossible to be certain of the accuracy of the very grave statement she made on which the verdict appears to have been arrived at." His critics pointed out that there was no proof that the woman was actually in "a state of great excitement and distress," but, assuming that she was in such a state (as was almost invariably the case in such circumstances), that did not invalidate her evidence, as there would otherwise be no convictions at all on such charges. After a while the excitement died down; but the incident aroused much opposition to the Governor-General, even in matters not even remotely connected with this affair. In the Union itself there had been considerable alarm in connection with cases of the kind, and in 1912 the Government appointed a "Black Peril Commission," which reported that no legislative measures appeared to be appropriate, but that the only remedy, if a remedy were possible, lay in increased vigilance on the part of the police, and proper judicial discrimination in every trial.

During 1912, the principal measures of general public importance were an Act under which the Civil Service, now known as the "public service," of the Union was completely reorganised, and a public service commission was created, whose duties were to make recommendations with regard to the appointment, promotion and grading of public officers; and the Defence Act, which laid down the system of defence for the Union. This created an Active Citizen Force, and rendered every citizen of European descent liable from his seventeenth to his sixtieth year to render personal service in defence of the country in any part of South Africa within or without the Union. Between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five it made it compulsory for every citizen of sound physique to undergo a course of peace training for four years. It was left open to youths between the ages of seventeen to twenty-one to volunteer, and the response was always more than adequate. A council of defence was constituted, with a commandant-general.

Meanwhile there were signs that all was not well within the ministerial ranks. The declared adhesion of General Botha to the Empire, while it gratified a large number of his followers, had not met with the approval of many who clung to the traditions of republicanism. They had so recently been in arms against the British Empire that the transition from the rôle of enemy to that of champion was too abrupt and violent for them to become accustomed to before a considerable period should have elapsed. It was unnatural, in their view, that they should love the Empire; they had promised that they would remain loyal to the allegiance which had been forced upon them by the Treaty of Vereeniging, but that was as

far as they could go. In this respect much must be forgiven them; and it was somewhat unreasonable of their political opponents (the Unionists) to expect that in a moment they should swallow all their traditions and sentiments, which were the outcome of a century of opposition to Imperial rule. They needed breathing-space in which to settle down and take stock of their surroundings, and opportunity to experience the real benefits of British government. Their opponents, who claimed to be the authentic exponents of Imperialism—who were, in fact, *plus royalistes que le roi*—were never tired of drawing attention to their shortcomings, and seizing upon perfectly natural aspirations of the Boers, such as their desire to preserve their language rights, as proofs of an iniquitous conspiracy against the supremacy of the Crown. The old republican section argued that if they were constantly attacked and criticised on grounds such as these, then “they might as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb”; and, in retaliation, they themselves resorted to language which was not calculated to smooth embittered feelings, though, in the circumstances, it was perfectly natural. One of those who especially resented the attacks on the old republican section was General Hertzog, and it must be admitted that in certain platform speeches—and, after all, they were only platform speeches—his zeal outran his discretion, though he had ample provocation. On the other hand, Botha, who was a plain man, not gifted with the power of arousing an audience to enthusiasm or excitement, was honestly striving to effect conciliation between the conflicting racial interests, and made a rule of ignoring the “pin-pricks” of the opposition, though, on occasion, even he lost his temper. The Unionists found an especial

pleasure in goading and baiting General Hertzog, and he retaliated in kind. Unfortunately for the South African Party, artful use was made of his speeches to embarrass Botha, who had more than once declared his adhesion to the Empire; and taunts were levelled at the British-born members of the ministry, who were asked how they could sit still and listen to the "disloyal" utterances of their colleague, General Hertzog. At the same time, Hertzog had aroused much criticism by the formulation of a new plan for dealing with the Native problem—that of segregation, which he expounded in several speeches. Whatever may be said of its merits, it must be admitted that before many years it was regarded in many quarters as the only practical solution of a difficult enigma, and had it emanated, at the time when it was first propounded, from one who was more acceptable from a "British" point of view, it would have been received with the attention and respect due to any honest endeavour—such as it undoubtedly was—to arrive at a settlement of a vexed question. As it was, General Hertzog returned with interest the taunts which were flung at him. Especial offence was given by his reference to the opposition leaders, Sir Thomas Smartt and Senator Colonel Byron, as "foreign adventurers." This translation of the phrase he used in Dutch—*vreemde fortuinsoekers*, which, literally, meant "immigrant fortune hunters"—was not strictly correct; but that made no difference. In fact, as Hertzog subsequently explained, they were foreign, inasmuch as they came to South Africa from oversea; and every man who came to this country to carve out a career for himself was, in that sense, an adventurer. Nevertheless, there was a prodigious outcry, and General Botha and the

rest of his Cabinet were stampeded. General Hertzog's position was not unfairly summed up by a writer in *The Annual Register* for 1912:

"It is not necessary to assume in him either hostility to the British race or disloyalty to the Imperial connection, though these faults have been charged against him in the heat of party controversy in South Africa; but it is beyond question that by his nationalism and his aggressive attitude towards the capitalist class and the English in South Africa, particularly during his control of education in the Free State, he had earned the distrust of the English-speaking section of the community."

The writer in question shared what was, unfortunately, only too common an error, by confusing the cause of "the capitalist class" with that of the English-speaking community at large. It was the misfortune of the people that the really powerful organs of the Press, which alone claimed to speak for the English people, were in the hands of "the capitalist class," many of whom were not even British.

In any case, the breach between Hertzog and his fellow-members of the Cabinet widened. Matters came to a head in December, 1912, when Botha, in a speech, declared that the Cabinet recognised their responsibility for the naval defence of South Africa. On the following day (December 8th), speaking at Rustenburg, Hertzog said that "Imperialism was important to him only when it was useful to South Africa." These words were capable of explanation—in fact, Hertzog's enemies said that every speech of his required a subsequent explanation; but the time for this had passed. Colonel Leuchars, who represented Natal in the ministry, sent in his resignation, declaring that he could not endure the anti-British sentiments and speeches of General Hertzog. Thereupon Botha came to the conclusion that Hertzog was a disruptive factor in

the ministry, and sent in his own resignation, with that of his colleagues, which was accepted by the Governor-General. At the same time, Lord Gladstone invited Botha to form a new administration. This Botha did, eliminating Hertzog from the ministry, which now consisted of eight as against eleven members, though two more were added subsequently.

Thus began a quarrel which was designed to have momentous effects upon parties and upon the country. Hertzog went into the "wilderness," and remained there for a dozen years; and a formidable cleavage appeared in the ranks of the South African Party, which widened from day to day. Hertzog had the adhesion of the great majority of Free Staters; and even in the rural Transvaal, which was Botha's stronghold, there were signs of dissension. General Smuts had a gift of sarcasm, which he could employ against his quondam brothers-in-arms as effectively as against his traditional opponents. At this time a new movement, that of the "Young Transvaalers," led by Mr. Tielman Roos, was beginning to make itself heard; but General Smuts made it clear in a speech that it was not welcome, and that the younger generation would do better to stand by their old and tried leaders. This is not to suggest that he was himself a Conservative. He had a supple mind, and was quick at adopting new expedients and trying fresh experiments. If an old plan failed, he was adroit in seizing a new position or finding a novel battle-ground. In this respect he was, perhaps, more adaptable than the old republicans, who adhered more rigidly to their original course.

Various occurrences caused a delay in active hostilities between the two sections of the South African Party. In November, 1913, however, when the con-

gress of the Party took place at Cape Town, it was plain that there would be open warfare. Christian de Wet proposed that ex-President Steyn should be the leader of the Party outside Parliament. Botha made a counter-proposal that the differences between himself and Hertzog should be referred for investigation to a commission of seven members, by whose decision he was prepared to abide. This was accepted; but the commission appeared desirous of avoiding further disputes, and recommended that the controversy should be put aside. When this motion was submitted to the congress, Hertzog, de Wet, and their supporters withdrew, de Wet stopping for a moment to say, with a gesture, "Adieu." Thereupon they formed the National Party, and the secession from the South African Party was complete.

Although there was opposition in certain quarters to General Hertzog's policy of segregation for natives, the Botha Government felt itself impelled to take legislative measures to restrict natives in their occupancy of land within the Union. In 1913 they carried a Native Land Act. Though said to be a temporary measure, with the object of preserving the *status quo* in regard to the occupancy of land, it foreshadowed a definite policy for the future. It provided that, except with the approval of the Governor-General in Council, a native might not acquire land from a person other than a native, or a person other than a native from a native, outside any of the native areas described in the Schedule of the Act; and without such approval, no person other than a native might acquire land in any such native area. In other words, whites were not to sell land to natives, nor were they to purchase it from them, the intention being to restrict natives

to land already held by them outside native areas and not to extend their areas of holding, while natives were to have preserved to them their own defined native areas. That the tendency of the natives was to spread was shown by the fact that they raised a vigorous agitation against a provision in the Act whereby they were to vacate land in the Union of which they merely had occupation but no legal title—although it must be admitted that this provision operated harshly, particularly in the Free State, where large numbers of natives had for many years been permitted to squat on land belonging to white persons. Subsequently, the Supreme Court decided that the Act had no application to natives in the Cape Province. The Act appointed a Commission which was to report what areas were to be reserved for whites and natives respectively. This Commission made its report in 1916. A Bill to give effect to the report was introduced in 1917, but so much divergence of opinion and so much native opposition was created that it was not passed. In 1920 a Native Affairs Act was passed, whereby a permanent advisory Commission of from three to five members was created, presided over by the Minister for Native Affairs. Its functions include the consideration of general native administration and legislation. Under the Act, also, native conferences might be summoned. The first conference of the kind took place at Bloemfontein in September, 1922, to consider a proposed Native Urban Areas Bill. This became an Act in 1923, and confers powers on local authorities in respect of residence of natives in their areas.

During June, 1913, it became apparent that there was serious trouble brewing amongst the miners of the Witwatersrand. This originated in a dispute be-

tween the manager of the Kleinfontein mine and the men working under him. Whatever the original merits of the dispute, they were soon obliterated by the fact that the trade unions, which were now beginning to make themselves felt as a force in the industrial world, espoused the cause of the Kleinfontein men, and declared a general strike of miners on the Reef. A great meeting was summoned for July 4th on the Market Square at Johannesburg, and on that day thousands of miners and their sympathisers flocked to Johannesburg from every part. A force of police had been stationed on the Square to prevent disturbance, but, when speakers began to dilate on the grievances of the miners and the people flocked in their direction, the police prematurely charged the crowd, which, thus far, had not created any disturbance, and certainly had not resorted to violence. From the point of view of abstract law, as a judicial commission subsequently reported, there was no such thing as an unrestricted right of public meeting, or even of free speech. But the police action was unjustifiable. Incensed by it, the crowd broke into riot, and now actually resorted to violence. The office of *The Star*, the newspaper which had criticised the men and their leaders, was attacked and burned; and some irresponsible men set fire to buildings at the Johannesburg railway station.

That night was one of insecurity and pillage, and quiet citizens waited anxiously to know what would happen next. On the following day the angry passions which had been excited had not died down. Meanwhile, a body of Imperial troops had been brought to Johannesburg to assist in preserving order. One of the buildings which a detachment was detailed to protect was the Rand Club, where a large crowd gathered.

It was alleged that some of them fired at the troops, but what really happened appears to have been that one of the more violent spirits among the strikers came forward and defied the soldiers, who were in no real danger. The officer in command of the detachment ordered his men to fire, which they did, with fatal effects. A considerable number were killed and wounded, and, as usually happens in such cases, many were innocent onlookers, who had no interest in the dispute. Nevertheless, this action had the same effect as Napoleon's "whiff of grapeshot." It is difficult to argue with a man behind a gun. The crowd dispersed, but angry feelings were not allayed, and further trouble threatened. At this stage General Botha and General Smuts intervened, and had a conference with the miners' representatives at the Carlton Hotel. This resulted in an arrangement, hardly to be described as amicable in the circumstances, by which the men were to return peaceably to their homes, and the mine Management was to concede the points in dispute. A judicial commission was appointed to investigate the causes and the conduct of the outbreak, and impartially condemned everyone concerned—the mine Management for its want of tact, the Directorate of the mining company for their failure to appreciate the seriousness of the dispute and their neglect to take the settlement of the affair into their own hands, the police for their precipitate action, and the Government for their supineness in allowing matters to proceed to extremities. A qualified report was given in the case of the officer of the troops, as it appeared that he had some grounds for believing that his men had been attacked. A deep feeling of bitterness was left in the minds of the working people, who were convinced—more by its sins of omis-

sion than of commission—that the Government was hostile to the miners, and favoured the cause of the mine-owners. This feeling was never wholly allayed, and manifested itself actively before very long. After that, it smouldered during the Great War (1914–18)—indeed, during these years it seemed as if internal peace could only be secured at the cost of conflict with a foreign foe—only to break out with redoubled violence on the first occasion which presented itself thereafter.

In other directions the difficulties of the Government were accumulating. There was a growing feeling amongst traders against the competition of Asiatics, who were establishing themselves in the country towns of the Transvaal, and threatened to oust their European rivals from the field. Owing to their lower standards and requirements of living, they were able to undersell their competitors, and they obtained wide patronage amongst the white rural population owing to the credit facilities which they gave. The ministry were pledged to deal with the problem, and in 1913 they introduced a comprehensive Immigration Bill, which became an Act of Parliament in June. Immediately another passive resistance movement was begun. Gandhi again took the lead, and was imprisoned. After the industrial troubles on the Rand had subsided for the time being, the Government seriously took in hand the administration of the Act. In Natal, also, a poll-tax had been imposed upon Indians, and when this was enforced 5,000 of them went on strike, and 2,700 of them commenced a march upon the Transvaal with the object of securing free passage, of whom 116 were imprisoned or fined. The matter was taken up on their behalf by Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, who made a strong protest, and thus raised

the question to one of Imperial importance. The Indians had been disposed to regard the British Government with hostility, and to break out into sedition, because they thought that the South African Government was being allowed to set the Empire at defiance ; but general approval of Lord Hardinge's attitude was expressed. The Home Government again found itself in a dilemma, between the conflicting views and interests of the Indian Government and that of the newest self-governing Dominion. It was a strange position, in which representations of a diplomatic character had to be made to General Smuts to stay his hand in regard to the South African Indians. However, these representations had their effect, and the Union Government agreed to appoint a commission, on which a distinguished Indian civilian, Sir Benjamin Robertson, was to advocate the cause of the British Indians. This commission reported early in 1914, and recommended the abandonment of the tax, and suggested modification of the Immigration Law in the case of married Indians. In consequence of this, the Natal tax was abandoned, and an interpretation of the Immigration Act which meant a wider recognition of Indian marriages was provided for in the Indian Relief Act, 1914. Gandhi now left South Africa for India, where he was to play an important part in future agitation for political rights. His view appears to have been that his fellow-countrymen in South Africa were too compliant, and that they must " learn in suffering what they taught in song."

Criticism of the Government now made itself audible in two directions. It was complained that there was a growing habit of appointing commissions of enquiry into all sorts of subjects. While some of these might

serve a useful purpose, there were others which were only productive of expense, and whose reports were invariably "pigeon-holed," and were never acted upon. The enquiry into Assaults on Women had led to no result; equally unsatisfactory was the Sunday Observance Commission. Nevertheless, such commissions were appointed from year to year. The most unpractical were those which investigated matters which were *faits accomplis*, such as the strike of 1913, the rebellion in 1914, and, subsequently, the industrial disturbances of 1922. With regard to such occurrences, the action that had been taken was final and irrevocable, and no good purpose was served by reopening or disinterring old causes of quarrel. Several commissions of the kind contented themselves with endorsing or whitewashing the acts of the Government, which was superfluous, as the Government always took care, where necessary, to procure the passing of an Act of Indemnity. There was another ground of criticism, and this was the growing fondness for what was known as "government by regulation." There was an increasing tendency, in recent Acts of Parliament, for the Government to secure wide general powers to legislate by the promulgation of regulations on various subjects. The regulations so issued grew enormously in bulk, and no one could pretend to know their extent or their scope. Numbers of well-intentioned and innocent people ran the risk of prosecution for contravention of statutory offences of whose existence they were not even remotely aware.

The settlement of the industrial trouble in July, 1913, had not brought peace in the relationships between employers and employed. At the end of the year, unrest in the ranks of labour again manifested itself, which involved not only the mines, but the

railways, the building trade, and other departments of industry. The trade unions were now more firmly allied, and it was announced that unless there were a speedy settlement of various demands on an equitable basis, there would be a general strike. It was announced that this time there would be a "fight to a finish," and no one appeared willing to make any concessions. The threatened strike came in January, 1914, although it cannot be said to have been "general" in the strict sense of the word. In all, over 20,000 men went on strike, of whom 9,000 were miners and 6,000 railwaymen. This time the Government, mindful of the occurrences of July, 1913, made up its mind to act with decision. General Smuts called out the burgher forces under the Defence Act, and they were marched into Johannesburg and the other towns on the Reef. A force was sent under General Delarey to besiege the Trades Hall, the head-quarters of the strike leaders, having with them field guns, and orders to proceed to extremities. The occupants of the Trades Hall surrendered. A few days afterwards a great sensation was caused by the intelligence that the Government had secretly seized thirteen of the strike leaders, and deported them out of the country to England on board the steamer *Umgeni*. This act did not create the effect which the Government had anticipated. Although the strike was at an end, a profound feeling of indignation was aroused. Deportation was a new weapon, one to which Englishmen, who, as British subjects, had the fullest right to inhabit and remain in a British Dominion, were unaccustomed. Parliament passed the Act of Indemnity which the Government asked of them; but the feeling of the public was reflected in the Provincial Council elections for the Transvaal

which took place in March, when the Labour Party captured nearly all the constituencies on the Witwatersrand, while the Unionists, who were in sympathy with the deportations, retained only two seats.

In August, 1914, came the Great War, which was to involve much of Africa as well as of Europe in its area of activities. On being approached by the British Government as to their attitude, the Union Ministry replied that they would be responsible for the safety of the Union, and they also agreed to the suggestion that they should undertake the invasion and conquest of German South-West Africa. Various measures of emergency legislation, which had been adopted in Great Britain and elsewhere in the British Dominions, were made applicable to the Union. For military purposes, reliance was placed at first upon the units of the Defence Force which already existed; but, as the war proceeded, and the resources of the Empire were called more and more into requisition for defence and, ultimately, for the preservation of national existence, more extensive calls were made upon the manhood of the Union, in common with that of the other British Dominions, to play its part in the struggle. To these calls a ready response was made; and it was remarkable to observe that a large number of men of Dutch birth, drawn from the Transvaal and the Free State as well as from the two older colonies (now Provinces), manifested their eagerness to take part in the contest for the maintenance of the Empire and its rights. Proof was given that the more liberal the political institutions which were accorded to the people, the more ready were they to resort to arms in order to preserve those institutions, thus indicating the value they placed upon the privileges which had been granted them.

This was no mere "pocket patriotism." They might easily have held aloof from a contest which, some thought, did not concern them, and in any case had arisen in a distant part of the globe. But they rose superior to such arguments, and proved themselves worthy of the citizenship which, though they might originally have acquired it against their will, they had learned to value as that of an Empire which, notwithstanding the occasional blunders, shortsightedness, and shortcomings of its rulers, was nevertheless, having regard to the imperfect nature of human institutions, one of the most beneficent instruments for the progress of man upon the earth.

In August, 1914, German forces were stationed at Nakop, on the south-eastern border of the German Protectorate, and at Raman's Drift, on the Orange River. Watching them were units of the Union Defence Force, under Colonel Maritz, stationed at Upington and Kakamas. These forces were transferred to Van Rooy's Vlei, in the Gordonia district. Hostilities were actually begun by the Germans, who twice sent raiding forces into Union territory. In the west, however, the Germans, fearing an attack from the sea, evacuated Swakopmund on August 17th. As none followed, however, they returned and also occupied Walfish Bay.

Early in September, Union troops, under General Lukin, landed at Port Nolloth, in Little Namaqualand, and made their way across the desert to the Orange, where they occupied Raman's Drift after a skirmish, on September 15th. From this place a strong detachment was sent forward in pursuit of the Germans. At Sandfontein it was lured into an ambush, and its commander, Colonel Grant, surrendered on September 26th with his force, losing 13 killed and

27 wounded, besides two guns. The captured force was interned at Tsumeb, and subsequently at Nomatoni, until the end of the campaign. Lukin's force was thus compelled to fall back from Raman's Drift. Meanwhile, on September 19th, another force, which had sailed from Table Bay, landed at Lüderitzbucht, and took possession of that port. A third body was on its way to Swakopmund, when news came that rebellion had broken out in the Union. The commander, General Sir Duncan Mackenzie, was informed that operations in the Protectorate must be suspended until the rebellion was suppressed. He then joined the column at Lüderitzbucht, assuming chief command, and contenting himself for the time being with holding the town and repairing the destroyed railway line which led eastwards into the interior.

Meanwhile, there had been signs that many persons in the Union, particularly among the former republicans of the Transvaal and the Free State, were not in sympathy with the war against Germany, and were especially hostile to the projected invasion of the Protectorate. Conspicuous among them was Christian Beyers, Commandant-General of the Defence Force. He had distinguished himself as a fighter on the republican side in the Boer War. Returning to civil life, he entered politics, and was elected Speaker of the Transvaal Parliament in 1907. In this office he distinguished himself by his impartiality and his urbanity. On the creation of the Defence Force in 1912 he was appointed to command it. For some obscure reason or other, he had either become antagonistic to Great Britain or, some said, to the Botha Ministry; though others stated that it was in consequence of a visit he paid to Germany in 1913, when he became convinced of the overwhelm-

ing might of Germany (a conviction which, in the result, was shown not to be far wide of the mark), that he was led to disapprove strongly of the war policy of the Union Ministry. Whatever the cause, there is no doubt that he became hostile. He was in close alliance with the veteran Christian de Wet, and it is said that a common understanding existed between them and General Delarey. A meeting of persons opposed to the war was convened to take place at Lichtenburg, in the Western Transvaal, on September 16th, 1914. By some strange mischance, as Beyers and Delarey were proceeding in a car through Johannesburg to this meeting, from Pretoria, a cordon of police had surrounded Johannesburg for the purpose of capturing a band of robbers known as the "Foster gang." Unaware of this, the two Boer leaders disregarded a command to halt, and a policeman thereupon fired, killing Delarey. A great Boer patriot, and one of the most able leaders in the Anglo-Boer War, his loss was deeply regretted. He was buried at Lichtenburg, Botha and Smuts being present at the funeral. The meeting of opponents of the Government did not take place as arranged, but a few days later Beyers resigned his office as Commandant-General, after having been asked by Smuts, the Minister of Defence, whether he would undertake the conduct of military operations by the Union. Immediately after this Beyers and de Wet, with a large number of followers, went into rebellion, and Botha was compelled to take the field against the rebels. The area of the disturbances was mainly in the Northern Free State and Western Transvaal. A grave turn was given to events by the announcement that on October 9th Maritz had thrown off his allegiance, become a rebel,

and betrayed his force to the Germans, some of them being made prisoners, while the remainder followed their leader's example. On October 12th martial law was proclaimed.

The rebellion lasted little more than six weeks. Whether de Wet had lost his old cunning, or was handicapped by the fact that he was now fighting men of his own race on their own ground, or had insufficient supplies, it is certain that fortune no longer favoured him. He was no longer the gay and careless commandant of old, but showed by his fits of petulance and temper that he was fighting a losing cause. He inflicted floggings upon men in the Free State villages who refused to follow him, and generally subjected the people over whom he had temporary control to his uncontrolled anger. At various places there was sharp fighting between him and Botha's troops. In the Transvaal also, in the Pretoria and Rustenburg districts, considerable resistance was shown. A great sensation was caused by the condemnation of Japie Fourie, an officer of the Union Defence Force, who was captured in arms on the rebel side. He was tried by court martial and shot, Smuts, the Minister of Defence, resisting all appeals for his reprieve.

It was the object of Botha's strategy to head off de Wet and his force in the direction of the western desert, where he could obtain neither fresh adherents nor supplies. This plan succeeded, and on December 1st de Wet, who had been pursued and surrounded by a large fleet of motor-cars—a new element in South African warfare—was compelled, by lack of water, to surrender at Waterbury, west of Mafeking. He was taken to Johannesburg, and was afterwards tried by a special treason court, and sentenced to imprison-

ment for six years, and a fine of £2,000; but was subsequently amnestied. Beyers, who had unsuccessfully attempted to effect a junction with de Wet, was pursued towards the Transvaal, and was drowned on December 4th while attempting to cross the Vaal. The remaining insurgents now surrendered, and some of them were subsequently brought to trial, and sentenced to imprisonment. Later on they were released. It was the middle of February, 1915, however, before all traces of insurrection were suppressed within the Union. At this time some 600 rebels, who had been led thither by Maritz, surrendered at Nous, in Little Namaqualand. Maritz, however, fled to Angola, and subsequently took refuge in an asylum oversea. In 1924 he returned to the Union and gave himself up. He was tried at Cape Town, and was sentenced to imprisonment, but was released shortly afterwards.

One of the many commissions appointed by the Union Government sat to investigate the causes of the rebellion of 1914. It reported that the main cause of the outbreak was the existence of a lingering hope in the breasts of the participants that they would regain their independence. On the other hand, the leaders vigorously asserted that the rebellion was an act of defiance only against the Botha Government, and not against the King.

It was thus only at the beginning of 1915 that the Union forces were free to undertake operations in earnest against the Germans. There were two main spheres of activity, north and south, of which General Botha and General Smuts respectively assumed command at a later date.

In January, Walfish Bay was once more in British hands, and Swakopmund was occupied by troops

under Colonel Skinner, the Germans having deserted that port. Points were also seized along the railway from Lüderitzbucht, though progress was slow, as great care had to be taken to avoid concealed mines placed by the Germans, and wells which had been poisoned by them. Botha issued a protest against these acts as breaches of International Law.

In the south there were two main columns, one that of General Van Deventer, who advanced from Upington through Nakop, making for Keetmanshoop. The railway line had been pushed forward rapidly from Prieska to Upington, which now became the rail-head and chief base of supplies. It was not until the end of the campaign, however, that it was found possible to construct the line between Upington and Nakop. The other force, under General Berrange, crossed the border near Rietfontein, also heading for Keetmanshoop. This force had many more difficulties to contend with, as all its route was through desert country, along 120 miles of which there was no water. When these forces began to march, the Germans fell back before them. On March 7th, 1915, Nabas was captured, and the Germans retreated. Meanwhile, General Mackenzie had moved along the railway line eastwards. This caused the German force to evacuate Aus, where it was now stationed, and move further east along the railway. In this way it was nearly captured by Van Deventer, who had marched rapidly from the south-east. He occupied Keetmanshoop, and then followed the Germans, who had deflected their course northwards. Mackenzie, after occupying Aus, sent a mobile column through Bethany and Meltahoe. This came up with the Germans, who were now on the central railway running northwards to Windhuk, near the

station at Gibeon. Here the Germans made a stand. On April 26th an engagement took place, in which the German force was defeated, losing 8 killed, 30 wounded, 166 prisoners, and 6 guns. The remainder of the force escaped northwards, passing east of Windhuk, and effecting a junction with their compatriots in the north of Kalkfeld. The fight at Gibeon completed the conquest of Great Namaqualand, the southern portion of the Protectorate.

On February 11th Botha had landed at Swakopmund, and assumed the chief command. Walfish Bay was his base of supplies. The Germans were first attacked at Jakalswater, and driven inland. A month, however, passed before the field could be taken in earnest. The advance of Botha's forces was along the line of the Swakop River, up which they marched as far as Otjimbingwe. Bodies of troops were detached to occupy Karibib, Friedrichsfelde, Wilhelmsthal and Okahandja. The occupation of Karibib, on May 5th, isolated the German forces from the southern part of the country. They had abandoned Windhuk, the capital, which Botha entered on May 12th, without resistance. Martial law was proclaimed.

Botha now perfected his plans for the subjugation of the northern territory, the greater portion of the southern forces under Van Deventer and Berrange having been disbanded. The Union force was divided into four main columns, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, or, rather, mounted infantry on the wings. A column under Brits marched on the west of the railway; that of Lukin followed the railway; and those of Manie Botha and Myburgh operated east of the line. At Otjiwarongo, the force under Brits continued due north through Outjo as far as the Etosha

Pan, where, at Nomatoni, the British prisoners were released. This movement cut off the Germans from access to the Kaakoveld and the Cunene. Myburgh marched through the Waterberg to Grootfontein, and thence to Tsumeb; while the central forces went directly forward to Otavi Junction. The result of this strategy was that the Germans, who were commanded by Colonel Francke, found themselves cut off from all means of escape. They had been drawn up in a prepared position near Khorab; but, realising that further resistance was hopeless, Dr. Seitz, the Governor, and Colonel Francke, were obliged to surrender to Botha on July 9th, 1915. The capitulating forces numbered 3,947 officers and men, 37 pieces of artillery, 22 machine guns, and stores. Liberal terms were granted by the Conditions of Khorab. Most of the men were allowed to return to their homes, the officers, with few exceptions, being released on parole. The regular German soldiers, however, who had no fixed homes in the Protectorate, were to be repatriated to Germany at the conclusion of the war. The territory was to remain at the disposal of the Allied Powers. The remarkable feature of the campaign which Botha had planned and supervised was its completeness. The enemy was encircled with rapidity, and much bloodshed was thereby prevented. No doubt the Germans were far inferior in numbers to the Union forces. Had they been stronger, they might have materially delayed the subjugation of the country. As it was, South-West Africa passed out of the possession of its former masters at a comparatively small cost.

During Botha's absence in the Protectorate, anti-German riots broke out in the Union. These began at Johannesburg after the news of the sinking of the

Lusitania off the Irish coast on May 7th, 1915. At Johannesburg, Durban, and other towns, property, which in many cases turned out not to belong to Germans at all, was set on fire, and much damage was done. From these scenes of violence the more responsible elements in the population held aloof. The rioters themselves were curiously impartial, for many of them subsequently attacked General Smuts during the election campaign later in the year, and on subsequent occasions manifested hostility against those who had supported the war policy. General Botha issued a notice strongly denouncing the *Lusitania* riots, and urging the people to behave with a dignity worthy of their compatriots who were engaged in the conquest of South-West Africa. It was not until July 22nd that General Botha, accompanied by General Smuts, returned to the Union. Landing at Cape Town, they had a great ovation, which was repeated at other urban centres, though it was noticeable that many rural districts did not participate in this outburst of enthusiasm. Nevertheless, at this time, there was great eagerness to participate in the war. During June and July active recruiting began for the South African overseas contingent.

The first Union Parliament had now come to an end by effluxion of time, and in October, 1915, a general election took place. Owing to a redistribution of seats in terms of the constitution, there were now 130 seats in the House of Assembly, as against 121. The basis of the contest was said to be the "two streams" policy enunciated by General Hertzog, who had compared the two main elements in the white population to two streams flowing side by side, and had criticised the suggestion that both racial currents could flow in one

channel. In fact, there was an informal agreement between the South African Party and the Unionists, who now began to express a patronising approval of Generals Botha and Smuts for their loyal adherence to the British cause. Until Botha actually took the field, many Unionists refused to believe that he would be true to his pledged word. Now, however, the Unionists graciously, though still half-heartedly, admitted that Botha was loyal. The result was that in only five constituencies did South African Party and Unionist candidates appear in opposition at the polls. This may have been due, however, rather to fear that the National Party was making headway in the country than to appreciation of the Botha Ministry. The main planks in the National Party programme were a demand of amnesty for the armed protest of 1914, and for an amendment of the Defence Act, so as to prevent the Union from waging an offensive war. The result of the election was that 27 Nationalists and 3 members of the Labour Party were returned. Botha found himself in a minority in the new House, and had to rely on the unofficial support of the Unionists in order to carry on the government. Half the Dutch community showed itself to be anti-Imperialist. The South African Party polled 93,374 votes, the National Party 78,301, the Unionists, 48,484, Labour, 25,305, and Independents (who, in fact, were supporters of the Government), 12,029.

The Union Government now had to devote its serious attention to the conquest of German East Africa, in which it had agreed to participate. Though the Imperial Government had made preparations for a campaign in that region in 1914, and 10,000 South Africans were enrolled, it was a considerable time

before active steps could be taken. At first Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, who had distinguished himself with the original Expeditionary Force in France, was appointed commander-in-chief, but he was compelled to resign, owing to ill-health, in February, 1916. General Smuts was appointed to succeed him. He had the disposal of 20,000 men, while the Germans had a civilian population of 5,000, with only 250 white soldiers, although they rapidly trained natives for military service. On paper, therefore, the invading force had an immense superiority. But many of the men composing it fell victims to fever; the natives whom the Germans trained, though underrated by their opponents, proved themselves to be excellent fighters; and in Colonel Von Lettow the Germans had one of the few really distinguished leaders produced by the Great War, a man capable of holding his own against any opponent.

German East Africa was invaded from four quarters. Smuts advanced from British East Africa towards Moshi, the terminus of the railway from Tanga, and captured this place on March 13th, 1916. From the Congo came two small Belgian forces, one south, and the other north, of Lake Kiwu. From the south-west came a small contingent of Rhodesians—as many as the Protectorate (which had sent an extraordinary proportion of its male population to various war fronts) could muster. Lastly, a Portuguese force moved north across the Rovuma River.

The first move with the object of encircling the German forces was to extend the Uganda railway to Moshi. General Van Deventer struck due south to the main German railway, which ran from Dar-es-Salaam through Tabora to Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika

(where Stanley met Livingstone in 1871). On April 19th, Kondoia Irangi was captured, and on July 7th Tanga was occupied. During August, the Belgians occupied Ujiji. Van Deventer now advanced eastwards along the railway, while the force under Smuts closed in towards Dar-es-Salaam from the north. On August 21st, an action was fought at Kilossa, 150 miles west of Dar-es-Salaam, which was occupied. This was followed by a land-and-sea attack on Dar-es-Salaam on September 3rd, and the port was captured. The invaders now had command of the approach from the sea. Nevertheless, the main German forces were still at large, making effective use of the protection afforded by the bush country to the south. Further operations were now delayed, as many men in the Union forces were prostrated with fever.

In January, 1917, Smuts relinquished the command, proceeding to England to join the Imperial War Cabinet. Van Deventer succeeded him. Action was delayed until the winter months. During July and August, engagements took place in the bush country. The South African force was based upon Kilwa, while Von Lettow, with the main German body, was in the Metandu Valley. Colonel Tafel was at Mahenge, and General Northey moved against him from Lake Nyassa. On October 9th, the Belgians occupied Mahenge, whence Tafel had retreated. He was then engaged at Liwale, while making his way to join Von Lettow, whom Van Deventer drove southwards (November 20th) into the Kitangari Valley. Nevertheless, the effort to envelop Von Lettow's force failed, and he escaped southwards into Portuguese territory. On the other hand, Tafel was obliged to surrender near Newala, before he could join Von Lettow. During

the period between August 1st and November 30th, the British forces captured 1,410 Germans, 4,149 native soldiers, 11 guns, and 56 machine guns.

During 1918 the centre of interest shifted southwards into the Portuguese province of Mozambique, in the north of which territory Von Lettow gave much trouble. In July there was an action at Nhamacurra, which lasted for three days, and broke off indecisively. Von Lettow went north to Portuguese Nyassaland, and then entered Rhodesia. He succeeded in keeping the field until the Armistice of November 11th, 1918. Then, on November 14th, he surrendered with honour, on the Chambezi River in Northern Rhodesia. He then had only 150 European soldiers, 1,100 Askaris, and 3,000 carriers and camp followers. Meanwhile, German East Africa had, in the main, been effectively occupied by the British forces. Subsequently, by the Treaty of Versailles (1919), it was constituted a mandated territory under the name of the Tanganyika Protectorate, the mandate being entrusted, not to the Union, but directly to Great Britain.

By 1916, the effects of the Great War were felt in the Union, as in other countries. They were reflected in the financial position of the country. The Budget of 1915 showed a small surplus, which was not realised in fact. In 1916-17, apart from war expenditure, the estimated expenditure was £17,877,000, and the estimated revenue £16,366,000. In fact, the revenue showed £18,300,000, and there was thus a small surplus over expenditure, which indicated careful management on the part of the Treasury, though at the same time the national expenditure was rising as a whole, and union, certainly, had not proved an economy as compared with the state of affairs existing when there were four

separate Colonies, each with its own Parliament and Ministry. So, in 1916, special measures of taxation were resorted to. New taxes were imposed on mining profits, besides an export duty on diamonds, and a super-tax. There was also talk of an excess profits duty, which was imposed at a later date. The principal other measure of the session was the Trading with the Enemy Act, which gave large powers of internment of German subjects, and was extensively applied. A Custodian of Enemy Property was appointed, and the property of German nationals was sequestered. This transaction proved highly profitable to the Union, as the Germans were ultimately credited with a comparatively small portion of their capital, which was repayable over a long term of years at a small rate of interest. Apart from politics, the most interesting event of the year was the death, on November 29th, of ex-President M. T. Steyn, who was born in 1857. He occupied a foremost place in the hearts of his people, and, though credited by his opponents with intense antagonism to Great Britain, was in reality a man of mild and enlightened views, with a broad humanity, a lover of his kind.

The income derived from the new taxes, and the economy which was attempted—though not very successfully—in general administration, resulted in an improved financial situation for the time being. For the financial year 1917-18, the Budget showed a revenue of £19,409,000, which was £1,000,000 in excess of the original estimate; and the revised expenditure was £18,945,000, which was £500,000 in excess of the estimate. For the year 1918-19, the estimated revenue was £19,256,000, and the expenditure £19,659,000. The actual realised revenue was nearly £22,000,000,

revealing a surplus over expenditure of £400,000. For the year 1919-20, the estimate of revenue was £22,230,000, and the expenditure £22,860,000. The railway administration showed a deficit of £1,000,000. Taking the figures for the entire war period, the conclusion to be drawn was that, while, on the whole, the expenditure had kept within the revenue, expenditure had advanced proportionately with revenue, and the increase could only be met by augmented taxation. At first, the population was lightly taxed in comparison with other countries, most of the revenue being derived from indirect taxation, such as the customs. The Provincial Governments, however, had freely availed themselves of their powers of direct taxation, and complaints were heard in many quarters against the Provincial Councils, whom the Government were adroitly using to divert the lightning from themselves. The super-tax and excess profits tax, also, increased the burden of direct taxation of the Union. The real aftermath of the war only came during the period from 1921 to 1923, and the position was accentuated by the internal troubles of 1922, when the gold mines ceased working for a considerable time. Nevertheless, the country showed extraordinary powers of recuperation, and by 1924 it had fairly recovered, so far as State finances were concerned, though, curiously enough, the ministers charged with the Treasury and the railways did not appear to realise this, and budgeted for a deficiency when in reality there was a surplus.

The Provincial Council elections in 1917 showed that the popularity of the Government was still declining. In the Cape Province, the National Party captured five seats; while in the Transvaal, the figures were—South African Party, 14; National Party, 12;

Unionists, 10; Labour, 8; Independent, 1. In the Free State the position since 1914 had now become stable, and both in the Assembly and the Provincial Council the Nationalists held every seat. The National Party now embarked upon a bold propaganda, in which they attempted to define the relation of South Africa to Great Britain and the rest of the Empire as being one of practical independence. General Hertzog contended that South Africa was entitled to remain neutral when Great Britain was at war. The congress of the National Party held during this year adopted republicanism as a plank in its programme. The subject was discussed in Parliament, and a motion proposed by Mr. Merriman, condemning the republican propaganda, was carried by 72 votes to 21. These figures, however, by no means reflected the position in the country at large.

The non-political event of the greatest interest in 1917 was the death of Sir Starr Jameson, the life-long friend of Rhodes, who was buried beside him in the Matoppo Hills in Rhodesia. Apart from Kruger and Rhodes, no man in his time had attracted more of the world's attention than Jameson. The Raid brought him universal fame, far greater than he would have attained had he devoted his life to constructive statesmanship or the gentler arts of peace. His life was a series of dramatic surprises, from the time when, as Administrator of Mashonaland, he frustrated a Boer raid into his territory, only to become a raider in his turn—thereby endangering peace between Great Britain and the Boer Republics, and contributing materially to the ultimate outbreak of war in 1899—until, by a strange reversal of fortune, he became Prime Minister of the Cape Colony and, subsequently,

a member of the National Convention. At the time of his death he had outlived the hostility of the Boers, and had come to enjoy their esteem, if not their respect.

At the census taken in 1918 it became possible, for the first time, to estimate what changes had taken place in the white population of the Union. The first census had been taken in 1911, and showed a total population of 5,973,394, of whom 1,276,242 were whites, while 4,697,152 belonged to the coloured races. In all British South Africa there were 7,374,287 persons, divided into 1,304,019 whites, and 6,070,268 coloured persons. Now, in 1918, a census was taken only of the white population, which was found to amount to 1,421,781 persons, in addition to whom 29,208 males were returned as absent from the Union on war service. The next regular census of both whites and coloured persons was taken on May 3rd, 1921. According to this, there were 1,519,488 Europeans (782,035 males, 737,453 females), and 5,409,092 non-Europeans (2,754,957 males, 2,654,135 females). The total population of British South Africa was 8,814,231, of whom 1,578,091 were white, and 7,236,140 coloured. In the Union, between 1911 and 1921, the average annual rate of increase of Europeans was 1·76 per cent., while that of the natives (Bantus) was only 1·57 per cent.—which was somewhat surprising, as it had always been thought that the proportional increase of natives was greater than that of Europeans. It is possible, however, that the enumeration of natives was not as accurate as that of Europeans, owing to their nomadic habits and other causes. The European population itself, however, showed no tendency to increase. The flow of immigration, such as it was, was materially checked, if not wholly stopped, by the World War; but, apart

from this, South Africa, notwithstanding its reputed wealth, never attracted settlers in the same way as did the other Dominions, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In the opinion of many observers, this was due to the absence of State aid for immigrants, and to the general lack of encouragement by the Government; but there were others who held, with some reason, that South Africa had gained an unenviable reputation as a country of racial strife, in whose short history there had been far too much passion and bloodshed. The figures of new, *i.e.*, immigrant, population showed a progressively unsatisfactory state of affairs. By 1922 the excess of new arrivals over permanent departures of European population was only 1,030; while, during 1923, the permanent departures of Europeans exceeded the arrivals by 27. Any growth in the population of the Union was thus due only to "natural increase," *i.e.*, by births, while the adult population, as measured by emigration, was actually in a state of decline. As the native (Bantu) population did not migrate, but remained in the country, this state of affairs, if continued indefinitely, could only result in the ultimate disappearance of the white population.

During September, 1918, an alarming outbreak of influenza occurred, which spread rapidly through the Union, impartially attacking Europeans and non-Europeans. It was a consequence of, and concurrent with, the epidemic which had made its appearance in Europe and, indeed, all over the globe. The deaths which it caused resulted in a substantial diminution of the population, numbering, as they did, 11,726 Europeans and 127,745 coloured persons and natives. It was not until December, after the Armistice, that

South Africa was free from the epidemic. Its effects were felt most at Cape Town, where terribly insanitary conditions prevailed; and numerous good resolutions were taken to reform this state of affairs, although they do not appear to have been carried into practice.

When the Armistice took place, General Botha left South Africa in order to attend the Peace Conference at Versailles with General Smuts. In the Union Parliament, the real opposition to the Government came from the Nationalists. In February, 1919, there was another debate on the subject of republicanism, which was condemned in a motion introduced by the leader of the Unionists, Sir T. Smartt; an amending motion, in milder terms, being moved by the acting Prime Minister, and carried by 78 votes to 24. The Nationalists, however, showed that they persisted in their republican aims by sending a deputation to England, headed by Hertzog, to ask for the grant of independence to South Africa. They experienced some difficulty in making their way across the seas. The crew of the *Durham Castle* refused to sail with the deputation. The English Government then offered them passages in a warship, but this offer was declined by them. Ultimately, the deputation took a Dutch steamer to New York, whence they made their way to Europe. They presented a petition to Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister. He replied that the Imperial Government could not recognise the right of a minority to speak in the name of the Union.

A municipal strike which occurred in Johannesburg in March, 1919, showed that industrial unrest was on the increase. The direct cause of the strike was a dispute over the wages and working hours of tramwaymen; but it was clear that there was widespread

dissatisfaction in the ranks of Labour, and that, given provocation, the stoppage of work would extend to other branches of industry than those with which the municipality was concerned. For three days the supply of light and power within the municipal area was cut off. At the invitation of the Mayor, two of the Ministers came to Johannesburg; but they contributed nothing to a solution of the difficulty, and showed that, if they would not side against the town council, they would not take any active measures against the strikers. The result was that the town council agreed to the demands of the men—a decision which made for temporary industrial peace, though it did not enhance the prestige of the Ministry.

The Treaty of Peace was concluded at Versailles on June 28th, 1919, and was signed by the representatives of the Dominions, as well as by those of Great Britain, on the British side. The signatories on behalf of the Union were Louis Botha and J. C. Smuts. Botha himself regarded the terms of the Treaty as harsh, mindful of the position which he and his fellow-leaders of the Boers had occupied in 1902; but it was the only peace which satisfied the victors in the Great War. The most important provision of the Treaty, as far as South Africa was concerned, was that whereby the mandate for South-West Africa was created in favour of the Union Government, which was to administer the Protectorate under the laws of the Union and as an integral portion of its territory.

Botha and Smuts now returned to South Africa, and were received with acclamation by all except their political opponents. It was claimed by General Smuts that South Africa, along with the other Dominions, had, by signing the Treaty of Versailles,

attained a new position in the world of international relations and in the British Empire, which was denoted by the phrase "Dominion status." Already, in 1917, when speaking on the Empire Constitutional Resolution at the Imperial War Conference, he had said: "The status of the Dominions as equal nations of the Empire will have to be recognised to a very large extent. . . . I look forward to a development in the future along the line of an increasingly equal status between the Dominions and the Mother Country." And on leaving England in July, 1919, he sent a farewell message, in which he said: "The Dominions have been well launched on their great career; their status of complete nationhood has now received international recognition, and as members of the Britannic Leagues they will henceforth go forward on terms of equal brotherhood with the other nations on the great paths of the world." This doctrine, thus rhetorically expressed, was repeated at various meetings and banqueting-tables during the early part of August, 1919.

Before the true meaning of this new doctrine was realised, and before people were able to examine it carefully in order to see whether it rested on a sound basis, South Africa was stirred to the depths by the announcement that Louis Botha, the first Prime Minister of the Union, was dead. He succumbed to a septic throat on August 19th, 1919. After Paul Kruger, there was perhaps no other man who occupied the same place in the hearts of his countrymen, although, in more recent years, many had refused to follow where he led. Nevertheless, he was remembered as the gallant leader of his people in their struggle against the might of Great Britain; and even his opponents gave testimony to his plain, simple character

and his uniform kindness of heart. He had striven sincerely to unite the two main sections of the white population of South Africa; and to the impetuosity, the tactlessness, and the short-sightedness of certain of those who stood around him was due the fact that he had not attained that measure of success which at one time appeared to be within his reach. Had he lived, he would, in all probability, have done much to weld the nation into one undivided whole; with his death, it became certain that his disciples would not succeed where he had failed.

It was inevitable that the Governor-General (Lord Buxton) should invite General Smuts to fill the vacant office of Prime Minister. Smuts had always been regarded as Botha's first lieutenant, and in the eyes of many he was "the power behind the throne." Accordingly, it was thought fitting that he should now occupy the throne itself. On the other hand, it was equally inevitable that the advent to office of General Smuts should be the signal for a renewed contest in the political arena. It was plain, also, that he could not for long stand unaided, but that sooner or later he would be driven to ally himself with one or other of the contending political parties. For the moment, however, he refrained from going to the country.

Parliament met in a special session in September, 1919, in order to pass an Act ratifying the Treaty of Peace and adopting the Mandate for South-West Africa. In his speech introducing the Treaty, Smuts asserted that, by virtue of what had taken place in Paris, South Africa had achieved a new status of absolute equality with all nations. He said that "It was incorrect to say that in the League (of Nations) the Empire was regarded as a unit. The Empire was

regarded as a group, but South Africa had exactly the same right and voice as England." The Act could, therefore, be (and was actually) passed without seeking for any authority from Great Britain. The new Premier's statements were at once challenged by General Hertzog and his followers. They contended that nothing had happened to change the relations of the different Dominions to the United Kingdom, and that "all these fine-sounding phrases were meaningless." In answer to the question put by General Hertzog: "Has South Africa the right to secede from the Empire?" the Prime Minister said: "My reply is absolutely and decisively 'No.'" This was a reply which plain people could not understand. If South Africa was independent, then independence must imply a right of secession. As a matter of constitutional doctrine and international law, General Hertzog and his followers were correct in their contention that nothing had occurred to confer a new status upon the Dominions. The subject afforded fruitful ground for discussion throughout the Empire during the three succeeding years, and at the Imperial Conference in London in 1921, which was attended by the Premiers of the Dominions, a proposal for Imperial Federation on a legislative basis was brought forward, but was rejected. In the opinion of most responsible statesmen—and, as far as it could be ascertained, of most ordinary citizens—it was undesirable to formulate a written constitution for the Empire, whose strength consisted rather in the loose tie of sentiment that bound it than in any formal federation. The proposal for federation had been revived during 1916 by Mr. Lionel Curtis, a former secretary to Lord Milner, and Lord Milner himself, at a conference of

the Empire Parliamentary Association on July 28th, 1918, gave his public adhesion to it. But not a single Dominion member present agreed with either Lord Milner or Mr. Curtis; and subsequent discussions in the Dominion Parliaments and elsewhere showed that public opinion in the Dominions, including South Africa, was strongly opposed to any scheme of federation. The matter passed out of the realm of practical politics.

In March, 1920, General Smuts went to the polls for the first time as Prime Minister. The result was by no means satisfactory, from his point of view. It indicated that he had lost the confidence of the majority of his own (Dutch) people. With the aid of the Unionists and Independents he was able to rely upon 68 members, as against 66 opponents; but his own party was smaller than that of the Nationalists, and was thus in a hopeless minority. The figures were—South African Party, 40; Unionists, 25; Independents, 3; Nationalists, 45; Labour, 21. For the first time Labour formed a body of considerable strength; and, though a formal alliance between the Party and the Nationalists had not been concluded, they acted as one body against the Government. In the Provincial elections in the Transvaal during August, the Nationalists obtained 21 seats, and, with the Labour members, had control of the Provincial executive.

In view of the situation, an endeavour was made to reconcile the two opposing sections of the Dutch people. In September, the "Hereeniging (Reunion) Conference" took place at Bloemfontein. The Nationalists desired to retain republicanism in their party programme as an ideal to be aimed at. To this the members of the South African Party would not agree,

and the conference broke down. Almost immediately afterwards, General Smuts entered into an alliance with the Unionists. They were to disappear as a separate party, and be absorbed in the new South African Party. Thus, there was not to be a coalition, but an amalgamation of parties, with (to use the language of company law) a reconstruction. Unfortunately for themselves, the parties forgot that the procedure of amalgamation and reconstruction is usually resorted to in winding-up.

In November, 1920, Prince Arthur of Connaught became Governor-General of the Union, in succession to Viscount Buxton, who received an earldom on his retirement. Lord Buxton had been fortunate, in that his period of office was comparatively uneventful, and nothing more was demanded of him than the exercise of qualities of amiability and benevolence, which he possessed to the full. The great crises in the internal life of the Union—the Labour trouble of 1913 and 1914, and of 1922—fell outside his term of office. After his departure, Lord Buxton retained his interest in the Union, and frequently presided at banquets held in London by former African residents.

It now became necessary for General Smuts to test the opinion of the electorate with regard to the change which his relations with the Unionists had undergone. The issue which was raised was that of secession from the Empire, which the Nationalists were said to be aiming at. The country was said to be in danger. The election propaganda, in other words, was one of an alarmist nature, for probably, as far as the Nationalists were concerned, "their bark was worse than their bite." Nevertheless, it had its effect, and, to the surprise of a great many, the amalgamated

South African Party commanded a majority of 24, the figures being—South African Party, 79; Nationalists, 45; Labour, 9; Independents, 1. In the Senate, which now, for the first time since 1910, received new members by general election—the Assembly members and Provincial Councillors in the Provinces being the electors—the South African Party numbered 25, the National Party, 13, and Labour, 2. At the same time, the weakness of the Smuts Party in the Assembly lay in the fact that it consisted, in the main, of ex-Unionists, and the members of the old South African Party were in a decided minority in their own ranks. The Prime Minister held office virtually by the good grace of his former opponents, a circumstance of gratification to the Nationalist-Labour opposition, and of chagrin to members of the old South African Party.

On March 10th, 1921, General Smuts formed a new Ministry, which included three ex-Unionists, Sir Thomas Smartt, Mr. J. W. Jagger, and Mr. Patrick Duncan. Many who were optimists told themselves that the era of racialism was at an end. Accordingly, the celebration of the centenary of the landing of the British settlers in the Eastern Province, held in April, 1921, was hailed with great enthusiasm, as the opening of a new age, in which there should no longer be any racial strife. The landing of the British settlers was, however, worthy of celebration on its own account. They had contributed a vigorous and permanent element to South African life, and had done much for agriculture, industry, and intellectual growth, not merely in the Eastern Province, but in the Transvaal and Free State as well.

During May, 1921, there occurred one of those

deplorable, "incidents" which served to show that elements existed in South Africa which were liable to be set ablaze at any moment by any spark of resentment caused by tactlessness in administration—which had always been the most fruitful cause of inter-racial strife. For many years the native population, as a whole, had been docile and law-abiding. More recently, however, there were signs that all was not well within their ranks. The natives, like the European workers, had begun to demand an amelioration of their conditions of labour. The rise in the cost of living, brought about by the Great War, affected them as much as it did whites. They, also, wanted higher wages and shorter hours of work. In 1918 and 1919, at Johannesburg, they had attempted to strike. At Bloemfontein, also, there was trouble among the native women by reason of the attempted enforcement of the pass laws. In 1920 there had been a native riot in the location of Port Elizabeth, said to be due mainly to beer-drinking. This was suppressed by the police, and 25 natives were killed. Whether this action was justified or not, it created a feeling in the minds of the natives that they were being treated with undue severity. There was much discontent, and, while it was necessary that breaches of the law should be checked, many felt that minor grievances of the natives might be removed and smoothed over by the exercise of tact and patience; and that some of the more absurd ebullitions of feeling on the part of natives were attributable not so much to lawlessness or hostility to white rule as to their want of discipline, their recent emergence from savagery, and the megalomania of some of their leaders. Under the influence of superstition and credulity, a number of misguided natives,

led by a "prophet" named Enoch, and calling themselves "Israelites," squatted on the commonage at Queenstown, where they attempted to put a communist system into practice, and waited for "the coming of the Lord." Had no notice been taken of them, the movement would have died a natural death. Instead, the authorities chose to regard it as one of sedition. Colonel Truter, the Commissioner of Police, was sent in charge of an armed body of men to eject these natives from the commonage and, if they refused to obey, to capture them. He was in command of a force of 800 police. The natives were at the Bullhoek Location, adjoining the commonage. They refused to obey the order to leave or surrender, and, brandishing obsolete weapons, they charged the police, who fired upon them at 30 yards' range. The casualties among the natives were nearly 140. This affair aroused much indignation. It was felt that the Government had acted with too great precipitation and severity. However, in a Parliamentary debate which followed, a vote of confidence was passed. Enoch and several of his followers were charged with sedition, and were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Subsequently, Colonel Truter received a knighthood.

Towards the end of the year (November) interest was aroused by the announcement that the Government intended to develop Kosi Bay, on the east coast of the Union, as a port, and to construct a railway between it and the Transvaal, passing through Swaziland. Surveys were undertaken, and there was much discussion. However, the plan was not carried into effect, as opposition manifested itself in various quarters.

In December, 1921, the connection of the Imperial forces with South Africa, which had lasted practically

without intermission since 1795, came to an end. It was announced that in future the entire responsibility for defence would be undertaken by the Union Government. Accordingly, the historic castle at Cape Town was handed over to the Defence officers of the Union, and the British Command was withdrawn.

The industrial unrest and dissatisfaction which had made themselves felt during 1913 and 1914, and had been only partially silenced during the Great War, now manifested themselves on a larger scale than ever before. The Chamber of Mines at Johannesburg thought that the time was opportune for a revision of the conditions prevailing in the employment of labour in the mining industry. In November, 1921, various proposals were put forward by this body, on behalf of the mine-owners. The most important of these had relation to the abolition of what was known as the "*status quo* agreement." According to this arrangement, made on September 1st, 1918, where whites were employed, they were not to be replaced by native labour, and *vice versa*. It was now suggested that owing to economic conditions it was impossible to keep white men (who were paid higher wages) employed at work which did not require skill, and could quite competently be performed by natives. With this question was involved the existence of what was known as the "colour bar." For many years it had been the policy of the Government Department of Mines to prevent natives or coloured persons from embarking in certain occupations, which were reserved to white men. A mining regulation, promulgated by the Governor-General, was in existence which declared that in certain work only a white man should have charge of operations, and debarring coloured persons

from being so engaged. In fact, as the Supreme Court afterwards declared (November, 1923), this regulation was not lawful; and it required the passing of an Act of Parliament to make it lawful. Had the opinion of the Court been sought in 1921, it would have been declared unlawful at that time, and much bitterness and strife would have been saved. The Government, if so minded, might then have attempted to pass an Act defining the respective spheres of white and black labour. Instead, all parties acted on the erroneous assumption that the colour bar was valid. The white workers regarded it as a sort of charter of their rights on the mines; and the Chamber of Mines, as representing the mine-owners, considered that the colour bar was artificial, and prevented the working of the mines on sound economic lines. Its officials advocated the removal or modification of the restrictions imposed by the colour bar. Other proposals were the revision of the system of mining by contract; and the removal of trade union restrictions. These proposals were regarded by the representatives of the miners as a menace, and as threatening their whole future, both absolutely and in relation to the native labourers. It was felt that the workers could only obtain their rights by organising on a large scale, and by enlisting the support of those who were engaged in other branches of industry, who also had grievances of their own. The first serious stoppage of work was that of the coal miners of the Transvaal and Natal, on January 1st, 1922, due to reduction of wages by 5s. a shift. On January 10th, 1922, the South African Industrial Federation declared a strike of miners and engineers, the real issue being the colour bar. It was freely stated, and widely believed, that there was

a deliberate intention gradually to replace white labour on the mines by coloured labour. This aroused angry feelings, and it was soon evident, from the gatherings of the men and the speeches of their leaders, that events were about to culminate in a disastrous crisis. At this moment it was the duty of the Government to intervene and to effect a settlement by all means in its power; but, though urged on all hands to act, it remained supine and apparently helpless. Over 20,000 of the miners on the Witwatersrand ceased work. A vote had been taken, and the men showed themselves overwhelmingly in favour of a strike. Now, on the suggestion of the Government, a conference between representatives of the mine-owners and leaders of the men took place, with one of the judges as its chairman. It lasted for thirteen days, and proved abortive. Meanwhile, on January 26th, 800 men on the coal mines were dismissed for declining to accept the terms of the mine-owners. Meetings were held to discuss a general strike, but the executive of the Industrial Federation rejected a resolution proposing such action. Early in February it was clear that a dangerous spirit was abroad. At meetings, not only industrial matters were discussed, but also the general constitution of the country; and resolutions were passed favouring a republican form of government. It seems remarkable that this issue should have been imported into the dispute; but large numbers of men were convinced that the Government was against them and on the side of the mine-owners, and that they had nothing to hope from it as the representative of the existing order of things. This was, perhaps, an illogical conclusion, but it was natural in the circumstances, as the Government failed to exhibit any

qualities of leadership, and merely allowed things to drift. It seemed as if the newly-formed Ministry were incapable of formulating any satisfactory basis for a peaceful settlement of the industrial dispute. Meanwhile, the "commandos" of strikers, which had now been organised for some weeks, were patrolling the streets of the towns on the Reef, and picketing the mines, so as to prevent the introduction of "scab" labour. Arrests were now made by the police; and large bodies of police now patrolled the streets and mining areas in the wake of the strikers' "commandos." Unfortunately, fuel was now added to the fire by an incident in the House of Assembly, on February 18th. The Prime Minister said that if the men were advised by him they would immediately return to work in a mass. Labour members interrupted, and asked: "On what terms?" The ominous reply was—"Any terms."

Conflicts now took place between the police and the strikers at various places. Once action of this kind began it was no longer possible to keep angry passions in check, and both parties proceeded to violence without waiting for what would be regarded as justifiable legal provocation. Such an incident was that at Boksburg on February 27th. A procession of strikers was attacked by the police at the Angelo railway crossing, though they were not committing any offence, and none of them were subsequently tried on any charge. Several were injured, and some were arrested and taken to prison. On the following evening some of their comrades serenaded them and sang the "Red Flag." Thereupon the police fired upon them, killing two and wounding several others (of whom one died). A magistrate who was present testified that the strikers

were doing nothing, and that the police began the affray by charging the strikers. On March 1st, a member of the House of Assembly moved for an enquiry into the affair at Boksburg. This was refused by the Prime Minister, who stated: "I think we should allow things to develop."

The Chamber of Mines, strengthened in its attitude by the policy of the Government, now declined to treat with the Industrial Federation, and on March 4th it published a letter in which it refused a request for a "round table" conference, and spoke of the leaders of the Federation in extremely derogatory terms. This letter met with condemnation in many quarters, even from open friends of the Chamber of Mines. The Federation was now emboldened to declare a general strike (March 7th).

Now there were scenes of violence in every part of the Reef. To protect property, special police were enrolled; and various regiments were stationed at or near what were regarded as the principal centres of the disturbance. These were Benoni and Brakpan on the East Rand; Jeppestown, an eastern suburb of Johannesburg; and Brixton, a western suburb. On March 8th it became apparent that there would be trouble between the strikers and the natives. Riots took place at Ferreirastown and Vrededorp (portions of Johannesburg), in which five natives were killed, and fifteen natives and three Europeans wounded. On the same day there was a fight at the New Primrose mine, near Germiston, in which two natives and two Europeans were killed, and twenty natives wounded.

On the morning of March 10th martial law was proclaimed. The same day witnessed a fight between

strikers and mine officials at the Brakpan mine, for which several strikers were subsequently imprisoned. During the next few days, the Witwatersrand had the aspect of a country at war. There were battles at Ellis Park (in the heart of Johannesburg), at Benoni, Boksburg, Brixton, and Langlaagte. The more violent among the strikers concealed themselves in houses and behind barricades, mounds, or tailings heaps, and from these vantage points they fired upon the troops. The last stand was made by some international Socialists in a building at Fordsburg, upon which the guns of the Transvaal Heavy Artillery were trained, while bombs were dropped from aeroplanes. These men refused to surrender, and were killed in the building which they were defending.

On March 19th it was declared that the strike was at an end. Thousands of native labourers had been repatriated, and these had to be brought back before mining operations could be resumed on a normal basis. The white miners returned to work on less favourable terms than before. There was less employment for them. Already, between 1909 and 1921, the number of white miners on the Witwatersrand had been reduced by 2,141. During the two years following the strike of 1922 there was a further reduction in their numbers of 2,987. In addition, the mines now employed coloured men on engine-driving, which was one of the occupations forbidden by the colour-bar regulation. This action was challenged, and a mine manager was prosecuted, but, as previously stated, the Supreme Court declared that no colour bar existed in the eyes of the law. Until 1925 no attempt was made to secure the legal enactment of a colour bar. In the Parliamentary session of that year a Bill with that object

in view was defeated by the Senate. It was again introduced in 1926, and is now likely to become law.

The Government secured the passing of the usual Indemnity Act (April 29th) by 57 votes to 44. A judicial commission was appointed to investigate the causes of the strike and the outbreak which followed it. It gave a report in October, which was hostile to the strikers. At the same time a Mining Industry Board was appointed, which reported in November. It was asked to furnish its views with regard to the general industrial situation on the mines, and to make recommendations, if any should be necessary, as to the means by which any improvement in the conditions of labour might be brought about. On the whole, the report of this Board was unfavourable to the miners. It declared that there was no necessity for the continuance of the *status quo* agreement of 1918, and that its abolition after the strike was fully justified. It was opposed to regulation by law of the ratio of European to native labour in the gold and coal mines, as such regulation imposed an artificial and unsound restriction on the discretion of the managerial authority on the mines. In the opinion of the Board, it was impracticable to reduce the proportion of natives until gradually (as had been suggested) the mines should be worked mainly by white labour. The employment of white unskilled labour in the mines in substitution of native labour was economically unjustifiable. The proposal of the Chamber of Mines to reduce the wages of white employees was justified, and ought to have been accepted by the men. The Board had previously proposed an industrial conciliation scheme, which was accepted by the mine-

owners and the miners, and came into force on October 1st, 1922. In pursuance of this, there were to be standing conciliation boards, consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees, and having a clearly defined code of procedure. On the whole, the Board came to the conclusion that many of the mines could not afford either an extension of employment of white men or an increase in wages. Its report was unfavourably received by the mine-workers, who had been encouraged to hope for a favourable report, owing to the participation in the proceedings of Mr. William Brace, a well-known Labour leader who had been invited by the Government to come from England and take a seat on the Board. The result of the Board's deliberations was subsequently summarised by the Prime Minister (in a speech in Parliament on January 23rd, 1923) to be: "They say that the only way a white South Africa can be fostered and promoted is to have the largest possible production at the smallest possible cost; that you cannot by artificial standards and methods try to promote a white South Africa." An attempt was made to carry the proposals of the Board for conciliatory machinery into legislative effect during the session of 1923; but an Industrial Conciliation Act was only assented to on March 26th, 1924.

An event of some importance which occurred in the Mandated territory of South-West Africa early in 1922 did not attract as much attention as it merited, by reason of the occurrences on the Witwatersrand to which reference has been made. This was an outbreak among the Bondelzwarts, a Hottentot tribe in the southern portion of the territory, who refused to pay taxes. In order to subdue them, the Administrator of

the territory (G. R. Hofmeyr) took the field in person, and bombing by means of aeroplanes soon reduced the unfortunate natives to submission, many of them being killed. There were allegations that cruelty had been practised upon the natives, and when the report of the Administration upon the territory was presented to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League, the Commission refused to accept it, and referred the matter back for a special report upon the conduct of the Bondelzwart "campaign." Further explanations were offered by General Smuts (1923), and the matter was allowed to lapse; but not before an exceedingly unpleasant impression had been created with regard to the administration of the mandate.

A matter of some interest to the Union was the referendum which was taken in Rhodesia on October 27th, 1922, on the question whether that territory should join the Union—an eventuality for which provision had been made in the South Africa Act. The result was that 5,989 voted for entry into the Union, while 8,774 were in favour of responsible government in an autonomous colony. It was not until July 10th, 1923, however, that the Duke of Devonshire, Secretary of State for the Colonies, announced the completion of negotiations between the Colonial Office and the Chartered Company (British South Africa Company). The result was that the Company's administrative responsibility terminated. All claims by the Company on the Crown, and by the Crown on the Company, were settled. The Company was left free to continue its commercial business, and retained its mineral rights in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. It also continued in enjoyment of its land-holding, amounting to 4,000,000 acres in Southern Rhodesia, and 2,500,000

acres in North-Eastern Rhodesia, besides retaining a half-interest in land in North-Western Rhodesia for forty years, and all its township plots and buildings. The *régime* of the Company, as Administrator of the territory, came to an end on July 28th, and on October 1st, 1923, responsible government was set up in what was the newest of the self-governing Colonies. Though the smallest in population, it was the largest of all, next to Canada, Australia, and the Union; there was ample room for settlement and development; and it began its new career under bright auspices. Sir Charles Coghlan assumed office as the first Prime Minister.

In January, 1923, the South African Labour Party eliminated the Socialist objective from its programme. This facilitated a *rapprochement* with the National Party, which was felt to be desirable before the next election campaign. Many believed that a formal alliance between the two parties was impossible. The National Party consisted largely of the older and more conservative section of the population; while the Labour Party stood for socialistic aspirations or, at least, represented a tendency towards the extreme "left." In recent days, however, the two parties had found common ground. By far the larger number of miners on the Witwatersrand were Dutch, whose views in regard to constitutional matters were represented by the National Party, while the Labour Party fought for the attainment of their aims in the economic sphere. They were united by a common dislike of the Unionists: the Nationalists because, in their eyes, the Unionists stood for Imperialism; the Labourites because, in their opinion, the Unionists represented the capitalists. The bitter feelings left after the strike and the outbreak of 1922 were focussed against the Government. There

was a large body of fluctuating voters, also, who might readily be induced to vote for a change if occasion offered. All that was wanting was a pretext. Then, persons who might ordinarily have voted for the Government had been alienated by wasteful expenditure on ill-conceived schemes. One of these, which was the cause of much criticism, was the so-called Grain Elevator Scandal at Durban, where an elevator had been erected in such a manner that an unnecessary expenditure of £200,000 was incurred. Apart from this, the Government had embarked on unwise schemes for railway electrification. Great resentment had, also, been aroused by its introduction of a "Class Areas" Bill, which, while aimed primarily at Asiatics, was considered likely to affect European immigrants as well. Finally, the Ministry itself appeared to feel that it had outstayed its welcome. There was no longer any driving force in it, and the early enthusiasms of General Smuts appeared to have exhausted themselves. Nevertheless, the Government still had a two-years' lease of life before it need appeal to the country, in terms of the constitution. But, to the surprise of many who did not realise to what an extent confidence had been sapped, General Smuts suddenly dissolved Parliament.

In anticipation of the contest, an alliance had been made between the National Party and the Labour Party, which was styled "the Pact." It was announced that this was only for the purposes of the election; but it was clear, as a matter of practical politics, that if the Pact succeeded at the polls it would endure beyond the election, and that a coalition between the two parties would result. The general election took place in June, 1924, and the event exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the Pact. General Smuts was defeated in

his own constituency (Pretoria West), and the Pact had a majority of 24 over the South African Party, which, for the first time in fourteen years, found itself relegated to the cold shades of opposition.

The Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone (who had assumed office in January), invited General Hertzog to form a Ministry. This was constituted on June 30th, and its membership may be said to have been fairly proportionate to the territorial distribution of the Pact electorate. Two of its number were from the Cape Province (Dr. D. F. Malan and Mr. C. W. Malan); four from the Transvaal (Mr. T. J. Roos, Mr. P. Grobler, General Kemp, and Colonel Creswell); three from the Free State (the Premier, General Hertzog, Mr. F. W. Beyers, and Mr. N. C. Havenga); and one from Natal (Mr. Boydell). Colonel Creswell and Mr. Boydell represented the left wing of the Pact. Subsequently (1925), Mr. Madeley, another Labour member, joined the Ministry.

The people, as a whole, received the result of the elections with equanimity. It was felt, notwithstanding the perfervid platform talk of recent years, that no serious attempt would be made to carry the republican propaganda of the Nationalists and the extreme Socialist wing of the Labour Party into practice; and assurances were given by the Nationalist leaders that in any event republicanism would only be introduced by the will of the people, and not by force. This allayed the fears of those who had anticipated an attempt to sever the Imperial connection. And these fears were further allayed when the new Prime Minister despatched an invitation to the Prince of Wales, whose contemplated visit to South Africa had been delayed in 1924 on account of the general election,

190 THE FIRST YEARS OF UNION

to visit South Africa in 1925. The Prince of Wales arrived at Cape Town on April 30th, 1925, and spent three months in the country, where he was received with equal enthusiasm and cordiality by both sections of the people, British and Dutch.

PART II
SOUTH AFRICA AS IT IS

CHAPTER IX

THE COUNTRY

IN the widest sense, as we have seen, South Africa is the territory lying south of a line between Mosamedes on the west and Mozambique on the east—a line 1,930 miles in length. It thus includes part of Angola, North-Western Rhodesia, Nyassaland, and Portuguese Nyassaland.

Strictly speaking, however, South Africa only includes the country between the mouth of the Cunene, on the west (which is the boundary between Angola and the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa) and the mouth of the Zambezi, at Chinde, on the east. The distance between these two points is 1,600 miles. From Cape Agulhas, in the extreme south, to Chamasobo, on the Okavango River (which forms part of the northern boundary of South-West Africa), is 1,175 miles. This country includes the Union of South Africa, South-West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Southern Rhodesia, and Portuguese East Africa.

The Union, with which we are mainly concerned, is the territory at the extreme southern end of the African continent. Its longest distance may be taken as extending from Cape Point (the extremity of the peninsula of the Cape of Good Hope), in the southwest of the Cape Province, to Messina, on the Limpopo

in the Northern Transvaal—about 1,100 miles in a straight line. The greatest breadth is from the mouth of the Orange River on the west to St. Lucia Bay on the east, some 960 miles.

Although statistics will be employed as sparingly as possible in this work, it is necessary, for the purposes of comparison, to mention a few figures in relation to area, altitude, and river systems. Areas are stated in the following tables:

TABLE OF AREA

Territory.	Square Miles.
Union	472,347
Cape Province (including Transkeian Territories 16,351 sq. m.)	276,966
Transvaal	110,450
Orange Free State	49,647
Natal (including Zululand, 10,427 sq. m.)	35,284
South-West Africa	322,450
Rhodesia	450,000
Angola	484,000
Portuguese East Africa	293,400
Basutoland	11,716
Bechuanaland	275,000
Swaziland	6,678

The Union is nearly four times the area of Great Britain (121,633 sq. m.), two and a quarter times the size of France (212,659 sq. m.), two and four-fifths times the size of Germany (183,381 sq. m.), and it is about one-eighth the size of Canada (3,729,665 sq. m.), one-sixth that of Australia (2,974,581 sq. m.), and one-sixth that of the United States (2,970,230 sq. m.). The Orange Free State is slightly larger than the State of New York (47,645 sq. m.), and the Cape Province is slightly larger than Texas, the largest State of the American Union (265,896 sq. m.).

Area, however, bears no relation to wealth or fer-

tility. Natal, the smallest Province of the Union, is the most fertile and (measured by population and taxable income) the wealthiest. Practically one-third of the area of the Cape Province is desert; so is four-fifths of that of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa.

The coast-line of South Africa is extraordinarily regular. There are remarkably few indentations, and consequently there are very few harbours. On the coast of South-West Africa there are only two bays—Walfish Bay and Lüderitzbucht. Swakopmund is an open roadstead. All of them are subject to heavy silting, owing to the fact that the Benguella current, which washes this coast, piles the sand back upon the shore.

The Union has only nine harbours, taking them in order from the west—Saldanha Bay, Table Bay, Simon's Bay, Mossel Bay, Algoa Bay, Port Alfred, East London, Port St. John's, and Durban. Of these, Saldanha Bay, Port Alfred, and Port St. John's are of no commercial importance. Saldanha Bay is practically a lagoon, and is also subject to siltage. Port Alfred, the mouth of the Kowie River, on the south-east, has no safe anchorage, and the river, like most of those on the South African coast, has a sandy bar. These bars are the curse of the South African ports. They exist at three ports of importance—East London, Durban, and (not in the Union) Delagoa Bay. They have to be kept clear by constant dredging.

Table Bay, on whose southern shore lies the capital city of Cape Town (the oldest in the Union), is the most important port. At one time it was far from being a safe anchorage for shipping, and the shores of the Bay were constantly strewn with wreckage;

but the construction of a breakwater has rendered it comparatively safe, except in the case of abnormal storms. There is anchorage in the roadstead, under the shelter of the breakwater, for vessels of any draught. Although not large, the docks at Table Bay are sufficient for the accommodation of all but the very largest ocean-going boats. Steamers of 20,000 tons are berthed at the east pier, which has a length of 786 feet and a depth of 35 feet.

Next in importance to Table Bay comes Durban (Port Natal), which handles two-thirds of the number of passengers, and three and a half times the quantity of cargo passing through Cape Town. Durban has the advantage of a land-locked inner bay, which contains a new graving dock, 1,200 feet in length, and very long quays, with a depth varying from 23 to 38 feet.

Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth) is an open roadstead, which has been the scene of many wrecks; although a breakwater (known as the Dom Pedro Jetty) is in course of construction, which will greatly improve the anchorage. Ocean liners lie out in the bay, at a distance of one to two miles. Port Elizabeth is of importance, principally, for the wool trade. It deals with somewhat less than one-half of the quantity of cargo handled at Table Bay.

The harbour at East London is simply the mouth of the Buffalo River, and large ocean liners do not enter, but lie out in the offing at a distance of about two miles. At one time, East London rivalled Durban and Port Elizabeth. Its trade has now shrunk to one-twelfth that of Durban, and three-fourths of that of Algoa Bay.

It may be added that Delagoa Bay (on whose northern shore lies the town of Lourenço Marques) is

designed by nature as the port for the Transvaal and Swaziland, and only political considerations have prevented it from fulfilling its destiny. The harbour is land-locked, and the outer bay is one of the largest and safest in the world (length 20 miles, extreme width 14 miles). The bar at the entrance, however, needs to be kept free of sand by constant dredging. Beira is the port for Southern Rhodesia, and also belongs to Portugal.

All trade and communication between the ports and the interior depends on the railways. The rivers are not navigable, and many of them only contain water during the flood season. The longest river is the Orange, which takes its rise in the Drakensberg or Quathlamba range (generally known as the "Berg"), and flows west (slightly north-westerly) into the Atlantic Ocean. It falls some 7,000 feet during its course, which is about 1,000 miles in length. There is a great fall, 400 feet high, at Aughrabies, below Upington. Unfortunately, it is all but inaccessible. More interesting, perhaps, than the Orange is its chief tributary, the Vaal, which, again, is joined by the Elands River, from whose source to the mouth of the Orange is a distance of about 1,700 miles. The Vaal rises in the district of Ermelo, not far from the highest point of the Transvaal. Throughout its Transvaal course it is bordered by fertile farms, and it contains a good supply of water for most of the year. Below Vereeniging is situated the Vaal River Barrage, one of the largest of its kind in the world, which dams back the stream for 74 miles. Vereeniging itself is likely to be a most important industrial centre. It is the station of entry into the Transvaal from the Free State. It has large steel works, brick works, and collieries, and

its unlimited water supply gives promise of great enterprise in agriculture and afforestation. Other important spots on the Vaal are Klerksdorp, Bloemhof, and Christiana. The romantic interest of the stream lies in the fact that from Klerksdorp downwards it is the centre of the "river diggings." The alluvial diamonds found along its course and on the banks of the tributaries are of great purity and value, and afford a livelihood to many diggers. The river diggings were worked before the "New Rush" at Kimberley was discovered.

The Limpopo or Crocodile River rises in the Witwatersrand and, after cutting through the Magaliesberg, turns north-east, forming the northern boundary of the Transvaal. At Ntakala it leaves the Union and, flowing south-east through Mozambique, enters the Indian Ocean to the north of Delagoa Bay, a few miles above the mouth of the Komati, which, however, flows east and north from Ermelo through Komati Poort into Delagoa Bay. Thus, these two rivers, which empty themselves into the sea almost within sight of each other, take their rise more than 250 miles apart, and enclose an area of about 90,000 square miles. The Limpopo is 900 miles in length. Like most of the Transvaal and Portuguese rivers flowing into the Indian Ocean, it is malarial in part of its course, is inhabited by crocodiles, and is the home of bilharzia, or fluke-worm.

The largest river in South Africa is the Zambezi, which lies outside the Union, forming the boundary between Southern and Northern Rhodesia. It flows into the Indian Ocean, and takes its rise within a few miles of the source of the Cunene, which empties itself into the Atlantic. The Okavango also takes its rise

within a few miles of the source of the Cunene. The Zambezi is 2,200 miles in length, and of this only 120 miles are navigable, though with difficulty. Its lower course lies through exceedingly fertile country in Portuguese East Africa. The Zambezi is famous for the Victoria Falls (discovered by David Livingstone in 1855), which lie on its course two miles south of the township of Livingstone, and form the greatest scenic marvel of the African continent. The Falls are 1,860 yards broad, and (in the centre) 343 feet high.

None of the rivers of the Union are navigable. Their courses are too short, or, where they are longer, the descent to the sea is too steep. Most of those which flow through the coastal belt are perennial, and lie in fertile valleys, such as the Berg River (flowing through the Paarl and Malmesbury), the Breede River (through Worcester, Robertson, and Swellendam,) and the Zonder End River (through Caledon, Bredasdorp, and Swellendam), in the south-west of the Cape Province. Then come longer rivers, such as the Gouritz, the Gamtoos, Sundays, and Great Fish, which flow partly through desert country, and are mainly chains of pools in the dry season. On some of these, such as the Sundays, ambitious irrigation works have been constructed, and an effort has been made at water conservation; unfortunately, the brackish nature of the soil renders the value of the experiment doubtful. The rivers of Kaffraria, in the south-east of the Cape Province, have more water, such as the Great Kei, the Bashee, and the Umzimvubu, and the soil through which they flow gradually increases in fertility, until Natal is reached. Here the rivers are short and deep, such as the Umzinto, the Illovo, and the Amanzimtoti. The longer rivers of Natal are the Umzimkulu, the

Umkomaas, the Tugela (the longest), and the Umfolosi (through Zululand). All of these rise in the western highlands, and have a steep and headlong course. The Buffalo rises in the district of Newcastle and, after being joined by the Blood River, runs into the Tugela, which flows roughly from west to east, and cuts Natal into two fairly equal portions.

Thus the only way of access from the coast to the interior is by road. Formerly, travelling was a painful process, over many leagues of pathless desert and through an almost impassable mountain barrier. Now, however, a railway line runs inland from every port, and most of the ports are connected by a direct line running more or less parallel with the coast—except from Port Elizabeth eastwards to the Natal border, where communication between the ports may be had only by going inland to some intermediate point and then coming down again to the coast, or by sea.

After leaving the coastal region, which is from 50 to 100 miles broad, these railways have to traverse mountain ranges before reaching the great interior plateau of the country. These are the two great features of the South African landscape—the mountains which divide the coastal plain from the interior plateau, and the plateau itself. About 40 per cent. of the area of the Union is plateau-land 4,000 feet and more above sea-level.

With the exception of the Cape Peninsula, the districts of George and Knysna, and part of the Kaffrarian coast near Port St. John's and Natal, the coastal region is flat and (in many parts) sandy. From above Malmesbury (49 miles from Cape Town) northwards to the Cunene River, the coastal strip is all desert, almost totally devoid of vegetation and incapable of sustaining

human or animal life. In this desert strip, however, valuable deposits of diamonds have been found at Lüderitzbucht and Conception Bay, in South-West Africa.

The Cape Peninsula presents some remarkable features. Unlike the rest of the coast region, it is almost entirely mountainous. The bold landscape of Table Mountain, flanked on the right (looking from Table Bay) by Lion's Head, and on the left by Devil's Peak, justifies the description given by Sir Francis Drake—"the fairest cape in the whole circumference of the earth." This mountain (4,004 feet high) is only table-shaped in front, where the impression is conveyed that the face was suddenly cut away, sheer down to the bottom, by some vast convulsion of nature, and that the continuation of the mountain beyond the chasm formed by Table Bay must be looked for miles to the north and north-east, where the mountains of Stellenbosch and Paarl are to be seen on the horizon. At the back, there is no table. The mountain, which is really a mountain range, continues in undulations of varying height until it dips down to afford a pass between Hout Bay and Constantia over the Constantia Nek. Then it rises again, with peaks overhanging Muizenberg and Simons Town, and ends in steep cliffs at Cape Point, the southern extremity. The Peninsula is entirely cut off from the mainland by a sandy isthmus, the Cape Flats, lying between Table Bay on the north-west and False Bay on the south-east. Geologically, the Table Mountain range is identical with the bulk of the southern part of the Cape Province, known as the Cape system; but it stands entirely apart in its own peninsula, and is to all appearance isolated. The Table range lies mainly to the west of the Peninsula,

and this accounts for some remarkable variations in the rainfall, which is heaviest in the winter months. At the Cape Town Fire Station, the average annual fall is 25·64; while at Platteklip, about two miles to the south-east, at the foot of the mountain, it is 45·12 inches; on Robben Island, in Table Bay, it is 18·24 inches; at Camp's Bay, west of the mountain, it is 24·25 inches; at St. Michael's, on the mountain (at a height of 3,050 feet) it is 74·75 inches; and at Newlands, on the eastern slope, it is 66·07 inches—the distance, horizontally, from Newlands to Camp's Bay being about six miles.

The deep soil on the eastern slopes of the peninsular range, combined with the heavy rainfall, encourages a luxuriant vegetation. At one period afforestation on the mountain was in a retrograde state, owing to timber-cutting and bush fires; but in recent years there has been a revival—although the beautiful distinctive tree of the mountain slopes, the silver tree (*leucadendron argenteum*) seems to be disappearing. There are diversified clumps of bush in the Hout Bay and Constantia Valleys, and beautiful avenues of lofty trees at Rondebosch, Newlands, and Wynberg. This vegetation, combined with the diversified types of mountain scenery (such as the Twelve Apostles on the Camp's Bay side), gives to the Peninsula that scenic charm for which it is renowned, and in regard to which it has few rivals anywhere in the world.

The botanical wealth of the Cape Peninsula is famous. Dr. Harry Bolus, a distinguished Cape scientist, says: "Ever since the time of its first settlement the Cape has been a constant source of pleasure and delight to the botanist and the gardener. Though Cape plants have somewhat gone out of fashion of late years, it

is still probably true that no single country in the world has contributed so largely to European conservatories and gardens as the Cape of Good Hope. . . . From 1775 to 1835, Cape plants may be said to have been quite the rage. The conservatories, temperate houses, and gardens of England and the Continent teemed with the pelargoniums, heaths, and other handsome flowering shrubs, and the lovely bulbous plants of iridææ, amaryllidææ, and liliacææ." Table Mountain is (or was) peculiarly rich in orchids of all kinds, such as the *disa grandiflora*, which is abundant in the mountain streams, and is also found in the Hottentots Holland mountains, reaching southwards from Stellenbosch. Then there are vast fields of arum lilies, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Wynberg and Constantia. Other beautiful plants are the proteas, the chinkerinchees, and the heaths. The finest heaths are to be found near Caledon and Genadendal; but there are numerous species on Table Mountain, the total in the south-western region of the Cape Province being about 350 species. Heath also grows on the Karroo, and is found in abundance in the Zwartberg, between Prince Albert and Oudtshoorn.

The Cape coast presents some surprising contrasts in temperature, which are due to the ocean currents. Thus, at Sea Point, at the western entrance to Table Bay, the water is extremely cold, while the force of the current renders bathing in the open very dangerous, and at Camp's Bay, a mile to the south, the waves create a terrific under-tow. On the other hand, the water on the Muizenberg beach is from ten to twenty degrees warmer than that at Sea Point, and so gradual is the slope of the sandy shore, and so free is this particular shore from treacherous currents, that a man

may walk half a mile into the water without getting beyond his depth.

On the opposite side of False Bay, however, the currents again become dangerous, and continue thus as far up the coast as Durban. Nevertheless, this coast presents many attractive points to fishermen, and at such places as Hermanus fish of phenomenal size have been caught. The fishing industry itself is still far from being fully developed, and is in need of improvement. The larger staple fish are silverfish, stumpnose, Cape salmon, Kebeljauw (maigre) and, stockfish (hake). Crawfish are found in abundance in the colder waters of the west coast, from Cape Point northwards. Soles, equal if not superior in quality to European soles, are found in great abundance on the Agulhas Bank, and Knysna is a suitable ground for oysters.

The changes of temperature along the coast are progressive. It has been calculated that, on the west coast, from Port Nolloth to Table Bay, the temperature increases 1 degree F. for each degree of latitude, going south. Eastwards to Durban, the increase is 0.4 degree F. for each degree of longitude, whilst, going northwards from East London to Durban, the rate again increases to 1.5 degrees F. for each degree of latitude. Thus, the climate becomes warmer going southwards and eastwards, as one leaves the region of the Benguella current and enters that of the Agulhas current. It is in the neighbourhood where these currents meet that high and often stormy seas are found, and sometimes the near approach of Antarctic icebergs causes abnormally low temperatures in the interior.

Proceeding eastwards along the coast from the Cape, one finds that the coast increases in wildness

and diversity of aspect. At George and Knysna, there is a combination of mountain, forest, and lake scenery, Here the spurs of the Outeniqua Mountains approach the shore. Near George are lakes or lagoons, two or three miles from the sea, and similar scenery is found at Knysna, where there are large forests, which, unfortunately, have been heavily exploited for a century, with the result that the virgin timber in them is approaching exhaustion. From this part onwards to the Albany coast, the scenery is unattractive, and the prevailing vegetation is thorn-bush; but from Port Alfred (Kowie) eastwards the vegetation is more abundant, consisting mainly of large bush interspersed with palms. This increases in density until the Natal coast is reached, where the foliage and grass are more luxuriant, and gradually become sub-tropical in character.

This coastal region is at once the most picturesque and the most fertile portion of the Union. In the west are the grain-producing districts of Malmesbury, Piquetberg, and Clanwilliam; then come the vineyards and orchards of Stellenbosch, Paarl, French Hoek, and Wellington. Eastwards lie Caledon, Bredasdorp, Swellendam, and Riversdale, which produce grain and wool. Next to them are Ladismith, Oudtshoorn, and Uniondale. These are the districts of "the Little Karroo." Of them, Oudtshoorn is the most fertile, and it is famous as the chief ostrich-breeding centre, although its prosperity has fluctuated greatly in accordance with the varying demand for ostrich feathers. At the present time the ostrich feather industry is in decline, and thousands of ostriches have been slaughtered on the ground that it is no longer worth while to breed and feed them. The

district also produces brandy, dried fruits, grain, lucerne, and tobacco. It is well watered, and disputes about water rights have been a fruitful source of litigation. Uitenhage, Alexandria, and Albany are sheep and grain districts, with occasional ostrich camps. Kaffraria and Pondoland are mainly devoted to cattle-breeding. Natal owes much of its wealth to the sugar and tea plantations of the coast, and to its tropical fruits, such as bananas, pineapples, and mangoes.

At a distance of 50 to 100 miles from the coast a mountain barrier is encountered, which has to be traversed before the railway lines reach the comparatively flat plateaux of the interior. In the south-west, however, these mountains are suddenly deflected southwards, and run down to the sea at False Bay, where they are known as Hottentots Holland. Northwards, they pass through Stellenbosch, Paarl, and Wellington, and extend as far as Tulbagh, where they abruptly bend back south-eastwards towards Worcester. These mountains are distinguished by their bold, serrated outlines and lofty peaks. North of Worcester begins the Hex River Valley (in which Matroosberg, 7,800 feet high, is the loftiest summit), where the railway rises nearly 2,000 feet before it emerges upon the western end of the Great Karroo, which lies from 1,000 to 4,000 feet above sea-level. This extends over the whole central portion of the Cape Province, and as far north as Fourteen Streams, beyond Kimberley, its eastern boundaries being Jansenville and Graaff Reinet. The southern boundary of the Great Karroo is a great mountain range, the Zwartberg, which runs practically due east and west for nearly 200 miles. Its highest point is the Seven Weeks' Poort Mountain (7,627 feet). This range is prolonged to the Cockscomb

Mountains, through which the railway from Port Elizabeth to Graaff Reinet passes; thence to the Zuurberg and Boschberg ranges, penetrated by the railway line from Port Elizabeth to Bloemfontein and Johannesburg. Even here the chain does not end—in fact, it is prolonged right round the eastern portion of the continent in a series of low ranges. Further inland, and cutting through the Great Karroo, runs another range, which is comparatively low in the west, but increases gradually in height until it includes the highest peaks of the sub-continent. Starting in Calvinia as the Roggeveld, it becomes the Komsberg in Sutherland, the Nieuwveld in Fraserburg, and the Sneeuwberg (Snow Mountains) in Middelburg, near which is the Compassberg (9,500 feet), the highest peak in the Cape Province. Then the range is known as the Stormberg, in the district of Burghersdorp. Here it is traversed by the railway line from East London to Bloemfontein. Now it merges into the Drakensberg, dividing Basutoland and the Free State on the west from Griqualand East and Natal on the east. Here are the highest peaks in South Africa—Mont aux Sources (11,170 feet), Machacha (11,000 feet), Champagne Castle (10,357 feet), and Giant Castle (9,657 feet). Still known as the Berg, the range—crossed at Laing's Nek by the Durban-Johannesburg line—continues through Wakkerstroom and Ermelo into Carolina, where it is crossed at Belfast by the railway from Delagoa Bay. Now, after a slight north-eastward bend to Lydenburg, it trends well inwards to the north-west, the highest peaks being Mauchberg (8,724 feet) and Spitskop (7,281 feet). Finally, it merges with the Zoutpansberg, and then leaves the Union and enters Southern Rhodesia at its eastern border.

The interior plateau, north of the line of mountains (above described) which ends with the Stormberg, and west of the Drakensberg, continues practically unbroken through the northern part of the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal south of Pietersburg and west of Carolina. It varies somewhat in altitude, increasing in height towards the interior, until on the Witwatersrand it attains a height of 6,000 feet, and further east, beyond Ermelo and towards Belfast, 7,000 feet. The great extent of this plateau region results in a striking uniformity of mean annual temperature over the greater part of the Union. Between Johannesburg, 5,750 feet above sea-level, and Cape Agulhas, 55 feet above sea-level, there is a difference of 0·9 degrees F. in mean temperature (which is 60·6 at the former, and 61·5 at the latter place). Pretoria, the administrative capital, at a height of 4,400 feet, has a mean annual temperature of 63·5, while Cape Town, the parliamentary capital, 1,000 miles to the south-west, and 115 feet above sea-level, has an average of 62·6. The coldest spot in the Union is Disa Head, on Table Mountain, at an elevation of 2,496 feet, where the yearly mean is 54·7 degrees F. (though in Cape Town, close by, a summer temperature of over 100 degrees F. is frequently experienced); and the warmest is Komati Poort, which is 460 feet above sea-level, and has a mean annual temperature of 73·1 degrees F. Nevertheless, the difference between the two is only 18·4 degrees.

The characteristic vegetation of the Karroo is the Karroo bush, a drought-resisting scrub, which, though uninviting in appearance, is wonderfully nutritious to sheep. In this respect it is similar to an unprepossessing tree-like bush which grows in the heart of

South-West Africa, near Karibib and Omaruru, whose pods are extraordinarily fattening for cattle. Generally, the Karroo is unattractive to those who have not the leisure to do more than cast a cursory glance at it; but many who have studied its various aspects have found it extremely fascinating—in its rich colours, its wonderful fecundity after rain, its cloudless sky, and its pure atmosphere, which makes it one of the healthiest parts of the world. Ideal places of residence for persons afflicted with pulmonary disease are Hanover in the north, Cradock in the east, and Matjesfontein in the west. The wealth of the Karroo lies more in its pastoral resources than in agriculture. It is the chief wool-producing area of the Union. This sheep-farming area extends south and east into the districts of Stutterheim, Cathcart, and Queenstown, which are situated in what is known as the “Thorn Veld” (stretching north-eastwards through Central Natal and Zululand to Swaziland and Komati Poort). This “Thorn Veld” is interspersed with grassy tracts, and towards Natal and Zululand forests are met with. The Free State and Southern Transvaal (below Pretoria) are in the “High Veld” region, which has an invigorating climate, though liable to extreme cold in winter. People accustomed to North European latitudes often complain of the cold at Bloemfontein and Johannesburg. Nevertheless, it is a healthy region, and at Johannesburg the death-rate is as low and the expectation of life as high, as demonstrated by statistics, as anywhere in the world. In the Free State there is scattered bush, but, on the whole, the High Veld is a grass country, with a monotonous landscape, except near Potchefstroom and on the Witwatersrand, where it is diversified by ranges of low hills. In the

south-east of the Free State, towards the Basutoland border, the country is fertile in grain, and the most important flour mills are situated here. The Northern Free State, like the Transvaal High Veld, is a mealie-growing area. The principal mealie (maize) districts of the Free State are Kroonstad, Bethlehem, Frankfort, and Heilbron; and of the Transvaal, Potchefstroom, Bethal, Heidelberg, and Middelburg. The Northern Free State and Eastern Transvaal, also, are important wool-producing regions, whilst cattle thrive in the Eastern Transvaal, and in the Central and Southern Free State. Generally, it may be said that the cattle population is densest in those areas where there is the largest aboriginal native population, though the breed of cattle there is not of the choicest.

The north-central part of the Transvaal is the Bush Veld region, from 2,400 to 6,000 feet above sea-level. The name sufficiently indicates the nature of the area. To the north of it are the Limpopo highlands, forming the drainage area for the Limpopo and its tributaries, and embracing the north of the Waterberg district, the Pietersburg plateau, Zoutpansberg, and the Transvaal Drakensberg. The Limpopo Valley itself forms part of the Low Country, which, beginning in the west in the Waterberg flats, extends along the eastern border of the Transvaal as far as Komati Poort. It is malarial, and in the west the rainfall attains 50 to 70 inches, declining to 15 to 25 inches in the east. Much of the Low Country is still unreclaimed, but it is very fertile, and increased attention is being paid to its cultivation and redemption. It includes the Sabi and the Shingwedzi game reserves, where shooting and hunting are absolutely prohibited. In this area, as in the Middle Veld (Barberton) and the western

Bush Veld (Rustenburg and Waterberg), are the most suitable tracts for cultivation of citrus. The western High Veld (Magaliesberg) and western Bush Veld (Rustenburg) are the best tobacco districts of the Union.

The interior of Natal, west of the coast belt, varies from 2,000 feet to 5,386 feet (at Charlestown) above sea-level. It is largely a grass country, interspersed with thorn bushes, which sometimes form small forests. The mean temperature at Maritzburg is about 65 degrees, the extremes being 28 and 98 degrees; at Durban the mean is $69\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and the extremes 42 and 98 degrees. The annual rainfall at Durban is 40 inches, at Maritzburg 38 inches, and over the Province 30 inches; whereas the average annual rainfall over the whole Union is approximately 19 inches. Natal is the best-watered Province. Maize (mealies) is the staple grain, and thrives everywhere; Kaffir corn is also produced abundantly, and wheat, oats, and barley are grown in the midlands and on the slopes of the Berg. The wattle plantations exceed a quarter of a million acres in extent. They are situated mainly in the districts of Maritzburg, Noodsberg, and Umvoti. Natal has a fair number of sheep, but the territory, as a whole, is more suited to cattle. The wool product of this Province is not one-twentieth of that of the Union, which ranks as the fourth wool-producing country in the world.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that the western half of South Africa is desert, while the eastern half is a rich and fertile region. The dividing line may be taken as the railway which runs from Cape Town to Bulawayo, in Rhodesia. Most of the country to the west of this, that is, on the left hand going north

from Cape Town, is dry and barren—with the exception of the region within a range of 150 miles of Cape Town. At the same time, man has done much to make the Western Karroo habitable, and large flocks of sheep are now pastured in this region. The best illustration of the arid nature of this part of the Union is furnished by the fact that below the confluence of the Vaal, the Orange receives practically no water during the greater part of the year, and is merely a channel for the conveyance of water from far inland to the sea. Many streams which are marked on the map as rivers flowing north into the Orange are nothing more than dry beds of sand, which are flooded by freshets for two or three weeks in the year. Most of Griqualand West and Bechuanaland belong to the Kalahari region, which continues north into the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The Kalahari, however, is not a true desert, such as the Sahara. It is grass land, and after rain the grass becomes luxuriant, and affords valuable sustenance for flocks. Nevertheless, it is unfit for permanent occupation. Various schemes have been propounded for the irrigation and fertilisation of these desert and semi-desert areas, such as the diversion of the flood waters of the Okovango and other rivers to the north-west, which now lose themselves in the marshes near Lake Ngami; but nothing practicable has been devised.

Although these regions are valueless for agriculture, and largely so for pastoral purposes, they have yielded considerable wealth in the shape of minerals and precious stones. For many years the copper mines of Namaqualand were productive; while Griqualand West contains the most famous diamond mines in the world, at and near Kimberley. Asbestos has been

worked on the banks of the Orange, and in the Lydenburg district, but the richest deposits are in the district of Barberton (Transvaal). The Transvaal is the richest Province, so far as mineral wealth is concerned. It is the greatest producer of gold in the world. The average annual quantity produced in recent years is 8,300,000 ounces, and the average annual value (adding the amount of the gold premium in recent years) is £39,000,000. The gold premium, however, has now disappeared. It must not be forgotten, also, that the gold mines are gradually approaching exhaustion. The problem is—How long will they last? It is now reliably estimated that in seven years' time only half the existing number of mines will be working. Optimists place the life of the gold-mining industry at 60 or 70 years; others consider that it will cease to exist in another 20 years. The Transvaal is also a large diamond-producer, with one mine (the Premier), and several alluvial diggings in the south-western part of the Province. It is also the largest coal-producer, although Natal (which comes second) produces coal of the best quality. The total coal production of the Union is about 11,000,000 tons yearly, of an annual value of about £4,000,000. Recently, great interest has been taken in reported discoveries of platinum, and shares have changed hands at extraordinary prices, in consequence of which numbers of people have been ruined. The actual platinum wealth of the country, however, has not yet been proved.

Apart from the attraction of its mineral wealth, experience has shown that the portions of the country best adapted for permanent settlement are the Cape South-Western Province, the district of Albany in the

Cape Eastern Province, Natal, and the Eastern Transvaal. Of these, Natal is the most fertile, and has yielded the largest returns to her sugar and tea planters. The cultivation of tea has, however, declined considerably, and is now less than one-half of what it was at its maximum. Increasing interest is being shown in the cultivation of cotton, for which the favoured regions are Zululand, Rhodesia, and parts of the Transvaal. It is doubtful, however, whether the settler who has little or no capital is likely to make headway in the Union. All the best areas for agriculture or pastoral purposes are occupied; there are many natural difficulties, such as irregular seasons, and invasions of locust swarms, to be encountered; farming cannot be carried on profitably without the employment of a considerable amount of capital, and the markets for agricultural produce within the Union are overstocked. Nevertheless, there are oversea markets for certain staple "lines," such as maize, citrus fruits, grapes and other fruit, and meat. Hitherto, however, much of the product for overseas markets has been of inferior quality. A rigid system of grading and rejection, however, such as is actually in vogue, will do much to ensure better production. In recent years production has both increased and improved in quality.

If South Africa does not at the present moment offer much encouragement to the would-be settler, however, it is an exceedingly attractive country to visit or to explore. Apart from its climate, to which previous reference has been made, it has many "beauty spots," including the coastal region which has been described; the Passes of the Outeniqua and the Zwartberg; the Eastern Transvaal, from Nelspruit to Komati Poort, and from Komati Poort to Zoekmakaar (north

of Pietersburg—a region which embraces the Zoutpansberg and Barbérton); the slopes of the Berg in Basutoland and Natal; and the country around Maritzburg. Outside of the Union are the Victoria Falls, in Rhodesia, the wild and uncultivated territory of Mozambique, and the beautiful Delagoa Bay. South Africa has always been regarded as the hunter's paradise—to such an extent that several varieties are now, unfortunately, extinct, while others are rigidly protected. Nevertheless, its fauna is distinctive and in many respects unique, and presents many features of interest to the naturalist. Apart from the game reserves, there are still many varieties of antelopes to be met with in the Transvaal, the northern part of the South-West Protectorate, and in Rhodesia; lions and leopards are still plentiful in the Eastern Transvaal, hippopotami are to be seen in the Komati; and buffalo in the thickets of Zululand. Giraffes and zebras still survive in the Eastern Transvaal, Bechuanaland, and Rhodesia. Of birds there are over a thousand species, including many varieties of sunbirds, pigeons, and eagles. The Cape canaries and mountain canaries are fine songsters. There are many migratory birds, such as storks and swallows, which come from and return to Europe. On the islands off the west coast there are large colonies of penguins. There are numerous varieties of insects, and snakes (some of which are peculiar to the country) abound, although, as a rule, they avoid the haunts of men. The flora is abundant, and, so far as flowering plants are concerned, South Africa ranks among the richest of regions. Of the 200 botanical orders in the whole world (according to Bentham and Hooker), South Africa can boast of 142; and while Australia (five times as large as extra-

tropical South Africa) has 152 orders and 1,300 genera, South Africa has 142 orders and 1,255 genera. Reference has been made earlier in this chapter to the flowers of the Cape. The principal species of timber which are of economic value are—yellowwood (for flooring, railway sleepers, and mining); assegai, black stinkwood or laurel, ironwood, and white pear (for wagonwood), Kamassi-wood (exported to Europe for engravers' and turners' work, and bobbins); Clanwilliam cedar (a durable light soft wood, said to be the best of South African timbers); sneezewood (very durable, used for fencing posts); and waterwood (Natal coast, light and easily worked). Even the desert flora is full of interest, containing species which are rare, curious, or beneficial—such as “the wonderful Welwitschia,” which is unique and found only in the Namib Desert; the narra, which grows in the sand-dunes of the western coast, and, with its fattening properties, is the only plant of economic value; numerous mesembryanthemums, euphorbias, and aloes, and bushman's candles.

A word remains to be said about the territorial divisions of the Union. It is divided into four Provinces, whose boundaries, to a considerable extent, are accidental. Thus, the Orange separates both the Free State and Griqualand West from the Cape Province, although Griqualand West is part of the Cape Province, and, as we have seen, the same type of country (*e.g.* High Veld) is to be found extending into two, or even three, Provinces. The most perfect example of an isolated Province is the Free State, bounded on the east by the Drakensberg, on the south by the Orange, on the north (in part) by the Vaal, though on the west there is no natural barrier between it and

Griqualand West. Again, there is no natural barrier between the Transvaal and the Bechuanaland Protectorate on the west, and the boundary between the Mandated Territory (South-West Africa) and the Union district of Gordonia is the twentieth degree of east longitude.

In the Provinces (as in Southern Rhodesia and South-West Africa), the administrative unit is the "district," an official and not merely a geographical designation. The administrative head of a district is the magistrate, both in urban and rural areas, and not (as on the European Continent and even to a certain extent in Great Britain) the mayor. The mayor is simply the head of a municipality. The magistrate is a judicial officer and, in rural districts, is the head of the administrative machinery as well. In the larger urban areas, however, departments of revenue, customs, mines, and the like, are under independent head officials; and at the administrative capital (Pretoria) each department, as in other countries, is in charge of head officials, who stand under their respective Ministers. The districts are of varying size, and owe their origin either to settlement, the extension of jurisdiction over areas formerly belonging to aboriginal tribes, or to the necessity of instituting orderly government in places (such as Kimberley) where there have been sudden aggregations of white population. The names bestowed on the various districts are either of historical significance or due to some local peculiarity. In some cases they are the result of mere caprice. It may be of interest to tabulate the names of districts. They may be classified as follows:

(1) Names of Royalties—

Victoria West, Victoria East, Prince Albert,

Queenstown, George, King William's Town, Alice, Alexandria, Port Alfred.

- (2) Names of Governors and their wives—
 Simons Town, Stellenbosch, Somerset West, Somerset East, Caledon, Darling, Swellendam, Tulbagh, Ladismith (Cape), Ladysmith (Natal), Harrismith, Oudtshoorn, Beaufort West, Fort Beaufort, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Graaff Reinet, Worcester (title of Duke of Beaufort's son), Colesberg, Cradock, Aliwal North, Barkly East, Barkly West, Lady Grey, Cathcart, Charlestown, Mount Frere, Lady Frere, Durban, Newcastle.
- (3) Names of South African statesmen, heroes, generals, or administrators, white and black—
 Grahamstown, Elliott, Elliottdale, Kokstad, Upington, Krugersdorp, Boksburg, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Wolmaransstad, Piet Retief, Ladybrand, Brandfort, Wepener, Boshof, Warrenton, Potchefstroom, Leydsdorp, Louis Trichardt, Potgietersrust, Pietersburg, Pietermaritzburg, Standerton.
- (4) Names of British Colonial Secretaries, politicians, and aristocrats—
 Malmesbury, Wellington, Clanwilliam, Bathurst, Sutherland, Balfour, Carnarvon, Kimberley, Beaconsfield, Aberdeen, Bedford.
- (5) Names of European and other foreign places—
 Hanover, Richmond, Whittlesea, Glencoe, Verulam, Middelburg, Utrecht, Smithfield, East London, Zeerust, Dordrecht, Frankfort, Bethlehem, Belfast, Heidelberg, Bethal, Ermelo.
- (6) Names of land-owners, founders and local celebrities—
 Bredasdorp, Van Rhyns Dorp, Robertson, Fraserburg, Jagersfontein, Jacobsdal, Philippolis, Britstowntown, Philipstowntown, Steynsburg, Humansdorp, Jan-

senville, Hofmeyer, Rouxville, Herschel, Maclear, Peddie, Lindley, Ficksburg, Bothaville, Colenso, Carolina, Barberton.

(7) Names embodying natural features—

Mossel Bay, De Aar, Nauwpoort, Waterberg, Warmbaths, Dreunberg, Stormberg, Springfontein.

(8) Native names—

Namaqualand, Kenhardt, Prieska, Mafeking, Kuruman, Griquatown, Marico, Knysna, Tarkastad, Cala, Komgha, Idutywa, Tsomo, Umtata, Matatiele, Qumbu, Tabankulu, Ixopo, Umzinto, Eshowe.

(9) Fanciful names—

Paarl, Riversdale, Uniondale, Willowmore, Butterworth, Willowvale, Vryheid, Wakkerstroom, Lydenburg, Rustenburg, Lichtenburg, Bloemhof, Vryburg, Nylstroom, Bloemfontein, Winburg, Heilbron, Vrede, Vredefort.

(10) Historical names—

Calvinia, Weenen.

CHAPTER X

THE PEOPLE

OF the million and a half European inhabitants of the Union (in exact numbers 1,519,488) at the census of 1921, it is impossible to state precisely how many were of British and how many of Dutch birth; and only an approximate estimate of the relative proportions can be formed. All that the census indicated was the number of English-speaking and Dutch-speaking persons respectively. Of persons below seven, 26 per cent. spoke both languages, 25 per cent. spoke English, and 48 per cent. spoke Dutch. Of persons over seven, 50 per cent. spoke both languages, 25 per cent. spoke English, and 23 per cent. spoke Dutch. It is a well ascertained fact that far more Dutch persons know English in addition to their own language than there are English persons who know Dutch as well as English. It may, therefore, safely be assumed that considerably more than half of those speaking both languages were Dutch; and probably it would be correct to say that a proportion of three-quarters is more nearly accurate. The census of 1921 showed that 705,000 spoke both languages, whereas 382,000 spoke English only, and 427,000 spoke Dutch only. Assuming that only one-half of those speaking both languages were of Dutch origin, namely, 352,500, that would give 779,500 of Dutch, and 734,500 of

British, birth. But the proportion of Dutch persons was far greater than this. Another mode of testing the relative numbers of persons of Dutch and of British birth is to take the number of residents in the rural and urban areas respectively. Of the European population, 44.22 per cent. lived in rural areas, and 55.78 per cent. in urban areas, at the census of 1921. The density of the population in rural areas was greatest in the Orange Free State, where the overwhelming majority of the population is definitely known to be of Dutch origin. The Dutch population of the urban areas in the Union, at the same time, has increased considerably. Thus, whereas in the years immediately following the Boer War some 80 per cent. of the miners on the Witwatersrand were of British, European or American origin; in 1921 and succeeding years some 80 per cent. of the miners were of Dutch birth. Again, at the census of 1921, the religious statistics showed that 838,982 Europeans belonged to the Dutch Church, and 543,640 to denominations classed as British (though these included 61,246 Roman Catholics, of whom, in all probability, a considerable number came from the European Continent). Some Dutch persons belong to the Anglican and Catholic Churches; but no English persons to the Dutch Church. The increase of population in 1921 as compared with 1911 was 19.06 per cent. Applying the same rate for the following four years, the population in 1925 was estimated at 1,635,000, and the number of persons of Dutch birth was estimated at 1,000,000, while between 600,000 and 700,000 were "Britishers."

These figures show not merely that persons of Dutch origin outnumber those of British birth, but that their relative rate of increase is far greater. All available

statistics of immigration since 1652 (the year when a Dutch settlement was founded at the Cape) prove that more English than Dutch immigrants have landed in South Africa. In the nineteenth century the number of immigrants from Holland was extremely small. Between the years 1920 and 1923 the number of new arrivals from Holland was 1,143; while the corresponding number from Great Britain was 55,716 (but this number included many returned soldiers). This would indicate that persons of British origin within South Africa are actually decreasing at a considerable rate; and, on the other hand, that persons of Dutch birth are better adapted to South African conditions, or are more fitted to survive in a South African environment. These persons of Dutch birth, also, form the older element in the population; while, but for successive renewals by immigration, the British element would by this time have decreased to an infinitesimal proportion of the whole. Immigrants, however, are decreasing; and, according to the figures previously referred to, the emigrants from the Union have recently outnumbered the immigrants. It is certain that the Dutch, that is the Boer, population does not emigrate from South Africa. It no longer regards Holland as "home," and is not attracted to any other country. The decrease is, therefore, mainly, if not entirely (allowing for migrations of persons of Continental origin), in the British population.

There is also a tendency (though, perhaps, only slight) for the less numerical section to sink its individuality by marriage with members of the larger element. Marriage records show that there are more Englishwomen who marry Dutchmen than there are Dutch women who marry Englishmen. Even where

Englishmen marry Dutch women, the tendency is for them to become Dutch in habits and sentiments; and instances have been known of men with English names who were no longer able to speak English (through want of practice, or owing to their parents having failed to give them an English education).

Although the British element is in a minority, numerically, it is far from being unimportant in its relation to the life of the country as a whole. It retains, and has always retained, its own individuality; and its insistence upon preserving and developing its own characteristics has probably contributed powerfully to the strong racial feeling which has existed for a century past in South Africa. With this has gone a feeling of social superiority, which is instinctive, and in most cases unconscious. A great many Englishmen feel that they are practising an act of condescension when they talk to a Boer, whom they regard as their inferior. This attitude is a galling one to the Dutch people, who do not believe in abstract expressions of goodwill. From time to time optimists on both sides give public assurances that racialism does not exist, or that it has ceased to exist. One has merely to look at the organisation of social intercourse to see that this is not a true representation of existing conditions. In the towns there are distinct charitable organisations for English and Dutch, and their membership is kept rigidly separate. It may be objected that this is due to the Churches being national in their character; but the separation extends into other spheres. Rotary clubs are chary of admitting others than men of British descent, even as guests; in Johannesburg only "full-blooded Britishers" are seen at fashionable balls and similar gatherings. Concerts

are restricted to British-born persons and the musically indispensable Jew. The result of all this is that the Dutch people are driven in upon themselves, and are compelled to have their own concerts and theatrical representations—even their own “Eisteddfods.” In this way racialism is kept alive. South Africa is perhaps the only country, except Poland, where people habitually criticise each other because they belong to a particular race (the case of the Jew is not in point, because he has no country of his own, and is liable to be attacked everywhere). It is only in the world of open-air sport, and in the universities, where competition enters, and is open to all, that British and Dutch compete on an equal footing. Here, with a fair field and no favour, the Dutchman shows that he can hold his own. At two peculiarly English games, football and cricket, he has bettered the instruction; he would probably excel at tennis, but that, for some inexplicable reason, he regards it as womanish; while golf and its jargon are too outlandish for him altogether. In the university sphere, both in England and in South Africa, the Dutchman has frequently beaten the Englishman—witness men like Smuts, Wessels, De Villiers, and others. All these things are true; but no one likes to admit them.

Nevertheless, the Englishman dominates the situation in South Africa. Practically all the commerce, and most of the wealth, of the country, are in his hands. In large towns one rarely sees a Dutch name on a signboard. Somehow, the Boers, descendants of the Hollanders, who were (and are) one of the greatest trading nations on earth, have lost the trading faculty. There is only one Dutch bank, and that belongs to, and is managed by, Hollanders. The others are

managed by Englishmen, or, rather, Scotchmen. The vast mineral wealth of South Africa, lying chiefly in the regions north of the Orange and the Vaal, was for half a century under Dutch control, but the Dutchmen allowed it to be developed and exploited by Englishmen or by German Jews (such as the Beits and Mosen-thals), who have done much for the advancement of industry and commerce. It is no longer true even to say that the agriculture and pastoral pursuits of the country are entirely, or mainly, in the hands of the Dutch. To this there is the exception of the south-western districts of the Cape. These districts are very fertile, and are easily cultivated. The result is that farmers, as a rule, earn steady and even ample incomes, and their holdings (except in cases of incompetence or thriftlessness) have descended from generation to generation for two centuries and more. In these districts only English capitalists, who have paid heavy prices for farms, have been able to make their way. Elsewhere, however, the Boer has found it impossible to remain on his ancestral holding, owing to the comparatively poor nature of the soil, which he has worked with primitive implements, and to the many obstacles, such as drought, sudden floods, and locusts, which beset him on every hand. This is attributed by some to the splitting up of Boer estates under the system of land inheritance which was and to a certain extent still is fashionable; by others, to a decline in the aptitude of the Boer for farming pursuits, in the same way as his trading ability has declined. A great many Boers, also, lack the patience to remain on their estates in the face of discouragement—whereas their forefathers were apparently content to abide on the same farms for ever. During the last forty years there has

been a revival of the trekking spirit, as exemplified in the Adendorff trek, and the trek to Humpata—in these instances away from the Dutch Republics, and not in order to escape British influences. More recently, many Boers from the Free State have trekked into the Zoutpansberg, and their farms have been occupied by new-comers from Europe, who have succeeded in converting holdings which had been abandoned as unprofitable into highly payable farming ventures. In the Eastern Transvaal, also, many farms are now profitably worked by Russian Jews, who have shown that they possess the same capacity in agricultural pursuits as in the commercial sphere. In the Cape Eastern Province, and in Natal, the farmers are mainly British, or of British descent; and they have retained their holdings. The least successful have been the settlers from England introduced into the country since the Boer War. Many of them have surrendered their holdings, giving lack of capital and natural hindrances as the causes of their ill-success.

Conditions of employment in the rural areas have led to the creation of a considerable class known as “poor whites.” Many farms are let on a profit-sharing system to whites, who are neither owners nor tenants, but are remunerated by a certain share of the annual produce. They have no residential rights, and only remain on a farm as long as their arrangement or contract with the owner is in force. These persons are called “bywoners.” Their position is an entirely dependent one, and they are practically servants who are remunerated only by a share of the proceeds of their labour. They are not even as dignified as peasant-proprietors. Almost invariably they have large families, for whose future they are unable to make any pro-

vision. They have no capital and no training to give them; and the inevitable result is that their children drift into the slum areas of the towns, and become part of the submerged population. Other “poor whites” remain on the land, doing little or no work, gradually sinking in the social scale, and often contracting marriages or alliances with coloured persons. Their numbers—in the towns—are increased by unskilled labourers and their children, who have to compete in the wage market with blacks, who often are more efficient and industrious, the result being that these white labourers and their families become more degraded. The children of these “poor whites” receive compulsory elementary education, but it is doubtful if this equips them for anything of economic value. Owing to their home (?) environment, whose influences are more powerful than those of the school, they are unfitted, in many cases, for continuous employment, and most of them, if they are employed at all, drift into “blind alley” occupations, such as driving lifts, running errands, or acting as “hangers-on” at racing-stables. White youths and black are frequently seen together in the streets of Johannesburg, competing as newsboys or messengers. The statistics of juvenile employment indicate that there is a constant proportion of lads who have left school for whom no employment can be found; and, worse still, that many of those who obtain work do not remain constant to one engagement or one employment. At the same time, much good work for juvenile employment is being done by the Juvenile Affairs Boards which exist in various centres (under the Juveniles Act, 1921). Nevertheless, the “poor white” problem is one of pressing urgency. The number of these people is on the increase, and,

apart from their own condition, their existence does not make for the welfare of the people as a whole. A partial remedy for this particular disease of the commonwealth would appear to be the institution of a system whereby "bywoners" are given a definite and fixed interest in the land. Security of tenure would give them a stake in the country which they do not at present possess or which, if they once possessed it, they have since relinquished. It is somewhat remarkable that some such solution should not have presented itself to Dutch politicians, for the bulk of the "poor whites" are Dutch, and it is partly by their reclamation, or at any rate by the reduction of their numbers, that the permanent prosperity of the Dutch section of the population will be secured.

It is not suggested that there are no poor of English or other nationalities in South Africa. But these owe their poverty to the same causes as are operative in English or European towns, and the problem of their rescue is subject to the same conditions and has as much or as little hope of permanent solution as is to be found elsewhere.

The theory is frequently advanced that the more debased classes of the white population have been dragged down by contact with the natives. This is, however, a disputable proposition. There are others who suggest that the native has been raised in the social scale by contact with whites. Others, again, suggest that the native has learned the vices of the white man without imbibing any of his virtues. They point to the many cases of "educated" natives who have proved failures from a moral point of view; and some have drawn from this the general conclusion that the native is unfitted for education, or for the exercise

of political rights—it being premised that, in any event, social equality for the native cannot be tolerated. It certainly does appear to be a bold supposition that the aboriginal native, whose mental development is universally assumed to be centuries, if not thousands of years, behind that of the white man, should attain to the same intellectual level through receiving “education” for one, or even two or three generations.

All this, however, is but a small part of the native “problem.” It is necessary, in the first place, to consider the native as a factor in the population by himself, and then to treat of his relationship to the white man.

The number of natives in the Union at the census of 1921 was 4,697,813. In all British South Africa, deducting about 710,000 mixed (coloured) persons and Asiatics, there were 6,500,000 natives (Bantus). Of the natives in the Union, 587,000 (one-eighth) lived in urban areas, and 4,110,813 in rural areas. “Rural areas” include what are classed as purely native territories, in which the Bantus live largely under their own tribal system. In 1924 the Bantu population of the Union was estimated at just under 5,000,000.

Whatever may be said of the advantages of so-called “education” for the natives, there can be no doubt that their subjection to European rule has been of great advantage to them, economically and as regards general well-being. One only has to compare their condition with that prevailing in earlier times, when their chiefs had undisputed sway over them. There were constant internecine conflicts; massacre and rapine were practically unchecked—subject only to the law of the stronger. Superstitious practices, such as witchcraft,

which involved "smelling-out," were in vogue. The mortality was great, not only in war, but, on account of disease and famine. There was no individual, and little national, wealth. During little more than half a century—in some instances not so much—of orderly government by white men, there have been vast changes for the better in the condition of the natives. While it is true that the natural increase of the native population (1.57 per cent. per annum in 1921, over 1911) was less than that of the whites (1.76 per cent.), there can be no doubt that, had the primitive tribal and sanitary conditions continued, the native mortality would have been far greater. The natives, as a whole, are better fed, they are less subject to pestilence, their numbers are not depleted by war, and the average expectation and duration of life are consequently greater. Apart from this, their earnings, as servants of white employers, are far larger, and lead to greater individual enrichment, than would have been the case had they tilled their holdings or pastured their cattle (mainly for the benefit of the chiefs) in their primitive tribal fashion. Small though the wages of the natives may be in comparison with those of white workers, and in most cases barely adequate to their needs—even though their requirements are far less than those of Europeans—many of them are, in fact, extraordinarily thrifty, and their savings are, relatively, far greater than those of whites. The wealth of the natives, who through their contact with the European economic structure have been enabled to earn wages which would never have been available to them had they been left to their own resources, is consequently far greater than it would otherwise have been. The native, also, is less of a menace to the white man, and to the general

good order of South Africa, than he was when he was a mere pawn in the hands of an ambitious and warlike chief.

From the figures previously given it will be seen that the rural native (Bantu) population of the Union at the last census (1921) greatly outnumbered the urban population (the population being eight to one); whereas the European urban population was greater than that in the rural areas (56 to 44). It must be remembered, however, that in these comparisons only predominantly European urban areas are taken into consideration, and that all native territories are classed as rural. This does not represent the actual situation. In the native areas there are large *Kraals* or collections of huts, with considerable aggregations of population; and these, having due regard to the variation in customs between natives and Europeans, must be regarded as urban. Of course, they are not urban in the same way as a white man's town is urban—that is, there are no streets, no paving, water supply, sanitary system, or means of transportation; but the inhabitants of these *Kraals* live crowded together in a way which is different from the life of the dweller on the land. This system has existed from time immemorial. The *Kraal* is the seat of the chief of the tribe, his counsellors, witch-doctors and medicine men, and of their hangers-on and the persons who minister to their wants. The population of the *Kraal*, it is true, practise no urban arts or occupations in the European or Asiatic sense, and are not engaged in manufactures, apart from the fashioning (in former times) of spears and shields, and the making of basket-ware and beadwork. A certain number of them (chiefly women) are engaged in depasturing cows and milking them, while others

cultivate patches of mealies and Kaffir-corn, and gather crops. The rural natives live scattered in huts, following pastoral and agricultural avocations, and squatting on land which, though they hold no title thereto, they frequently occupy (where war has not disturbed them or their predecessors) for many generations. In the Transkei and certain other areas, however, land is (to a limited extent) held by natives in individual tenure. Of many of these, however, it is said that they are incompetent. There are many other natives in the "white" rural areas, who are either servants in the employment of European farmers, or squatters farming on much the same conditions as the white "bywoners," though relatively much more prosperous. At the same time, their prosperity is not great. Except in seasons of abnormal scarcity, they are always able to feed themselves and their families; but they know no such luxuries as are familiar to even the poorest white man. They are clothed in blankets, very often in rags; their huts contain no furniture except a few wooden boxes, mats made of rushes, and an iron pot or two. In other words, they are still savages. Nor has their lot improved in a material sense. Statistics appear to indicate that the native population is not increasing, either in numbers or in wealth. It is not easy to account for this state of affairs, for, as we have seen, the natives are better cared for and enjoy a higher standard of living than was the case in former times.

Undoubtedly a great change has been brought about by the increased contact of the natives with the whites. In the Cape Peninsula and in the south-western districts, the pure Bantu native was for a long time unknown, the white man's servants being either Hottentots, or slaves or their descendants (in-

cluding Malays). There was never any large Bantu settlement in the Western Province. In the eastern districts, such as Albany, the British settlers first came in contact with the Bantus through war; and later on those whom they had conquered became their servants—voluntarily, for thousands of them entered the Cape Colony in search of work. In fact, it was to deal with these wandering natives, as well as with Hottentot landlopers, that the first vagrancy laws were passed. The British inhabitants of Natal found, after the troubles with Dingaan were over and the “Garden Colony” had settled down to a normal existence, that the Zulus made excellent servants. This was a somewhat remarkable development. The Zulus were warriors, and in times of peace most of their work, domestic and agricultural, was done for them by their women. Nevertheless, these Zulu men took with the greatest readiness to the work of “house-boys,” including such tasks as in European communities were ordinarily allotted to nursemaids, chambermaids, and scullery-maids. In later years, the custom of employing the Zulu house-boy for domestic purposes spread to the mining districts of the Transvaal. In the Cape Colony, however, and on the farms of the Free State and the Transvaal, domestic offices were filled by women, of the “coloured” class in the Cape Western Province and at Port Elizabeth and Kimberley, and (in the main) pure Bantu elsewhere. Apart from domestic service, the great majority of persons employed in unskilled occupations are Bantus—most coloured men, except in the mining areas, preferring to exercise trades on their own account, or to work for others as skilled artisans. These Bantus, for the most part, are engaged in work entirely alien to the

life of the *Kraal* and the native Reserve. At the ports, they are engaged in stevedoring; at the mines, in mining occupations, on or below the surface; and, throughout the towns of the Union, Rhodesia, and the adjoining territories, they are store-boys, shop-boys, carriers, roadmakers, scavengers, gardeners, and general assistants in all kinds of unskilled work. Natives have been introduced to a new and incomprehensible order of things, and, though they have readily adapted themselves to its superficial aspects, it cannot, having regard to their ingrained habits and way of life, have produced any very profound mental or moral change within the very short period that has elapsed since first they came into contact with the white man. There has been a comparatively violent transition from their former primitive existence. Its precise effects, in a psychological and ethical sense, are not easy to estimate. In many cases, a sort of preparation for the conditions of Western civilisation has been given by missionary training; but few would affirm that that training has always been judicious, or such as adequately to adapt them to a wholly new environment. At the same time it must not be thought that the native belongs to an entirely different order of beings from the white man. He is a member of the *genus homo*; and is subject, for the most part, to the same instincts, emotions, passions, as is the white man. But he has not the same trained mind, equal reasoning powers, or anything like the same resourcefulness or inventiveness. It is in these qualities that the aboriginal falls below—immeasurably below—the white man. How soon, or to what extent, the gap may be bridged is matter for pure conjecture.

It is not easy to determine the precise number of

the “ coloured ” population. At the census of 1921 they were classed with the “ mixed and other non-European ” inhabitants, who numbered 545,000, though it is not known how many of these were Hottentots or Bushmen. Probably the great majority in this category were “ coloured ” or mixed, corresponding to the mulattos, quadroons, or octoroons of America. These persons of mixed race, as I have indicated, are mainly self-supporting, or engaged in skilled trades. The majority of them are industrious, although some of their number in the largest towns (Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Kimberley) belong to the criminal classes. They are intelligent, and most of them are educated. At one time down-trodden, they have made considerable advances in material well-being and in self-respect in recent years.

We have seen that the origin of the Asiatic community is due to their importation as indentured labourers on the plantations of Natal. When their indentures expired, most of them remained as “ free Indians,” engaging in farming, market-gardening, hawking, and service as domestics or as labourers. No inconvenience was felt from their presence. They lived in their own portions of the towns which they inhabited, and, though their surroundings were by no means savoury or sanitary, they did not incommode their white neighbours. It was not until Arab and Mohammedan Indian traders began to settle in the commercial centres that the presence of the Asiatic was felt to be a menace. They opened stores in Durban and Maritzburg, and acquired property; and before long it was felt that they were important rivals to the European traders. They pushed their way into Northern Natal, whence they entered the Transvaal.

Not long after the retrocession of that territory it was feared that they would be a cause of trouble to the white inhabitants of the South African Republic, and Law No. 3 of 1885 was passed, whereby they were prevented from obtaining burgher rights, were forbidden to acquire real property, and were to reside in definite localities assigned to them by the Government. The history of Asiatic policy in South Africa has been traced previously (see Part I). Their presence is still felt as a menace, and in 1924 the Smuts Government introduced the Class Areas Bill, under which local authorities were to have the power of segregating persons against whom this measure was directed. It was not, however, proceeded with; though General Hertzog announced his intention of legislating on similar lines. This legislation will probably have the effect of removing most of the remaining Indians from the country. It is clear, however, that the opposition to the Asiatics originated in trade rivalry. In most of the country towns in Natal and the Transvaal, the retail trade is in the hands of Mohammedan dealers, who are freely patronised by whites, to whom they give liberal credit. In Durban, Indians (including a few Parsees) are large owners of property. The Hindoo section of the community are, for the most part, engaged in the occupations which have been mentioned. On the whole, they are law-abiding; many of them are fairly educated; and the great majority of them are born South Africans, who retain but a shadowy, if sentimental, connection with India. Several of them speak English as well as, if not better than, their mother tongue; and they would feel it as great a hardship to be deported back to India as any Anglo-Norman of the twelfth century would have

felt exile to France on the ground that his ancestors came over with William the Conqueror. The Asiatic population by the census of 1921 was 165,731, and they are now estimated to number 175,000. In 1904 they numbered 122,734, and in 1911 the Asiatic population was 152,203. Thus, the greatest increase was from 1904 to 1911. After this period many of them were deported, and the subsequent growth is entirely due to natural increase (births). This natural increase, owing to economic or other causes, appears to have lessened considerably of late; and it is not likely that the Asiatic population will prove to be, relatively, a more serious factor than they are at the present time—unless further immigration be permitted, which is so improbable as to amount to an impossibility. The Hindoo section is extremely poor in comparison with the Mohammedans, and the average Hindoo family is larger than the average Mohammedan family. The main objection to the presence of the Indians is the condition of squalor in which they live. According to the report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission (1921) there were at that time about 2,000 Chinese in the Union, most of whom were small shopkeepers and laundrymen. This Commission recommended that there should be no compulsory repatriation of Asiatics, though voluntary repatriation should be encouraged by offering special shipping facilities; that there should be no compulsory segregation, though a system of voluntary segregation should be introduced under which municipalities were to have the right to lay out residential areas and set apart trading districts for Asiatics, the grant of trading licences to be in the hands of the local authorities; and that there should be no relaxation in the enforcement of the Immigra-

tion Laws. A Bill has now (1925) been introduced into the Union Parliament for the establishment of separate residential and trading areas for Asiatics, and its discussion has been resumed during the Parliamentary session of 1926.

CHAPTER XI

GOVERNMENT

THE Union of South Africa is a Dominion of the British Empire, under the Crown of Great Britain, the executive government being vested in the King. It is governed under a written Constitution, contained in the South Africa Act (1909). It is termed a "legislative union," and is administered by the King or by a Governor-General as his representative. In practice, the Governor-General is at the head of the Administrative Government. He also holds the office and exercises the functions of High Commissioner for South Africa, in which capacity he administers the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, being directly responsible, in this capacity, to the Colonial Office in London. Since 1925 this has become the office of the Secretary of State for the Dominions, with two departments, one for the affairs of the Self-Governing Dominions, and the other for the affairs of the Crown Colonies and Dependencies of the Empire.

The Governor-General is appointed by the King, his salary being paid out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Union. This is fixed at £10,000 per annum. Ordinarily, the Governor-General holds office for five years.

The Governor-General is the head of the Executive

Council. Nominally, the members of this Council are chosen and summoned by the Governor-General, and hold office during his pleasure. In fact, the members are the Union Ministers of State, who may be dismissed by the Governor-General if they no longer possess his confidence or fail to retain the support of a majority in Parliament, which means, in effect, the House of Assembly. The Governor-General also has the alternative remedy of dissolving Parliament, although, as a rule, action of this kind is taken by him on the advice of the Ministers. The House of Assembly was so dissolved in 1924.

The various departments of State are administered by the Ministers. A Minister must be a member of a House of Parliament. The constitutional practice, which is the same as that prevailing in most countries with parliamentary government, is for the Governor-General, where possible, to invite the leader of the Party which enjoys the confidence of the majority of the members of the popular House, *i.e.*, the House of Assembly, to form a Government, consisting of Ministers nominated by that leader, who, in the ordinary course, becomes Prime Minister. There have, however, been cases where a Ministry has not enjoyed the confidence of an absolute majority of the House (see Part I), but has held office for a longer or shorter period with the tacit consent of other Parties in the House.

The offices in each ministerial department belong to the public service, and are appointed by the Governor-General in Council. The same authority appoints the judges; members of public commissions; administrators of the Provinces, and provincial attorneys-general; and, generally, exercises such functions as

are assigned to the Governor-General by his commission or letters-patent of appointment (for instance, confirming or commuting death sentences, or exercising the power of pardon), except functions, such as dismissing a Ministry, which in their very nature must be exercised by the Governor-General in person.

The South Africa Act fixed Pretoria as the seat of government of the Union; but Cape Town was fixed as the seat of the legislature. Bloemfontein is the seat of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. The result, as *The Times* has recently stated, is that in effect there is no capital of the Union.

Legislation vests in the Parliament of the Union. This consists of two Houses: the Senate, and the House of Assembly. The Senate is composed of a fixed number of members, of whom eight are nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council (four of them being selected "on the ground mainly of their thorough acquaintance, by reason of their official experience or otherwise, with the reasonable wants and wishes of the coloured races in South Africa"); while thirty-two are elected, eight to represent each of the four Provinces of the Union. The senators hold office for ten years, though the Governor-General may at any time dissolve the Senate together with the Assembly, in which case, however, the nominated senators continue for their full period of ten years. Vacancies in the offices of the elected senators are filled by vote of the members of the Provincial Council of the Province concerned together with the members of the Assembly elected for such Province; and the senator so elected holds office until the completion of the period for which the person in whose stead he is elected would have held his seat.

The elected senators are chosen by proportional representation, which is also applied in the election of members of the executive committees of the Provinces.

Senators must be thirty years of age, qualified as voters, resident for at least five years within the Union, and British subjects of European descent. They must also be registered owners of land worth at least £500 apart from mortgages thereon.

The Senate chooses its President from among its members.

The House of Assembly consists of a variable number of members, determined according to the number of electoral seats, which are single-member constituencies. A redistribution of seats takes place every five years, being made by a commission of three judges of the Supreme Court in accordance with principles laid down in the South Africa Act.¹ At present there are 135 members of the Assembly. When it reaches 150 members, the number will become stationary, unless special legislation be passed either increasing or reducing the number. The constituencies in the Provincial Councils are the same as for the Assembly, except that in Natal and the Orange Free State the number of Provincial Councillors is 25, as against 17 members of the Assembly in each of those two Provinces.

A member of the Assembly need have no property qualification. In other respects his qualifications are that he must be a qualified voter, resident in the Union for five years, and a British subject of European descent. A Provincial Councillor, on the other hand, need only be a qualified elector, and the condition as to European descent does not apply; the result being that in the

¹ For a full explanation, see my *South African Commonwealth* (pp. 62-6).

Cape Province persons not of European descent have been elected to the Provincial Council.

There is no uniform voters' qualification at the present time. Each Province still retains its separate qualifications, with the result that there are considerable variations in the right to vote, according to the Province in which the voter resides. In the Cape Province there is no distinction as to race or colour. In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State voters must be of European descent; and this is practically the case in Natal, where, however, a very small number of native and Indian voters enrolled as electors before Union may still vote. The Cape Franchise Act of 1892 attempted to restrict the right of natives to vote by providing that the voter must be able to sign his name and write his address and occupation; but this has not achieved the object which was aimed at. Apart from this, there is a property qualification in the Cape Province—occupation of property worth £75, or receipt of an income of £50 yearly. In Natal, a voter must own land in the constituency worth £50, or rent property worth £10 per annum, or have resided for three years and have an income of £8 a month or £96 a year. In the Transvaal and the Free State, voters must be British subjects aged 21—so that in those Provinces manhood suffrage exists.

The House of Assembly is elected for five years, but is subject to earlier dissolution. During two periods (1910–5 and 1915–20) the House has lasted (nominally) for its full time.

The House is presided over by a Speaker, chosen by the members.

A member of one House may not be chosen or sit as a member of the other House. Every Minister,

however, has the right to sit and speak in either House, though he may only vote in the House of which he is a member. Members of Parliament receive payment at the rate of £500 (originally fixed at £400) a year, subject to a deduction of £3 a day for absence during the session.

There must be annual sessions of Parliament, and twelve months may not elapse between one sitting and another. There have, in fact, been special sessions in addition to the ordinary sessions—in 1914 and in 1919.

Parliament has full legislative power for the Union. Certain powers of legislation, as will be seen, are delegated to the Provincial Councils ; but Parliament may override such legislation. In fact, it has not done so hitherto ; but it has exercised its power of defining what shall or shall not be dealt with by the Councils, under the Financial Relations Acts, dealing with financial relations between the Union and the Provinces.

Revenue and taxing measures must originate in the Assembly. The Senate has no power to amend such Bills, or to impose increased charges or burdens on the people, but it may reject such measures, and may amend them so far as they do not impose taxation or appropriate revenue. All money votes and Bills must first be recommended by message from the Governor-General.

If the Assembly passes a Bill which is rejected by the Senate, and in the next session the Assembly again passes it, and the Senate again rejects it, then a joint sitting of the two Houses may be convened during that session to pass the measure ; and if a majority of the two Houses so sitting together pass it, it is deemed to have been duly passed by both Houses. Where the

Senate rejects or fails to pass a money Bill, the joint sitting may be held in the same session during which the rejection or failure to pass the Bill took place.

In certain other cases joint sittings of the two Houses are compulsory. These are for the passing of

- (1) Bills disqualifying persons as parliamentary voters on the ground of race or colour ;
- (2) any repeal or alteration of the provision relating to amendment of the Constitution ;
- (3) any repeal or alteration of the provisions relating to the number of members of the Assembly ;
- (4) any repeal or alteration of the language provisions of the Constitution.

The South Africa Act provides that both English and Dutch shall be official languages of the Union, with absolute equality. By an Act passed in 1925, the term "Dutch" was defined to include the Afrikaans language.

By a useful provision in the standing orders of Parliament, where a measure has not passed through all its stages in one session, it may (where it has not been definitely rejected) be resumed in the following session at the stage which it reached in the preceding session, and thus (if possible) be passed into law.

The assent to Bills passed by Parliament is given in the King's name. Certain Bills must be reserved by the Governor-General for the Royal assent, *i.e.*, Bills dealing with the provision of the South Africa Act as to assent or veto of Bills, with the constitution of the Assembly, or with the abolition or abridgment of powers of Provincial Councils. The Governor-General may return any Bill to the House where it originated, together with amendments proposed by him. The King may disallow any Act within a year after it has been assented to by the Governor-General,

and it then becomes void from the date of notice of disallowance. Where a Bill is reserved, it has no force unless the Governor-General notifies the Royal assent within one year from the date of presentation to him.

The Constitution is unitary, and from this it follows that the four Provinces of the Union have no independent powers of legislation or administration, being subject in all cases to the overriding authority of Parliament. In other words, it is not a federal, but a centralised government. For purposes of convenience, however, certain administrative powers have been entrusted to the Provinces, with limited rights of legislation, which are conferred on the Provincial Councils.

The chief executive officer of each Province is the Administrator. He is appointed for five years, and in the appointment preference must be given to a resident of the Province, where possible. He is only removable by the Governor-General in Council for cause assigned, which must be communicated to Parliament within a week, if the House be sitting, or otherwise within a week after it meets. The salary of the Administrator of the Cape and the Transvaal is £2,500, and in the two smaller Provinces £1,800 per annum. The Administrator presides over the meetings of the Provincial Executive Committee, which consists of four members, who are elected by proportional representation. They usually are, but need not be, members of the Provincial Council. The Administrator has only a single vote like any ordinary member of the Executive Committee, but has a casting vote in the event of an equality of votes. Thus, the administrative policy of the Province is decided by the Executive Committee, subject, however, to an unfavourable vote

of the Council, which frequently, also, passes resolutions recommending or directing particular action by the Executive Committee. The administration by the committees is limited to matters in respect of which the Provincial Councils have power to legislate.

The members of the Provincial Council are elected in the same way as members of the Assembly, *i.e.*, by voting by ballot, each constituency returning one member. The original intention of the framers of the Constitution was that these bodies should be non-political. In actual practice, however, the elections have always been conducted on Party lines, the Parties being the same as those which are concerned in the elections for the House of Assembly. There is, however, this check, that owing to the election of executive committees by proportional representation, all their members will not necessarily belong to the most numerous Party in the Council. The Administrator, as a public officer, is not a "Party man," although, in the case of certain administrators, the charge has been made that they have favoured a particular Party.

Provincial Councillors are elected for a fixed period of three years, and their body is not subject to dissolution before that time expires. There must be annual sessions of the Provincial Council, the date of meeting being fixed by the Administrator. Each Council elects its own chairman, and makes its own standing orders, subject to approval of the Governor-General in Council. As in Parliament, members have freedom of speech in debates.

The legislative powers conferred on Provincial Councils are

- (1) direct taxation in the Province for Provincial purposes ;

- (2) Provincial borrowing ;
- (3) education other than higher education ;
- (4) agriculture, to the extent defined by Parliament (though hitherto the Parliament has not conferred any power in this respect on the Councils) ;
- (5) hospitals and charities ;
- (6) local government ;
- (7) local works and undertakings, other than railways, harbours, and works extending beyond the Province ;
- (8) roads and bridges, except inter-Provincial bridges ;
- (9) markets and pounds ;
- (10) fish and game preservations ;
- (11) imposition of penalties for breach of Provincial ordinances (as the Provincial statutes are called) ;
- (12) matters regarded by the Governor-General in Council as of a purely local or private nature within the Province ;
- (13) matters specially delegated by Parliament.

Under the Financial Relations Acts, certain Union revenues have been transferred to the Provinces, and legislative powers in respect of certain minor local matters (such as the control of racing) having been assigned to them. The Provincial Councils may also recommend legislation to Parliament, but hitherto such recommendations have not carried any weight. Provincial ordinances must be assented to by the Governor-General in Council.

Each Province has its local revenue fund, into which are paid the proceeds of its own taxation and subsidies granted by Parliament. Thus far, the Union subsidies have exceeded the Provincial tax collections.

The main work of the Provincial Administrations is the provision of education, primary and secondary,

which absorbs most of the Provincial expenditure. Its greatest legislative activity has been the passing of measures relating to local government—municipal councils and (in the Cape Province) divisional councils. Those of its functions which in their exercise have aroused the keenest controversy are the measures of direct taxation which have either been passed or proposed in the Councils. Their activities in this direction have not merely been fruitful causes of opposition, but have led to oft-repeated proposals for the abolition of the Councils. The truth has been demonstrated that the people will bear any imposts in the way of indirect taxation, but that they vigorously object to measures of direct taxation, even though they may be far less burdensome, in actual fact, than the indirect taxes. My personal experience, however, has led me to the conclusion that what is wanted is an enlargement of the powers of the Provincial Councils; and that probably a federal system is better adapted to the needs of the country than a unitary system. The mere abolition of the Councils will not relieve people of the burden of taxation. The probability is that the increased taxation which the Parliament will have to impose will not be scrutinised as closely as it is under the Council system. Nor will the Parliament be able to deal as expeditiously with the Provincial legislation, in view of the fact that the Parliament completes only about one-fifth of the annual programme of legislation on its order paper. There is, in fact, a danger that the Parliament will “shelve” all purely Provincial legislation.

The Constitution makes provision for the future inclusion within the Union of Rhodesia, as well as of the native Protectorates which are at present adminis-

tered directly by the Colonial Office. Thus far, however, Rhodesia has shown no disposition to enter the Union. Her people have voted for and been granted self-government. In 1923 the territory became a self-governing Colony, with Sir John Chancellor as its first Governor, and Sir Charles Coghlan as its first Prime Minister. The Protectorates have been dealt with previously (see Part I). A special schedule to the South Africa Act contains regulations for their government in the event of their transfer to the Union; but there is nothing to indicate that such a transfer will take place before a considerable period has elapsed.

The judicial power is in the hands of the Supreme Court of South Africa. This consists of an Appellate Division, four Provincial Divisions, and certain Local Divisions (for the Cape Eastern Districts, the Witwatersrand, and Griqualand West). The Appellate Division hears appeals from the other Divisions, as well as from the High Courts in Rhodesia and the South-West Protectorate. The Provincial and Local Divisions have original jurisdiction in all civil cases (*i.e.*, such cases must first begin in those Divisions), and hear appeals in interlocutory matters (*i.e.*, in matters other than trial actions with witnesses), and on decisions of Magistrates' Courts. These Divisions also hold criminal sessions, and the judges go on circuit through the country districts. The Witwatersrand Local Division, however, has no power of hearing appeals, and has only a single judge, although the bulk of the judicial work of the Transvaal arises in its area. In Natal, apart from the Provincial Division, there is a Native High Court for the trial of serious offences by natives, and of civil suits to which natives are parties.

There is a nominal right of appeal from the Appellate Division to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, if the Judicial Committee gives special leave to appeal. This right is, however, exceedingly restricted, owing to a decision of the Judicial Committee that special leave will only be granted "on some great ground" of special public importance. The members of the Judicial Committee felt themselves constrained to give this ruling owing to the construction of the South Africa Act; but it is, perhaps, a matter of regret that the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee has been curtailed. To the structure of the Empire the existence of an ultimate Court of Appeal with the widest powers must be a matter of prime necessity.

As in England, the judges hold office during good behaviour. By an Act passed in 1912, they must retire at seventy years of age; but the effect of this provision has not been applied to existing holders of judicial office. After ten years' service, a judge is entitled to a pension on retirement.

In each district of the Union there is a Magistrate's Court, which has a limited jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, to an amount of £200, except where the jurisdiction is extended by consent of the parties; and in criminal cases, to the infliction of a sentence of imprisonment for six months, a fine of £50, and whipping not exceeding fifteen strokes. The criminal jurisdiction is, however, extended under certain special laws. The magistrates, apart from their judicial functions, discharge various administrative duties on behalf of the different government departments. These are mainly fiscal, but extend to the celebration of marriages, the holding of elections, and the extinction of weeds.

To each Provincial Division of the Supreme Court there is attached a Master, who is charged with the administration of the estates of deceased persons, of lunatics, minors, and insolvents ; and with the winding-up of companies. There are also a registrar of deeds, who registers titles, mortgages, and other incumbrances relating to land ; a registrar of companies, who acts at the same time as registrar of patents, trade marks, and copyright ; and a surveyor-general, who controls the survey of all Government land, the subdivision of private property being performed only by duly admitted land surveyors. Each Province, also, has a Sheriff, who is responsible for the execution of judgments, his powers being delegated, in each district, to a Deputy-Sheriff. In the larger urban centres the collection of taxes, licences, and other imposts is entrusted to receivers of revenue ; elsewhere, as above stated, it is in the hands of the magistrates. The ports and one or two of the large towns in the interior, also, have offices of the Customs. A large proportion of revenue, also, is collected through the Post Office.

The railways of the Union are State-owned, and, with proper management, ought always to be a considerable source of revenue. They are controlled by a general manager, who acts with the assent of a railway Board. The harbours of the Union (including lighthouses) are under the same management and control.

Among other departments which are centralised at Pretoria, the administrative capital, are those of—

- (1) the Interior, which is mainly concerned with immigration ; registration of births, deaths, and marriages ; museums, libraries, and observatories ; archives and Government printing ;
- (2) Finance, including the Treasury, customs and

- excise, inland revenue, public debt, audit, and supervision of the office of the High Commissioner for the Union in London ;
- (3) Education, including higher education, training of teachers, and administration of Acts relating to children ;
 - (4) Agriculture, which is perhaps the most varied in its ramifications, including veterinary research and medicine ; the separate agricultural and pastoral industries ; botany, chemistry and entomology ; co-operation, and agricultural education and publications ;
 - (5) Mines and Industries, including all mining administration, the geological survey, miner's phthisis, industries and industrial legislation, assizing, electricity ;
 - (6) Labour, including the supervision and administration of Acts relating to labour, employment, juvenile affairs, apprentices, factories, and wages ;
 - (7) Public health, with administration of the medical and pharmacy Acts, drug laws, leprosy, housing, medical matters generally, and co-operation with Provincial and local authorities ;
 - (8) Defence ;
 - (9) Posts and Telegraphs ;
 - (10) Justice and Police ;
 - (11) Native Affairs ;
 - (12) Lands ;
 - (13) Public Works.

Local government in urban areas is entrusted to municipal councils, except in the smaller areas, where there are "Village Management Boards." At the head of each municipality is the mayor, whose functions

are confined to presiding at meetings of the council, and signing official documents. He discharges no judicial or administrative duties in civil life, as is the case in England and on the Continent of Europe. The Cape rural districts are governed by divisional councils, which are mainly concerned with roads and bridges, and have the power to raise rates for carrying out their objects.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that the various departments of Government are keenly alive to the use and application of modern innovations and scientific methods. The danger, perhaps, is that some of them are too receptive to new ideas; and serious consequences have followed the hasty adoption of alluring schemes by the Department of Railways and Harbours. In procedure, there is probably the same amount of "red tape and circumlocution" as exists in any other Government, but applications of scientific inventions and systems are readily adopted, and in a spirit of enlightenment.

CHAPTER XII

INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE

UNTIL little more than half a century ago South Africa was regarded as an agricultural country which, while it afforded a modest livelihood for a limited number of inhabitants, was never likely either to be a producer of great wealth or to sustain a large population. The territory was known to have an interesting fauna of its own, and to be well adapted to the domestication and breeding of certain species which were likely to be of commercial value ; but, though regarded as a suitable field for settlement by young men of adventurous instincts, it was not considered likely to prove a great commercial centre. Adaptability for breeding purposes was demonstrated by the degree of success attained in rearing sheep on the Karroo, which were actually exported to New South Wales to form the nucleus of the first Australian flocks ; and in breeding Angora goats, Hantam horses, and Basuto ponies. At one time, Cape wines were highly esteemed by connoisseurs, and ranked with Tokay, Madeira, and the wines of the Rhine and Moselle Valleys. Nevertheless, wool was, and for many years remained, the only agricultural export of appreciable magnitude. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, scab made serious ravages among the sheep. A vigorous campaign of dipping was inaugurated, with

the result that, after a fight lasting several years, in which considerable opposition was encountered from the more ignorant section of the farming population, this disease was brought well under control, and the condition of the sheep and the quality of the wool were immensely improved in consequence. At the same time, the more enterprising farmers imported from abroad rams and ewes representative of the best strains, so that in a few years the breed of sheep, which in many cases had shown a tendency to deterioration, had become equal, if not superior, to that found in most other countries. The production of wool in the Union since 1910 has been fairly steady in quantity, although its value increased a hundredfold during and by reason of the Great War (1914-18). The Union is, and will remain, one of the largest wool exporting countries, although it will never attain the production of Australia or Argentina, one of the principal obstacles being the comparatively limited extent of pure grassland, the principal region for the pasturage of sheep being the Karroo, with its typical low-bush vegetation. Merino wool is the variety to the production of which South Africa appears to be best adapted. Sheep are bred mainly for their wool, and there is a great and growing reluctance to slaughter them for purposes of consumption, whether within or outside the country. At present, South Africa is not a very serious competitor as far as the production of mutton is concerned.

The export of beef, although it has shown improvement, cannot be regarded as considerable, especially when compared with the United States and the Argentine, whose ranching areas South Africa can never hope to rival. The cattle, and consequently the meat, of the country are, in their unimproved state, of inferior

quality. Nevertheless, in recent years strenuous efforts towards improvement have been made, both by importing the best European and English breeds, and by feeding and housing cattle under better conditions. And some of the great meat-packers have acquired large ranching areas in Rhodesia and South-West Africa. These efforts will have valuable results in time to come, although it must be repeated that extravagant hopes should not be entertained by those who desire to see the Union rank high as a cattle-breeding country. At the same time, there is nothing more pleasant than the sight of a fine team of Afrikaner oxen engaged in drawing the long wagons which are, or rather were, typical of the country districts, but are now disappearing before the advance of the motor-car and the tractor. Indeed, the extent to which automobiles have been purchased by the Boers is a refutation of the allegation, so frequently made, that they are sunk in a hopeless conservatism. Even the aboriginal natives are large users of cars. And the Boers, in general, have displayed remarkable adaptability to new inventions and appliances. In the aboriginal native this trait is not to be wondered at, for he is, above everything, an imitator; and it has long been a matter of remark how readily the natives can apply themselves to the working and even the repair of machinery and electrical apparatus. It is in their lack of invention that they show that they are still remote from the white man's intellectual plane—although this assertion must not be taken in too broad a sense, for in such things as weaving, basket-making, and the manufacture of furniture they show considerable skill.

Dairy industry has made great advances, more

especially in Natal and the Free State. Owing to the introduction of Union legislation and the promulgation of bye-laws in the municipal areas, there is far stricter supervision than there used to be, and a pure supply of milk to the consumer is assured. Such supervision is not easy in the areas inhabited by the aboriginal natives, who are very large consumers of milk; but even here there has been an improvement, with a consequent lessening of mortality. Statistics indicate that in respect of health conditions—apart from occasional, and fortunately rare, epidemics—the Union compares favourably with other countries; although there are still places, such as the slum areas of the Cape Peninsula, and certain inland towns, such as Graaff Reinet, where outbreaks of typhus have occurred, which urgently require betterment. The greatest advances in dairy industry have been in cheese-making, and the country is now self-supporting in respect of butter and cheese—a contrast to the position thirty years ago, when butter and cheese were imported in large quantities. This has been largely due to the establishment of modern creameries. Co-operative schemes, however, have not been successful.

Of agricultural products, the largest advances have been made in the yield of maize, for growing which a large part of the country is eminently suitable. The maize export of the Union amounted to one million tons in 1925. This industry is increasing, and may now be regarded as a staple agricultural undertaking, both internally and for purposes of export. The soil of the "maize belt" is much better adapted for the cultivation of maize than for that of wheat, which, while sufficient for internal requirements, cannot be produced in quantities large enough to furnish the

basis of a great export trade. It is only in specially favoured areas, such as Malmesbury and the south-eastern part of the Free State, that the yield of wheat can be said to be more than merely satisfactory. The maize area lies mainly east of a line drawn from Port Elizabeth to Lichtenburg, in the Transvaal. The Cape Province, as a whole, is a comparatively poor maize producer, the richest areas being in the Free State, the eastern districts of the Transvaal, and Natal. Maize does not require the same soil constituents as wheat, and flourishes in a soil which is comparatively light and poor.

Fruit culture is also important for export and for internal consumption. There is a special Act of Parliament which regulates the export of fruit, and since it was passed the quality of the fruit produced has undergone a great change for the better. It is said, however, that much still remains to be done, and that a large proportion of citrus fruits (oranges, lemons, and naartjes) sent to the coast for export are rejected by the Government graders, this proportion amounting to as much as twenty-five per cent. The mere fact of this rejection, however, proves that there is strict supervision, and that efforts are made to maintain a high standard of production. Other fruits have found their way to Europe, and are growing in appreciation. There is nothing in the world to surpass the grapes of the Cape Western Province for table purposes. Complaints have been made that Cape wines no longer attain their former quality; and they do not appear to enjoy the same appreciation as in earlier days; but most people are agreed in valuing Cape grapes for eating. Pears rank next in bulk and quality. South African peaches of an excellent quality can be

produced, and fetch good prices in London and on the Continent. Unfortunately, the complaint is made that the production is not sufficiently large, and that the bulk of the crops are of poor grade. It is said that South Africa is "a country of samples," and there is no doubt that, while fine specimens of different varieties are produced, the bulk is not of the best quality. But the mere fact that excellent samples are produced indicates that the country is able to do better. In Natal and the Eastern Transvaal bananas and pineapples grow freely. Why they are not exported in larger quantities is a mystery. The probability, however, is that the trade in these products will improve. More attention is being devoted to scientific culture, and to improved methods of handling, packing, and transportation. The steamship lines, also, are devoting greater care to the stowage, ventilation, and temperature of fruit on board ship.

Recently, fruit-canning has improved considerably, in both quantity and quality of production. Jams are still imported from England and Australia, sometimes even from California. For this there is absolutely no justification, as the country has plenty of fruit of its own. Certain South African factories produce excellent jams; others are markedly inferior. The trouble is that there is no uniformity in production; and not much effort is made to retain a permanent market. The tendency is to take advantage only of special or temporary conditions to push trade in a particular commodity—to be opportunist, in other words. During the Great War, for example, there was an enormous increase in the export of certain commodities, but this rapidly declined after the Peace; and the figures of export exhibit remarkable fluctua-

EXPORT FIGURES

261

tions from year to year. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that in the case of certain products, new or manufactured, no sustained effort is made to create and maintain a permanent demand. More recently, however, there has been greater "publicity"; and it may be that two successive exhibition years at Wembley have created a greater—and, it is to be hoped, permanent—demand for South African products.

The immense fluctuations in export may be indicated by reference to three commodities—sugar, tobacco, and eggs, as shown by the figures of export value for the four years indicated in the following table:—

	1919	1920	1921	1922
	£	£	£	£
Sugar	436,789	456,231	2,069,764	592,771
Tobacco	81,703	112,630	39,005	35,359
Eggs	78,487	124,779	201,295	145,170

It is in the highest degree necessary that South Africa should secure permanent oversea markets for the productions which have been mentioned. Her population, as we have seen, increases slowly, if at all; and the native section of it is not, relatively, an important customer for these commodities. That South Africa is capable of producing them in improved quality and increased quantity there can be no doubt; and, in regard to some of them, she ought to be able to hold her own with any other country. Unless she does this, she is doomed to remain an inferior and an unimportant colony. This may sound strange to those who know what strides South Africa has made in the production of diamonds and gold. It becomes necessary, therefore, to consider the Union as a mining country.

There can be no doubt that to the discovery and production on a great scale of diamonds and gold in

the last fifty years South Africa owes the place it has come to occupy in the eyes of the world; or that they have contributed materially to increase the wealth of the country. Whether they have, in actual fact, added to the wealth of the world at large is somewhat doubtful. It is estimated that, from the date of the discovery of diamonds in 1867 down to 1923, a period of fifty-six years, the value of the South African production of diamonds was two hundred and fifty million pounds sterling; while, during the period from 1871 (when any appreciable quantity was first produced) down to 1923, a period of fifty-two years, the total production of gold amounted to eight hundred million pounds in value. Thus, South Africa ranks as the greatest producer of diamonds in the world, with (at present) three-fourths of the entire yield; and also as the greatest producer of gold, its output whereof amounts to one-half of the total world production. It is, however, probable that the British and European public has sunk at least one thousand million pounds as capital and in share-market speculation in unprofitable, unpayable, or worthless mining concerns in South Africa—so that at least as much has been lost in unpayable ventures as has been produced by payable mines during the period of mining activity. While, therefore, the population of the country has been maintained chiefly by the revenue derived from these mines—but for which there would probably be few railways, no large towns, no population on the Witwatersrand, at Kimberley, and at the River Diggings, and the Boer War would also not have taken place—there is nothing to indicate that the world at large has derived any benefit from the existence of these gold and diamond mines and diggings, even in a purely

material sense. It would not, however, be fair to suggest that South Africa has not derived other direct and indirect benefits from the existence of the mines, or that legitimate efforts of the leaders of the mining industry to develop their properties should not be encouraged. Through the mines a market was found for her pastoral and agricultural produce, before an export trade was developed; many districts in the interior were opened up and brought into contact with modern institutions; manufacturers in England, Europe, and America found a new outlet for their wares; the South African public came more closely in contact with men and ideas from the centres of the world's civilisation; the standard of living and of comfort was raised; the country became a resort for visitors from other lands; and, although there had been the beginnings of a university movement (the University of the Cape of Good Hope was founded in 1873), the endowment of teaching universities on an adequate scale (at Cape Town, Stellenbosch, and Johannesburg) was only possible after the accumulation of wealth in the country. But for diamonds and gold, the skulls at Broken Hill and Taungs (whatever their value to evolutionists) would not have been discovered; and many capitalists of the *backveld* would still be *bywoners*.

In connection with mining, there is a common but erroneous belief that, once an area produces precious metals or precious stones, the supply is inexhaustible. In reality, nothing is more certain than that a mine is a wasting asset, and that gold neither grows nor is it renewed. There is a definite term of life for the gold mines and the diamond mines of South Africa, which depends entirely on the quantity available for

mining and the time such mining takes. No new gold reefs of any importance have been discovered in the Transvaal, although no one can ever say with certainty what lies beneath the surface of the earth. The "life" of the Witwatersrand Reef has been variously estimated at from twenty to eighty years, although, having regard to the mines which are at present working and the possibilities of opening up other areas for exploitation, the probability is that in thirty years' time there will be no room for further profitable mining operations. It is more difficult to venture a prediction with regard to the possible duration of diamond mining in the Union. In any event, this industry, owing to the conditions prevailing, among others the fact of an amalgamated control, will not contribute appreciably to the general prosperity and revenue of the country. Legislation has, however, been passed recently (1925) to modify this control. Discoveries in recent years indicate that the centre of gravity for gold and (possibly) diamond production will shift northward, and that Rhodesia will become an important gold-mining area, while the diamond production of the Belgian Congo and Angola (which amounted to £1,500,000 in 1923) will increase considerably.

During 1924 and 1925 the reported discoveries of platinum in the Transvaal attracted great attention. According to the prospectuses of the companies which have been floated (chiefly in the Orange Free State, where the company law is far less stringent than that of the Transvaal), the whole of the Transvaal lying roughly north of a line from Mafeking to Komati Poort, that is, about three-fourths of the area of the Province, is platinum-bearing. Options to purchase millions of acres of land on the "rich belt" were secured, and,

according to the reports of experts, the new platinum field was likely to yield wealth beside which all the gold and diamond mines would sink into insignificance. Some of the experts who reported on these "finds" were men of the highest rank in the mining world, and due weight must be given to their opinions and forecasts. In the case of certain companies, it is possible that platinum will be found in payable quantities. In other cases, however, where properties were floated merely on the strength of their proximity to platinum-bearing areas, there was nothing to justify such flotation. However, public optimism was excited in the highest degree, and thousands—possibly millions—of shares were dealt in, reaching a market price which could only be justified by a large actual production. The "platinum boom" continued for many months, and during its course several "wild-cat" companies were floated. At the end of 1925 the nominal capital of the platinum companies amounted to £15,000,000. While a limited number of ventures may be justified, and may even become profitable concerns, there are several others which are not likely to return any dividends to their shareholders. It has been calculated that from £5,000,000 to £10,000,000 has been irretrievably lost in watered capital and in market speculation in platinum shares.

There are large coal-bearing beds within the Union, and several mines exist in Natal (which produces the best coal) and the Transvaal, where the price of coal at the pit's mouth is low, averaging five shillings (a little more than one dollar) per ton. The production at present is about 10,000,000 tons yearly, and there is sufficient coal to meet all requirements for an indefinite period. The presence of coal has been of great

advantage to the gold-mines and electrical power-stations of the Witwatersrand. There may, however, be a considerable falling-off in consumption once the gold-mines are worked out. It is anticipated that by that time coal may come to be profitably employed in the smelting of iron ores, which are thought to exist in payable quantities in the Transvaal. Hitherto working in iron and steel has not been carried out on a large scale, although two or three companies which smelt iron ore are in existence. The future of iron-working is, therefore, problematical. It does not appear likely that the Union will be able to compete with any of the important world centres of production. Coal will, however, continue to be used by ships which call at the South African ports, unless they employ oil for purposes of fuel. There do not appear to be any natural oil supplies of importance within the country. Two or three rich asbestos mines are in existence.

Manufactures in the Union consist principally of foods and articles of personal use, such as jams, canned goods, soap, tobacco and cigarettes. There are no factories of textile goods or machinery of any importance. The Ford Company has, however, established a factory for assembling cars. The future of South Africa, industrially, will depend in the main upon agricultural and pastoral productions. It is probable that when the mines cease to be of main economic importance, the agricultural districts of the Cape and Natal will be the principal centres of wealth in the country.

The result is that for the bulk of manufactured goods the Union will have to depend mainly upon supplies from oversea. Attempts have been made to protect certain manufactures, but without any appreciable

success. During most of its history, South Africa has had no very definite policy in regard to customs duties. More recently, however, there has been a marked tendency towards a protective tariff. To a limited extent there is Imperial preference; but it has been stated in Parliament that the three per cent. rebate goes into the pockets of the importers in South Africa, and does not benefit manufacturers and shippers overseas. By the Customs Act passed in 1925, the tariff is arranged on a sliding scale, technically known as a "two-line" tariff (maximum and minimum), power being given to adjust it to circumstances. Notwithstanding the tariff, however, it does not appear that it will have any effect other than that of raising revenue, and, as previously indicated, will have little influence on the growth of manufactures within the Union. Apart from agricultural products, foodstuffs, and woodwork (such as wagons and furniture), South Africa, from a trade point of view, must depend mainly on imports of manufactured goods.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL PARTIES AND PROBLEMS

THE origin of the National Party, which came into power in June, 1924, has been described in the historical portion of this work. After its emergence as a political force, it advocated a return to a republican system, and on this platform its members were elected to the Assembly and the Provincial Councils. The Party was, however, unable to command an absolute majority without an alliance with the Labour Party, and its programme had to be modified in accordance with the views of its allies. A large number of the supporters of the Labour Party are of British origin, and would hesitate very much, and probably refuse, to commit themselves to a policy which meant separation from the Imperial connection. Many of the followers of Labour fought on the British side during the Boer War and the Great War, and, on sentimental grounds, they will not throw off their allegiance. At the same time, the Labour Party numbers within its ranks men of every shade of opinion, varying from what is hardly distinguishable from Conservatism to Communism and an openly-expressed desire for the propagation of Bolshevist doctrines. The republicanism of the National Party has, however, undergone considerable modification. During the 1925 session of the Union Parliament, the Prime Minister, General Hertzog,

declared that it was not the desire of the Union to secede from the British Empire. This statement was made and has been accepted with due seriousness, and, as it stands, indicates that republicanism has been relegated to the background, and it is no longer regarded as the foremost issue in politics. There is, according to the language used by General Hertzog, no wish to bring it back into the political foreground, unless the British Government should evince any desire to curtail the existing Constitutional rights of the Union. This is an extremely unlikely eventuality, so unlikely that it may be regarded as impossible. More recently, General Hertzog has declared that the wishes of both sections of the people will have to be studied. Unless, therefore, some extraordinary revolution of public opinion should take place, secession from the Empire need no longer be regarded as "practical politics." The day has gone by for the Home Government to interfere in the internal affairs of the self-governing Dominions; and any British statesman who attempted to do so would find a hornets' nest. The tendency at the present time is towards greater independence of the Dominions, in external affairs as well as internal. Although no formal steps have been taken to confer upon them what is known as "Dominion status," which, from a constitutional and legal point of view, can only be granted either by express enactment or by custom founded upon a continued and fully recognised course of action or practice, there can be no doubt that an evolutionary process is taking place which will ultimately result in the attainment by the Dominions of greater freedom of action, even if they will not possess an equal or a deciding voice in the settlement of Imperial affairs at large. According to

recent declarations by Mr. Baldwin and other statesmen, in the Dominions as well as in England, the Dominions will have at least a right of consultation with regard to foreign policy, and in any event no future steps will be taken which will bind any Dominion, whether in peace or war, without its own consent. Given this state of affairs, the leaders of the National Party are content that the existing relationship between the Union and Great Britain, as well as the rest of the Empire, should continue. They are free to settle the destiny of their own country, subject to the ultimate decision of the electorate; and they realise that they have more to gain than to lose by remaining within the Empire (or, as it is now fashionable to call it, the British Commonwealth of Nations). They have the advantage of the mutual protection and reciprocal trade relations which the congeries of States known as the British Empire affords. If South Africa were to secede (which, as above stated, is no longer likely), it would have far less consideration and importance than it enjoys at present.

It must, however, be recognised that a new spirit is abroad, not only in South Africa, but in the other Dominions as well. The Dominions are no longer tied to the maternal apron-strings. Without having lost any of their sentimental and loyal attachment to the Mother Country, their citizens feel that they have emancipated themselves from control and that they must no longer be kept in leading strings. In the Union, among those of British as those of Dutch birth, there is a growing consciousness that they are South Africans at the same time as they are British citizens, although there has been a recent revival of feeling. South Africa is the country they know, and in which

they have to pass their lives. It is not remarkable that, in the circumstances, they should desire to place first the interests of their own country. There are thousands of children with English names, born in the Union, who will never know any other home than South Africa, and who will probably never cross the seas. While their education and civilisation will, for many years to come, be predominantly British in orientation and outlook, it is certain that, human nature being what it is, they will have regard in the first place to self-preservation and self-interest, and for this reason their own native soil will be dearer to them than any other. This need not imply any weakening of their sentimental attachment to the Mother Country, which, founded as it is on grounds of history and tradition, is probably as strong as their patriotic devotion to the interests of the Empire as a whole.

A large amount of comment was aroused by the fact that, after General Hertzog had made his declaration about the future policy of the Union Government in relation to the Empire, his first lieutenant, Mr. Tielman Roos, the Minister of Justice, who is the leader of the Transvaal Nationalists, made various speeches in which he stated that they were as firmly attached as ever to the republican cause. It was said that the Government was speaking with two voices, and that secession, judging by these utterances, was by no means a dead issue. It must not be forgotten, however, that republican traditions are more persistent in the country districts of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (colloquially known as the *backveld*) than anywhere else. Mr. Roos was addressing rural electors, and was clearly adapting his remarks to the views of his particular audiences, in the same way as the speeches of

an American President in New York differ from those which he addresses to hearers in the Middle West. At most, his statements cannot be extended beyond their literal meaning, namely, that the Nationalists still clung to republican ideals, and are not to be construed to mean that they will at any time embark upon an active republican policy. Those who are acquainted with political conditions in South Africa do not believe that these utterances portend any change in constitutional affairs. In any event, they did not shake the confidence which exists between General Hertzog and Mr. Roos. At the same time, certain followers of these politicians have permitted themselves an undue licence in speech, although it must be admitted that they received provocation from opponents who indulged in equal recklessness of utterance.

It is not, however, certain that the existing Pact between the National Party and Labour will continue. Although the allies are perfectly friendly, their aims and traditions are so divergent that a prolonged union between them would be unnatural. Apart from the innate conservatism of the Boers, the "forward" policy advocated by the extreme left wing of the Labour Party is in conflict with the Nationalist spirit, which aims at the dominance of its own Party without any entangling alliance. Coalitions, at best, are temporary expedients. In England, in 1922, the Conservative Party showed itself only too anxious to part from Mr. Lloyd George. So it is within the bounds of possibility that when the Nationalists can stand unaided they may prefer to have a government of their own. Such an event is not as far distant as may be thought. The Nationalists themselves now number sixty-three out of a House of 135 members. If they gain five more at

by-elections, they will have a majority of one. Recently, powerful overtures have been made to the Dutch members of the South African Party to join hands (*i.e.*, be incorporated) with the Nationalists, and it is possible that these overtures will succeed, especially with the wine farmers of the Cape Western Province. It seems likely that, before long, the National Party will command a majority in the Senate as well. This is indicated by the fact that when a vacancy occurred in that body early in 1925, Mr. Tod, who had previously been a member of the South African Party, and was English-born, and represented a predominantly English constituency (Griqualand), was elected as a senator with the support of the National Party. The probability is that the Hertzog Ministry will retain office for several years, even until 1934, when the term of the second Parliament elected since June, 1924, will (in the ordinary constitutional course) come to an end. They have profited by the mistakes of the Smuts Government, and their administration, on the whole, has been successful.

It does not necessarily follow, however, that the alliance between the Nationalists and Labour will break up. There are many Nationalists who fully recognise the value of, and are grateful for, the support given them by the Labour Party. The recent inclusion of a third Labour Minister in the Cabinet has strengthened the alliance.

In the event of a separation between the Nationalists and the Labourites, the latter would find themselves isolated. They cannot hope to command an absolute majority in the urban constituencies, and, even in that unlikely event, they can never command a parliamentary majority unaided. On traditional grounds,

they will not ally themselves with the South African Party, which will itself be weakened by the withdrawal of a considerable number of its Dutch (possibly even English) supporters. The South African Party will then consist, in the main, of the former Unionists. It will continue to be led by General Smuts, for it is unthinkable that he will abandon the Unionists to their fate, in view of the support they have rendered to him since 1920. However, of late there has been much talk of *toenadering* or *rapprochement* between the "Saps" and the "Nats." The result, however, will be that, equally with the Labourites, General Smuts will be unable to command a majority; and a complete wedge will have been driven in between the conservative and socialistic elements in the British community. The only hope of attainment of power by those who oppose the Nationalists will be in the formation of a moderate democratic Party, which, however, will take several years to build up on a lasting basis. They will have to face a united Party consisting of the Nationalists and many former members of the South African Party. It must be noted, however, that there has been more general contentment in the Union during the last eighteen months than in any previous period in its history.

The South Africa Act provides for the ultimate admission of Rhodesia into the Union. When the referendum was taken in that territory to decide upon its political future after relinquishment of control by the Chartered Company, an active campaign was carried on to induce the citizens to join the Union. They decided in favour of remaining a self-governing colony. Effect was given to their views, and it is not likely that any proposal to enter the Union will

be mooted for a long time to come. It is a young Colony, and its citizens are naturally eager to show that they are capable of working out their own destiny. It is only in the unlikely event of Rhodesia being unable to meet her financial burdens that she will consent to sink her own individuality. There is every likelihood that she will flourish. The country contains several prosperous gold mines, and most of it has not been prospected. It is certain that there is a great deal of undiscovered mineral wealth, which must ultimately contribute to the growth of population and general development, even if mining is hampered by the restrictions which exist in favour of the Chartered Company. These restrictions are such as to cause mining operations to be regarded with disfavour by the farming population in Rhodesia, where the farmer has no interest and derives no profits from the minerals, which belong to the Chartered Company, and is compelled to look on while prospectors travel over his ground and miners sink shafts in it. Apart from mining, Rhodesia is a fertile country, and suitable for the cultivation of cotton and tobacco, as well as cattle ranching. The Colony lies athwart the highway to the Belgian Congo, and must always be on the main thoroughfare of communication between North and South Africa. The route will be more direct once a railway line is constructed between West Nicholson and Messina, in the Transvaal. This will shortly be completed, as the Rhodesian Ministry are anxious to escape from the shackles imposed on Rhodesian trade by the existing private railway companies. Even today Rhodesians resort to Johannesburg with the object of obtaining mining and other supplies; and Belgians on their way to the Congo faithfully turn aside at

276 POLITICAL PARTIES AND PROBLEMS

Mafeking and make a pilgrimage to Johannesburg, which has become and will remain the trading centre for the interior. It may be that in the years to come mutual social and trading interests will draw Rhodesia closer to the Union. Already, much of the old suspicion that the Dutch would swamp the country is wearing away. The Union, for its part, was apprehensive lest it should have to purchase the rights of the Chartered Company for an exorbitant sum. General Smuts went so far as to offer between seven and eight million pounds (thirty-five to forty million dollars). Now, however, that Rhodesia is self-governing, negotiation for the purchase of these rights may be easier. On the other hand, Rhodesia will not enter the Union if there is a revival of anti-British feeling.

We now come to the greatest racial problem of all that South Africa has to face. Every dweller in the country, every visitor to it, agrees in assigning first place to the Native problem. All are obsessed by it, in a country where you cannot stir out of doors without seeing a dark face, where your wants within doors are attended to by dark-skinned hands, where the morning atmosphere is rendered musical by their strange chant as they sing at their work of transporting heavy beams or rails, and the night air is made hideous by their raucous laughter. The native is all-pervasive; all contracts are thought of in terms of native wages and food; no journey may be undertaken without his aid in the stable or the garage, and as often as not he drives the car; he runs for the doctor, brings home the shop-parcels, washes the dishes, and frequently acts as cook and nurse; but for him, no mining operations could be carried on, no ships could land their cargoes, no fields could be ploughed, no crops reaped, no wine

bottled, no theatrical "shows" produced. Men talk of a "white labour" policy, and natives sell newspapers in the streets of Johannesburg, mend electrical break-ages while their artisan "bosses" flirt with the white maid-servants, interpret evidence in the magistrates' Courts, and tout for low-class attorneys. The native's presence is deemed an offence, but he is indispensable. He is treated as a child, but is made to do a man's work. He and his brothers outnumber the whites by six to one, and the white man cannot "manage" without him. Let us imagine a South Africa—or, since that is too large a field for a small picture, a Johannesburg—where native labour has been "eliminated." The trains are not running, because there is no coal; water, it is true, is pumped along the pipes from Vereeniging on the Vaal, but is not distributed to the houses, as there are no natives to turn the cocks for the municipal distributors; the trams have stopped, because there are no natives to get up steam at the power-station; at night, the town is in darkness; corpses lie unburied, for no graves are dug; pestilence stalks abroad, as the garbage heaps lie untouched in the backyards, and the tanks are overflowing with foul, disease-laden water; plants wither and die in the gardens, which are unwatered and untended; the mines, the source of life of the Reef, are at a complete standstill, because there is no one to feed the batteries and the tubemills; and no food is purchasable on the morning market. That this is no exaggerated picture is proved by what has happened at previous strikes in Johannesburg, when the mines did not work, the trams and trains ceased to run, the town was in darkness, and it was only by employing troops that the stoppage of the water-supply was prevented. This was what

happened under compulsion, when white men stopped work. But if the native, the source of all unskilled labour, is voluntarily to be prevented from working, the situation will be ten times as bad. In fact, all activity will come to an end.

Segregation is only one of several solutions of the Native problem. In fact, there are as many solutions as there are talkers. Everyone fancies himself an authority on a problem which is age-old, and involves the deepest insight into and acquaintance with anthropology, sociology, and political science. Many proposers of ready-made solutions have never been in a native *Kraal*, and it is almost certain that they cannot speak Zulu, Basuto, or any other native tongue. Nevertheless, the subject is so constantly talked about that successive Governments have been compelled to dabble in it, though so far no final settlement has been reached. The latest suggestion, that of General Hertzog, is that there should be a native Parliament, meeting at Pretoria. This would certainly be an act of justice to the natives, as it would enable them to express their views freely about problems which concern them, and would make them feel that they are not merely hewers of wood and drawers of water. Nevertheless, status is not easily changed by laws and constitutions.

There are many who freely predict that one day all the white men will have to stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of their lives and property against a concerted attack by the entire native population; and responsible politicians have not hesitated to speak of this eventuality on the platform and in Parliament. They point to the fact that in 1919 the natives at Johannesburg attempted to inaugurate a black strike. But in this they were only imitating their white mas-

ters. It is true that there have been riots and disturbances in the Port Elizabeth location, among the "Israelites" of Queenstown, and that there have been "rebellions" of the Bondelswarts and the Bastards of Rehoboth. But these have been local and sporadic outbreaks. On the whole, the native population is docile and contented. It is true that certain preachers, in misguided zeal and with an entirely false notion of the relationships between Europeans and natives, have attempted to instil misleading ideas of equality in the native mind; but (a fact which is not generally known) many natives are suspicious of these missionaries and missionaries, whose activities are largely wasted. Certain agitators, also, have endeavoured to imbue the natives with socialistic and Bolshevist doctrines, but with no great success. As long as the native is encouraged to develop in accordance with his own natural aptitudes, and subject to the due enforcement of law and order, there will be no trouble. He feels that the existing order of things offers the best safeguard for his future prosperity, and that he has more to fear from a reversion to the old system of barbarism and savagery, when the land was a prey to the unbridled ambition of warring chiefs. The advancement of the native must largely be left to the gradual course of evolution. Desperate remedies are of no avail.

When I say that the native should be encouraged to develop in accordance with his own natural aptitudes, I do not mean that he should receive no education whatever. On the contrary, he should continue to receive elementary education, such as is being imparted to him in certain mission schools. Hitherto, a great many educationists have assumed that as soon as a native has learnt to read and write he is

280 POLITICAL PARTIES AND PROBLEMS

capable of being taught philosophy, science, and all other subjects which figure in an advanced white student's curriculum. They ignore the fact that in mental development the native is thousands of years behind the white man, and they expect him to leap over the chasm in a day. That many natives have a marvellous capacity for acquiring—I will not say assimilating—information cannot be denied. I have known humble kitchen-boys who were excellent linguists; in two instances, besides their own language, they knew English, Dutch, and German. But they were condemned to the prospect of cleaning knives and washing dishes, and there is no likelihood of their emerging from that condition, in view of the social structure of the country. Most Europeans in South Africa have a strong prejudice against the highly-educated native, and, having regard to the misuse to which such natives have frequently put their education (as disclosed by the records of the criminal courts) it cannot be said that this prejudice is without foundation. The "well-educated" native is apt to put his knowledge to wrong uses, and if, by the aid of his powers of observation and memory, he distinguishes himself in examinations, his head is easily turned, and he imagines himself the equal of the most intellectual white man. I have in mind the case of a man of native birth, the son of a venerable missionary, who was educated at a British university. After graduating, he received an appointment in South Africa, on the strength of which he married an English wife. The flattery of white men gave him exalted notions of his place in the social economy. He took to drink, and became a hopeless dipsomaniac—a rare thing among natives, unless they have learned to drink liquor manu-

factured by white men. His wife left him in disgust, and before he died he became an outcast of the *Kraal*, despised by all his native acquaintances, to whom his educational acquirements were of no account. This is not an isolated case. There are other well-known instances where native professional men, finding themselves out of the pale of European society and unappreciated by their own people, took to evil courses, resulting in their ultimate downfall. The natives have no toleration for an educated brother, who, if he affects European ways, is not one of them, while, if he lives in a *Kraal*, he must go half-naked, drink out of a calabash, and become one of the common herd. Native education should be restricted to simple reading, writing, and arithmetic, and to manual training, in which they show proficiency.

After all, the problem of first importance for the white man is not what he will do with the native, but what will he do with himself. This centres largely round the question of unemployment, with which is bound up that of the possible future expansion of trade and industry. Unemployment in South Africa increased largely after the Great War, and has been a marked feature since 1921. The considerable class of "poor whites," however, has existed in the country for many years, and there are some authorities who regard this section of the population as entirely beyond the possibility of rescue. Others say that the only chance for them is to eliminate the natives from the "white" areas of the Union. These opinions are not entirely well founded. Relief schemes have been set on foot by the Government and by local authorities, and it has been proved that, given the chance of employment, "poor whites" are willing and able

to work at unskilled occupations. It is true that, under existing industrial conditions, a considerable number are not absorbed by employment. No definite statistics exist as to their number, no reliable machinery having been devised hitherto. By some authorities the number is placed at 150,000, which is nearly one-tenth of the white population. This figure, however, is merely an estimate. The majority of the "poor whites" belong to the rural population, and the conditions of farming and the tenure of land are such that as long as they remain on the land they cannot be employed. It is said that owing to the low rate of wages for natives, white men cannot be employed to take their place. But certain avenues of employment appear to be closed to them. Thus, the Unemployment Commission of 1922 was unable to recommend that whites and natives should be employed in any particular industry on the basis of a definite ratio of the one to the other; and it expressed the opinion that underground mining work, particularly deep-level mining, should be confined to native labour as far as practicable owing to their physique and to their reduced liability to phthisis by reason of the intermittent nature of their services (natives being employed at mining, on the average, for only six or eight months in the year). Until a lower rate of wage for white unskilled labour becomes prevalent (which must, in some measure, be dependent on the cost of living), work cannot be found for all the "poor whites." Paradoxical as it may appear, there will be wider prospects of employment only if there are more workers in the country. Until immigrants enter the Union in considerable numbers, conditions must remain much as they are at present. No proper State-aided immi-

gration scheme has yet been taken in hand. The tendency, hitherto, has been to discourage would-be immigrants. It is certain, however, that industrial undertakings, such as are suitable to the country and its possibility of obtaining markets, cannot be introduced and maintained on a considerable scale unless there is a large local population to absorb the majority of their products. In certain branches of industry and manufacture, for which there is an adequate supply of raw materials, considerable success has been achieved. But South Africa will not become an industrial country in the true sense until there is a radical alteration in policy, accompanied by a growth in population corresponding with the increase in production. That there is a possibility of obtaining new markets appears from the fact that in recent years Johannesburg has become an important distributing centre for Rhodesia, Belgian Congo, and Portuguese East Africa.

As I have indicated, the conditions which at present prevail in South Africa do not tend to the encouragement of immigration on a large scale. It does not, however, necessarily follow that this state of affairs is permanent, or that, given suitable conditions and proper encouragement, it may not be remedied within a reasonable period. It must not be forgotten that, in an industrial sense, South Africa is a very young country; and one has only to compare the growth of the United States in the period which followed Alexander Hamilton's famous *Report on Manufactures* with the great strides which South Africa has made during the last three decades, to recognise that the Union is capable of indefinite advancement, in respect to certain industries, in the future.

At the same time, it is not easy to dogmatise, or

to generalise from results which have been attained elsewhere. The conditions which prevail in South Africa are by no means identical with those obtaining in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, although it must be admitted that in those Dominions, apart from purely individual effort, much has been done by artificially-fostered schemes, whether by taking out large bodies of emigrants in separate colonies (as in the case of Lord Selkirk's settlement in Prince Edward Island), or by liberal encouragement on the part of the State and great land-owning corporations. From this it is argued that similar schemes, carried out with due care and under proper auspices, ought to succeed in South Africa.

There are two main schools of thought on the subject. One, which may be called pessimistic, holds that South Africa is not a suitable country for the immigrant. Its main views may be summarised as follows: (1) Physical conditions are not favourable. The country is not well-watered; there are recurrent droughts; no one can reckon on a succession of productive seasons; there are numerous insect pests, such as the locust plague, on which vast sums of money have been spent, although eradication has not been secured. (2) Economic conditions militate against success. The country has no markets. There is sufficient to satisfy local requirements, and there is very little prospect of being able to compete successfully in oversea markets, which are thousands of miles away. (3) In the field of labour, there is no chance for the white worker, more especially the unskilled labourer. In the natives the country has an immense reservoir of unskilled labour. The natives can subsist on much lower wages, and have a far lower standard of living

than white men. The "coloured" people are rapidly shouldering aside white men in skilled occupations, such as wagon-making, carpentry, boot-making, printing, and book-binding. Already the Union has 150,000 "poor whites," nearly ten per cent. of the population, who constitute an almost insoluble problem. (4) With comparatively poor soil, it is impossible to farm successfully without a considerable amount of capital. The only people who earn adequate incomes from the land are those who own comparatively large holdings, ranging from 2,000 morgen (roughly, 4,400 acres) to 20,000 morgen. Consequently South Africa is not a poor man's country. (5) The best areas are in the occupation of native tribes, and political conditions prevent the white man from occupying them. (6) The towns are overcrowded, and offer no prospect of employment. (7) Other countries absorb their own skilled or able-bodied men, and send out only their "unwanted" sons, who are of no value, and become a burden upon the community. (8) There is little, if any, voluntary immigration. The steamship lines carry mainly first-class and second-class passengers to South African ports, and their third-class berths are invariably empty. It was different in the "old days," when the open berths on deck were crowded with Cornish miners and others. These have now disappeared. (9) The exceedingly high railway rates for the carriage of coal constitute an intolerable tax, and are an insuperable obstacle to industrial growth.

The "optimistic" school, on the other hand, advances the following arguments: (1) South Africa covers a very large area, with great open spaces, which can be turned to profitable account. Its surface has merely been "scratched." (2) Reports of agricultural experts

show that, where agriculture is carried on under proper conditions, the soil is as productive as it is in Manitoba, Alberta, or Saskatchewan. (3) The obstacles to successful farming are all remediable. There is abundance of water, all of which at present runs into the sea. With proper conservation and irrigation schemes, the face of the country will be entirely changed. It is the duty of the State to finance them, and this can easily be done by raising adequate loans for the purpose, which the people are well able to bear. The existing conservancy works are merely an indication of what can be done in the future. Regions which, through careless exploration or for other reasons, were regarded as deserts, such as the Kalahari and the western part of the Cape Province, have been shown to be fit for agriculture or pasturage. In Australia, under State encouragement, tracts hitherto barren have been converted into profitable areas. (4) Whether through timidity or over-caution, or for political reasons, successive Governments have failed to encourage immigration. No inducements are held out to immigrants. There are large areas of Government land which are available for allotment to settlers. The conditions of occupation should be much more liberal than they are at present, and a settler should be allowed a reasonable period (five years at least) before any repayment of advances, whether of capital or interest, should be required of him. (5) Large areas are locked up by land-owning companies who hold them for purely speculative purposes. They will neither allow anyone to settle on the land, nor turn it to profitable account themselves. On the other hand, private ventures for the encouragement of land settlement, such as the 1820 Settlers' Association, have, notwithstand-

ing initial drawbacks, attained a fair measure of success. Another favourable example is the Zebediela Estate, managed by Mr. I. W. Schlesinger. (6) It is not true that farming on a small scale does not pay. There are many successful "small farms" owned by market-gardeners, fruit-farmers, dairymen, and poultry-farmers, in the neighbourhood of the large towns, such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban, and they have developed a considerable export trade—not to speak of the great export of wool and maize by those who carry on farming operations on a larger scale. (7) Most of the alleged ill-success in farming has been due to lack of enterprise, lack of skill, and indolence. It is not true that a large amount of capital is needed to farm with success. Most of the farms in the four Provinces of the Union were begun without any capital at all, and, though relatively little has been done, large fortunes have been realised. Most people are satisfied with enough for their daily wants, and a large proportion of existing farms, consisting of fertile land, lies waste, or is not turned to proper account. Much of the work is done unskilfully or spasmodically, without regard to modern agricultural methods. Too much reliance is placed on the natives, over whom there is in very many cases no proper supervision; and the white man, only too often, will not "put his hand to the plough." The bogey of "capital" has frightened away many would-be immigrants. Much harm was done by the Smuts Government in its advertisements in the English Press, which, while inviting immigrants, stated that they needed at least £2,000. (8) Districts hitherto unknown have been rendered accessible by the construction of new railway lines, which carry agricultural produce at very low rates.

In addition, the would-be settler should receive a free railway fare to his holding, and his steamship passage should be lowered. At present, the third-class fare by the Union-Castle Line is £22 10s., a rebaté of 20 per cent. being allowed for the families of men who are in permanent employment in the Union. This rebate should be extended to all *bona fide* settlers. At present, in fact, the rebate is borne by the Union-Castle Line, and the State makes no contribution.

(9) The industries of the country are growing, and offer plenty of scope for employment. It is thought that the mines at present in existence are "only a sample" of the wealth which still awaits exploitation underground. In order to develop the country, great enterprises have been undertaken both by the State and by private bodies. A large section of the main railway lines is in process of electrification. Large power plants are in course of construction. There will be a constant supply of electrical power at very low rates, which will suffice for the needs of factories and industrial works. During the last two or three years there has been much activity in the building industry, and the erection and contemplated erection of many large buildings in such towns as Johannesburg will call for the employment of many "hands."

(10) The country is only in its infancy, and is capable of infinite development.

The truth lies midway between the foregoing extremes of opinion. South Africa is largely undeveloped; there are several areas which are capable of carrying a much larger population; agriculture (with a few notable exceptions) has been conducted under comparatively primitive conditions; suitable industries are by no means fully developed, and some of the indus-

tries which have been undertaken have met with considerable success. On the other hand, certain industries have failed, either because they were unsuited to local conditions, or for lack of capital. While it is true that farming, under favourable circumstances, can be carried on by capable, hard-working farmers without much capital, the experience of older countries has shown that large manufacturing enterprise cannot hope to attain success unless large sums of money are at command.

The requisite conditions to successful immigration are : (1) suitability of the immigrant ; (2) suitability of employment ; (3) in the case of farmers, suitability of the land.

The immigrant must be prepared to work, and he must be adaptable. If he intends to farm, he must be "cut out" for a farmer's life. Farming in South Africa cannot be carried on in kid gloves. Many born South Africans, even those with plenty of capital at their command (known colloquially as "cheque-book farmers"), have not succeeded. "Many are called, but few are chosen." More especially is this true of those immigrants who propose to farm, but think that they will first pass a probationary period in the towns, so as to "acclimatise" themselves. This is enough, in the majority of cases, to render them unfit for their chosen avocation. In the next place, the immigrant must be prepared to work, and to work hard. If, like many whom he sees around him, he relies on his native "boy," he will be a failure.

I offer no opinion as to the amount of necessary capital. This must depend on circumstances. It would be a good thing if it were required of every immigrant, as in the case of Chinamen entering California, that he should have enough to carry back his bones to his own country.

It was the apparent unsuitability of immigrants to their work which originated the legend in Canada, twenty-five years ago, "No Englishman need apply." A great many immigrants enter the country "on chance," trusting to luck to find a suitable or, preferably, an easy job. Certain occupations, as I have indicated, offer no prospect of employment. There is no room in the country for professional men, shopkeepers, clerks, actors or journalists; nor for unskilled labourers, except, perhaps, capable farm "hands," who are willing to work and to wait. There is more chance for artisans; but an artisan will have to be on the alert, or he will find a coloured man, or even a native, pushing him to the wall.

Land should be selected in a suitable district. It must not be too large for a man to manage, and, if small, must be adapted to small farming. It must have an adequate water supply, for dry-farming, although it has been powerfully advocated by such authorities as Dr. W. Macdonald, has thus far not met with much favour. As far as possible, it should be adapted to several varieties of farming, for experience has shown that "one line" farming is not usually successful.

It is not possible to enlarge further upon the subject. This work does not profess to be a manual for immigrants, and the matter has only been considered in its relation to the prospects of the country as a whole.

What is certain is that the country needs a much larger white population, one that is constantly increasing, at any rate for two or three centuries to come. If the white population remains practically stationary, as it is at present, it will be only a matter of time before it is absorbed by the natives, probably through the medium of the "coloured" people.

CHAPTER XIV

TRAVEL AND SOCIAL LIFE

MANY visitors to South Africa make the mistake of giving only a cursory glance at Cape Town and then proceeding north into the interior. But the Cape Peninsula is well worthy of a longer stay, on many accounts. Apart from the fact that Cape Town is the oldest settlement and the parliamentary capital of the Union, there are many features of beauty and interest. The drive around the Peninsula, starting from the Standard Bank in Adderley Street, and proceeding over the Kloof, with the Twelve Apostles on the left and Camp's Bay on the right, past Hout Bay, thence to Cape Point at the southern end, and returning by Simon's Town, through St. James, Muizenberg, and the southern suburbs, is one of the most enchanting in the world, surpassed (if at all) only by the drive along the Corniche Road. From the Kloof Nek one obtains a simultaneous view of the fine semicircular sweep of Table Bay, with the Hottentots Holland mountains in the background, and Camp's Bay on the west, guarded by Lion's Head. From the top of Table Mountain itself, there are enticing views of land and sea, with ranges upon ranges of mountains to the north, and the western coast beyond Robben Island, with the wide Atlantic to the left. There are several ways up Table Mountain, some of which are

comparatively easy; but the stranger should not attempt the ascent without a guide, for impenetrable mist is apt to come on without warning, and cover the top and sides with the famous "table cloth," and there have been many fatalities to persons who have lost their way and fallen over the sheer precipices on the mountain. Lion's Head, which is frequently climbed, is the barometer of Cape Town. It rains usually only when the top of this peak is enshrouded in mist.

The most picturesque part of Cape Town itself is that known as the Gardens (though its lower extremity, nearest the city, is disfigured by trams and shops), stretching to the villas of Oranjezicht and the slopes of the mountain. Here are still some of the old plantations, with deep shade and nothing to break the silence except the ripple of a mountain stream. Unfortunately, the vandal hand of the builder is ever advancing to "civilise" these scenes. The Gardens are reached from Adderley Street by the historic oak avenue, originally planted by Governor Simon van der Stel, which is a mile in length.

In the city proper the principal "sights" are the Houses of Parliament, perhaps the best architectural feature, with a fine parliamentary library; the Museum and the Public Library, situated respectively at the south and north end of the Botanic Gardens, the Museum containing the best collection of fauna and insects in the sub-continent, a valuable herbarium, and a collection of colonial antiquities, while the library is famous for the Grey Collection (given by Sir George Grey); the old Town House in Greenmarket Square, with the Michaelis Art Gallery; the Castle, a relic from old Dutch times, with a picturesque entrance;

the Koopmans-De Wet Museum in Strand Street, containing an interesting collection of old Dutch furniture and other curios; the Malay quarter on the slopes of Lion Hill, with its white buildings and old cemetery, which are an attraction to artists; the City Hall, with its fine peal of bells, and St. George's Cathedral, a somewhat awkward attempt to reconcile a classic portico and Roman tower with a recent Gothic addition. Sea Point, the large western suburb, is not in itself attractive, but at its extremity the sight of the waves breaking in spray over the rocks is magnificent. Bathing here, on account of the treacherous currents, is extremely dangerous, in contrast to the watering-places of Muizenberg, St. James, Kalk Bay, and Fish Hoek, to the east, on False Bay (where, however, boating is a pastime only to be indulged in by skilled hands). Camp's Bay, in the open, is also dangerous; but here and at Sea Point safe bathing enclosures—though not “the real thing”—have been erected. De Waal Park, near the Molteno Reservoir, is a retired spot.

The most attractive suburbs are Newlands and Rondebosch, the eastern foot of Table Mountain. Here are picturesque forests of fir and pine, with long shady avenues, one of the finest being that leading past Bishops court, the seat of the Archbishop of Cape Town. On the mountain slope is Groote Schuur, the residence of Cecil Rhodes, and not far off is the National Memorial to that statesman. The Groote Schuur estate is the site of the new University of Cape Town, and behind is a park for wild animals, which have often proved dangerous to the unwary trespasser. On the hill slopes at Mowbray is the cottage where Rudyard Kipling lived for a considerable period. Beyond Newlands and Claremont there are vineyards,

which extend at irregular intervals for a considerable distance. The Government wine-farm is at Constantia, an estate which dates from the time of Van der Stel. Worthy of visit, also, are the National Botanic Gardens at Kirstenbosch, containing collections of flowers typical of the country, with over 400 varieties of orchids. The Gardens were established under the superintendence of the late Professor H. W. Pearson, a distinguished botanist. The best-known golf links are at Wynberg, and the racecourse of the South African Turf Club at Kenilworth. The international cricket and football grounds are at Newlands.

Leaving the Cape Peninsula, and travelling by train a distance of 18 miles, the traveller reaches Stellenbosch, next to Cape Town the oldest town in South Africa. Here are ancient avenues, and old-world Dutch houses, and the University of Stellenbosch. Behind the town are "Kloofs" with luxuriant vegetation, leading to the bold peaks of the Jonkershoek Mountains, which cannot be climbed without a guide. Paarl, the largest of the old Dutch settlements, is 36 miles from Cape Town. It is famous for its vineyards and orchards, and for the mountain from which it takes its name. With its long avenues, and the perennial stream of the Berg River, it makes a pleasing impression. Over the mountains there is a branch line to Drakenstein (Dragon's Stone) and Franschoek (French Corner), historic settlements of the Huguenots, beautifully situated in the heart of the wine country. Nine miles beyond Paarl, on the main line to the north, is Wellington, in an equally fertile region, lying in the midst of bold mountains. From Wellington a road leads through Bain's Kloof, one of the most attractive scenes in the Cape Western Province, to the sum-

mit of the Drakenstein range, whence an extensive and pleasing view is obtained, and then descends through a rugged defile to the Breede River at Darling Bridge. Another attractive route to Ceres, a favourite health resort, leads through Michell's Pass. Farther north is Worcester, which produces large quantities of fruit. The town lies at the entrance to Hex (Witch) River Valley, on the main line, with a railway branching eastwards to Robertson, an equally fertile district. The region of Hex River is of great interest to mountaineers, affording both picturesque and adventurous ascents, usually starting from the station at De Wet; the less courageous traveller, however, is content to view the changing pictures of mountain and plain from the railway, which ascends the Valley along a line noted for the engineering skill displayed in its construction, until it emerges upon the Karroo at Touw's River. The Hex Valley produces, perhaps, the largest and best fruit crop in the Province. Both this valley and Worcester are, however, too far from Cape Town for a single day's excursion, and their only attraction lies in their mountain scenery.

The line beyond Robertson extends eastwards to Mossel Bay, George, and Oudtshoorn, and ultimately to Port Elizabeth. There are occasional flashes of charming scenery, but the chief point of interest is the Congo Caves in the Congo Valley, not far from Oudtshoorn. These caves, with their fantastic designs of stalactite and stalagmite, rival in attractiveness the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, though they have no underground river. From the Congo Valley a road leads over the beautiful Zwartberg Pass to Prince Albert, in the Karroo.

Eastwards from Cape Town a line of railway leads

over Sir Lowry's Pass to Caledon, which is much resorted to on account of its mineral springs. A short journey by motor from Bot River takes the traveller to Hermanus, which is greatly favoured by sea-anglers, "record" catches having been made here. Previous reference has been made to the scenery of Knysna and George.

The chief attraction at Port Elizabeth is the famous snake park, which was created by Mr. F. W. Fitzsimons, who is a well-known naturalist and antiquarian. His collection of dangerous reptiles is of extreme interest both to the naturalist and the casual visitor. Near Port Elizabeth is the Zwartkops River, with boating and fishing attractions. On the main line of railway, a few miles to the north, is Addo, in whose forest, known as the Addo Bush, is a herd of wild elephants. Owing to their destructiveness, a considerable number of them were killed in a hunt organised on a large scale. During the expedition, General Ravenshaw, commander of the South African forces, lost his life (1920). To the north rise the slopes of the Zuurberg, a beautifully-wooded range, and a favourite health resort. From Alicedale a branch line runs to Grahamstown, which is famous as the "Settler's City." Here are many memorials of the British settlers of 1820, and several excellent colleges and schools. Farther north, on the main line, is Cookhouse, near which is Slachter's Nek, associated with the rising of 1815. From Cookhouse there is a branch line to Somerset East, sheltering beneath the beautiful Boschberg mountain, with its many fern-laden glens, and the Glenavon waterfall. Cradock, as above stated, is a resort for pulmonary patients. Its Dutch Church is the finest building, architecturally, in the Eastern Province. In

the district of Cradock is Buffel's Kop, on whose summit Olive Schreiner, the novelist, lies buried.

East London is the most "English" town in South Africa. A few miles distant is King William's Town, near which is the Pirie Bush, with interesting scenery. Farther along the coast is Port St. John's, with fine river and mountain landscapes. It lies off the beaten track.

Durban is chiefly of interest as the principal trading port. There are, however, some interesting buildings, the best of which is the Town Hall, reputed the finest of its kind in South Africa (although this claim is invariably disputed by the good citizens of Maritzburg). There are many beautiful villas and gardens on the Berea Hill, overlooking the town. Not far away is Umgeni, a pretty country resort, with the Umgeni Falls beyond. Here are remnants of primitive forests, with wild monkeys. Durban is a great seaside resort for visitors from inland, and is provided with the usual attractions of a watering-place; but bathing is by no means safe. There are quieter and more beautiful spots for seaside visitors on the south-coast line from Durban—at Isipingo, Amanzimtoti, Illovo, Umkomaas, and Port Shepstone. By far the best coast resort in South Africa is Delagoa Bay, with its beautiful beach at Polana, overlooked from the cliffs by the Polana Hotel, the coco-nut palms, the view across to Catembe, and the sunset scenes over the Lebombo Mountains. Mosquitoes and the hot climate, however, make Delagoa Bay a place to be avoided between October and March.

Seven miles above Durban, on the main line, is Pinetown, near which (at Marianhill) is a celebrated Trappist monastery, to which visitors are admitted.

In this neighbourhood are several Indian temples and shrines. Farther north is Inchanga (reached by a branch line), an agreeable health resort, bosomed in the mountains. Maritzburg, the provincial capital, is 71 miles from Durban, and lies in a basin, surrounded by picturesque hills, on the banks of the Umsindusi. Very hot in summer, it is a pleasant town in the winter months. It contains several important public buildings, and monuments to heroes of the Zulu War and the Boer War. A few miles above Maritzburg is Sweetwaters, a health resort in charming surroundings, and not far off are the Howick Falls. There is nothing of interest on the main line northwards until one reaches Colenso, on the Tugela River, where the battlefields of the Boer War are reached. The centre for excursions to these battle-grounds is Ladysmith. Around lie many historic spots—Cæsar's Camp, Wagon Hill, Umbulwana, and, farther off, Spion Kop. Far to the north, where the line enters the Transvaal, lies the forbidding mass of Majuba Mountain, which is best reached from Volksrust.

Most visitors to South Africa make for Johannesburg, the largest town in the sub-continent. It owes its fame to the gold mines, which lie along the "Reef," extending for a distance of nearly 50 miles, from Randfontein to Springs. Visitors are allowed to inspect the surface works of certain mines, and to descend the shafts, on stated days. Inspection of a mine "compound" enables one to compare the life of the natives under a system of control with that led by them in the freedom of their *kraals*. At certain mines native war-dances are arranged for the benefit of distinguished visitors. In any event, a demonstration of the whole process of gold extraction, from the stopes

underground to the refining of the precious metal on the surface, is very instructive.

Among the "sights" of Johannesburg are the Municipal Art Gallery, with an excellent collection of modern paintings, including pictures by Corot, Meissonier, Sargent, Frank Brangwyn, Furse, and other famous artists; the conservatory in Joubert Park; the Johannesburg Hospital (largest in Africa, and fourth in the world); the Institute of Medical Research (one of the best of its kind); the University of the Witwatersrand, whose main building has a fine façade, although the "lay-out" of the buildings generally is unpleasing; the Trade School, with its interesting departments of woodwork, blacksmithing, plumbing, metalwork and electricity; the Zoo, well laid out in beautiful surroundings, and the racecourse of the Johannesburg Turf Club. The suburbs of the town abound in attractive residences and gardens, and large plantations of trees (which flourish exceedingly) are a feature of the environs. Two favourite resorts are the Country Club and the Automobile Club (which has a fine block of flats), introduction by a member being necessary. There are several excellent golf-courses, the best being the Country Club, Parkview, Johannesburg, and Houghton clubs. The Rand Club is the best residential club, and has an excellent library, with a special collection of Africana.

It must not be supposed, however, that it is "all gold" in Johannesburg. Most of the street sidewalks are unpaved, and there are several squalid slum areas. At the same time, much has been done recently to provide suitable housing for natives.

Pretoria, the capital of the Union, is 45 miles by rail and 36 by road from Johannesburg. It is situ-

ated in a basin surrounded by hills, and is well watered. The Union Buildings, the head-quarters of Government, are the finest of their kind in Africa. They were designed by Mr. Herbert Baker, the architect of the Indian Government buildings at Delhi. The garden in which they are contained is specially devoted to the cultivation of South African plants. The Zoo contains the best collection of wild animals in the Union. In the museum are interesting historical relics of the *voortrekkers* and the early days of the South African Republic. The town cemetery and the new cemetery contain the graves of some of the leading patriots and historical personages in the history of the country, including Paul Kruger and Louis Botha. Pretoria has several good colleges and schools, those with the finest buildings being the Transvaal University College, and the Pretoria High School for Boys. The Pretoria Club is an excellent residential institution of its kind. To the south-east lies the Country Club, a pleasant resort. There are several attractive drives in the neighbourhood of the capital, one to Wonderboom, where there is a banyan-tree of prodigious size, and another (farther afield) to Hartebeestpoort, where there is a fine lake, the result of damming up the Crocodile River. At Onderstepoort is the Government Institute for Veterinary Research, which has become world-famous under the direction of Sir Arnold Theiler. The Kruger Memorial (unveiled in 1925, at the centenary of the President's birth) greets one on arrival at the railway station. It has fine supporting figures of typical Boers. Unfortunately, in the opinion of the sculptor (Von Vouw) the grouping is spoilt by the fact that the pedestal is out of proportion to the statue.

Potchefstroom is the prettiest country town in the Transvaal, with fertile gardens, lying on the banks of the Mooi River. Among its educational institutions are the Potchefstroom University College and the Boys' High School. Near the town is the old fort, a relic of the Boer War of Independence. On the river-banks there are excellent golf links, which are a favoured holiday resort for golfers from the larger towns. The grounds of the Agricultural College will repay a visit. A picturesque drive is that to Venterskroon, on the Vaal River. The one circumstance which detracts from the amenities of Potchefstroom is the presence of an excessive number of Asiatic stores in the principal street. This, unfortunately, is a noticeable feature in all the towns of the Western Transvaal, such as Lichtenburg, Zeerust, and Rustenburg.

The finest rural scenery in the Transvaal is on the eastern railway line between Komati Poort and Zoekmakaar, north of Pietersburg. This line skirts the Sabi Game Reserve, crosses the Crocodile, Sabie, Olifants and Letaba rivers, threads its way between the Murchison Mountains and the Drakensberg, and finally emerges through Duivel's (Devil's) Kloof and the Woodbush Mountains. From the train wild beasts and game in the Reserve may be seen. Another picturesque stretch of country is on the direct line between Pretoria and Delagoa Bay, eastwards from Machado-dorp, including the falls at Waterval Boven, a remarkable "bit" of mountain engineering between this station and Waterval Onder, the beautiful valley of the Crocodile River, and the stupendous gorge at Crocodile Poort.

Most of the Free State is a level plain, broken by few eminences. The principal holiday resort (prefer-

ably at Easter) is the Drakensberg. From Aberfeldy, a station on the line between Bethlehem and Harri-smith, journeys are made, partly by motor and partly on horseback, to Mont aux Sources, the highest mountain, on which the Tugela takes its rise.

The diamond mines constitute the principal "feature" of Kimberley, and deserve inspection. There is a charming pleasure resort at Alexandersfontein, 3 miles outside the town, and excursions may be made to the battlefields at Magersfontein and Modder River.

The most celebrated "sight" in Africa is the Victoria Falls on the Zambezi, in Rhodesia, which should be visited in the winter months, between June and September. Other things to see are the Matoppo Hills, near Bulawayo, with views of surpassing grandeur. Here Rhodes and Jameson lie buried, as well as the heroes of the Shangani River. Then there are the Zimbabwe ruins, near Victoria, which have excited controversy and speculation among archaeologists.

Railway travelling in South Africa is as good as anywhere in the world. The Union Express, between Cape Town and Johannesburg, has established a "record" for long-distance running on a 3 feet 6 inch gauge—956 miles, without changing engines, in 29 hours, and this speed will be increased. There is also a fast "run" between Durban and Johannesburg. Good meals and beds at low prices are provided on the trains, and special attention is paid to comfort on the Rhodesian Railways. Fares compare more than favourably with those in England. Thus, the *third-class* excursion fare between London and Edinburgh (400 miles) is £4 16s. ; while the *first-class* excursion fare from Johannesburg to Cape Town (956 miles) is £8 1s. In South Africa white persons ordinarily

do not travel third class, which is left to "coloured" persons. The following are typical *ordinary* first-class fares—Cape Town to Johannesburg, single £8 1s., return £12 9s. 6d.; Cape Town to Victoria Falls (1,642 miles), single £16 1s. 6d., return £29 (although excursion fares at considerably lower rates may be obtained); Johannesburg to Bulawayo (681 miles), single £7 9s. 3d., return £14 17s. 3d.; Johannesburg to Pretoria (45 miles), return 10s., comparing more than favourably with the fare from London to Brighton; Cape Town to Port Elizabeth (673 miles), single £6 13s. 3d., return £11 11s. 9d.; Johannesburg to Durban (490 miles), single £4 6s. 9d., return £8 2s. 9d.; Johannesburg to Lourenço Marques (Delagoa Bay)—394 miles—single £3 15s. 4d., return £7 1s. 6d. It will be seen that the only disproportionate fares are on the Rhodesian section, which is under private control. The working of the Union Railways generally, apart from a few human errors of judgment here and there, is a testimony to the efficacy of State management.

Travel by road is a comparatively easy matter. There are probably more motor-cars in proportion to the population in South Africa than anywhere in the world, except in the United States. Garages and filling-stations abound. But the roads, except within the limits of urban authorities, are far from satisfactory. In many places the main roads between Cape Town and Johannesburg, and between Johannesburg and Durban, become mere sandy tracks.

South African hospitality has become proverbial. In the towns and on the farms in the interior, the visitor is never turned away, unless he is obviously an undesirable person. Perhaps, in more recent days, the farmers have become suspicious of the overtures

of pleasant-voiced strangers who have shares and blocks of land for sale ; but even such a caller is assured of a hearty greeting and a *méal*. The dwellers on the land are always eager to hear news from abroad, and are not too critical of its source. This habit of hospitality extends to larger towns, like Pretoria, Johannesburg, Maritzburg, and Kimberley. At the coast ports, however, people are more reserved, probably because the sight of strangers passing through their gates is an everyday occurrence.

In the country towns, simplicity is the keynote of existence—with nothing more exciting than attendance at the morning market, regular weekly worship at church, an occasional dance, and a visit to the “bi-scope” (which usually exhibits pictures only once a week). Most people lead open-air lives, and every village has its tennis-courts and football field, where considerable prowess is often displayed. All are keen politicians—indeed, in South Africa it may be said (to vary the remark of Aristotle) that every man, woman, and child is a political animal. Yet not all existence is idyllic. Occasionally one is thrilled by the news of a murder in the remote “back-blocks”, which in its ingenuity and callous calculation causes the exploits of a Brinvilliers or an Armstrong to pale into insignificance. For the most part, however, life flows along the even tenor of its way, and the country folk pass their days in an atmosphere no way alien from that of the *Deserted Village* and the *Elegy*. As in most small communities, the tedium is relieved by much gossip, back-biting, and slander.

Nearly every South African is addicted to some form of sport or another. Recently, no great distinction has been attained in cricket ; but some players,

past and present, have achieved an international reputation. Rugby football, however, is the national game, and the Springbok teams are famous. Football is better played in the Western Province, at Stellenbosch and Cape Town, than elsewhere. There are some creditable tennis-players, also, and 'golf has many devotees, distinguished, perhaps, by their ardour rather than their skill. Most men can shoot, and hunting is not the recreation exclusively of the rich, as it is in Europe. At one time everyone could ride, but this is no longer the case, now that cars are plentiful. People prefer to watch and back horses at the races, which are a serious occupation on the Witwatersrand, varied by more than occasional "flutters" on the Stock Exchange. The atmosphere of the Witwatersrand is conducive to gambling and speculation. The people of the Cape and Natal are far more thrifty. I do not moralise, but merely state a fact.

In certain circles, the habit of speculation is so ingrained that it has come to be regarded as a normal feature of daily life. Professional men and supposedly sober-minded merchants indulge in it, and often burn their fingers. Frequently it has a most demoralising effect, and men who have established and ought to maintain a sound reputation in the world of business have been known to manifest an utter want of scruple in share dealings, and to sacrifice their dearest friends and relations without the slightest compunction.

While, as I have previously observed, there is a tendency in certain quarters for people to isolate themselves in separate national cliques, this, in the nature of things, does not apply to the country towns, where, if this were the case, all social intercourse would become impossible. It is only where political feeling (if identi-

fiable with racial cleavage) runs very high that there is no intermingling. Even then, there are many cases where solicitors or medical men belonging respectively to opposing political parties practise in partnership, so as to "catch" a *clientele* from all sections of the community.

The "colonial" accent of many South Africans of British origin has frequently been remarked upon. By some, this has been set down to their association with the Dutch, most of whom naturally speak English with a Dutch accent. It is doubtful, however, whether this is the true explanation. There is a distinct "colonial" accent in Canada and Australia, which is detected immediately by those who are familiar with their fellow-citizens who hail from those Dominions.

On the whole, constant intercourse between members of the British and Dutch sections of the population tends to broaden their views, as they are brought into contact with opinions and attitudes which are the outcome of divergent traditions and intellectual habits.

In this connection it is interesting to notice that important experiments have recently (1925) been carried out on the Witwatersrand and at Pretoria, under the superintendence of Professor Hoernle, of the Witwatersrand University. Over 20,000 children were subjected to intelligence tests, on a wider scale than ever attempted in the British Empire. The result of these tests was that "there was no evidence whatever that there was any marked difference in intelligence between children from English-speaking homes and from Afrikaans-speaking homes, provided a fair comparison were made, and children of the same social stratum put side by side." Professor Hoernle concluded, from his observations and the statistical infor-

mation furnished, that when children used in school a language different from that used at home there was a certain amount of temporary retardation in the progress of the child ; but that, taking all the circumstances into consideration, the child benefited by this dual language system.

It may fairly be claimed that in general intelligence, enterprise, and receptiveness to new ideas, as well as to the applications of modern science and thought, the people of the South African Dominion are on a complete level of equality with their co-partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and that, having due regard to the opportunities and resources at their disposal, they will advance in a like measure.

At the same time, there are, broadly speaking, defects in the educational system as a whole, to which serious thinkers have frequently drawn attention. Too many students in the high schools and colleges make the passing of examinations an end in itself, and it is to be feared that their teachers, in many cases, do not lay sufficient stress upon the use of education as an instrument fitting the recipient for the ordinary needs of practical life. It is not necessary to belittle or decry the value of literary and philosophical knowledge ; but, while man cannot live by bread alone, a diet of chocolates and gingerbread is far from wholesome. Too many students become dreamers and unpractical persons, and too few are equipped for the stern necessities of the battle of life. A young country, such as the Union is, requires men and women capable of building up its nascent industries, and in creating their own opportunities for enterprise.

Contrasting with a fairly general deficiency in habits of business and orderliness, there is a widespread

worship of wealth (not, it must be confessed, peculiar in this age, to South Africa). On the Witwatersrand, "Society," so called, consists, in the main, of actual or reputed plutocrats, who assume to direct most public and private activities, although (perhaps fortunately) they stop short of patronage of literature and the arts. They have their obedient and obsequious train of followers, whose principal characteristic is their rampant snobbishness. In the interests of their circulation, certain newspapers are compelled faithfully to chronicle the largely unimportant movements of these personages, and ordinary trips from Johannesburg to Pretoria (45 miles), or week-end visits of a "country cousin" to her aristocratic relatives, are duly reported. This state of affairs has given rise to a curious conception of relative values.

Nevertheless, these notions do not prevail among the masses of the community, which is pervaded by a general feeling of democracy and equality. Every man is the architect of his own fortunes, and feels that he is neither better nor worse than his neighbour. Simplicity is the keynote of existence, and the typical figures in South African life hitherto have been the *voortrekker* and the prospector, the former distinguished by his willingness to encounter unknown dangers, his resourcefulness, and his frugality, the latter ever full of hope, usually disappointed, but never discouraged. To these there may now be added the "speculator," with his touching belief in the capacity of the earth to produce wealth at will, his certainty that stocks will rise, and his profound conviction that promoters will always perform their promises.

Simplicity is also inherent in the laws of the country, which are based upon the Roman-Dutch system of

jurisprudence. A few examples will illustrate this statement. The children of married persons are all legitimate, whether born before or during marriage. Marriage depends upon consent, and the marriage of minors without the consent of parents or guardians may be set aside. The ceremony of marriage may be either civil or religious. Upon marriage, all property is shared equally by the spouses, unless different provisions are made by an ante-nuptial contract, which usually provides that each spouse is to hold his or her property separately and is not to be responsible for the debts of the other. Divorce laws are equal for both sexes, and divorce may be obtained for either adultery or desertion. The court of the husband's domicile alone has jurisdiction to grant a divorce.

A person may freely bequeath his property by will to whomsoever he pleases, and there is no law of primogeniture. If a person dies intestate (without leaving a will), his property goes first to descendants, then to ascendants, and lastly to collateral relations. The only blot on the law of intestacy is that a wife does not succeed to her husband. Land is transferred by registration in the deeds registry, such registration being the only mark of ownership. In the Transvaal and the Free State a sale of real property must be in writing. All other sales may be verbal, and so may all leases of land (except, in the Transvaal and Free State, leases for 10 years and upwards, and leases renewable indefinitely at the will of the tenant). Notice to vacate depends on the term of the tenancy. Ordinarily, one month's notice must be given, and, where a house is let for a year, it is deemed, after the year has expired, to be let from month to month. The ordinary period of notice as between master and servant is

one month, unless the hiring be by the week. In partnerships, where no term is fixed, the agreement is terminable at will, subject to reasonable notice. Mortgages of land must be registered in the deeds registry to be effective. A pledge of movables is only valid on delivery of the pledged goods to the pledgee. A master is liable to his servant for negligent injury, even if caused by a fellow-servant in the same employment. An action for damages lies equally for slander (spoken defamation) as for libel (written defamation). The owner of an animal is liable for damage caused by it, provided he has been negligent in its custody, and it is not necessary to show that he knew of its dangerous or vicious propensities. In all actions for damages for breach of contract or for tort (except in cases of insult or injury to reputation) actual damage must be proved. In constitutional law, as we have seen, the principle of "one man one vote" prevails, *i.e.*, plural voting is not allowed; there are single-member constituencies, and all parliamentary elections take place the same day. There is no State Church, and all State colleges and schools are undenominational.

The English denominations of coinage, and of weights and measures, prevail throughout the Union, except that, where not specially referred to as a "long" ton, a ton is taken at 2,000 lbs., while the "Cape" foot differs in length from the English foot, being $\cdot 3148$ of a metre (a metre being equal to 1.0936 yards). For area, the Cape rood is taken as the basis of measurement.

In the foregoing pages an endeavour has been made to give an account, within a brief compass, of events and conditions, past and present, in South Africa

in an entirely impartial spirit. A presentment of the truth has been the principal aim, and, while on occasion, reference has been made to pleasing or unpleasing features in national or social life, the main object has been to set facts before the reader, from which he may draw his own inferences and conclusions.

Since the foregoing pages were written, General Hertzog has announced his proposals for dealing with the Native problem, which are to be laid before the Union Parliament in the session of 1926. They represent the first attempt to deal with the matter from a national point of view, and merit respect on that account. Briefly, it is proposed to take away the franchise enjoyed by natives in the Cape Province, by which they vote in their respective constituencies, and to substitute a special franchise for all natives in the Union, by which they will vote for the election of five members of the Union Parliament, who will specially represent Native interests. There is also to be a General Native Council of fifty members, meeting at Pretoria, which may ultimately be entrusted with legislative powers on Native affairs. Further areas of land will be thrown open to Native occupation. "Coloured" persons are to have the same franchise as Europeans.

INDEX

- Aberfeldy, 302
 Addo Bush, 296
 Africa, South, the term, 11; relations between the Colonies, 121; Act of Union, 124, 125, 242, 245, 250, 274; Court of Appeal, 127; elections, general, 128, 158, 173, 174, 188; language problem, 129; Parliament opened, 129; legislative measures, 130, 163; Universities, 132; strike, 148; rebellion, 151-4; expenditure, 162-4; census, 166; epidemic of influenza, 167; status as a nation, 170-3; Imperial Forces withdrawn, 177; geographical features, 193-208; temperature, 208; beauty spots, 214; animals, birds and flora, 215; species of timber, 216; territorial divisions, 216; system of administration, 217, 246-9; the Dutch population, 220-3; the English, 220-3; the natives, 229, 231, 237; Administrative Government, 239-54; the Senate, 241; the House of Assembly, 242-5; powers of Parliament, 244-6; Supreme Court, 250-2; Railways, 252, 302; Industries and commerce, 255-67; customs duties, 267; political parties, 268-76; native problem, 276-81, 311; unemployment, 281-3; immigration, 283-90; hospitality, 303; social life, 304-6; sport, 304; speculation, 305; colonial accent, 306; defects in the system of education, 307; simplicity the keynote, 308; marriage and property laws, 309
 Africa, German South-West, 43, 44
 Africa, South-West, the mandated territory of, 12, 193; area, 194; coastline, 195
 African, South, League founded, 82
 African, South, Republic, Constitution, 28; President, 28; annexation of Bechuanaland, 31; Convention with Great Britain, 56; treaty with the Orange Free State, 81
 Afrikaner Bond, the influence on politics, 47
 Afrikanders, the, 43
 Agulhas Bank, 204; Cape, 193, 208
 Albany, 15, 206
 Alexandersfontein, 302
 Alexandria, 206
 Algoa Bay, 15, 195, 196
 Alicedale, 296
 Aliens, Laws concerning Expulsion Law, 85
 Alukuleta, case of, 134
 Amajuba, Mount, 42
 Amanzimtoti river, 199
 Amaquate, the, 50
 Anglo-Boer Convention, 57
 Angola, 193; area, 194
 Angra Pequena, trading station at, 43
 Anstruther, Colonel, ambushed, 41
 Anti-Convict Movement, 27
 Asbestos, deposits of, 212, 266
 Asiatic Inquiry Commission, 237
 Asiatic immigration, 145, 235; legislation against, 236; population, 237
 Assegal, the, 19
 Assembly, House of, 242-5
 Athlone, Earl of, Governor-General, 189
 Aughrabies, 197
 Aus, evacuated by the Germans, 155
 Baden-Powell, Major-General, in the siege of Mafeking, 95
 Bain's Koof, 294
 Baird, Sir David, recaptures the Cape, 14
 Bakenlaagte, 103
 Baker, Herbert, 300
 Bakgatla, the, 52

- Baldwin, Rt. Hon. S., 270
 Bamangwato, the, 52, 53
 Bambata, the rebel, 38
 Bangwaketse, the, 52
 Bantus, the, 44, 233
 Banyailand Trek, 74
 Baralong, the, 52
 Barbed wire, use of, 97
 Barberton, 210; discovery of gold at, 43, 55
 Barkly, Sir Henry, Governor of Cape Colony, 33
 Barkly West, 31
 Barnato, B. I., 29
 Bashee River, 199
 Basutoland, 12; annexed to Cape Colony, 48; internal dissensions, 49; war, 50; population, 51; area, 194
 Basutos, the, 48-51; wars, 27
 Batawana, the, 52
 Batlapin, the, 52
 Bechuanaland Protectorate, 12, 59, 193; annexation of, 31; expedition against, 46; British Protectorate over, 47; administration, 53; population, 53; area, 194
 Bechuanae, the, 51-3
 Bedford, 15
 Beef, export of, 256
 Beira, 197
 Beit, Alfred, 29; bequest for a University, 131
 Belgians, the, occupy Mahenge, 161
 Belmont, 97
 Benoni, 182, 183
 Benson, Col., defeated at Bakenlaagte, 103
 Berea Hill, 297
 Berg, the, 199, 207, 294
 Bergendal, action at, 101
 Berrange, General, 155
 Bethal, 210
 Bethany, 155
 Bethlehem, 210
 Beyers, Christian, Commandant-General of the Defence Force, 151; opposition to the war with Germany, 151; resignation, 152; rebellion, 152; drowned, 154
 Beyers, F. W., 189
 Bezuidenhout, 14
 Biggar, R., 21
 Bismarck, Prince, 43
 "Black Peril," the, 134; Commission on, 135
 Block-house system, 102, 103
 Bloemfontein, 26, 100; Conference, 91, 173
 Bloemhof, 30, 198
 Blood river, 22, 200
 Boers, the, grievances, 16; the Great Trek of, 17; massacred by Zulus, 21; treatment of the natives, 24; war of independence, 41; Transvaal restored to, 42; preparations for war, 92-103; overtures for peace, 103; loss of the trading faculty, 224; decline in farming pursuits, 225; revival of trekking, 226; adaptability to new inventions, 257
 Boksburg, 181, 183
 Bolus, Dr. Harry, 202
 Bondelswarts, the, 44; surrender, 45; rebellion, 185; treatment, 186
 Boomplaats, fight at, 26
 Boone, Daniel, 17
 Boschberg mountain, 296
 Bot river, 296
 Botanic Gardens, at Kirstenbosch, 294
 Botha, Gen. Louis, 37; in the Boer war, 95-103; Prime Minister of the Transvaal, 115; agricultural reforms, 116; Prime Minister of the Union, 126, 140; efforts at conciliation, 137; resignation, 140; controversy with Gen. Hertzog, 141; criticism of his policy, 146; attitude to the war, 149; military operations against the rebels, 152-4; against the Germans, 154-7; enters Windhuk, 156; ovation at Cape Town, 158; at the Peace Conference, Versailles, 168; signs the Treaty, 169; death, 170; grave, 300
 Boydell, Mr., 189
 Brace, William, 185
 Brakpan, 182
 Brand, John Henry, President of the Orange Free State, 30
 Brand, R. H., 107
 Brandwater Basin, 101
 Bredasdorp, 205
 Breede, the, 199, 295
 British settlers, at Algoa Bay, 15, 175; number in S. Africa, 220-3; attitude to the Boers, 223
 British S. Africa Company, 74
 Brixton, 182, 183
 Bromhead, Lieut., 36
 Bronkhorst Spruit, 41

- Bryce, Viscount, 27
 Buchan, John, 107
 Buffalo river, 196, 200
 Buffel's Kop, 297
 Bulawayo, 74
 Buller, Gen. Sir Redvers, commanding the British forces, 95; at Cape Town, 97; repulsed at Colenso, 98
 Bultfontein, 29
 Bunu (Ubhunu or Ngwane), 56; King of the Swazias, 57; death, 57
 Burgeer, Schalk, chairman of the Industrial Commission, 86
 Burgers, Thomas François, President of the Transvaal, 32; administration, 33, 61; death, 33
 Burton, Henry, member of the Union Cabinet, 127
 Bushmen, the, 43
 Butler, Gen. Sir W., 50; C.-in-C. at the Cape, 93
 Buxton, Viscount, Gov.-General of S. Africa, 171; earldom conferred, 174
 Byron, Senator Col., 138
Bywoners, 226
 Caesar's Camp, 99, 298
 Caledon, 203, 205, 295
 Calvinia, 207
 Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H., 112
 Camp's Bay, 202, 203, 291, 293
 Cango Caves, 295; Valley, 295
 Cape Agulhas, 193; temperature, 208
 Cape Colony, history of, 13-15; constitution, 27; condition, 29; responsible government, 33; martial law proclaimed, 102; Alien Immigration, 118; Customs Convention, 118; legislative measures, 118; elections, 164
 Cape Copper Company, 13
 Cape Flats, 201
 Cape of Good Hope, 12, 193
 Cape Peninsula, 13, 200-3; drive round the, 291
 Cape Point, 193, 201, 291
 Cape Town, 13, 195, 291-3; railway to Wellington, 29; University, 132, 293; temperature, 208; suburbs of, 293
 Carnarvon, Earl of, scheme for confederation, 34, 123
 Carolina, 55
 Carson, Kit, 17
 Cathcart, 209
 Census, results, 166
 Ceres, 295
 Cetewayo, Zulu Chief, 33, 35; reorganises the army, 35; flight, 36; death, 37
 Chaka, Zulu Chief, 18, 19; murdered, 19
 Chamasobo, 193
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph, policy, 75; despatches to Kruger, 76; tour in S. Africa, 108
 Chambezi river, 162
 Champagne Castle peak, 207
 Chancellor, Sir John, Governor of Rhodesia, 250
 Chard, Lieut., 36
 Charlestown, 211
 Chartered Company, 74, 186
 Chelmsford, Lord, 35
 Chievely, 98
 Chinde, 193
 Chinese labour, in the Transvaal, 110-112; cancelled, 112; return to China, 117
 Christiana, 198
 Clanwilliam, 205
 Clarence, H.R.H. Duke of, death, 69
 Clarens, 105
 Class Areas Bill, 188, 236
 Clerk, Sir George, 26
 Clery, Gen., in the Boer War, 97
 Cloete, Henry, 23
 Coal, production of, 213, 265
 Cockscomb mountains, 206
 Coetzee, crosses the Orange river, 13
 Coghlan, Sir Charles, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, 187, 250
 Colenbrander, Colonel, 75
 Colenso, 298; attack on, 98
 Coleberg, 13, 61
 Colley, Gen. Sir George, Governor of Natal, 41; expedition against the Boers, 41; killed, 42
 Colonists, treatment of, 25
 Colquhoun, Archibald, administrator of the Chartered Co., 74
Comet, the, 85
 Compassberg, 207
 Conception Bay, 201
 Connaught, H.R.H. Duke of, opens the Union Parliament, 129
 Connaught, H.R.H. Prince Arthur of, Governor-General of S. Africa, 174
 Constantia, 294; Nek, 201, 202
 Cockhouse, 14, 296
 Cory, Sir George, 20

- Coryndon, Sir Robert, Commissioner of Swaziland, 59
 Cradock, 209, 296
 Craig, Gen., Governor of the Cape, 14
 Creswell, F. H. P., 189; leader of the Labour Party, 128
Critic, the, suspended, 85
 Crocodile, river, 300, 301
 Cronjé, Gen. Piet, 79; in the Boer War, 95; surrenders, 99
 Cunene, the, 11, 157, 193, 198, 200
 Cunynhame, Sir Arthur, 34
 Curtis, Lionel, 107, 172
 Customs Act, 267
- Dairy industry, 257
 Dar-es-Salaam, 160, 161
 Darling Bridge, 295
 Dawson, Geoffrey, editor of *The Times*, 107
 De Beers mines, 29
 Defence Act, 136
 Delagoa Bay, 17, 31, 196, 215, 297; railway to the Transvaal, 32; completion, 76
 Delarey, Gen., 102; killed, 152
 Derby, 14th Earl of, 23
 Deventer, Gen. van, 155; invasion of German E. Africa, 160
 Devil's Peak, 201
 Devonshire, Duke of, 186
 De Waal Park, 293
 De Wet, Gen. Christian de, 141; commanding the Orange Free State forces, 95; in the Boer War, 100-3; rebellion, 152; surrenders, 153
 De Wet, Sir Jacobus de, 72, 79
 Diamond Hill, battle of, 100
 Diamond mines, 29, 46, 261-3
 Diaz, Bartholomew, the Portuguese navigator, 12
 Dingaan, the Zulu King, 18, 20; assassinate his brother, 19; character, 20; receives Retief, 20; murders him, 21; flight, 22; killed, 22, 54
 Dingiswayo (Godongwana) or the Wanderer, 18; chief of the Mtetwa, 53
 Dinizulu, Zulu chief, 37; banished, 37; arrested, 38; sentenced, 39
 Disa Head, temperature, 208
 Dom John of Portugal, 12
 Doornkop, 78
 Drake, Sir Francis, 201
 Drakensberg, 18, 197, 208, 216
 Drakenstein, 13, 294
- Duncan, Patrick, 175
 Durban, 19, 195, 196, 211, 297; occupied by the British, 23; the National Convention, 124
 D'Urban, Sir Benjamin, 16
Durham Castle, the, 168
 Dutch, the, settlement at the Cape, 12; number in S. Africa, 220-3; relations with the English, 223; see Boers
 Dutch East India Company, 12
 Dutoitspan, 29
- East London, 297; harbour, 195, 196
 Edgar, T. J., case of, 90
 Education, system of, defects, 307
 Elands river, 197
 Elandslaagte, 96
 Ellis Park, 183
 Elphinstone, Adml., captures the Cape, 14
 Embekelweni, 54
 Enoch, the "prophet," 177
 Enslin, 97
 Enteric fever, number of deaths from, 100
 Ermelo, 55, 197, 198
 Etosha Pan, 156
- False Bay, 201, 204, 293
 Farrar, Sir George, 77, 110
 Farrelly, Dr., 89
 Ferreira, Colone, 74
 Ferreirastown, riot, 182
 Fischer, Abraham, Prime Minister of the Orange Free State, 115, 126; member of the Union Cabinet, 127
 Fish Hoek, 293
 Fishing industry, 204
 Fitzaimons, F. W., snake park at Port Elizabeth, 296
 Ford Company, factory, 266
 Fort Victoria, 74
 Fourie, Japie, shot, 153
 Fourteen Streams, 206
 Francue, Col., commanding the German forces, 157; surrenders, 157
 Frankfort, 210
 Franschoek, 294
 Fraser, Sir John, leader of the Constitutionalists in the Orange River Colony, 115
 French Huguenot refugees, 13; settlements, 294
 French, Gen. Sir John (afterwards Earl of Ypres), at Elandslaagte, 96

- Frenchhoek, 13, 205
 Frere, Sir Bartle, 29; Governor of Cape Colony, 33; High Commissioner, 34; his policy, 34; attack on, 40; recalled, 41
 Friedrichsfelde, 156
 Froude, James Anthony, 34
 Fruit, export of, 259
 Fruit-canning industry, 260
- Gaikas, the, rising, 34
 Galekas, the, rising, 34
 Gamtoos river, 199
 Gandhi, M. K., imprisoned, 117, 145; in India, 146
 Gatacre, Gen., in the Boer War, 97
 Genadendal, 203
 George, 200, 205
 German East Africa, conquest of, 159-62; S.-W. Africa, 43, 44
 Germans, war with the Hereros, 45; atrocities, 45; at Nakop, 150; evacuate Swakopmund, 150, 155; military operations against, 154-7
 Germiston, 182
 Giant Castle peak, 207
 Giberon, 156
 Gladstone, Viscount, Governor-General, 126; commutes the sentence on Alukuleta, 134
 Glencoe, 84; railway accident, 78
 Glenslg, Lord, Secretary for the Colonies, 16
 Gobizembe, the rebel, 38
 Godongwana, 18, 19; see Dingiswayo
 Goering, Dr., 44
 Gold-mining industry, 43, 55, 164, 213, 261, 264
 Goold-Adams, Sir Hamilton, Lieut.-Governor of the Orange River Colony, 106
 Gordon, Gen. Charles, at the Cape, 50
 Gordonia, 52
 Goshen republic, 46
 Gouritz river, 199
 Graaff, Sir David, member of the Union Cabinet, 127
 Graaff-Reinet, 14, 206
 Grahamstown, 15, 298
 Grain Elevator Scandal, at Durban, 183
 Grant, Col., surrenders, 150
 Graspan, 99
 Great Britain, dispute with Portugal, 32; expedition against the Zulus, 35; Convention with the S. African Republic, 56; ultimatum from Kruger, 93; war with the Boers, 94-103
 Great Fish River, 17, 199
 Great Kei River, 199
 Greene, W. Conyngnam, British Agent at Pretoria, 86
 Gregorowski, Judge, 80
 Grey, Sir George, Governor of Cape Colony, administration, 28; advocates federation, 122
 Grey University Coll., Bloemfontein, 132
 Griffith, 43
 Griqualand, 29; riots, 31; annexed to Cape Colony, 31
 Griqualand West, 216
 Grobler, P., 189
 Grootte Schuur, 293; site for a University, 132
 Grootfontein, 43, 157
 Gubbins, Dr. O'Grady, member of the Union Cabinet, 127
- Haggard, Sir H. Rider, *Nada the Lily*, 20
 Hamilton, Alexander, *Report on Manufactures*, 283
 Hammond, John Hays, 77
 Hanover, 209
 Hardinge, Lord, protest against the treatment of Indians, 145
 Hartebeestpoort, 300
 Havenga, N. C., 189
 Heidelberg, 67, 210
 Heilbron, 210
 Hely-Hutchinson, Sir Walter, Governor of the Cape, 106
 Hereros, the, or Damaras, 44; war, 45
 Hermannus, 296
 Hertzog, Gen., 102; member of the Union Cabinet, 127; policy, 129, 139, 269, 271; platform speeches, 137; plan of segregation for natives, 138, 141, 311; retirement, 140; controversy with Gen. Botha, 141; Prime Minister, 189
 Hex River Valley, 206, 293
 Hichens, W. L., 107
 High Veld, climate, 209
 Hime, Col (afterwards Sir Albert), 84
 Hlobane Mountain, 36
 Hoernle, Prof., 306
 Hofmeyr, G. R., treatment of the Bondelswart, 186

- Hofmeyr, Jan, Chairman of the Afri-
 kander Bond, 47
 Holland, number of immigrants from,
 222
 Honey, S. N. G., Commissioner of
 Swaziland, 59
 Hope Town, discovery of diamonds
 at, 29
 Hottentots Holland mountains, 203,
 206, 291
 Hout Bay, 201, 202, 291
 Howick Falls, 298
 Huguenot University Coll., Wellin-
 gton, 132
 Hull, H. C., member of the Union
 Cabinet, 127

 Illovo river, 199
 Immigration, 283-9; requisite con-
 ditions, 289; Bill, 145
 Imperial Conference in London, 172
 Inchanga, 298
 Indian Ocean, 198
 Indian Relief Act, 146 ✓
 Indians, in the Transvaal, 87, 117;
 in Natal, 120; strike, 145; report
 of the commission, 146
 Industrial Conciliation Act, 185
 Influenza, epidemic of, 167
 Ingo river, 41
 Isandhlwana, 36

 Jagersfontein, mine at, 30
 Jagger, J. W., 175
 Jakals water, 156
 Jameson, Dr. (afterwards Sir Starr),
 † 29; and the Chartered Co., 74, 77;
 expedition against the Matabele, 74;
 Raid, 75, 77-80; trial, 80; Prime
 Minister, 118; death, 165
 Jansonville, 206
 Jeppestown, 182
 Jobe, chief of the Umtetwa, 18
 Johannesburg, 64; railway to Lou-
 renço Marques, 67; National Union,
 69, 72; Sanitary Board, 70; con-
 struction of a fort, 86; British
 troops enter, 100; University Col-
 lege, 132; riots, 143-5, 157; strike,
 168; temperature, 208; low death-
 rate, 209; gold mines, 298; sights
 of, 299
 Jones, Barend Stephanus, 90
 Jonkershoek mountains, 294
 Joubert, General Piet, 41, 56; candi-
 date for the Presidency, 71; com-
 manding the Boers, 95

 Juvenile Affairs Boards, 227

 Kaffir Wars, 15, 34
 Kaffraria, 29, 206; rivers of, 199
 Kakamas, 150
 Kalahari, the, 51, 212
 Kalk Bay, 293
 Kalkfeld, 156
 Kamaherero, chief of the Hereros, 44
 Kaokoveld, 157
 Karibib, 156
 Karri-Davies, Major, 80
 Karroo, the, 203; vegetation, 208;
 sheep-farming area, 209; the Great,
 206; the Little, 205; Western, 212
 Keate, R. W., Governor of Natal, 30;
 award, 30, 32, 35
 Keetmanshoop, 155
 Kei, the, 13
 Kekewich, Col. R. G., siege of Kimber-
 ley, 95
 Kemp, General, 189
 Kerr, Philip, 107
 Khama, the chief, 52
 Khorab, 157
 Kilossa, action at, 161
 Kilwa, 161
 Kimberley, diamond mines, 29, 212,
 302; siege of, 95; relieved, 99
 King, Dick, 23
 King William's Town, 297
 Kipling, Rudyard, 293
 Kristenbosch, National Botanic Gar-
 dens at, 294
 Kitangari Valley, 161
 Kitchener, F.-M. Earl, in the Boer
 War, 98; C.-in-C., 101; negotiations
 with Botha, 102; system of
 "drives," 103
 Kiwu, Lake, 160
 Kleinfontein mine, dispute, 143
 Klerksdorp, 198
 Klip Drift, 31
 Knysna, 200, 204, 205
 Kok, Adam, Griqua Chief, treaty with,
 26
 Komati, the, 198
 Komati Poort, 214; temperature, 208
 Komsberg, 207
 Kondoa Irangi, capture of, 161
 Koal, Bay, 177
 Kotzé, Chief Justice, 56, 71; judg-
 ment on the *Volksraad*, 88; dis-
 missal, 89
 Kowie river, 195
 Kritzinger, 102
 Kroonstad, 100, 210

- Kruger, Paul, 15, 47; attack on Potchefstroom, 28; visit to England, 40, 42; President of the S.A. Republic, 42, 62; character, 60; birth and career, 61; distrust of English, 62; policy, 62, 85; informal court, 65; extension of the franchise, 69; at Johannesburg, 69; his administration, 70; re-elected President, 71; negotiations with Sir H. Loch, 73; relations with C. Rhodes, 73; closes the Vaal for traffic, 76; despatches to J. Chamberlain, 76; telegram from William II, 79; relations with Sir A. Milner, 87; conference at Bloemfontein, 91; ultimatum, 93; war declared, 94; flight, 100; sails for Europe, 101; death, 105; grave, 300; memorial, 300
- Krugersdorp, 41, 67
- Kuruman, 52
- Labotsibeni, Queen Regent of Swaziland, 56, 57
- Labour Party, alliance with the National Party, 187, 268; the Pact, 188, 272; policy, 273
- Ladysmith, 84, 205, 298; siege of, 96; attack on, 98; relieved, 99
- Laing's Nek, 101; attack on, 41
- Landman, 18
- Langlaagte, 183
- Language problem, 129
- Lanyon, Sir Owen, administrator of Griqualand West, 31; of the Transvaal, 40; character of his rule, 40
- Lawley, Sir Arthur, Lt.-Governor of the Transvaal, 106
- Lebombo Mountains, 297
- Leonard, Charles, manifesto, 78
- Leonard, J. W., opinion of the Afrikaner Bond, 47
- Lerothodi, 48
- Letsie, 48
- Lettow, Col. von, 160-2; surrenders, 162
- Leuchars, Col., resignation, 139
- Leutwein, Major von, Governor of German S.W. Africa, 44
- Lewis, Robert, 44
- Leyds, Dr. W. J., 72; mission to Europe, 89
- Lichtenburg, meeting at, 152
- Limpopo or Crocodile River, 74, 193, 198, 210; valley, 210
- Lion's Head, 201, 291, 292
- Lithako or Lattakoo, 52
- Livingstone, David, 24, 52, 199; house destroyed, 61
- Liwale, 161
- Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. D., Prime Minister, 168
- Lobengula, King of the Matabele, treaty with Sir H. Robinson, 73; flight, 75; death, 75
- Loch, Sir Henry (afterwards Lord), High Commissioner of Cape Colony, 72; at Pretoria, 72; negotiations with Kruger, 73
- Lodamba, 54
- Lombard's Kop, battle of, 96
- London, Convention of, 55, 76
- Lourenço Marques, 32, 196
- Loyal Colonial League, formed, 82
- Lüderitz, F. E. A., trading station at Angra Pequena, 43
- Lüderitzbucht, 151; discovery of diamonds at, 46, 201; Bay, 195
- Ludonga, 54
- Lukin, General, 150
- Lusitania, sunk, 158
- Lydenburg, republic of, 27, 41; sale of, 55
- Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred, Colonial Secretary, 113; constitution for the Transvaal, 113
- McCallum, Sir Henry, Governor of Natal, 106
- Macdonald, Dr. W., 290
- Machada peak, 207
- McKenzie, Colonel, 38
- Mackenzie, General Sir Duncan, 151; occupies Aus, 155
- Mackenzie, John, 46, 52
- MacMahon, Marshal, award in favour of Portugal, 32
- Madeley, Mr., 189
- Mafeking, 46, 52; siege of, 95
- Magaliesberg, 101, 198, 211
- Magersfontein, 97
- Maguire, Rochfort, agreement with Lobengula, 73
- Mahenge, 161
- Mahlangana, 19
- Maize, export of, 258
- Majuba, 42; Mountain, 298
- Malaboch, chief, expedition against, 72
- Malan, C. W., 189
- Malan, Dr. D. F., 189
- Malan, F. S., member of the Union Cabinet, 127
- Malmani, 78

- Malmesbury, 199, 200, 205
 Marianhill, Trappist Monastery, 297
 Maritz, Col., 17; President of the *Volksraad*, 18; commanding the Defence Force, 150; betrays it to the Germans, 153; flight, 154
 Maritzburg, 298; temperature, 211; rainfall, 211
 Marriage Laws, 309
 Mashonas, the, raided by the Matabele, 74; rebellion, 75
 Masupha, 49, 50
 Matabele, the, 18; raid on the Mashonas, 74; campaign against, 75
 Matiwana, 48
 Matjesfontein, 209
 Matoppo Hills, 75, 105, 165, 302
 Matroosberg, 206
 Matthews, Dr. J. W., 29
 Mauchberg peak, 207
 Mbabane, 58
 Mbada, 57
 Meltahohe, 155
 Merriman, John Xavier, 34; opinion of the Afrikander Bond, 47; Prime Minister, 118, 126
 Messina, 193
 Messini, chief of the Amaqwabe, 38
 Metandu Valley, 161
 Methuen, Lt.-Gen. Lord, sent to relieve Kimberley, 97; taken prisoner, 103
 Meyer, Lucas, 37; president of the New Republic, 37
 Mitchell's Pass, 295
 Middelburg, 210
 Mier, 52
 Milner, Sir Alfred (afterwards Viscount), 70; High Commissioner of S. Africa, 86; relations with Kruger, 87; on the treatment of British Indians, 87; conference at Bloemfontein, 91; peerage, 106; administration, 109-11; leaves S. Africa, 114; on federation, 172
 Miners, strike, 143-5, 148, 179-83; leaders deported, 148; conflicts with the police, 181
 Miners' Phtisias Act, 133
 Mines, Chamber of, abolition of the *status quo* agreement, 178
 Mines and Machinery Act, 133
 Mining Industry Board, report, 184
 Modder river, 97, 99
 Moffat, John Smith, 52
 Moffat, Mary, 52
 Moffat, Robert, 52
 Moirosi, a Basuto Chief, rebellion, 49
 Molopo river, 52
 Moltino, Sir John, Premier, 33; dismissal, 34
 Mome Valley, 38
 Mont aux Sources peak, 207, 302
 Montsioa, chief of the Baralong, 52
 Mooi river, 301
 Mooney, Enraght, Special Commissioner to Swaziland, 53
 Moor, Sir Frederick, Prime Minister of Natal, 126; member of the Union Cabinet, 127
 Morenga, a Hottentot leader, interned 45; killed, 46
 Morley, Viscount, 86
 Moselikatze, 18
 Moshesh, founder of the Basuto nation, 48; treaty with, 26
 Moshi, 160
 Mossamedes, 11, 193
 Mossel Bay, 13, 195, 295
 Mozambique, 11, 12, 162, 193, 215
 Mswazi I, founder of the Swazis, 53
 Mswazi II, King of the Swazis, 54
 Muizenberg, 105, 201, 203, 293
 Myburgh, 157
 Nabas, capture of, 155
 Nakop, 150
 Namaqualand, copper mines, 13, 212
 Namaquas, the, 43
 Napier, Sir George, Governor of Cape Colony, 23
 Natal, 15, 214; Republic of, 22; constitution, 22; a British colony, 23; self-governing, 38; industrial development, 83; measures of defence, 84; internal disputes, 119; Native Affairs Commission, 119; restrictive measures on Indians, 120; finance, 121; University College, Maritzburg, 132; area, 194; rivers, 199; temperature, 211; rainfall, 211
 Nathan, Sir Matthew, Governor, 121
 National Party, 141; policy, 159, 165, 168, 173, 268; deputation from, 168; alliance with the Labour Party, 187, 268; the Pact, 188, 272; number of, 272
 National S. African Convention, 123; at Durban, 124; members, 124
 Native Affairs Act, 142; Land Act, 141; plan of segregation, 138, 141; of a General Native Council, 311; Urban Areas Bill, 142

- Natives, grievances, 176; treatment, 177; result of contact with whites, 228-32; number of, 229, 231, 235, 237; qualities, 234; legislation against, 236; work of the, 276-8; solutions of the problem, 278, 311; education, 279-81
- Nelspruit, 214
- Netherlands Railway Co., 67
- New Republic, 37
- Newala, 161
- Newlands, 202, 293
- Ngami, Lake, 212
- Nhamacurra, action at, 162
- Nieuwveld, 207
- Nomaton, 151
- Nomawa, Queen Mother, 57
- Noodsberg, 211
- Nooitgedacht, 101
- Northey, General, 161
- Nous, 154
- Ntakala, 198
- Nyassa, Lake, 161
- Nyassaland, 162, 193
- Ohrigstad, 17
- Okahandja, 43, 156; Treaty of, 44
- Okavango, the, 193, 193
- Onderstepoort, 300
- Orange Free State, history, 26; constitution, 27; claim to the diamond fields, 30; treaty with the S.A. Republic, 81; annexation of, 100; area, 194; climate, 209; boundaries, 216
- Orange River, 13, 17, 194, 197, 212
- Orange River Colony, 106; election, general, 115; population, 115
- Ostrich feather industry, 29, 205
- Otavi Junction, 157
- Otjimbingwe, 156
- Otjiwarongo, 156
- Oudtshoorn, 13, 205
- Outeniqua Mountains, 205; Pass, 214
- Outjo, 156
- Ovamboland or Amboland, 44
- Ovambos, the, 44, 45
- Paardekraal, 41
- Paarl, 13, 199, 205, 294
- Palapye, 53
- Panda, 22
- Paris, Gen., 103
- Parker, Stafford, President of Klip Drift, 31
- Parliament, powers, of, 244; Bills, passed by, 245
- Pearson, Prof. H. W., 294
- Penn-Symons, Gen., 96; killed, 96
- Philip, Rev. Dr., 16
- Phillips, Lionel, 77
- Pietermaritzburg, 22
- Pieter's Hill, battle of, 99
- Pinetown, 297
- Piquetberg, 205
- Pirie Bush, 297
- Pitsani, 78
- Platinum, discoveries of, 213, 264
- Platteklip, 202
- Pondoland, 15, 206
- Pondomise, the, 50
- Pongolo river, 53
- "Poor whites" or *bywoners*, 226-8; number of, 227, 282, 285; relief schemes, 281
- Port Alfred, 195, 205
- Port Elizabeth, 15, 196, 200; snake park, 296
- Port Natal, 19; ceded to the Boers, 20
- Port Nolloth, 150, 204
- Port St. John's, 195, 297
- Portugal, dispute with Great Britain, 32
- Portuguese E. Africa, 12, 193; area, 194
- Potchefstroom, 22; republic of, 27, 210, 301; attack on, 28; invested by Boers, 41; University Coll., 132
- Potgieter, Hendrik, 17, 21
- Press Law, 85
- Pretoria, 28, 299; invested by Boers, 41; Convention of, 42, 55, 76; occupied by British troops, 100; inter-colonial Conference, 123; temperature, 208; the administrative capital, 252
- Pretorius, Andries, 22; repulsed at Boomplaats, 26; President of the S.A. Republic, and the Orange Free State, 28; resignation, 28, 32
- Pretorius, Marthinus Wessels, 28
- Prieska, 155
- Prince Edward Island, 284
- Prince Imperial, killed, 36
- Pringle, Thomas, 16
- Prinsloo, Gen., surrenders, 101
- Property laws, 309
- Province, Cape, 193; area, 194
- Provincial Councils, election of members, 247; legislative powers, 247; work of the, 248
- Public service, reorganized, 136

- Quathlamba range, 197
 Queenstown, 209
 Quinn, Mayor of Johannesburg, 111
- Railways, 252; fares, 302
 Raman's Drift, 150
 Ramdam, 99
 Ravenshaw, Gen., 296
 Reddesburg, 100
 Reformers, trial, 80; sentenced, 80
 Rehoboth, 43, 44; the Bastards of, 44
 Reitz, Francis William, President of the Orange Free State, 47, 81; judge in the S.A. Republic, 81; Sec. of State of the Transvaal, 89
 Retief, Pieter, 17; Governor of Winburg, 18; at Amgungundhlovo, 20; murdered, 21
 Rhodes, Cecil, 29, 47; character, 60; career, 62; policy, 63; relations with Kruger, 73; Prime Minister of Cape Colony, 77; resignation, 79; death, 105; memorial to, 293
 Rhodes, Colonel Francis, 77
 Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, 132
 Rhodesia, history of, 74; referendum in favour of responsible government, 186, 274-6; area, 194; High Courts in, 250; mineral wealth, 275; North-Western, 193; Southern, 12, 193
 Richmond, 33
 Riebeck, Jan van, 12
 Rietfontein, 155; action at, 96
 Ripon, Earl of, 38
 Riversdale, 205
 Robben Island, 202, 291
 Roberts, F.-M. Earl, 42; C.-in-C. in S. Africa, 98; enters Bloemfontein, 100; return to England, 101
 Robertson, 295
 Robertson, Sir Benjamin, 146
 Robinson, Sir Hercules (afterwards Lord Roomead), 29; Governor of Cape Colony, 42; treaty with Lobengula, 73; attempts to stop the Jameson Raid, 78; peerage conferred, 86
 Roggeveld, 207
 Rondebosch, 202, 293
 Roos, T. J., 189; leader of the Young Transvaalers, 140; on the republican cause, 271
 Rorke's Drift, 36
 Rosebery, Earl of, convention with Kruger, 56; Prime Minister, 72
 Roomead, Lord, *see* Robinson, Sir H.
 Rovuma river, 160
 Rudd, C. D., agreement with Lobengula, 73
 Russell, Lord, of Killowen, 80
 Rustenburg, 61, 211
- Sabi Game Reserve, 301
 St. Helena, 37
 St. John's river, 19
 St. Lucia Bay, 37, 194
 St. Michael's, 202
 Saldanha Bay, 195
 Salisbury, Marq. of, 43
 Sanna's Post, 100
 Sand River Convention, 26; action at, 100
 Sandfontein, 150
 Sandili, the chief, killed, 34
 Sauer, Dr. Hans, 75
 Sauer, J. W., member of the Union Cabinet, 127
 Schlesinger, I. W., 287
 Schreiner, Olive, 297
 Schreiner, W. P., 79; Prime Minister of the Cape, 82; policy, 82
 Scott, Admiral Sir Percy, 96
 Sea Point, 203, 293
 Sechele, the Bechuana chief, 61
 Secocoeni, chief of the Bapedi, 33
 Seitz, Dr., surrenders, 157
 Selborne, Earl of, High Commissioner, 114; on the union of the S.A. Colonies, 123
 Selkirk, Lord, settlement in Prince Edward Island, 284
 Selous, Frederick Courtney, 74
 Senate, the, 241; power of, 244
 Senzangakona, chief of the Zulus, 18
 Serowe, 53
 Seven Weeks' Poort Mountain, 206
 Shangani river, 75
 Sheep rearing, 255
 Shepstone, Sir Theophilus, 33
 Shepstone, Mr. Theophilus, 56
 Shippard, Sir Sidney, 79
 Shilling, Andrew, 12
 Sigamanda, 38
 Sikonyella, chief of the Mantatea, 20
 Simon's Bay, 195
 Simon's Town, 201
 Skinner, Col., 155
 Slachter's Nek, 14, 296
 Slaves, emancipation, result, 17
 Smartt, Sir Thomas, 136, 175

- Smit, General, 56
 Smith, Captain, occupies Durban, 23
 Smith, Gen. Sir Harry, 26
 Smith-Dorrien, Gen. Sir Horace, 160
 Smuts, Gen. J. C., consul in Swaziland, 57; State Attorney, 89; in the Boer War, 102; member of the Union Cabinet, 127; sarcasm, 140; ovation at Cape Town, 158; invasion of German E. Africa, 160; joins Imperial War Cabinet, 161; at Versailles, 168; signs the Treaty, 169; on the status of the Dominions, 170, 171; Prime Minister, 171; -175; on a White S. Africa, 185; dissolves Parliament, 188; defeated 189; leader of the S. African Party, 274
 Sneenwberg, 207
 Sobhuza I, Chief of the Swazis, 53
 Sobhuza II, King of the Swazis, 57; in England, 59
 Solomon, Sir Richard, 107, 109
 Somerset, East, 296
 Somerset, Lord Charles, Governor of Cape Colony, 14; administration, 15
 South Africa Act, 125, 242, 245, 250, 274
 Southey, Sir Richard, 31
 Sperrgebiet, 46
 Spion Kop, 298; battle of, 99
 Spitskop peak, 207
 Sprigg, Sir John Gordon, 34; resignation, 118
 Springs, 67
 Standerton, 67; invested by Boers, 41
 Stanley, Lord (afterwards 14th Earl of Derby), 23
Star, the, 69; suspended, 85; office burned, 143
 Stauch, August, 46
 Stel, Simon van der, 13, 292
 Stellaland Republic, 46
 Stellenbosch, 13, 205, 294; Victoria College at, 132
 Steyn, Marthinus Theunis, President of the Orange Free State, 81; death, 163
 Stormberg, 97; range, 207
 Storms, Cape of, 12
 Stutterheim, 209
 Sundays river, 199
 Supreme Court, 250-2
 Swakop river, 156
 Swakopmund, 195; railway to Windhuk, 45; evacuated by the Germans, 150, 154
 Swaziland, 12; history, 53-9; land concessions, 55; Provisional Committee, 56; administration, 57-9; Proclamations, 58; area, 194
 Swazis, the, 53-9
 Sweetwaters, 298
 Swellendam, 13, 14, 205
 Table Bay, 195, 201, 291; construction of a breakwater, 29
 Table Mountain, 102, 201, 203, 291
 Tabora, 160
 Tafel, Colonel, 161
 Talana Hill, 96
 Tanga, 160; occupied, 161
 Tanganyika, Lake, 160; Protectorate, 162
 Tarka, 15
 Tati, discovery of gold at, 31
 Taungs, 52
 Tembus, the, 50
 Thaba Bosigo (the Dark Mountain), 48
 Theiler, Sir Arnold, 300
 Thesiger, Gen. (afterwards Lord Chelmsford), in Zulu War, 35
 Thomas, J. H., tour in South Africa, 108
 Thompson, F. R., agreement with Lobengula, 73
 "Thorn Veld," 209
 Tod, Mr., 273
 Toit, Rev. S. J. du, 47
 Touw's river, 295
 Trading with the Enemy Act, 163
 Transkeian Territories, 194
 Transvaal, 18; independence of, 26; republics, 27; condition, 33; annexed to Great Britain, 33, 101; restored to the Boers, 42; poll-tax, 68; qualification for the franchise, 68-91; state of unrest, 69; S. African League founded, 82; claim for compensation, 85; legislative measures, 85, 89, 116; administration, 107-15; Crown Colony system, 108; importation of Chinese labour, 110-12; cancelled, 112; Progressive Party, 112; Responsible Government Association, 113; Lyttelton Constitution, 113; elections, 115, 164, 173; Asiatic question, 117; University Coll., Pretoria, 132; area, 194; climate, 209; gold-mines, 213
Transvaal Critic, the, 85
 Tritchard, Louis, 17

- Tritchard's Drift, 99
 Trotha, Gen. von, Governor of German S.W. Africa, 45
 Truter, Sir John, 16; Commissioner of Police, 177; treatment of natives, 177; knighthood conferred, 177
 Taumbé, 151, 157
 Tugela, the, 20, 98, 99, 200, 298
 Tubagh, 206
- Uganda railway, 160
 Uitenhage, 206
 Uitlanders, attitude to the franchise question, 69; grievances, 70-2; petitions, 77, 90; raise regiments, 94
 Ujiji, 160; occupied, 161
 Ulundi, 36; battle of, 36
 Umandhlakazi, the, 37
 Umbandine (Mbandeni) king of the Swazis, 54; grants land concessions, 55; death, 56
 Umbopu, 20
 Umbulwana, 298
 Umfolosi river, 200
 Umgeni, 297; Falls, 297
Umgeni, the, 148
 Umgungundhlovo, 20
 Umhlatuzi river, 22
 Umhlatuzi Reserve, 37
 Umkomaas river, 200
 Umsindusi, the, 298
 Umtetwa tribe, 18
 Umvoti, 211
 Umzimkulu river, 199
 Umzimvubu, the, 18, 20, 199
 Umzinto river, 199
 Unemployment, 281-3; Commission of 1922, 282
 Uniondale, 205
 Upington, 150, 155
 Usibepu, the chief, 36; defeated, 37
 Usutu, the, 37, 54
 Utrecht, 105
 Uys, Piet, 18; killed, 21
- Vaal, the, 17, 26, 197, 216, 301; Barage, 197
 Vaal Krantz, 99
 Van Rooy's Vlei, 150
 Venterskroon, 301
 Vereeniging, 76, 197; Treaty of, 103-5, 136
 Versailles, Treaty of, 162, 169; Peace Conference at, 168
 Victoria Falls, 199, 215, 302
- Victoria, H.M. Queen, Diamond Jubilee, 80; Uitlanders' petition, 90
 Vienna, Treaty of, 14
 Village Management Boards, 253
 Villiers, Sir Henry de (afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Cape), 42, 124, 128
 Villiers, Melius de, award, 88
 Volksrust, 67
 Vouw, von, the sculptor, 300
 Vrededorp, riot, 182
 Vryburg, 46, 52
- Wagon Hill, 99, 298
 Wales, H.R.H. Edward, Prince of, tour in S. Africa, 190
 Walfish Bay, 43, 195; occupied by the Germans, 150; by the British, 154
 War, the Great, 149
 Warmbad, 44
 Warren, Sir Charles, expedition against Bechuanaland, 46, 64; seizes Spion Kop, 99
 Waterberg, 157, 211
 Waterboer, the Griqua Chief, 29; under British administration, 30
 Waterbury, 153
 Watermeyer, Judge, decision in the case of Alukuleta, 134
 Waterval Boven, 100; Falls at, 301
 Wauchope, Gen., killed, 97
 Weenen, massacre at, 21
 Wellington, 205, 294
 Wepener, siege of, 100
 Wernher, Sir Julius, 131
 West-Ridgway, Sir J., 114
 White, Sir George, commanding the Imperial troops in Natal, 84; in the siege of Ladysmith, 96
 Wilhelmsthal, 156
 William II, ex-German Emperor, telegram to Kruger, 79
 Wilson, Major Alan, killed, 75
 Winburg, 18
 Windhuk, 44, 155
 Winton, Sir Francis de, 56
 Witbooi, Hendrik, King of Namaland, 44; captured, 44; killed, 45
 Witwatersrand, gold-mines, 64, 264; strike of miners, 116, 142, 180; University of, 132, 299
 Wolseley, Sir Garnet (afterwards Viscount), High Commissioner for S.E. Africa, 36; visit to the Transvaal, 40; proclamation, 40; C.-in-C., 93

- Wonderboom, 300
 Wood, F.-M. Sir Evelyn, 36; at Pietermaritzburg, 41
 Wool, export of, 256
 Woolls-Sampson, Sir Aubrey, 80
 Worcester, 206, 295
 Wynberg, 202

 Zambezi, the, 11, 52, 193, 198; length, 199
 Zebediela Estate, 287
 Zimbabwe ruins, 302
 Zoemakaar, 214
 Zombode, 54

 Zonder End river, 199
 Zoutpatsberg, republic of, 17, 27, 207
 Zululand, under the administration of Great Britain, 37; area, 194
 Zulus, the, history, 18; massacre of Boers, 21; defeated, 22; army reorganised, 35; attacks on the British army, 36; work as house-boys, 233
 Zuurberg, 207, 296
 Zwartberg, the, 203, 206, 214, 295
 Zwartkops river, 296
 Zwibe, chief of the Umdwandwe, 19, 54



SKETCH MAP (Railways omitted for clearness) OF SOUTH AFRICA, showing the four Provinces of the Union and the three Protectorates, 1924