



SOUTHERN
RHODESIA

PERCY T. HONE

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UNVEILING THE MEMORIAL OF CECIL RHODES AT BULAWAYO

(JULY 7TH, 1904)

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SOUTHERN RHODESIA

BY

PERCY F. HONE, B.A. (CAMB.)



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THE HISTORY OF THE
LAW OF THE REALM



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AUTHOR'S NOTE

THIS volume is an attempt to record the administrative and industrial development of Southern Rhodesia since its occupation by the British South Africa Company. The writer in the pages which follow has endeavoured to interest not only those who have some direct link with the great country founded by the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes, but also those who study imperial questions, including problems affecting the progress of a young colony.

It is hoped that the book will be of use as a work of reference to those who have invested money in Southern Rhodesia, to the settlers who take an active interest in the administration of their own territory, and to the people of the Southern Colonies who have considered the future relationship of Southern Rhodesia to the rest of United South Africa. In endeavouring to make the book interesting to so many sections of the community, the writer has separately reviewed each subject under consideration, and in so doing some repetition of historical incidents has been unavoidable.

The greater portion of the chapters on gold mining has already appeared in a series of articles in the "Economist," on January 30th, 1909, and subsequent dates. It is now reproduced by kind permission of the Editor.

Grateful thanks are due to the British South Africa Company for all the information and reports, etc., which it has most kindly placed at the writer's disposal.

Many thanks are tendered to the British South Africa Company and to Mr. L. E. Tylor for the illustrations appearing in this book.

P. F. H.

SALISBURY,
RHODESIA.

N.B.—The terms “British South Africa Company,” “Chartered Company,” “Company,” and “Government,” when they occur in the following pages, are synonymous.

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*The illustrations are from photographs kindly supplied by
the British South Africa Company, and Mr. L. E. Tylor.*



SOUTHERN RHODESIA

INTRODUCTION

SINCE the Jameson Raid in 1895, and the Mashona and Matabele rebellions in the following year which terminated in the subjection of both races to the British South Africa Company, Southern Rhodesia has come but little before the eyes of the British public. It is a country lying immediately north of the Transvaal, bounded on the east by Portuguese East Africa, on the west by the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and divided from Northern Rhodesia by the great Zambesi River.

In 1889 a Royal Charter was granted by the British Government to the British South Africa Company, authorizing it to take over the vast tract of country extending from the Transvaal to Lake Tanganyika and comprising an area, which, after settlement of boundary disputes with the Portuguese Government, amounted to 440,000 square miles. The whole territory was named after the conceiver and founder of this great project, Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

Rhodesia is divided into Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia; the former is again divided for administrative purposes into North-Western and North-Eastern Rhodesia, but the subject of this book is the southern portion only.

Southern Rhodesia, a territory of 148,575 square miles, or two and a half times as large as England

and Wales, has almost been lost sight of during the past twelve years.

Stories of the wonderful riches of the country in the early days brought out a great deal of British capital to exploit its mineral wealth. But when the speculating section of the British public, who invest their money abroad, found that no dividends were coming in, and that their capital was rapidly depreciating, they either cut their losses, or merely held on to their shares in the faint hope that better times were coming.

From 1896 onwards, trouble began to brew in the Transvaal, and the attention of all English speaking races was directed towards that country. The difficulties between the Imperial Government and the Dutch Government culminated in the great Boer War, the subjection of the Transvaal to the British flag, and the rush of fresh capital and fresh colonists to this new British possession.

The neighbouring state of Southern Rhodesia was only remembered by two sections of the British public; first by those who had relations living in the country and who from time to time received letters giving information of uphill fights, a few successes, and many failures, inactivity in commerce, disappointments in mines, lack of enterprise in farming, and a white population scarcely big enough to fill a small English country town, and year by year growing no larger. Many were the causes put forward to account for the spirit of stagnation, almost of retrogression, which had spread over a land so full of promise and opportunity. Nor was there any improvement in the outlook till the close of the year 1903.

The second section of the British public who remembered Rhodesia was represented by those people who still held many Rhodesian investments.

One company after another had gone into liquidation, while others were busy with reconstruction, and of the few so-called flourishing companies, scarce one had paid a dividend, and people were too heartily sick of the losses they had already incurred to risk good honest English money in further rotten Rhodesian company speculations. It was not therefore to be wondered at that Rhodesia was neglected, and that British investors lost heart, and were disgusted with everything pertaining to that country.

The object of this book is not, however, to deplore the mistakes and disappointments of the past, but rather to endeavour, however inadequately, to draw a true picture of the natural features of the country, to shadow forth the hopes and possibilities of the future of Southern Rhodesia, to enter into particulars of its white and black population, and to touch lightly on the early history of the pioneer work, the good achieved, and the mistakes made. The progress, too, will in some measure be traced of commerce, farming, mining, and other industries; an endeavour will be made to point out the economic possibilities of the country, and from the tendency of its early and present stages to forecast the probable course of its future development.

PART I

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

THE RAILWAY JOURNEY FROM CAPE TOWN TO BEIRA

Comfortable Trains.—Through Cape Colony; Hexe River Mountains; Karroo Desert. — Towns and Battlefields passed. — Bechuanaland.—Entry into Rhodesia, fertile aspect.—Bulawayo, Gwelo, Salisbury.—Salisbury to Umtali, richness of scenery.—Descent through Portuguese Territory to Beira.

RHODESIA is connected with the southern colonies by a main line from Cape Town. A regular service of trains runs three times a week, Bulawayo being reached after three days, and Salisbury, the capital of Rhodesia, after four days. The English mail, and the passengers from the mail-boats, are carried once a week in a train fitted up with all the latest modern conveniences, including a dining saloon, where excellent meals are served, and an observation-car, from which a good view of the country can be obtained, or in which a round of Bridge may be enjoyed at one of the card-tables provided. The observation-car, too, may be the centre of conversation, and the stranger to the country could not but be struck by the prominent part home politics played in such discussions. Even in Cape Town he would have noticed that the newspaper placards proclaimed in large letters the result of a by-election in England, while in insignificant

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type below, an announcement was made of the elections in the Cape itself.

The train, after leaving Cape Town and the magnificent overshadowing Table Mountain, makes its way through beautiful suburbs, with houses clustered amongst pines and oaks, as in some Surrey country village. Next it passes through the fertile Hexe River valley, with its distant homesteads and rich green pasturage, and reaching the mountains beyond, winds its way up the great Hexe River Range, twisting and turning, groaning and puffing, at times almost stopping as it mounts higher and higher. The evening sun in setting casts its crimson rays across the mountains, lighting up the snow-clad tops; a chill creeps through the air as the red ball of fire sinks below the horizon, and the train at length arrives at the mountain plateau above.

The traveller, when he feels inclined to turn in, will find a comfortable bed made up for him by one of the train stewards in a carriage containing four bunks. He is awakened by a native bringing early morning tea and coffee, and getting up, awaits his turn at the bath room. The fresh air makes him hungry for breakfast; he is now several thousand feet above the level of the sea, and looks across the great Karroo, a dry, desolate, gaunt, hungry plateau with rough, mountainous kopjes rising like ungainly giants from the plain, a land of scrubby bushes and massive boulders boasting not a blade of grass, unbroken in its monotony save for the wire fences which divide off one great section from another. Miles away in the distance a solitary low stone cottage may be seen, and a little later a native herding a flock of goats which find nourishment out of the rough scrub, but save for these few signs of life a desolate, God-forsaken, man-forsaken country.

De Aar, a town of some importance, stands like

an oasis in this dreary district, and here the lines from Port Elizabeth and East London join. As the traveller proceeds, he cannot but notice many of the old battlefields, Graspan, Belmont, Modder River, and Magersfontein, until at length the huge ugly blue dumps of the diamond mines proclaim his arrival at the scene of one of the three great sieges, and the train, passing through the squalid native location, stops at the rambling, unpretentious town of Kimberley.

From Kimberley to Mafeking, a distance of 223 miles, the country is dull and uninteresting except for the scene of many a battlefield of the late Boer War. Stone farm buildings are to be seen dotted here and there, but the land is sparsely populated, treeless, and for the most part flat, though sometimes slightly undulating, a poor pasture land of thin grass on which cattle can make but a meagre living. Mile after mile of country of this nature is passed until at length the eye is relieved by the sight of a small town in the distance. This is Mafeking, the capital of Bechuanaland, famous for its long siege during the late war. It is a town of 400 or 500 inhabitants, and is unlikely to grow any larger for many a year to come.

The Bechuanaland country has not much in it to attract the eye. Here and there are woods of small undergrown trees, a few kopjes surround Lobatsi, and now and again a bridge spans a dried-up water-course.

After leaving Francistown the land presents a more fertile appearance, the grass grows higher and stronger, and the cattle look fatter and healthier. Another night is passed in the train, and when once more the light of the early morning sun awakes the traveller, he is aware of a fresh coolness in the air, and perceives a complete change in the landscape.

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Wherever the eye can see stretches a rich fertile country, luxurious long green grass covers the face of the veldt, completely hiding the earth, which is a deep chocolate brown soil such as the farmer delights in. Picturesque is the view with its distant kopjes covered with many varieties of native trees, and the traveller is almost sorry when the train slows down as it passes a tall kopje, then a rifle range, then a few scattered buildings, and at length enters Bulawayo Station.

The station, as so often happens in South Africa, is situated on the outskirts of the town, but as there are a few hours to wait before the train continues its journey into Mashonaland, the visitor has time to take a peep into the capital of Matabeleland, once the famous city of the great chief Lobengula. The stranger seeing the place for the first time, is struck with astonishment to find himself, though in the middle of a vast continent, and 1,362 miles north of the Cape, suddenly entering a town of magnificent buildings with all the latest modern improvements. He passes a palatial volunteer drill hall, and then drives down Main Street, in which are clubs, hotels, Government offices, shops, and company offices, all buildings of architectural beauty and importance. In the middle of Main Street is a statue of Cecil Rhodes. The town is divided into streets and avenues containing shops and business houses, and is separated from the residential suburbs by a beautiful park. It has suffered from a building boom which lasted, in spite of a steadily diminishing population, from the time that the railway reached Bulawayo until after 1901.

On leaving Bulawayo, the train winds its way round the suburbs with their charming brick bungalow houses and beautiful private gardens filled with every imaginable English as well as sub-tropical and

tropical flowering plants. The next stage of the journey takes the traveller to Gwelo, right in the centre of Southern Rhodesia. The view of the country becomes more attractive as the journey proceeds. A branch line runs off to Gwanda to tap one of the largest Matabeleland mining districts. Everywhere the land suggests vast possibilities for ranching, and many places, such as Insiza, would be valuable for agriculture. There is an abundance of water from the Shangani and other rivers.

Gwelo, before the year 1902, was an important coaching centre. A small town of 200 or 300 inhabitants, it was kept very busy with coaches passing through from Salisbury to Bulawayo, and from the town itself to Victoria, Sebakwe, and Selukwe. It is now a junction for a branch line which runs to the important gold belt of Selukwe, and is the Government administrative seat for Gwelo district.

The fertility and general richness of the land increases as the train leaves Gwelo, crosses the border of Matabeleland, and approaches Salisbury, the capital of Mashonaland and Southern Rhodesia. The Sebakwe, Umniati, Hunyani and several other picturesque rivers are passed. The scene is full of variety; dense forests of trees are succeeded by extensive grass lands, and on all sides there are signs of great fertility of soil, and richness of vegetation. Everything pleases the eye—the greenness of the veldt, the freshness and buoyancy of the air, and the varied beauty of hill and valley.

Hartley, a small township some sixty miles from Salisbury, is of importance as a distributing centre to a large and ever increasing mining district. It contains a small white population of about eighty inhabitants, and boasts a hospital, a police camp, a bank, two hotels, a few stores and some Government offices. Quite a crowd of people from the little town-

ship may be seen walking the half mile or so to the station, whenever the mail train passes through, in the hope of meeting some friend or acquaintance among the passengers. This walk is a regular institution, and forms one of the most important recreations of the inhabitants of Hartley.

Salisbury is usually reached in the early morning, and comes with something of a surprise, as a kopje hides it from view almost until the train is at rest in the station. The town, never having suffered from a building boom, is not nearly so pretentious as Bulawayo. The inhabitants, now about 1,700 in number, have generally built according to their requirements, and have put up just so many houses, stores, and offices as they needed. The residential part is laid out in streets and avenues containing the same style of pretty brick bungalow house as in Bulawayo, but with a still more beautiful variety of flowers and plants. The comforts and necessaries of life are supplied to the inhabitants by numerous shops and stores. Salisbury is not only the capital of Southern Rhodesia, but is also the seat of administration.

From here a narrow gauge branch railway taps the Lo Mogundi district, a part of the country important for several rich and promising mines.

The main line, however, turns at a right angle at Salisbury, and proceeds in a south-easterly direction to Umtali, a town on the borderland of Portuguese East Africa. As the train leaves Salisbury, it begins to ascend until at Marandellas it reaches a height of 5,446 feet. The air here is magnificent, and the country onwards to Umtali beautiful and majestic beyond description—hills covered with trees, valleys rich in grass sometimes growing twelve feet high, the sound of rivers as they tumble over rocks, massive mountains in the distance, and here and there, in the immediate vicinity, enormous boulders piled

one upon the other, while yet beyond, rocks like a thousand pinnacles add majesty and wonder to the scene.

This tract of country, from Headlands to Rusapi, has indeed power to stir the heart, and imagination travels back to the time when the great founder journeyed through this very part in his ox-wagon, taking in and devouring its wonders, seeing visions and dreaming dreams, dreams of a population which should fill this vast territory, and visions of a day when over the country there should be dotted thousands of prosperous farmsteads, inhabited by people drawn from the overcrowded cities of England.

Umtali is picturesquely situated amongst surrounding mountains, and is the most eastern town in Southern Rhodesia. It is 170 miles distant from Salisbury, and 204 miles from the seaport town of Beira, in Portuguese East Africa. At Umtali the descent begins, the whole journey from Umtali to Beira meaning a drop of 3,551 feet. The run to Macequece, some 22 miles beyond Umtali, is down a great valley, with two ranges of mountains on either side.

The train winds in and out, sometimes forming almost a complete loop. As the sun sinks in the west it casts shadows across the mountain tops, turning what a moment before appeared a sharp and well-defined shape into a scowling and gloomy monster, until at length darkness spreads over the face of the land. In the early morning the scene is changed once again. From a starlit night dawn gradually creeps on, and the dim light reveals the forms of giant trees, one now and again standing out amidst the rest, a great white skeleton denuded of leaf and life; the rest are rich in foliage. Very soon a faint pink creeps over the sky increasing until the sun, sweeping it away, shoots out its light,

kisses the topmost leaves of the trees which sparkle with the early morning dew, then gradually glides down to the lower branches, lingers on the undergrowth of tall rank grass, and at length floods and bathes in light the deepest valleys and most hidden nooks. The train makes its steep descent through cuttings and down mountain slopes. The tropical vegetation is so thick that the long rank grass on one side brushes past the carriage windows, while on the other stretch miles and miles of well-wooded hills and valleys, the trees tall and beautiful in form, and often densely covered with flowering creepers, and the undergrowth thick with ferns, grass, creepers, and palms. Deep gullies are traversed, and flowing streams passed, until at length the train reaches the Pungwe Flats, which stretch for many miles to Beira. It is a dreary, desolate-looking country, full of morasses; the air is stiflingly hot, a sickening sense of fever fills the atmosphere, and, search the horizon as one may, nothing is to be seen but the limitless, awful, swampy plain. It is not surprising that the construction of this section of the railway cost the life of many a man, one after another falling a prey to the ravages of malarial fever.

About half-way through this unpromising district the train gingerly crosses the bridge over the Pungwe River. Care has to be taken, as the bed of the river is constantly shifting, and the bridge can find no solid foundations. From the Pungwe the train runs into the Portuguese town of Beira, and the traveller at last has accomplished his journey of 2,037 miles from Cape Town.

CHAPTER II

THE WHITE POPULATION

Pioneer difficulties.—Wars and Plagues.—Greater Prosperity.—Kaffir Servants.—Attractions to moderate Capitalists; few openings for Artisans and Clerks.—Administrative and Municipal Government.—Recreations.—Census Returns.

THE occupation of Mashonaland by the Pioneer Column in 1891 was followed by an influx of white people from the southern colonies and from Great Britain. Some entered this unknown country for the love of adventure, others in the hope of gaining wealth, and a few with the intention of settling permanently on the land and turning their attention to farming. Life in these early days was rough and lacking in comfort. All commodities were very expensive, and such food and clothing as were obtainable commanded enormous prices. Money was easily made and as easily lost. Owing to the supply of labour being so inadequate, many men unskilled in special work, or lacking in technical training, were offered and accepted positions in which they had little or no experience. The general tendency, therefore, was to produce a considerable waste in all branches of commerce and industry. Inefficiency is not to be wondered at when a man, who has been discharged from the Cape Mounted Police, is put into a responsible position in an office, a former undergraduate of Oxford is plunged into a wholesale or retail grocer's business, a clerk from the Bank of England sets out prospecting for gold,

or an unsuccessful schoolmaster determines to start farming.

Notwithstanding the pluck, the sublime optimism, and self-confidence of such adventurous spirits, the failures were many, and success had to be purchased by hard lessons of experience. There were no predecessors whose mistakes or achievements might be a guide to those who followed after; the machinery to set the ventures in motion was often expensive and inadequate; and it could not be expected that a completely new country would immediately attract to itself the best brains and the most far-seeing and evenly-balanced minds, such as were needed to initiate and carry out great undertakings. Men of special qualifications preferred to make their names in England rather than be forced into a life of discomfort, inconvenience, and possible danger, even though the compensation might be tempting. The men who went out were obliged to tackle new problems in totally fresh surroundings. Those who had lived in England had been accustomed to a country where all things moved with the utmost precision, and where the machinery of law, order, and commerce ran with clock-work regularity. They were now suddenly plunged into a land of vast speculation, and had to start their business under entirely new conditions, and adopt new methods to suit new surroundings. They had to be men of imagination as well as men of business, to look fearlessly for openings, and have the wisdom and judgement to refuse the bad as well as to accept the good.

Besides the usual fluctuations which are sure to occur in the fortunes of a new country, Southern Rhodesia has suffered from several special outside troubles which have ruined many individuals, and set back the country as a whole. She had a war with the natives in 1893; in 1895 occurred the

Jameson Raid; and in 1896 there broke out a fearful disease, Rinderpest, which destroyed nearly all the cattle in the territory. This, and the native rebellions which immediately followed, ruined numbers of the settlers, crippled transport, and brought depression everywhere. Immediately after the rebellions had been crushed, and the pestilence had died out, efforts were made to restock the country with cattle. In 1899 the great Boer War began in the Transvaal, with the result on Southern Rhodesia that it remained in a state of stagnation for several years.

In 1901 a second disease, African Coast Fever, swept through the country, and again destroyed nearly all the cattle.

The disease has since died out, and the colonists, who do not understand the word failure, are once more emerging from their misfortunes, strengthened by the lessons they have learnt in the past, and encouraged by the general and growing prosperity to make fresh efforts to establish themselves in the land of their adoption.

In the early days all the men lived either at hotels, clubs, or boarding-houses. The cost of living was very great and the food extremely bad; fresh butter, milk, eggs, and vegetables were almost unobtainable, and commanded enormous prices. Tinned meat was often substituted for fresh meat, and no thought was given for any sort of comfort. The rents of houses and lodgings, owing to the scarcity of buildings, stood very high.

At length, with the introduction of the railway into Rhodesia, and the consequently increased transport facilities, mercantile companies were able to import many of the luxuries of life. Market gardening was also carried on extensively, and vegetables could be got at reasonable prices; fresh meat replaced the tinned bully beef, eggs were sometimes

obtainable at 4s. or 5s. a dozen, while fresh butter and fresh milk, though still luxuries, could be bought by those willing to pay the high prices demanded. The large profits from hotel-keeping quickly induced others to venture their money in rival establishments, and with this increased competition the settlers secured more comforts and better living.

A boom in the building trade, and an increase in the number of married people entering the territory, soon split the towns into two distinct divisions, the business side including all the offices, public buildings, merchants' stores, churches and hotels, and the residential side or suburbs containing pretty brick bungalow houses situated in charming gardens full of all manner of sub-tropical and European flowering shrubs and plants. With the increase of these bungalow residences there followed a general reduction in rent, and with the ever-increasing facilities for obtaining better and cheaper food, not only did married people go out to reside in the suburbs, but many of the single men gave up hotel and club life and took private houses, three or four forming a mess together. The hotels were frequented by few permanent residents, and were dependent chiefly on the passing traveller, so that hotel-keeping, which at one time promised to be a flourishing investment, proved in the end to be hardly a subsistence.

The white population of Southern Rhodesia, in a census taken in September, 1907, numbered 14,018. Of the two principal towns, Bulawayo, the capital of Matabeleland, contributed 3,502 to this population, and Salisbury, the capital of Mashonaland and of Southern Rhodesia, 1,685.

The towns of Rhodesia are laid out in American fashion, with wide streets crossed by avenues at right angles and at regular distances. Salisbury and

Bulawayo have large public parks, with many varieties of shrubs and flowering plants; they have also their town halls and municipal buildings, well-equipped public libraries and reading-rooms, with nearly every English and Colonial paper, their comfortable clubs, large volunteer drill halls, churches of many denominations, schools and hospitals, their race-courses, polo grounds, recreation grounds, and golf courses. In fact these two modern towns, springing up as they have done in a country which a few years ago was only occupied by savage tribes, to-day boast of more public advantages than many a town in England. Bulawayo also supplies the whole of its population with water from its reservoir, and electric light from its own electric power station.

The population depends almost entirely upon Kaffir labour for domestic purposes, and the servants, or "house-boys" as they are called, are drawn partly from the Matabeles and Mashonas, but chiefly from tribes of Portuguese East Africa and Central Africa, the last two providing better domestic servants than the natives of the country. There are a quantity of house-boys to be got, but the quality often leaves much to be desired. Cleanliness is not always their greatest virtue, and their knowledge of cookery and house-work is sometimes very crude, though not infrequently natives can be trained into excellent servants. Their wages vary from 10s. to £3 per month, according to the age and degree of usefulness to which they attain, and in addition they receive a daily ration of native meal for their food. The language talked to the natives by almost the whole of the white population is a mixture of English and Kaffir, with a Dutch word thrown in here and there. Such Kaffir words as are used sometimes belong to the Matabele and sometimes to the Mashona language. The English introduced into the conversa-

tion disappears in proportion to the extent to which the European grasps the so-called kitchen-Kaffir language, and the native, to whatever part of Africa he may belong, gradually adopts this form of speaking in place of his own language. Naturally on either side, much is often said that is not understood, the language being a mere jumble of words strung together in whatever form best suits the artistic mind of the talker, and without any consideration for tense, mood, construction, or grammar of any sort. Such an extraordinary conglomeration of vocabularies, it would be thought, would naturally die out, and either the English or the native tongue be used exclusively; but owing to the numerous races which come to work in Southern Rhodesia from all parts of Central and Eastern Africa, it is impossible to adopt one form of native language entirely, while English is not made the medium of conversation because a number of white people, particularly those engaged in work outside towns, consider it a sign of disrespect for Kaffirs to speak to them in English, and many natives in consequence, though they may be able to talk their masters' language fluently, only address them in the mongrel dialect. It is therefore likely that this method of communication between white and black races will continue for some time to come. Natives, from whatever part of Africa they are drawn, very quickly learn kitchen-Kaffir, and it thus becomes a most useful means of communication between the different tribes when congregated together, as they are in mine compounds. They generally drop their own Kaffir names and assume English ones, such as Tom, Jack, Sixpence, Dust-pan, Coffee, Jim and Paraffin.

It is very difficult to obtain satisfactory white servants; they require high wages and often, after the expense of bringing them out from England,

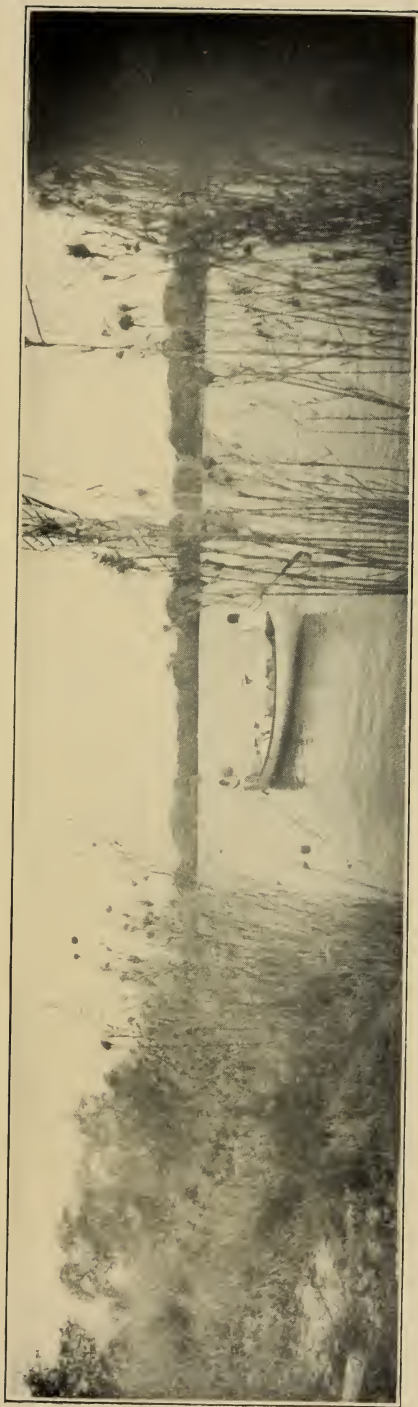
only stay a few months with their employers, and then either marry, or get a new situation with some one else.

Southern Rhodesia cannot as yet be considered a poor man's country, *i.e.*, a country in which a man can easily make a living with only a small amount of money at his disposal. Farming, mining, and transport-riding, the three principal industries at present carried on, all require a capital much greater than is necessary to colonists who go out to seek their fortunes in Canada. But those who have experienced the uphill toil of the Canadian Colonies, and have afterwards found their way into Rhodesia, would never exchange the new country of their adoption for the old life of the Rocky Mountains or the wheat lands of Manitoba, with the hard manual labour, the severity of climate, and the years of drudgery before a condition of relative ease and comfort can be reached. This life of stern discipline and toil, though it offers a splendid school for building up a great nation, is not attractive to those who have the capital to seek a more romantic existence, especially when this is found in a tropical country with a temperate climate, in a land abounding in wild game, where the supply of native labour enables a white man to make a living free from excessive manual toil; a country too, where there is always a chance of winning or losing a fortune, and above all a land undeveloped, boundless in its unknown resources and possibilities, just emerging from its infant state and, like a child of talent, ready to be moulded by a master hand; a country where history is being made, and whose whole political, industrial, and commercial destiny will be shaped by its early influences.

It has been said that Southern Rhodesia, at the present time, offers a precarious existence to those

who intend to strike out on independent lines with a very small capital behind them. As natives largely take the place of white labour, few opportunities offer themselves to farm hands. Those white men who get employment on the land are generally taken on at a very low wage and are given a share in the gross profits of the harvest; they usually have the entire management of the farm, the owner of which is engaged in work elsewhere. There is, however, a greater demand for white labour on mines. Miners, timber-men, engineer-fitters, and mill hands, all command wages of 25s. a ten-hour working shift, but owing to the increasing supply of labour and the cheaper living expenses, wages are tending to fall to 20s. a shift for skilled workmen, though sometimes much more than 25s. a shift is paid for good mechanics. At the present time the number of men seeking employment on mines is considerably in excess of the demand, but owing to the difficulty in getting steady and skilled workers first-class men always command a high wage. In towns there are few artisans beyond builders, blacksmiths, and plumbers, and as the business in these trades is small the demand is fully supplied. The Government, mercantile companies, banks, solicitors, brokers, accountants, and auctioneers, all have their full complement of clerks. Vacancies, when they occur, are quickly filled up locally or from the Colony, and it is almost impossible for new comers, even with special introductions, to get employment in a town office. The salary of a clerk starts at about £18 a month, and on this, with care, he can live in comfort.

Every town has its Town Council, its Mayor and Corporation, and its municipal elections. The Administration consists of a Legislative Council, in which the people are represented; and the various municipal and administrative measures, proposed or



ON THE ZAMBESI RIVER

introduced, afford much opportunity for discussion, and come as a happy relief to the local editors, whose papers often suffer from scarcity of news.

In all the towns there are numerous forms of recreation. In Salisbury and Bulawayo there are several athletic clubs, each with their own grounds and their separate rugby and association football, hockey, cricket, and tennis teams. There are polo clubs, golf courses, men's and women's rifle and revolver clubs; and every day, immediately after the Government offices close at four, and the other business houses at five, a large proportion of the population, both men and women, are seen wending their way on bicycles, on foot, by motor car, or in carriages to their various amusements. Sport in all its varied forms fills a very important part in the life of the people, and perhaps in no other country is so much enthusiasm shown for it. In the evening, besides private entertaining, there are concerts, dances, theatricals, and other forms of public amusement. In the shooting season a number of the inhabitants of the towns spend their week-ends and holidays in shooting picnics on the veldt. Rhodesia boasts of many regular public holidays in the year, not to mention special days when houses of business are closed for important race meetings or for some public festivity. The old saying about the Colonies, "week days are like Sundays, and Sundays like Christmas Day," is perhaps more happily applied to Southern Rhodesia than to most places.

The majority of people in Southern Rhodesia take a six months' holiday every three or four years, either to Cape Colony or to England, though many remain much longer in the country. Annual holidays of a month are not usual; the distance away from a possible holiday resort and the time and expense incurred in travelling preclude any such attempt

being made. Settlers, particularly those not born in the colony, feel the need of a periodical change, though the climate is healthy and one in which children can thrive. No doubt parts of Southern Rhodesia, on the highest plateaux and mountain lands, will one day become a health resort for people affected with lung trouble, and a place for change of air for the inhabitants of the country.

Southern Rhodesia has already proved itself to be a place where Europeans can flourish, but besides the possibility it presents of making a living, there is a romance and fascination in the life which cause even those born in the southern colonies to forget their old home and claim the new one as the land of their adoption; it induces the English man and woman, who once have tasted of its charm, to return again and again, finding in it a satisfaction which their mother country is unable to give.

RETURNS OF CENSUS, 1907

Table I.—Showing the Total European Population of Southern Rhodesia

Census of	Southern Rhodesia.			Mashonaland.			Matabeleland.			Urban and Rural Areas.			Urban Areas.			Rural Areas.		
	Persons.	M.	F.	Persons.	M.	F.	Persons.	M.	F.	Persons.	M.	F.	Persons.	M.	F.	Persons.	M.	F.
1907	14,007	9,451	4,556	6,366	4,415	1,951	7,641	5,036	2,605	14,007	9,451	4,556	6,942	4,322	2,620	7,065	5,129	1,936
1904	12,596	8,953	3,643	4,905	3,553	1,352	7,691	5,400	2,291	12,596	8,953	3,643	7,234	4,902	2,332	5,362	4,051	1,311
Increase	1,411	498	913	1,461	862	599	—	—	314	1,411	498	913	—	—	288	1,703	1,078	625
Decrease	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	364	—	—	—	—	292	580	—	—	—	—

RETURNS OF CENSUS (EUROPEAN), 1907

Table II.—Showing the total number of European Inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia as at 29th September, 1907, and 17th April, 1904

	1907.			1904.			Increase.	Decrease.	
	MALES.	FEMALES.	TOTAL.	MALES.	FEMALES.	TOTAL.			
	Southern Rhodesia	9,451	4,556	14,007	8,953	3,643			12,596
MASHONALAND—									
Fiscal Division of:									
Salisbury	2,537	1,041	3,578	2,019	653	2,672	906	—	
Umtali	1,096	469	1,565	831	276	1,107	458	—	
Melsetter	240	193	433	222	174	396	37	—	
Victoria	282	107	389	226	90	316	73	—	
Charter	247	141	388	255	159	414	—	26	
Railway Passengers	13	—	13	—	—	—	13	—	
TOTALS	4,415	1,951	6,366	3,553	1,352	4,905	1,487	26	
							Net Increase	1,461	
MATABELELAND—									
Bulawayo	3,488	2,036	5,524	4,055	1,927	5,982	—	458	
Gwelo	1,116	468	1,584	999	319	1,318	266	—	
Gwanda	380	87	467	292	44	336	131	—	
Railway Passengers	52	14	66	54	1	55	11	—	
TOTALS	5,036	2,605	7,641	5,400	2,291	7,691	408	458	
							Net Decrease	50	

Table III.—Showing occupations of Europeans according to Classes

YEAR.	CLASS.	OCCUPATION.	URBAN AND RURAL AREAS.		
			Persons.	Males.	Females.
1907		Total Population	14,007	9,451	4,556
	I.	Professional	1,408	1,147	261
	II.	Domestic	2,522	196	2,326
	III.	Commercial	1,804	1,749	55
	IV.	Agricultural	1,174	1,095	79
	V.	Industrial	3,578	3,482	96
	VI.	Indefinite	96	47	49
	VII.	Dependants	3,359	1,711	1,648
VIII.	Unspecified	66	24	42	
1904		Total Population	12,596	8,953	3,643
	I.	Professional	1,574	1,387	187
	II.	Domestic	1,820	217	1,603
	III.	Commercial	1,939	1,884	55
	IV.	Agricultural	1,029	879	150
	V.	Industrial	3,185	3,103	82
	VI.	Indefinite	278	39	239
	VII.	Dependants	2,706	1,395	1,311
VIII.	Unspecified	65	49	16	

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

Carried on first by Religious Bodies.—First and Second Education Ordinances.—Government Grants; fresh Schools opened.—Religious Instruction.—Primary and Secondary Education.—Visit of Directors.—Beit Bequest.—Committee of Inquiry.—Problems of Education.—Management of Schools.

EDUCATION is becoming an important matter for consideration amongst the settlers of Southern Rhodesia.

The history of its progress is set forth in a report given by a Commission on Education appointed by the Administration, and held in 1908, as follows:

“The first school for European children was opened in Bulawayo, early in 1895, with an attendance of 30 pupils above six years of age. The instruction in this school was undenominational, though it is not quite clear by whom it was founded. In the same year a school—termed the ‘Convent School’—was opened on similar lines by the Jesuit priests and the Dominican sisters. Grants were also made to the Church of England for school purposes at Salisbury, Bulawayo and Gwelo. Shortly afterwards the Government made an agreement with the Dutch Reformed Church to pay annually one-third of the salaries of their ministers at Bulawayo, Melsetter and Enkeldoorn, in return for an undertaking that they would conduct schools for the Dutch children in those districts. It will be seen that the first beginnings of education in the territory were largely

due to the initiative of different religious bodies, though the teaching was always undenominational. In September, 1896, there were two schools for European children in Salisbury, one conducted by the Dominican sisters, the other by the representatives of the English Church. The same year saw the opening of two schools by the Dutch Reformed Church—one at Bulawayo, the other in the central Melsetter district—while the Jesuit fathers started a school for boys at Bulawayo. At the close of the year there were four European schools at Bulawayo, with 149 pupils. In 1897 a small school for Europeans was opened at Umtali. In the following year the Salisbury Town Council erected a school building for boys and girls, and entered into an agreement with Government for its conduct, whereupon the English Church school was closed, the Bishop being of opinion that one large school would be more efficient than two small ones. The sisters of the Dominican order opened a large school for girls and small boys, with boarding accommodation for the former. In the same year a school was opened at Bulawayo under the auspices of the Church of England (St. John's), and two private schools were at this time in existence. In 1898 the number of children attending school at Bulawayo was 310, and the education at all the schools, except that of the Dutch Reformed Church, was undenominational.

“In 1899 the first Education Ordinance was passed. Its main provisions were the creation of an Education Department and of an Inspectorate, and the institution of a system of Government aid to qualified schools which conformed to the regulations. Schools were classified as Undenominational Public Schools and Voluntary Public Schools, and the grants-in-aid were on the pound-for-pound principle.

“The following eight schools were at this time in receipt of Government aid:—

At Salisbury :

- (1) The Convent School (Dominican sisters).
- (2) The Public School (public board).

At Bulawayo :

- (3) St. George's School (Jesuit fathers).
- (4) The Convent School (Dominican sisters).
- (5) St. John's School (Church of England).
- (6) Dutch Reformed Church School.

At Umtali :

- (7) American Mission School.

At Enkeldoorn :

- (8) Dutch Reformed Church School.

“The Board of the Salisbury Public School was composed of five members, of whom two were nominated by Government, two by the Town Council (which guaranteed half the expenditure), and one elected by the parents, and this was the only aided school in the territory which was not carried on under the supervision of a religious body. Four centres were now fairly well equipped with facilities for primary education, but the outside communities were still unprovided for, and it became evident that, to meet their requirements, modifications would have to be made in the existing legislation.

“The second Education Ordinance was passed in 1903. Under it the Government aid, which by the 1899 Statute could only be accorded to schools with a minimum of 25 pupils, was allowed to smaller schools at the discretion of the Administrator. Provision was also made for aiding boarding houses and necessitous boarders. An important clause was introduced empowering the Administrator to establish schools in places where a Board of Managers could not be found, and to maintain them wholly from

public funds, or to make special arrangements in cases where the Boards of Managers were unable to maintain the schools on the pound-for-pound principle.

“The elastic nature of these provisions gave a great impetus to education.

“By 1904 we find the following additional schools established:—(9) Gwelo Public School, which started with about 17 pupils, and has remained more or less at the same level; (10) Victoria Public School, which started with 14 pupils, gradually dwindled down to 6, and has now again reached 12 pupils; (11) Selukwe Public School, which started with 12 pupils, and has now 21; (12) Penhalonga School with 7 pupils to start with, coming down to 5, and now standing at 17 pupils; and two boarding schools (13) one at Melsetter, with 11 pupils, suddenly rising to 34, and now numbering 18, and (14) one at Plumtree commencing in 1902 with 6 pupils, and now numbering 59. There were thus 14 schools for Europeans at the beginning of 1904.

“In the case of the Salisbury School the dual control by the Government and Municipality led to a deadlock, and, at the latter's request, the Government undertook the management of the school and the provision of all the necessary expenditure.

“The Gwelo School was originated through the efforts of Nonconformist clergymen, but in 1903 the whole control and financial responsibility passed to the Government.

“Victoria School was instituted by the Church of England with the help of the Government; but by 1905 the School Committee found that they could not raise funds for further expenditure, and the whole cost of maintenance fell on the Government.

“The Penhalonga School has been carried on by a representative Board, which is still in existence.

“A word may be said as to the schools at Melsetter and Plumtree. The Melsetter district is far from the railway, and is occupied by a number of scattered families, chiefly Dutch-speaking. Some years back it was devastated by cattle disease, and, as the wealth of the community was comprised mainly in stock, the people were reduced to straitened circumstances, and Government was compelled to make very liberal provision for the education of their children. It was arranged that the cost per child for board, education and books should be fixed at £2 10s. a term, all remaining expense being undertaken by the Education Department, and this arrangement is still maintained.

“At Plumtree the boarding school was instituted mainly for the children of railway employés, in respect of whom one-third of the fees, amounting to £3 10s. per term only, is borne by the parents, the remaining two-thirds being shared by the Railway Company and the Government.

“By the beginning of 1907, four more had been added to the list of Government-aided schools, viz.: (15) Que Que School with 16 pupils, under the charge of the Congregationalist minister; (16) Lobenvale School, near Bulawayo, with 14 children, under the Dutch Reformed Church; (17) Ebenhaizer School, near Gwelo, also under the Dutch Reformed Church, which started with 15 pupils and now has 21; (18) Umtali High School under a publicly-elected board, with 28 pupils.

“Three minor schools, in different parts of the country, bring the total of Government-aided schools to 21; and the cost of maintenance of six of these, less what is derived from school fees, is borne by Government (Salisbury High School, Gwelo Public School, Victoria School, Melsetter Boarding School, Giant Mine School, Ayrshire Mine School). Of the others,

five are controlled by representative Boards (Umtali High School, and the Penhalonga, Enkeldoorn, Plumtree and Que Que Schools) and ten are managed by clergy or church Committees."

Mr. Cecil Rhodes successfully solved the problem of religious education. At the time when Government-aided schools were in their infancy, he gave the right of access into schools to ministers of all denominations. The regulations existing at the present day do not differ materially from those originally instituted, and are as follows:

"(1) The first half-hour of every morning after the hour of assembly shall be at the disposal of the ministers of recognized denominations for religious instruction of the children of such several denominations.

"(2) Such ministers shall arrange with the managers or principal teachers as to the days upon which they will attend, and it shall be the duty of the principal to see that such arrangements are properly carried out.

"(3) Children may, at the request of their parents or guardians, be exempted from religious teaching, and in such cases they shall during the above period receive such secular instruction as may be determined by the managers or principal.

"(4) In case any minister shall on any day not attend at the appointed hour for religious instruction, the children usually attending such instruction shall during that period receive secular instruction in such subject as may be determined by the principal."

The settlers generally have accepted the above principle, as set forth by Mr. Rhodes, and are thoroughly satisfied with it, though possibly ministers of other denominations are sometimes reluctant to make use of this clause in those schools which are under the control of the Church of England.

Secular education, however, in Southern Rhodesia has formed a more serious subject of controversy than religious instruction. In 1907 meetings were held in the larger towns in order to discuss the primary education existing in the territory, and to formulate schemes for a thorough reorganization of its system. The subject of secondary education was also raised. Important debates took place in the Legislative Council, and local newspapers opened their columns for discussion of the question.

A visit of the representatives of the London Board of the British South Africa Company to Southern Rhodesia in 1907 was seized as an opportunity for urging on the Government the importance of making an exhaustive inquiry into the subject of education. The Directors acknowledged the responsibilities of the British South Africa Company in this matter, and promised that the settlers should receive their support. They also informed the people that Mr. Beit, late Director of the British South Africa Company and the great friend and financial supporter of Mr. Rhodes, had left a bequest of £200,000 "for educational, public and other charitable purposes in Rhodesia within the field of the operations of the British South Africa Company." This bequest was to be distributed within two years after his death by a board of trustees, of whom Dr. Gaul, the then Bishop of Mashonaland, should be one, and the rest of the board constituted by the trustees of Mr. Beit's will. The terms of the will also provided that if the legacy were not paid by the estate within three months of the testator's death, it should bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent. This interest had now been accruing since October 16th, 1906. In accordance with the wishes of the late Mr. Beit, the trustees of the will suggested that the Judge of the High Court, the Administrator, the Treasurer, two elected mem-

bers of the Legislative Council, and Bishop Gaul should be appointed trustees of the bequest. They also expressed the view that the legacy should be distributed in the form of endowment, as far as practicable, so that the beneficiaries might profit from income and not from capital, and proposed that not more than £25,000 should be appropriated in any one year.

In discussing the subject of the Beit bequest, the majority of the settlers were in favour of conserving the funds for the time being and ultimately using them for secondary education, and they suggested that the expenses of primary education should be borne by the Government. There were so many vital questions, however, which required thorough investigation that, before allocating the bequest or making any radical changes in the system of education, a Committee of Enquiry was, as already mentioned, appointed by the Administrator to consider exhaustively every aspect of the case. In 1908 the Committee presented their report to the Legislative Council. They pointed out the following problems which were brought to their notice, and which required to be solved in order that education might be carried on efficiently and include the whole white population of the territory. These problems were:—

“(1) The large area requiring consideration, and the scattered and floating nature of the population.

(2) The diversity of conditions in different districts.

(3) The number of different nationalities represented by the children.

(4) The apathy of parents in certain parts of the country; and

(5) The difficulty of securing and keeping teachers.

“(1) *The large Area and the scattered and floating nature of the Population.*—The area of Southern Rhodesia is about 140,000 square miles, but many parts of this huge tract are unoccupied, and others only sparsely populated by Europeans. In some of the mining districts the European population consists almost entirely of men. In purely agricultural districts, on the other hand, there is naturally a better proportion of families, while in the more established towns the child population is very considerable. These last are, generally speaking, well provided with school facilities, and it is the population in the rural areas which presents the greatest problem, for even in a comparatively well-occupied farming district the distances between homesteads are often so great as to preclude the possibility of getting as many as seven or eight children together at one spot.

“(2) *Diversity of Conditions.*—In at least three districts a large proportion of the inhabitants are Dutch, and many of them are extremely poor. They possess little or no cash, and their simple wants are chiefly provided by their own labours. Here the question of school fees is a source of trouble, while several witnesses referred to the difficulty of giving instruction through the medium of the English language to children who can speak nothing but Dutch.

“In the mining districts, on the other hand, the community as a rule consists of fairly well-to-do folk, some of them earning good wages. Here the principal trouble is the frequency with which men employed by mining companies—contractors, mechanics, artisans, etc., change their quarters, and shift from

one mine to another. This tendency is common to all the population of Rhodesia, but is more marked among the persons engaged on work connected with the mines.

“ In agricultural districts, the boys are often taken from school at a very early age to assist their fathers on the farms, and, even if not removed altogether, are kept at home during the ploughing and reaping seasons. In many parts of the country the condition of the roads and streams during the wet season makes the walk to school wellnigh impossible; and the danger of their children being caught in heavy storms is another incentive to parents to keep them at home. These are only a few of the local circumstances which have to be taken into account in making arrangements for schools, and none of them apply to the older and larger centres, where the conditions are more or less on a par with those of Colonial or English towns.

“(3) *Diversity of Nationalities*.—We have already referred to the difficulty in localities where the population is a mixed one of English and Dutch-speaking families. Another question has been referred to by some of the witnesses who are engaged in teaching in the large towns, and that is the increasing number of children of European races other than British who have to be provided for. We have it in evidence that at St. John's Girls' School, Bulawayo, 'three-fourths of the girls in the upper standards are foreigners—mostly Russian Jews,' and the same element is found in some of the other schools.

“(4) *Apathy of Parents*.—This has been referred to by several witnesses, and appears to be most prevalent among the Dutch-speaking farmers.

“(5) *Difficulty of securing and keeping Teachers*.—This is a trouble which may be expected to disappear with time, but there is no doubt that it has operated

very detrimentally in the past. The distance of Rhodesia from the coast, the high cost of living taken in conjunction with the low salaries offered, suspicions as to the unhealthiness of the country, may all have had their effect in causing teachers to hesitate in trying Rhodesia when there are more definite prospects in the older colonies. It has been stated in evidence by more than one witness that lady teachers frequently marry within a comparatively short time after their arrival."

The Committee found that there were three classes of Government-aided schools in Southern Rhodesia:

i. Those established and still controlled by religious bodies: of which there were ten schools in the country.

ii. Those carried on under the management of local representative bodies: of which there were five schools in the country.

iii. Those created by Government to meet local demands, or now wholly controlled and financed by Government: of which there were five schools in the country.

After looking at the subject of Education in all its aspects, and hearing the various opinions, the Committee drew up a report of proposals for meeting the many and varied requirements of the case. The Committee pointed out that the first object to be aimed at was to bring primary education within the reach of every European child, and they considered that the responsibility for bringing these facilities was a national one to be borne by the public exchequer.

They suggested that only one Government school should be established in each centre, and this should retain the half hour clause for denominational religious instruction, and that negotiations should be

carried on with existing schools, controlled by private or religious bodies, with a view to their conversion or absorption into Government schools.

They further proposed that the management of each Government school should be in the hands of an Advisory Committee to be elected by the parents of the children attending the school, and that this Committee should submit its proposals for the final approval of the Education Department, who would have complete financial control. The Committee also advised that education should be compulsory, and should not be free of charge, except in special cases for which provision could be made, and that all children between the ages of seven and fourteen should be compelled to go to school, except those who had reached the fourth standard, provided that a child under eight years of age should not have to walk more than one mile to school, and for every two years older not more than a mile further.

The Committee advocated that the English language should be recognized as the sole medium of instruction, but suggested that Dutch should be taught for one hour a day in such schools as the Director of Education considered advisable. The Committee pointed out that the problem of providing education in sparsely populated districts could be solved (1) by increased boarding facilities at centres for those children living far away from a town, and (2) by the establishment of farm schools in places where a minimum of eight pupils could be got together at a common meeting place within a walking radius. In such cases the farmers should provide the schoolroom, furniture, and board of the teacher, and the salary be paid by Government. The holidays could be arranged to suit the parents. The Committee held the same opinion as the majority of the settlers in regard to the Beit bequest; they ad-

vocated that it should be devoted to secondary education, and that there should be, to begin with, one good secondary school for the whole territory, with separate departments for boys and girls, and with boarding accommodation for the benefit of children living at a distance.

The very exhaustive manner in which this Committee has dealt with the education question of Southern Rhodesia and the proposals it has recommended as a basis of settlement will no doubt largely help in the organization of a definite system of education under Government control.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF NATIVES

Characteristics of Matabeles and Mashonas.—Occupation of Mashonaland.—Matabele War and Occupation of Matabeleland.—Government of Native Races.—Matabeles unwilling Labourers.—Grievances of Matabeles.—Tolerant Rule of British South Africa Company.—Matabele Rebellion and its Causes.—Mashona Rebellion.—Mr. Rhodes secures Peace.—Unlikelihood of future Rebellion.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA, as has been said, is divided into two large provinces, Matabeleland on the west, and Mashonaland on the east. Each country is inhabited by a distinct tribe with very different national characteristics. The Matabeles, an offshoot of the Zulu race, were at the time of the British occupation a fierce and warlike people who, under the leadership of their great chief Lobengula, made themselves the terror of all the neighbouring tribes. The Mashonas on the other hand, a servile, lazy race, weakened by many petty tribal divisions, and under the rule of no single overlord, were a prey to any marauding force that attacked them. The native population of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, taken together, is now about 662,000.

In considering the best method of occupying Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, after consultation with missionaries and hunters who knew the country, determined for the time being to confine his attention to Mashonaland only. In furtherance of this purpose the Pioneer Column on August 13th, 1891, completed the cutting of the

road from Tuli, on the south-eastern border of Matabeleland, to the middle of the high plateau of Mashonaland, at once established themselves in the country, and set about exercising the mineral rights granted to them under the Charter. Lobengula was meanwhile left in undisputed control of Matabeleland, but caused the British South Africa Company endless trouble by his raids of murder and plunder on the defenceless Mashonas.

The remonstrances of Dr. Jameson, who was then Administrator of Mashonaland, were of no avail, and matters went from bad to worse, until in April, 1893, the Matabele cut the telegraph wires, and thus committed the first act of open hostility towards the white settlers. This was followed by continuous incursions on the Mashonas living near the borders of Matabeleland, until so violent an attack was made in Victoria district on July 9th, 1893, that Dr. Jameson, finding remonstrance useless, determined to take active measures to quell these raids. Accordingly, on October 17th, 1893, having picked out a small band of a few hundred police and settlers, he marched into Matabeleland, where he met the enemy, and successfully defeated them in two decisive battles, overthrowing the combined forces of many thousands of Matabeles. On November 4th, 1893, the column entered Bulawayo, the late capital of the old chief Lobengula. Lobengula fled north of the Zambesi, where he afterwards died.

The most tragic and dramatic feature of this campaign was the attempt made by Major Wilson and a small body of men to capture Lobengula at the Shangani River. They were, however, themselves cut off by the rising of the river, and, attacked by the rebels, the little band made a barricade round their dead horses and after a gallant stand died fighting to the last.

With the occupation of Bulawayo, the capital of Matabeleland, the campaign terminated, and the western as well as the eastern province came under the direct rule of the British South Africa Company.

Legislation affecting the government of native races in a new country must, in common with all other branches of its administration, be somewhat experimental and handled with great care and tact. The subjection of a barbarous population to a European civilization cannot be brought about in a moment, and it is not possible suddenly to check the many atrocious and cruel practices of Kaffir tribes with the severity that English law demands. Lessons of discipline can only be taught by a policy of increasing firmness, until at length the native understands that crime never goes unpunished. Legislation not only teaches the savage that he must conform to the laws of humanity, but it also shows him that by so doing he gains a freedom of action unknown under native rule, that his property is protected, wrongs are righted, and the liberty of all maintained.

After the occupation of Matabeleland the natives of that territory were brought under the same laws as those of Mashonaland, and, though there were no open complaints made, many of the young Matabele warriors fretted under the restrictions which civilization imposed. Difficulties also began to arise between the settlers and the natives. The Matabele men were accustomed to leave the agricultural work to their women, and, being themselves used to a lazy, indolent life except in time of war, resented the demands for labour made upon them by the white population. To cope with this difficulty the Native Commissioners, by order of the British South Africa Company, persuaded many of the chiefs to turn out their young and ablebodied men to labour on the mines and farms. But, though these men were given

high wages, the pay was small inducement to them to work, as their wants were few and they required but little money to supply them. The warlike race of Matabele felt the irksomeness of being a conquered people, and recalled the days when they themselves were rulers and lived the exciting life of plunder, rapine, and murder. No wonder that there was, deep hidden in their minds, the longing to blot out the European intruders, to retake their country, and to continue their reign of tyranny and bloodshed.

Another grievance of the Matabele lay in the fact that the British South Africa Company, after the overthrow of Lobengula, had, in confiscating all the great chief's cattle, left a large portion with the natives, but only on condition that the Government should take them when required; thus the Matabele never knew how many beasts they could call their own, or when a number would be taken from them.

An uncertain policy is the worst method that can be adopted with a Kaffir. He understands and appreciates firmness, justice, and decision of action, but immediately there is any sign of hesitation, ambiguity, or weakness, he at once becomes dissatisfied. If the British South Africa Company had taken over all Lobengula's cattle immediately, instead of in batches, the Matabele would have accepted the confiscation as a fair and just indemnity for war. The procrastination of the Government probably appeared to the natives to be a sign of weakness, and when the Government demanded the cattle the Matabele often claimed that the beasts belonged to private owners and never had been the property of Lobengula. It is characteristic of a Kaffir to use deceit towards an enemy, and it was therefore impossible to arrive at any conclusion as to the real owners of the cattle. Consequently it

was left to the discretion of the Native Commissioners to determine which were the Government's cattle whenever the British South Africa Company required a new consignment. This was an exceedingly difficult task, as it was almost impossible to distinguish the cattle formerly belonging to Lobengula from those of private owners, and there must have been now and again an inadvertent miscarriage of justice, which produced a general feeling of discontent and resentment among the Matabele.

At length, in 1896, finding that the system of obtaining the confiscated cattle was answering badly, the British South Africa Company called a meeting of all the chiefs at Bulawayo, and informed them that the Government would take two-fifths of the cattle in Matabeleland and hand over the remaining three-fifths to the natives. The chiefs appeared to be thoroughly satisfied with the decision, but the mind of a Kaffir is unfathomable, and the Government little knew the real secret thoughts which were even then rapidly ripening into open rebellion.

Trouble arose, too, from another source. After the overthrow of Lobengula in 1893, a native police force of young Matabeles was raised. These police, when sent to the native towns and villages by the Native Commissioners, tyrannized over and ill-treated their own kinsmen. These young Matabeles, having been men of no importance before, now delighted to make their power felt. Constant complaints were made by the rest of the tribes, and no doubt the conduct of the police formed a very important factor in producing the second Matabele rebellion. Yet these very police, when the rebellion broke out, deserted with their arms and joined their compatriots.

From what has already been written it will be seen that ever since the overthrow of Lobengula

the Matabele had been dissatisfied, and were now only waiting for an opportunity to break into open rebellion. Their discontent was fanned by the late chiefs, who were longing once again to assert their authority and resume the old *régime* of murder and plunder. There is no evidence to show that the rule of the British South Africa Company was harsh or cruel, or that the settlers ill-treated the natives. Native Commissioners were stationed all over the country to hear the complaints of the Matabele, and if any acts of cruelty by white men were brought to their notice, the cases were heard and the culprits severely punished. The missionaries, too, have testified to the generally kind treatment of the Kaffirs by the white population. The rebellion, therefore, cannot be said to have been caused by any cruelty towards the natives.

The indirect causes of the Matabele rebellion have already been mentioned, but the climax was hastened by three definite circumstances. The first of these was a matter of superstition. The religion of the Matabele is based on spirit worship; and witchcraft and prophetic oracles exercise a powerful influence over the native mind. Just before the rebellion the voice of a spirit was said to be heard making utterances from a cave in the Matopo hills; this spirit was named Umlimo, and prophesied that the white men would be wiped off the face of Matabeleland. A total eclipse of the sun had just taken place, and this, the Umlimo said, was a sign that the white man's blood would be shed.

The second of the circumstances referred to was the withdrawal of the whole of the white police force by Dr. Jameson for his raid in the Transvaal, and the white inhabitants being in the minds of the Matabele defenceless, the moment for striking a blow had come.

Lastly, rinderpest had begun to spread amongst the native cattle, and the Matabele believed that the sickness was directly or indirectly due to the white men. The disease reached Bulawayo on March 5th, 1895, and four days later a proclamation was issued by the High Commissioner to kill all the cattle affected. The Matabele, not understanding the precaution taken, considered the proclamation a violent act of injustice.

Urged on by the opportunity of fighting against a defenceless people, and encouraged by the voice of the Umlimo, who prophesied certain success; incited, too, by the deposed Matabele chiefs, who once again saw visions of ruling under the old brutal *régime*; and lashed into fury by the sight of their cattle dying by thousands, the Matabele at length burst into open rebellion on March 20th, 1896. Several writers have already told the tragic and gruesome story of that fearful rebellion, and have described the cold-blooded butchery of men, women, and children in every outlying district, who died defenceless and unsuspecting by the hands of their own Matabele servants. The story also has been told how the innocent blood was avenged, a record indeed of heroism, daring, and sacrifice.

In the midst of it all came news that through the instrumentality of the Umlimo the servile race of Mashonas had also risen, and that there had been a repetition in Mashonaland of the dreadful murders which had taken place in Matabeleland. At length, after many weeks of hard fighting, both rebellions were quelled.

But though the Matabele were unwilling to fight any longer in the open, they gathered together in the impenetrable fastnesses of the great Matopo Hills, and were prepared to carry on a guerilla warfare indefinitely. Mr. Rhodes perceived the

enormous sacrifice, both in life and money, that such a campaign would entail, and determined that at all costs hostilities must cease. He therefore climbed the heights of the Matopos and met the Matabele. He himself was unarmed, but was accompanied by a small band of three followers, each of whom carried a revolver. There in the mountains, surrounded by all the chiefs of the Matabele, he held his council of peace, and by his successful negotiations not only gained for the country a victory it would have taken months to achieve by force of arms, but also won for himself the submission, admiration, and respect of the whole of the Matabele race.

The benefit gained by this bold stroke of Mr. Rhodes is almost immeasurable. His attempt was considered by many an act of madness, and the certain loss of a most valuable life; but though he did not minimize the danger which he ran, he was inspired by a confidence in himself as judge of the native character, and was satisfied that he was able to gain, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, the respect which all natives instinctively gave him. At the conclusion of the peace Mr. Rhodes remained at the Matopos, unarmed and unprotected, in order to inspire the natives with a spirit of friendship and confidence. He daily received their chiefs, who came to lay their troubles and grievances before him.

No rebellion has disturbed the country since those dark days of 1896, and the Matabeles and Mashonas live in peace and contentment. The promises of Mr. Rhodes were fulfilled. Rinderpest had already settled the question of the confiscation of Lobengula's cattle; the Matabele native police were disbanded, and instead a police force was raised from alien races. The Government no longer called upon the heads of

the kraals to send out their young men to work on the mines and farms, and all native labour now became absolutely voluntary. Nor is there any likelihood of another serious native outbreak under the present administration; a few isolated cases of insurrection there may be, which will be quickly put down, and the ringleaders brought to justice, but even this is improbable. Southern Rhodesia of to-day is very different from Southern Rhodesia of 1896. The country now has a complete railway system running through it, and the more distant parts which the railway has not yet tapped are brought into touch with the rest of the community by telegraph and telephone lines. Moreover, the British South Africa Company will never again make the mistake of sending its white police force out of the country. The native department is brought far more closely into touch with the native tribes than formerly, and the natives themselves are daily learning to come to the Native Commissioners to lay their complaints before them. Every native who resides in Southern Rhodesia is registered, and has to carry with him a Registration Certificate as a means of identification; and no native is allowed to travel from one district to another without a travelling pass. By this means the Government is brought into closer contact with the natives, and can watch the good behaviour and movements of the people. The system of registration has been successfully and thoroughly carried out without any complaints from the native population.

Owing to the difficulty experienced in persuading the Matabeles and Mashonas to work on the mines and farms, large supplies of native labour have been drawn from Portuguese East Africa, Northern Rhodesia, and Central Africa. Thousands of aliens annually enter the territory seeking for work, a few settle down permanently and marry Matabele or

Mashona wives, and the general effect of an introduction of so large an alien population is to increase the security of the white inhabitants. In the former rebellions the few Kaffirs who did not join the rebels were killed off with the white men, but now the Matabeles and Mashonas, if they break out into open rebellion again, will have to reckon with a large body of natives not belonging to their tribes, as well as with the white population.

As the years go by the old warriors gradually die out, and the old warlike spirit with them. A new generation is arising to cultivate the land in security and live at peace under the protection of the British people. They are not imbued with the warlike spirit of their fathers, nor do they feel the indignity of a conquered race.

Except for the African coast fever, which destroyed many of their cattle, the natives of the country have lived since the rebellion in great prosperity. Every Matabele and Mashona village has plentiful supplies of corn, goats, sheep, and pigs, and they are already gathering together small mobs of cattle. The men marry and live in peace, and every village swarms with children of all ages.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT OF NATIVES

White and Black Race Distinctions.—Segregation.—Regulations for Government.—Life in Mashona Villages.—Progress of Matabele.—Inducement to Work.—Supply of Labour below Demand.—Sale of Intoxicating Drinks.—Pass and Registration Laws.—Taxes.

IN order to study the policy adopted by the British South Africa Company towards the native population it will be well to consider the great racial distinctions between the white and the black man, which form so important a problem in the whole of South Africa. It is generally recognized by those who have studied the difficulties which arise between white and black races, that the difference in character, temperament, intellect and humanity itself are so well marked, so clearly defined, that never even in the future ages of the world's history, when perhaps the native races will have reached as high a state of civilization as the white races, will it be possible for the two to blend and amalgamate into one. Apart from the difference in colour, there is a subtle undefined distinction, which repels the white from intimate social intercourse with the black. As has been shrewdly remarked, "Some people are fond of talking about their black brothers, but when it comes to the point, few of them would care about a black brother-in-law." And for that matter it does not appear to be either an inhumane or an unchristian view to hold that the black races belong to an inferior order of humanity; that they come in a lower scale;

that in the process of evolution the white have gone in advance of the black, and that, to carry the point further, it would be contrary to the interests not only of the white races but of humanity as a whole, and against the laws of nature, for the higher race to turn back and step down again and mingle with those below. Rather should the superior peoples, in their unceasing progress, draw after them the inferior, raising them step by step from their present state of barbarity along ever advancing lines of civilization.

It must, however, be recognized that, though the social life and thought of the two races will be always kept apart, they must in other directions come in contact with one another; that in industry, commerce, manual and domestic labour, white and black races will be indispensable to each other. The former as employers of labour will reap the benefit of work done, the latter as labourers will receive the reward of wages. Apart from these two great classes, employer and labourer, there will be no direct intercourse between white men and black men, except for those white missionaries and teachers who give up their lives to the advancement of Christianity and civilization amongst the natives.

The British South Africa Company having recognized this impassable barrier between the two races, in order to avoid a social collision, has adopted a policy of segregation, whereby the natives, not directly or indirectly working for Europeans, live apart in large areas reserved especially for them. These tracts of country are for the most part the same as those on which the natives originally lived before the occupation of the territory by the British.

In 1898 the Chartered Company issued the following regulations for the good government of the natives :

" I.—THE ADMINISTRATOR.

" 1. The Administrator in Council for the time being exercises over all natives all political power and authority.

" 2. The Administrator in Council appoints all chiefs to preside over tribes or sections of tribes, and also divides existing tribes into two or more parts, or amalgamates tribes or parts of tribes into one tribe, as necessity or the good government of the natives may, in his opinion, require.

" 3. The Administrator in Council may, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, remove any Chief for just cause from his position as such Chief, and may also, subject to the like approval, order his removal with his family and property from any reserve or vacant land to another reserve or vacant land; provided that no such removal to vacant land alienated by the British South Africa Company and held under title shall be effected except with the consent of the owner thereof.

" 4. With the concurrence of the High Commissioner, the Administrator in Council has power to call upon Chiefs and District Headmen to supply men for the defence of Southern Rhodesia and for the suppression of disorder and rebellion within its borders, and may call upon such Chiefs and Headmen to personally render such service.

" 5. For the purpose of native administration, the Administrator in Council has power from time to time, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, to divide and sub-divide Southern Rhodesia into Districts and Sub-Districts as may seem to him desirable. Should it be found on so dividing the country that natives of one tribe have been settled in different districts by such division, they shall be

allowed to move into the district in which their Chief is settled, or to affiliate themselves to the tribe of a Chief in the district in which they may be living.

“ II.—THE NATIVE DEPARTMENT.

“ 1. The Secretary for Native Affairs for the time being is the principal executive officer in regard to native affairs.

“ 2. He shall be accessible to and receive petitions whether written or verbal, from all natives, and shall in every case where an injustice or wrong exists (not being a private wrong remediable at law) take the necessary steps to protect and right the person or persons wronged.

“ 3. He shall in all cases of disputed Chieftainship or succession to Chieftainship, and in tribal quarrels or dissatisfaction, make enquiry personally or otherwise, as may be deemed best, for the information of the Administrator.

“ 4. In each province of Southern Rhodesia there shall be a Chief Native Commissioner who shall be responsible to the Secretary for Native Affairs, through and by whom the instructions of the Government shall be communicated and executed.

“ 5. For each District constituted by the Administrator in Council as aforesaid there shall be appointed an Officer styled the Native Commissioner, who shall exercise therein such powers as may from time to time be conferred upon him by law : provided that the Administrator in Council may, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, where it appears to be desirable, place two or more districts under one Native Commissioner, and may, subject to the like approval, appoint one or more officers to assist the Native Commissioner in the discharge of

his civil functions, except those referred to in the next two succeeding sections.

“6. A Native Commissioner may, where such a course may seem desirable, and subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, be appointed a Special Justice of the Peace with the powers and jurisdiction conferred by the law of the Cape Colony upon Special Justices of the Peace, and thereupon all the laws of the said Colony with regard to Special Justices of the Peace, the review of their decisions, or otherwise, shall *mutatis mutandis* apply to the Native Commissioner so appointed, and the Native Commissioner so appointed shall have and exercise all the powers and jurisdiction conferred upon Resident Magistrates of the said Colony. Subject to his possessing the necessary qualifications required by law, a Native Commissioner may be appointed a Magistrate or Assistant Magistrate for the district or districts under his charge.

“7. In all civil matters between natives a Native Commissioner, who may be appointed a Special Justice of the Peace, shall have the jurisdiction conferred upon Magistrates by the law at the time in force in Southern Rhodesia; provided that it shall be competent for any native to bring any action either before the Special Justice of the Peace or the Magistrate as he may desire.

“8. In civil cases brought by natives in the court of the Special Justice of the Peace an appeal shall lie to the High Court, as if the case had in the first instance been brought in the court of the Magistrate of the District.

“9. A Native Commissioner shall control the natives through their Tribal Chiefs and Headmen.

“10. A Native Commissioner shall have the power, subject to the approval of the Administrator in Council, of assigning lands for huts, gardens, and

grazing grounds for each kraal on vacant land or reserves in his district, and no new huts shall be built or gardens cultivated without his consent and approval of the position selected.

“ 11. He shall, when circumstances require it, arrange and determine, as far as possible, between natives all matters arising out of the flow and apportionment of the water of streams and furrows in his District.

“ 12. He shall from time to time, and subject to the approval of a Chief Native Commissioner, fix the number of huts which shall compose any kraal.

“ 13. He shall be responsible for the proper registration of huts within his district and for the collection of hut tax when due.

“ 14. The receiving of presents from natives or the acquisition of land or stock within his district by any Native Commissioner or Assistant Native Commissioner is strictly prohibited without the consent of the Secretary for Native Affairs first had and obtained.

“ III.—DUTIES AND DISCIPLINE OF NATIVE MESSENGERS ATTACHED TO NATIVE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICES.

“ 1. A sufficient number of Native Messengers shall be attached to the Office of each Native Commissioner and Assistant Native Commissioner.

“ 2. The duties of the Messengers shall be to convey messages to the Chiefs and District Headmen from Native Commissioners, to warn natives of collection of hut tax, to summon parties to civil cases in any Native Commissioner's Courts and to report to the Native Commissioner any irregularities or crimes that may come to their knowledge.

“ 3. All Native Chiefs and District Headmen shall be instructed to report to the Native Commis-

sioner or nearest Police Station any irregularities, misconduct, or impositions on the part of the Messengers at kraals.

"4. The Messengers shall wear uniform distinct from that issued to the Native Contingent, and including a metal badge on the left arm. Messengers shall only carry assegais and sticks.

" IV.—CHIEFS.

" 1. The Chief in charge of a tribe or section of a tribe shall be appointed by the Administrator, and shall hold office during pleasure and contingent upon good behaviour and general fitness. He shall receive such pay and allowance as shall be fixed from time to time.

" 2. He shall be responsible within his tribal district for:—

"(a.) The general good conduct of the natives under his charge.

"(b.) The immediate notification to the Native Commissioner or Assistant Native Commissioner of all crimes and offences or serious attempts at crime, of all deaths, and suspicious disappearances, of any epidemic of prevailing disease either among the members of his tribe or their stock.

"(c.) The due publication of all such public orders, directions or notices as may be notified to him.

"(d.) The nomination of a sufficient number of men to act as district headmen for sections of his tribe for appointment by the Secretary for Native Affairs, who shall also have power to remove them and appoint others in their stead.

- “(e.) The prevention of crimes and offences of evasion of taxing or licensing law, of the sale of poisons and love philtres and of the practice of witchcraft or divination.
- “(f.) A cognition and control of natives not being people of his own tribe who may come into the country occupied by his tribe and of cattle other than cattle known to be the property of his tribe.
- “(g.) The notification to the Native Commissioner or Assistant Native Commissioner of all applications by new comers to build and reside within his tribal district.
- “(h.) The prompt supply of men called for under the terms of Clause 4 of Part 1 of these regulations as and when ordered to supply the same by the Administrator in Council with the approval of the High Commissioner through the Native Commissioner or Assistant Native Commissioner.
- “(i.) The discharge of such further and other duties as may from time to time be required by the Administrator in Council subject to the approval of the High Commissioner.
- “3. Chiefs in their respective tribal districts shall aid and assist by all means in their power in apprehending and securing offenders of all descriptions.
- “4. They shall in all cases communicate with the Native Commissioner or Assistant Native Commissioner stationed in the district in which they reside.
- “5. They shall assist the Native Commissioners and Assistant Native Commissioners in the registration of huts and in collecting the hut tax when the same becomes due.

“ V.—DISTRICT HEADMEN.

“ 1. The Secretary for Native Affairs shall appoint a sufficient number of District Headmen in each tribal district to assist the Chiefs in carrying out their duties. In making these appointments the nominations submitted by the Chiefs shall, except for good reason to the contrary, be accepted.

“ 2. District Headmen shall be responsible to the Chiefs for:—

“(a.) The good conduct of the people in the portion of the tribal district placed in their charge.

“(b.) The prompt notification to the Chief of any unusual occurrence in their sub-districts.

“ 3. They shall rank as constables within their sub-districts and are authorised to arrest any native therein in obedience to any lawful warrant or whom they may see committing or attempting to commit any crime or offence against persons or property of rioting or defying authority, and to hand over the persons arrested without delay to the Native Commissioner or Assistant Native Commissioner.

“ 4. They shall be required to assist the messengers and other officials attached to the office of the Native Commissioner and Assistant Native Commissioner whenever called upon to do so.

“ 5. They shall prevent the settlement of fresh kraals in or the removal of existing kraals in their districts without proper authority.

“ 6. District headmen and other heads of kraals shall be responsible for the payment of hut tax that may from time to time come due from their respective kraals.

“ VI.—CIVIL CASES.

“ In civil cases between natives the High Court and Magistrates' Courts should be guided by native

law, so far as the law is not repugnant to a natural justice and morality, or to any Order made by Her Majesty in Council, or to any Proclamation or Ordinance. In any such case the Court may obtain the assistance of one or two native assessors to advise the Court on native laws and customs. But the decision of the Court shall be given by the Judge or Magistrate alone. In all other respects the Court shall follow as far as possible the procedure observed in similar cases in the Courts of the Colony. If in any civil case between natives a question arises as to the effect of a marriage contracted according to native law or custom by a native, in the lifetime of one or more other wives married to him, according to native law or custom, the Court may treat such law as valid, for all civil purposes in so far as polygamous marriages are recognized by the said native law or custom."

The Matabeles and Mashonas dwell in small towns or villages consisting of mud huts thatched with grass roofs, and each village has its head man or induna, who is responsible for the good conduct of his people. The villagers live much the same lives as did the former generations. They are, however, protected by law, and can plant and reap their crops in peace, instead of being subject, as in times past, to sudden raids by their neighbours. They can adhere to their old customs, in so far as they do not go beyond the bounds of justice and humanity, and may live in contentment an indolent, useless, and aimless life.

The large Mashona areas are situated chiefly in granite country and on poor sandy soil which, fortunately for the Europeans, the natives prefer to the rich chocolate and red land, as the work of cultivating the loose sandy ground is less arduous,

though the yield of corn is much smaller. All the cultivation is done by hand with hoes. The soil most easy to work is found in forest land; the smaller branches of the trees are cut down, and the trees themselves destroyed by fire. This plan is adopted to save physical exertion—though all Kaffirs are skilled wood cutters—and consequently the gaunt white skeletal remains of dead trees stand conspicuously out in Kaffir lands. The ground is cultivated close to the native villages, and most of the work is done by the women. When the soil becomes exhausted the whole village moves a few miles off to another spot, and a fresh township and fresh native fields spring up.

The indunas, or chiefs of the kraals, are steadily losing their authority in Mashonaland, and beyond the power exercised through the Native Commissioners they have little personal influence with their people. If a white man asks a chief to try to supply him with ten men to cut timber for a mine, the chief will either fail to get the men altogether or he may find five or six willing to work and himself go to make one of the gang. The decay of the personal and moral authority of the indunas is doubtless another safeguard against rebellion.

In Matabeleland the general progress is more marked than in Mashonaland, as will be seen from a report by the Chief Native Commissioner of Matabeleland published in 1908:

“The Chiefs carry out the duties entrusted to them with tact and discretion; they view with pride the distinction conferred on them, and, with few exceptions, command the respect of their people. The visit of His Excellency the High Commissioner for South Africa in October last, was made the occasion for a general gathering of all the prin-

cipal Matabele Chiefs, who were presented, after which His Excellency addressed them.

“Progress in civilisation is very perceptible among the Matabele and their adherents. They show a keen desire to follow in the footsteps of the enlightened European, and the Missionaries’ task, in so far as they are concerned, is rendered somewhat light in consequence. The reports received from the various denominations are most encouraging, and I am pleased to say that industrial training is receiving more attention. The Holi tribes do not show any great inclination to break away from their old traditional customs and habits. The members of the Ethiopian movement have acquired land within six miles of the township of Bulawayo, where they have opened a school, but have received little encouragement from the natives, who view their efforts with suspicion.

“At no time during the year has the shortage in the labour supply for other than mining purposes been acute. The local native has shown a greater inclination to seek work as a domestic servant or farm labourer. He is by instinct an agriculturist and stock-breeder, and in these directions he has shown a distinct tendency to acquire knowledge with a view to furthering his own interests. I have before me a letter I have received from one of the progressive farmers and an employer of a large number of natives in this Province on the subject, and I do not think I can do better than quote from it. He says:

“As you are aware I have a large agricultural farm. The total acreage under cultivation at present is over 600 acres. Of this 300 acres are under irrigation, on which wheat, oats and barley are grown during the winter months. I am the only white man in the place. All the irrigation is done by natives;

the binders and reapers are also worked by them. The ploughing with disc and mould-board ploughs, double and treble furrow, is done by them. The separating and churning work is also done by them. The majority of these boys have been with me from four to eight years, and I find they take a keen interest in their work, and are proud of excelling in any one department. I am a strict master, but I have always as many boys as I require, and my staff is rarely under fifty. Taken all round my opinion is the Matabele, properly treated, make excellent servants, and, with patience, can be taught almost anything in the working of agricultural implements.' ”

“The percentage of the total registered indigenous males who actually worked during the year is, as nearly as can be estimated, 47.43—a slight decrease on last year's figures.

“With a view to preventing desertions, the Pass Ordinance was further amended, with the result that the tendency in this direction was considerably reduced. As a legislative measure the Ordinance has proved to be of general advantage to both white and black.

“I am again able to report very favourably on the prosperous condition of the natives in regard to their holdings in stock. They have shown an intelligent disposition to improve the breed of their horned cattle, and in many instances have either hired or purchased a better class of bull from Europeans for breeding purposes. The local native is anxious to increase his herds by purchase, whereas formerly they used to dispose of their bullocks for cash or goods, or exchange them for breeding stock. They now recognise the use of the bullock as a beast of burden, and it is also utilised by them for ploughing or for drawing wagons, carts and sledges.

“No general improvement is noticeable in the native breeds of small stock. The Government, as an experiment, imported a number of ‘Africander’ rams from the Cape Colony for disposal among the natives, but I regret to say the venture was not a success, as the climate appeared to be unsuitable, and many of the animals succumbed to what appeared to be fever.

“The plough, as a labour saving appliance, is more generally recognised by the natives, and the demand for this implement of agriculture has considerably increased, 969 ploughs now being in use. In a few instances fruit trees and vegetables are grown by natives residing in the vicinity of Bulawayo. Natives living on Mission Farms are being taught the advantages to be gained by irrigation.

“The registration of dogs was made compulsory by Regulations published under Government Notice No. 163 of 1906, with the result that 39,000 native-owned dogs were registered, but the increase in the number of animals affected by rabies necessitated further stringent regulations, and these were promulgated under Government Notice No. 42 of 1907. Under these it was made compulsory for all dogs to be registered, properly muzzled, tied up or otherwise secured, throughout the territory. The natives, recognising the seriousness of the situation, have complied with the Regulations in a most loyal manner; furthermore, numbers of dogs have been voluntarily destroyed by them.

“There is an increase in the number of native marriages registered. The natives, however, are slow to grasp the benefits to be derived from acting in accordance with the law in this respect, and evasions are frequent. Marriages in accordance with Christian rites are steadily increasing.”

It may perhaps seem from the few remarks which have been made in regard to the Kaffirs living in their own villages, that this life of indolence perfectly satisfies all their ambitions, and that the reward of wages is small temptation to them to seek work. But with the introduction of a civilized white population into a country, it is impossible, however low in the rank of humanity a savage race may be, for it to continue in its state of stagnation. Apart from the work of missionaries, there are others who come in contact with natives on their own ground. The trader with his wagon full of cloth, ornaments and European food, barter his wares for the grain and meal of the natives; he encourages their vanity and their tastes for luxury, and the Mashona who a few years before thought it sufficient clothing to have two or three jackals' tails hung from his loins, to-day requires a tall hat or a second-hand frock coat, and will add now and again to his daily supply of meal a tin of salmon or sardines. Vanity and desire for luxury increase every year; the children who are growing into young men take their parents' luxuries as necessities and require to gratify their tastes still further. The young men are therefore forced to go out and work in order to supply their extra wants. These in turn coming in contact with European civilization, immediately endeavour to ape the white man both in the manner of dress and feeding, and spend a large portion of their wages in the gratification of their vanity and their appetite. The Europeans encourage the natives in these tastes, both because of the profit made by trading with them, and the knowledge that they are spending most of their wages, and will have to work several more months in order to accumulate sufficient money to take back to their native villages. The younger men, too, having been brought up under a *régime*

different from their fathers, do not find hard work so great a burden, and often when they have gone back to their native villages, after a few months return to work, finding that the old village life lacks the excitement and luxury of a mine compound.

The evolution and civilization of the native races are thus gradually being effected through the encouragement of vanity and luxury, which at length triumph over inherent laziness. As each generation grows up and becomes more fastidious in its tastes, the supply of labour will increase; and as the native population under British rule is rapidly growing, the number of labourers must eventually be greatly augmented.

The shortage of native labour, which at the present time is forming so great a problem, will doubtless in a few generations be solved by a supply equal to the demand. But as the present insufficiency is of momentary importance in the practical and political economy of Southern Rhodesia it will be well to study the subject more closely, to enter into some of its difficulties, and to consider the attempts which have been or might be made to solve the question.

It has already been mentioned that owing to the difficulty in persuading the natives of Mashonaland and Matabeleland to work, large supplies of alien Kaffirs have been drawn from various countries as labourers for the mines and farms. The Mashonas are naturally a most indolent race; and the Matabele, who were accustomed to fighting, considered it undignified to do manual labour. In Mashonaland, at all native villages situated within a day's journey of a mine, the difficulty of obtaining labour is greater than in villages situated further away. The natives near a mine are absolutely idle, but at the same time they live in comparative wealth. The reason is not

far to seek; a considerable proportion of the wages earned at the mines finds its way to the native villages. The village women make large supplies of beer from their native grain, which they bring to the mines and sell at enormous profits; or the native miners get a day's leave from their employers and waste their money at the village "beer drinks"; or else, when they have completed their contract, they stay at these villages on their return journey home, and spend a large portion of their earnings in drunkenness and immorality. Thus these Mashona villages are brought to a very low state of degradation and laziness by their ill-earned gains.

The British South Africa Company has, under the wise advice of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes, prohibited the sale of any spirits to natives, under a penalty of £500, or "six months hard labour for the first offence, and for every second and subsequent offence not less than six nor more than twelve months hard labour without the option of a fine," and as this law is always carried into force with the strictest severity very little spirit can ever be consumed by the Kaffirs. They are, however, allowed to brew their own beer, which as it contains merely a small percentage of alcohol is intoxicating only when taken in large quantities. The beverage in the dry season is considered a good antidote to scurvy, from which the natives are inclined to suffer, and taken in small quantities makes a wholesome drink. When, however, the women bring the beer to the mines, it is drunk to excess, and on many of the properties a number of the natives become incapacitated for work the following day, while others in their semi-intoxicated condition go down the mines at imminent risk of their lives. The beer drinking, therefore, becomes a nuisance to the employers, and a curse both to the native miners and to the native

villagers, often ending in disputes which have to be brought before the Native Commissioners to decide, many of the brawls being between the Mashona men and the mine natives over the Mashona women. If the Mashonas were prohibited from selling beer, and the women from entering into the mining camps under penalty of imprisonment, not only would this trouble be removed, but the Mashona men, finding that a source from which they derived their income had come to an end, would be obliged themselves to go out and work on the mines.

It has already been mentioned that Kaffir beer taken in moderate quantities helps to prevent scurvy, and there is no reason why it should not be supplied under the supervision of the mine manager. The beer should be brewed on the mine, and sold at a price just to cover the expense of brewing. It should be drunk at the canteen, and a limited amount allowed to each Kaffir. It is to the interest of the mine manager to keep his natives sober, but in order that the manager might not abuse his rights, a strict watch should be kept by the police and Native Commissioners, and any holder of a licence who was found guilty of selling beer in excess of the limit should have his licence cancelled, and be liable to imprisonment without the option of a fine.

The question of increasing the taxes on natives, as a means of stimulating them to work, is continually being brought forward. A hut tax of 10s. was originally levied, and much difficulty was experienced in collecting it. This difficulty was remedied when a General Pass and Registration Law applying to all natives came into force. Under its provisions every male native over the age of fourteen had to be registered, and received a certificate of registration, containing all particulars necessary to identify him. The possession of this certificate entitled him to travel

freely within the district in which he resided, but if he desired to leave the district for any purpose an additional short pass was required. It also provided, for those in the employ of Europeans, that at the close of any period of employment the employer should, under penalties for non-compliance, endorse upon the certificate the length of the period of service and the fact of its completion. In towns special passes were issued, which thereby made it possible to deal effectively with the floating or loafing native population, which used to be a source of great trouble and annoyance. These Registration Laws have not only been the means of collecting taxes on a most thorough basis, but have also prevented constant desertions of natives from their masters. The 10s. hut tax in 1904 was replaced by a poll tax of £1 on all adult males, and this has been paid regularly and willingly at the Native Commissioners' Offices. The tax is recognized by the Matabele and Mashonas as their rightful contribution towards the administration of the country and the maintenance of peace.

A poll tax of £2 was at one time proposed by the Legislative Council and rejected by the Imperial Government. The whole question has been beset with considerable difficulties, and despite many discussions no satisfactory conclusion has ever been attained. If the poll tax were raised from £1 to £2 it could hardly be considered an unfair burden on the natives, as the £1 tax works out approximately at only 6s. 3d. per head of the total black population of the territory, whereas the tax on the white population amounts approximately to £9 per head. But a £2 poll tax, even if it represents a native's just share in the expense of administering the territory, offers him no particular stimulus to work; therefore if £2 is considered as a fair and reasonable basis of

taxation, a stimulus to work might be offered to all Matabeles and Mashonas upon the following lines. First, a rebate of £1 could be granted to all aged and infirm natives; secondly, a rebate of 5s. could be offered to every native upon completion of three months' work in the employment of a white man; a second rebate of 5s. on the completion of six months' work; a third of 5s. on the completion of nine months' work; and a fourth of 5s. on the completion of twelve months' work. Thus the hut tax at the end of twelve months would be reduced from £2 to £1.

CHAPTER VI

NATIVE LABOUR BUREAU

Constitution and Methods of Bureau.—Dissatisfaction with its System; possible Improvements.—Benefits of Bureau.—Labour scarce in Country, plentiful in Towns.

EARLY in 1906 a definite attempt was made by the Chambers of Mines of Southern Rhodesia, representing the mining community, to form some sort of organization for systematically recruiting native labour, both within the territory and in countries north of Rhodesia, and for distributing this labour amongst the various mines. A scheme for the formation of a Native Labour Bureau was put forward and approved by the Government, and finally passed into law on the 19th July, 1906. The constitution, rules, and regulations of the Bureau, published in the Government Gazette, were summarized as follows:

“The constitution to consist of a body composed of the Executive Committee of the Chambers of Mines of Bulawayo and Salisbury, two members nominated by H.H. the Administrator, and such additional members as may be nominated by the Bureau, with the consent of the Administrator, to give representation to small workers and other industries, such additional members not exceeding two.”

The Management and Finance Committee reported on the actual operations of the Bureau at their ordinary monthly meetings.

All mineowners were taxed 1s. per native per month; the tax was paid to the Government, and handed over by the Government to the Native Labour Bureau. The Bureau, with the funds that it derived from this taxation, was able to pay a staff of men to recruit labour from Rhodesia and the countries beyond.

Special care was taken of all natives recruited outside the territory. They were first subjected to a thorough medical examination before they were passed for mine work; they were given a jersey, blanket, and food for the journey; and in those countries which had no railway they travelled along special roads where rest houses were situated at intervals, and at the Zambesi a ferry was provided to carry them across the river. When they reached the distributing centre, they were medically re-examined, and those who were sick were detained in hospitals. The distributing officer was advised by the head office as to which mines needed labour, and thither the remainder were sent, either by road or rail, the mineowner paying the cost of the railway journey, but being liable for no further charge beyond the usual monthly tax.

The minimum wage which was paid to the recruits was the one at which they had contracted to work, viz., 22s. 6d. for mine labourers, and 15s. for surface labourers per month, with board and lodging provided free. Many employers, however, gave higher wages to those natives who showed more intelligence. The natives who were brought down from north of the Zambesi had part of their wages deferred until they returned to their own country, when the balance of what was due to them was paid over by the Government. By this means they were protected against themselves and prevented from spending all their earnings away from home.

It may here be mentioned that all recruiting was done without compulsion; the natives came of their own free will, through the agency of the Bureau, and not in any way by moral or physical force; they were taken on contract to work a certain number of months at a certain rate of wage according to the class of work that they said they could do, mine hammer boys being paid higher than surface labourers.

The whole scheme for the Native Labour Bureau, before its inauguration, was submitted to all mine-owners; but, though favourable replies were said to be received from employers representing 12,632 natives, and unfavourable replies from employers representing 1,755 natives, many of those in favour of the formation of a Bureau were not satisfied; they considered that the scheme should be much more carefully reviewed, and the whole of it remodelled before being put into operation. The combined Chambers of Mines, however, upon receiving the answers to their circular letter, pursued an arbitrary course, and immediately petitioned for legislation on the lines originally laid down, satisfied that tentative answers in the affirmative should be regarded as full approval. Considerable resentment was expressed by a large section of the mining community, not only at the hasty way in which the scheme was carried through, but at the imposition of a heavy tax on the already slender profits of the mines.

It was felt that the Bureau was a sort of organized charity for supplying labour to those mines which, through mismanagement, unhealthiness, or serious accidents, had become places of ill-repute, where natives refused to work. Many mines, even when labour was scarce, found little difficulty in obtaining natives, and yet these mines were subjected to the monthly tax, and had, therefore, to contribute in-

directly towards the working expenses of those which could not obtain native labour.

A further grievance was about the class of workman sent by the Bureau. Mineowners, when they asked for skilled hammer boys, were often given natives who had not the most rudimentary knowledge of their work, and as according to agreement they were paid the wages of skilled mine boys, they were not only unsatisfactory to the mineowners but caused discontent amongst those natives who had not obtained employment through the medium of the Native Labour Bureau, and who probably were working at a lower wage, though much more useful than the Bureau labourers.

Another serious difficulty arose owing to the methods used by some of the mineowners in applying for labour. Many asked for far more natives than they needed, knowing that they would not get the full number, but hoping by this means to obtain approximately the quantity they required. Others, who only applied for the number they wanted, came off very badly. Many, after repeated applications, only received the labour when a plentiful supply had started to come in all over the country, and when they themselves had already obtained sufficient from other sources. Many, again, in despair gave up attempting to get labour through the Bureau, considering it a waste of time and stationery to write their repeated applications. The orders for labour were supposed to be taken in rotation, but with the inadequate supply, however fairly the Labour Bureau might have wished to treat every individual applicant, it must have been a difficult matter not to have given some preference to those who had their immediate ear, and to have supplied them with the best workmen, even if they did not show favouritism in the matter of numbers.

The system organized by the Bureau was, however, unfair, not only to the mineowners, but also to the recruited natives. The natives, as has already been mentioned, willingly accepted the conditions under which they were recruited; they were most carefully fed and looked after on the journey, and during all the time that they were in the hands of the Bureau. But though they consented to accept whatever was offered to them, it was obviously unfair that they should have no choice as to where they would work, particularly as it was to the unpopular mines that many of the Bureau boys were sent.

The Native Labour Bureau is still in existence, and has made but few changes in its methods. Many natives who have obtained employment through this agency are dissatisfied with the system, and have expressed their intention at the termination of their present agreement of returning to mine work, but not through the Labour Bureau.

If the present uniform tax on all mineowners is to be continued, a system more satisfactory to employers and employés alike should be devised. The recruiting in countries outside Southern Rhodesia could be continued, as well as the facilities for natives on their journeys to the distributing officers: but here a change should be made; the distributing officers should give the natives the names of the mineowners and the districts where labour was most wanted, and thus afford them the opportunity of choosing for themselves where they should go to work. The taxation of 1s. per head per month on every mineowner is, however, in itself an unfair principle on which to work. The Native Labour Bureau, with the experience it has acquired and the statistics it has accumulated, should now be able to ascertain how much on an average each native costs

to recruit, taking into consideration the total expense of running the Bureau. Those mine managers who wished to obtain labour through this agency should do so only on payment of the estimated cost of recruiting each native.

But in spite of its many deficiencies the Bureau since its inauguration has undoubtedly helped to increase the labour supply, and has been instrumental in making the mines more attractive to natives. Special attention has been paid to sanitation, medical attendance, and hospitals. The usual $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. supply of meal, the only food to which natives are generally accustomed in their own villages, was considered inadequate while they were doing hard work on mines, and the following amendment was added to the Mines and Minerals Amendment Ordinance, 1907:

“1. Every Registered Owner, responsible Manager or Lessee of Mining Locations or Batteries in connection with which mining or milling operations are being carried on, shall provide native employees with the following scale of diet:

“(a) *Meal*.—(Rapoko, Mealie, Inyout, Mabele or the like) $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per diem, or Rice $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per diem.

“(b) *Meat*.—1 lb. per week.

“(c) *Vegetables*.—2 lbs. per week (such as Potatoes, Beans or the like).

“(d) *Lard*.—8 ounces per week, or Monkey-nuts in lieu thereof.

“(e) *Salt*.— $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce per diem.

“2. Every Company, Syndicate or person employing not less than three hundred natives on any mine or group of claims constituting a mining property shall appoint a duly qualified Compound

manager, who shall be approved of by the Administrator."

On the whole the small workers have benefited by the Native Labour Bureau more than the companies. In the year 1907 the mining industry paid to the British South Africa Company £13,265 in labour fees, of which the mines worked by companies contributed £9,288 17s. 11*d.*, and the mines worked by individuals £3,976 18s. 3*d.*; the former received 8,126 natives through the Bureau, and the latter 5,516, so that the companies had to pay 22s. 10*d.* per head, as against 14s. 5*d.* per head contributed by the small workers.

The scarcity of labour is most felt in the rainy season, when the natives return to their homes to sow and reap their crops. The supply comes in with the beginning of the dry season, and at the time when development work in the mines should be pushed ahead with the utmost vigour. Owing, however, in most cases to lack of funds, sometimes to dilatoriness and want of foresight, advantage is not taken of this opportunity, more particularly by small workers. And so mineowners are obliged to continue their development under all the disadvantages of a rainy season and of an inadequate supply of labour, the price of which has very much advanced owing to the increased demand.

Not only the miner but the farmer also suffers from the insufficient supply of natives, and the demand for labour will become more acute as the cultivation of tobacco progresses, owing to the number of hands required in this industry. Natives are less ready to work on the land, as farmers are not able to pay as high wages as mineowners; many of the Kaffirs also consider the work only fit for women, and they miss the excitement of a life in a large mine compound.

In towns there is little or no difficulty in obtaining quantity of labour, but the quality is not always good. Natives readily seek employment as domestic servants, office messengers and drivers, being attracted by European civilization and the many fascinations of a town life.

CHAPTER VII

EUROPEAN INFLUENCE ON NATIVES

Problems of Missionary Work.—Report of Jesuit Fathers on Mission Work.—Growth of Education amongst Natives.—Government Native Educational Grants.—Mistakes in some Missionary Methods.—Relationship between White and Black Races.—Census Returns.

ONE section of the community, the missionaries, has set itself more directly to improve the barbarous tribes, and has taken in hand the task of educating the natives through numerous schools opened for the purpose. As, however, the efforts made tend to hasten civilization through channels which do not follow the natural development of time and European influence, this work may be termed an unnatural evolution, and though much good is daily being done by missionaries, their path is beset by innumerable pitfalls and difficulties, and their work is attended by many disappointments. They are endeavouring to instil into the unfertile mind of the savage a modern civilization based on the lines of a Christianity which it has taken the European centuries to acquire. Their task is even harder than it would be if they were suddenly plunged amongst the early Britons in their state of barbarity, because the Kaffir belongs to a far lower order of humanity than that from which the present English race has sprung, and much that is taught is incomprehensible to him and impossible

for him to grasp. Some of the quicker natives use the advantages gained by education for the practice of evils connected with civilization; while others who have been brought up under a wrong missionary system create an almost equal difficulty by becoming insolent to their employers.

The Jesuit missionaries have foreseen the above dangers, and as far back as 1898 a report of one of the Jesuit fathers at the Chishawasha Mission station in Mashonaland shows the wise lines on which this body set to work to instruct the natives.

Father Richartz in his report says:

“Information as to mission and work amongst natives.—As far as we are concerned I might say that the rebellion of 1896-97 has rendered our work in some ways easier.

“(a) In so far as the main obstacle—belief in witchcraft—has got a considerable blow, which enables us to convince at least the younger generation more effectively of the true character of this deeply-rooted error.

“(b) The misery, starvation, and poverty to which the people have been reduced by their own fault drove them so to say, into our arms for help and protection. Whilst formerly the bigger people made every possible difficulty when we wanted to get the children for education they now came and offered them without being asked, and we used of course the opportunity and made the best of it for the benefit of the children, though this could not be done without great pecuniary sacrifices, yet the result justified this.

“I can say from our experience and the unanimous consent of so many friends and visitors who took a vivid interest in native work, that the Mashona

children give every hope that they can be well educated to a moral life and to useful work. Of course, to obtain this end we were forced to have 'boarding schools,' as the influence of the life at home is such that no moral improvement in the children can be hoped for if they stay at their kraals; this the children themselves readily admit.

"To teach them to work can only be obtained by making them work under continual direction, and this is the main reason why we go in for farm work, especially as it also affords an opportunity to engage, and at the same time instruct bigger boys, and to find the means to cover the great expenses necessarily connected with this way of working. It is certainly, at least for the present, the only possible way of doing solid work amongst the natives.

"Our work, of course, will be greatly facilitated and the expenses reduced, if once we get a greater number of Christian families. Proper school training, reading and writing, etc., is not neglected, yet only done in a very elementary way, as experience shows that moral training must precede, and that all merely exterior civilization is rather dangerous and detrimental than wholesome without a solid moral foundation, taking the nature of the native as it really is.

"Nothing which can help to a real development of mental and physical powers of the children is omitted. Their musical ability is great help; also games, drill, etc., put quite another life in them if it is done properly.

"I am very glad to say that the school boys and also the bigger boys take very well to garden work, and also to different trades for which opportunities are given; for instance, a big plantation of the fruit bearing bananas, a fruit hitherto quite unknown in these parts, is entirely managed by the school boys;

they prepared the holes for and planted 60 pairs of bananas as a memorial of the Jubilee Celebration.

“We have Mashonas ploughing. One young married man bought a plough after he had managed, in spite of their scarcity, to get four head of cattle together, which he is training now for the plough.”

The principle which the Jesuit fathers laid down has since been followed and developed by the Church of England. But the many cases of educated natives brought before the magistrates on serious charges, and the insolence of servants who have been trained by missionaries under a system widely divergent from that of the Jesuits, have created a prejudice in the minds of many white settlers against any special effort to civilize and Christianise the natives.

This prejudice, however, is a mistaken one. Those people of Southern Rhodesia who have given the subject careful thought and attention, amongst the number being many whose natural leanings make them averse to the spread of Christianity and education amongst the natives, have fully recognized that, owing to contact with Europeans, there has arisen an insatiable desire on the part of many savages to learn reading and writing, and that no human power will ever be able to stop the spread of this hunger for education. The natives who have been taught reading and writing in mission stations pass their knowledge on to others of their tribe, and these again spread it further afield. Pass by the huts of a mining camp at night, and from many sides you may hear words of two or three letters spelt out from an English spelling-book. On a Sunday boys may be seen basking in the sunshine outside their huts, learning words from the same books; and where a few years ago

there was but a single spelling-book in a camp, to-day there are a dozen or more.

For this reason many Europeans, who would otherwise have been opponents of the education of natives, are now satisfied that it is inevitable, and that as these savage tribes are bound to read and write sooner or later, it is better to take their education in hand and direct it into proper channels. The opinion of this section is further backed by the British South Africa Company, which, in order to encourage the education of natives, offers grants upon the following terms under the Education Ordinance of 1903:

“ SCHOOLS FOR NATIVES.

“ 1. Native schools of the first-class are those in which there is a boarding establishment under the supervision of a European, and which can satisfy the Director that,

“ (a) industrial work is systematically taught at least two hours a day during the school year;

“ (b) a sufficient number of pupils are taught to speak and understand the English language;

“ (c) pupils are taught habits of discipline and cleanliness;

“ (d) that the school hours, inclusive of the hours devoted to industrial work, shall be at least four hours a day for 180 days during the year.

“ An annual grant of £1 will be given for every boarder who has attended 120 full school days during the year and made satisfactory progress.

“ 2. Second-class native schools are those which

are under the supervision of a European teacher and provide for day scholars, and satisfy the Director that,

“(a) a sufficient number of pupils are taught to speak and understand the English language;

“(b) the school is open 180 days during the year for two hours a day;

“(c) pupils are taught habits of discipline and cleanliness.

“An annual grant of £10 will be given in second-class schools for every 20 pupils who attend 120 full school days a year and make satisfactory progress. A further annual grant of 10s. per head will be given to those who are trained industrially for two hours a day for 120 days during the year in addition to the two ordinary school hours.

“3. Third-class native schools are those under native teachers where the school is open 180 days of two hours each during the year, and where pupils are taught habits of discipline and cleanliness. An annual grant of £5 will be given for every 20 pupils who attend 120 full school days during the year and make satisfactory progress.

“4. In schools where there are both boarders and day scholars a grant can be earned for boarders under the qualification for first-class schools, and for day scholars under the qualification for second-class schools.

“5. An annual grant of £1 will be given for every female native who is trained 120 days of two hours a day in domestic work and makes satisfactory progress. The domestic work must include sewing, cooking, washing, ironing, and general housework.

“6. Grants of half the cost will be given for the necessary equipment for the teaching of domestic work to female natives.

“ 7. Industrial work for natives may include farming, brickmaking, roadmaking, building, carpentry, ironwork or domestic work as defined in section 5. In farming, each native to earn a grant must efficiently cultivate one acre of ground.

“ 8. The maximum grant to any native school shall be £125 per annum.”

Many of the missionaries recognize that it is impossible to attempt more than to teach the Kaffirs the simplest principles and morals of Christianity. A story is told of a Basuto, who while working in one of the Kimberley mines saw a diamond, and in endeavouring to steal it, thought he was detected by the European in charge, though afterwards he found he was mistaken. In describing the event the Basuto said: “When I realized that I was not discovered I knew that there must be a God, because He had delivered me out of the hands of the white man.”

The above is but an illustration of the difficulty of instilling even the first principles of morality into the minds of Kaffirs, and it therefore becomes an absurdity when an attempt is made by missionaries to force upon them the subtleties and refinements of ritual and doctrine; yet there are zealous men who consider it their duty to impress such subjects on the untrained Kaffir mind. About a year ago a native servant in Rhodesia, who had always been perfectly contented with the two pounds of mealie meal apportioned for his daily ration, one Friday, to the astonishment of his mistress, demanded a tin of fish. She asked for an explanation, and he replied that last Sunday, when he was at the Mission Church, the clergyman told all the natives that they must eat fish on Fridays. Naturally the Kaffirs who attended the service were delighted to hear the news, as tinned fish is to their minds the greatest luxury.

When questioned further by his mistress, the native was unable to explain the reason why he had to eat the fish, except that all good Christians eat fish on Fridays.

These two stories are extreme illustrations of difficulties which beset those who endeavour to raise the native races, and of the absurdity of attempting to teach savages anything more than the elementary principles of Christianity.

It is an old saying that the Kaffir races should be treated like children, and with certain modifications the saying is very true. It may be best illustrated by the attitude of a schoolmaster to his boys and the line of conduct they accordingly take up. If he is moderate, firm, and just, they respect and like him, are ready to obey and willing to work; if he nags at them, they become sulky; if he is weak and familiar with them, they also become familiar with him, treat him with contempt and return no affection for whatever kindness he shows them; if they are constantly threatened and never punished, they continue to do wrong with impunity and laugh at the master's weakness. On the other hand they respond to a just firmness and accept rightful punishment as their due. This illustration exactly describes the attitude of Kaffirs to their masters, but the analogy must not be pressed too far, since it has to be remembered that the native belongs to a lower order of humanity and possesses a stunted and chaotic mind. Missionaries are learning to combine firmness and discipline with kindness, and many realize that book-learning with the present generation of Kaffirs should form the smallest part of the training—consequently, though they give instruction in reading and writing, they also teach useful trades. The lessons in obedience and respect are as important as those on the dignity of labour; and the underlying

principle, both in the moral and mental education of savages, should be to make them useful members of the community, to teach them to realize that they have a moral standard to live up to and are expected to fulfil a definite function in the territory to which they belong. The relationship between the white and the black races has already been touched on, as well as the difficulties which tend to arise when the two come into close contact with one another. That such difficulties do exist is not remarkable, considering that the one belongs to an order of humanity much lower than the other, and that the native races are naturally indolent, retrogressive and deceitful, while the European races are progressive, but unable to push ahead the country's prosperity without the co-operation of the natives. The European realizes that, though legislation may put both white and black on an equal footing, the white man will still retain his ascendancy by the unwritten law of nature, and must for this very reason hold himself under a self-control which in the ordinary course of life he would have no need to exercise. It is impossible to follow the complex working of the Kaffir mind, and a white man with the most even temper will sometimes fail to keep it under restraint when brought face to face with deliberate perversity and intentional disobedience.

In towns the Kaffir is treated with every kindness and consideration, and if he wishes to make a complaint he will be immediately heard by the Native Commissioner or a magistrate. In the country, both on farms and mines, where the law has less power owing to the distance from the centres of its administration, and where white men come into much closer contact with Kaffirs, and consequently have to keep their tempers under greater control, the difficulty becomes more pronounced.

It is recognized that on properties a long distance away from magistrates mineowners must keep a much firmer hold over their natives, and must often exercise their own judgement and discretion in the method of dealing with them. If the Kaffirs consider that they are unjustly treated they may always have recourse to the law, a privilege which they readily make use of, and it is very seldom that any act of cruelty or unfairness is not reported to the Native Commissioner or magistrate, and the white man dealt with accordingly. People in England often have the mistaken idea that acts of cruelty and injustice are constantly being done to natives, and if they get hold of such stories of ill-usage they are apt to describe them as typical of the general conduct of the Europeans. The reverse is really the case. Instances of individual cruelty are very rare amongst the settlers of Southern Rhodesia, but whenever they are brought to light they evoke a storm of indignation from the rest of the European population, and the demand that the perpetrator of the cruelty be punished according to his deserts.

The Europeans who exercise the largest control over natives are those engaged in mining work. They generally come from the labouring or lower middle classes and are accustomed to obey rather than to give orders. Finding themselves suddenly in a position of authority and with an inferior race to deal with, there is a danger that they will not fully realize their responsibilities as firm and considerate masters.

Their tendency is either to be too hard with the natives, in which case there are constant complaints to the Native Commissioner, or to go to the opposite extreme and treat them as equals, with the result that the natives immediately become familiar, hold the man in contempt, and neglect their work.

But experience teaches both types of men that they cannot pursue such methods. With either system the mineowner suffers, as harshness produces scarcity of labour, and leniency neglect of work. The efficient management of natives forms an important qualification for a European who seeks work on a mine, and with the supply of white men, which is now constantly in excess of the demand, mineowners are becoming more particular in regard to the class of men they select.

MASHONALAND—COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF STATISTICS

Year Ended.	No. of Subsidized Chiefs.	No. of Kraals.	Estimated Population.	No. on Register.		Passes to seek work.		Average No. of Males employed (except on Mines).	Estimated No. of Horses, Mules, and Donkeys.	Estimated No. of Cattle.	Estimated No. of Sheep.	Estimated No. of Goats.
				Indigen-ous.	Aliens.	Indigen-ous.	Aliens.					
31st March, 1902	36	4,530	338,013	—	—	—	—	—	—	39,155	28,769	110,477
31st March, 1903	36	4,533	376,119	—	—	—	—	—	—	44,564	33,774	130,852
31st March, 1904	36	4,632	377,086	—	—	—	—	—	—	64,544	43,912	183,427
31st March, 1905	46	4,554	391,590	104,166	19,557	23,411	6,808	8,710	6	78,562	52,218	223,543
31st March, 1906	46	4,632	410,298	113,044	36,311	36,870	16,920	9,985	17	98,936	59,936	267,986
31st March, 1907	61	4,683	426,368	117,402	48,894	23,153	20,917	9,725	21	110,698	68,955	309,140
31st December, 1907	72	4,602	445,316	117,793	62,275	22,329	17,500	10,462	29	120,147	77,369	348,870

Year Ended.	No. of Ploughs in use.	Estimated Acreage under Cultivation.		Probable Yield of Grain in Bags (200 lb.).		Total Revenue deposited to credit of Revenue Account.
		Indigen-ous.	Aliens.	Indigen-ous.	Aliens.	
31st March, 1902	—	400,426	—	1,096,253	—	£ 66,767 s. 16 d. 9
31st March, 1903	—	411,974	—	830,027	—	77,973 13 3
31st March, 1904	—	472,088	—	1,600,825	—	72,315 2 7
31st March, 1905	20	443,710	20	1,531,144	—	117,151 16 6
31st March, 1906	20	474,061	20	1,643,454	—	128,596 5 6
31st March, 1907	21	526,697	21	1,745,903	—	132,940 10 8
31st December, 1907	32	536,155	32	1,707,315	—	138,183 1 9

STATISTICS REGARDING THE NATIVE POPULATION

FOR YEARS 1902 TO 1907 INCLUSIVE

Year ended.	No. of Subsidized Chiefs.	Number of Kraals.	Estimated Population.	Males over 14 on Register.		Passes to seek work.		Average No. of Males employed on Mines, except on Donkeys.	Estimated No. of Horses, Mules and Donkeys.
				Indigenous.	Alien.	Indigenous.	Alien.		
31st March, 1902	114	7,291	176,800	No Record	No Record	No Record	No Record	No Record	No Record
31st March, 1903	114	6,290	187,100	"	"	"	"	"	"
31st March, 1904	114	7,153	187,000	"	"	"	"	"	"
31st March, 1905	112	7,335	203,000	51,637	13,347	13,959	3,997	9,000	650
31st March, 1906	108	7,506	208,700	52,862	16,324	20,867	7,619	7,749	850
31st March, 1907	120	7,608	213,950	54,404	18,078	19,323	6,482	8,718	727
31st December, 1907	120	7,622	217,470	58,746	22,956	15,389	5,648	8,584	942

Year ended.	Estimated No. of Cattle.	Estimated No. of Sheep.	Estimated No. of Goats.	No. of Ploughs in use.	Estimated Acreage under Cultivation.	Estimated Yield in Bags (200 lb.).	Total Amount Deposited to Credit of Revenue Account.	
							£	s. d.
31st March, 1902	16,000	31,800	87,000	No Record	134,000	580,000	39,548	0 0
31st March, 1903	19,000	41,400	106,600	"	145,000	443,000	32,914	11 0
31st March, 1904	30,000	56,000	132,500	"	159,000	666,000	35,051	3 6
31st March, 1905	36,000	68,500	157,500	418	165,000	620,000	59,399	2 8
31st March, 1906	45,990	80,920	181,820	672	171,800	652,900	60,845	18 7
31st March, 1907	53,000	97,650	198,300	969	173,000	680,000	63,030	17 4
31st December, 1907	59,810	112,900	213,650	1,079	176,400	671,000	65,211	0 8

CHAPTER VIII

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES AND CLIMATIC CONDITIONS OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Rainy Season.—Rich Verdure.—Tropical Thunderstorms.—Malarial Fever.—Dry Season.—Journey through Mashonaland.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA is a vast tableland of 148,575 square miles. The altitude of this great plateau ranges from 3,500 to over 6,000 feet above the level of the sea. Though within the Tropics, there are no unpleasant extremes of temperature. The summer heat does not feel more oppressive than a hot English summer day, and winter is like a bright autumn at home, bracing and invigorating. Take a journey into the Portuguese territory, drop 5,000 feet down to sea level, and though in the same latitude as Southern Rhodesia, you find yourself in a stifling, hot, tropical country.

Southern Rhodesia has only two seasons. The wet season or summer months start in October, and last intermittently until the beginning of April, when the dry season, or winter months, begin. The rains of the wet season do not come on in real earnest until the middle of December, though before that there are occasional heavy thunderstorms. During January and February the rains are at their greatest, sometimes five or six inches falling in a single day. In March and early April there are again occasional thunderstorms. The average rainfall in Mashonaland is about thirty-two inches, and though in some

years there are four or five inches less than this, and the scarcity is felt, there is never the fearful drought which often befalls other colonies.

It is a beautiful sight in December to watch the approach of dawn. The darkness of the sky is lit up by myriads of stars such as are never seen except in a tropical country; their brilliance gradually grows dim in the east as the darkness becomes less intense, a grayness steals across the horizon turning to a faint but deepening blue, and a chilliness falls on the mild night air. The deep blue creeps over the whole face of the heavens, and the more brilliant stars blink uncertainly, and at last die out. Surrounding objects grow distinct in the faint morning light, birds twitter in the gaunt and ghostlike trees, a few clouds hang overhead, and gradually stronger and stronger grows life and light, as nature begins to live and move and breathe. A crimson glow comes over the east, which deepens and becomes more intense; shades of green, of silver, and of violet rise in the sky, and the rest of the heavens are mantled with a rosy light. Just an hour after the first hint of approaching day there is a warning brilliance in the east, and a moment later the sun appears, bathing in light the hilltops, scattering the thousand colours in the sky, and quickly mounting above the horizon floods every valley with its radiance.

In summer time Southern Rhodesia is clothed with verdure. Grass grows under the shade of the native trees, it covers the slopes of the hills to a height of four and five feet, and in the valleys reaches ten and twelve feet.

At noontide the day is always hot, birds cease to twitter in the trees, and the herds of buck rest in the shade. As the afternoon draws on distant thunderclouds begin to gather, and a far-off rumbling is heard, which gradually comes nearer and nearer.

The deep blue sky of an hour ago has turned to gray, flashes of lightning appear ever and anon, and still the thunderclouds continue their march, rolling onwards like great puffs of smoke. The thunder and lightning become incessant; at length is heard a far-off swishing sound of rain, and a smell of moist earth pervades the air. Then a flash of lightning more brilliant than the rest, followed instantly by a crackle and a roar, the distant swish has rushed nearer and nearer, and the rain in one continuous deluge pours down, blotting out all view of the adjacent hills and valleys, and covering the earth with one massive sheet of water. Deafening is the sound of the rain lashing down with blinding fury, and if a momentary lull occurs, it is only followed by renewed and fiercer activity. At length the fury of the storm is appeased, the rain falls less heavily, the thunder and lightning become more intermittent, nearer objects are again visible, a bit of blue breaks through the sky, the angry thunder-claps become a distant murmur, and the sun breaks out, filling the world with life and freshness again. As soon as the storm has gone, another roaring sound is heard on the mountain slopes; it is the rush of torrent streams, as they dash fiercely down, eating out their way and cutting deeper channels in the ground. Trees and branches are carried away by their force, grasses are laid flat, everything is swept onwards as the waters thunder down the valley. At length the sun sets in the west, leaving behind it even more wonderful and brilliant lights and colours than at dawn; the stars one by one peep out in the darkening sky, and smile down on the sleeping land now filled with fragrant freshness.

The climate of Southern Rhodesia is admirably suited for a white population. Women and children flourish in the towns with a reasonable amount of

care and attention to health. Occasionally there are cases of malarial fever, but these are generally due to carelessness or neglect of the precaution of having mosquito nets over the beds at night. Nets are not only a safeguard against fever, but are necessary to peaceful sleep, as at certain times of the year and in certain places mosquitos are very troublesome. Away from towns malarial fever is more prevalent, but in its ordinary form it is not to be feared, as with proper care it may quickly be cured. Blackwater fever, however, is to be dreaded more than any other disease, but cases of this fever are not numerous.

The amount of malaria has become far less than it used to be in the early days. This is due to the progress towards comfort which has been made throughout the country. With mosquito-proof houses instead of badly thatched mud huts, and good plain fresh food in place of half-cooked bread and tins of "bully beef," there is no reason why there should be malarial fever at all. It is generally recognized that the malarial germ is carried by mosquitos, and these insects attack human beings at night. The first object, therefore, should be to prevent mosquitos from getting into a house and the second to keep the human blood in such good condition by decent feeding, that it will be able to receive the bacteria without any harm being done. It is towards the end of the rainy season that the malarial germs are most active. Mosquitos breed in damp places, in stagnant pools, and in dried-up and rotting grass. Special care should therefore be taken during the months of April and May. In farm life it is not difficult to use precautions, but in mining operations, where night work is necessary, it is almost impossible to give the same attention to health. But if fever comes, the treatment is a simple one; the patient goes to bed, piles warm blankets on the top of him, takes

ten grains of quinine morning, mid-day, and evening, and goes on a low diet.

Colder weather quickly follows the end of the rainy season. Cool winds blow all the year round, so that the nights are never at any time oppressively hot. With June frosty nights begin; the tall rank green grass turns to a dull gold; and here and there in the distance smoke rises into the clear blue sky, evidence of veldt fires which, for the next four months, will be seen burning throughout the country in every direction.

Picture a journey through Mashonaland early in the month of September. The chill of approaching dawn is felt more acutely at this time of year than in the summer. The air is sharp and fresh, and the traveller, wrapped up though he be in some warm, coarse blankets, stirs from his sleep; a bundle of dry grass forms his mattress; a rifle is by his side, and close to him a log fire smoulders and is almost dead. The early light of dawn is already showing itself in the east, and near objects are becoming distinct. The traveller calls to his native servants, sleeping a few yards off. The natives rise, and one goes to the fire and kindles it into a blaze, throws more wood on, fills a kettle with water, puts it on the fire, and prepares the early morning coffee. Six mules, attended by another native, are munching at their breakfast of mealies, which lies in a canvas hammock slung between two trees.

The traveller has a journey of over fifty miles to go that day, and must make an early start. The rough harness of his Cape cart is being overhauled by his Cape boy, the mules are quickly inspanned, blankets rolled up, kettle and food safely packed away, and with a sharp crack of the whip and a shrill cry from the Cape boy to each of the mules in turn, the cart swings out of the outspan and begins a

quick descent into the valley. The morning air is fierce and keen, and makes the mules fresh and ready for their work. Suddenly the sun shoots up from the east, strong and full of life, it catches the great rugged line of mountain tops which lie before the traveller, and brings a radiance to every outlined peak, the green olivine crystals reflecting back its brilliance in myriad lights.

The cart has passed out of the valley, startling a troop of guinea fowl; a brace of partridges fly up from a clump of trees, and a steinbuck darts across the road. At length the cart climbs up the steep, rough mountain pass. The occupants are tossed from side to side as the cart bumps over great rough boulders. Baboons bark from the heights above, monkeys peep out and look at the strange visitors, and then hurriedly disappear. The descent of the pass accomplished, the traveller crosses a small stream; close by is a "skirm," a rude protection for cattle against lions, made of trees which have been chopped down and formed into a barricade some twenty feet in circumference and ten feet in height. At length he gets into more level country; along the road he sees the large footprints of elephants, and for several miles trees uprooted and branches freshly torn down are evidence that only recently a herd of these great creatures has been travelling along this way.

A short halt for breakfast, and the journey is continued; the sun is already high in the heavens and the day growing warm, though a cool breeze is always blowing. Dense forests are traversed, the road is rough and uneven, branches of trees constantly brush past the cart, all nature seems at rest save for the cracking of the whip, the yells of the Cape boy, the patter of hoofs, and the rumble of the cart. Young green tendrils have already begun to

sprout on the branches of the trees, but the high grass by way of contrast lies in a charred and blackened mass. A tall ant-heap fifteen feet high, white and gaunt, stands out in the forest.

The noonday heat has brought with it a stillness; everywhere is dazzling sunshine, silence and repose. When the traveller emerges from the forest land, a large open country stretches ahead, and beneath the charred stubble is seen the rich chocolate soil, which in a few months will be covered with tall rank grass, and even now is dotted with innumerable flowers, beautiful in their varied hues and colourings. Once more he passes into undulating country, the ridges of the hills thick with trees beginning to show their pale green and red spring colourings. The valleys are now covered with a growth of young grass, which has sprung up from the heavy dews. A herd of sable antelope are feeding on the slopes; they stand startled for a moment—their heads finely set on their massive shoulders—then turn and gallop over the ridge into a valley beyond. At length the traveller drops down to a river, a stretch of water a hundred yards wide, flowing over rocks and boulders; above is a waterfall, and beyond that again a deep silent pool; on either bank tropical palms and plants grow in rich luxuriance. Here is the haunt of small beautiful coloured birds, and here may be heard the plaintive sound of dove and wood-pigeon. The larger pools abound in fish, the barbel and the tiger fish; and often, in some deeper water, the crocodile and the hippopotamus may be seen. The thirsty mules stop in the middle of the ford to drink, and then when they have had their fill, pull out of the river up the steep bank on the farther side, until a bit of even ground is found on which to make the noonday halt. The animals are quickly outspanned, knee-haltered, and allowed to graze. The food is



THE GREAT VICTORIA FALLS

cooked and brought to the white man, the native servants have their feed, and then an hour of rest and sleep under the cart or in the shade of a tree.

The last trek is made when the sun is sinking in the west. The air grows cool again, the sun disappears, and the full moon rises in the east. There ensues another hour of travelling by the light of the silvery moon, until a suitable spot close to water is found. The last outspan for the day is made, the final meal eaten, and the white man turns in for another night, wrapt in his blankets, by a blazing fire; his roof the sky overhead, his light the brilliant moon, while in the distance the flames of veldt fires illuminate some far-off kopjes. He hears the munching, munching of the mules and the intermittent conversation of his native servants, until unconsciousness overtakes them and complete silence reigns. Then he, too, falls asleep, to awaken for an instant at the distant cry of a jackal or the whirr of a night jay. The air feels cold, he stirs the fire, throws on a log, and falls into a deep and healthful sleep "till rosy fingered dawn awakes another day."

PART II

GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER I

THE GRANTING OF THE CHARTER

Mr. Rhodes' Aims.—Lobengula Mineral Concession.—Petition for Royal Charter.—Granting of Charter.—Deed of Settlement.—Lippert Concession.

THE great aim of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, during his early political life in Cape Colony, was to secure for the British flag the enormous tract of country north of the Transvaal, which was still unoccupied by Europeans. The whole of his thought, energy, and influence were directed towards this one object. For many years he attempted to persuade both the Imperial Government and the Cape Government to acquire this territory; but owing to their apathy in the matter his efforts failed. He therefore conceived the bold idea of floating a private enterprise to undertake what had been neglected by two governments.

Mr. Rhodes, with his wonderful personality, was able to succeed where another man would fail. He had already interested many wealthy people in his enterprise, and had won to his side Mr. Beit, the influential head of the Eckstein House. His next effort was to obtain some solid footing in the country by securing trading and mining rights. For this purpose Lobengula, king of the Matabeles, and over-

lord of all the peoples south of the Zambesi, was approached. The negotiations were successful; and in October, 1888, the representatives of Mr. Cecil Rhodes' group obtained from Lobengula the following important mineral concession:

“Know all men by these presents, that whereas Charles Dunell Rudd, of Kimberley; Rochfort Maguire, of London; and Francis Robert Thompson, of Kimberley, hereinafter called the grantees, have covenanted and agreed, and do hereby covenant and agree to pay to me, my heirs, and successors, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, British currency, on the first day of every lunar month, and, further, to deliver at my Royal Kraal one thousand Martini-Henri rifles, together with one hundred thousand rounds of suitable ball cartridge, five hundred of the said rifles and fifty thousand of the said cartridges to be ordered from England forthwith, and delivered so soon as the said grantees shall have commenced to work mining machinery within my territory, and, further, to deliver on the Zambesi River, a steamboat with guns suitable for defensive purposes upon the said river, or in lieu of the said steamboat, should I so elect, to pay to me the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, British currency, on the execution of these presents. I, Lo Bengula, king of Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and other adjoining territories, in the exercise of my sovereign powers, and in the presence and with the consent of my Council of Indunas, do hereby grant and assign unto the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns, jointly and severally, the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in my kingdom, principalities, and dominions, together with full power to do all things that they may deem necessary to win and procure

the same, and to hold, collect, and enjoy the profits and revenues, if any, derivable from the said metals and minerals, subject to the aforesaid payment. And whereas I have been much molested of late by divers persons seeking and desiring to obtain grants and concessions of land and mining rights in my territories, I do hereby authorize the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns to take all necessary and lawful steps to exclude from my kingdoms, principalities, and dominions, all persons seeking land, metals, minerals, or mining rights therein; and I do hereby undertake to render them such needful assistance as they may from time to time require for the exclusion of such persons, and to grant no concessions of land or mining rights from and after this date without their consent and concurrence, provided that if at any time the said monthly payment of one hundred pounds shall be in arrear for a period of three months then this grant shall cease and determine from the date of the last made payment; and, further, provided that nothing contained in these presents shall extend to or affect a grant made by me of certain mining rights in a portion of my territory south of the Ramakoban River, which grant is commonly known as the Tati Concession. This, given my hand this thirtieth day of October in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, at my Royal Kraal.

His
×
mark.

“(Signed) LO BENGULA

“(Signed) C. D. RUDD.
“ ROCHFORT MAGUIRE.
“ F. R. THOMPSON.

“ Witnesses:

“(Signed) C. D. HELM.
“ J. G. DREYER.”

Copy of Endorsement on the original Agreement.

“ I hereby certify that the accompanying document has been fully interpreted and explained by me to the Chief Lobengula and his full council of Indunas and that all the constitutional usages of the Matabele nation have been complied with prior to his executing the same.

“ Dated at Umgusa River this thirtieth day of October, 1888.

“(Signed) CHAS. D. HELM.”

With this asset in hand Mr. Rhodes persuaded his wealthy friends to guarantee the money for developing the valuable concessions he had acquired; and he then considered himself in a position to approach the Imperial Government with the request for a Royal Charter. The reasons for making this petition were set forth in the Royal Warrant as follows :

“ WHEREAS the said Petition states amongst other things:

“ That the Petitioners and others are associated for the purpose of forming a Company or Association, to be incorporated, if to Us should seem fit, for the objects in the said Petition set forth, under the corporate name of The British South Africa Company.

“ That the existence of a powerful British Company, controlled by those of Our subjects in whom We have confidence, and having its principal field of operations in that region of South Africa lying to the north of Bechuanaland and to the west of Portuguese East Africa, would be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of Our subjects in the United Kingdom and in Our Colonies.

“ That the Petitioners desire to carry into effect

divers concessions and agreements which have been made by certain of the chiefs and tribes inhabiting the said region, and such other concessions agreements grants and treaties as the Petitioners may hereafter obtain within the said region or elsewhere in Africa, with the view of promoting trade commerce civilization and good government (including the regulation of liquor traffic with the natives) in the territories which are or may be comprised or referred to in such concessions agreements grants and treaties as aforesaid.

“ That the Petitioners believe that if the said concessions agreements grants and treaties can be carried into effect, the condition of the natives inhabiting the said territories will be materially improved and their civilization advanced, and an organization established which will tend to the suppression of the slave trade in the said territories, and to the opening up of the said territories to the immigration of Europeans, and to the lawful trade and commerce of Our subjects and of other nations.

“ That the success of the enterprise in which the Petitioners are engaged, would be greatly advanced if it should seem fit to Us to grant them Our Royal Charter of Corporation as a British Company under the said name or title, or such other name or title, and with such powers, as to Us may seem fit for the purpose of more effectually carrying into effect the objects aforesaid.

“ That large sums of money have been subscribed for the purposes of the intended Company by the Petitioners and others, who are prepared also to subscribe or to procure such further sums as may hereafter be found requisite for the development of the said enterprise, in the event of our being pleased to grant to them Our Royal Charter of Incorporation as aforesaid.”

This petition received the consideration of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Council, who were "satisfied that the intentions of the Petitioners were praiseworthy and deserved encouragement, and that the enterprise in the Petition described might be productive of the benefits set forth therein."

Accordingly on the 29th day of October, 1889, the Petitioners were constituted by Royal Charter "into one body politic and corporate by the name of the British South Africa Company."

Amongst the privileges granted to the British South Africa Company in this Charter were the following:

"The Company is hereby authorized and empowered to hold, use, and retain for the purposes of the Company and on the terms of this Our Charter, the full benefit of the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid, so far as they are valid, or any of them, and all interests, authorities and powers comprised or referred to in the said concessions and agreements. . . .

". . . The Company is hereby further authorized and empowered, subject to the approval of one of our principal secretaries of State, from time to time to acquire by any concession, agreement, grant or treaty, all or any rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions and powers of any kind or nature whatever, including powers necessary for the purposes of Government, and the preservation of public order in or for the protection of territories, lands, or property, comprised or referred to in the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid or affecting other territories, lands or property in Africa, or the inhabitants thereof, and to hold, use and exercise such territories, lands, property, rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions and powers respectively for the

purposes of the Company, and on the terms of this Our Charter. . . .

“ The Company shall to the best of its ability preserve peace and order in such ways and manners as it shall consider necessary, and may with that object make ordinances (to be approved by Our Secretary of State) and may establish and maintain a force of police. . . .

“ The Company is hereby further specially authorized and empowered for the purposes of this Our Charter from time to time—

“(I) To issue shares of different classes or descriptions, to increase the share capital of the Company, and to borrow moneys by debentures or other obligations.

“(II) To acquire and hold, and to charter or otherwise deal with, steam vessels and other vessels.

“(III) To establish or authorize banking companies and other companies, and undertakings or associations of every description, for purposes consistent with the provisions of this Our Charter.

“(IV) To make and maintain roads railways telegraphs harbours and any other works which may tend to the development or improvement of the territories of the Company.

“(v) To carry on mining and other industries, and to make concessions of mining forestal or other rights.

“(VI) To improve develop clear plant irrigate and cultivate any lands included within the territories of the Company.

“(VII) To settle any such territories and lands as aforesaid, and to aid and promote immigration.

- “(VIII) To grant lands for terms of years or in perpetuity, and either absolutely, or by way of mortgage or otherwise.
- “(IX) To make loans or contributions of money or money’s worth, for promoting any of the objects of the Company.
- “(X) To acquire and hold personal property.
- “(XI) To acquire and hold (without license in mortmain or other authority than this Our Charter), lands in the United Kingdom, not exceeding five acres in all, at any one time for the purposes of the offices and business of the Company and (subject to any local law) lands in any of Our Colonies or Possessions and elsewhere, convenient for carrying on the management of the affairs of the Company, and to dispose from time to time of any such lands when not required for that purpose.
- “(XII) To carry on any lawful commerce, trade, pursuit, business, operations, or dealing whatsoever in connection with the objects of the Company.
- “(XIII) To establish and maintain agencies in Our Colonies and Possessions, and elsewhere.
- “(XIV) To sue and be sued by the Company’s name of incorporation, as well in Our Courts in Our United Kingdom, or in Our Courts in Our Colonies or Possessions, or in Our Courts in Foreign countries or elsewhere.
- “(XV) To do all lawful things incidental or conducive to the exercise or enjoyment of the rights, interests, authorities and powers of the Company in this Our Charter expressed or referred to, or any of them.

“And We do further will, ordain and declare that it shall be lawful for Us Our heirs and successors and We do hereby expressly reserve to Ourselves Our heirs and successors the right and power by writing under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom at the end of 25 years from the date of this Our Charter, and at the end of every succeeding period of ten years, to add to alter or repeal any of the provisions of this Our Charter or to enact other provisions in substitution for or in addition to any of its existing provisions. Provided that the right and power thus reserved shall be exercised only in relation to so much of this Our Charter as relates to administrative and public matters. And We do further expressly reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors the right to take over any buildings or works belonging to the Company, and used exclusively or mainly for administrative or public purposes on payment to the Company of such reasonable compensation as may be agreed, or as failing agreement may be settled by the Commissioners of Our Treasury. And We do further appoint direct and declare that any such writing under the said Great Seal shall have full effect, and be binding upon the Company, its members, officers and servants, and all other persons, and shall be of the same force, effect, and validity as if its provisions had been part of and contained in these presents.”

In the Deed of Settlement, dated 3rd of February, 1891, the objects of the British South Africa Company were further set forth and approved by the Lords of Her Majesty's Council.

Amongst the most important of these were:

“To undertake and carry on the Government or Administration of any territories districts or places in Africa, and therefor and therein to make laws

and ordinances, and to impose and levy taxes, and raise revenue, and to establish and maintain a force of police.

“To provide for and promote the welfare of the inhabitants of Africa, the advancement of civilization, and the development of trade.

“To negotiate and carry into effect treaties and arrangements with any Chiefs, Rulers, Governments or Authorities (Supreme, Local or otherwise) in Africa and elsewhere; and to subsidize any such Chiefs, Rulers, Governments or Authorities.

“To establish towns villages settlements stores and stations.

“To prospect explore examine and investigate countries territories places undertakings properties and claims of all kinds, and to organize conduct assist and subsidize expeditions surveys investigations experiments and testing operations of all kinds, and to collect train employ and furnish experts for any such purposes.

“To form organize promote subsidize and assist companies syndicates partnerships institutions and associations for any purposes conducive to the interests of the Company, and to hold shares in any company or corporation.

“To control conduct superintend work and carry on railways canals and other works and undertakings of all kinds.

“To lend money and assets of all kinds and to receive moneys and assets of all kinds on deposit or for transmission or for safe custody, and to undertake all kinds of guarantee business.

“To enter into any arrangement for sharing profits, union of interests, reciprocal concession or co-operation with any person firm company or authority carrying on or engaged in or about to carry on or engage in any business or transaction which the

Company is authorized to carry on or engage in, or any business or transaction capable of being conducted so as directly or indirectly to benefit the Company or to promote directly or indirectly any of its objects.

“To subscribe for purchase or otherwise acquire, and to hold sell dispose of and deal in shares stocks debentures debenture stock bills notes and securities of any company partnership or association or of any local or other authority.”

On 17th November, 1891, Mr. E. A. Lippert obtained the following further concession from Lobengula, which the British South Africa Company subsequently acquired by purchase:

“CONCESSION

“To all to whom these Presents shall come, I, LO BENGULA, King of the Amandabele nation, and of the Makalaka, Mashona, and surrounding territories send greeting:

“Whereas I have granted a concession in respect of mineral rights, and the rights incidental to mining only, and whereas my absolute power as paramount King to allow persons to occupy land in my Kingdom and to levy and collect taxes thereon, has been successfully established, and whereas, seeing that large numbers of white people are coming into my territories, and it is desirable that I should assign land to them, and whereas it is desirable that I should once and for all appoint some person to act for me in these respects:

“Now therefore, and in consideration of the payment of one thousand pounds (£1,000) having been made to me to-day, I do hereby grant to Edward Amandus Lippert, and to his heirs, executors, as-

signs, and substitutes, absolutely, subject only to the annual sum of £500 being paid to me or to my successors in office, in quarterly instalments, in lieu of rates, rents, and taxes, the following rights and privileges, namely:

“ The sole and exclusive right, power and privilege for the full term of one hundred (100) years to lay out, grant, or lease, for such period or periods as he may think fit, farms, townships, building plots, and grazing areas, to impose and levy rents, licenses and taxes thereon, and to get in, collect, and receive the same for his own benefit, to give and grant certificates in my name for the occupation of any farms townships building plots, and grazing areas; to commence and prosecute, and also defend in any competent court, in Africa or elsewhere, either in my name or in his own name, all such actions, suits, and other proceedings as he may deem necessary for establishing, maintaining, or defending the said rights, powers, and privileges hereby conferred; provided always that the said rights and privileges shall only extend and apply to all such territories as are now, or may hereafter be, occupied by, or be under the sphere of operations of, the British South Africa Company, their successors, or any person or persons holding from or under them, and provided that from the rights granted by these presents are excluded only the grazing of such cattle, the enclosing of such land, and the erection of such buildings and machinery as are strictly required for the exercise of the mineral rights now held by the British South Africa Company under the said Concession.

“ The powers granted to E. Ramsay Renny-Tailyour, under date 22nd April 1891, are hereby withdrawn and cancelled in so far as they are in conflict with these presents.

GRANTING OF THE CHARTER 111

“GIVEN under my seal at Umvutcha, this 17th day of November 1891.

“Witnesses:

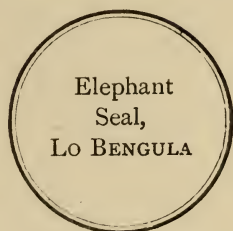
“*(Signed)*

“E. R. RENNY-TAILYOUR

“JAMES RILEY

“JAMES FAIRBAIRN

“+ JAMES UMKISA’S CROSS.



“*(Signed)* ED. A. LIPPERT.”

“I hereby certify that the above document has been fully interpreted and explained to the King Lo Bengula and to his indunas, according to the established usages of the nation.

“*(Signed)* W. J. TAINTON,
“Interpreter.

“*(Signed)* C. M. ACUTT,
“Interpreter.”

“There were present at the discussion of the above grant besides the King Lo Bengula, Umhlaba (the regent), Umlagela, Gambo Umjana, Lutulo, all indunas; and of Europeans, Mr. Moffat, Tainton (Interpreter), Ed. Lippert, E. R. Renny-Tailyour, James Riley, C. M. Acutt (Interpreter) and James Umkisa (servant).

“*(Signed)* ED. LIPPERT.”

“I certify that this document is a full and exact expression of the wishes of the Chief Lo Bengula and his principal indunas, and that I sign this in accordance with the wish of the Chief.

“*(Signed)* J. S. MOFFAT,
“Assistant Commissioner.”

Thus with the Charter granted and the Constitution of the Government of Rhodesia broadly defined, the British South Africa Company, under the direction of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, took steps to occupy their new territory with a picked band of pioneers.

CHAPTER II

OCCUPATION AND SETTLEMENT

Story of Occupation.—Initial Difficulties.—Dr. Jameson's Administration.—Trouble with Portuguese.—Progress and Development.

THE story of the occupation, early administration, and settlement of Southern Rhodesia was graphically described by Mr. Cecil Rhodes at the Second Annual Meeting of the British South Africa Company on November 29th, 1892. He said:

“ When I look back at the past and see what has been accomplished, I feel that we must congratulate ourselves on our present condition, in so far as the success of the Charter is concerned. It is nearly three years ago that my friend, Mr. Maguire, went in to the unknown regions of Lobengula, sat down with that naked savage, and obtained from him the concession for us and others. That concession was, I think, really obtained not from the purely speculative point of view. It was a conception that the north would have to be taken with the hinterland of the country, and would have to be developed, and the basis for obtaining that was to get a concession. I will not weary you with the various negotiations that subsequently occurred, but we had the satisfaction afterwards of obtaining a Charter from Her Majesty's Government. The work, however, had only then begun, because, although we had a Charter, we had not got the country, which was occupied by savages ;

and although the Chief of the country had given us a concession, he was not at all pleased that we should derive any benefit therefrom. . . .

“ After a careful study of the map, it was seen that the proper course to pursue was to try and occupy the territory to the east, at that time occupied by Mashonas, who were yearly raided by Lobengula. We formed a force which marched through that territory; and I agree with the Chairman that the highest tribute is to be paid to those young men who marched for a thousand miles, four hundred of which were through a dense forest, and who had to cut their way day by day through it, until they finally reached ‘ the promised land.’ One thing which that expedition taught me is the audacity of our race; and in connection with our race I would mention the colonists of South Africa, both Dutch and English, because that force was composed of Englishmen from home, Englishmen in South Africa, and Dutch colonists resident there also. This combination brought about the occupation of ‘ the promised land,’ and then the usual thing occurred—they found that ‘ the promised land’ was beautiful, but it was an open waste. Everything had to be done; there was nothing before them, and nothing to take. In fact, I came to the conclusion that it was easier to conquer an old country than to occupy a new one—because, in the one case, however terrific the conquest might be, there was the wealth of the land and of the citizens, the wealth of the country, as perhaps the reward. In their case, however, after unheard-of difficulties, they simply had an open country, which had lately been devoted only to barbarism. They made an occupation, they founded a Government, and so far as the first occupants went, there was the natural reaction. They found that they could not pick up gold like gooseberries, and that to acquire it necessitated

work, toil, and patience, and the result was that depression ensued after the first sanguine hopes as to the nature of 'the promised land.' Then the rains fell, and they found themselves shut up in the country, and there were all sorts of miserable reports; but I am glad to say that the majority of the people bore without complaint the hardships they had to endure.

"That lasted for about six months. Then the rivers fell, and a further number of emigrants were able to enter the country, as well as certain expeditions from home. Meantime, we had formed an organized Government, and had begun the first groundwork of making a country. It is needless for me to refer to the various expeditions from home. They also thought that a fortune was to be made in about a week or a month; but they, too, found a bare country, whose future must depend upon the energy of its first occupants, and that a race out from home and a race back would not in any part of the world give one a quarter of a million of money. Then, undoubtedly, came a true period of depression. The condemnation of the home papers could only be compared to their previous undue sanguineness. They condemned the country as everything that was bad. Subsequently we were removed from the criticism of the English papers, as they thought the country too bad to say anything about it. Those on the spot, however, about fifteen hundred strong, remained doggedly and determinedly in the country. They went to work to find their reefs, but they were removed seventeen hundred miles from the coast, and their food cost them £70 a ton. Shortly after that, my friend, Dr. Jameson, agreed to assume the charge of the country. Dr. Jameson had been up in the country before, having just got back from a seven hundred mile walking tour—across the country of

Gungunhana, a Chief from whom he had obtained the whole of the coast region as a concession. Dr. Jameson was suffering from a very bad malarial fever, but when I asked him to go back, he agreed to do so without a word. He was fortunate enough to fall upon a trek of dissatisfied Transvaal agitators, who were determined to take the northern country from this Company. By the measures he took and his good management Dr. Jameson dispersed the trekkers, and many of them have since taken land under the Company's flag.

“ Dr. Jameson afterwards proceeded to the country and took charge of the Government; and shortly afterwards, as soon as my parliament was over, I went round and met Dr. Jameson in the country. I found the position at the time as follows: a discontented population of about fifteen hundred people, and an expenditure of about £250,000 a year upon police. Things looked rather bad, because it was not only the large number of police, but also the feeding of them, which had to be done by carting the food for seventeen hundred miles from the coast. Dr. Jameson and myself talked matters over, and he said: ‘ If you will give me £3,000 a month I can pull through.’ The following year Dr. Jameson reduced the seven hundred police to forty, and brought down the expenditure from £250,000 to £30,000 a year. That was the position last year; but the present position is even better, for Dr. Jameson has made the revenue and expenditure of the country balance. He has not, however, left the country without defence, for he has got the people of the country themselves to become volunteers; and for a small payment of about £4 per head per annum, we have as good a force as we ever had in the days of the police. We have a force of five hundred men, three hundred of whom we could mount, and a force

which I consider amply sufficient to defend the country from attack. I use the word 'attack,' but really I do not know where the attack is to come from. We had our difficulties in the past, and had been threatened with attacks from the Portuguese, from trek Boers, and from Lobengula. As you are aware, after a slight dispute with the Portuguese¹ we came to a settlement. I might say that our people behaved exceedingly well in this dispute, because there were only forty of them, as against four or five hundred on the other side. Since that little occurrence we have been on the best of terms. Our relations are peaceful all round, so that 'bears' cannot say that the Charter territory will suffer from any hostile attack. I am on the best of terms with

¹ When the pioneer expedition was on its way to Mashonaland, two of its officers visited the chief Umtasa, whose country was situated on the Portuguese border, and induced him to place himself under British protection and make a concession to the British South Africa Company of the mineral rights of his territory. The Portuguese, however, claimed Umtasa as their subject.

Some time after, when certain Portuguese officials visited the chief's kraal, they were arrested by the British South Africa Company's men and sent as prisoners to Salisbury. This incident caused great excitement in Portugal, and a volunteer force was immediately sent out to Beira, a port on the coast of Portuguese East Africa. On its arrival it was ordered up country, together with a force of natives, to take up a strong position on the boundary. On May 11th, 1891, this body, consisting of over 100 Portuguese and 300 or 400 natives, made a reconnaissance and fell in with the English pickets, who retired on their camp. An engagement took place between the handful of British mentioned in Mr. Rhodes' speech and the Portuguese, which resulted in the total defeat of the latter with a heavy loss in killed and wounded, though there were no casualties on the British side.

The Portuguese fled in confusion towards the coast, abandoning their fort, which the British South Africa Company's men occupied on the following day, capturing a large supply of stores and eleven machine guns. The British pursued the Portuguese, and would undoubtedly have followed them to Beira, had they not been recalled by order of the Imperial Government.

President Krüger. I pointed out at the time of the crisis, that if President Krüger crossed the Limpopo, we should have a very severe difference, and that it would not be limited to the people out there, but that it would react on Her Majesty's Government at home; and I must say that President Krüger has behaved loyally and well. Our differences with the Portuguese are over, and we are on the most friendly terms with Lobengula. The latter receives a globular sum of £100 a month in sovereigns, and he looks forward with great satisfaction to the day of the month when he will receive them. I have not the least fear of any trouble in the future from Lobengula.

"I have pointed out to you that revenue and expenditure have balanced, so far as Mashonaland is concerned, and we must now look shortly at some of the indications of what prosperity we may hope to come from the internal resources of that country. The pleasantest sign that I have had was when we sold the stands in Mashonaland. When we remember that all foreign capital has been driven from the country by well-meant criticisms as to its unhealthiness, and by the bad reports which were circulated regarding the country—one writer stating that it was only fit for bucks—I consider it a wonderful thing that the people of the country should bid and pay £10,000 for the stands when they were sold. I am speaking of the township stands. Each plot of ground sold for building is called a 'stand,' and the fact that they have been purchased for £10,000, not by foreign capitalists, but by the people in the country, is a most satisfactory sign, as showing their faith—the faith, perhaps I may say, of the fifteen hundred in the wilderness.

"The next sign was the telegraph. In our worst times I determined to continue and complete the

telegraph to Salisbury, because it put one in complete touch with the country. I was amazed when I called for the telegraph returns to find that on an expenditure of £90,000 we had not only sent the Company's messages free of charge, and the Imperial Government messages through the protectorate practically free of charge, but had saved 4 per cent. on our capital. I thought that that was a very practical indication that the country had something more in it than bucks. Having given the people the telegraph communication, it was clear that we could not expect from the country any great development unless we could give them a nearer means of communication; and a reference to the map will show that it was essential to make a communication from the east coast—in fact, to get a railway built. We have had great difficulty over this railway. We ought to have built it much sooner, but the Home Government, or rather the Foreign Office, had glided into that steady, pleasant duty of the exchange of letters, and they appeared to think that this might last until the end of the century. Unfortunately, some of our younger spirits went up and forced the route from Beira, and then we had the unfortunate dispute with the Portuguese, which, however, did bring about a happy result. We got some final settlement of the question as to whether we could or could not build a railway—not only the general terms, but that the line should be completed within some date. The result was that we found we had to build the railway by arrangement with a company which the Portuguese had created. When I returned home about five months ago, when the Charter was at its worst and our shares stood at 10s. or 12s., it seemed almost impossible to obtain any further capital, but through the good feeling of friends I obtained sufficient to build the railway from the

coast. I think it fair to mention, as an instance, that Lord Rothschild—who, I think, did not believe in the least degree in the Charter, but thought he was ‘chucking’ his money into the sea—gave me £25,000. I regard it as a nice thing when our capitalists do acts of this nature, as it shows that they are a little above the ordinary—a little above considerations of filthy lucre. There were many others who came forward and gave me money with which to build the railway, and the result of their subscriptions is that the line is now being constructed, and we hope it will be completed in a few months. This line will give us an easy communication, for it will place transport on the basis of transport to the Witwatersrand. Goods will cost, delivered in Mashonaland, about £10 a ton, which is the present rate to the Witwatersrand. The people have telegraph communication, and they will have easy communication with the coast. I think that we have done as a Charter all that we can do for the people of the country, and it will now be left to their energy and determination to prove what the country is worth.”

CHAPTER III

EXPERIMENTAL LEGISLATION

Difficulties of Government by a Commercial Company.—Introduction of Capital encouraged by Special Grants.—Appointment of Administrator.—Formation of Legislative Council; its Constitution.—Expenses and Losses of British South Africa Company.—Discontent of Settlers.—Confidence in Mr. Rhodes.—His Plans for Self-Government.

THE early progress of a new colony is largely influenced by the amount of capital it can obtain for developing its resources. The stages of progress must be gradual and experimental in order to determine the direction in which the economic possibilities can be developed to the best advantage. Advancement, too, is closely linked with the relationship of the new colony to the Mother Country and the older colonies, and much also will depend on the peculiarities in character and temperament of the white settlers. If most of these are in pursuit of the mining industry, and consequently expect to acquire a rapid fortune, the population must be considered a somewhat unstable and migratory one; whereas if farming is the chief attraction, permanent colonists may be anticipated. In addition there must be reckoned the problem of a large native population, from whom it is supposed the chief manual labour will be drawn for opening up the territory. The administration therefore, which includes taxation, the laws affecting the economic development of the colony, the whole of the native legislation, and the relationship be-

tween the Government and the people, must be put on an entirely experimental basis, to expand or contract according to the temper and economic prosperity of the whole community.

The British South Africa Company, under the leadership of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, in taking over the administration of Southern Rhodesia, had, however, a greater and more difficult work to perform than the administrators of those new colonies which are under the direct control of the Imperial Government, difficulties which increased rather than diminished with the early progress of the country. In a Crown colony it is not so important to put the administration of the country on a paying basis as is the case with a purely commercial enterprise. Though in the former instance there is considerable waste and leakage of capital, the Imperial Government works not so much with a view to reaping a direct benefit, but in order that the future prosperity of the colony may be secured, and the foundations laid for a self-governing country. The Imperial Government looks upon its new territories in the light of an asset in which a part of the revenue of England is absorbed, and from which Great Britain only expects a return on the money she has expended by the opening up of another country whither to send a surplus of her population. She thereby not only releases herself from the burden of providing work for some thousands of her inhabitants, but also secures a fresh market for her goods, and is able to buy, in exchange for her manufactured article, the raw material produced in the new colony. Indirectly, therefore, Great Britain reaps three distinct benefits; she is able to emigrate some thousands of people from her country, thus relieving the unemployment of the nation; she also increases her prosperity by opening a new market for the sale of

her manufactured goods; and she receives raw material from a new source to be turned into a finished article.

But in supervising the early administration of her new colonies, Great Britain is inclined to adopt one conservative policy, and is not apt to pay adequate attention to the variety of problems which affect each separate colony. The administrators themselves would often like to make radical changes, but are closely tied down by the Home Government to one fixed line of conduct. The fact that a country may be running at a heavy loss does not in a Crown colony cause the same consternation as it would in the case of government by a commercial company. The general principle, therefore, of the Government of a Crown colony is to administer it along more or less fixed lines with a view to expanding and opening up its resources and encouraging emigration, regardless of any direct advantage or disadvantage the Imperial Government itself may reap.

A private commercial company, on the other hand, which undertakes the development and administration of a new colony, has a limited capital behind it; it has not only the interests of the settlers to consider directly, but those also of the shareholders who found the capital. The aim, therefore, of the Company must be to develop the new colony to the best interest of settlers and shareholders alike. Such a course is both a difficult and delicate one to pursue. Many direct benefits conferred on shareholders may be of material and permanent disadvantage to the settlers. Advantages conferred on the settlers, though of lasting benefit to the community, and to the economic development of the country, may involve the expenditure of considerable capital, and the consequent holding over, perhaps for many years, of profits due to the shareholders.

The British South Africa Company has constantly been obliged to face problems of this nature. If, for example, it sells a grant or concession to a land or mining company, the British South Africa Company benefits by the price paid for the concession, whether it be in cash, shares, or in some other way; but if the purchasing company allows this grant or concession to lie idle for ever, the settlers suffer, because one of the resources of the country is remaining undeveloped, and this in the end reacts on the Chartered shareholders also.

The early administration of the Chartered Company was based on the principle of encouraging the large companies to spend money in developing Southern Rhodesia. It was absolutely necessary also to place the administration on a paying basis, as the British South Africa Company had only a limited capital at its disposal, and this in a few years was likely to come to an end if the Company itself attempted to develop its own commercial resources. The British South Africa Company, therefore, confined its attention solely to administration, and encouraged the introduction of further capital into Southern Rhodesia by making special grants and concessions to land and mining companies. The administration and legislation and the determination of titles had necessarily to be somewhat experimental in the first years of the country's history, and all that could be done was to lay down broad principles and systems on which to work. Owing, however, to the company-mongering tricks and mismanagement of the land and mine companies, not only were the objects which Mr. Rhodes hoped to gain not realized, and concessions left idle in the hands of these useless companies, but the individual settlers were sacrificed in the endeavour to attract large capital from England, and the British

South Africa Company itself suffered from the state of stagnation into which the country was thrown.

The British South Africa Company attempted in the beginning to carry out its vast enterprise with a capital of only one million sterling, but Mr. Rhodes soon found that this was inadequate, and the amount had to be doubled; but even two millions was an insignificant figure for all the great undertakings which were to be put in hand, and during the history of this Company frequent calls have been made on the British public for further capital.

After the conquest of the Matabeles in 1893, the British South Africa Company was permitted by the Imperial Government to take over the administration of Matabeleland as well as of Mashonaland. The Constitution was therefore revised so as to allow of the Chartered Company carrying out its undertakings upon a broader basis.

Under an Order in Council of the Imperial Government of 1894, it was ordained that an Administrator, approved by Her Majesty's Government, should be appointed by the British South Africa Company to govern the whole territory, his term of office to be for three years, though at the end of that period he should be eligible for reappointment. A Council was also authorized to assist the Administrator in the legislation of the country and in all other matters of importance. The Council consisted of the Judge, as *ex officio* member, and three other members chosen by the British South Africa Company, with the consent of the Secretary of State. The three members held office for a period of two years, and at the end of that time one retired, but was eligible for reappointment. The Administrator was permitted to veto the decision of the Council, but in every such case he was obliged to make a full report to the British South Africa Company, giving

his reasons for the steps he had taken, and the Company, if it thought fit, could again reverse the Administrator's decision.

A regulation only became valid,

- (i) When two members of the Council, besides the Administrator, had concurred in it.
- (ii) After the High Commissioner had approved of it.
- (iii) After its promulgation by publication in the Gazette, by authority of the High Commissioner.

The Administrator and his Council had a difficult and responsible task to carry out. They were beset with all the problems which the Government of a new colony has to face, and were hampered besides by the knowledge that there was only a limited capital to fall back upon in cases of emergency. The conquest and occupation of Matabeleland had already been a heavy drain on the British South Africa Company's funds, but it was absolutely necessary, if Southern Rhodesia was to be pushed ahead to any extent, that further expenditure should be incurred. In fact the only way to set to work in order that the administration of the country should become self-supporting, was to open up as many of its resources as possible; but this again entailed growing liabilities, because though the Revenue became greater, it did not at first increase in proportion to the expenditure, so that each new centre of administration had to go through an early stage of losses before it could be put on a paying basis.

The high cost of living, and the dearness of all commodities of life, was as great a handicap to the progress of the Government as it was to the settlers themselves, and Mr. Rhodes saw the advisability of linking up Southern Rhodesia as quickly as possible

with the port of Beira on the east coast, and with the southern colonies, by means of railway connection. This work was pushed ahead with the greatest possible speed, but meanwhile there occurred several disastrous events. In 1895 Dr. Jameson made the fatal blunder of attempting a raid on the Transvaal. On the top of this came the outbreak of rinderpest, killing nearly all the cattle of Southern Rhodesia, followed by a rebellion first of the Matabeles and then of the Mashonas. All these misfortunes caused enormous losses both directly and indirectly to the British South Africa Company, and it was necessary to raise further capital to carry on the work of the territory.

After the two rebellions had been stamped out, the Imperial Government insisted on the British South Africa Company maintaining a much larger number of police. Prior to these events the body had been a small one, and the Chartered Company had largely depended for its defence on its volunteer force. The strengthening of the police, who were under the direct control of the Imperial Government, caused the annual administrative expenditure to go up with a bound.

A further burden was added, as the British South Africa Company, in order to raise money for the Rhodesia railways, had guaranteed the debenture interest, and were annually paying large sums of money, which the railways were liable for, but were unable to earn.

The many mistakes and calamities of this period formed the darkest spot in the history of the young colony, and to add to the gloom, the mineral wealth had not proved as great as had been at first expected. The credit of Southern Rhodesia became much shaken, its resources were still undeveloped, and the majority of the companies were found to be

very broken reeds on which to lean, and were coming to an end of their money. The colonists were discontented owing to the general depression. Only a few had settled definitely to farm life, and others who had attempted to do so received little encouragement from the Government. Meetings were held to express entire disapproval of the administration by the Chartered Company, and the people loudly clamoured for sweeping changes.

Such was the position of affairs at the end of the first seven years of the administration of the British South Africa Company. In spite of the feeling of discontent and hostility towards the Company, the great majority of settlers felt an unbounded and unreserved trust in the great founder, Mr. Cecil Rhodes. They knew that he had a true, whole-hearted desire for their prosperity, and a deep confidence in the possibilities of the territory; that all his actions were inspired by unselfish aims, and that he was intolerant of those who put their personal aggrandisement in front of Imperialist ideas. He himself, though a man of great wealth, never used his money for his own comfort and luxury. He was a man of simple habits and simple manner of life, who considered money as a powerful means of attaining an end. A great dreamer, his dreams were always based on Imperialism and the expansion of the Empire, but, unlike other dreamers, he set about carrying his dreams into practice. His money was the tool in his hands for the fashioning of his work.

The colonists, rightly or wrongly, felt that most of the other members of the Board paid a half-hearted attention to the pressing needs of a great pioneer country, and did not realize the responsibilities they had taken up. The settlers also complained that the London Board not only refused to journey out to Southern Rhodesia, and thereby get

into sympathetic touch with the problems of a new country, but also treated with indifference the appeals made to them by those suffering the hardships and disabilities of pioneer work.

But however bitterly the settlers felt towards the majority they loyally adhered to the head of the London Board. With the occupation of Southern Rhodesia Mr. Rhodes had plunged with a whole-hearted energy into the pioneer development of the territory. He had set himself to work out the destiny of this new country with the colonists themselves; to share with them the difficulties and the disappointments of these early years; to get a thorough insight into the many problems which presented themselves, and to show sympathy and understanding in all the operations that were being projected. In this way he won the affection, the confidence, and the loyalty of the people of Southern Rhodesia. In spite of his desire to spend the best part of his time in Rhodesia, Mr. Rhodes was forced, owing to his strong political connection with the southern colonies and the great need for him at the London Board meetings, frequently to leave the country for long periods.

Often on his return he found the country plunged in a state of depression, and was met by numerous deputations from the colonists, bringing their difficulties and grievances to him. But a few days after his arrival the troubles of the people were all dealt with, the gloomy cloud was dispelled, and a spirit of intoxicating optimism pervaded the whole territory. Mr. Rhodes' magnetic strength of character and his confidence and assurance of being able to tackle any problem, however insurmountable, inspired all those who came in touch with him.

Mr. Rhodes, in the back of his mind, had other and greater ideals than those for which he was immediately working. He foresaw the Dutch and Eng-

lish race difficulties solved, and a united South Africa no longer split up into separate petty colonies, but animated by one broad Imperial spirit of progress and reciprocal expansion. But as yet Southern Rhodesia, in its almost embryonic stage, was unfit to meet the other colonies on the same footing. It had scarcely grasped the rudimentary lessons in administration. Mr. Rhodes recognized that the first system of Government under the complete control of a commercial company, subject to the approval of the Imperial Government, was the only feasible way in which Southern Rhodesia could work out the early years of its destiny. He saw in its pioneer population a people easily influenced by fair or stormy weather, quickly roused to indignation and as easily pacified, scarcely knowing its own mind, unbalanced and unstable, and yet capable, in the hands of a powerful man, of becoming a great and lasting instrument in the progress and development of the territory. He knew that from this early population, and from that which was to follow, were to be drawn men who would be taking an active part in the administration of the country, men who as yet scarcely understood the elementary principles of legislation. But he saw that, before the people of the country could become important factors in the administration, Southern Rhodesia would have to be put on a more settled basis, and that this work could only be done through the initiation of the British South Africa Company.

In a speech of Mr. Rhodes at the Annual Congress of the Afrikaner Bond, as far back as 1891, he said:

“ I have no hesitation in stating that I have every confidence in the future of these new northern territories [meaning Rhodesia], and I can also state that

I shall never abandon my object. These territories possess a sufficient amount of wealth to demand, in time, the principle of self-government. A change must then occur from the chartered system of government to the Imperial system of self-government, and from self-government to a system of union with Cape Colony. . . . If there was anything that induced me to take the position of Prime Minister, it was the fact that I had resolved in my mind that we should extend to the Zambesi. I thought it a grand idea to work for the development of the Zambesi regions, and at the same time to remain in touch and in concert with the people of Cape Colony. I mention this, whilst proposing the toast of the Bond, because the sentiment and object of the Bond are union (although you have not stated it in so many words) south of the Zambesi. I say south of the Zambesi, because I have discovered that up to there white human beings can live; and wherever in the world white human beings can live, that country must change inevitably to a self-governing country. There, Mr. President, is an extraordinary flight of the imagination, that there must be a self-governing white community up to the Zambesi in connection with the United South. What has been the case in the other worlds? Look at the enormous development and union of the United States. That union did away with differential tariffs of all sorts, and gave to America a united people."

In a speech made at Bulawayo in 1896, towards the end of the Matabele rebellion, Mr. Rhodes further said:

"With the enormous mass of minerals that exist, I believe 60,000 claims have already been pegged, I am perfectly certain that you will find any quantity of payable gold, and then when you get the

rights of civilized citizens, I see the way to glide from the present position to representation for the people, and from that to a state of self-government by the people. You may say that a Charter is ridiculous; but it is the first step. With the first step under the Imperial supervision, you would not have had the railway or the development, on account of the timidity of the English people; but I would be the first to say that it is only temporary, and that our government must be first by an elective system, and finally by a full and complete system. If you claim to be a politician you must think these things out, and what I said the other day, when you were good enough to give me a dinner, I repeat: amalgamation with the Cape would not be justice to this community on account of the distance, but you can grow into a self-governing body. There are many of you here who think that you will make your pile and disappear. Now I am going to make a forecast. I have seen the same thing in Kimberley and in many parts of South Africa, and you will find that when the pile is made, you cannot throw yourself back into English life, and you will soon find yourself back again. The future is big; it is fast bringing up the railway, and then out of those endless minerals, certain reefs will pay, and we shall grow into a big community; and while we accept the present system, we will look at the future which will bring us a share in the government of the country. We shall develop the state not on lines of antagonism with the rest of South Africa, but in harmony with it. We must be careful, we cannot take responsibility at present; the temporary position suits us. With railway communication will come proper development and proper working of the reefs that we possess. As soon as that occurs, and our population increases, we shall have the confidence to take the

responsibility of our position, and we shall take that position, not in antagonism to the rest of the States in South Africa, but in perfect harmony with them.”

These speeches emphasize the fact that Mr. Cecil Rhodes regarded the British South Africa Company merely as an instrument for starting the initial stages in the development of Southern Rhodesia.

CHAPTER IV

POPULAR REPRESENTATION

Settlers demand Representation.—Increased Agitation.—Minority of Elected Members admitted to Legislative Council.—Order in Council, 1898; Scope of Administrator and Legislative Council.

ACCORDING to the Constitution laid down by the Order in Council, 1894, the Administrator and his Council were under the direct supervision of the London Board in St. Swithin's Lane; and in any matters of importance they were obliged to refer to this body, who endeavoured to rule a territory nearly 8,000 miles away, though imperfectly acquainted with the local problems and the delicate nature of the many vital questions needing settlement. The Administrator received his orders from the London Board and had to instruct his Legislative Council accordingly. The settlers strongly resented this method of government; and their indignation was increased by the general commercial and industrial depression which followed the rebellions of 1896, and which the settlers considered was due in part to the unsatisfactory mining laws and the uncertain definition of land title. Already a strong feeling was spreading that the people themselves should have representation; they suffered the burden of taxation, and had therefore every right to a share in the government of the country. In spite of the strong feeling against the London Board, the people maintained a staunch and loyal regard for,

and belief in, the founder of their country. No better example could be given of the attitude of the white settlers than an article which appeared in 1896 in the "Matabele Times," with reference to the problem of administration. *Inter alia* it said:

"Our expectations of a prosperous future are bound up in the continuance of government by the Chartered Company, and the Chartered Company is inseparably linked with the personality of Mr. Rhodes. The other members of the Board are, from the point of view of Rhodesians, as absolutely non-entities as are the shareholders. There was but one man among them who displayed a higher sense of obligation than is involved in a commercial speculation; but one man who set himself to create a country that would be a worthy portion of the British empire, as well as a dividend-producing region; but one man who devoted himself to the prosperity of a people, as against treating men and families as pawns in a Stock Exchange game. With him eliminated there may remain but a soulless Company, capable of any Shylockian demand for prescriptive rights."

The opposition of the settlers towards the British South Africa Company became more pronounced as the population increased and settled down to permanent employment. Public meetings were constantly held to demand representation in the Legislative Council and to express disapproval of the conduct of the Government, but the settlers were too busy with their hostile attacks to consider very closely any direct policy of reform. Much of this attitude was on a line with the old story of the Irish sailor who, when shipwrecked on an unknown shore, said to the inhabitants who were attending to his wants, "I dunno what counthry this is, but I'm agin

the Government." In the same way the Rhodesian settlers, though they had many grievances, submitted no definite progressive programme. In one thing, however, they were unanimous, and that was in their antagonism to the administration of the British South Africa Company.

A strong body of the people was in favour of appealing to the Imperial Government for the abolition of the British South Africa Company as an administrative body, but opinion was again divided as to the position thereafter to be occupied by the Company. Some were in favour of allowing it to retain its commercial interests in the territory, but the more radical reformers demanded the abrogation of the Charter and the total elimination of the British South Africa Company from the country, a result which could only be achieved by buying out the Company's interests, lock, stock, and barrel. The question of the legality of either step being taken against the wishes of the Company did not appear to enter seriously into the calculation of the reformers.

Another section of the community, equally dissatisfied with much of the policy and many of the measures of the British South Africa Company, recognized that if the Imperial Government were to step in, the settlers, in escaping from the disadvantages of government by a commercial company, might be drawn into the still more restricted position of a Crown colony, ruled directly from the Colonial Office, or linked to the government of Cape Colony and forgotten. They hesitated to advocate such changes as the more radical reformers desired, perceiving that it would be better to adopt a more conciliatory tone with the British South Africa Company, and to endeavour to obtain redress of the most pressing grievances by getting representation

for the people in the Legislative Council. The optimism of the radical reformers was like the unbounded self-confidence of healthy youth, which, in its limited knowledge of life, sees limitless possibilities, grows impatient of the conservatism produced by experience, and would plunge, with bold and blind disregard for the consequences, into all the undefined and irretraceable perplexities of a reformation, only to find itself in a veritable quagmire of blunders from which it would vainly endeavour to escape. How could a small white population, which in September, 1907, only numbered 14,018, and in the earlier years still less, hope to pick out from merchants, miners, farmers, contractors, transport riders, solicitors, brokers, and clerks, an independent body of men capable of the responsibility of administering a vast territory on broad economic lines of expansion? It would be absurd, on the face of it, to imagine that from this community could be chosen a representative body who would be not only gifted with the statesmanlike and political qualifications which others had acquired from the experience of many years, but able also to discuss with authority the most delicate and difficult points in the economic, civil, and criminal administration of the country.

The first result of the numerous agitations was seen in 1898. In that year the British South Africa Company revised its constitution and appointed a Legislative Council, consisting of the Resident Commissioner, five members nominated by the Government, and four members elected by the people, with the Administrator to preside over the whole assembly. Thus the initial stage in self-government by the people was effected in accordance with Mr. Rhodes' prophecy in his speech at the Cape in 1891.

The qualifications necessary for voting at the elec-

tion of members for the Legislative Council were set forth in the following regulations:

“ 3. Every male person, not being under the age of twenty-one years, shall be entitled to be registered in the Electoral District in which he resides at the time of registration as a voter at the elections of members of the said Council, who either

“(1) Is a British Subject by birth or naturalization, or

“(2) Has taken before a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace the oath contained in Schedule A hereto, and who for a period of not less than six months immediately preceding the date mentioned in section six, sub-section four,

“(a) Has occupied either solely or jointly with others a house, warehouse, shop, or other building, being either separately or jointly with any land occupied therewith within the Electoral District of the value of £75: Provided that in the case of joint occupation the share of each joint occupier shall be of the value of not less than £75: or

“(b) Has been the owner, registered under the Mining Law, of a block of reef claims, or of an alluvial claim, situate within the Electoral District, or

“(c) Has been in the *bona fide* receipt in Southern Rhodesia of salary or wages at the rate of not less than fifty pounds per annum.

“ 4. No person shall be entitled to be registered by reason of his sharing in any communal or tribal

occupation of lands or buildings unless he shall be in actual occupation, for the period required by the preceding section, of a house or other building, whether situated or not situated on land held under communal or tribal tenure, which house or building separately or together with any land occupied therewith held upon other than tribal or communal tenure shall be of the value of at least seventy-five pounds.

“5. No person shall be entitled to be registered as a voter

“(a) Who is unable to sign his name and write his address and occupation.

“(b) Who has within five years before the date mentioned in section six, sub-section four, been convicted of any crime and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour without the option of a fine or to any greater punishment, and has not received a free pardon; or

“(c) Who is of unsound mind.”

When the British South Africa Company granted the people a voice in the administration of the territory, it was necessary to petition the Imperial Government for a revision of the Constitution. This was granted under the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1898; and under a Supplemental Charter of the same year, certain clauses in the principal Charter of 1889, and the old Order in Council of 1894, were necessarily repealed.

It is important here to record many of the details of the Order in Council of 1898, as the Constitution has since undergone little change, except in the composition of the Legislative Council. The following are the most important sections:

“PART II.—ADMINISTRATION AND LEGISLATION.

“7. The Company shall have and may exercise the general administration of affairs within the limits of this Order, in accordance with the terms of the Charter and any Charter amending the same or Supplementary thereto and the provisions of this Order.

“8. (1) The Company may exercise such administration by one or more Administrators, and under him, or them, by such other officers as may from time to time be necessary, and may from time to time, with the approval of a Secretary of State, determine the number of Administrators.

“(2) The Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State, may from time to time assign the local limits of the Province within which an Administrator shall act.

“(3) Whenever there is more than one Administrator the Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State, shall determine the precedence of the several Administrators.

“9. The Company shall appoint the Administrator or Administrators and shall pay his or their salaries and the salaries of such officers as may be required for the administration of Southern Rhodesia; but shall obtain the approval of a Secretary of State before appointing any person to the office of Administrator. The salary of an Administrator shall be fixed by the Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State, and shall not be increased or diminished without his approval. An Administrator may be removed or suspended from office by a Secretary of State or by the Company with the approval of a Secretary of State.

“ 10. (1) An Administrator shall hold office, unless sooner removed, for three years from the date at which he enters upon the duties of his office; and with the approval of a Secretary of State may from time to time be re-appointed for a further term of three years. At the end of any such term an Administrator shall continue in office until re-appointed or until his successor is appointed.

“ 12. The Secretary of State may appoint an officer who shall reside within Southern Rhodesia, and who shall be called the Resident Commissioner.

“(1) The Resident Commissioner shall be paid out of money provided by Parliament such salary and allowances as a Secretary of State, with the concurrence of the Treasury, may determine.

“(2) The Resident Commissioner shall be *ex-officio* a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, and shall be entitled to be present at any meeting of either Council, and at any meeting of any Committee thereof, and shall be entitled to speak but not to vote at any such meeting.

“(3) The Resident Commissioner shall make a report to the High Commissioner upon every Ordinance submitted for his assent and upon all appointments submitted for his approval, and shall, as occasion may require, fully inform the High Commissioner upon all matters of importance arising within the limits of this Order.

“(4) The Resident Commissioner shall take precedence next after the Administrator.

“(5) Every Administrator shall supply or cause to be supplied to the Resident Commissioner,

by such officer and at such place as he may desire, all such information and all such documents of whatever nature having reference to the administration or the officers and servants of the Company as the Resident Commissioner may at any time require, and shall furnish true copies of any such documents at any time if requested by the Resident Commissioner so to do.

- “ 13. (1) There shall be in Southern Rhodesia an Executive Council to assist the Administrator, consisting of the Resident Commissioner, every Administrator other than the Senior Administrator, and not less than four members appointed by the Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State. A member of the said Council shall hold office for three years, unless sooner removed by the Company, with the like approval, but shall be eligible for re-appointment.
- “(2) The Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State, shall, subject to the provisions of this Order, determine the precedence of members of the Executive Council.
- “ 14. (1) The Administrator shall preside at the meetings of the Executive Council. In his absence, the Administrator next to him in order of precedence who is present, or if no Administrator is present, such other member of the Executive Council as the Senior Administrator shall designate in writing, shall preside at the meetings of the Council.
- “(2) The Executive Council shall meet whenever

summoned by the Administrator at such time and place as shall be specified in the summons. The Administrator shall on the request of any other Administrator or of the Resident Commissioner immediately summon the said Council.

“(3) Three members exclusive of the Resident Commissioner shall form a quorum.

“15. An Administrator shall take the advice of the Executive Council upon all matters of importance affecting the administration of affairs within the limits of the Province to which he has been appointed except in cases which are too urgent to admit of their advice being taken. In all such urgent cases the Executive Council shall as soon as possible be summoned and acquainted with the action taken and the reasons therefor.

“16. An Administrator may act contrary to the advice of the Executive Council, but in every such case he shall report the matter forthwith to the Company, with the reasons for his action. In every such case any member of the Council who dissents may require that the reasons for his dissent be recorded and transmitted to the Company. The Company may reverse any action of an Administrator whether taken with, or without, or against, the advice of the Executive Council.

“17. (1) There shall be in Southern Rhodesia a legislative body to be styled ‘The Legislative Council,’ composed of the Administrator or Administrators for the time being, the Resident Commissioner, and nine other members, of whom five, hereinafter referred to as ‘nominated members,’ shall be appointed by the Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State, and four shall be elected by the registered voters in

the manner hereinafter provided. Provided that the proceedings of the Council shall not be invalid on account of any vacancies therein.

“(2) The nominated members of the Legislative Council shall take precedence of the elected members. The Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State, shall determine the precedence of the nominated members amongst themselves. The elected members shall rank among themselves in order of the date of their election, and two or more members elected on the same day shall rank in the alphabetical order of their names.

“19. The Legislative Council may from time to time be convoked, prorogued and dissolved by any instrument under the hand of the Administrator.

“22. The duration of the Legislative Council, unless sooner dissolved, shall be three years.

“23. The Administrator shall preside at the meetings of the Legislative Council, and in his absence, the Administrator next to him in order of precedence who is present, or, if there be no Administrator present, such other Member of the Council as may be appointed in writing by the Administrator, shall preside at the meetings of the Legislative Council.

“31. Until otherwise determined by the Legislative Council the said Council shall not be considered as constituted for the despatch of business unless at least six members exclusive of the Resident Commissioner be present and assisting thereat.

“32. Questions arising in the Legislative Council shall be decided by a majority of votes of the members present other than the Resident Commissioner. In the event of an equality of votes, the Adminis-

trator or other presiding member shall have a second or casting vote.

“ 34. (1) Full and exact journals or minutes shall be kept of all the proceedings of the Executive and Legislative Councils, and of the proceedings of all Committees thereof, and at each meeting of either Council or of any such Committees the minutes of the last preceding meeting shall be read over and confirmed or amended, as the case may require, before proceeding to the despatch of other business.

“(2) A full and exact copy of such minutes as confirmed or amended shall be transmitted forthwith to the Resident Commissioner.

“(3) Twice in each year a full and exact copy of all the said minutes for the preceding half year shall be transmitted by the Administrator to the Company, and the Company shall upon the receipt thereof forthwith transmit a true copy to a Secretary of State.

“ 35. It shall be lawful for the Administrator by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council to make Ordinances for the peace, order, and good government of Southern Rhodesia.

“ 36. All Ordinances shall be submitted to the High Commissioner for his assent, disallowance, or other directions thereon, together with a report thereon by the Resident Commissioner, and no Ordinance shall take effect until the High Commissioner shall have signified his assent thereto and the Ordinance together with a notification of such assent shall have been published in the *Gazette*.

“ 37. The High Commissioner shall sign every Ordinance assented to by him and shall, at the first convenient opportunity, transmit an authenticated

copy of every such Ordinance to a Secretary of State, and every such Ordinance may be disallowed within one year from the taking effect thereof by a Secretary of State, either of his own motion or at the request of the Company, and every Ordinance so disallowed shall become null and void so soon as the disallowance thereof shall be published in the *Gazette*, but without prejudice to anything theretofore lawfully done thereunder.

“38. An Ordinance may amend or repeal a Proclamation.

“39. If any Ordinance is in any respect repugnant to the provisions of an Order made by Her Majesty in Council, such Ordinance shall be read subject to such Order, and shall to the extent of such repugnancy be absolutely void.

“40. No fiscal vote or resolution shall be proposed in the said Council except by the Administrator, acting on the instructions of the Company, or by his authority in writing previously obtained.

“41. The Administrator shall submit to the Legislative Council before the expiration of the month of December, in each year, such an Estimate as he may think necessary of the whole expenditure, not already fixed, which is intended to be incurred for services within Southern Rhodesia, together with an Estimate of the revenue of Southern Rhodesia for the financial year then next ensuing, and shall transmit to the High Commissioner and to the Company, at the earliest opportunity, an Ordinance providing for the service of that year.

“42. When the annual Estimates shall have been passed by the Legislative Council, and the Ordinance has been approved by the High Commissioner, the expenditure of the year shall be held to be definitely limited and arranged. Should, however, any further disbursements on account of the service

of that year be required which have not been foreseen, the Administrator shall submit to the Legislative Council a Supplementary Estimate of the expenditure so required.

“43. The Administrator shall transmit with the Annual Estimate such full and sufficient information as to every expense of an unusual nature therein comprised as may be necessary to enable the High Commissioner and the Company to judge of the propriety of the proposed expenditure, together with a table exhibiting the variations from the preceding year.

“44. The Administrator shall at the same time that he proposes to the Legislative Council the Estimate of the ensuing year's expenditure, submit to them the draft of any Ordinance which may be necessary to provide the ways and means by which the expenditure is to be met.

“45. Detailed statements of the revenue and expenditure of Southern Rhodesia shall be annually published in the *Gazette*, immediately after the period when it is required that the accounts of each year are to be transmitted for audit.

“46. Provision shall be made for a full and sufficient audit once in every year of the accounts of the Company relating to all sums received and moneys expended by the Company in connection with the administration of Southern Rhodesia.

“48. (1) The military police forces shall be and remain under the direct control and authority of the High Commissioner, and all officers and members of the said forces shall conform to and obey such orders and instructions as they may from time to time receive from the High Commissioner, or from any person appointed by him to act on his behalf.

- “(2) The officer exercising the chief command of the said forces shall be styled ‘the Commandant-General,’ and such Commandant-General and the subordinate officers of the said forces shall be appointed by a Secretary of State. The Commandant-General shall be paid out of money provided by Parliament such salary as a Secretary of State with the concurrence of the Treasury may determine.
- “(3) The numbers of the military police forces shall not at any time be reduced without the previous approval of the High Commissioner, but this provision shall not apply to volunteer forces.
- “(4) Subject to any such orders and instructions from time to time given by or by the direction of the High Commissioner, it shall be the duty of the Commandant-General to preserve peace and order, and for such purpose to employ the said forces in such manner as he may think proper, paying due regard to any requests in that behalf from time to time made to him by an Administrator, or other officer of the Company. If in any case the Commandant-General deems it undesirable to comply with any such request he may apply to the High Commissioner for instructions, and shall act in accordance with the instructions given by the High Commissioner.
- “(5) Provided that in case of urgency, when it is possible to communicate more quickly with the Resident Commissioner, the Commandant-General may apply to the Resident Commissioner for instructions instead of applying to the High Commissioner.

- “(6) The Commandant-General shall in no case take action of the nature of a military operation without the authority of the High Commissioner or Resident Commissioner as the case may be.”

The action of the British South Africa Company in granting the people a voice in the Legislative Council produced only a temporary cessation in the hostile demonstrations of the settlers, as it soon became evident that in any measure not in direct agreement with the wishes of the British South Africa Company the elected members, being in a minority, were always out-voted. This was due to the fact that the nominated members were under the thumb of the Administrator, and he before a division clearly let them know which way they were to record their votes, with the result that the bills were passed in unvaried monotony according to the wishes of the British South Africa Company. The effect of this semi-representation did more in the end to increase the irritation of the people than to pacify them.

CHAPTER V

RECONSTITUTION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Death of Mr. Cecil Rhodes; its effect.—Order in Council, 1903.—
Numbers of Nominated and Elected Members equalized.—
Settlers demand more adequate Representation.—Debate on
Fiscal Questions vetoed.

ON March 26th, 1902, the settlers of Southern Rhodesia were appalled by the news of the death of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. He was the one man on whom they depended to help them out of their troubles.

Such a man as Mr. Cecil Rhodes is seldom met with in a lifetime, or even in a century. His unique powers and capabilities fitted him perfectly for the great task he had undertaken of adding a vast tract of land to the Empire, and of piloting an infant colony through its first troubled years. Consequently he had become indispensable to Southern Rhodesia, and this very fact constituted a grave danger to the country, since at any moment he might be removed from his sphere of influence. After the death of Mr. Cecil Rhodes no one could be found with the rare combination of qualities necessary for one who would take up the immense burden of Empire-building which Mr. Rhodes had laid down. As for the people of Rhodesia, it may truly be said of them that they were like sheep without a shepherd. The progress of the country was inseparably bound up with Mr. Cecil Rhodes, and on him and on his skill, his tact, his magnetic strength, it depended in every

moment of its existence. The settlers responded so readily to his influence because they recognized that the one aim of his life was the building up and extension of the British Empire in South Africa, while at the same time an absolute reliance could be placed upon his paternal care for the welfare of each individual settler of Southern Rhodesia. "Homes, more homes," he once said, "that is what I am working for."

On his deathbed he realized that the work which he had set himself to do was still incomplete, and that the dreams which he had dreamed were only now taking definite shape. His burning, restless eagerness to continue the struggle is best described in his own words: "So much to do, so little done."

The death of one of the greatest and most remarkable men of his age was most deeply felt in the country called after his name. The severance of the chief link between Southern Rhodesia and the London Board created a period of apprehension, and the settlers waited with anxiety to see what immediate step would be taken by the Directors of the British South Africa Company to fill up in some measure the gap which Mr. Rhodes' death had made. The settlers sorely needed a man who would enter into close and sympathetic relationship with them, and would uphold their interests in so far as was consistent with the rights of the shareholders; but the London Board neglected this opportunity of getting in touch with the people. The breach was, however, somewhat bridged over in the autumn of 1902, when several of the Directors paid a visit to Southern Rhodesia and received a number of deputations from public bodies. The principal subjects of grievance presented to them were the small number of elected members in the Legislative Council, the inadequacy of the Mining Law, the large shareholdings

of the British South Africa Company in the mines, and the excessive railway rates. All these matters were exhaustively dealt with, and certain concessions were made to the people which were carried into effect in the following year.

The London Board were convinced, after the visit of their representatives in 1902 and the constant indignation meetings held in all the towns of Southern Rhodesia, that the time had arrived for granting the people increased representation. They were further influenced by a resolution passed unanimously by the Legislative Council for the amendment of the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1898, whereby provision should be made for an increase, both in the total number of the members of the Council, and the proportion of its elected members. Since the resignation of the Administrator of Matabeleland in 1900, the Senior Administrator had combined both provinces of Mashonaland and Matabeleland under one administratorship, and the London Board proposed that the Legislative Council should consist of seven elected and seven nominated members, presided over by the Administrator, with the Resident Commissioner as *ex-officio* member. This proposal had the sanction of the Imperial Government under the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1903, and was as follows:

“ 1. This Order may be cited as the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1903, and shall be read and construed as one with the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1898, hereinafter referred to as the principal Order.

“ 2. Articles seventeen, twenty-three, thirty-two, forty, and forty-one of the principal Order are hereby revoked as and from the commencement of this Order, but without prejudice to anything lawfully

done thereunder, and the following provisions are hereby substituted for each of the said articles, respectively :

“XVII. (A.) (1) There shall be in Southern Rhodesia a legislative body to be styled ‘the Legislative Council,’ composed of the Administrator, the Resident Commissioner, and fourteen other members, of whom seven, hereinafter referred to as ‘nominated members,’ shall be appointed by the Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State, and seven shall be elected by the registered voters. . . . Provided that the proceedings of the Council shall not be invalid on account of any vacancies therein.

“(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in the principal Order, the High Commissioner may from time to time, with the previous approval of a Secretary of State, by proclamation alter and amend any provision of this Order or of the principal Order relating to the constitution of the Legislative Council, if the said Council shall resolve that such alteration and amendment be made, provided that any resolution of the Legislative Council which recommends that the numbers of the nominated and elected members respectively of the said Council shall be unequal shall be passed by a majority of not less than three-fourths of the members of the whole Legislative Council as constituted at the date of any such resolution.

“(3) The nominated members of the Legislative Council shall take precedence of the elected members. The Company, with the approval of a Secretary of State, shall determine the precedence of the nominated members

amongst themselves. The elected members shall rank among themselves in order of the date of their election, and two or more members elected on the same day shall rank in the alphabetical order of their names.

“(B.) Until the expiration of their term of office by effluxion of time, unless the Council be sooner dissolved, the existing elected members for Mashonaland shall continue to hold their seats in the Council as representatives of the electoral district containing the district of Salisbury, and the existing elected members for Matabeleland shall continue to hold their seats as representatives of the electoral district containing the district of Bulawayo.

“XXIII. The Administrator shall preside at the meetings of the Legislative Council and in his absence such other member of the Council as may be appointed in writing by the Administrator shall preside.

“XXXII. (1) Questions arising in the Legislative Council, or in any Committee of the Legislative Council, shall be decided by a majority of votes of the members present other than the Administrator and the Resident Commissioner.

“(2) In the event of an equality of votes on any question arising in the Legislative Council, the Administrator shall have a casting vote. Any member appointed by the Administrator to preside in his absence at a meeting of the Council shall have a casting vote when presiding, as well as an original vote.

“(3) In the event of an equality of votes arising

on any question in a Committee of the Legislative Council (*a*) when the Administrator is present, the Chairman of the Council in Committee shall have an original vote only, and the Administrator shall have a casting vote. (*b*) When the Administrator is absent, the Chairman of the Council in Committee shall have a casting vote as well as an original vote.

“XL. No Ordinance, vote, resolution or question, the object or effect of which may be to dispose of or charge any part of the Revenues of Southern Rhodesia, or to revoke, alter or vary any such disposition or charge, shall be proposed except by the Administrator acting on the instructions of the Company, or by his authority in writing previously obtained.

“XLI. The Administrator shall submit to the Legislative Council in each year, such an estimate as he may think necessary of the whole expenditure, not already fixed, which is intended to be incurred for services within Southern Rhodesia, together with an Estimate of the Revenue of Southern Rhodesia for the financial year then next ensuing, and shall transmit to the High Commissioner and to the Company at the earliest opportunity an Ordinance providing for the service of that year. Provided that emoluments of the Administrator, members of the Executive Council, and of such nominated members of the Legislative Council as are not members of the Executive Council, Judges of the High Court, Magistrates, Native Commissioners, and Assistant Native Commissioners shall be

deemed to be reserved, and shall not be subjected to the vote of the Legislative Council."

The new Order in Council of 1903, though it appeared to be a great advance on the old Order in Council of 1898, conferred no particular benefit on the people. It is true that the numbers of both nominated and elected members had been raised in the Council, and that the elected members had been increased so as to equal the nominated members, but as the nominated members always voted in accordance with the direction of the Administrator, and the Administrator gave the casting vote, no Bill could be passed which in any way appeared antagonistic to the interests of the British South Africa Company. The increased numbers, therefore, in the Legislative Council were useful only in opening better opportunities for debate. On subjects on which the elected members were opposed to the British South Africa Company all that they could do was to record their seven votes as a standing protest against the policy of the Company.

The British South Africa Company, ever since the occupation of Southern Rhodesia, had been faced with the problem of a heavy annual deficit, one of the chief items of expenditure being the maintenance of the large police force which the Imperial Government compelled it to keep up. At length, in 1902, after frequent representations made by the Board to the Secretary of State, and by the Administrator to the High Commissioner, permission had been granted for a reduction of the force to a strength of 550 Europeans and 500 natives, which led to a consequent saving in expenditure of £60,000 per annum. But even this saving was relatively small when the annual deficit amounted

to £250,000 or £300,000. It was therefore necessary to make stringent economic reforms in every branch of the Administration.

At all public meetings held in Southern Rhodesia to discuss the system of administration, the cry had been raised that the people who bore the taxation should have adequate representation; but the reasonable answer given by the British South Africa Company had been that as long as the country was being administered at a loss, and the British South Africa Company had to pay the deficit, the Company must have the predominant voice in the government of the territory, and must also have control of the purse strings. The people, however, retaliated by saying that the administration was a hopelessly cumbersome and expensive machinery, and that there was an enormous waste of money, which would at once be saved if the Government were in the hands of a self-governing colony. This resentment against extravagant administration was increased every year, and the opinion was constantly expressed that the annual revenue should be sufficient to meet the expenditure.

Under the new Order in Council of 1903, more latitude was granted to the Legislative Council for holding debates on fiscal questions, and an opportunity at length arose for the elected members to use this concession in a practical form. After the Treasurer had submitted the annual estimates to the Legislative Council, a storm of hostile criticism followed, and the expenditure in every department was severely dealt with by the elected members, who, not content with general censure, proposed also the reduction of individual salaries, and, to the great consternation of the Administrator and the nominated members, attacked these unfortunate officials as well. The representatives of the British

South Africa Company suddenly realized that they were caught in a trap, and that if a reduction in the salary of one of their members in the Legislative Council was put before the House, that member would be unable to vote, and for the first time in the history of the country there would be a majority of elected members.

Accordingly, in order to avoid all possible danger in the future, a regulation was hastily passed, and approved by the Imperial Government, under the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1904, reinstating Article 40 of the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1898, which had been revoked by the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1903, and which read as follows:

“ No fiscal vote or resolution shall be proposed in the said Council, except by the said Administrator, acting on the instructions of the Company, or by his authority in writing previously obtained.”

The passing of this Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1904, effectually put a stop to any attempt again being made by the elected members to secure a majority in the House.

CHAPTER VI

RHODESIAN DELEGATES CONFER WITH LONDON BOARD

British South Africa Company's Scheme for raising fresh Capital.—
Company's Financial Position disputed.—Deputation of Settlers
sent to England.—Controversy forgotten in Banket Boom.—
Improved Position of British South Africa Company owing to
Rigid Economy.

THE Boer war, which lasted from 1899 to 1902, placed a severe financial strain on all the colonies of South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia was no exception. Its expenses had increased with the continuance of the war, and the British South Africa Company was obliged constantly to find fresh money for carrying on the administration and development of the territory. By the end of 1903, though nearly five million authorized shares and one and a quarter million mortgage debenture shares had been issued to the British public, the British South Africa Company was still crippled by an insufficiency of funds with which to carry on its work.

The southern states had suffered even more severely than Rhodesia, but being under the control of the Imperial Government, they had been able to raise loans to tide over the general depression.

The Directors of the British South Africa Company saw that another appeal to their shareholders would be inevitable at no distant date. In order, however, to have a scheme to put forward at their next general meeting, they sent out a financial representative to Southern Rhodesia in order that they

might obtain an outside expert opinion as to the manner in which fresh capital could best be raised. He travelled throughout the length and breadth of the country, and not only inquired into the whole of the administration, but also received deputations from all commercial and industrial sections of the community.

For the first time since the death of Mr. Rhodes the people were inspired with a hope that some amicable arrangement might be arrived at between the settlers and the British South Africa Company, but this hope was quickly dispelled.

In a letter to the elected members of the Legislative Council, dated April 20th, 1904, and in a memorandum dated April 28th, 1904, the financial representative stated that as a result of his investigations, he had found that the expenditure of the territory had exceeded seven and a half millions sterling, and assumed that this sum was a debt to the British South Africa Company for which the settlers were liable, because, through the exertions and expenditure of the Company, the territory had been added to the Empire. He further proposed that Southern Rhodesia should undertake to assume this debt, of which two-thirds, or £5,000,000, should be paid to the Company in final settlement of its claim, and that the balance, or £2,500,000, should be administered by the Company as a trust fund for expenditure in directions of public utility. He did not contemplate that so large a sum could be raised immediately upon the public credit of Rhodesia. He, therefore, proposed that the interest on the £5,000,000 worth of bonds or stock to be received by the Company should be funded until such time as it could be met out of the revenue, and that the trust funds should be issued gradually as required, and the whole arrangement to be subject to the ratification of the Imperial Government.

These proposals were met by a storm of indignant protest from the settlers, unparalleled in the history of the country. Public meetings were held in every town in the territory, and bitter attacks made on the administration of the British South Africa Company. Speakers in sarcastic terms expressed their admiration for, and astonishment at, the way in which the financial adviser of the British South Africa Company had arrived at his figures, and sympathized with him over the valuable time and thought he must have expended in making these calculations to such an exact figure, but regretted that, as they themselves had never gone beyond the third dimension in mathematics, they could not follow him through the many complications of his reckonings. They asked if the British South Africa Company imagined that it was to give nothing in return for this five million. They laughed at the idea of the people of the country being made liable for an extravagant expenditure which had been entirely under the control of the Company itself, and for which the settlers had no responsibility. They pointed out that the British South Africa Company had no authority, under the terms of the Charter, to shift its liabilities on to the people of Southern Rhodesia, and that, as in the case of all other companies, the British South Africa Company must stand the chance of making losses as well as gains. Finally the settlers ridiculed the idea of the British South Africa Company acting as trustees for the two and a half million, and suggested that they themselves were capable of looking after their own interests, if such a fund were to be raised.

The publication of the above memorandum served to open up every old grievance that had ever been brought against the British South Africa Company, and as the settlers were still suffering from the

severe depression which had fallen upon the whole of South Africa, their hostility became even more bitter and pronounced than before. Meeting after meeting was called, and the majority of the population was loudly in favour of the total abolition of the British South Africa Company, not only as an administrative body, but also as a private commercial company. Amidst all the extravagant language used at this period few stopped to question the possibility of such a step, and fewer still knew that under the terms of the Charter the commercial element of the British South Africa Company could not be eliminated, unless the Company itself was prepared to be bought out.

At length, in July, 1904, a stormy conference of the representatives of the people of Southern Rhodesia was held at Salisbury. The members of the conference were still hot with indignation over the memorandum and dissented from its proposals, but the meeting itself was divided into two sections, the extreme anti-charters and the moderates. Dr. Jameson, who was then in the country, proposed that a deputation should be elected to proceed to England and confer with the Board of Directors upon the differences alleged to be existing between the Company and the people. An animated debate followed between the moderates and extremists, and resolutions were passed by a majority of extremists as follows:

1. "That in the opinion of this conference of delegates from all parts of Southern Rhodesia the time is opportune for discussing and arranging a basis of a general settlement with the British South Africa Company, and in concurrence with the representative of the Imperial Government, if the Im-

perial Government were prepared to assist them.

2. "That it is desirable that the administrative rights of the Chartered Company should cease so soon as they can be relieved of the responsibility for any deficiency between revenue and expenditure.
3. "That this conference records its conviction that Southern Rhodesia can make no true progress so long as the British South Africa Company, as an administrative or commercial body, has control or power in the direction of public affairs, and instructs any delegates it may appoint to strive for the elimination of that Company as an administrative or commercial body in Southern Rhodesia. Should such delegates find it impossible, with the assistance of the Imperial Government, to bring about the desired result, it will be open for them to bring for the consideration of the people of Southern Rhodesia any other proposals."

Representatives of the extreme section were elected to proceed to England with the above mandate in order to confer with the London Board, and the meeting at length broke up after a fierce and angry debate.

Before the delegates sailed to England, the resolutions carried at the conference in Salisbury were first communicated to the London Board, and the Board immediately replied, informing the delegates that it would be impossible for the Board to consider any proposals for the elimination of the commercial interests of the British South Africa Company in Rhodesia. After some correspondence on the matter,

the following letter, dated July 7th, 1904, was received by the Administrator from the Chairman of the delegates and communicated to the London Board:

“YOUR HONOUR,—In reply to your letter received this morning, I have the honour to inform you that I consider the mandate given to the delegates elected at the Conference was, if possible, to come to some general settlement with the British South Africa Company.

“I cannot speak for all the delegates, but have reason to believe that I voice the opinions of the majority in saying that the elimination at the present time of the British South Africa Company was considered impracticable, and that, therefore, a general settlement, if possible, not involving such elimination, should be arrived at. It is with this object in view, that we propose to negotiate with the British South Africa Company.

“The people of the country, who were represented at the Conference, consider it urgently necessary to come to some definite arrangement with respect to the numerous matters which have from time to time been discussed with the representatives of the Chartered Company, the chief point being that, although the representatives of the Board have apparently agreed with us on the several points raised, only a very small percentage of what we consider our grievances have met with any redress.

“I feel confident that, if the British South Africa Company Directors are prepared to negotiate on these lines, a Settlement, meeting with the approval of the people, can be arrived at.”

The London Board in reply cabled their willingness to receive the delegates, and offered to pay the expenses of the visit. The delegates accordingly

sailed, but in London difficulties immediately arose, because several of the delegates found themselves out of agreement with the letter of their chairman to the London Board and insisted on adhering to the original resolutions. The first meeting with the Board was held in August, and the chairman of the delegates handed the Board a note of the points under discussion, which were as follows:

- “(1) That the British South Africa Company should consent to the elimination of the clause in the mining law whereby the Company received 30 per cent. of the vendors' shares upon flotation of a mine, and that instead there should be a tax on profits or a system of royalty.
- “(2) That railway tariffs should be reduced.
- “(3) That if a trust fund should be instituted for purposes of general development, the money raised should be controlled and spent entirely in the country.
- “(4) That the agreement of the British South Africa Company with De Beers, Limited, in regard to diamonds should be modified, in order to give better terms to prospectors.
- “(5) That the British South Africa Company should acknowledge that all unalienated land was the property of the country.
- “(6) That the British South Africa Company should give the people of the country, when they took over the administration, the same right to expropriate the railways as the Company might possess, or, if the Company had not this right to expropriate, then that it should grant whatever rights it might have in the railways.
- “(7) That the British South Africa Company

should state what value it placed on the whole of its assets south of the Zambesi, and give the people the right to take them over at that price, whenever they might be in a position to do so.

- “(8) And lastly that the British South Africa Company should give the people at once an absolute majority on the Legislative Council; the settlers would then assume the liability for any future administrative deficits, though they repudiated all liability for past deficits.”

In the discussion which followed the Board agreed to give to mining claim holders the option, on the flotation of their properties, of either handing over to the Company 30 per cent. of the vendors' shares, as formerly, or of charging the gross output of the properties with a $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. royalty. The delegates, however, refused to consider the proposal of a $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. royalty, and pointed out that it was even worse than the existing 30 per cent. vendors' shares.

The British South Africa Company then made an offer that in return for the issue to the Company of the sum of £5,000,000 in Rhodesian Consols, bearing interest at 4 per cent., upon which interest would be funded until it could be met in cash out of revenue, the British South Africa Company would abandon the right it claimed to reimbursement for past expenditure, and would also make over to the future Government of the country one-third in the land and mineral assets, whenever the time arrived for the Company to relinquish its administrative position. This would then mean a reduction of the British South Africa Company's vendors' interest to 20 per cent., or an alternative 5 per cent. royalty.

The delegates immediately repudiated Southern Rhodesia's liability for past expenditure and insisted that the land was not the property of the British South Africa Company. They pointed out that there was no clause in the Charter to show that the British South Africa Company owned the land, and that the Charter only granted the Company power as trustee to deal with the land. They further stated that with the elimination of the British South Africa Company as an administrative organ its trusteeship would cease, and the power pass on to the next government. They pointed out that Mr. Rhodes had acknowledged that the only right the British South Africa Company had was to the minerals, and the delegates, therefore, refused to consider the Board's proposal that the country should purchase one-third of this mineral right for £5,000,000. In reply the Board reiterated their former assertion that they were not only the trustees, but also the owners, of all the unalienated land in Rhodesia.

In discussing the other points, the Board said that they were not prepared to fix a price for the whole of the Company's assets south of the Zambesi, or to give the people the right of purchasing these assets whenever they might be in a position to do so.

After three heated debates the conference ended in a deadlock, the views of both parties being so divergent that it was impossible to arrive at any basis of settlement.

The delegates made an attempt to approach the Imperial Government, but as they had no definite programme to submit and could not satisfy the Colonial Office that the people of Southern Rhodesia were in a position, financially or otherwise, to take up the reins of self-government, their efforts met with no success. The Home Government had no wish to assume the responsibilities of an administra-

tion which so far had been carried on at a loss, and was perfectly content to allow a private company to find the necessary money to cover the losses of administration, so long as it kept within the bounds of its charter.

The delegates, therefore, left England thoroughly disgusted with the result of their mission. But, however futile the visit may have appeared to them, it at least served the purpose of convincing the London Board that, though the people might not be unanimous as to the manner in which the government should be reformed, yet they had their definite grievances and were dissatisfied with the existing form of administration.

The delegates on their return to Southern Rhodesia found that popular opinion had almost completely turned round. In Mashonaland the Banket boom was just starting, and the inhabitants of Salisbury were far too busy in forming mining syndicates to attend to politics. From syndicates of a few hundred pounds, possibilities were discussed of floating companies for thousands and millions of pounds, and this gold-rush, though it caused a temporary local prosperity, did not have the evil reaction of most booms, partly because the majority of these flotations ended in talk, and partly because the genuine activity in the working of small mines had a counteracting effect. These small properties in the latter half of the year 1904 began to form a prominent part in the industries of the country and greatly added to the general prosperity of the community, particularly of the mercantile classes.

The people of Salisbury, who a few months before had formed the most extreme anti-Charter section of the community and were loudest in their demands for the abolition of the British South Africa Company, now completely swerved round in their

opinion. They had fallen on better days, and were therefore well content with the existing form of government. The delegates, when they returned expecting to find the same fierce ferment of discontent, were surprised to receive a lukewarm reception. They had gone, at no small personal sacrifice, to represent the views of the people to the London Board, and the indifferent attitude of the meetings they addressed was sufficient evidence to show that the storm of resentment against the Chartered Company had already worn itself out. It was also a definite proof of the unreadiness of the population for self-government. They had not yet acquired that balance and stamina necessary to a people who would steer their course through difficult channels; their opinions and prejudices were swayed by influences of the moment, and they lacked that stability of mind which alone is able to view things in their right proportion. Undoubtedly they had a good case against the British South Africa Company, and if they had been able to formulate their grievances upon more definite lines, if they could have drawn up a workable scheme of reform, and if they had seen their way to maintain a unanimous policy throughout, no doubt a settlement, in whole or in part, would have been arrived at. But the subsequent attitude of the population showed that their hostile criticisms had not been due to the method of administration so much as to the general depression pervading the country, which had affected every inhabitant personally. When this depression was relieved by the sudden recovery of a more prosperous tone, the resentment against the administration subsided. So complete was the change that, when a few months later a Legislative Council election was held, the Salisbury constituency returned unopposed two moderate members, one of whom was always

regarded as a man whose sympathies were with the British South Africa Company on subjects opposed to the people. The extremists saw the futility of contesting the seats, which a few months earlier they would undoubtedly have won.

One of the foremost of the delegates, disheartened by the sudden change of attitude of the people on whose behalf he had worked with such unswerving and disinterested loyalty, and for whom he had made enormous personal sacrifices, determined to leave the country, disgusted with the whole situation, but his sudden death on the very eve of his departure forestalled his intentions, and in the end he found his last resting-place in the land to which he had given of his best, mourned and respected by his friends and political opponents alike. A man of extreme views and a great fighter, he was always a courteous gentleman, and honesty of purpose, wholly unselfish ambitions, and the desire to gain the best for the community, were acknowledged to be his motives even by those most opposed to him. The British South Africa Company closed their offices the day after his death, as a mark of respect and as an acknowledgment of his public services. To him the words of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, in his last speech in Rhodesia, may well apply: "Here at any rate you have your share in the creation of a new country, you have to deal with those extraordinary questions which arise in a new country, and you have the proud satisfaction of knowing that you are civilizing a new part of the world. Those who fall in the creation fall sooner than they would have done in ordinary life, but their lives are the better and the grander."

Whatever influence the deputation from the people may have had with the London Board, it is undeniable that from 1904 onwards it adopted a far more

liberal and progressive policy. Facilities were granted to individuals to work small mining properties, and the Company made loans to those who had not sufficient capital to start mining operations by themselves. The British South Africa Company charged 6 per cent. on the money lent, and secured these loans by taking a first mortgage on the small worker's plant and machinery. The Company also threw open land on the Gold Belt for farming purposes, and took practical steps towards encouraging genuine settlers by formulating a land settlement scheme and by establishing Government farms and tobacco factories. The result of this policy was that a number of inhabitants left the towns and engaged in mining and farming operations, and that a considerable number of fresh settlers came in from the older colonies and from the Mother Country.

The financial position of the Government became at this period much sounder, as a more rigid economy was practised in the administration of the territory, and the revenue increased with the ever-growing prosperity until at length it nearly met the expenditure. An important saving was also made in the expenditure upon the police during the year ending March 31st, 1905. The Imperial Government gave permission for the further reduction of the strength by 100 men, so that the total number of Europeans serving in the force was brought down to 448.

For the year ending March 31st, 1906, the revenue collected from all sources amounted to £523,668 18s. 11d., and the administrative expenditure to £499,767 12s. 1d., and thus, for the first time in the history of the territory, the revenue exceeded the expenditure. The British South Africa Company, however, immediately claimed a large portion as its commercial revenue, *i.e.*, revenue which should ultimately go to the paying of dividends to the share-

holders or to developing the Company's private undertakings. This same revenue the Company had in former years applied to administrative purposes, but now that it was put on the commercial side there appeared, instead of an administrative credit balance, a deficit of £48,380. This action of the Company immediately gave rise to outspoken protests on the part of the settlers, and has since been the cause of continuous controversy.

In October, 1906, the High Commissioner for South Africa went on an official tour through Southern Rhodesia for the purpose of enquiring into the administration and the economic possibilities of the country. His tour was marked by fresh agitation against the British South Africa Company, and though in the principal towns he received deputations from the mercantile, agricultural, and mining classes, these conferences had little result because the people could present no definite and uniform policy. When Lord Selborne received a suggestion from one delegate that all the Matabeles and Mashonas should be driven north of the Zambesi, and from another that in order to prevent the natives from competing in farming with the white men their corn should be heavily taxed, he no doubt considered that, if these were the serious and sober suggestions of the men who represented the political leaders of the community, the time was still very far distant before the colonists could be entrusted with the government of the country.

CHAPTER VII

VISIT OF DIRECTORS TO SOUTHERN RHODESIA IN 1907

Conciliatory Attitude of Directors.—Majority of Elected Members promised on Legislative Council.—Controversy round Land Title and Allocation of Revenue.—Appointment of Commercial Representative.—Encouragement of Individual Settlers.—Issue of fresh Capital.

IN all the efforts to arrive at a better understanding between the British South Africa Company and the settlers, no more vital step was ever taken in the history of the country than when the Directors determined in 1907 to pay a visit to Rhodesia and learn for themselves something of the life and thought, the difficulties and perplexities, of the community which they had governed for so many years.

Before the arrival of the Directors a most startling incident took place in the Legislative Council. In the course of a debate on the relationship between the British South Africa Company and the people, the Treasurer, one of the members nominated by the Chartered Company, proposed the following resolutions:

1. "That before this country obtains a higher form of Government and assumes the responsibilities and obligations attached to it, it is necessary and advisable first to arrive at a general settlement of accounts and outstanding differences with the British South Africa Company.
2. "That advantage be taken of the visit of the

Directors to urge on the British South Africa Company that the time has arrived when it is imperatively necessary that such a settlement should be made, and that the Imperial Government should be approached to grant a form of Government more adequately representative of the people, which would act independently of the commercial policy of the Company."

Such an independent action by one of the nominated members was unprecedented in the whole history of the Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia. No nominated member had ever before dared to put forward any resolution without having first obtained the full permission and approval of the Administrator, and all the members up to that date had accepted the nonentity of their position. The nominated members, therefore, listened with consternation to these sweeping proposals, not only because one of their own side had broken through the conventional rule, but also because the Chartered Company was in danger of defeat if the elected members supported the Treasurer. But the unexpected happened. A long and interesting debate followed, in which the elected members would not acknowledge any obligation to the Chartered Company, and expressed their desire for the total elimination of the Company from Southern Rhodesia, and the motion was finally lost owing to the narrow and uncompromising attitude which the elected members adopted. But if the debate served no other purpose, it opened the eyes of the visiting Directors to the attitude the people would adopt towards them.

The Board during their visit showed to all the deputations they received a sympathy and desire for conciliation, far greater than was their wont when

directing the affairs of Southern Rhodesia from their London Office. A prominent figure among the Directors, and one who received a great welcome from many old pioneer friends, was Dr. Jameson, who had been one of the first administrators in the early history of the country, and who, next to Mr. Rhodes, had earned the appreciation and goodwill of the settlers, in a way none of his successors succeeded in doing.

The Directors listened to the many questions in dispute and endeavoured to meet them as far as they could. They expressed a wish that a general settlement might be arranged, but did not consider that the time had yet arrived for Southern Rhodesia to become a self-governing colony.

They were willing, however, to make certain concessions, of which the first was the granting of a majority of elected members in the Legislative Council. In a statement issued from Bulawayo on October 20th, 1907, before their departure from the country, the Directors made the following remarks with reference to the constitution:

“The Company will welcome the day when the country can become a self-governing colony, but it is recognized by all that the time is not yet ripe. It is obviously impossible to determine, in anticipation of this period, what conditions will then obtain, but it is not too much to believe that, with mutual good-will and confidence, a conclusion can be attained just and equitable to the country and to the shareholders of the Company. In order to bridge over the intervening period, application will be made for an Order of His Majesty in Council, reducing the nominated members of the Legislative Council to five, but until the grant of responsible government, protecting the position of the Company in fiscal mat-

ters, as now procured by the existing rules of the Legislative Council and Clause 40 of the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1898, pending the issue of the new Order in Council, the Administrator will be requested to limit the votes of the nominated members so that in divisions the elected members will have a majority of votes."

This statement and the granting of a majority in the Council were recognized by most of the settlers as a fair and conciliatory endeavour to come to an understanding of the principles to be adopted, pending self-government.

A most important question brought up by the various deputations was the allocation of revenue. The British South Africa Company represented both the shareholders and the Government, and the people maintained that much of the revenue, which should go to the good government of Southern Rhodesia, was misapplied and put to the commercial side. They pointed out that in the year 1906 to 1907 the gross revenue of Southern Rhodesia amounted to £539,912, the expenditure to £501,989, leaving a surplus of £37,923 to the good, but the British South Africa Company claimed over £70,000 for their commercial side, which at once brought the expenditure far below the revenue. The settlers severely criticized the methods by which the British South Africa Company arrived at their claim for this £70,000. They acknowledged that the British South Africa Company, under the concession granted by Lobengula, King of Matabeleland, became owner of the mineral rights of the whole territory, and therefore was in a position to dictate the terms upon which the inhabitants should work the mines, though the settlers pointed out, and the British South Africa Company fully realized, that a too grasping

policy on the part of the latter would injure every one. In all other countries in the world where gold mining was carried on the governments received either a royalty or an interest in the profits of the mines. The settlers, therefore, contended that no precedent should be created in Southern Rhodesia, and that part of the royalty should go to the administrative side for good government, and part to the shareholders as the owners of the mineral rights. The Directors, however, refused to consider a proposal for allocating any of the royalty to the administrative side, as they maintained that, even taking the whole of the royalty for the commercial side, the profits which the shareholders would receive at the present rate of production would be infinitesimal.

The settlers acknowledged that the British South Africa Company was within its rights in appropriating all the royalty, but there were other revenues in connection with mining, which the Company placed on its commercial side, to which it had no claim. These revenues were collected purely in the form of taxation, and the licences and certificates were stamped with Government stamps to the value of the amounts paid. The settlers contended that this stamp in itself was an acknowledgment that the tax was for the purposes of administration, and was a statutory obligation imposed because the country had a certain expense in maintaining good government and in the protection of the claim-holders, the cost of all of which was defrayed out of public revenue. They further maintained that there was nothing in the mining law to show that these particular charges were the private property of the British South Africa Company.

To confirm their arguments the settlers quoted the words of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who, in a speech at the General Meeting of Shareholders of

the Chartered Company in London on January 18th, 1895, made the following statement:

“ I have said once before that out of licences and the usual sources of revenue for a Government, you cannot expect to pay dividends. The people would get annoyed if you did; they do not like to see licences spent in dividends. These are assets which are to pay for any public works and for good government. We must, therefore, look to our minerals to give us a return on our capital, which you must remember is £2,000,000.”

The settlers further pointed out that, when in 1904 a deputation of the people went to London to meet the Board, the Directors then acknowledged that the mining taxes now under discussion were administrative taxes and should not be allocated to the commercial side, but since that date these very same taxes had been added to the commercial revenue, and the Directors had therefore acted directly against their own ruling and agreement on this point.

The Directors in reply pointed to clause 17 of the Charter, which read:

“ The Company shall furnish annually to Our Secretary of State, as soon as conveniently may be after the close of the financial year, accounts of its expenditure for administrative purposes and of all sums received by it by way of public revenue, as distinguished from its commercial profits, during the financial year, together with a report as to its public proceedings and the condition of the territories within the sphere of its operations. The Company shall also on or before the commencement of each financial year furnish to Our Secretary of State an estimate of its expenditure for administrative pur-

poses and of its public revenue (as above defined) for the ensuing year. The Company shall in addition from time to time furnish to Our Secretary of State any reports, accounts or information with which he may require to be furnished."

The Directors, therefore, argued that if any administrative revenue had been wrongly applied to the commercial side, the Imperial Government would have insisted on the readjustment of the accounts, but the settlers were not satisfied with this explanation; they contended that the Imperial Government could not have made a thorough investigation into the details of the revenue and expenditure, or a discovery would have been made that certain revenues from taxation, which had formerly been devoted to administrative purposes, had since been credited to the commercial side. As such revenue could not be interchangeable, evidently the mistake in first charging it to one side and then to another had been overlooked by the Imperial Government, and therefore the annual accounts submitted to the Imperial Government could be no guarantee that the revenues were rightly allocated.

The Directors suggested that in the final settlement, when the people took over the administration of Southern Rhodesia, any differences between commercial and administrative expenditure and revenue could then be adjusted, but that until that time arrived it was not a matter of vital importance. The settlers, however, replied that they considered this question one of great urgency, as the revenue now credited to the commercial side, if applied to the administration, could be immediately used either for the reduction of the present heavy taxation or for educational and other useful purposes.

A similar controversy arose over the land revenue,

but in this case there was more than one point under dispute. In the first place, the settlers refused to acknowledge that the unalienated land was the property of the British South Africa Company, and, in the second place, they insisted that the taxation on land, which was collected in the form of quit rent, belonged to the administration, even if the British South Africa Company could be proved to be the rightful owners of the land.

The settlers pointed out that early in 1904 a financial adviser of the British South Africa Company had endeavoured to make the people of the country acknowledge that all the expenditure over revenue, which the Company had incurred in the administration of Southern Rhodesia, was a debt to be borne by the country when it became a self-governing colony, and that in handing over its liability the Company need not relinquish any of its assets. The settlers further recalled how preposterous such a proposal was. In the first place, the Chartered Company, under the terms of the charter, was held solely responsible by the Imperial Government for all expenditure in excess of revenue. In the second place, the people denied that the land was the private property of the British South Africa Company; and in the third place, if the Company could legally prove that it was the owner of the land, and that the country was responsible for the Company's past wasteful expenditure, the colonists would never have any assets on which to raise the millions to pay off this supposed debt.

The settlers further said that the London Board, realizing the indignation caused by the report of the Company's financial adviser, had, in August of the same year, offered to the delegates from Rhodesia one-third of the mineral assets belonging to the Company, and one-third of the unalienated land, pro-

vided that the people would take over the debt incurred in opening up the country. The delegates, however, fearing to be caught in a trap, and believing that the acceptance of this offer would be equivalent to an acknowledgement of the Chartered Company's claim to the unalienated land, refused to accept the proposal.

One important point had, however, cropped up at this conference. The British South Africa Company, in making its offer, had said that, from the date when a settlement should be arrived at, the Company, as a private owner, was prepared to pay taxation at the same rate as other landowners. The Company had, therefore, indirectly admitted that "quit rent" was taxation on land to be applied to administrative purposes. But this admission involved another point. If the British South Africa Company could prove its claim to the unalienated land of Southern Rhodesia as a commercial asset, it was liable, like other private companies, to taxation on the whole of its land, not only from the date that it could prove its claim, but also from the time that land taxation was first introduced into the country; and as this tax would have been accruing since 1891, it would now amount to several millions.

The settlers, however, refused altogether to recognize the British South Africa Company's right to the unalienated land, and each point on which the Company based its claim was contested. In the first place, the settlers showed that the concession of 1888, granted by Lobengula, under which the British South Africa Company entered Southern Rhodesia, conferred mineral rights only, and that no land title was allowed under this concession. Secondly, they pointed out that the Lippert concession from Lobengula in 1891 was a trusteeship given for one hundred years for the purpose of "granting or

leasing farms, townships, building plots and grazing areas," and for administering the territories under the sphere of operations of the British South Africa Company. The Chartered Company, therefore, as holder of this concession, was not the owner of the land, but was permitted to act as trustee of the land. Thirdly, the settlers argued that the terms of the Charter in regard to land were similar to those of the Lippert concession. The principal clauses affecting the claim of the Company read as follows :

"To make and maintain roads, railways, telegraphs, harbours or any other works which may tend to the development or improvement of the territories of the Company.

"To settle any such territories and lands as aforesaid, and to aid and promote immigration.

"To grant lands for terms of years or in perpetuity, and either absolutely or by way of mortgage or otherwise."

The people were of opinion that, though all these clauses of the Charter proved that the British South Africa Company was trustee for the territory and had full power to "grant land for terms of years or in perpetuity," yet the clauses did not prove that the land was the private property of the Company, but rather that as a Government it had sole power to act for the benefit of the community, and that when the Company ceased to administer the country, its power to grant land would pass to the next Government which came into office. In the fourth place, the settlers said that their arguments in regard to the Charter could be similarly applied to the deed of settlement, and that, though in the deed of settlement the Company was given further power "to establish towns, villages, settlements, stores and stations," this power was also in the form of a trust.

In the fifth place, the settlers refused to recognize the claim of the Chartered Company to Southern Rhodesia by right of conquest. They said that as the conquest had been effected by the colonists themselves, aided by troops from the Imperial Government, the British South Africa Company could not take to itself the entire credit of winning the country, though it had borne the cost of equipping the force which had been raised in Southern Rhodesia and had paid for the campaign. The people also argued that all land conquered under the British Flag belonged to the Crown, and whatever Government was in power in the newly conquered territory acted as trustee and not as owner.

Lastly, speeches made by Mr. Cecil Rhodes were quoted which substantiated the arguments of the settlers. Mr. Rhodes in these speeches acknowledged that the only revenue the Company could reap would be through the mineral rights which it possessed; and, though he often referred to the mineral rights as an asset of the Company, he called the land "Crown land" or "public land." Also in a speech to the shareholders he said:

"When revenue and expenditure balance, I feel sure that the people of the country will take their full self-government . . . and that they will readily assent to return to you, in the shape of a debenture debt, that amount which you have expended upon the acquisition and development of the country. . . . Now let us sum up again. I have shown you what I think will be the end of the money you have expended in the development and conquest of the country; I have shown you how you will get your return on that. Secondly, I say that you will retain your share in the vendors' scrip, that is, in the minerals of the country."

Mr. Rhodes, therefore, in his speech, by his silence on the subject of the unalienated land and his definite statement that the only asset the British South Africa Company had was in the minerals, clearly showed that he believed that the land did not belong to the Company. He claimed, however, that the people of Southern Rhodesia should repay to the Company its expenses in occupying and administering the territory.

In another speech in 1899 to the shareholders of the Chartered Company, Mr. Rhodes again gave his views as to the assets of the Company. He said:

“I think that, when the State governs itself, it will have to repay to the Charter shareholders in debentures probably your full expenditure on war, public works, and everything connected with the occupation of the country and its present administration. You may ask: ‘Where will your interests be preserved?’ I think you will then still retain your interest in the vendors’ scrip, that is, in the mining undertakings, probably giving something to the Government of the country for relieving you of the cost of administration.”

The case thus having been presented, both on the part of the Chartered Company and the people, an important debate followed, which, if it served no other purpose, at least made it evident how divergent the opinions of the Directors of the British South Africa Company were from those of the settlers, on the subject both of land title and of allocation of revenue, and also showed that no satisfactory conclusion could be arrived at except by judicial procedure.

The reorganization of the Civil Service was likewise discussed, and in a statement published by the Directors at Bulawayo on October 20th, 1907, the

following references were made to the "Apportionment between the Administrative and Commercial Revenue and Expenditure and the Civil Service."

"The Directors maintain that ownership of the land and minerals in Rhodesia emanates from the Company, and, subject of course to grants made, or agreed to be made, by the Company from time to time, the lands and minerals throughout Rhodesia remain as Commercial assets of the Company. Whilst insisting upon this attitude, and pending the grant of responsible government, the Directors, fully appreciating that the Administration must know upon what terms to prepare its budget, will recommend that Administrative Revenue shall include all post and telegraph receipts and all sums acquired under authority of Ordinances passed by the Company, or the Legislative Council, except royalties, quit rents, lease rents and site rents, and, so long as they continue payable, inspection by payment and fees on certificates for extra work.

"Administrative expenditure will include all payments, including police outlays, made in relation to the government of the country, payment of half claim licences where payable to landowners or otherwise than to the Company, and a fair proportion of the London expenses. Where any Government department performs services for the commercial side of the Company proper charges shall be made by the Government for such services, and in like manner services rendered to the Government by the commercial side of the Company shall be remunerated.

"Our enquiry into the present position of the Civil Service has made it clear that the machinery is too cumbersome and elaborate and the cost disproportionate to the needs of Southern Rhodesia.

“ The aim of the Directors is to centralize work, thereby diminishing annual expenses and enabling a reapportionment of duties and a reduction in the staff.

“ With the assistance of His Honour Sir William Milton, a scheme has been prepared which is now being considered by those competent to advise, and it is hoped that the new arrangement may take effect after the end of the present fiscal year, March 31st, 1908.”

Ever since the death of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the settlers had felt the need of a commercial representative of the British South Africa Company in Rhodesia, and the visit of the Directors to the territory afforded the opportunity for the people to present their views on this subject. The Directors fully appreciated the settlers' arguments on this point, and in their statement before leaving the country they referred to the subject as follows:

“ A commercial representative will be appointed (with his headquarters at Bulawayo) to take charge of all the commercial interests of the Company, including the railways. This representative will not be a Director of the Company, but will be entrusted with the general supervision of the commercial assets of the Company, with power to deal on the spot promptly and effectually with all questions.

“ It is intended to pursue an active and forward commercial policy, and to stimulate in every possible way the opening up and steady development of the mineral and agricultural resources of the territory. So far as agriculture is concerned, much may be done by the encouragement of co-operative effort among farmers and by actively assisting them to find outside markets for their surplus produce.

“Past experience, however, proves that as a necessary preliminary to success, either in working the minerals or in land settlement, greater inducements must be offered to both capitalists and settlers. Immediate changes will therefore be made in the mining law and in the form of land grants and titles.”

Several deputations raised the question of special grants, concessions and monopolies, and referred to the immense damage done in the past by the British South Africa Company in bestowing special favours on certain individuals and companies. The settlers pointed out that large tracts of land were locked up and were useless both to the people and to the bankrupt companies who owned them. Dr. Jameson, in reply to one of these questions, said:

“As regards these concessions—the Company have to a certain extent locked up the country, and I must confess that in those early days I was principally responsible for a great many of them. Grants were then given to companies on condition that they introduced so much money in the country to keep it going. That time has passed, and I do not think there will be any complaint of any future grants. I may tell you that the Chartered Company are more sick of them than anybody else.”

If the British South Africa Company adheres to the principle laid down by Dr. Jameson in his statesmanlike acknowledgment of a past mistake, and rigidly refuses to make any further concessions, it will remove a very great cause for irritation amongst the people of Southern Rhodesia.

As recently, however, as July 24th, 1901, a most important concession was granted for a period of seventy-five years to the African Concession Syn-

dicate, Limited, for the use of the Victoria Falls to generate electrical power. The Chartered Company acquired a half interest in the Syndicate, and the Syndicate, about the time of the visit of the Directors to Rhodesia in 1907, sold their concession to the Victoria Falls Power Company, the Chartered Company receiving half the vendors' shares, and also subscribing for 100,000 shares of the preference capital in the new company. The Board of this Power Company comprises many representatives of the British South Africa Company, and though it was nominally floated to supply the Rand with electric power from the Falls, it has bought up other electric supply companies whose stations are in the Transvaal. The Victoria Falls are now locked up, a valuable asset indeed to the company that owns it, but, held by the present group, it is unlikely that it will be made of any practical use for many years to come, as the electric supply stations in the Transvaal meet all immediate requirements. Meanwhile Rhodesia loses the opportunity of using the Falls for her own economic advancement, loses the opportunity of employing capital and labour in her own country, and once again history repeats itself, and one of Rhodesia's great economic resources lies useless.

The future administration of Southern Rhodesia will undoubtedly have to deal with the holders of these large concessions granted by the British South Africa Company, and to enforce legislation which will bring the grantees into line with other property owners. The subject is a difficult one and will have to be handled with great care, as the alteration of titles may seriously upset the credit of Southern Rhodesia in Europe. The intention of all such legislation must be to force companies to develop their properties for the benefit both of their share-

holders and the community, and if European investors recognize this principle they will appreciate the fact that such legislation will also react for their own good.

The Directors of the British South Africa Company, immediately on their return to London, drew up schemes for obtaining fresh capital, in order that they might carry into effect their programme for more rapidly developing the resources of Southern Rhodesia. At a General Meeting of the shareholders, held on February 26th, 1908, the Board proposed raising the Ordinary Capital of the Company from £6,000,000 to £9,000,000. As, however, the ordinary shares of the Company were standing below par, and the issue of another £3,000,000 was likely still further to depress the original shares, the Directors were obliged to offer more favourable terms under the new issue than under the old, though at the same time they had to try to maintain, or even enhance, the value of the original shares. The Directors, in putting forward their scheme, considered that the old shares would not be seriously affected, as a capital of even £9,000,000 was relatively small for the gigantic undertakings of the British South Africa Company, and the £3,000,000 new issue, unlike the old capital, was not for meeting current liabilities, but for developing and improving the Company's holdings.

The Board accordingly asked for immediate subscriptions for 1,000,000 new shares to be offered to the shareholders at par *pro rata* to their existing holdings, and the subscribers of these shares were given the option to take up 2,000,000 further shares at par, on the basis of an option over one additional share up to March 31st, 1910, and over a second share up to March 31st, 1912, in respect of each share originally subscribed. Although the resolution

in favour of issuing fresh capital in the above manner was carried, the proposals did not receive sufficient support from the shareholders, and the Board was therefore unable to proceed to allotment. The Directors were accordingly faced with the necessity of raising money under conditions which would entail an annual liability for payment of interest on the new issue. On March 14th, 1908, they sent out a circular to their shareholders with proposals for raising £1,750,000 Second Mortgage Debenture Stock, carrying interest at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with both principal and interest to be charged on the commercial undertakings of the Company. The Stock was to rank after the 5 per cent. Mortgage Debentures and to be redeemable at par on February 1st, 1928, or at any time after February 1st, 1913, by giving six months' notice.

Of this £1,750,000, only £1,000,000 was offered to shareholders for subscription *pro rata* to their holdings. Each £1 of stock was convertible before June 1st, 1910 into an ordinary share at par, and, further, carried with it, as a separate bearer document, the option to subscribe for one ordinary share at par at any time up to June 30th, 1910, and for a second share at par at any time up to June 30th, 1912. Thus by raising money in this manner the Ordinary Authorized Capital could still be brought to £9,000,000.

In the Balance Sheet of the British South Africa Company for the year ending March 31st, 1908 the capital subscribed on this new issue amounted to £150,502 16s. 6d., and by February 26th, 1909, the subscription was further raised to £981,069.

With this new capital the Directors were able to pursue a more progressive policy than in former years, though their undertakings were somewhat restricted owing to the increased annual liability

which the Company had to meet in the payment of interest on the fresh capital.

The general prosperity throughout Southern Rhodesia during the year 1908 has reacted in favour of the administration of the country, and it is now estimated that for the year ending March 31st, 1909, for the first time in the history of the territory, the revenue which has been placed to the administrative side will exceed the administrative expenditure; this calculation entirely excludes all revenue and taxes collected by the commercial side of the Company.

The sound financial position of the administration of Southern Rhodesia at the present time is due not only to the country's increased prosperity, but also to the drastic economy effected in the annual expenditure. A still further economy will now be carried out, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies has approved of the control of the Police being transferred from the Imperial authorities to the Administrator of Southern Rhodesia, and the Constabulary force in many districts is now being amalgamated with the British South Africa Police, thereby involving a considerable reduction in expenditure.

PART III

INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF FARMING

Early Occupation.—Cattle Plague and Native Rebellions.—Stagnation in Farming.—Complaints of Farmers against British South Africa Company.—Second Cattle Disease.—Increased Farming Population.—Growing Prosperity.

OWING to the many causes which militated against farming in Southern Rhodesia, the first eleven years of its history showed an extremely broken record.

The early settlers had been delighted to find a well-watered country, covered with tall rank grass on which native cattle in their thousands lived and thrived; to discover many varieties of soil capable of raising immense crops; and to know that, besides these two great farming assets, there existed a delightful temperate climate in a tropical country with two distinct seasons—the rainy season from November to March, and the dry season for the remaining seven or eight months in the year. But though they recognized the valuable territory the Empire had gained through the untiring efforts of Mr. Rhodes, they were slow to take advantage of the early opportunities offered. “The perennial hunger for gold,” about which fabulous reports were

constantly being spread throughout the country, drew many of the would-be farmers away from their original intentions, in order to seek a more speedy fortune in the most hazardous of all ventures that the world offers, the gold-mining industry; nor is it surprising that these adventurous pioneers, who gave up every comfort of civilization and risked their lives in exploring a new and unknown land, should be unwilling to settle down to the monotony of a farm life, where money was only to be made comparatively slowly, when channels for making rapid profits were opened up in many other directions. For this reason, it is not to be wondered at that there were very few genuine farmers in the early days. Those, however, who were prepared to accept the solitude of such a life, in many instances settled down in places remote from towns and out of reach of a white population. Some had their wives and families with them. They lived in rude huts made of poles and cemented with mud, the roofs being thatched with dried grass. They kept their cattle, their goats, their pigs, and their poultry; they ploughed their land with their oxen, and sowed their Indian corn or mealies. They had a dozen or more Kaffir labourers working for them, hoeing and cleaning the ground, and reaping and shelling the mealies.

The settler did little manual work himself; he supervised the labour of his Kaffirs, and spent a part of his time with rifle and shot-gun, hunting game. If he had the good fortune to save his horse from dying of sickness, he did much of his hunting on horseback. It was a somewhat lazy life, but for those free from ambition and avarice, and with a love of an out-of-door existence, the grandeur and beauty of the ever varying scenery and the repose and contemplation of nature had every attraction to

offer. The farmers who preferred to take up land nearer towns neglected farming, and directed their energies to the more profitable work of cutting down the timber on their farms and selling it as firewood in the towns. Others, again, employed their oxen and wagons in transport work. Farming, therefore, during these first few years was in an unprogressive state, and little effort was made to increase the acreage under cultivation.

In 1895 the fearful disease, rinderpest, was brought from the north by game, and spread amongst all the cattle in Southern Rhodesia, destroying them by thousands. Close upon, and largely due to, the destruction wrought by rinderpest amongst the native cattle, followed the Matabele and Mashona rebellions. It is not the intention of the writer to dwell on the fearful bloodshed of the early stages of those rebellions, nor to describe the manner in which the settlers avenged the deaths of their friends and relations. Many have written or told the stories of those terrible months; Mr. Selous, in his romantic book "Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia," graphically depicts that time of tragic and stirring events, when every homestead was burnt to the ground by the rebellious natives, and every man, woman, and child who was captured was foully murdered, whole families often being wiped out. The few who had the good fortune to escape with their lives were ruined; they had lost all their worldly possessions, and such cattle as had not been destroyed by rinderpest were driven off by the rebels, together with all the other farm livestock.

By the time that the rebellion was quelled farming in Southern Rhodesia was practically non-existent, but such is the hardihood of the British race that it never accepts defeat, and once again white people began to return to the land. Fresh

cattle slowly found their way into the territory, and those who had not got oxen purchased donkeys for carrying out their farm work. This much abused beast of burden brought many a small fortune to farmers and transport riders, eighteen donkeys being put into each team, and often carrying 4,000 lb. and 5,000 lb. loads on wagons.

Though a fair number of white settlers once again turned their attention to farming, the progress made in this industry was spasmodic, and there was a lack of initiative. Farmers were content just to make a living out of their mealie lands without going in for extensive cultivation, while those who were more energetic still devoted their time to wood cutting and transport work. It is not surprising, therefore, that by the end of 1901 the agricultural industry was marked by no very great progress, and little attention was paid to it. The Government appeared to give small encouragement to enterprise in this direction, and numerous applicants for land left Southern Rhodesia owing to the difficulty in obtaining good farms. The Government locked up enormous territories of the most fertile part of the country, because the land was situated on the Gold Belt; and as it was supposed that farming would hinder mining, everything had to give way to that industry. A few land companies were, however, given vast tracts of country within these precincts which had been refused to individual applicants, notwithstanding that the latter were prepared to purchase the ground, and could show that they had sufficient capital to start farming on a fairly extensive scale. Though these genuine settlers were accustomed to the conditions of colonial life, and had a thorough colonial farming experience behind them, yet the Government considered that the land companies, with their ridiculous and unpractical

prospectuses, could do more to develop the resources of the land.

The British South Africa Company pursued the same policy in regard to farming as in regard to mining, the principle in both cases being to encourage flotations of companies, and the consequent introduction of large capital into Southern Rhodesia, which the British South Africa Company considered would more rapidly develop the resources of the territory than the smaller capitals of individual settlers. But the methods of the land companies were not such as to ensure success, owing to the inexperience of the men they brought out from England to take up their farms and the extraordinary financial agreements under which they worked.

Farms were offered to intending settlers under an "occupation title," the terms of the title requiring, amongst other things, that a white man should be resident on the property. The purchase price was a fair one, and as the purchaser was obliged to put a white man in charge, the principle would, if carried into practice, have been distinctly conducive to the encouragement of the farming industry, but as the Government seldom granted the land which intending farmers had selected, and as the law in regard to the occupation clause was very seldom enforced, this particular title neither offered any special attraction to intending settlers, nor increased their number.

The complaints of the farming population were very loud at this time. Southern Rhodesia appeared to them to be one vast territory locked up by the Government and the large companies, undeveloped and unprogressive. The companies which held land had no fear of an occupation clause being forced on them, and with the exception of a few absurd attempts already mentioned allowed enormous tracts of country to be idle.

In 1901 a fearful cattle disease broke out on the eastern border of Southern Rhodesia. It originated from a shipment of 1,000 head of selected breeding-stock, which had been imported by the British South Africa Company through Beira from New South Wales. The pestilence immediately spread like wild-fire amongst the cattle throughout the length and breadth of the country, killing them by thousands. After rinderpest had died out in 1896 an effort had been made to restock the land by importing fresh cattle, and already by the end of 1901 Southern Rhodesia to a considerable extent had recovered her lost ground. But this latest disease, since known as African coast fever, spread even worse havoc than the rinderpest. Whole spans of oxen were stricken down as they journeyed with wagons along the roads, and in a very few months all the main transport thoroughfares throughout Matabeleland and Mashonaland were strewn with whitening bones, the only relics of these unfortunate beasts. When once the disease had taken hold of the cattle, all human efforts to intervene were useless, nor could the most eminent scientists find a check or a cure. In many places 98 and 99 per cent. of the cattle died. The Government at length determined to close all roads, and only allow transport with mules and donkeys. After proclamation in the Government Gazette, all cattle were to be confined to the immediate district where they were, nor might their owners, under penalty of a heavy fine, allow the beasts to stray off their farms. Cattle inspectors were stationed in each district, and the law was everywhere strictly enforced.

Strange though it may appear, the result of this fearful disease was to set in motion the first real stimulus towards progress in agriculture. The spirit of the Rhodesian settlers was not yet broken. The



CROSSING THE DRIFT

old landowners, who for so many years had refused to work their farms, finding a more profitable business in other directions, now collected together the remnant of their cattle, and as they were not allowed to let them stray on to other ground, set about to break up their land and put it under cultivation. Indeed the African coast fever may be said to have directed the agricultural industry into a channel of steady and rapid progress.

It must also be mentioned that another stimulus to agriculture was given by the constant falling off of "trading with natives." In the early years traders made enormous profits by selling to the natives beads, salt, and Kaffir goods in exchange for grain and meal, but as the traders increased in the country and competition amongst them grew keener, they were unable to buy as much grain with the same amount of goods as formerly, and were further handicapped by the great drop in the selling price of grain and meal which occurred just at this period. Many of the traders, therefore, who had farms, found it more profitable to grow mealies themselves than to buy them from natives. The consequent increase of farmers caused, in due course, a greater demand for land, and the British South Africa Company was induced by the urgent requests of the farming community, who now formed an important body, to grant land upon more favourable terms. Farms on the Gold Belt, which comprised some of the best land in Southern Rhodesia, were sold to applicants upon terms which would not conflict with the interests of the mining industry.

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURE

Mealies.—English Cereals.—Grasses.—Tobacco.—Potatoes.—
Fruit.—Forestry.

THE principal crop, which forms, and is likely to form, the most important staple product in Rhodesian agriculture, is the mealie, or Indian corn. The price of mealies, with the irregularity and uncertainty of the market, is inclined to fluctuate considerably. In the year 1903, owing to a low rainfall, the difficulties of transport, and the increasing demand consequent on a spurt in the mining industry, a 200 lb. bag of mealies fetched 30s., while in the following year, owing to a large acreage of land having been put under cultivation by the settlers, an extraordinarily favourable season, and a large supply of native grain, the price dropped to 10s. per 200 lb. bag. Farmers had to face the double fact that if they did not find an outlet for their corn they would be ruined, and that export was impossible owing to the high railway rates. They therefore took the only course open to them, and made strong representations to the railway companies, with the result that they obtained a reduction, on all mealies railed to Kimberley, to $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per ton per mile. Many farmers considered that it would be impossible to make a profit at 10s. per bag, but during the last few years it has been recognized that under the present economic system of farming, with all the

latest facilities and improvements, a farmer, by putting a large area of land under cultivation, provided he has a farm with suitable soil, can make a very good marginal profit at 10s., or even less, per 200 lb. The fact that farming is rapidly increasing and becoming more prosperous, and that many farmers are still confining their attention to mealie growing, is proof in itself that this industry is a profitable one and likely to continue to be the backbone of Rhodesian agriculture.

Besides mealies, English cereals form an important crop on many farms, and have been successfully grown in various parts of Southern Rhodesia. Owing, however, to the parasitic fungus, "rust," which lives on cereals and flourishes in moisture, wheat, oats, and barley cannot be brought to maturity in the wet season, though barley and oats are grown for forage towards the end of the rains. They are cut green, and are sold either as green forage or hay forage. In either state they form an excellent food for mules and horses, and command a high price. In the dry season the cereals are brought to maturity in districts where irrigation is possible, and some four seasons ago a sample of Rhodesian wheat sent to the Liverpool market was said to be the best quality imported into England for that year. "Rust" some years ago was in England the most destructive fungoid disease in agriculture, but by scientific research, aided by a superstition amongst farmers as to where "rust" originated, scientists were able to find out the cause of this disease and to check its growth, with the result that "rust" is now practically non-existent in the British Isles. Careful and thorough research work is being carried out at Cambridge University and elsewhere, and efforts are being made to produce a rust-resisting wheat. It cannot be doubted that with the help of modern

science it is only a matter of time before the efforts of the experts in their botanical research will be fully rewarded. As soon as it is possible to grow wheat successfully in Rhodesia in the rainy season, agriculture in that country will be completely revolutionized, and with the present fine promise of quality and quantity per acre, it will become one of the greatest wheat-growing countries in the world. So important is this question to the prosperity of Southern Rhodesia, that the discovery of a means to check the rust disease is worth all the millions of ounces of gold produced, or likely to be produced, in the territory, and it would be capital well invested if the Government set aside a fund each year to pay an eminent scientist to investigate the life history of the rust plant and the means of preventing its growth.

The native grasses of the country afford abundant and rich pasturage for nearly eight months in the year, but cattle, if they feed over a wide range, keep in excellent condition the whole year round. If, however, an attempt is made to stock a farm heavily, it is necessary to provide special food for the four months of scarcity. This can be done by turning some of the grass, which abounds in such profusion during the rainy season, into hay or ensilage, and the winter feeding can be further supplemented by several varieties of imported grasses, which have been found to grow with marked success and remain green throughout the dry season. As farming progresses more attention will be paid to hay and ensilage crops, together with the growing of winter grasses. The result will not only permit of heavier stocking with cattle, but will also add fertility to the soil and increase the value of the farms.

A most profitable industry of Southern Rhodesia, and one which has a great future before it, is the

cultivation of tobacco. For many years a coarse tobacco, known as Boer pipe tobacco, was produced in the territory with marked success. But some four or five years ago a few more enterprising farmers, not satisfied with this quality, determined to branch out into new lines; they planted both Turkish and Virginian tobacco, and raised crops which more than justified their expectations. They continued their cultivation on a more extensive scale, and many other farmers successfully experimented with several acres of tobacco. As the production of good tobacco requires considerable capital to start with, a thorough knowledge and experience of the methods of its cultivation, and a large supply of native labour, it cannot be grown as extensively as mealies. In order to obtain the best results, the land has to be carefully selected, though there are several varieties of soil capable of producing good "leaf." Tobacco may be already considered an established industry, but it would be unwise for farmers, without previous experience, to grow this crop on any extensive scale, until they had made a few experiments for one or two seasons. It has been mentioned that the starting of the industry requires considerable outlay, as besides the expenditure on growing and reaping—a far heavier item than is the case with mealies—there is the additional cost of curing the leaf, and for this purpose curing barns must be erected. It is possible, but not advisable, to cure tobacco in barns built with poles from native trees, having thatched roofs and walls lined with dried grass, but the results are not so satisfactory as those obtained in the brick-flue barns, where the leaf is cured artificially with wood fires. Many settlers lessen their expenses by making and burning their own bricks, and building these barns themselves instead of employing a brick-layer.

The Rhodesian tobacco is in great demand, and has won many prizes and medals in competitions with other colonies. The British South Africa Company, in order to maintain a uniformity in quality, has established warehouses at Salisbury and Bulawayo, where the leaf is graded, packed, and sold. These warehouses afford an opportunity for the planters to dispose of their tobacco, the British South Africa Company giving them 50 per cent. of the estimated value of the crop and the balance upon sale after deducting warehouse fees.

The cost of raising tobacco is between £8 and £10 an acre, and the estimated return anything between £15 and £35. The British South Africa Company's tobacco specialists visit the tobacco plantations and advise the settlers in regard to the cultivation and curing of their crops, thereby rendering them great assistance. There are also several companies, syndicates, and individuals who work independently of the Government, and have successfully produced, from the seed to the manufactured article, excellent brands of pipe tobacco, besides the finished cigarette.

Potatoes are grown on all farms and yield very large crops, but as the demand at present is only local, the prices are very irregular and the profits uncertain; however, with the increasing population and greater facilities for export, the cultivation of this crop will become much more extensive. Almost every variety of vegetable known in England can also be grown either in the rainy season or by irrigation in the dry season.

Many varieties of other crops, such as monkey nuts, castor oil beans, peas, kaffir beans, millet, sweet potatoes, and several kinds of fibrous plants, have all been grown successfully, and prove that there exist numerous possibilities for the evolution of

many industries in the future. It may truly be said of the land, as it has been said of the mineral wealth of Southern Rhodesia, that its resources up to the present time have scarcely been touched. Many varieties of fruit trees flourish; bananas and citrus trees grow remarkably well, while apples, pears, grapes, guavas, pineapples, figs, cape gooseberries, and grenadillas are all very productive. The stone fruit trees, such as plums and peaches, are, however, inclined to run to wood and do not bear fruit with any great profusion.

The citrus tribes will no doubt be cultivated on a very large scale in the future. Wild lemon trees grow along the Mazoe Valley in Mashonaland, and were evidently introduced into the country by some former occupants of the land as they are not an indigenous fruit. Orange and lemon groves flourish with little trouble, and as there is a great demand for these fruits in the European market, the supply from other countries having come to an end at the time of the year when the Rhodesian orange ripens, they will provide a large field for cultivation in the future.

Southern Rhodesia is beautifully timbered and in every district is covered for many square miles with dense forests. There are numerous varieties of native trees, and near mines much of the timber is cut down for firewood, but certain species of trees of greater economic value are reserved by the Government. Of these some are used for mine timbering, but at present little advantage has been taken of the more valuable varieties, though amongst them are fine specimens of mahogany wood and other useful timber. Experiments have been made in growing trees not indigenous to the country; and considerable success has been attained, especially with the eucalyptus and wattle. Forestry, however, has not

had the attention paid to it that it deserves, and legislation has made no attempt to preserve the timber of the country by insisting on the replanting of the thousands of acres of forests which are yearly cut down for mining purposes.

CHAPTER III

LIVESTOCK

Cattle.—Sheep.—Goats.—Donkeys.—Mules.—Horses.—Pigs.—
Ostriches.—Poultry.—Animal and Insect Pests.

THE progress of cattle ranching, as has already been mentioned, has suffered two severe checks owing to the rinderpest of 1896 and the African coast fever of 1901. Southern Rhodesia is dependent on its cattle not only for meat and milk supply, but also for transport and for work on the farms. The visitor who enters the country in the wet season is surprised to find sleek healthy cattle rolling in fat, and to learn that these beasts have been trekking along the roads for several weeks, or have been inspanned into the plough month after month without a rest. The reason of this is the luxuriant pasturage obtainable; the tall, rich, rank grass grows as far as the eye can see, and provides food on which thousands and millions of cattle can thrive.

But if the visitor were to return in the middle of the dry season, when much of the veldt has been burned by fires, and all that is left of the verdure is a few scattered clumps of brown dried grass, he would be even more surprised. The cattle are still thriving and in splendid condition, though with not quite the rounded forms they had before. The stranger would learn that the veldt is not quite so unpromising as it looks, and that the healthy appearance of the animals, as well as the fact that they

are doing a good day's work, is due to the nourishing food they are able to obtain from the brown patches of grass, among which they wander during the noon-day outspan or when evening has brought a cessation from labour.

Except for the two scourges that have swept through Southern Rhodesia, the cattle have been very free from sickness.

There are several varieties of cattle, the native Mashona, the Matabele, and the German East African, all rather small, but very prolific in breeding. There are also the long-horned colonial cattle, big beasts, excellent for transport work, and a few English shorthorns, with a sprinkling of other English breeds. Both the shorthorns and colonials make very good crosses with the native cattle, and these were found to be better able to withstand the ravages of the late diseases than the pure shorthorns and colonials. Now that the African coast fever has been stamped out there will undoubtedly be an effort made to improve the breeds in the country with a view to providing the best butcher's meat, and there is no room to doubt that in years to come Southern Rhodesia will be one of the greatest sources of supply to the European market. Foreseeing this, all the shrewdest business men are now buying up cattle for the purpose of ranching on a large scale.

Native sheep and goats thrive everywhere, and are very prolific, but the English woolled sheep do well only in certain districts where the grass is of a fine quality. This fine quality is obtained on the high tablelands on the eastern border of Mashonaland, which is therefore admirably adapted to the raising of merino sheep. Here, also, there is an abundance of water, and the lofty mountain ranges, attaining to an altitude of 6,000 feet, are clothed with short rich grasses which remain green during the greater part



BY COOLING STREAMS



of the year. But the rich rank grass which abounds in other districts is not suitable for English breeds, and must be fed down by cattle before the land can become food pasturage for sheep.

English rams have been crossed with native sheep with considerable success, producing a hardy quick-maturing mutton of good quality. Persian and Cape sheep also thrive in districts where merinos, under present conditions, cannot live, and these also make excellent crosses with native breeds. All these varieties will be useful for gradually reducing the rank pasturage to a condition suitable for the better class of woolled sheep.

Donkeys thrive in Southern Rhodesia, and to a great extent superseded cattle for transport work during rinderpest and African coast fever. They are still largely used for wagon work and ploughing, but most of the settlers are prejudiced against them owing to their extreme slowness. They are, however, very hardy and prolific, and make a profitable investment.

Mules were introduced into the country in the pioneer days. They were always driven in the coaches before the arrival of the railways, and are still used in carriages, and for transport and farm purposes. They were, however, always an extremely risky investment owing to a sickness to which they were very liable. This sickness, which is probably similar to the malarial fever of human beings, used annually to kill off a very high percentage of mules. A cure, however, has now been found by means of inoculation and has been attended with marked success, only a very small percentage dying after the inoculation has been effected. Mules, as they fulfil so many requirements, will doubtless now be much more extensively used.

The sickness which attacks mules attacks horses

with even greater violence, and a far higher percentage die. Up to the present it has been found impossible to inoculate horses against the disease. The serum injected, which in the mule produces immunity by giving it the sickness in a slight form, to the horse is certain death. If a preventive of the disease could be found for the horse, there would be a great opening for horse breeding, as apart from "horse sickness," these animals do exceedingly well in Southern Rhodesia.

Two varieties of wild pig abound in the country, the bush pig and the wart hog. The domestic pig, though it flourishes and is extremely prolific, is not kept as extensively as might be supposed. More attention, however, has recently been paid to this department of farming, and special efforts are being made for the importation of good breeding stock. The question of building a pork factory is also under consideration, and the encouragement of pig breeding is further stimulated by the low price to which mealies have fallen. Many farmers will find it not unprofitable to fatten pigs on a portion of their crop, as the value of pork imported into the whole of South Africa is already a sufficient guarantee that no loss will be incurred by giving the surplus grain to pigs.

Wild ostriches abound in many parts of Southern Rhodesia in herds of as many as eighty and one hundred, and though settlers are permitted to catch the young birds, which make a splendid cross with the colonial ostriches, little attention has been paid to them at the present time on account of the expensive outlay required for fencing.

There are two kinds of poultry, the English fowl with its many varieties of breeds and crosses, and the native fowl, a bird a little larger than a bantam. The native birds are somewhat hardier, and make a

good cross with the English fowls. Poultry suffer from a sickness, probably a form of malaria, which kills them off in great numbers; but when proper care is taken, the mortality is not nearly so high, and many people never lose their fowls from this sickness at all. Turkeys, ducks, and geese all do well in Southern Rhodesia.

In addition to this list of livestock, which forms a profitable investment, it is not impossible that in the future other wild animals besides the ostrich may be domesticated and made useful.

The quagga and zebra, which roam over the veldt in large herds, though too vicious ever themselves to be put in harness, have in other countries been successfully crossed with horses, and their offspring broken in with less difficulty. One or two varieties of wild buck are also easily domesticated, and no doubt in time the eland, which has already been tried for draught purposes, will be found on many farms to have its use among domestic animals. Guinea fowl are found in large flocks, and their young, when caught, become far tamer than the ordinary domestic fowl, and for eating purposes there is no other game bird to equal them.

Serious losses of livestock occur every year from wild animals, and great difficulties have been experienced in exterminating them. In 1907, 3,550 wild animals were recorded as having been destroyed, though the number is probably much greater. They included 91 lions, 356 leopards and cheetahs, 58 wild dogs, 1,397 jackals, and 560 wild cats. But more serious still is the damage done to crops. Wild pig, baboons, and porcupines work havoc in mealie lands unless constant precautions are taken, and efforts are made to destroy these animals.

The insect world also sometimes becomes the most formidable foe of all. Locusts, the curse of

the whole of South Africa, although they do less damage in Southern Rhodesia than in many of the other colonies, are a plague dreaded by all farmers. They come in their myriads and sweep every green thing off the face of the land; but their visitations are generally in the dry season when the ground is resting before the planting of the summer crops, and are therefore not as harmful as they might be. The British South Africa Company have made strenuous efforts to exterminate these insects by destroying their eggs and their young. The young locusts are wingless, and travel over the country, covering many square miles in extent. Locust officers are sent out in all directions to obliterate the swarms, and every inducement is offered to farmers to co-operate in the work, but the efforts of the British South Africa Company have been met with little support, as farmers feel that the task is too great to tackle, and cannot see that any direct benefit will accrue to themselves by destroying locusts which have already passed over their land and devoured their crops.

In 1907 locust-birds entered Southern Rhodesia in large numbers; they have insatiable appetites, and completely exterminated many swarms of locusts.

The British South Africa Company have done good work in their endeavours to destroy this insect plague, and it is a matter of regret that farmers refuse to lend their active support to the Government in this matter.

CHAPTER IV

FARMING PROSPECTS

Report of Agricultural Expert.—Mixed Farming.—Ranching.—Capital required.—Terms offered by British South Africa Company to intending Settlers.

BEFORE proceeding to discuss the general prospects of farming, it may be interesting to record the views of an expert, Mr. P. J. Hannon, Superintendent of Agricultural Co-operation in Cape Colony, who, in a report on the farming possibilities of Southern Rhodesia, says:

“It may not be out of place if I take the liberty of briefly putting on record my impressions of my tour through Rhodesia. Notwithstanding the fact that my opportunities for observation were limited, and that I visited the various districts when the season was at its best, I have still no hesitation in stating that from an agricultural point of view it is perhaps the finest country I have ever seen. I have from time to time during the past thirteen years been employed to investigate the conditions of agriculture and the circumstances affecting farming economics in almost every country north of the equator, and I cannot remember having seen anywhere so remarkable a combination of all those qualities of soils that in the hands of a capable and intelligent people are the essential elements of agricultural prosperity. On some estates I saw as many as four varieties of soils each in itself peculiarly

suiting for certain kinds of cropping, and thus affording a wide field of play to the experienced farmer for the course of his farming operations. I was astonished to find some of our most valuable English grasses, such as Timothy, growing with great vigour among the rich natural herbage of the veldt. In some of the beautiful stretches of valleys I saw arable land in many respects not inferior to the Carse of Stirling. Many of the large tracts of flat country resemble the great wheat and maize carrying areas in the Middle and Western American States, and I have seen no portion of the country which did not lend itself to the conservation of water and to what has come to be known in modern agriculture as dry soil farming. The country is, of course, in what may be described as an 'untamed state,' but the natural fertility is so great that with careful grazing-down of the present herbage, and the gradual introduction of valuable European and American grasses, as well as the preservation of the rich native grasses which abound everywhere, in the course of comparatively few years many areas in Rhodesia should, in my judgment, become the richest pastoral land in the world.

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"In my opinion the outlook for the farmer settler who is energetic and has a fair amount of capital is more hopeful in Rhodesia than in any part of the British Empire. The constant influx of go-ahead farmers will naturally tend to 'tame down' the existing herbage, and the result points to a condition of things not less encouraging than that which has taken place in Queensland or in the western part of the United States.

"The pasturage prospects are very bright, the native grasses being very valuable, with the pos-

sibility everywhere of steady improvement by the introduction of exotic grasses.

“Water is always near the surface, and facilities for small irrigation schemes and for the use of the water drill are obvious almost everywhere.

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“With the increase of cattle production and the possible enlargement of flocks of Persian and other sheep, the dead meat industry will shortly become a subject to be dealt with on a large scale. There seems to me no valid reason why, in the course of a few years, Rhodesia should not secure at least a portion of the dead-meat trade with British markets through the port of Beira. And speaking of oversea markets as affecting all Rhodesian produce, I strongly urge that the Rhodesian Government Agency in London should furnish commercial reports regularly with reference to the sale of every article the export of which might be encouraged. The local market is necessarily very limited, and farmers are frequently inclined to determine the extent of their work by the immediately apparent opening for the disposal of produce. The constant presentation, therefore, to their minds of the demand and price for agricultural produce in Great Britain should always act as a healthy stimulant. The enormous influence of market intelligence in the Australian Colonies is but too well known.

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“The growth of wheat in Rhodesia is at present limited, but experimental work in the thorough testing of rust-resisting varieties has certainly not been sufficiently exhaustive. I am satisfied that on a great deal of the mealie-growing lands the alternation of a wheat crop when the land is in thorough tilth would be profitable.

“Malting barley can be grown on almost any of the soils in Rhodesia, provided it takes its proper place in the rotation and the land is in thoroughly sound condition when the seed is put in. This, again, is a matter which in the first instance should be made a subject of experiment by the Agricultural Department.

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“In many parts of Rhodesia which I have seen, economic fibres, pineapples, ramie and rubber could probably be introduced as paying crops, but these and a variety of other tropical products should be in the hands of a competent expert having experience in tropical culture.

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“*The Export of Surplus Mealies.*—As there seems practically no limit to the extent to which mealies may be cultivated in Rhodesia, I dealt fully with the schemes now being promoted by the other South African Governments for the export of this commodity to London and Continental markets. The collection of corn, its partial grading, bulking of consignments, distribution of sacks, and other incidental work should be carried out by local Co-operative Associations acting with the advice of the Central Association at Salisbury, and subject of course to constant supervision by the Agricultural Department. It will be necessary to appoint an Official Grader at the Port of Beira, and no difficulty should be experienced in disposing of such quantities as may offer at remunerative prices.

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“I have gone very carefully into the question of maize cultivation, and after thoroughly discussing the matter with the best farmers in the country the

average crop may be taken as ranging from six to ten bags per acre, and the cost of production may generally be estimated as about, under existing conditions, 3s. 6d. per bag. Many farmers put this figure much higher, but no evidence has been submitted to me sufficiently convincing to show that excellent crops cannot be produced at the figure I have given.

“In the present state of European markets the demand for maize is constantly increasing, and the output both from Russia and the United States has a constant tendency to diminish, and therefore it need not be anticipated that a farmer may sell his bag of mealies at a lower price than from 6s. 6d. to 7s., delivered at the nearest station or siding. With anything approaching fair production this return ought certainly to be regarded as highly profitable.

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“*Tobacco Industry.*—No branch of farming in Rhodesia offers perhaps such a hopeful outlook as the cultivation of tobacco, but notwithstanding the excellent work that has already been done by the Government and its highly efficient expert, anything like a complete plan of organization is entirely wanting. In my investigation of the working of the tobacco warehouse at Salisbury this was quite apparent, and it is not an exaggeration to state that first class Rhodesian tobacco is still only available as ‘samples.’

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“*The Establishment of a Co-operative Pork and Bacon Factory at Salisbury.*—This scheme had already made considerable progress, and I found its organization in the capable hands of some of the most competent business men and go-ahead farmers in Mashonaland. I have advised that, subject to

given conditions, the scheme shall be proceeded with.

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“*The Manufacture of Cheese.*—I am satisfied that the most profitable way in which the large volume of surplus milk, which, it is stated, is available on many farms during half the year, can be best dealt with is by conversion into cheese.

“Dairying, especially cheese-making, as I have indicated elsewhere, seems to me to offer an enormous field of development. There is no reason whatever why Rhodesia should not become a cheese-exporting country, as with the existing opportunities of feeding, hay and ensilage, properly bred cows may be kept in milk for the greater part of the year, and the cost of production would certainly be as low as in any part of the world.

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“I am satisfied that a really live agricultural department, in active and constant touch with its own farmers and making vigorous use of all the machinery at its disposal to attract outsiders and give them practical help and sympathy on their arrival, would in the course of comparatively few years change the entire face of the whole of this vast country.”

Though the farming industry started in Southern Rhodesia in the early pioneer days of 1891, it has had so many violent checks in its progress by cattle sickness and rebellions, and so little encouragement until recent years by the British South Africa Company, that it can now only be considered to be emerging from its embryonic stage.

Farming in future will be clearly divided into two classes, general farming and cattle ranching. The latter class of farming will be confined almost

entirely to the raising, breeding, and fattening of cattle—together with possibly a certain amount of dairying—and will be restricted to those districts where cattle thrive but where the soil is unsuitable for the raising of agricultural crops.

General farming will embrace, besides the agricultural industry in its many varied and special branches, a certain amount of cattle raising and the breeding of every other kind of domestic animal.

Southern Rhodesia lends itself to mixed farming. The farms are generally a little more than 3,000 acres in extent, and in Mashonaland about 80 to 90 per cent. of the land is suitable for stock raising, and the remaining 10 or 20 per cent. for agricultural purposes.

As it is advisable to run only one beast to every ten acres, a mixed farm of 3,000 acres with 240 head of cattle on it, besides other livestock, suits the requirements, and fully occupies the time of a single farmer if, in addition, he puts 300 to 600 acres under cultivation.

Up to the year 1903 farming in Southern Rhodesia remained in a state of stagnation. From that date onwards there have everywhere been signs of steady and rapid progress and immense individual enterprise. Around Salisbury, where formerly scarcely a bit of cultivated land was visible, farms are now springing up in every direction. Cheerful brick homesteads with hundreds of acres of cultivated land and a fair sprinkling of cattle, sheep, and poultry are to be seen for many miles. The spirit of dissatisfaction has given place to one of optimism, due to the excellent results already obtained. But though the farmers are making good progress in their larger undertakings, their present tendency is to overlook the small details of farm life. Eggs, when scarce, often command 5s. a dozen

in the towns, as white settlers think that they have not the time to give to fowls. Pigs, native goats, and sheep are likewise neglected, and the vegetable garden is often ignored. Fresh butter is scarcely ever made, and many similar details, which add so much to the comfort of farm life, are overlooked. It is, however, almost impossible for a man, living alone on a farm, to concern himself with many of these particulars, as he has to devote the whole of his time to his native workers, the cultivation of his land, and the harvesting of his crops. Little attention, too, has been given to experimental work in special crops, as farmers naturally do not wish to risk much time, labour, or money in work which may be unproductive, and for this reason many have been satisfied to confine their attention entirely to mealies.

The cultivation of so large an acreage of land would not have been practicable with the few cattle left alive in the country, had it not been for the tremendous advantage gained by using disc ploughs. These ploughs were introduced into Southern Rhodesia in 1902, and have since almost superseded every other type. They are made with two, three, four, and more discs, and each disc, in a good day's work, is capable of turning over an acre of ground. In this way a span of sixteen oxen in a four-disc plough can plough up, without difficulty, four acres of land a day, where previously the same number of cattle, with the old English single plough, were only able to turn over one acre a day. The work also within recent years has been made easier for cattle, as it is now generally admitted that mealies do better in shallow rather than in deep ploughed land.

Many men start farming on too small a capital. It is impossible to lay down any hard and fast lines in regard to the amount required, and much depends

upon the nature of the work which the farmer intends to pursue. The tobacco industry requires far more capital than ordinary mixed farming, while the outlay needed for cattle ranching depends on the number and nature of cattle to be purchased. Some men start farming in a small way, with a capital of £500 or even less, and though they may come out all right, it means several years of hard struggle.

The farming industry has received an impetus during the last three or four years through the encouragement given by the British South Africa Company to intending settlers. The present terms on which the Company offers land are published as follows:

“PRICE OF LAND

“The price of land varies according to its situation (*e.g.*, proximity to railways, towns, mines and other markets), and to its general character. The price of unimproved land at present is from 9*d.* to 4*s.* an acre, the former being the minimum for grazing land. Irrigable land suitable for intensive cultivation commands a higher price. The price in each case is fixed after a careful inspection of the land.

“In the case of agricultural farms of not more than 3,000 acres in Mashonaland, and 6,000 acres in Matabeleland, of a minimum price of 2*s.* per acre, a rebate of five per cent. upon the agreed purchase price will be granted where improvements have been carried out to the satisfaction of the Company in any or all of the following directions, *viz.*:

“(a) for every five miles of permanent fencing (iron or iron and wire) erected, or for every three miles of live hedge planted.

“(b) for every 3,000 forest or 300 fruit trees, of approved varieties well established.

“(c) for every 200 acres of land which has been under general cultivation for not less than two years.

“The rebate will not exceed thirty per cent. in all.

“In the case of land purchased outright, the purchaser will be entitled to earn rebate within 3 years. The right to claim rebate is not transferable.

“HOW LAND CAN BE ACQUIRED

“Land may be purchased outright for cash subject to the fulfilment of a simple occupation condition, or it may be held under a Permit of Occupation with option of purchase for cash, or by instalments, at any time within ten years.

“In the former case the purchaser immediately receives title with an occupation clause, which is deleted as soon as it has been complied with.

“In the latter case the intending purchaser is in the position of a tenant of the Company until he has purchased his land, when the Permit is exchanged for a Title Deed. Until then he holds his land on the following conditions:

“1. He must actually and continuously occupy his farm for five years, either personally or by a European substitute to be approved by the Company, and must carry out *bonâ fide* farming operations as follows:

“(a) by the cultivation of four acres of land for every two hundred (200) acres of the farm; or

“(b) by the maintenance of two head of cattle or ten head of small stock (sheep, goats or pigs) for every two hundred (200) acres of the farm; or

- “(c) by the erection of farm buildings or other permanent improvements; or
“(d) by a combination of the above methods in suitable proportions.

“2. During this period he must pay an annual rent calculated at five per cent. on the purchase price, which is fixed at the commencement of the tenancy, but no payment of rent will be demanded until the end of the second year's occupation of the farm, the first year's rent being spread *pro rata* over the second and three subsequent years of the tenancy. As stated above, he may at any time buy his farm outright, or he may pay for it by half-yearly instalments of not less than one-tenth of the purchase price, thus reducing the amount upon which rent is calculated, and consequently the rent itself, until the whole of the purchase price has been paid.

“3. At the end of the five-year period, if he has not purchased his farm, he may continue for a further five years on the same terms. At the end of the tenth year the option to purchase under the original agreement will cease, if not exercised, but new terms may be made at the discretion of the Company.

“As an example of the above, suppose a 3,000 acre farm is bought at 2s. per acre and not paid for outright, the cost of the farm will be £300 and the annual rent £15, until an instalment of not less than £60 has been paid, when the rent will be correspondingly reduced until the whole purchase price has been paid.

“ PASTORAL LEASES

“The Company will lease blocks of land in the more remote districts for ranching purposes upon the following terms:

“ 1. The area of a block will not exceed 30,000 acres.

“ 2. The term of a lease will not exceed 21 years, the Company reserving to itself the right to resume possession of one-half of the land at the end of 7 or 14 years if required for other purposes.

“ 3. The rent will be £1 per 1,000 acres per annum, subject to re-valuation at the end of 7 and 14 years.

“ 4. The tenant will have the right to purchase at a valuation at any time not more than 6,000 acres to be selected in one block.

“ 5. No compensation will be paid for improvements.

“ 6. A lease may be terminated by the Company upon giving six months' notice of its intention to do so, unless the leaseholder shall within four years have placed on the land not less than one head of cattle or eight head of small stock for every 40 acres leased.

“ TITLE

“ Title to land in Southern Rhodesia is only granted when the whole purchase price, which includes cost of survey, has been paid. A £4 stamp duty is payable on the title deed in respect of any area up to 6,000 acres. Above 6,000 acres an additional £1 for each further 2,000 acres (or part thereof) is payable.

“ Title to land does not include mineral rights.

“ QUIT-RENT

“ In accordance with the usual custom in South Africa, a small quit-rent is payable annually to the Company by every owner of land. It amounts to 1s. per 50 acres or part thereof, or £1 per 1,000

acres. Under the law of Southern Rhodesia all landowners pay a stamp duty of 7s. 6d. to the Revenue for the receipt of their quit-rent (whatever the amount). Thus, assuming a farm to be exactly 3,000 acres in extent, the owner would pay an annual sum of £3 7s. 6d.

“ LAND HELD UNDER A TITLE DEED

“The following is an extract from the Lands Occupation Conditions Amendment Ordinance, 1905, and refers to land purchased for cash for which Title is given, unless such land has previously been ‘occupied’ under a permit of occupation.

“ . . . In all cases in which any title deed to land contains a condition requiring occupation the said condition shall be deemed to be satisfied in the cases following:

“(1) Whenever the owner shall have erected permanent substantial buildings to the value of not less than £250 upon land in extent not more than 1,500 morgen¹ or in the proportion of £250 in respect of each complete area of 1,500 morgen, provided that this sub-section shall apply only to areas not exceeding 15,000 morgen in extent and which shall be contiguous, and that any land held by the same owner in excess of that amount shall remain subject to the conditions of occupation unless and until such condition is otherwise satisfied in the manner prescribed by this Ordinance.

¹ In Rhodesia the Cape land measurement is used, land being surveyed and sold by the morgen. The morgen is equivalent to $2\frac{1}{3}$ English acres.

- “(2) Whenever in respect to each such area of 1,500 morgen the owner
- “(a) shall have maintained thereon for three years not less than 20 head of horned cattle, horses, mules or asses, or otherwise 150 sheep, goats or pigs; or
- “(b) shall have enclosed in a substantial manner and had under cultivation during three years not less than 10 acres of land; or
- “(c) shall have enclosed in a substantial manner sufficient land and shall have planted thereon and maintained for three years not less than 500 fruit or 1,000 timber trees; or
- “(d) shall have done and performed to the satisfaction of the Administrator a proportionate part of the requirements of each of the sub-sections (a), (b) and (c).”

CHAPTER V

CONFERENCE BETWEEN DIRECTORS AND FARMERS

Agricultural Associations.—Government Experimental Stations.—
Increased Market Facilities.—Land Titles.—Land Settlement.

UNTIL recent times the need for organization and combination was not greatly felt by the farmers, owing to the fact that the supply of farm produce was scarcely able to meet the demand, and the consequent lack of competition prevented the cutting down of prices. This has lately been changed, and there are now established a number of agricultural associations which are all affiliated to the Rhodesian Agricultural Union, and this again is affiliated to the South African Agricultural Union. Up to the present time the efforts of these bodies to remedy existing evils and to improve the general condition of the farming classes have not met with the measure of success which might have been expected, owing to want of unanimity among the members and the great distances at which many of the settlers live, which make it almost impossible for them to hear the views and discuss the difficulties of the majority.

In the early days the farmers resented the apathy of the Government towards their interests, but this is no longer a grievance, as the British South Africa Company has within recent years adopted a much more forward policy, and is willing, as far as possible, to act in conjunction with the farming community. The various agricultural associations might therefore

become a very important medium for directing reform and improving the agricultural industry. The sooner they combine the better, as many measures might be adopted for the advancement of farming interests. Railway rates require constant revision in order to facilitate exportation of produce, and great advantage might be gained by imitating Canada in the establishment of central stations for collecting grain, and in the erection of factories for butter, cheese, pork, and tobacco.

The organization of so many branches of the farming industry, the voicing of the needs of the people, and the drafting of practical and economic proposals can only be carried out by associations and a union composed of men inspired with the wish to expand farming in all its branches. The visit of some of the Directors of the British South Africa Company to Southern Rhodesia in 1907 brought the Government into much closer touch with the farming community. There were many important questions to be decided, one of the most urgent being the proper definition of land title on Gold Belt.

Another subject of almost equal importance was the necessity for Government experimental stations, to test new varieties of crops. Mr. Rhodes had in his will left £4,000 a year for Matabeleland and £2,000 a year for Mashonaland for the above purpose, under the following terms:

“I give, free of all duty whatsoever, my landed property at or near Bulawayo, in Matabeleland, Rhodesia, and my landed property at or near Inyanga, near Salisbury, in Mashonaland, Rhodesia, to my trustees, upon trust that they shall, in such manner as in their uncontrolled direction think fit, cultivate the same respectively for the instruction of the people of Rhodesia.

“For the guidance of my trustees I wish to record that in the cultivation of my said landed properties I include such things as experimental farming, forestry, market and other gardening, irrigation, and the teaching of any of those things, and establishing and maintaining an agricultural college.”

The settlers suggested that much might be done under these valuable provisions, and thought that part of this money might be used for establishing an institute for research work in rust-resisting wheat, for should experiments result in the discovery of a variety of wheat which could be grown in the wet season, there would be an enormous addition to the natural wealth of Southern Rhodesia. The Directors, in response to the farmers' representations, promised to reorganize the Agricultural Department, and also to employ one or more experts to travel about the country and advise the people on the growing of new crops. The farmers next pointed out the loss they were likely to incur owing to the smallness of the local mealie market, and showed that a further outlet was closed to them in consequence of the high railway rates. The Directors dealt thoroughly with this difficulty, and undertook to give every possible facility for the exportation of the surplus grain to Europe, and, if necessary, to erect elevators at Beira, and arrange special sea freights with shipping companies.

At the conclusion of their visit the Directors, in their statement published at Bulawayo, on October 20th, 1907, referring to land titles and land settlement, said:

“It is admitted that the present titles to land in Southern Rhodesia are complicated and difficult for the plain man to understand. It is also alleged that owing to the provisions of the Mining Ordinances a

widespread feeling of insecurity has arisen in the minds of occupying owners. It is therefore proposed: (1) to issue a new and simpler form of title, (2) to amend the Mines and Minerals Ordinance in the direction of restricting and defining the privileges of prospectors and miners upon occupied farms with regard to:

“(a) Access by prospectors with horned cattle.

“(b) Grazing rights after mining operations have begun.

“(c) Cutting of timber.

“(d) The use of water.

“A series of proposals upon the above points have been submitted by the visiting Directors to the Chambers of Mines and the Farmers' Associations, which it is hoped may form the basis of a compromise and give to landowners a satisfactory and attractive title, without unduly interfering with the mining industry. When that compromise has been arrived at, it is intended that legislation shall be introduced in the Legislative Council to give it immediate effect.

“The object the Directors have in view is to arrive at one common title for all land in Southern Rhodesia, outside the special privileges granted under the original pioneer titles of Mashonaland and under the Victoria Agreements in Matabeleland.

“ LAND SETTLEMENT

“Recognising that persons desirous of acquiring land have, in the past, encountered difficulties and delays, the Directors have taken measures to shorten, as far as possible, the period between an application for land and the granting of a permit of occupation. An Estates Department will be constituted, with an organisation of its own, to receive and promptly deal

with all applications for land. The head office will be opened immediately at Salisbury. This department will be an active, pushing, commercial department, similar to estates offices in more settled countries. It will be in close touch with the Surveyor-General, and will keep records of all available surveyed land, as well as information as to unsurveyed land. It will have at its disposal officials at Salisbury, Bulawayo, and probably Umtali (provided with suitable transport) whose duty it will be to assist intending settlers in the selection of land suitable to their requirements.

“In order to further encourage land settlement, it is proposed:

“(1) To reduce the minimum price of land to 1s. 6d. per morgen.

“(2) To accept cash payments for land when there is a reasonable guarantee of genuine occupation.

“(3) To grant rebates upon the purchase price of farms where improvements have been carried out in the direction of

“(a) Fencing.

“(b) Tree planting.

“(c) General cultivation.”

Legislation affecting the disputes between farmers and mineowners was passed in the Legislative Council in 1908, and is more fully dealt with in the chapter on Revision of Royalty, page 293.

CHAPTER VI

ANCIENT HISTORY OF GOLD MINING

Geological Formation.—Traces of a former Civilized Race of Miners.—Methods and Difficulties of the Ancients.—Comparison with early Cornish Tanners.

THE chief mining industry of Southern Rhodesia at the present time is gold. The mineral wealth was known long before the occupation of the country by the British South Africa Company. Missionaries, hunters, and traders had brought back stories to the civilized world of great gold finds and of the gold ornaments worn by the natives. Though the stories were greatly exaggerated and many of the supposed gold ornaments were doubtless only copper, yet it was an indisputable fact that there was gold-bearing rock in the country, though the richness of its properties was an unknown quantity.

It was not until after the occupation of Southern Rhodesia that the stories of extensive auriferous formations were fully proved. Unlike the Transvaal, where the gold belt is practically confined to one area—the Rand—Southern Rhodesia has its gold distributed intermittently through the whole country. The geological formation consists chiefly of granites and metamorphic rocks, principally schists. The rocks belong to a period much older than that of similar ones found in Great Britain. The general character of the country shows that great earth movements have occurred, accompanied by pressure

and faulting, and, as a consequence of these disturbances, the granites have intruded into the schists. In the schists gold may be looked for, but not in the granite, though it is often found very strongly defined in quartz reef at the contact of granite with schist, as well as in fissure formations. There are also gold impregnations. Further, in many of the more prominent rocks of the country, such as the banded iron stones, gold is found in quantities varying from a few grains up to one or even two pennyweights. Though in these enormous bodies such quantities are not payable, their existence offers a wide field for investigation, in view of the latest theory of the deposition of gold.

After the occupation of Southern Rhodesia prospecting was confined entirely to search for "old workings," *i.e.*, deep pits, now overgrown with shrubs and trees, the only remaining traces of the gold-mining industry once carried on by the industrious race which formerly occupied the country.

These "old workings" are not the only signs of the existence of a previous civilization, there are also many ancient ruins, chief amongst them being the great Zimbabwe. Much has been written on the subject of these ruins of Southern Rhodesia. It was formerly supposed that the country was the land of Ophir spoken of in the Bible, and that the ruins were of early Phoenician origin. Some of the buildings were said to be used as temples for Phallic worship, while others were supposed to be forts, forming a direct line of communication from the east coast to the interior, the purpose of which was to guard the precious metals during their transport to the coast against the attacks of native tribes. In the last few years attempts have been made to upset this theory, and since 1904 a fierce contest has raged on the subject.

Many gold trinkets and ornaments were found in these ruined cities, and the natural conclusion drawn was that the gold originated from the mines of Rhodesia. But even supposing many of the ancient mines to date from this period, it has been conclusively proved that all are not of the same antiquity. Pots and implements, similar to those used by the Mashonas of the present day, show that many of the "workings" are much more recent. Whoever were the races that prospected and mined for gold, and at whatever periods they entered Rhodesia, they carried out their prospecting in a very systematic and thorough way, far in advance of their methods of mining.

So thorough indeed was their search for gold, that until quite recently it was considered futile to attempt to test any reefs on which no "old workings" existed. It has since been found that there are certain districts in Southern Rhodesia which were not worked by the ancients, and within the last few years many payable gold reefs have been discovered within the vicinity of "old workings" but untouched by the former prospectors, these reefs sometimes even running parallel to and within a few feet of those mined by the ancients. The conclusion to be drawn is that the old workers never prospected where there was no outcrop, and that reefs untouched by the ancients, which are outcropping at the present day, have been laid bare by the usual process of denudation since the ancients left the country. Sometimes, however, "workings" to a considerable depth are found spread over an area of several acres, but in these cases it is difficult to understand what method the miners adopted, or for what they were working, as modern investigations have found either no reef at all, or, at any rate, not a payable one. On the other hand it is fairly evident that the ancients



THE ANCIENT RUINS OF ZIMBABWE

expended little labour in places where they got poor results. Water, also, was a great consideration with them in the development of their properties. When close to a river, they were able to crush and wash for a profit much lower grade rock than in places far away from a water supply; and consequently "old workings" which are some miles away from a river, particularly if they are large ones, are found to have been worked on reefs giving high values. Sometimes the work must have been stopped abruptly, probably by raids from savage tribes, as there are evidences, from the tools, etc., found at the bottom of their mines, that the ancients had made a hurried departure.

A certain amount of alluvial working was also carried on in ancient days, and even up to the present time natives wash for alluvial gold. But the physical conditions of Southern Rhodesia do not offer any hopes of large alluvial fields being found. What there are have been derived from the disintegration and weathering of gold-bearing reefs, the gold having been washed down from the hills into the valleys and river beds below. No doubt, as in the case of the Cornish tin mines, the earliest "workings" were alluvial, and the prospectors gradually traced the gold to the reefs from which they were derived.

The mining of the ancients was extremely primitive. They must have worked with slaves, and the actual cost of wages was the amount of food supplied to the native workers; but probably, even in the richest mines, they often found it unprofitable to work below a hundred feet. They were evidently confronted with the problem of haulage, and were stopped when they got down to water. They extracted their ore by large fires; then, after heating the rock, they suddenly cooled it again with water,

and the instantaneous contraction after expansion caused the quartz to split and break.

It is interesting, again, to trace a parallel in the history of the early tin mines of Cornwall and the ancient gold mines of Southern Rhodesia, and in the economic evolution of the two industries. The tanners of Cornwall first washed alluvial, and subsequently traced the source of the ore to the lode in place. This they worked by open quarrying, and when these quarries got too deep for handling in the open, they started sinking deeper and cutting stages at distances convenient for throwing up the ore from stage to stage. In a further step of development, they went so far as to cut passages or "drives" and to "stope" in a manner somewhat similar to present day methods. Later still they invented a system of windlass and leather bucket.

The history of the ancient gold-mining industry of Southern Rhodesia is an almost parallel one, its progress continuing along similar lines until it appears that the ancient miners became sufficiently scientific to enable them to sink shafts to a depth of over a hundred feet, and to "drive" and "stope" from that level. It is therefore probable that they also devised some method of haulage. It is curious and interesting to notice that the rough and ready system of mining carried on by the ancients is, even to this day, adopted by some of the small gold-mining syndicates of Southern Rhodesia in their impatience to win a fortune. There are at present a large number of workers of small properties. Some of these, either through lack of experience, want of capital, or want of foresight, have started a system of quarrying out the reef which is outcropping on the surface, and when the quarries have got too deep for the natives to handle the quartz with ease, they have erected a series of stages, and thus, by

open stoping, shovel the ore from stage to stage. It is obvious that with the continual rehandling in this so-called mining, the work becomes far more expensive, though in the early stages it may be simple and cheap enough. If the mine is ever properly developed afterwards, there will be constant annoyance from soakage of surface water, and large pillars of reef will have to be left behind as supports in the mine.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY MINING LEGISLATION AND ITS RESULTS

Mr. Rhodes' Scheme for Mineral Development of Country.—Influence of Legislation on a new Colony.—First Mining Law; Prospecting Licences, Registrations, Inspections.—Mismanagement by Mining Companies.—Early Prospecting.—Wasteful Development Work.—Agreement with British South Africa Company for Working for Profit.—Intention and Result of early Legislation.

MR. CECIL RHODES has often been described as a great practical dreamer. In imagination he saw Southern Rhodesia with its wonderful natural wealth, the fertility of its soil and the healthiness of its climate, already inhabited by a vast and thriving British population, and though these early dreams were not unclouded, and he foresaw difficulties, yet these difficulties were small compared with the relative size of the rest of his dreams. In looking beyond the stagnation and troubles of the early years, he saw that these obstacles would form but an infinitesimal part of the record of Southern Rhodesia when considered in conjunction with the rest of its story of progress and achievement.

He had a mind averse to detail, he acted and thought in a large way. The magnetism of his character held close to him a friend, like himself a genius in business, but one who, unlike him, while working with millions, reckoned in farthings. The two formed a rare and wonderful combination.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, in his scheme for the development of Southern Rhodesia, realized the necessity of inducing the speculating section of the British public to send their money out to Rhodesia. He foresaw the impossibility of the British South Africa Company, which he had floated, being able to carry out so great an undertaking alone and unaided. It was, therefore, a reasonable and politic move to give some encouragement to those financial houses which were willing to risk their money in a new enterprise. Unless he could offer some attractive proposition to these pioneer companies he would be unable to persuade them to place their money in the new country. He perceived that having once got a number of influential and wealthy persons to show their confidence in this new enterprise the rest would follow without any persuasion, and if the undertakings turned out favourably and a development of industries and agriculture ensued, the larger section of the British public, who take fewer risks than the more speculative houses, would also interest themselves in Southern Rhodesia and be willing to invest their money in established businesses.

The only solid inducement he had to offer was in the form of concessions; thus, for example, he granted to De Beers, upon certain terms, rights over all diamonds found in Rhodesia. To other companies he gave large farming and mineral concessions, covering extensive tracts of country, while others again received mining properties without having to pay all the Government fees. Broadly, the principle was a sound one; it encouraged the introduction of capital into the country, and accelerated the development of a new colony. But the danger of making a specific concession lies in the abuse of it by the concessionaire. A company is floated with the definite purpose of developing the mineral wealth or agri-

cultural resources of a tract of land, but if this money is diverted into other channels and the company in time loses all the cash at its disposal through bad management or company-mongering tricks, the extensive tracts of country which remain in its possession lie sterile. The land is useless to the bankrupt company and debarred from being developed by fresh enterprise. There have been many such instances in Southern Rhodesia, and from the early days up to the present time there has been a constant triangular struggle between the British South Africa Company, representing the Government, the mining and land companies, and the settlers.

In order that the difficulty of these disputes may be realized, it must be understood in what way legislation affects a new colony. Legislation, broadly speaking, in a new country must be entirely experimental. Certain definite lines are, however, laid down; with these it tests the character of its population; it watches the growth, the tendencies, and economic possibilities; readjustments and amendments are constantly required. The laws made to restrain a rebellious native population will, in time, when the natives become peaceable citizens, require remoulding to suit the altered conditions of their lives. Legislation in regard to land settlement, which in the early days supplied the requirements of a more adventurous and speculative community, a few years later must be remodelled for a permanent farming population.

Again, the laws affecting mining, which in the early days encouraged prospectors to seek for auriferous reefs, must at a later date be adjusted so as to encourage the recovery of gold from the mines which have been discovered. Mining, above all other industries, has to be carefully watched; its pulse is uncertain and irregular. The speculative

character of gold mining always allows the wildest and most optimistic reports to gain credence, and the British South Africa Company, believing that great and immediate mineral wealth could be won from the mines, framed its first mining laws so as to encourage prospecting, while at the same time reserving to itself a large share in the profits in order to recompense itself for the expenditure that it had incurred, as well as for its administration of the territory. As has already been said, many concessions were unfortunately granted to fraudulent or incompetent companies, so that the development of the community was handicapped. Legislation can do much to prevent mistakes being made in the future, but on the other hand much harm may be done by legislation which, however advantageous in the abstract, upsets rights and titles, or imposes taxation upon, or requires the development of properties which formerly were granted free from these burdens. The confidence of the investing public is at once shaken, no property is considered secure, and the credit of the colony is endangered. No doubt the freedom with which these concessions were made by the British South Africa Company was prompted by its belief in the great mineral resources of Southern Rhodesia. The Company expected to find a country which would quickly produce an output equal to the Rand, and which would draw in a large population to settle in the land, so that the companies which got these original concessions would naturally develop their properties with the utmost celerity. The British South Africa Company did not foresee the reverses from which the country is at length gradually emerging, nor that the gold mines, though plentiful, can in no way at present be compared with the Rand.

The first mining law of Southern Rhodesia was

known as the Mashonaland Mining Regulation, No. 1, 1890, and the rights to prospect and work mining claims were as follows:

“Whereas it is expedient to make provision for prospecting and mining metals, minerals and precious stones in the territory of Mashonaland. Now therefore, under and by virtue of the powers in me vested I do hereby proclaim, declare and make known as follows:

“1. The right of mining for and disposing of all metals, minerals, and precious stones within Mashonaland belongs to the British South Africa Company.

“3. Any person shall be at liberty to take out at the office of any Mining Commissioner in the territory aforesaid, a licence to prospect or search for precious metals within the said territory; which licence shall bear a stamp of the value of one shilling.

“4. Every person on taking out a prospecting licence shall bind himself to obey all the Laws and Regulations of the Company, to assist in defence of Mashonaland, or in the maintenance of public order, when called upon to do so, and shall moreover sign the following undertaking:

“I, A.B., having taken out a prospecting licence from the British South Africa Company, do hereby agree to comply with all the Laws and Regulations of the Company, to assist in the defence of Mashonaland, or in the maintenance of public order, when called upon to do so, and to obey without question all the decisions and directions of the Company's officers, subject to the forfeiture of this licence and of any rights accruing therefrom, and I moreover hereby acknowledge the right of the Company to remove me from the sphere of their operations if I resist such decisions or disobey such directions.

“Witness:

“5. A prospecting licence shall give the right to prospect and search for precious metals and minerals and no one shall be allowed to prospect or search for precious metals and minerals without obtaining such licence.

“8. The size of claims in diggings or mines of *gold, silver or platinum*, shall be as follows:

“An alluvial claim shall be in extent 150 feet by 150 feet, and shall be beacons off at the four corners with visible beacons and furrows in the direction of the claim; and *quartz reef claims shall be 150 feet in the direction of the reef and 400 feet broad*. But the claimholder *may follow the reef in all its dips, spurs, and angles and variations*.

“9. Every holder of a prospecting licence shall *have the right to peg* off one alluvial claim and ten quartz reefs claims in block. When he shall have marked them off, his title to these claims shall be inscribed in a Register to be kept for the purpose by the Mining Commissioner, and he shall receive a certificate to that effect, when his licence and exclusive rights as a prospector shall cease and determine.

“10. Every claimholder shall receive a Certificate of Registration in the form contained in the Second Schedule hereto bearing a stamp of the value of half-a-crown; Provided that no firm or Joint-Stock Company shall be entitled to be registered as holding claims except in the name or names of not more than two persons resident at the digging or mine in which such claims shall be situated, as the duly accredited agent or agents of such firm or Joint-Stock Company, and such agent or agents shall be responsible for all matters connected with the claim or claims for which he or they shall be so registered exactly as if such claim or claims were registered in

his or their own name or names as his or their property.

" 11. Every quartz reef claim registered by any prospector is held on joint account in equal shares with the Company, and every transfer, hypothecation, or lien of his interest, or portion of his interest, in such claims is subject to the right of the Company.

" 26. Every digger shall sink upon his block of quartz reef either a shaft of a depth of 30 feet in the reef, or a shaft of at least 30 feet outside the reef, with a cross cut through the reef. This work must be completed within four months from the registration of the block of claims, under penalty of forfeiture of his claim licence. But the Mining Commissioner shall have discretion under certain circumstances to extend the time for such further period as may seem to him reasonable.

" 27. So soon as the claimholder has done the required amount of work, as specified in Clause 26, he shall apply to the Mining Commissioner for an Inspection Certificate, at the same time lodging with the Mining Commissioner an average sample of the reef exposed. When the claimholder has given evidence to the Mining Commissioner that he has opened up a payable reef, and done the required amount of work, he shall receive from the Mining Commissioner an inspection certificate certifying that the required work has been done. If the claimholder shall wilfully make a false representation as to the work done by him, he shall be liable to pay the cost of the Mining Commissioner's inspection. Each inspection certificate shall bear a stamp of the value of fifteen shillings."

Every one entering the country took out a licence, and as only one was allowed to each individual,

licences became in great demand, and those who lived in towns either sold their licences to mining companies at very high prices or got a prospector to peg a block of claims for them. A prospector's life was at first a happy and a profitable one; mining companies wanted properties, they preferred "ancient workings"; but if these could not be found they were not over particular, and contented themselves with less certain indications. What they most required was a number of names of mining claims, valuable or worthless, to convince the shareholders at the Annual General Meetings that Southern Rhodesia was a land of untold wealth of which they held the first-fruits. The companies were therefore anxious and willing to pay large prices for the rubbish that was brought to them by the prospectors; nor did many of them trouble to send their engineers to look at their claims until after the ground had been purchased and paid for. It was a merry little game all round as long as it lasted. The prospectors got well paid for long and pleasant shooting trips, and the managers were given enormous salaries and lived in comfort at their companies' expense. It was a good life to live, with salaries up to £4,000 a year.

The London Boards had a better time still. They and their inner circle of supporters, having made a pretty little pile with vendors' shares and underwritings in their original company promotions, were now busily engaged in the profitable game of pulling the market about in whichever direction they wished it to go. Those immediately connected with the companies, the directors, London managers and staff, were also drawing handsome salaries, and wise were those of them who stayed for a moment to consider upon what shaky ground they were building their fortunes. These must have foreseen that with no practical results coming in the money would

soon be exhausted, that in time the faith of their victims must certainly be shaken, and that it would then be no longer possible to bleed them.

Perhaps one of the solutions of the difficulty as affecting Southern Rhodesia would be to permit of no flotations without special expert inquiry being made and submitted to the Government. Flotation of a developed mine into a gold-mining company should be subject to a Government mining expert's report on the justification of such a flotation, and the report of a Government financial adviser, who should have before him the mining expert's report and should give special consideration to (1) the proposed economic working of the mine, and (2) the amount of underwriting and the vendors' holdings. Upon receiving these reports a select committee should consider the wisdom of floating such a company, and have power to reduce or increase the capital of the company and add to or delete any of the proposed undertakings. In every case fair and liberal allowance should be made for the promoters of the companies. A similar method might be adopted in all other commercial and industrial propositions, the underlying object of the investigation being to promote genuine industry and to prevent juggling with the market over capitalization and misapplication of capital.

But to return to the subject of mining in the early days in Southern Rhodesia. There were two classes of men engaged in mine work in the country, the prospector and the miner. The prospector's life was the more inviting of the two. His wants were few; a shot gun and rifle, a plentiful supply of cartridges, a pestle, mortar, and pan, a hammer, one or two picks and shovels, two or three blankets, and a week or two's provisions. Such a man would set out from town for a few weeks on the veldt with half-a-dozen

or more boys carrying all his belongings. He lived in the open air, looking himself for "old workings" and making inquiries through his boys at native villages. When he found indications of a mine he put up his notice of "Discovery," and set about cleaning out the "old working" or making trenches with pick and shovel to find the reef. He marked out where the trenches were to be cut, gave directions to his native labourers, and sat down and smoked under the shade of a tree while the Kaffirs worked. If the boys came on any quartz or indications of reef, he told one off to crush the rock with pestle and mortar, and when it was ready walked down to a stream close by to pan the powdered rock. Sometimes he got gold, sometimes not. If he had luck and could get from a ten pennyweight show to an ounce, and had succeeded in tapping the reef as well, he knew that he would have no difficulty in selling right away to a company. With this thought in his mind he would pick up his rifle, call to one of the natives to carry his shot gun, and go out to look for his evening dinner. An hour after he would return to his camp just as the sun was setting, his native servant loaded with a small buck or a brace or two of birds, or perhaps he had shot a sable antelope, and all the natives in the camp would go out to carry in the bag. A few days later the prospector would move his camp some miles further on to look for more "old workings." If he were prospecting on his own account he would probably take the trouble to cut trenches and look for the reef; but if he were employed by a company he would very likely be able to sell without having attempted to find the reef. Then, a few weeks having been passed in this manner, he would return to town and draw a handsome sum as the result of his prospecting expedition.

The proving and development of mining properties in the early days was carried out either by contractors, who agreed to sink shafts for companies to a depth, and at a price, to be settled by the companies, or else the companies employed their own miners. Mining by contract was more usual, and a most profitable undertaking to the contractor. As companies in the early days were acquiring large numbers of claims, and it was necessary to get thirty foot shafts sunk within four months of registration of each of their properties in order that they might retain possession of their claims, they let on contract the sinking of the shafts. The contractor as often as not carried out this work without the supervision of an engineer, and if he were an unscrupulous man he would choose the easiest and softest ground to sink in, regardless of whether or not the spot chosen would prove the presence of a reef. As no engineer was likely to come round until after a wet season, he knew that by that time it would be unsafe to descend the shaft owing to the rains having washed in all the surface soil, and broken away the first top feet. The contractor, long before his work was inspected, would have received the pay for his labour and made a very handsome profit. Some of the engineers, too, who went round to visit the companies' mines, were often satisfied to report on the dump brought out of the shafts, without taking the trouble to go down and inspect the work, so that many of their reports were valueless.

It will thus be seen that there was an enormous waste of money all round, from the prospectors to the general managers of the companies in London, and it is not surprising that the funds in time came to an end, and that it was necessary to raise fresh capital to form schemes of amalgamation and reconstruction for the purpose of again squandering the

money in the same useless manner. It is not surprising either that the British public began to lose faith in Southern Rhodesia and eventually condemned it. That this state of affairs should have arisen is only natural, but from what has already been said it will be seen that it was unfairly condemned owing to the reckless manner in which money had been thrown away. The mineral resources of Southern Rhodesia were still, to all intents and purposes, an unknown quantity. But though the condition of affairs in many companies was as stated above, there were others doing good and solid work, and bringing some of their mines to a producing state. The Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, for instance, founded by Mr. Rhodes, which also held large interests in the Rand, was very well represented in Southern Rhodesia, and under an able staff of mining engineers was not only rapidly and economically developing some of its most important mines, but was systematically and carefully opening up many other properties throughout the country, and abandoning those which were useless.

At the first stage of Southern Rhodesia's development, when a mine was brought near a producing state, its progress was necessarily more difficult owing to the slow and costly methods of transport. All machinery had to travel up country by ox-wagon, and much of it was very heavy, so that wagons were often many months on the road. Owing to the delays, the heavy cost of plant, the high transport rates, and the large outlay in wages, mining in the early days was far more expensive than it is at the present time, and much greater capital was consumed in bringing a mine to a producing state than is now required. Considering the enormous disadvantages under which the more enterprising companies laboured in these pioneer days, it is very creditable

that their work was accomplished with such precision.

Under the Mashonaland Mining Regulations of 1890, the legislation affecting the working of gold mines for a profit was as follows:

“When the claimholder shall have received his Inspection Certificate, he shall request the Company to make a proposal for the flotation of his block into either a Joint-Stock Company or into a Syndicate further to test the mine. The Company shall within a reasonable time either make a proposal or decline to do so.

“1. If the Company makes a proposal which the claimholder accepts, he shall, on flotation, be entitled to half the vendor's scrip in the shares of the company so floated.

“2. If the claimholder does not accept the proposal of the Company, he shall be bound within one year to make a better proposal to the Company than that made by the Company to him.

“(a) If the claimholder does not prove to the satisfaction of the Company that he is in a position to make a better proposal, the Company shall have the power to float in the terms of their original proposal, giving the digger half the vendor's scrip.

“(b) If the claimholder proves to the satisfaction of the Company his power to float on better terms than those proposed by the Company, he shall be at liberty to do so, and shall, on flotation, give the Company half the vendor's scrip.

“3. If the Company makes no proposal for flotation, and if the claimholder within one year receives a proposal for flotation, he shall be at liberty to accept such proposals, and shall give the Company half the vendor's scrip on flotation.

4. If the Company makes no proposal for flotation, and if the claimholder within one year is unable to make a proposal for flotation, the Company shall be at liberty to make special terms with the claimholder for the working of the block."

Under the Mining Amendment Regulations of 1895, the British South Africa Company forgo the option of flotation of mineral companies under the following clause:

"It is hereby notified for general information that the following resolution has been passed by the London Board of Directors of the British South Africa Company:

"That the Company waives its present option of flotation of mineral companies, as laid down in its Mining Regulations, but retains the right of veto on any particular flotation, and requires application for formal consent before any mineral companies can be floated."

The gold-mining companies which were floated, therefore, had to give the British South Africa Company 50 per cent. of the vendor's scrip on flotation. In addition they had to apportion a large share to the parent companies which developed the mines, and they had to provide for the demands of the underwriters and company promoters, so that these flotations resulted in enormous over-capitalization, and very little working capital was left over for the actual requirements of the mines. Undoubtedly the British South Africa Company, having thrown open Southern Rhodesia and having undertaken the government of the country, deserved a very considerable share in the profits of the territory; but it was beyond all bounds of reason and fairness to expect to receive 50 per cent. of the vendors' shares

in all companies whose founders, after having gone through the speculative and arduous stage of proving their mines, had at length brought them to a producing state.

The British South Africa Company too had its consulting engineer who was at liberty to visit every mine in the country and could report to it on the value of all these properties. This special inside knowledge, therefore, even if it were not made use of, was a danger to the rest of the shareholders.

It must be said in favour of the British South Africa Company that the companies which invested their money in Southern Rhodesia were fully alive to the conditions of their agreement. But so optimistic is human nature, and so unwilling is the speculator to sit down and reckon the cost when once the gold fever has taken possession of his mind, that no obstacles, however insurmountable they may appear, will deter him from carrying out his ventures. But when the full significance becomes clear he at length wakes up to the fact that he is in for a losing game, and it thus happened that this 50 per cent. clause formed the first of a series of conflicts between the British South Africa Company and the mining companies of Rhodesia.

As individual mineowners were not allowed by law to recover gold from their properties, the only means at their disposal for making a profit was to float a company under special agreement with the British South Africa Company. But in the early days the contractors and prospectors who formed the individual mining community were making far too much money to do more than grumble over these restrictions on working for a profit.

Thus ended the first stage in the mining history of Southern Rhodesia. The legislation affecting this period was intended to stimulate the opening up

and development of the whole of the mineral area of the territory, and to encourage the wealthy companies by legislation and concessions to expend their money in the country, first for the purpose of acquiring large numbers of mining propositions, secondly for the development of these propositions into mines, and thirdly for the flotation of these mines into gold-mining companies.

Legislation also encouraged the prospectors to seek for mining propositions in order that these when found might be sold to the mining companies, either in a developed or a semi-developed state. It put a prohibition on gold production by the individual, as it was considered that companies backed by large capital would develop the mineral resources to better advantage than an individual with a small one. The principle appeared to be sound, but the results, as will be seen hereafter, show that the system was faulty. It has been seen in what manner many of the mining companies acquired their claims under this system of legislation, and the reckless way in which they squandered their money. It has been mentioned that the Government, under penalty of forfeiture, required thirty feet of development work to be carried out within four months of registration. But after this inspection had been effected, the law did not insist on any further development. As a result, thousands of claims were held by companies in the country unworked and unproved. That this state of affairs was most hurtful to the development of the territory can easily be imagined, and it gave rise to fresh legislation and a second great struggle between the mining companies and the British South Africa Company. It also opens the second period in the evolution of the mining industry of Southern Rhodesia.

CHAPTER VIII

INSPECTION OF MINING CLAIMS

Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1895.—Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1898.—Legislation affecting Development Work.—30 per cent. Clause.

THE mining laws of Southern Rhodesia soon proved to be inadequate. Companies and private people were handicapped in their prospecting work by the limitation which allotted only one licence to one man. The companies likewise bitterly complained of the enormous interest the British South Africa Company required whenever a gold-mining company was floated. The British South Africa Company, on the other hand, began to recognize that the mineral wealth of the country was gradually being locked up, owing to the extreme laxity of the law governing the development of properties. Round these points of dispute fierce contest raged for many years. In 1895 a new Mines and Minerals Ordinance was issued, settling temporarily several important questions. The law in regard to prospecting licences was remodelled, allowing any resident in Rhodesia to take out a licence to look for and locate a mineral property 1,500 feet by 600 feet in area instead of 1,500 feet by 400 feet, for which licence he paid one shilling as before.

Under the Mines and Minerals Amendment Ordinance, 1897, a further concession allowed prospectors to take out a licence, to be termed an "Extra Pro-

specting Licence," for any number of claims, "and in respect of any such Licence there shall be paid for every 10 claims mentioned therein the sum of £5."

In regard to inspection the British South Africa Company was not satisfied with the old legislation, which granted a full title after thirty feet of development work had been accomplished. It, therefore, laid down the following regulations in the Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1895:

"A Claimholder shall within a period of 120 days from the date of posting of his Registration Notice execute at least thirty feet of *bonâ fide* Development work upon his Block, and apply to the Mining Commissioner of the district in which such Block is situated for and obtain an Inspection Certificate. In each succeeding year from the close of the aforesaid period of 120 days from the date of posting of his Registration Notice a Claimholder shall execute at least sixty feet of Development work and shall apply to the Mining Commissioner as aforesaid for and obtain an Inspection Certificate. Every such application shall be accompanied by an Affidavit stating the nature and extent of the work which has been executed, and by the last issued (if any) Inspection Certificate in respect of the Block, and the Mining Commissioner shall, if satisfied that the prescribed work has been duly executed, issue to the applicant an Inspection Certificate, which shall bear a stamp of the value of 10s. The number of any such Inspection Certificate as aforesaid, whether first, second, third, or otherwise, shall be clearly inscribed upon its face.

"Failure to obtain either a first or any subsequent Inspection Certificate within the period prescribed therefor, or in lieu thereof to obtain either a

Permit of Concentration or a Protection Certificate, shall be deemed to constitute Abandonment of any Block in respect of which such failure shall have taken place. Provided, however, that it shall be lawful for the Mining Commissioner at his discretion in exceptional cases to issue to any Claimholder who may have failed to execute the Development work prescribed (1) a First Inspection Certificate on payment by such Claimholder to the British South Africa Company of the sum of £30, or (2) a Second or subsequent Inspection Certificate on payment by such Claimholder of the sum of £60, and provided further that in no case shall two consecutive Inspection Certificates in respect of the same Block be obtained by payment."

This was further amended in the Mines and Minerals Amendment Ordinance, 1898, as follows:

"Notwithstanding anything contained in the principal Ordinance, a Claimholder may obtain a First or subsequent Inspection Certificate upon payment, in respect of every ten Claims or less registered under the same official number, of the sums following:

"For a First Inspection Certificate, Five Pounds.

"For a Second Inspection Certificate, Ten Pounds.

"For a Third Inspection Certificate, Twenty Pounds.

"For a Fourth Inspection Certificate, Twenty Pounds.

"For a Fifth or any subsequent Inspection Certificate, Thirty Pounds."

Certain modifications were also introduced whereby the owner of several properties, who had accomplished a large amount of development work on

one block of claims, was exonerated from developing his other claims.

The principle of inspection was a sound one; it forced the claim-owner either to do work or pay fines. If the claim-owner developed his property, it was doing good to the country generally; if he paid his fines he was adding revenue to the Government, which badly needed money. If he did neither, the claims were forfeited and thrown open for any one who cared to re-peg them. As soon as a mine had reached a producing state, and the gold-mining company had entered into a special agreement with the British South Africa Company, it was discharged from taking out inspection, but was subject to payment of other fees. The principle, though sound, was liable to abuse. Inspection was often not fulfilled by the date required by law, yet the claims were not forfeited, and the whole system of forfeiture was carried out very slackly.

Influential companies, or individuals gifted with a power of telling plausible stories, could generally make excuses and obtain an extension of time in which to pay the inspection fees, the usual plea being that they had not had time to receive the money from London. In this manner two and three inspections, amounting to £60 or £80 a block, often fell due, and the defaulters were leniently dealt with, partly no doubt because the Government saw that the forfeiture of the claims would embarrass the London Boards of the mining companies, and partly in the faint hope that it might squeeze some more money out of the companies to augment its revenue. But as a result large mineral areas were being locked up for several years together which in the end had to be thrown open, since the mining companies could not discharge their liabilities.

The Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1895, which

enacted that inspection should be taken out yearly, was a great advance on the old law, which required no more than thirty feet of development work before granting title. There were, of course, thousands of claims registered and inspected before the Ordinance of 1895 came into force, and the owners of these claims hotly contended that the law could not apply to mines already registered under the old law; but it was obviously for the general good of the country that it should. Dormant mineral resources were of no benefit to the community, yet on the other hand the faith of the British public in the titles of mineral rights in Southern Rhodesia might be shaken. In order to make a compromise, the British South Africa Company, before carrying the law into effect, granted several years' grace for those claims pegged prior to the promulgation of the new Ordinance. When, however, this period expired, the contest arose again, and the Company, afraid to carry out its original intentions, adopted a hesitating policy until 1903, when it at length published its ultimatum, and on a given date declared forfeit all the claims on which the required inspections had not been taken out.

Though the British South Africa Company was entitled to 50 per cent. vendor's scrip, it had not fully exercised this right for some years, and under the Mines and Minerals Ordinance of 1903 it consented to reduce its 50 per cent. share in all gold producing mines to 30 per cent., thus taking a step towards conciliation with the mining companies. This was a much needed reform, and came none too soon. It satisfied to a certain extent some of the more reconcilable members of the mining community, but the general feeling still prevailed that the Company was retaining more than its rightful share.

The whole financial, economic, and political position had undergone a complete change since the pioneer days. The sudden rush of capital into Southern Rhodesia was succeeded by a period of waiting and expectancy by the British public, and a period of reckless extravagance and blunders on the part of those mining companies who had the management of the interests of the British public. At length, when their funds were exhausted, an effort was made to procure fresh capital by a series of reconstructions and amalgamations. In many instances the proposals were sufficiently plausible and attractive to raise part of the money required from the already badly-bled shareholders, and the reconstructed companies struggled along with little or no hope of showing any better results than their predecessors.

With the abandonment of the 20 per cent. interests in 1903 ends the second period in the evolution of the gold-mining industry in Southern Rhodesia. The measures passed by the Legislature were certainly progressive; they stimulated further prospecting, they forced the owners to develop their properties under penalty of fine or forfeiture, and by the reduction of the 50 per cent. clause further encouraged the flotation of gold-mining companies.

CHAPTER IX

THE RISE OF "SMALL WORKERS" IN GOLD MINING

The £1 Prospecting Licence.—Economic Reforms of Mining Companies.—Forfeiture of Claims pegged prior to 1895; its result.—Position of Individual Settlers.—Facilities granted to Small Workers.—Stimulus in Mining Industry.—Exaction of High Tribute by Companies.—Life of a Small Worker; its difficulties and encouragements.—The Lo Mogundi Basket Rush.

IN 1903 a new Mines and Minerals Ordinance was introduced. The original prospecting licence at 1s. and the £5 extra licence (which had been reduced to £3) were replaced by licences costing £1, which were issued under the following conditions:

"Any person of full age, and every duly appointed agent of any syndicate or company carrying on business in Southern Rhodesia, may, when duly authorized by the Administrator, take out at the office of a Mining Commissioner a prospecting licence or licences. Each such licence shall bear a stamp of the value of one pound sterling."

A number of mines now started crushing operations, and many of these had been floated into gold-mining companies long before the mines had been sufficiently proved. No doubt these hasty flotations were due in part to the clamours of the shareholders anxious to see a return for their money, and to the consequent resolve of the London Boards to risk

everything in order to put some of their mines on a producing basis. The results in not a few cases were disastrous, as several of the mines had not been developed much below the second level, and after the enormous expense of flotation and of erecting crushing plants, the reefs pinched out or fell in values within a few months of starting crushing.

But if the country was buying its experience at a high price, it had already begun to learn its lessons. Drastic economic reforms were initiated by all the soundest companies, and salaries and office expenses were reduced in every direction. The reckless buying of mining claims from prospectors was abandoned, and only those properties were purchased which were proved by development work to contain gold reefs, and which, in the opinion of the company's engineer, justified further investigation. Buying was conducted on a business basis, the time and work of the prospector being taken into consideration, and a certain amount allowed him for the property itself. Competent managers were also put in charge of developing mines, with white miners and fitters under them; thus gradually the old system of letting out development work on contract was replaced. Those companies which still let out work on contract allowed only a fair marginal profit to the contractors, who were not paid until the engineers had inspected the work they had done.

Many mines were making large and regular outputs, and a few companies were paying dividends. Thus it will be seen that at a time when the credit of Southern Rhodesia was at its lowest in England, it had already learnt its lesson and had begun to turn the corner. A fresh stimulus was now offered to prospectors. The British South Africa Company, as has already been said, wisely decided to declare forfeit

all claims pegged prior to the Mines and Minerals Ordinance of 1895, on which inspection had not been taken out. A storm of protest arose. The mining companies were loud in their indignation. Some of the more pugnacious threatened to appeal, and, if necessary, carry the case through to the House of Lords; but in spite of all their hostility, the British South Africa Company resolutely carried out its commendable action. The Company was in a strong position, as it had on its side relinquished a 20 per cent. share of the vendor's scrip in the gold mines, and could use its right to reinstate the 50 per cent. clause as a weapon against its opponents.

Though many individuals and companies at length took out their necessary inspection certificates, there were some thousands of claims still uninspected throughout the whole of Southern Rhodesia. Towards the end of 1903 all these claims were thrown open for the general public to peg. There was a considerable rush for properties amongst the mining population, and there were several disputes in regard to priority of pegging. It may be of interest to record one dispute which arose. The Mining Commissioners of the various districts put up a list in their offices of the claims which were forfeited, and stated that on a given day after sunrise the claims would be open for relocation. In this particular case there were at least four individuals and one mining company anxious to acquire a certain block of claims. One prospector went to the trouble of getting the exact time of sunrise at that degree of longitude telegraphed up to him the day before from the observatory at Cape Town. Most of the prospectors slept on the coveted ground the night before it was thrown open, and all the participators in the struggle were up and ready

a good hour before sunrise. As the morning grew lighter, the excitement became intense, and watches were held in nervous hands to check the hour of sunrise. The hands of the chronometer gradually crept round until at length the moment of sun-up came. On the stroke of sunrise several hammers within a radius of a few hundred yards were heard hammering in discovery notices. No one at this moment attempted to dispute the other's rights. The corner pegs were hammered in and the necessary registration notices put up. The manager of the mining company, in his anxiety to acquire the property, had posted a number of race-horses along the road from the claims to the Mining Commissioner's office. It was doubtless a picturesque sight, and one which pleased the eye of the manager as he sat in his palatial residence, built at the company's expense, and watched his last race-horse come in an easy first at the Mining Commissioner's office, nor did it diminish from the romance that at any time within the next sixty days he would have been legally entitled to the possession of the ground, if he could prove that he had been the first to post his discovery notice after sunrise. Of the five aspirants to the property, two had put up faulty notices, one had pegged immediately he saw the sun over the top of the hills, and was therefore too late, and the remaining two had their dispute heard before the High Court, the case being finally decided in favour of the mining company.

At the same period, viz. at the end of 1903, the Government strictly enforced the law with reference to keeping all properties inspected up to date, and showed no favour to slack companies and individuals. Those who failed to take out inspection certificates had their claims forfeited as soon as inspection fell due. In special cases, however, the Administrator was

given "a right to grant a protection certificate, each certificate to be stamped with a stamp of the value of 10s. in respect of every ten claims or portion of ten claims to which it relates for any period of two months, or portion of two months, for which it is granted." The practical result of this legislation was to ensure genuine development. But there was yet room for improvement. Claim-owners, on payment of heavy inspection fees, were exempted from developing their properties, and many preferred to take advantage of this clause. Secondly, the owner of several mining properties was permitted to take out inspection certificates on all his other mining claims if he had done sufficient work on one mine. As a result, one property was often developed at the expense of many others.

In the former case the British South Africa Company reaped the benefit of a larger revenue, and in the latter the claim-owner could create a monopoly over a considerable mining area; but in both cases the mining industry suffered.

It has been the endeavour of the writer in tracing the early history of Southern Rhodesia to define the broad principles upon which the British South Africa Company developed the resources of the country. It encouraged the large mining companies and wealthy houses by making them grants and concessions, and by legislating to suit their requirements. But owing to the reckless extravagance and mismanagement of the instruments which the Company used, the result fell far short of its expectations.

The general depression that followed the numerous liquidations of companies was the opportunity for the voice of the people to be heard. Public opinion condemned the attitude of the Chartered Company towards individual settlers. Up to this

period there was a general feeling that the people had been only used as tools in the hands of the companies, their opinion discounted, and all individual effort discouraged. No doubt to a very great extent this was the case, due largely to the fact that there were few independent men, few men not directly or indirectly connected with the Government or the companies. The companies were by far the strongest force, and as it was their capital which had effected the pioneer development of the country, it was only natural that the British South Africa Company should have been influenced by the strong representation of the various London Boards and by an equally strong voice in the towns of Southern Rhodesia (the mining companies always having access to the heads of the administration), and that the more distant voice of the individual settlers should scarcely ever have been heard by the Government in Southern Rhodesia, much less by the Board of the Chartered Company in London.

Individual settlers connected with the mining industry had, however, up to this time had little to complain of; they had made good money by prospecting and selling mining propositions, either undeveloped or partly developed, and they had made large profits by taking on contracts from mining companies. But the palmy days for this section of the community were over. Companies would no longer buy any but the most promising propositions. Many of the companies were bankrupt, while others had undergone a system of thorough economic reform, and were carrying out their mining operations themselves, or were letting out contracts at a very small marginal profit. It was then that the individual settler began to realize the injustice of not being allowed to work his own claims for a profit. The mining companies also recognized that mining in

Southern Rhodesia must be conducted on a very different basis from that of the Rand. They had hundreds of properties on their books on which a certain amount of work had been done and the existence of reefs proved. These reefs often carried high values of gold, but were too small in width and length, and not promising enough in depth, to justify flotation into gold-mining companies, as they would require a capital too insignificant to put the properties on the market. Besides these, they had other properties of too low a grade to support a fully equipped staff of white men and natives. It was, therefore, to the benefit both of the settler and the mining companies that the Chartered Company at length listened to the voice of the people, and under the Mines and Minerals Ordinance of 1903, introduced the following new clause into the mining law:

“44. (1) A claimholder, or his duly authorized representative, shall have the right of applying to the Mining Commissioner for permission to work for profit his block or blocks of gold claims not exceeding ten each with a battery or mill of not more than five stamps or other equivalent machinery (without conforming to the terms in Section 41 mentioned) on the following conditions:

“(a) The quantity of ore so milled shall in no case exceed 750 tons per month;

“(b) A claimholder may arrange for the crushing of his ore in a central customs mill of greater capacity, but shall not be at liberty to crush more than 750 tons per month in such mill;

“(c) No claimholder shall be allowed to subdivide his block of ten claims or less for milling purposes;

“(d) Milling from two or more blocks of ten claims each or less, registered in the name of the same claimholder, shall be permitted, provided the total amount of ore crushed from such blocks shall not exceed 750 tons in all per month.

“(2) The holder of any option, lease or tribute-agreement entered into with the claimholder, shall be permitted to mill ore on the above conditions on exhibiting to the Secretary for Mines the written permission of the claimholder to that effect.

“(3) A Royalty of two-and-a-half per cent. on the gold won by milling as in the preceding subsection (1) mentioned shall be due and payable monthly to the Mining Commissioner of the District when the profits earned by the claimholder, or holder of the option, lease or tribute-agreement exceeds the sum of £100 per month. In ascertaining the profits earned, remuneration for the services of the claimholder or of the holder aforesaid shall not be taken into account or reckoned.

“(4) Proper books and accounts shall be kept by the claimholder or other person or persons milling, showing the expenses incurred and the profits earned by such milling, and the Secretary for Mines, or other official duly authorized by him, shall at all times have access to such books and accounts.

“(5) Gold mining locations worked for profit under the conditions above set out in this section shall not be taken to be finally discharged from the British South Africa Company's interest or from work, but claim licences, as provided for by section 43 of this Ordinance, shall be payable as from the first day of the month in which such working for profit commences, and shall continue to be paid until such working for profit ceases, from which date inspection certificates on the location shall be obtained in ac-

cordance with the provisions of Sections 24 or 26 of this Ordinance.

“(6) If the claimholder desires to work the claims on a larger scale or to mill more than 750 tons of ore per month, he shall have the opportunity of doing so subject to agreement with the British South Africa Company as to its interest in the claims.

“(7) All milling under the above conditions shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary for Mines, and no such milling shall be permitted until his approval shall have been obtained.”

This was followed by still more favourable terms under Government Notice No. 212 of 1904:—

“Additional facilities to work gold mining locations for profit without proceeding to flotation, sanctioned by the British South Africa Company.

“It is hereby notified for public information that the British South Africa Company has resolved to grant the following additional facilities for working small propositions to persons, companies or syndicates, who desire to work mining locations registered in their own name or over which they hold an option, lease or tribute-agreement, from the registered claimholder, without proceeding to flotation.

“The conditions contained in Section 44, Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1903, whereby working for profit up to 750 tons per month is permitted, will remain in force, but workers of small propositions will have the option of working for profit without limit of stamping power or tonnage per month, on payment of royalty on the following basis:

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Output per month.	Royalty payable on value of gross gold won.
Up to 750 ounces	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
Above 750 ounces and not exceeding 850 ounces .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" 850 " " 950 "	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" 950 " " 1,050 "	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" 1,050 " " 1,150 "	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" 1,150 " " 1,500 "	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

"If the claimholder, or holder of an option, lease or tribute-agreement desires to work the claims on a larger basis than 1,500 ounces per month, an agreement will have to be entered into with the British South Africa Company as to its interest in the claims in accordance with the provisions of Sections 40 and 41 of the Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1903.

"Save as above set out, the provisions of Section 44, Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1903, will apply to small propositions worked for profit under this notice."

The result of this clause was an almost instantaneous activity in the mining industry throughout the country. Every prospector, with the knowledge that he would reap a distinct benefit from any fresh discovery he made, set about his work, not with the idea of trying to palm off some useless ground on a mining company, but with the genuine intention of finding a gold reef and proving it for his own benefit. Prospecting was carried on with much more thoroughness in every district, and many virgin reefs were found giving high values, and situated far away from "ancient workings." The new clause, indeed, not only opened fresh opportunities to the old miners of the country, but drew many people from the towns, and is at the present moment attracting a large class of settlers from the Rand.

The mining companies took advantage of the fresh

regulations to let some of their properties, exacting the enormous charge from their tributors of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the gross output, and only paying half the Government royalties. Thus the small workers and syndicates were forced to relinquish $13\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of their gross gold before starting to pay their working expenses. In a few cases the tribute exacted was much higher, and in some cases slightly lower. So the mining companies reaped a great and immediate benefit from this innovation, and by inserting clauses in their agreements with the tributors, they secured the development of their mines in advance of the crushing and the thorough maintenance of at least one shaft, so that by the termination of the agreement, if the tributor had proved the property to be of more value than the company had supposed, the company would still be in a position to exploit the mine further.

The encouragement of the small mines at once created a demand for properties and enabled the mining companies to keep up their high tribute fees for a time. Soon, however, as the settlers gradually opened up their own claims and made fresh discoveries, the demand for tributed ground became less, and those who had rashly accepted any terms which the companies thought fit to offer found to their cost that it was impossible to make a profit at the high rate of tribute demanded. The companies, therefore, were forced to lower their terms, if they wished to let their claims.

The stimulus in the mining industry caused a firmer tone all round; there were large demands for mining machinery and stores as well as for various types of small crushing plants. Properties were quickly opened up, and a variety of mills capable of treating from ten to twenty tons of rock per diem were dotted about all over the country. But the

work done by the individual settler, especially on those mines which were not subject to any special agreement in regard to development, was often badly carried out, in some cases through ignorance, and in others through lack of capital, laziness, or mismanagement. The engineers of the mining companies looked somewhat cynically at the way in which the country was being opened up, and predicted that when all the first levels were finished, the “small worker” would quickly die out; but the ever increasing monthly outputs, largely contributed by “small workers” themselves, is falsifying these prophecies. No doubt the small workers are learning that the most economical and the most profitable mining in the long run is that which is carried out on orthodox lines.

“All is not gold that glitters” may be said of the life of the “small workers,” and as they form such an important section in the community, and for some years are likely to increase in importance, it may be of interest to go into a few further particulars. A prospector, perhaps, after he has pegged and opened up a small property on which he has proved a fair tonnage of reef giving good gold values in the pan, persuades another friend who has laid by some money to join him. Generally they start with a capital insufficient for the enterprise, and from the very first it is an uphill fight. They cannot afford to employ more than one other white man, and perhaps some sixty or eighty natives. They have only been able to buy a mill which can put through ten tons of rock a day, though with a mill crushing twenty tons the gross profits could be doubled with very little extra working cost. The initial outlay of a winding engine has been too great for them, so they have been obliged to add to their monthly expenses by employing natives for hauling with hand-

windlasses. They have bought a wagon and a span of oxen, and "ride in" firewood for their boiler, and timber for their mine. The two partners and the one white employé live in rude mud huts thatched with grass. They feed together in one common mess, and they talk and think and dream of nothing else but the work which they have got in hand. The partner who looks after the mine is his own miner, timberman, mine engineer, and blacksmith. On him the mill depends for a constant supply of ten tons of rock each day, which often has to be obtained when he has a shortage of natives. He also has to walk two miles into the bush to see that the gang of native woodcutters are not shirking their duty of supplying firewood for the boiler and cutting suitable timbers for the mine. He has a few head Kaffirs who help him in the skilled work, and superintend the other Kaffir labourers. He starts his work at six in the morning, and is busily engaged until six in the evening, except for a hurried breakfast and lunch. Then he has two hours for dinner and a pipe, and at eight o'clock at night he calls out the "night shift" (the natives who work in the mine at night). He spends two hours in the mine, and leaves the head Kaffir to superintend the work for the rest of the night. The other partner takes a night or day shift from six to six at the mill, changing each week with their one white employé. When the partner who has charge of the mill has finished his twelve hours there, he has still all the secretarial work of the partnership to get through, and the mine books to make up, which keep him busy for another two hours. Such then is the typical life on a mine which has been started with insufficient capital, Sundays and weekdays continuing in unvarying monotony of strenuous work, month after month. There are good days and bad days; days when the work all runs smoothly and



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the machinery never stops, except for a “clean up” (*i.e.*, to collect the amalgam gold from the plate), when the amalgam weighs a few ounces more than was expected, and there is a bright prospect of a fair profit at the end of the month. There are other days, too, when the native labour is insufficient to supply the necessary rock for the mill, the wood is too green to keep up steam in the boiler, there is a breakdown of part of the machinery, the values of gold in the rock have fallen, and it looks as though there will not be enough profit to pay the working expenses for the month. Very few small workers have not passed through both experiences, and have not felt the pleasure and satisfaction of the former and the anxiety and worry of the latter. A day may come when the profits have increased sufficiently, and the mine is looking promising enough, to justify a further outlay on plant and perhaps employ one or even two more white men, and the partners can cut their work down to ten hours a day, and take an occasional holiday for a shoot on the veldt. The strain of the life becomes less, and they can spend a little while building castles in the air and contemplating numberless economic improvements which their increased profits have made possible. But on the other hand a day may come when the profits fall lower, until at last the two partners realize that they cannot afford to keep a third white man on the mine, and they themselves must work up to perhaps sixteen or eighteen hours a day, and this they do until better times come again, or until at length they realize that it is wiser to close down altogether and try their luck elsewhere. There are other mines backed by substantial capital which can afford to start with a fully equipped staff and plant, and these have a much better chance if they select their property wisely and lay out their money with discretion.

Of the many small workers at the present time dotted all over Southern Rhodesia, only a few are making tolerable fortunes; some are earning fair profits, but the majority are only just paying expenses. Many, in reckoning their profits, do not write off an amount monthly for wear and tear of machinery, and they forget to reckon their own personal time, which ought to be included in the wages, and so when their books have been readjusted, they find that they are not doing as well as they expected. There are others again who are losing money, and in time have to close down altogether. Several small workers, on the other hand, have proved properties sufficient to justify the erection of stamping plants as large as those of many of the mining companies.

In 1904 a rush was made to the Lo Mogundi district of Southern Rhodesia on account of the reported discovery of a marvellous banket formation of unknown possibilities. These rumours arose owing to the further development of the Eldorado Mine on which a certain amount of work had been done in the early days. The gold was found in a conglomerate rock, but the conglomerate rock of Lo Mogundi widely differs from that of the Rand, in that it has not only undergone a greater metamorphosis, but the formation itself is different, since the matrix which contains the gold consists of a hornblende schist and the pebbles are chiefly granite. In the Rand formation the matrix consists principally of chlorite and sericite, and the pebbles are of quartz; so that though they both belong to the class of rock known as conglomerate, there is little real resemblance between them. The fact, however, that they were both conglomerates, gave the opportunity of formulating a splendid scheme for catching the British public asleep. The conceiver of the idea was a man

who in the early days had made enormous profits by constantly booming the market and by manipulating the shares to his own advantage, but he had fallen on bad times in recent years. The British public were not to be easily caught over Rhodesian Stock, in fact they had for some while left any speculation in that country severely alone. Old tactics, therefore, had to be avoided, and new ones thought out. He gave instructions that the extension of the Eldorado Mine was to be pegged for several thousand yards, a most thrilling and dramatic act on his part; his next move was to let the news gradually leak out that a banket formation had been discovered in Rhodesia. The news was whispered in the Kaffir Circus in London, and rumours spread throughout Southern Rhodesia.

There was a mad rush to Lo Mogundi district, where the Eldorado Mine was situated, but by the time that the first peggers arrived, the ground for some thousands of yards in extent was in the hands of the company that owned the Eldorado Mine. Fabulous reports were already in circulation of the magnitude and value of this banket formation. The most optimistic expected that it would quite eclipse the Rand. No one stopped to make genuine enquiries, few even troubled to sample and assay their ground. As the plum of the pickings had already been taken, the rest must be satisfied to get what they could. It was like the good old pioneer days once more. Numerous syndicates were formed, some locally, some in London, and some in Johannesburg, and blocks of claims which were not worth the paper the transfer deeds were written on were sold for £100 each, together with a large interest on flotation of the projected company. Any one who pegged on the supposed line of reef, and who had an “ancient working” or could show an assay giving

one pennyweight or two pennyweights was certain of finding a purchaser. One man was so fortunate as to peg a block of ground containing a well which had been sunk some years previously for water. This having fallen in, was sold as an "ancient working." Every single inhabitant of Salisbury, outside the Government service, held an interest in some banket syndicate, and store-keepers, bootmakers, hotel proprietors, masons, mechanics, and business men began entering into the technicalities of the geological formation of Lo Mogundi with a knowledge and sagacity astonishing to themselves if to no one else. At the Mining Commissioner's office there was a daily stream of people applying for prospecting licences and registration certificates, and in a very few months, within the vicinity of the Eldorado Mine, a line of country, forty miles and more in extent and several miles in width, was bristling with beacons of companies, syndicates, and private individuals who had endeavoured each to secure a little nibble out of this wonderful banket formation.

Nothing was more gratifying to the conceiver of this project than to see how without any persuasion, but simply by pegging some thousands of yards of country, he had succeeded in creating an enormous rush to Lo Mogundi and an impression of its marvellous wealth. The infection spread to London, and the market danced up as merrily as could be wished; those who were in the know from the start had the opportunity of making large profits on their shares, and had only themselves to blame if they did not off load their shares quickly enough or lost money in endeavouring to play with men smarter at the game than themselves. It is over four years since that wonderful banket rush. The Eldorado Mine has now started crushing operations, but the

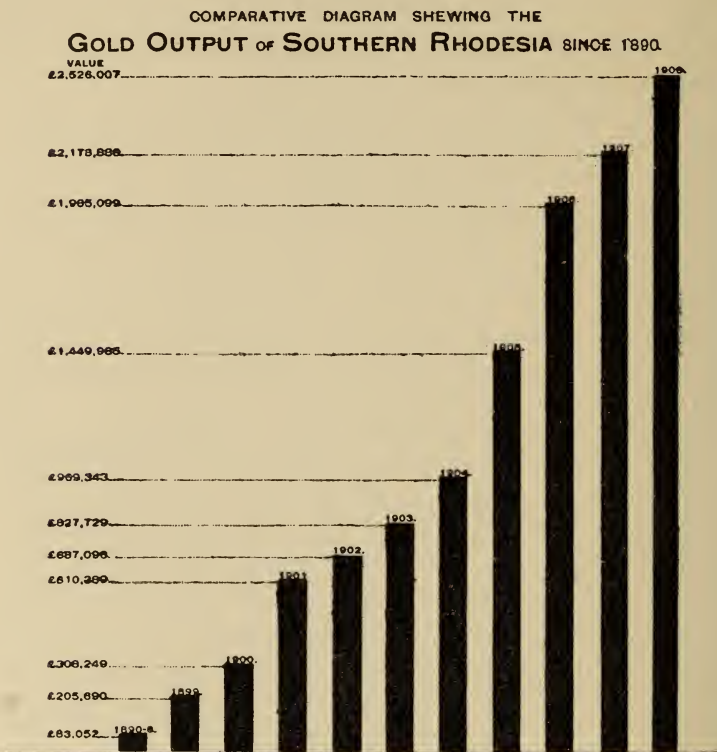
extraction is very much lower than was originally estimated, though the mine is running at a fair profit. No other property along that banket formation has been brought to a producing state, and little attempt has been made further to develop this conglomerate discovery. It is hardly necessary to add that if the Rhodesian banket had been a half, a tenth, or even a hundredth part as favourable as that of the Rand, its development would not be in the state of stagnation that it is to-day.

The evil of this attempt to boom Southern Rhodesia at so critical a moment on such slender prospects might have been fatal but for the strong and steady progress which was actually being made in the gold-mining industry, stimulated as it was by the introduction of the “small worker,” and the rapidly improving condition of many of the large mines belonging to the mining companies. As it was the boom again helped to shake the faith of the British public, and has been the one great and regrettable set back in the mining industry for the past six years. It is acknowledged by all thoughtful men that progress in the gold-mining industry can only be made in Southern Rhodesia upon most carefully thought out scientific and economic lines; that the mistakes in the past have been due to booming, over-capitalization, mismanagement, waste of money, bad and misdirected work; and that the future only offers bright prospects to those companies which are prepared to approve themselves to the British public by results, and not by expectations.

The attention of many men from the Rand has lately been directed towards Rhodesia; among those whose interest has been roused are some of the mine magnates, as well as individuals who, with a small capital behind them, wish to turn their money over to the best advantage. The people of Rhodesia

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welcome fresh comers to the country, but there is a general fear prevailing among the colonists that the Rand magnates may once again attempt to boom Southern Rhodesia, and the settlers recognize that in such an event a reaction is sure to follow.



TOTAL MINERAL OUTPUT OF RHODESIA.

GOLD 3,208,789 ozs. SILVER 729,103 ozs. DIAMONDS 7,020 carats. COPPER 220 tons.
LEAD 8,830 tons. COAL 596,799 tons. CHROME IRON 26,021 tons. WOLFRAMITE 60 tons.
SCHEELITE 46 tons. ASBESTOS 55 tons. ANTIMONY 14 tons.
ZINC ORE FROM NORTH-WESTERN RHODESIA 13,166 tons.

CHAPTER X

REVISION OF ROYALTY AND INSPECTION LAWS

Visit of Directors, 1907.—Conference at Bulawayo.—Discussion on 30 per cent. Clause.—Royalty system proposed and passed into Law.—Discussion on Inspection of Claims.—Arguments for and against Abolition of Inspection by Payment.—Legislation revising Inspection.—Conflicts between Farmers and Miners.—Passing of Legislation affecting Farmers' and Miners' rights.

IN the middle of the year 1907 several London officials and Directors of the British South Africa Company made a tour throughout Southern Rhodesia to inquire into the economic conditions of the country and to come into closer touch with the settlers. They recognized that many changes could be effected for the mutual benefit of the community and shareholders alike, and for this purpose they met in conference representatives of every section of the people to discuss the various economic changes necessary for the progress of the country.

The mining community was represented by the Chambers of Mines and delegates from the small workers. A Conference of the mining community had been held early in the year at Bulawayo, and resolutions had been passed embodying the desire of the Conference to set on foot negotiations with the British South Africa Company with a view to abolishing the clauses in the Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1903, whereby the British South Africa Company received 30 per cent. of the vendor's scrip upon flotation of gold-mining companies. In place

of this provision the meeting suggested a 2 per cent. royalty on all gold won, or a tax on profits not exceeding $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Upon the arrival of the Directors in Bulawayo a meeting was convened, and the various Chambers representing all the large mining companies of Southern Rhodesia presented the foregoing resolutions. A full discussion upon them took place, but the Directors pointed out that it would be impossible to entertain such drastic curtailment of the Chartered Company's profits as they proposed. The Company was in the dual position of a governing body and part mine-owner, and was obliged to consider both the administrative revenue and the dividends of the shareholders. The Directors refused to consider the suggested tax on profits, as it was difficult accurately to define profits, and they were not prepared to become the victims of wasteful management which had so often been the cause of Rhodesian mines failing to pay dividends.

Dr. Jameson, however, on behalf of the London Board, was willing to accept the principle of payment of royalty in lieu of the 30 per cent. clause, but not as low a one as 2 per cent. or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. as suggested. He put forward the following proposals for discussion. For the small worker with an output up to £3,000 value the royalty to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; for anything over £3,000 the royalty to be 5 per cent., except for low-grade propositions crushing 5,000 tons per month, giving a value of 22 shillings per ton, for which $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to be charged; for still lower grade propositions crushing 10,000 tons per month, giving a value of 16 shillings, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to be charged; and for properties giving a value of 80 shillings per ton, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to be charged.

The deputations from the Chambers of Mines

were, however, dissatisfied with these proposals, and expressed the opinion that the royalty was excessive. The President of the Chamber further stated that he considered that the new suggestions, if carried out, would stop further capital from coming into the country, and he would therefore prefer to keep the 30 per cent. clause. In reply to this, Dr. Jameson said: "Well, I do not know about that. Your Principal may. His occupation in life is dealing with paper and not with minerals. If you are writing him this afternoon, you might put that remark in your letter from me." Dr. Jameson's pointed criticism was a home-thrust at the evil which has done so much to ruin the credit of Southern Rhodesia. The representatives of the Chambers were the very same managers of those mining companies which had charged to the tributors a rental of 10 per cent. to 14 per cent. on the gross gold won from their companies' properties. Many of these mines had been leased to the tributors in an absolutely undeveloped state. Nor had the small workers been able to reduce this exorbitant charge until many had found and opened up properties of their own, and were therefore independent of the companies. Then, and then only, finding that the tributors were fast slipping away from their hands, the companies were forced to reduce their rates. These same company managers, who had charged $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and more to the small workers and had refused their requests for a reduction, were the very ones who now objected to the moderate 5 per cent. royalty suggested by the Directors of the British South Africa Company. In making their protest they used the identical arguments vainly put forward by the small workers, when these had attempted to reduce the excessive charge of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The Directors listened to the protests and weighed

the arguments of the Chambers of Mines, and after long and heated discussions drew up a statement of the final concessions they were prepared to make. These terms were submitted to the Legislative Council and passed into law in 1907, amending the Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1903, as follows:

“ Upon working for profit the following provisions shall take effect:

- “(a) Should the total value of the output of minerals gained by the holder of any gold reef claims not exceed £100 in any one month, the holder shall retain such output for his own use and benefit.
- “(b) Should such total value exceed £100, and not exceed £3,000 in any one month, the holder shall pay to the British South Africa Company a royalty of and at the rate of two and a half pounds per centum of such total value.
- “(c) Should such total value exceed the sum of £3,000 in any one month, and be the product of ore yielding not more than one ounce of gold per ton, the holder shall pay to the British South Africa Company a royalty of and at the rate of five pounds per centum of such total value.
- “(d) Should such total value exceed the sum of £3,000 in any one month, and be the product of ore yielding more than one ounce of gold per ton, the holder shall pay to the British South Africa Company a royalty of and at the rate of seven and a half pounds per centum of such total value.
- “(e) Should such total value, while exceeding the sum of £3,000 in any one month, be the product of not less than 5,000 tons of ore

yielding a not greater value than twenty-two shillings worth of minerals per ton, the holder shall pay to the British South Africa Company a royalty of and at the rate of three and a half pounds per centum of such total value.

“(f) Should such total value in any one month be the product of not less than 10,000 tons of ore yielding a not greater value than sixteen shillings worth of minerals per ton, the holder shall pay to the British South Africa Company a royalty of and at the rate of two and a half pounds per centum of such total value.”

The amended Ordinance was, as the Directors said, an experimental one, and, in spite of the opinion which the Chambers of Mines professed to hold, was a great step forward in the progress of the mining industry. The royalty system is a much smaller drain than the 30 per cent. clause on profitable gold-mining industries. It is also a step towards restricting over-capitalization, and it reduces the number of worthless shares in unpayable mines by abolishing the British South Africa Company's vendor's scrip. On the other hand, it also hastens the closing down of unprofitable mines, since the royalty system makes a monthly call on the gross profits, and if this most speculative industry is unable to bear a demand of this nature, it is not worth continuing.

The small workers gained a distinct advantage by the Amendment Ordinance of 1907, and were well satisfied with the change made by the Directors. The Directors recognized the good work done by this class of the community, which led not only to a largely increased output, but also to proving the mineral wealth of Southern Rhodesia in a way which

had never been attempted before. They therefore offered to the small workers even greater facilities than formerly, in order further to encourage this thorough form of prospecting the territory.

The question of royalty having been settled, there remained the more complex problem of Inspection Dues. The Directors recognized that the principle of taking out Inspection Certificates by payment instead of by development work, though it added greatly to the immediate revenue of the country, kept the mining industry in a state of stagnation, as many of the companies and individuals who held mining claims preferred to pay fines rather than develop their properties. The Directors therefore, in discussing the mining reforms with the deputations of the people of Southern Rhodesia, suggested the abolition of inspection by payment, and this proposal was met with approval by the majority of the settlers. Though the individual members of the community held between them 60 per cent. of the claims compared with 40 per cent. held by the mining companies, they were prepared to make the sacrifice of inspection by payment for the general good of the mining industry.

The Directors further proposed that the old system of using work done on one mine to take out inspection certificates on mines situated in other parts of the country should be abolished, as this concession had allowed one property to be developed at the expense of others. The Directors were in favour, however, of one block of claims being developed for the benefit of others, if the claims were adjoining one another. In these proposals they had the almost unanimous support of the individual settlers. But the Chambers of Mines, representing the companies, hotly opposed the proposal that the law should apply to properties pegged prior to the

promulgation of the new Ordinance. The whole question of inspection and work done on one mine to cover inspection on other mines was thoroughly discussed. The Directors proposed that claimholders should be allowed for the first year or two to pay inspection fees instead of doing work, and this was accepted as a right principle by the Chambers of Mines, but the Secretary for Mines, representing the Government side of the British South Africa Company, who also voiced the opinions of the majority of settlers, in giving his views advised the total abolition of Inspection by Payment, and further added:

“There are constant complaints that your country is too much locked up. If the period for Inspection by Payment is altered to three years, I should like to see such swinging fees exacted that it would deter people from locking up claims they did not intend to work. I must say I take very great exception to it. I should like to see the Inspection by Payment done away with altogether, in order to compel work. With regard to Certificates of Extra Work,¹ the danger of unlimited contiguous claims is that you may have sixteen to twenty blocks of claims all in one line. We should like to see these split up, then you would have more workers. Suppose you say it shall not refer to contiguous claims, but confine it to districts, a few men can get a number of blocks in their hands and do no work on them. They lease one block of the claims to a man, and he does everything, and they protect the claims by his work. My views are very strong on this subject, as I have had it represented to me, wherever I have gone through

¹ “Certificates of Extra Work” were certificates taken out by work done on one mine to cover inspection liability on other mines on which no work had been done.

the country, that the present system should be done away with."

At the end of the Conference the Directors gave the Chambers of Mines to understand that they would not interfere with the existing rights of claims already pegged, and that the alteration of the law could only be done by agreement. Contrary, however, to this decision, they published a memorandum containing the following statements:

"In order to prevent the locking up of large numbers of undeveloped claims, and to encourage the progress of mining throughout the country, the use of certificates of extra work will be confined to blocks of claims contiguous to the block or blocks on which the work for which the certificate has been given has been executed.

"Inspection by Payment will only be permitted for two years, calculated from the date of posting the discovery notice. The fees payable will be £5 first inspection six months after posting, and £15 twelve months after posting. During the second period of twelve months, to secure third inspection, sixty feet of work must be done, or the claims will be forfeited. All subsequent inspections must be obtained by work.

"With regard to claims located before December 31st, 1907, these new provisions respecting Inspections by Payment and the use of certificates of extra work will become operative on and after January 1st, 1911.

"Legislation will be introduced at an early date to give effect to the above provisions."

The Chambers of Mines, immediately upon the receipt of this memorandum, made a written protest to the representatives of the London Board, and

also called a meeting in Bulawayo, at which the President of the Chambers made the following statement :

“ Throughout the negotiations with the Directors we were assured that there was no intention to interfere with existing rights. It was stated that retrospective legislation affecting titles already granted could not be brought into force except by agreement with the parties interested. We were consequently very much surprised to find that, notwithstanding these assurances, the official statement issued provided that the proposed legislation limiting inspection by payment and the use of certificates of extra work, should not only apply to all claims pegged on and after January 1st, 1908, but that on and after January 1st, 1911, every claim, no matter under what title it was held, should be put on the same basis.

“ The original title to claims provided that by sinking a thirty feet shaft the owner could hold his claims for all time. It was found that this system was unsound, and a compromise by mutual agreement was effected, providing for concentration of work and the holding of claims either by work or by obtaining inspection by payment. Under this system any one holding claims and not working was practically fined, but so long as he paid the tax he maintained the title to his claims. It must be remembered that the development companies acquiring claims recognized that, owing to the uncertainties of quartz mining, it was probable that only a certain proportion of a large number of claims would eventually be found of payable value. It was impossible to work all the claims pegged simultaneously, and consequently the most promising were first attacked and the remainder retained, awaiting time and oppor-

tunity for working. No doubt there are instances where the system of taking advantage of the facility of obtaining inspection by payment has been abused, but even in these cases it is done under the compromise arrangement by the payment of a heavy fine. It has been abundantly proved that the labour available in Rhodesia is insufficient for the needs of the industry, and, notwithstanding all the efforts which have been made to obtain labour and all the money which these efforts have cost, it would be impossible to-day to work all claims pegged, or even contiguous blocks, without taking the natives away from the producing mines, which would be a catastrophe, not only to the white employees, but to the country generally. It will be noticed that in the case of claims being forced out of the hands of the present owners, whether they may have labour to work them or not, the British South Africa Company runs no risks in their interest, as the title to the proportion of the mineral assets is not affected by the proposed retrospective legislation.

“To my mind, the compromise made by the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes should be adhered to. I believe that it would practically work out the solution of the problem within the five years contemplated for bringing the new law into force, without in any way disturbing the titles under which claims are held at present. The proposed tampering with titles creates a feeling of insecurity and distrust, and establishes a dangerous precedent in a young country which still requires the introduction of a large amount of capital to develop it.”

The two difficulties, which the President of the Bulawayo Chamber of Mines pointed out, required most serious consideration. The question of how to obtain sufficient native labour to carry out inspection

work on all the mining companies' holdings was one which had to be solved, if the law came into force. It need not, however, have been described as an insuperable difficulty. In spite of the great deficiency in the labour supply, there is still a considerable waste in the use of native labour on mines, and more stringent economy in this direction could be inaugurated on most properties. Secondly, more labour-saving machinery and methods could be adopted almost everywhere. By the savings made in these two ways, a small gang of natives could be set free to carry out the development work of the companies' further holdings, and thus fulfil the inspection requirements of the Government. The work could be laid out by the companies' engineers, and each gang put in charge of a competent miner, who, on completion of his work at one mine, could move on to another property.

The second difficulty, viz., that the proposed tampering with titles might upset the credit of Rhodesia and prevent the introduction of fresh capital, was more serious than the first.

It was clear to all right-thinking men that the proposed amendment would put the mining industry on a firmer footing, and as all reforms require a bold and unflinching action, it was better to take drastic steps in a policy acknowledged to be for the general benefit of the community, rather than to adopt a halting, half-hearted legislation which would have to be remodelled after a few years. The effect of this new legislation on all old titles would neither create a precedent in Southern Rhodesia, nor probably influence to any great extent the investing British public. The Directors of the British South Africa Company and the people of Southern Rhodesia, though unwilling to tamper with titles or upset the credit of the country, could not but see that in a new territory,

where legislation is necessarily tentative, progressive changes had to be made to bring the old legislation into line with the new.

This important question, whether or no the proposed law in regard to inspection should apply to claims pegged prior to its promulgation, led to considerable correspondence with the Chambers of Mines and the representatives of the London Board. The London Board finally replied as follows:

“There is no intention on the part of the Directors to make this a Government question, and we can assure you that it is our intention to leave legislation upon it entirely in the hands of the elected members of the Legislative Council. On this point the nominated members¹ will be requested not to vote.”

The attempt by the Chambers of Mines to frustrate the carrying out of the amended Ordinance on Inspection was thereby doomed. Shortly afterwards a general election was held, and on the issue of this point in the policy of the country the election was mainly fought. The majority of the people were strongly in favour of the new amendment to the Ordinance.

The Legislative Council, soon after the departure of the Directors of the British South Africa Company, passed a law based on the proposals of the Directors with reference to claims pegged *after January 1st, 1908*. The law was as follows:

“1. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the ‘Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1903,’ hereinafter called the said Ordinance, the holder of any block or location other than coal

¹ “Nominated Members” *i.e.* members of the Legislative Council appointed by the British South Africa Company. The Nominated Members prior to 1908 formed a majority in the Council.

registered upon or subsequently to the 1st day of January, 1908, not being a block or location located on reserved lands, shall within a period of six calendar months from the date of the registration of such block or location, execute at least thirty feet of development work upon such block or location, and apply to the Mining Commissioner and obtain an inspection certificate: should he have failed to execute such work he may obtain an inspection certificate to be called a first inspection certificate, on payment of the sum of £5.

“2. Within the next succeeding six months he shall execute at least thirty feet of development work upon the said block or location, and apply for and obtain a second inspection certificate therefor: should he have failed to execute such work he may obtain a second inspection certificate on payment of the sum of £15.

“3. For each succeeding year, beginning from the expiry of the first year after the date of such registration, the holder of such block or location shall execute at least sixty feet of development work upon such block or location, and apply for and obtain an inspection certificate therefor.

“4. Should he fail to obtain any inspection certificate within any prescribed period the block of claims or location in respect of which such failure has taken place shall be liable to forfeiture.”

But the fate of claims pegged prior to January 1st, 1908, was still undecided, and it was on this question that the General Election of 1908 was fought. The election resulted in the defeat of the Chambers of Mines and the instalment in the new Council of members pledged to progressive measures. The Directors had promised that their own nominees in the Legislative Council should not vote on the vexed

question of inspection. It therefore fell to the elected members only to pass the measures on this important subject. The result of their deliberations resulted in the following new Ordinance:

“ 18. The holder of a block or location registered prior to the 1st day of January, 1908, not being a block or location located upon reserved lands, may obtain an inspection certificate for every ten claims or portion of ten claims for the inspection immediately next falling due after the 1st day of January, 1913, on payment of the sum of £5, and the like inspection certificate next subsequent to that on payment of the sum of £15. In each succeeding year subsequent to such second period he shall only obtain inspection by the execution of such work as is prescribed by section 24 of the ‘Mines and Minerals Ordinance, 1903.’

“ 20. On and after the 1st day of January, 1913, the provisions of section 7 of the ‘Mines and Minerals Ordinance Amendment Ordinance, 1907,’ regarding certificates of extra work, shall apply to blocks and locations which were registered prior to the 1st day of January, 1908.”

The above measure was one of the most important steps taken towards forcing the gold-mining industry in a progressive direction. It involved a general sacrifice all round, which will later be amply repaid by reducing the artificial prosperity and increasing the solidity of the industry. The general settlers and the Directors were unanimous in their conviction of the benefit the legislation would confer. The former sacrificed the option of being able to pay a fine instead of working their properties, the latter sacrificed the large revenue that they had formerly reaped from these fines. The representatives of the mining companies alone protested. Some genuinely

believed that the credit of Southern Rhodesia would be at stake in the European market by such revolutionary measures, others recognized that the opportunities for floating off unproved mining claims on the British public were gradually slipping from their hands, and that legislation was restricting the chances for company-mongering manipulations and the rushing of wild-cat schemes on the market. In the future they would at least have to offer properties on which a certain amount of development work had been done, even though this development proved no payable reef. If the British public refused to bite, the companies would only hold those claims which justified further development.

One of the last questions discussed between the Directors and the representatives of the people was the conflicting rights between the mining community and the farmers. The farmers had four distinct grievances against the mining community.

1. They objected to prospectors taking horned cattle over the country and on to private land, because they feared the possibility of these cattle spreading contagious diseases amongst their own beasts. Since the outbreak of African Coast fever amongst the cattle of Southern Rhodesia, all the farmers, assisted by the Government, had very jealously guarded their cattle, and carried out a system of isolation, which had proved the only means of stamping out the disease. They naturally feared any slackness in the Mining Law which might lead to a fresh outbreak of the sickness.

2. They also, for the same reason, objected to mine owners having more or less uncontrolled right of grazing on farm lands.

3. They resented the indiscriminate cutting down of timber upon their farms.

4. They felt themselves put to a disadvantage by

the water rights granted to the mine owners under the Mines and Minerals Ordinance.

As these questions were disputes between the settlers themselves, the Board of the British South Africa Company could only offer to arbitrate in the matter, and in this capacity put forward proposals as a basis of agreement. Their arbitration was accepted and the matter thrashed out between the conflicting parties. Eventually the following Ordinances were passed by the Legislative Council in 1908.

To the prospector was given "The right of grazing, free of charge, upon any land in the vicinity of his operations and open to prospecting, not more than twenty draught animals free from contagious or infectious disease provided that he shall not introduce or take any horned cattle upon occupied land without the consent of the occupier of such land."

Upon the mine owner was conferred: "The right of grazing upon land open to prospecting such draught animals, including horned cattle, as may be necessary for the proper working of his location, upon payment to the occupier at the rate of one shilling per month for each and every animal so grazed.

"5. Should it be found that the miner is unable to thoroughly and efficiently herd and control the stock necessary for the working of his location, so as to prevent it mingling with or grazing with the stock of the occupier of the land, he shall, if so requested to do by the occupier of the land, fence off from the said land an area sufficient for the grazing of his stock.

"6. The miner shall supply the materials and erect any such fence, and on completion thereof the occupier shall pay to the miner half of the total cost of such materials and erection.

"7. Upon completion of any such fence the same shall be and become the property of the owner of

the land upon which it is erected, and shall not be removed so long as the location in relation to which it was erected remains current.

“8. During such time as the land enclosed by any such fence is being used by the miner all the necessary repairs to such fence shall be made by him at the joint cost of himself and the occupier.”

The right to cut wood was conferred on both prospectors and mine owners, as follows:

“The right of taking for domestic use, or for the purpose of his mining location, indigenous wood or timber in regard to which no reservation shall have been made by the Mining Commissioner;

“(a) From the land within his location, and from private land, or land held under permit of occupation and open to prospecting upon payment to the owner of the land of such price or compensation as may be fixed from time to time by regulations framed by the Administrator, and subject to such conditions as may from time to time be imposed by such regulations;

“(b) Upon any other land of the British South Africa Company upon which his location may be situated, or which is open to prospecting free of charge.”

The following legislation was also carried into effect with reference to water rights :

“The use of any water, which may be naturally flowing on or by any land to which the landowner may have the right of user, may be granted to any miner or miners requiring the use of the same for mining purposes, upon such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon. In the event of the

miner and landowner being unable to agree, the matter in dispute shall be referred to arbitration in terms of the 'Lands and Arbitrations Clauses Act, 1882,' of the Cape of Good Hope.

" 13. The arbitrator or arbitrators shall consider and decide as to the quantity actually and necessarily required by the miner, and shall allot the same to him; provided

"(1) That in allotting the use of any water which may be naturally flowing on or by any land, the necessities of the occupier or owner in actual occupation in respect of water for domestic use, for stock and irrigation of cultivated land, shall be first taken into consideration, and that if sufficient surplus of water exists after satisfying such necessities, the right of use of such surplus shall be granted by the arbitrator or arbitrators to the miner without payment of any compensation.

"(2) That in the event of the water supply being limited, the arbitrator or arbitrators shall take first into consideration the necessities of the occupier or owner in actual occupation in respect of water for domestic use and for stock, and shall order the miner to pay the owner such compensation by way of annual rental or commuted sum as shall in their opinion represent the amount by which the value of the land has been diminished to the owner, owing to his being deprived in whole or part of any water required by him for irrigation and for driving any mill or machinery by him already erected.

"(3) That in no case shall any property right or ownership in such water as is allocated be

conferred on the miner, but upon transfer of the claims for which the use of water has been granted, the right to use the water in similar manner and quantity shall pass with the claims.

- “(4) Should another miner require water from the same source of supply as that already dealt with by agreement or order of the arbitrator or arbitrators, he may, failing agreement with owner, apply to the arbitrator or arbitrators for a grant of the use of so much water as he requires, and the above rules regarding an original application for water shall apply to such subsequent application.
- “(5) In the making of allocation of water the arbitrator or arbitrators shall order the miner to pay the reasonable costs of any necessary enquiry held by them, unless for good and sufficient reasons the arbitrator or arbitrators shall order otherwise.

“16. Water may be taken by a miner from any source or supply existing upon or flowing over land which is both unalienated and unoccupied, free of charge under such conditions as may in each case be prescribed by the Secretary for Mines.”

The visit of the Directors of the British South Africa Company to Southern Rhodesia and the first mining legislation passed by the new Legislative Council of 1908 brings the record of the mining industry up to the present day. The writer has endeavoured to trace the various phases through which this industry has passed and its gradual evolution and increasing prosperity through the seventeen years of its existence. That the progress has been due to the lessons taught by past mistakes forms no small factor in the present soundness of the industry.

Mining companies have learnt not only to reorganize the whole economic working of their mines, and thus bring their rock to the mill much more cheaply than formerly, but the whole work is done in a far more efficient manner. The expenses and salaries at the head offices in Southern Rhodesia have also been reduced to reasonable limits. The rise of the small workers has not only added to the gold production of the country, but has enabled Southern Rhodesia to be prospected in a more thorough manner than could have been done in any other way. Lastly, the mining legislation of the country has passed from the early rough and ready laws with their somewhat narrowing limitations, through gradual stages of progress widening out and becoming more comprehensive, until it has reached a point where it offers encouragement both to individuals and to companies, and stimulates the introduction of further capital for fresh enterprise. At the same time it deals severely with all those mine owners who are backward in the development of their properties, and forces them either to relinquish their mining claims, or else to open up their properties for the benefit both of the owners themselves and of the community in general.

Notwithstanding all reverses, the gold output of Southern Rhodesia has advanced by leaps and bounds, until it has now become the fourth greatest gold producing colony of the British Empire, and will probably soon overtake at least one of the other three.

CHAPTER XI

MINERALS OTHER THAN GOLD

Coal.—Silver.—Copper.—Iron.—Lead.—Antimony.—Asbestos, etc.—Legislation affecting mining Base Metals.—Diamonds and other Precious Stones.—Restriction on working Diamonds.

THOUGH the recovery of gold is the chief mining industry of Southern Rhodesia at the present day, the country offers great possibilities for finding many other valuable minerals. The existence of a large number of base metals has already been proved, and some of these when worked under favourable conditions have been found to be of considerable commercial importance.

Coal, the chief of all minerals, has been discovered in many parts of the territory. The largest known field is at Wankie, and ever since 1903, when the railway from Bulawayo to Victoria Falls reached the colliery, it has been rapidly increasing its output. The seams are thick, and of a better quality of steam coal than any other in South Africa. The value of the coal is enhanced as it makes excellent coke. It belongs to the Permian age, and the formation can be traced in a broken line through the south of Matabeleland as well as through the whole of the north. The British South Africa Company holds a large interest in the Wankie Colliery, and uses the coal on the whole of its railway system, besides securing in 1908 a large contract for the Wankie Coalfields from the Cape Government Railways. The demand for coal will be greatly increased, as it

is anticipated that the Broken Hill and Katanga copper mines will require a considerable quantity for their smelting operations. Only a few gold mines at present use coal for fuel instead of wood, and these are in districts where all the forest land has been cleared of timber, and where wood therefore is unobtainable, nor is it probable that gold-mining companies will burn coal for some time to come as the high price it commands, owing to lack of competition, forbids it.

Except for the Wankies, the large areas of Southern Rhodesia where coal is likely to be found have been little prospected, as no branch lines have yet been extended to tap these districts. The Wankie coal supply, which for 1908 amounted to 164,114 tons, is at present more than sufficient to meet the demands.

Silver is always found in Southern Rhodesia as a by-product in the recovery of gold. Over three-quarters of a million ounces to date have been produced in the country.

Copper occurs in many districts of Southern Rhodesia, both as native copper and also as sulphides and carbonates, as well as in other combinations. The ore is often very rich, though irregular in value: sometimes the encasing walls contain 3 and 4 per cent. of copper, and under favourable economic conditions these enormous bodies could be worked for a profit. It is necessary, however, that coal should be found in their immediate neighbourhood in order that smelting furnaces may be established at the mines, and the ores reduced to a sufficiently small bulk and purity to allow a profit after payment of railage to the coast and shipment to England. From the geological formation it is probable that coal seams do occur at no great distance from these low grade copper properties. Copper already forms one of the mineral outputs of Southern Rhodesia, but chiefly as a by-product in the recovery of gold.

Iron in many forms is found throughout Southern Rhodesia, and is constantly met with as banded iron stone or ferruginous schists. Though the metal is of such enormous use, it cannot be worked on a commercial basis to any extent for some years, owing to the low price which it commands. Iron mining, therefore, can only be carried on profitably in the country under the most favourable conditions. The ore occurs in many varieties, such as magnetite, haematite, and limonite, and forms from 60 per cent. to 70 per cent. of the constituents of the rock.

Chromite or chrome iron is also found in many districts. Over 25,000 tons of this ore are annually shipped to England from Southern Rhodesia, but the low price it commands only permits of this industry being carried on when a mine is in the immediate vicinity of a railway.

Tungsten is of considerable commercial value, and is found in many parts of the country as Wolfram or tungstate of iron and manganese, and as Scheelite or tungstate of lime. Both ores contribute towards the mineral export of Southern Rhodesia.

Lead is also widely distributed through Southern Rhodesia, chiefly as galena, but the quantities are generally insignificant, and it is usually a by-product in the recovery of gold. The total tonnage produced up to the end of 1908 was 3,630.

Antimony occurs in several districts, and is sometimes associated with gold and silver. A certain number of workable deposits have been proved in Matabeleland, and a considerable quantity of the ore is annually mined and shipped to England.

Asbestos has been discovered both as chrysolite and as a form of hornblende. It is often found in payable quantities, and already contributes towards the mineral output of the country.

Besides the above-mentioned minerals, cobalt, molybdenum, magnesite, mica, zinc, and many other ores are found in various districts of Southern Rhodesia, some forming only a small constituent to the rock to which they belong, others, again, being in quantities of considerable economic value, but whether in payable or in unpayable forms, they offer a wide field for research, and splendid opportunities for further investigation of the industrial resources of this great territory.

The visit of the Directors of the British South Africa Company to Southern Rhodesia in 1907 provided the much-needed opportunity for the representatives of the Chambers of Mines to discuss with the Directors the terms under which the people could work base metals. Hitherto little mining had been carried on except for gold, as the legislation affecting base metals was not sufficiently favourable for people to venture their money in these channels. It was obvious that the encouragement of other mining industries would greatly add to the general prosperity of the country, and would also largely increase the railway traffic from Southern Rhodesia to the coast. The high rates on the railways had been partly due to the fact that, though the trucks came up from the coast full, they were obliged to return empty; but if there existed a large export trade of base metals, the railway receipts would be greatly increased, which would permit of a corresponding reduction in the existing railway tariff. In discussing the various points with the Directors, the representatives of the Chambers of Mines pointed out that base metals, unlike gold, had to be exported in large bulk, and therefore the expense of the railway rates and shipping freights greatly reduced the profits, and the industry accordingly would not allow of such a heavy royalty being charged as in the case

of gold. They advocated, therefore, a percentage on profits, but the Directors refused to accede to this proposal, as they said that mining for base metals was still in an experimental stage, and a tax on profits could only be considered when the industry became permanent. They acknowledged that whatever legislation was brought into force could only be of a temporary nature, as there was no past experience on which to frame any measures. They further stated that the prices of base metals, unlike that of gold, were subject to market and other fluctuations, and the difficulty of fixing a tax, therefore, was increased. The Directors, however, put forward a tentative scheme until the result of experience should allow of fresh proposals being considered. These suggestions were passed into law by the Legislative Council under the Mines and Minerals Amendment Ordinance, 1907, which read as follows:

“ 18. The holder of any mining location pegged and registered on or after the 1st day of January, 1908, as a Location of Bismuth, Cobalt, Copper, Mercury, Molybdenum, Nickel, Thorium, and allied substances, Tin, Tungsten, Scheelite, Uranium, Vanadium, Mineral Oils, Natural Gas or Salts, may work the same for profit after due notice to the Secretary for Mines, as hereinbefore prescribed, and shall pay to the British South Africa Company a royalty of and at the rate of three pounds per centum of the gross value of the total monthly output from such location.

“ 19. The holder of a mining location pegged and registered on or after the 1st day of January, 1908, as a location of Aluminium or any of its compounds, Antimony, Asbestos, Barium, Strontium, Chrome, Graphite, Gypsum, Iron, Lead, Magnesite, Manganese, Mica and Zinc, may work his location for profit after due notice as aforesaid, and shall pay to the

British South Africa Company a royalty of and at the rate of two pounds per centum of the gross value of the total monthly output from such location."

Precious stones have only within the last few years been found to any extent in Southern Rhodesia, the legislation in regard to prospecting for diamonds being so unfavourable that few troubled to search for these stones. The British South Africa Company in the early days had granted to De Beers a monopoly over all the diamonds found in the country, and this concession resulted in numerous agitations and constant conflicts between the settlers and the British South Africa Company. The Company, at length realizing the enormous mistake it had made in giving a vast monopoly to a company which never attempted to develop its resources, has now taken steps to test in the English Law Courts the validity of the rights which had previously been granted to De Beers.

Meanwhile a syndicate had entered into a special agreement with De Beers, and was allowed to prospect for diamonds until December 31st, 1909, and retain, without making any payment, all precious stones which it might find. But after the above-mentioned date it had to enter into a fresh arrangement. The syndicate met with considerable success in its prospecting operations, which were confined chiefly to the Bembesi district, and found not only diamonds and other precious stones by alluvial digging, but also reported the discovery of large pipes.

After the existence of diamonds in the country had been proved, the British South Africa Company promulgated a diamond Ordinance which permitted a person to prospect for diamonds, but the form of this prospecting was not prescribed by the Ordinance, so that the British South Africa Company re-

mained free to offer such terms as might from time to time appear advisable. Up to December 31st, 1908, 7,020 carats of diamonds had been recovered, besides about 100,000 carats of other precious stones, which included chrysoberyls, sapphires, rubies, and topazes.

If the British South Africa Company could offer more favourable terms for working diamonds than the present law allows, there would undoubtedly be an immediate activity in prospecting for precious stones.

STATEMENT OF GOLD AND MINERAL PRODUCTION TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1908

	Gold. Ounces.	Value. £	Silver. Ounces.	Lead. Tons.	Coal. Tons.
1890-1898	22,911	83,052	—	—	—
1899	56,742	205,690	112	—	—
1900	85,367	308,249	951	—	—
1901	172,035	610,389	3,132	—	—
1902	194,170	687,096	3,445	—	—
1903	231,872	827,729	20,715	128	46,870
1904	267,737	969,343	70,146	455	59,678
1905	407,048	1,449,985	89,278	570	97,191
1906	551,894	1,985,099	110,575	652	103,803
1907	612,052	2,178,886	147,324	756	115,073
1908	606,961	2,526,007	283,425	1,069	164,114
	3,208,789	£11,831,525	729,103	3,630	586,729

NOTE.—The small decrease in the number of ounces of gold declared in 1908, as compared with 1907, is accounted for by the fact that since March 31st, 1908, all results have been declared in ounces of fine gold instead of in bullion.

CHAPTER XII

COMMERCE AND SUNDRY OCCUPATIONS

Commercial Enterprise followed by Depression in Trade.—The individual Trader, English and Foreign.—Methods of Trading with Natives.—High Cost of Living.—Transport Riding.—Stand and Building Booms.—Town Businesses.—Arrival of Railway and result on Trade.—Chamber of Commerce.—“Rhodes Clause.”

THE two industries, farming and mining, having been already reviewed, will not be taken into consideration in this chapter, except in so far as they affect the commerce and the other industries connected with Southern Rhodesia.

In a newly opened up territory, which has hitherto been inhabited only by savages, it is impossible immediately to obtain from the country any of the commodities of life to which European civilization is accustomed, except livestock reared by the savage races, or game which may be brought down by rifle or shot gun. The opportunity, therefore, offered to merchants at home and in the older colonies of launching some of their capital into a new venture, where there is a possibility of obtaining very high profits, and where, therefore, the element of risk is proportionately great, gave rise to commercial financial schemes in London, so soon as Southern Rhodesia was occupied by the British South Africa Company.

Rumours of vast mineral resources and great farming possibilities attracted the more speculative

element of the mercantile world: it was anticipated that there would be an enormous rush of white people to the new country, owing to the extensive booming of the gold mines, and therefore commercial companies were floated, with huge capitals, for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants with every necessary of life both in food and clothing, and for carrying on extensive trading throughout Southern Rhodesia. The same reckless haste was displayed in establishing large businesses all over the country as was shown by the mining companies in acquiring vast areas of useless mining claims. The promotion of many of these commercial ventures involved, as in the case of the mining companies, vast over-capitalization and flotation for the benefit of the underwriters and company-mongers. A highly paid staff of managers, sub-managers, secretaries, book-keepers, and shop assistants were sent out to the principal towns. Merchant companies erected warehouses and shops and equipped them with all the requirements, and many of the luxuries, of modern civilization.

Meanwhile the white population increased comparatively slowly, and few mines had been brought to a producing state. The natural result of such a rush of trading companies, syndicates, and individual speculators into a country not yet ready to receive them was to bring about a period of depression and disaster in commerce.

If the inrush of an enormous European population had taken place as anticipated and the prosperity of the country had been assured, no doubt many of the companies would have had time to reflect on their reckless extravagance, and would have introduced such economic reforms as would have stopped the rapid dwindling of capital and turned the ventures into dividend-paying investments. But the

mining section of the community was too busy with its company flotations to prove the mineral resources of the country, and with the sudden disasters of wars and plagues which followed in rapid succession came the acknowledgement that, so far, the gold mines were not proving themselves to be so rich as had been hoped. These misfortunes, though they did not send the white population back, kept the country in a state of stagnation for many years.

With the introduction of the large commercial enterprises appeared also the individual traders. These had little or no capital at their disposal, but were either backed up by the merchant companies already established, or else were financed from outside sources. Numerous Jews, Greeks, and Italians set up insignificant one-roomed galvanized iron stores in all the townships, and carried on a trade with the natives residing in the place or passing through. Competition being keen amongst this class of white inhabitants, store-keeping must have afforded a somewhat precarious living, though more than one store-keeper forged ahead and was able eventually to establish an extensive commercial business with Europeans, even entering into competition with those firms which had formerly financed and supported them.

The English traders sought their fortunes further afield; they were, as a rule, partly or entirely financed by the large commercial houses which sold their goods wholesale to the traders, who in their turn did a retail business with the natives. Many Englishmen opened stores in districts situated near a native population; they generally either worked for the large commercial companies, receiving a salary and commission on sales, or they entered into the venture on their own initiative, often doing business with one firm only which advanced them a con-

siderable quantity of goods on credit. The trading with the natives was one both of buying and selling, though few cash transactions were effected. The white trader's stock chiefly consisted of cheap white or coloured calicoes (called limbo), salt, beads, and brass wire, and the natives paid for these commodities with grain, either whole or hand-ground into meal. The trader always preferred to pay for the grain with the goods in his store rather than with cash, and to receive grain instead of cash in payment of the goods he sold, as thereby he gained a double profit.

The method of trading with natives is the same now as in the days of the early occupation. A trader generally opens his store in close proximity to a large native village. The store consists of one room, the walls being made of poles driven into the ground and plastered with mud, and the roof covered with sheets of corrugated iron. Standing at some little distance from the store are two or three round mud huts thatched with grass, the white man's bedroom and dining-room. The trader opens his store during certain hours of the day. Just before he starts business, half-a-dozen or more native women may be seen patiently squatting on the ground with babies, a few months old, securely swathed at their backs in calico shawls which are fastened at the breast. By their side are baskets, native made, filled, or partly filled, with meal, grain, monkey nuts, sweet potatoes or Kaffir beans. In the distance may be seen other women approaching, carrying similar baskets on their heads, and with their babies wrapped in the same manner at their backs. Immediately the store is unlocked, the little group of women jump up, and the day's bartering begins in earnest. The women go round the store fingering and pointing at everything in the place, and keeping up an incessant jab-

ber with one another. Some have brought only a few pounds of grain not worth the trouble of buying, but as the trader has to use the utmost tact and take everything that comes, he generally pays for these small quantities in salt, and throws the grain he has purchased into the open mouth of a sack, several of which he has around him in various stages of being filled, some with meal, some with grain, and some with beans. The women with the well filled baskets are almost as much trouble as those with the small quantities; they are uncertain what they want to buy, now settling on one thing and now on another, amidst much chatter and giggling, simpering and utterances of pleasure or discontent. When they appear to have finally decided, they are dissatisfied with the quantity that is offered in exchange for their produce and reconsider their purchases once more, wishing to look through the store again from end to end, until at length the trader's temper and patience become exhausted. When the transactions seem to be finally completed, and the last woman dealt with, there is an instant demand for a "barcella" or present from all the women who are still squatting on the ground in or around the store, or are standing talking to one another. As this demand inevitably comes every time the trader does business, he resignedly accedes to their requests and distributes amongst them a few handfuls of salt or boxes of matches, in proportion to the amount that he has traded with each, knowing full well that he can afford to be liberal with the very substantial profit he sees before him. The women after this go down the narrow footpath which leads from the store to the native village, following one another in single file, their empty baskets on their heads, their babies slung at their backs, keeping up an incessant round of laughter and chatter, well satisfied with their side

of the bargain. Besides the store at which the trader lives, he also has temporary trading stations at villages some fifteen to twenty miles distant, and there he carries on business with the native inhabitants. When he has got together a large consignment of native produce, he sends it by wagon to towns or mines, where he sells it and brings back fresh trading goods. The life is a lonely one for a single man, and often two join in partnership. If they have a small capital behind them, they do their own transport work, and with one or two wagons and spans of oxen, they take it in turns to trade at the store or to "ride" the grain to the distant mine or town.

Trading is also carried on extensively on mines, where a greater variety of business offers itself. The trader, whose principal store is on the property, has other trading stations scattered about the country over a radius of fifteen to twenty miles, and from all these sources he is able to supply the mine owner with grain and meal for his native workmen. He also sells to the Europeans clothes, groceries, and other commodities, and carries on a considerable business with the Kaffirs working on the mine. Their requirements are more varied than those of the natives from the villages. They buy extensively both European clothes and food, and much of their purchasing is done on a credit system, the mine owner deducting every month from their wages the amounts they owe at the store, and handing the money over to the trader. The mine owner is willing to go to this extra trouble, as many natives spend the whole of their month's wages in advance, and are obliged to work another month if they wish to take any cash home with them. This system of trading on mines is carried on at the present time much in the same way as formerly.

But to return to the life in the towns in the early

days. In spite of the numerous large mercantile companies which were obliged to compete with one another in supplying provisions to the white population, prices of all commodities of life ruled extremely high. The country was in such an undeveloped state that it could not supply the population with locally grown produce, and consequently tinned meats, jams, milk, butter, and vegetables, besides all other necessaries, were imported and sold at very high rates. It will be understood how far in excess of English prices these goods would have to be before a profit could be realized, when it is remembered that, added to the initial cost of purchase, there were the over-sea freights and insurances, the heavy customs duty, the railage from the seaport towns of South Africa to the furthest point north on the railway, followed by the many weeks of wagon transport from the rail-head to the towns in Rhodesia, and the consequent numerous forwarding agents who received, off loaded and reloaded the goods, and lastly, the rent of the stores, payment of employés, and all other incidental expenses connected with trading. This large outlay, and the small white population for which to provide, did not allow the mercantile companies to cut down their prices to any great extent, owing to the fact that they were already running their businesses at a heavy loss. This loss was being further increased by the number of bad debts which had been contracted, and of which there was little or no hope of settlement. The best business was done in Kaffir goods, which were sold in wholesale quantities to the traders living outside the towns.

Though transport riding was often done in conjunction with trading, it formed a separate industry, and many men in Southern Rhodesia gave up their time entirely to this means of making a livelihood.

The transport riders, with their wagons and spans of oxen, made large profits in bringing goods from the rail-head to the towns, or in riding their transport from the towns to the mines and trading-stations in the outlying districts. Others worked for mining companies, employing large gangs of natives for cutting down forest land for firewood and mine timber. In whatever way transport riders worked their cattle, they generally made very great profits, but these profits, together with the original capital employed, were lost in the terrible plague of Rinderpest which broke out and destroyed all the cattle in 1896. Transport riding, however, has always maintained a most important position among the industries of Southern Rhodesia, it being the only means of forwarding mercantile goods and mine machinery to those centres which have not been linked up to the railway.

As soon as town sites had been decided on by the Government, they were divided up into small plots or stands, which were sold to the public, who ran up wood buildings in every direction. It is not to be wondered at that speculators in town land were as optimistic as the rest of the community in regard to the prosperous future of the country. Stands were therefore exchanging hands at fabulous prices, and large profits were daily being made. In 1894 a stand in Bulawayo was sold by the British South Africa Company for £160, and a building valued at £1,000 erected; six months afterwards the stand and building were resold for £3,050. Transactions of this nature were constantly going on throughout the country. Both mining and commercial companies invested largely in these town plots. As the townships became more settled, the mining and commercial companies were not satisfied with the temporary iron and wood buildings that they had hastily

erected, and therefore pulled them down, and put up in their place substantial two-storied stone and brick buildings. The stand boom was followed by the building boom, and the inevitable building companies were floated in London. The advent of the building boom brought in to the towns architects, building-contractors, masons, bricklayers, and all other artificers connected with the trade, and each in their turn reaped large profits from the capital and labour that had been expended. Besides the companies, individuals, who carried on a business either large or small, bought stands and built stores or offices on them, and also purchased suburban plots and put up bungalow residences.

Bulawayo had been going ahead since its occupation in 1893, but the real advent of the building boom was not until the arrival of the railway from Cape Town in 1897. From that date onwards, Government offices, palatial hotels, municipal and company buildings, clubs, churches, and schools sprang up in every direction, in spite of the fact that the tendency of the population was to diminish rather than to increase. An idea seems to have seized the minds of the building speculators that Bulawayo, besides proving a most important railway centre, was shortly to become a second Johannesburg, but they had left out of their calculations the possibility of not finding a second Rand. The inevitable result followed. The older buildings were abandoned for the new and remained vacant, and the rent of all town land and buildings, which before had been producing moderately good profits, fell so low as to render the property valueless as an investment. The general depression, which was falling over the country, spread to the building trade, and as many of the population had invested their money in building ventures, the failure in this trade was severely felt. It has taken

several years for Bulawayo to emerge from the disaster which befell it through the reckless outburst of extravagant optimism.

Salisbury, the older town and the capital of Southern Rhodesia, was not handicapped by the same building craze, and houses and offices were put up in proportion to the requirements of the inhabitants and the progress of the country. Except for one set back through the booming of a few wild-cat building companies which were floated in London, Salisbury has slowly, but surely, enlarged its borders.

The other towns of Southern Rhodesia, such as Gwelo, Umtali, Victoria, and Hartley, have still a fair preponderance of wood and iron buildings, and it is not likely that they will be troubled for some years to come with building booms.

Besides the large mercantile population, the mining company officials and the artificers, every town had its Government and municipal servants, its solicitors, brokers, accountants, and auctioneers. The solicitors were kept busily engaged, not only on account of the fact that property was continually changing hands, but also over numerous mining disputes which arose between various companies and individuals, the solicitor often acting as his own counsel. Similarly brokers were often accountants as well, and kept the books of small private firms. They made large profits while the booming of mining companies was at its height, and took big commissions in the buying and selling of mining properties, farms, town stands, and buildings, and acted as buyers and receiving and forwarding agents for the mines of the district. Auctioneers held sales once or twice a week in the public market place, disposing of every variety of goods, including in a single sale furniture, second-hand clothes, mining shares, cattle, provisions, and sheep. The auctioneers extended their business in

every direction, even undertaking the work of brokers and accountants.

Everything appeared to be flourishing in these booming days, and every one talked in thousands and millions. There was plenty of money floating round the country, but those who paused for a moment to consider where the money came from, and whither it was going, must have seen that dark clouds were already gathering on the horizon.

The advent of the railway from the south to Bulawayo, and from Beira to Salisbury, introduced a new era in the history of Southern Rhodesia. Many of the mines, which had closed down owing to the difficulty and enormous expense of getting heavy machinery into the country, were now able to start operations with renewed energy. Mine-plant and stores, which formerly took months on the road, could now be brought up from the coast in a few days. The arrival of the railways was also a great benefit to the mercantile population, who were not only able now to land their goods much more rapidly and at a far lower rate, but were no longer subject to the uncertainty of the arrival of the stores and the consequent possibility of one line of goods completely running out. The country having now become more established, and the land itself being in a position to supply many of the necessaries of life, there was less need to import tinned goods, except for outlying districts. The demand for tinned meat, butter, milk, and vegetables became smaller, as these products were raised from the country itself. The town populations, however, were not satisfied to receive only the necessities of life, but demanded increased luxuries, so that the merchants, in reducing their stock in one direction, were able to increase it in another. Meanwhile the white population, if not stationary, was increasing only

very slowly, and the large mercantile companies, which year after year had been making heavy losses, were gradually coming to the end of their resources. The numerous individuals and mercantile companies, with capitals aggregating several millions, suffered more than any other class of the community from the slow development of the country, because, while they had catered for a great and rapidly increasing population, the two largest towns in Southern Rhodesia, Bulawayo and Salisbury, were still only equal, in the number of their inhabitants, to a small English country town or a large village.

As trade was not forthcoming in towns, markets had to be found outside, and Bulawayo and Salisbury became the chief distributing centres to the distant mines and native trading stations. In order to make a company pay, the manager required considerable business ability. He had to keep in constant touch with his buyers in London as well as with his agents at the African coast towns, and to see that the latter were looking after the interests of the company. He was also obliged to have a thorough insight into the workings of all the company's branch stores in the smaller towns, on the mines, and in the outlying districts. Some companies, however, confined their business to one town only. These, with a staff of managers, secretaries, accountants, etc., far too large for the small retail business they carried on, quickly drained the entire cash resources of their companies. Many went into liquidation, others reconstructed or amalgamated, and all recognized that they would have to undergo a system of strict and rigid economy. A large number of the companies have since that time carried out a vigorous retrenchment, and have also taken advantage of the proximity of the seaport town of Beira to establish storehouses under the control of

agents. When large consignments of goods are required by the mines, the mercantile companies wire to their agents to forward the goods direct to the mines by rail, thus saving the expense of double handling and warehousing.

All the important towns of Southern Rhodesia have their Chambers of Commerce, and when these combine they have a powerful influence in bringing about reforms in commerce through the Legislative Council. The Chambers represent a strong body in the community, and are therefore able to approach the Rhodesia Railway Companies on matters affecting the reduction of rates and the increase of transit facilities.

In 1898, through the exertions of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, an important clause with reference to Customs duty in Rhodesia was embodied in the Constitution. By this clause the Customs duty levied on any articles imported into Southern Rhodesia, being produce or manufactures of any part of the British Empire, was not to exceed in amount the then existing duties in the South Africa Customs Union. As long, therefore, as Rhodesia remained in the Customs Union, it would have a preference over other colonies of the Union, and the country would reap a distinct benefit, as nearly all its imports came under the Rhodes clause. The difference in duty between Rhodesia and other colonies amounted roughly to three per cent. *ad valorem* rates, so that merchants in the southern colonies, who imported their goods, had to pay twelve per cent. duty at the port of entry, and compete with the Rhodesian merchants who paid only nine per cent. The advantage to Rhodesian merchants gained by this clause is obvious, and as it is embodied in the Constitution it cannot be altered without the sanction of the Imperial Government.

On March 10th, 1903, a conference of representatives of Cape Colony, Transvaal, Natal, Orange River Colony, and Southern Rhodesia was held at Bloemfontein, and a Convention providing for a Customs Union between these five States was agreed upon. The Convention was subsequently ratified and approved by the various legislatures of the colonies represented, and came into operation on August 15th, 1903. Under this Convention Southern Rhodesia still retained the advantages which had been granted under the Rhodes clause.

CHAPTER XIII

TRANSPORT BY OX-WAGON, COACH, AND RAILWAY

Wagon Route from the South, its difficulties.—Coach Travelling in early Days.—Construction of Main and Branch Railways; their cost.—Prohibitive Rates on Beira Lines.—Protest of Settlers.—Eventual Reduction of Rates.

IN the first years of the occupation, before the railway had reached Bulawayo from the Cape, and Salisbury from Beira, the only method of bringing goods into Southern Rhodesia was by transport wagon.

From Beira (the natural port of Southern Rhodesia) to Salisbury no very tempting road was offered to the transport riders, and few cared to risk the journey. Before the high plateau, which forms the whole of Southern Rhodesia, could be reached, the great Pungwe Flats, with their swamps and marshes, had to be passed, a trek of several weeks across a country which formed a veritable death-trap to white men and cattle alike, from malarial fever and fly. The usual wagon route therefore was from the south, and the trek began from the nearest point reached by the railway. Transport was carried on chiefly by oxen, occasionally by donkeys, sixteen or eighteen beasts being inspanned into each wagon. Time was of little object to the transport rider, and the life presented many attractions so long as all went well and there was no bad breakdown. He shot his big game, the sable antelope, the koodoo,

the tsesebe, the wildebeeste, the water buck, or whatever else might come down to his rifle. With the skin he made the harness for his cattle, consisting of reims and neck strops, and he could do many a repair with strips of this raw hide. Generations of veldt craft had so trained the Dutchman in the use of skins that he was proverbially said to be able to build a wagon with this material, provided he were supplied with a sufficient quantity.

The transport rider, after spending many weeks on his journey, would at last reach Bulawayo, his arrival being heralded by the yelling of the drivers as they called each ox by name, the shout of the foreloopers, and the crack of the long whips, sounding in the clear air like the report of a rifle. At length the great lumbering unwieldy wagons, creaking and groaning, would draw up off the road at some suitable spot on the Bulawayo Common, and there the cattle would be outspanned. The transport rider would then go into town, hand over his invoices to the merchant, and arrange about the off-loading of the goods. The following day would see the wagons empty and a substantial cheque in the transport rider's pocket, a cheque which was none too large, however, considering the original outlay of capital, the wages of himself and his servants, and the nature of the risk he had to run.

The wet season was very different from the dry, and the transport rates rose accordingly. Constantly a wagon was stuck for days, and perhaps weeks, in the mud, sometimes sinking above the axles and the long-wagon, and often necessitating the hitching of a span on to each wheel in the attempt to drag it out of the mire. Only the very best workmanship was put into these wagons, as the rough treatment that was used would have pulled a lighter vehicle to pieces. Thus it may be seen that the high rate of

payment did not always compensate for the loss incurred by the many weeks of delay and the wear and tear to both oxen and wagons. But the transport rider had to take even greater risks than these. Disease might at any moment sweep through his cattle, destroying them all in a few days. The rinderpest of 1896 wrought havoc far and wide amongst the cattle of Rhodesia; they died off by thousands, and rates in consequence went up higher still. It was at that time that the much despised donkeys became so invaluable, and had to be almost exclusively used for transport work. But until the rail-head reached Bulawayo, the country suffered greatly from insufficient transport.

In the early years of Southern Rhodesia the only method of travelling was by great lumbering coaches, similar to those formerly in use in America. They were large and roomy vehicles, capable of holding twelve passengers inside and two outside, besides the two drivers. They were drawn by ten mules, and carried, besides the twenty-five pounds of luggage allowed to each traveller, all the Government parcels and mails. A regular passenger service was arranged, but the uncertainty as to what obstacles might be encountered, and what consequent delays incurred, prevented the coaches from running exactly up to time. The journeys were often long and tedious, the coach never stopping day or night, except at stations every twelve miles or so where the mules were changed, or at a wayside store where half an hour was allowed for a hasty meal, consisting perhaps of a half-warmed dish of tinned herrings, some doughy bread, a plate of oil which might once have been tinned butter, and the whole washed down with a beverage answering equally well to the name of either tea or coffee, for which luxuries the traveller had to pay the modest

sum of at least five shillings. The coach travelled over rough uneven tracks made into the semblance of a road by continuous traffic; sometimes it bumped over small ant heaps, or dropped down into deep river beds, rocking and swinging as it pulled out of ruts and washaways, and then, ten minutes after, grinding its way at a snail's pace through a thick sand belt. At night travelling became more wearisome still; passengers dozed off to sleep only to be instantly awakened by a bump or a bang or by the scraping of branches of trees against the windows. If the rains were heavy and the rivers in flood, the coach often had to wait for several days on the river bank until the waters had subsided and rendered crossing safe. Sometimes, too, on dark nights, without the faintest light of stars or moon by which to see the way, the coach would strike a stump or run over an ant heap, and overturn. A delay would occur to collect the scattered luggage and mail bags, set the coach up again, and adjust the tangled harness. At length, the journey accomplished, the passengers would alight at their destinations parched, grimy, and weary, to find rest and refreshment in the comparative luxury of town life.

But bit by bit wagon transport and coaches gave way before the advancing railways. As far back as January 23rd, 1890, Mr. Cecil Rhodes had entered upon his first railway agreement with the Cape, in which he undertook to construct a line of 127 miles from Kimberley to Vryburg. This portion of the line, which was the initial step in his scheme for the Cape to Cairo Railway, was completed, and afterwards taken over by the Cape Government Railways. The next section from Vryburg northwards was also built by Mr. Rhodes under a further agreement, and reached Bulawayo on November 4th, 1897. Capital was found by the issue of debentures



COACH TRAVELLING IN EARLY DAYS

guaranteed by the British South Africa Company, and a company was floated called the Rhodesia Railways, Limited.

At the same time steps were taken to link up Southern Rhodesia with the port of Beira in Portuguese East Africa. Under the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891, the British Government, at the instance of Mr. Rhodes, stipulated for the construction by Portugal of a line from Beira to the eastern portion of Southern Rhodesia. The concession for the construction of the line, with pier, docks and other facilities at Beira, was acquired by the Beira Junction Railway Company, which owned the line from Beira to Fontesvilla, and the Beira Railway Company, which owned the line from Fontesvilla to Umtali, the most eastern town in Southern Rhodesia. A two-foot gauge railway was first laid, and both companies were established under the auspices of the British South Africa Company.

The next step was the laying of a broad gauge railway from Umtali to Salisbury, and this work was undertaken by a new company, the Mashonaland Railway Company, the capital being found by the issue of debentures guaranteed by the British South Africa Company. This line was at length completed on May 1st, 1899, but meanwhile, with the increase of traffic from the East Coast, the difficulty of bringing heavy loads from sea level up steep gradients to the high plateau of Southern Rhodesia with small locomotives, and the heavy expense of double handling all goods in transferring them from the narrow gauge to the broad, necessitated the widening of the rest of the line. The Beira Railway companies being unable to find the capital, the work was undertaken by the Mashonaland Railway Company, which again found the necessary funds by the issue of debentures guaranteed as to interest by the

British South Africa Company, the latter taking as security a prior lien charge over the receipts of the Beira Railway and the Beira Junction Railway. From August 1st, 1900, the date on which the widening of the gauge was completed, the whole line from Beira to Salisbury was put under the management of the Mashonaland Railway Company.

With the construction of the line from Cape Town to Bulawayo, and from Beira to Salisbury, there still remained a distance of 301 miles to link up these two towns, and so complete the railway from Cape Town round to Beira. The work was taken in hand by the Rhodesia Railways, Limited. On June 1st, 1902, trains started running southwards between Salisbury and Gwelo, the central town of Southern Rhodesia, and four months later, on October 6th, the section from Bulawayo northwards to Gwelo was finished, and the completed line between Bulawayo and Salisbury was opened for public traffic on December 1st, 1902.

Meanwhile Mr. Rhodes' great scheme for the Cape to Cairo Railway was still being pushed ahead, and the laying of the line from Bulawayo to Victoria Falls, a distance of 280 miles, was taken in hand by the Rhodesia Railways, Limited, this portion of the line being of considerable local importance, as it tapped the enormous Wankie Coalfields. The Victoria Falls were reached on April 25th, 1904. A bridge was built across the Zambesi below the Falls, and the railway continued by the Rhodesia Railways, Limited, into Northern Rhodesia as far as Kalomo, where the Mashonaland Railways, Limited, took up the work, and pushed the line to Broken Hill Mine, a total distance of 2,016 miles north of Cape Town.

Other schemes were also projected for the construction of branch lines to tap some of the most

important mining and farming centres of Southern Rhodesia.

A light two-foot gauge railway, 84 miles in length, was built from Salisbury to the Ayrshire Mine in Lo Mogundi District by the Ayrshire Gold Mine and Lomagunda Railway Company, Limited, and the rails reached the mine on August 13th, 1902. The line was subsequently taken over by the Mashonaland Railway Company, and a branch line, 14 miles in length, made to the Eldorado Mine, which was opened on July 12th, 1906.

In 1903 a branch line of 23 miles was constructed from Gwelo to Selukwe to tap the central gold-mining district of Southern Rhodesia, and this was followed some months later by the opening of another branch line, starting from a junction 17 miles east of Bulawayo, and connecting up the Southern Goldfields of Matabeleland over a distance of 103 miles.

From another junction 18 miles south-west of Bulawayo, a branch line was built to the Matopo Hills, the grave of Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

In 1908 the Gwelo-Blinkwater Railway Company began a line which should tap an important farming and mining district 50 miles east of Gwelo.

The total length of railways built in or for the whole of Rhodesia up to 1908, through the instrumentality of the British South Africa Company, was 2,151 miles. The average cost of this construction worked out at about £5,000 per mile, or about one third less than the Cape Government Railways.

On March 31st, 1908, the capital issued by the various Rhodesia Railway Companies, with interest guaranteed by the British South Africa Company, amounted to £11,628,171 10s. 0d., made up as follows:

Interest on £2,000,000 Rhodesia Railways, Lim-

ited, 5 per cent. First Mortgage Debentures for 20 years from November 1st, 1895.

Principal, Premium, and Interest of £4,250,000 Rhodesia Railways, Limited, Debentures at varying rates of Interest.

Interest on £2,500,000 Mashonaland Railway Company, Limited, 5 per cent. First Mortgage Debentures for 22 years from October 1st, 1897.

Principal, Premium, and Interest of £2,560,000 Mashonaland Railway Company, Limited, 5 per cent. Guaranteed Mortgage Debentures (1905).

Two per cent. Interest on £109,400 Ayrshire Gold Mine, Limited, $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Mortgage Debentures for $13\frac{1}{2}$ years from October 1st, 1907.

Principal of sundry loans and accounts amounting to £58,771 10s. 0d. and Interest.

The repayment of £150,000 agreed to be advanced to the Mashonaland Railway Company, Limited, for completing the construction of the railway from Kalomo to Broken Hill.

With the introduction of railways into Southern Rhodesia, ox transport from the Southern Colonies ceased to exist, though within the territory it was carried on with renewed activity. The mines which had been closed down, owing to the difficulty of getting heavy machinery up from the coast, were now in a position to start operations once again, and there was a consequent demand for transport wagons to carry the machinery from the nearest points on the railways to the mines, so that all the transport riders, who had been formerly engaged in bringing goods from the south into Southern Rhodesia, were now fully occupied within the country itself. The appearance of African Coast Fever in 1901, and the closing of all roads to cattle, by order of the Government, was a severe blow to transport riders, and this

unfortunate class of the community lost all or nearly all their capital.

Within recent years the high profits, which once were made in transport riding, have been considerably reduced. Companies are no longer willing to pay the fancy prices formerly demanded of them, and the high rates once charged are altogether beyond the means of the "small workers." The general economy practised throughout the country, as well as the increase in the number of transport riders, has brought the prices down to a reasonable figure.

By the end of 1902 the railway which runs from Cape Town and Port Elizabeth through Southern Rhodesia to Beira was complete, and the settlers looked forward to seeing Beira the port of the country. The line which runs from Beira to Gwelo, the most central town in Southern Rhodesia, is only 562 miles long, compared with 1,312 miles from Port Elizabeth in Cape Colony (Port Elizabeth being more convenient than Cape Town for goods traffic as it was nearer to Rhodesia). But the railway rates from Beira to Gwelo worked out at 22*s.* 3*d.* per 100 lb. for first class goods, 17*s.* 5*d.* for second class goods, and 12*s.* 11*d.* for third class goods, while from Port Elizabeth to Gwelo the rates ran at 24*s.* 7*d.* per 100 lb. for first class goods, 18*s.* 1*d.* for second class goods, and 13*s.* 3*d.* for third class goods. The slight advantage which the settlers might have gained by the lower prices from Beira than from Port Elizabeth was, however, counterbalanced by the uncertainty of traffic along the section from Beira to Gwelo and by the small number and the irregularity of the steamships which put in at the Port of Beira. Beira being less than half the distance from Gwelo than was Port Elizabeth, it might reasonably have been expected that the rail-

way rates should have been reduced in similar proportion, but no reduction took place, and as Port Elizabeth was, as above stated, the more convenient port, the greater part of the traffic was diverted from the natural port of Beira to Port Elizabeth. Beira was even more useless for Bulawayo. This western town of Southern Rhodesia was 675 miles distant from Beira, and 1,200 miles from Port Elizabeth, but here the rates from Beira actually exceeded those from Port Elizabeth.

There were several important causes, however, which led to this peculiar state of affairs. The line from Port Elizabeth, which joins the main line from Cape Town to Bulawayo, and thence proceeds to Beira, was in the hands of no less than five separate railway organizations. One section was owned by the Cape Government. The remaining four, the Rhodesia Railways, Limited, the Mashonaland Railway Company, Limited, the Beira Railway, and the Beira Junction Railway, were more or less under the control of the British South Africa Company. The two former railways, however, were on a different footing from the two latter. The Rhodesia Railway Company and the Mashonaland Railway Company were floated with the interest on their debentures guaranteed by the British South Africa Company, and they managed their own lines. The two Beira companies raised their capital from other sources, but when it became necessary to widen their lines, the money for this undertaking was found by the Mashonaland Railway Company issuing debentures, which were guaranteed as to interest by the British South Africa Company securing a prior lien rent charge over the Beira and Beira Junction Railway receipts, the Mashonaland Railway Company at the same time taking over the management of the Beira section.

In the first place, therefore, it was not of the same importance to the British South Africa Company that these two latter sections should pay, and in the second place if the traffic charges were brought down to a uniform rate per mile over the whole of the Rhodesian railway system (*i.e.*, excluding the part owned by the Cape Government), all goods could be more cheaply conveyed to Bulawayo from Beira than from Port Elizabeth, and still more so to the more eastern towns of Southern Rhodesia. Consequently the line from Vryburg, the terminus of the Cape Government Railway, to Bulawayo, a distance of 588 miles, would fall into disuse, except for towns within the vicinity of that line, and for goods which were immediately required in Southern Rhodesia and could not be so speedily transmitted by Beira, owing to the limited number of vessels calling at that port. As the Vryburg-Bulawayo route had been the most important before the completion of the whole railway system, and as the debenture interest on the capital issued by the Rhodesia Railway, Limited, had been guaranteed by the British South Africa Company, the latter Company naturally did not cut down the rates on the Beira route, since in doing so it would have killed the traffic on the Vryburg-Bulawayo section. The British South Africa Company had an additional reason for the policy it pursued in the fact that it had entered into a political understanding with Cape Colony that the latter should have a large share of the Rhodesian traffic.

The policy of the railway companies evoked stormy protests on the part of the settlers of Southern Rhodesia, and particularly from those living in Mashonaland. The people of Bulawayo, however, were less certain in their denunciation of the existing system, because they realized that if the railway charges were brought down to a uniform rate per

mile, Bulawayo, which promised to be an important railway centre, would sink into comparative insignificance. The entire population, however, was at one in expressing the opinion that the railway rates throughout the country were excessive, and petitions for reductions were constantly sent up to the railway companies. Towards the end of the year 1903, and during the year 1904, both in the press and at public meetings, attacks were frequently being made on the railway companies.

In Salisbury the agitation was fostered by the editor of a local newspaper, who published a series of most interesting and well-written articles, in which he pointed out not only the extraordinarily high rates which prevailed throughout the Rhodesian railway system, but also the lack of uniformity in these rates. He argued that, as Beira had a most magnificent natural harbour and was situated much closer to Southern Rhodesia than any other port, it was reasonable to expect that these advantages would be made use of by the railway companies. But the rates from Beira were so high that that port, instead of supplying the whole of Southern Rhodesia, only sent up part of the goods to the eastern division, and hardly any of the goods to the western division. Consequently Bulawayo was artificially bolstered up, and the natural economic development of the country was retarded by placing a prohibitive freightage on the eastern section in order to keep the traffic on the line running from Vryburg to Bulawayo.

The campaign in this newspaper against the railways brought to light many facts which had been unknown to any except those directly engaged in importing goods on a large scale. Public meetings were held in Salisbury to protest against the unfair railway rates, and pressure was brought to bear upon the railway companies. The railway companies

in reply pointed out that railways, like every other industry, had been adversely affected by the continuance of the Boer War, and were not as yet paying working expenses. A large liability had therefore to be met every year by the British South Africa Company in the shape of debenture interest on the capital of the Rhodesian railway companies. For this reason the British South Africa Company had to safeguard its own interests by retaining a certain amount of traffic on the Vryburg-Bulawayo section.

The settlers, however, argued that depression would continue in Southern Rhodesia as long as these prohibitive rates were maintained, but that with a reduction in rates fresh capital and fresh colonists would enter the territory, and the railway traffic would proportionately increase.

At this period the chief mover in the agitation died, and his paper, after passing into the hands of a political juggler, dragged on for a few months, and then ceased to exist. But the effect of the campaign was that the railways made a general reduction in their rates, and also lowered the tariffs on the eastern sections, so that Beira was in a position to compete with Port Elizabeth for the traffic to Bulawayo. The rates were accordingly revised as follows:

Port Elizabeth to Gwelo	1st Class	24s. 7d.	per 100 lb.
Beira " Gwelo	"	18s. 6d.	" "
Port Elizabeth " Gwelo	2nd Class	17s. 1d.	" "
Beira " Gwelo	"	12s. 10d.	" "
Port Elizabeth " Gwelo	2nd Class	13s. 8d.	" "
Beira " Gwelo	"	10s. 7d.	" "
Port Elizabeth " Gwelo	3rd Class	11s. 10d.	" "
Beira " Gwelo	"	9s.	" "
Port Elizabeth " Gwelo	4th Class	10s. 4d.	" "
Beira " Gwelo	"	7s. 9½d.	" "
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Port Elizabeth " Bulawayo	1st Class	21s. 9d.	" "
Beira " Bulawayo	"	18s. 9d.	" "

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Port Elizabeth to	Bulawayo	2nd Class	15s. 1d.	per 100 lb.
Beira	„ Bulawayo	„	13s. 1d.	„ „
Port Elizabeth	„ Bulawayo	2nd Class	12s. 4d.	„ „
Beira	„ Bulawayo	„	10s. 10d.	„ „
Port Elizabeth	„ Bulawayo	3rd Class	10s. 7d.	„ „
Beira	„ Bulawayo	„	9s. 3d.	„ „
Port Elizabeth	„ Bulawayo	4th Class	9s. 1d.	„ „
Beira	„ Bulawayo	„	8s. 2½d.	„ „

CHAPTER XIV

RAILWAY PROBLEMS

Conference between Salisbury Deputation and Directors.—Discussion on High Rates.—Beira Port of Entry.—Customs Difficulties.—Conference between Bulawayo Representatives and Directors.—Directors' Statement.—Railway Finances.—Chartered Company petition Imperial Government's Assistance.—Refusal from Secretary of State.

THE more generous policy adopted by the railway companies, coupled with the growing prosperity of Southern Rhodesia, caused a considerable revival in trade and a consequent increase in traffic, but railway rates still required constant re-adjustment, and there were many other railway reforms needed for the general benefit of the community.

The opportunity for the settlers to present their difficulties arose when the Directors of the British South Africa Company visited Southern Rhodesia in 1907. At a conference between the Directors and the Salisbury Chamber of Commerce one of the representatives of the Chamber put forward the views which were held by the majority of the people of Mashonaland.

After a few preliminary remarks he said:

“There undoubtedly exists at present in railway matters a similarity of interest between the people of this country and the British South Africa Company, which in other matters it may not be as easy as it is desirable to distinguish. We recognize that

it is not possible to press for a general reduction in the rates on our lines until such time as the traffic on the system is able to return over the expenses a sum which we consider a fair contribution towards the interest charge of a reasonable debt. But on this point we do not lose sight of the fact that the British South Africa Company are not without a certain responsibility, and although we accept the large sums which they have already paid under their guarantee for debenture interest as a discharge of that responsibility to some extent, we yet maintain that it is not entirely discharged, and that in the future a certain financial sacrifice is a necessary consequent to the many and various peculiar advantages which the construction of certain portions of the railway system has secured to them in the opening up, the development, and the populating of the country. In the early days it was found necessary to give away large tracts of land in order to introduce capital. This land was given away at the expense of the country, not of the British South Africa Company. When railways were required the *sine qua non* from the Chartered Company took the form of a guaranteed debenture interest. Had the capital been forthcoming without this guarantee we should not now be troubled with the problem of how to find the wherewithal to provide a return on what many of us still consider an unduly and unnecessary large capital outlay. We feel therefore that while it is not unreasonable for the British South Africa Company to expect that the people of this country in the rates paid should now contribute to some extent in the payment of this guarantee, we feel, also, most decidedly, that it is neither reasonable, nor is it in keeping with the spirit in which the British South Africa Company contracted these liabilities that they should now be considered as a charge

upon revenue, the whole of which the people of this country should bear at as early a date as possible, and that before a claim for reduced rates will be regarded as a commercial proposition and as a reasonable request. We are willing to assist, and our willingness springs from the latent desire which we all have that some day our railways may be our own—may be state owned—and that the spirit of co-operation may be robbed of the oppressive and always unwelcome sense of obligation. In the southern colonies the railway question to-day is one of burning interest. The coastal colonies are crying out at the loss of their in-transit trade and the unenviable desire for self-preservation has given birth to the suggestion for a federation of railway interests, but in no colony to the south is the railway question so complicated as it is in this country of ours. We have five railway companies, operating under a central management, it is true, but with proportionately conflicting interests. We are served by two ports, whereas we should be served by one, and with a strip of foreign country between us and the sea on the east, we are favoured with considerable attention by a great, but, from a railway point of view, rather unsuccessful colony to the south. We desire to see the spirit of federation applied to railway matters within our own borders—a unification of our railway system based upon an appreciation of the use and development of our own port, so that we ourselves may reap the full benefit of the carriage charges we pay. . . . We desire to see one principal port for Rhodesia and one main highway for Rhodesian imports. Economically and geographically Beira is this country's port, and we desire to see a railway policy in this country so moulded and eventually adjusted as to give an adequate appreciation of this fact. A move in this direction was made some time ago, presumably as

an outcome of a conference held in this town in 1904, but a step yet more decided is necessary to remove a doubt which at present acts detrimentally to the commercial interests of the country and which directly affects the contribution towards that debenture interest which is as oppressive to the British South Africa Company as it is a bugbear to us. We urge you therefore to give us your pledge that not only will it be your endeavour to further this end, but that you will be prepared to take the risk of possible sacrifice to attain it. We have already expressed our recognition of the obligations undertaken by the British South Africa Company in the construction of the various portions of the railway system in this country. We wish, however, to point out that it appears to us that the weight with which these obligations now fall might have been avoided. We would point to the northern line saddled with a debenture debt of $4\frac{1}{4}$ millions, and which it can scarcely be said has fulfilled the high expectations of the British South Africa Company as expressed by the chairman at a recent annual meeting of the Company. In part security of this debt a second mortgage was passed on the Bulawayo-Vryburg section of the Rhodesia Railways, and thus a portion of our main system is pledged in security for a debt on a line which it is extremely improbable will pay for many years. If further railway construction is contemplated we should like your assurance that it will be where there is greater promise of success, and where a staple traffic will be assured to our main line in order, by adding to the total, to make possible reduced working costs and eventually reduced rates. . . . We would draw attention as closely bearing on the railway question to the steamship service on the East Coast. At present there are some five or six lines calling at the port of Beira,

while others such as the Union-Castle line accept cargo with transshipment at Durban. We find that a very large portion of our Beira imports are carried by the German line, and this is made possible by the annual subsidy paid to the line by the German Government. The service by British lines is, with one exception, irregular and erratic. The Rennie line is the only one which offers regular facilities, but owing to the more lengthy west coast route, these boats do not reach Beira as a rule until some thirty to thirty-five days after leaving London. We consider that any improvement in the shipping facilities to Beira, especially in the matter of the time taken, would have a very direct result upon our railway system, as it would assist to secure for the port a further portion of what at present is competitive freight, namely the second-class imports of the Bulawayo district. We shall be glad to hear that the British South Africa Company will use its influence both direct and indirect to secure for the port of Beira more expeditious and regular steamship service. At the port of Beira itself we think much might be done to improve the facilities for the despatch of cargo. One of the German mail boats arrived in Beira on September 1st; goods were way-billed at the railway station on the 5th and reached Salisbury on the 10th. Cargo from one of the Rennie boats was delivered to Beira station on the 30th September and arrived in this town on the 9th of this month. In this latter case the boat left London on the 24th of August, so that the total journey London to Salisbury took forty-six days. We submit that as long as this length of time is taken in transit the railway company can never expect the Beira route to be popular, nor in comparison with the southern line to Bulawayo can they expect it will be utilized where, against the small advantage in the

rates has to be placed the three per cent. transit duty, and from twelve to sixteen days' interest on capital. We should like this matter to receive the consideration of the Railway Board, as we are given to understand that the Mozambique Company are willing to co-operate, and we feel sure that it is far from impossible to arrange for more expeditious handling at Beira, and also for goods to be brought to Salisbury in less than nine days after being handed to the railway at Beira. . . .

" *Transit Duty*.—The 3 per cent. in-transit duty levied at Beira on Rhodesian imports through that port has been the subject of considerable representation by this Chamber. That it acts as a deterrent to the utilization of the Beira route is, we think, admitted even by the Railway Company. . . . We have not the figure for the exact equivalent of this tax, but we believe it to be in the neighbourhood of £10,000 per annum, and allowing 75 per cent. of the freight for expenses, it would only require an increase of 4,000 tons per annum or 330 per month at an average of £10 per ton to re-imburse for the suspension. We do not expect that you are able or would wish to give us to-day a definite answer on this point, but having placed it before you in what we trust you will admit to be a reasonable manner, we shall be glad of an expression of opinion from the member of the Railway Board as to the reasonableness of our suggestion and as to whether the railway company are prepared to use their best efforts to press for a settlement of this difficulty.

" *Customs Work at Beira*.—One point in connection with the facilities at Beira which we wish to mention is the duplicated customs work, namely, the Portuguese and Rhodesian entries which are necessary. We appreciate the convenience of the Rhodesian Customs House at the port, but the fact

that entries have to be passed through the Portuguese as well as the Rhodesian customs is responsible for a considerable amount of delay. Would it not be possible for this Administration to come to an arrangement with the Portuguese authorities, who, we understand, have expressed their willingness to assist in all matters connected with Rhodesian in-transit trade, so that a copy of the Rhodesian entry—bearing if necessary the required Mozambique stamps—should be accepted by the Portuguese authorities for the purposes of their customs. This is a matter on which this Chamber has not as yet approached our local Administration, but which has an interesting bearing on the question of facilitating the despatch of Rhodesian goods from Beira. Lastly, we wish to touch on the subject of the Lobatsi-Zeerust connection which has, we understand, been put before you by our friends in Bulawayo. We regard the matter as interesting from the point of view of encouraging and accelerating communication with the Transvaal. We do not regard the route as offering an alternative line for oversea imports, nor do we desire to do so, but we feel that this country would reap advantage commercially by a closer connection and a shorter route to the Transvaal. In conclusion, we would say that we believe it to be the desire of the Rhodesia Railway Board to assist us in some minor points in establishing the port of Beira—it is so directly in their interest and in the interest of the British South Africa Company to encourage the utilization of a longer portion of the line in connection with which they are responsible for the debenture interest. But we ask for more than an interested sympathy. To be left to work out our own salvation is a primitive method of adjustment and, you will pardon our saying, a somewhat doubtful recognition of obligation. We ask

you to push a progressive policy, based upon mutual endeavour, so that when next we meet the subject of our discussion may be a successful commercial undertaking—a railway system which boasts for its freight the wealth of Central South Africa.”

In reply to this speech the Directors said that in regard to in-transit duties, the British South Africa Company was not responsible for the Beira Railway Companies, and it could not, therefore, directly effect the elimination of the 3 per cent. in-transit dues. These dues were given to the holders of the debentures of the Beira Railway and Beira Junction Railway, which debenture debts were in no way guaranteed by the British South Africa Company; the only guarantee for which the British South Africa Company was liable was for the interest on the money raised for widening the Beira line.

The Directors said that they were not prepared to make a general reduction in railway rates as they were faced with an annual railway deficit of £300,000. At the same time they were willing to make reductions in special cases.

In regard to the bolstering up of the Vryburg-Bulawayo section, the Directors explained that immediately the railways reduced their rates from Beira, the Cape, being in a much stronger position, met these reductions by reducing the rates to Vryburg, and it was, therefore, impossible to go in for a rate-cutting war. Beira, with its difficult line and large working costs, double staff and other disabilities, could not for some time to come compete with the more established line from the south. In the matter of obtaining a regular steamship service to Beira, and of accelerating the customs work at

that port, the Directors promised to lend their support.

At Bulawayo the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, in their interview with the Directors, also advocated greater efficiency at the port of Beira. They asked for a more certain railway policy, so that they might be in a position to know where they should establish their agencies and store-houses. At the same time they pointed out that a preference should be given to the Cape line for the class of goods immediately required in Southern Rhodesia, as the Beira route entailed enormous delays owing to the uncertainty of the steamship service and the cumbersome and dilatory methods adopted at the Beira Customs Office. They also asked the Directors to use their influence to obtain a direct connection between Southern Rhodesia and Johannesburg by continuing the line from Zeerust to Lobatsi, a distance of only forty miles, as this would add greatly to the general prosperity of the community.

The Directors of the British South Africa Company before their departure from Bulawayo published the following statement in regard to railways:

“The financial position of the railways does not permit of any general reduction of rates, but the Directors will endeavour to secure for the public all such facilities as are consistent with economical management.

“They recognize that the continuity of railway policy is of the highest importance to merchants in both Matabeleland and Mashonaland, because nothing disturbs and disorganizes business more than frequent fluctuations in rates of freight. The Directors will, therefore, recommend to the Railway Boards that this point be carefully kept in view.

“Steps will be immediately taken to put an end

to the existing delays in the despatch of goods from Beira.

“The Directors realize how much railways may assist in the development of the industries of the country and in the marketing of produce by a wise adjustment of both through and inter-station rates. They will, therefore, bring before the Railway Boards all the suggestions which have been made to them for adjustments of freights, having for their object either the fostering of an export trade in Rhodesian products or the transport and interchange of goods and produce between different parts of the territory.”

The relationship between the British South Africa Company and the Rhodesian Railways, as pointed out at a General Meeting of the Chartered Company Shareholders in 1908, is that the Chartered Company has guaranteed interest on nearly 12 millions railway debentures which have been raised for the construction of Rhodesian lines. This interest amounts to £522,659 per annum. Of the various sections, the Vryburg-Bulawayo line earns the whole of its debenture interest with a small surplus, the other lines in Southern Rhodesia earn a considerable portion of their debenture interest, while the northern extension from the Victoria Falls to Broken Hill earns none of its interest. Consequently the British South Africa Company has been obliged to meet an annual deficit of some £300,000.

In regard to the Broken Hill section, results so far have not justified the construction of that line, and as was pointed out by the delegate from the Salisbury Chamber of Commerce, the 4¼ millions capital, raised by the Rhodesia Railways, Limited, and the Mashonaland Railway Company, Limited, for the building of the line from Victoria Falls to Broken Hill, may be a serious handicap to the Southern

Rhodesia Railway sections, as the new line creates an annual debt which has to be met indirectly by the southern lines through the continuance of high railway rates.

The Broken Hill mines have hitherto not fulfilled their promise. Although they are rich in lead and zinc ores, all attempts to separate these metals have failed, except by processes too costly to be of any economic utility. In time a method of separating these metals may be found, but the knowledge will have been dearly bought. It is surprising that this difficulty was not discovered before the railway was constructed. The line, however, has conferred indirect benefits. It has rendered the administration of North-Western Rhodesia more efficient and less costly, and it has also enabled a large native labour supply to be brought down to Southern Rhodesia.

The line once constructed as far as Broken Hill, it was not difficult to find the further money necessary for extending it the remaining 230 miles to the Katanga Copper Fields. Funds were provided by the issue of 5½ per cent. debentures, the British South Africa Company subscribing £150,000 towards the capital, the rest being found with the co-operation of the Tanganyika Concessions, Limited. These copper fields are enormously rich, and the completion of the line to Katanga will furnish the whole railway system of Rhodesia with a considerable volume of additional up and down traffic. Coal will be sent up from the Wankie Coalfields north, and the ores from the western mines will be sent down to the coast. An increase in traffic, which will bring in less than ten shillings profit per mile per day, will be sufficient to meet the present deficit, and this may be expected in a few years, not only through the northern traffic, but also owing to the ever-increasing carriage of passengers and goods, a

larger coal export, and the growing prosperity throughout Southern Rhodesia.

Until this flourishing epoch arrives, the Board of the British South Africa Company is faced with an annual deficit which handicaps it in developing the other resources of the territory. The Board, therefore, determined to approach the Imperial Government with a view to obtaining assistance, and accordingly drew up a Memorandum which was submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on July 6th, 1908. The first portion of this Memorandum dealt with the work which had been accomplished by the British South Africa Company, and in a subsequent paragraph the following observations were made:

“10. Surveying the work achieved by the Company since the grant of the Royal Charter in the settlement and development of Rhodesia—Southern, North Eastern, and North Western—and the resulting advantages to be obtained in the territories by Colonists from the United Kingdom and elsewhere desirous of participating in the opening up and turning to account of the natural resources of Rhodesia, it is submitted that the time has arrived when assistance may properly be claimed by the Company from His Majesty's Government, for it is a matter of Imperial concern on both political and commercial grounds that the progress of what is rapidly becoming—if indeed it may not be already described as—one of the most prosperous Colonies of the British Empire should not be impeded for lack of Government support.”

The Memorandum further pointed out that the existing liabilities of the British South Africa Company, under its guarantee for railways, amounted to £6,810,000 principal and £520,471 per annum in-

terest, until November 1st, 1915; thence until May 1st, 1919, £420,471 per annum, and subsequently £295,471 per annum.

The Memorandum then gave the reasons for asking the assistance of the Imperial Government, and put forward certain proposals as follows:

“ 13. The traffic accruing to the Railway Companies has developed more slowly than it was reasonable to calculate when the lines were built, partly no doubt in consequence of the delay in the development of Rhodesia, to which reference has been made. It follows that the calls upon the British South Africa Company under its guarantees have been unexpectedly heavy, and have absorbed funds which if appropriated to the advancement of Rhodesia would have aided in an augmentation of traffic that in turn would have reduced deficits.

“ 14. Sums advanced by the British South Africa Company amounting to about £1,000,000 have been diverted from Rhodesia, and operations there have been restricted.

“ 15. It is desired to propound a scheme to the Railway Companies' Debenture-holders under the provisions of the Joint Stock Companies Arrangement Act, 1870, or otherwise, which will involve the amalgamation of the two Companies, an extension of the various redemption dates until January 1st, 1960, and a reduction of the interest upon all the debenture debts to £3 per cent. per annum, which it will be seen on reference to the accounts of the Railway Companies is substantially the interest earned by the railways.

“ 16. It is necessary to apply to H.M. Government for assistance, for without the Imperial credit it will not be possible to carry the scheme.

“ 17. It is believed that if offered an Imperial

guarantee of interest at the rate of £3 per cent. per annum for a term of fifty years, behind the guarantee of principal and interest by the British South Africa Company, the Railway Debenture-holders will accept this rate and exchange their debentures. The basis of the exchange must be the subject of enquiry and negotiation, but there will be no difficulty in fixing a maximum principal sum to which the guaranteed interest would extend. Ten million sterling is suggested as the maximum.

“18. For the reasons stated, it is believed that it would not, in fact, be necessary to resort to the Imperial guarantee, but if—contrary to expectation—anything had to be provided in any half-year, the obligation would fall in the first instance upon the British South Africa Company, and the Exchequer would be protected by the assets of the British South Africa Company described by the late Secretary of State as ‘all the assets of the country.’

“19. If this Company were relieved of periodical calls to pay the balance of interest unearned by the Railway Companies, it would be able to develop more actively the soil and minerals of Rhodesia, and to promote the settlement of colonists in numbers adequate to the extraordinary potentialities of the territories.

“20. In the early days of the Charter, when railway construction was first proposed, the Colonial Office officials suggested that in any debenture issues power should be taken to redeem debentures, so that, should circumstances arise making Government assistance expedient, the permanent burden of interest at a heavy rate could be avoided.

“21. In 1898, prior to the creation of the Rhodesia Railway Debenture issue of £4,250,000 at £4 per cent. per annum (except a small portion carrying only £3 per cent. per annum) application was

made to the then Chancellor of the Exchequer—Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, now Lord St. Aldwyn—for a Government guarantee of interest at £3 per cent. per annum in support of the liability of the British South Africa Company, but this was refused upon grounds which it is respectfully submitted no longer apply, having regard to the advance in the position of this Company in the last ten years.”

The Board of the Chartered Company received the following letter in reply to the Memorandum:

“Downing Street,
“2nd November, 1908.

“SIR,

“I am directed by the Earl of Crewe to refer to the interview between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary of State for the Colonies and yourself at the Treasury on the 23rd ultimo, and to inform you that he has had under his consideration, in consultation with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the proposals with regard to the Debentures of the Rhodesian Railways, which were contained in the Memorandum handed by you to Lord Crewe.

“It appears from that Memorandum that it is desired to convert these Debentures now bearing interest at 4 and 5 per cent., into a 3 per cent. security guaranteed for 50 years by the British South Africa Company in the first place and the Imperial Government in the second place.

“It is stated that the railways do not at present earn sufficient to pay the debenture interest in full, and that considerable demands are therefore made upon the Company under their guarantee. But there is no allegation that the Company are unable to meet these demands. On the contrary, in paragraph 10 of the Memorandum Rhodesia is stated to be

‘rapidly becoming—if indeed it may not be already described as—one of the most prosperous Colonies of the British Empire.’

“It is urged, however, that if the Company ‘were relieved of periodical calls to pay the balance of interest unearned by the Railway Companies, it would be able to develop more actively the soil and minerals of Rhodesia and to promote the settlement of Colonists in numbers adequate to the extraordinary potentialities of the Territories.’

“His Majesty’s Government are very sensible of the work which the Company has carried out in South Africa, and would regret to see any check imposed on its further development. But they have not undertaken any such financial responsibility in connection with its operations as is now proposed, and are not prepared to make any departure from this policy. They regret, therefore, to be unable to adopt the proposal put forward by the Company.

“I am, Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“(Signed) FRANCIS J. S. HOPWOOD.

“B. F. HAWKSLEY, ESQ.”

The refusal, therefore, of the Home Government to assist the Board in the Rhodesian railway guarantees has, for the time being, put an end to any hopes in this direction which may have been entertained.

PART IV
REVIEW AND FORECAST
CHAPTER I

WHITE POPULATION, COMMERCE, AND INDUSTRIES

Early Promise clouded.—Possibilities of Mining Industry.—Agricultural and Pastoral Prospects.—Commercial Difficulties.—Transport Riding still needed.—Afforestation.—Small Opening for Manufacturing Industries.—Building Trade increasing gradually.—Construction of Railways.—Beira the natural Port.—Projected Railway from Lobito Bay.—Future of Railway.—Growth of Population.—The Native Question.—Bright Prospects of Country.

IN reviewing the events in the history of Southern Rhodesia, two points stand out most prominently. First, the great possibilities and bright promise of the territory in its early days; and secondly, the numerous disasters which checked its progress.

The bright promise of the early days was due to the fact that a country had been found where white people could live and bring up children, a land of vast agricultural and ranching possibilities, and one where a stimulus to immigration was offered by the knowledge that a greater part of this enormous territory was in auriferous formation, and that its wealth of gold had already been proved by the existence of mines worked by a former race.

No less unusual than the wonderful possibilities presented by Southern Rhodesia were the checks

which it received from the native rebellions, the sweeping plagues among cattle, and the stagnation caused by the Boer War. Greater and more subtle than these was the insidious disease of distrust and bad credit which spread through the country owing to over-booming and rotten company promotions, a disease which affected the British public, who lost faith in the colony, attacked the pioneers who made their money by the extravagance of the companies, and spread to the British South Africa Company, who encouraged the promotion of these companies in the vain hope that they would, by the introduction of capital, develop the resources of the territory.

In Southern Rhodesia, as soon as the money of the companies was exhausted, the pioneers woke up to the mistakes that had been made, and at once petitioned the British South Africa Company for readjustment of the laws. The British South Africa Company, however, still vainly clung to the hope that its early expectations of the development of Southern Rhodesia by these large London speculators would be realized, but in course of time, seeing its mistake, it gave in to the reasonable requests of the people. It has been said that this disease has done more evil to Southern Rhodesia than all the other disasters which have overwhelmed it, and though the disease is now nearly stamped out, it still exists as a warning lest at some future time an attempt should be made to boom the country above its merits. Though the taint of the first mistake still hangs over Southern Rhodesia, the British public is gradually regaining confidence in the soundness of the colony. The auriferous resources of Southern Rhodesia have scarcely as yet been tapped, owing to the enormous extent of the territory in which the geological formation offers possibilities of

finding gold reefs, and therefore its wealth in this mineral is largely an unknown quantity, nor is there any justification for expressing an opinion, one way or the other, as to the intrinsic value of this unproved field of investigation. All that can be said is that the greater part of Southern Rhodesia is on gold belt. But from the present state of the gold-mining industry and the number of fresh reefs which are constantly being opened up, as well as from the ever increasing output of gold, there is every reason to believe that the next ten or fifteen years will show steady progress, though it would be impossible to speak with certainty about the more distant prospects of the most speculative industry in the world.

It would also be unwise to prophesy exactly in regard to the future of the other mineral resources of Southern Rhodesia. They, too, are unproved, though large coalfields, vast iron and copper mines, and other mineral deposits are known to exist.

Several members of the large group of Rand magnates have lately been interesting themselves in the mining possibilities of Southern Rhodesia, and have placed considerable capital in the country. Others, from Johannesburg, with smaller capitals, encouraged by the action of the larger mining groups and the flourishing reports sent down to them, have come up to Rhodesia with a view to investing their money in the country. Some of these have remained, while others have left, disgusted to find that whatever mining properties were offered to them had little or no development work done; they expected to find fully opened-up mines, and as their hopes were not realized, they as speedily condemned the territory as before they had been ready to believe in its great resources. Naturally the owner of a mining property, if he has brought it to a pro-

ducing stage, is not prepared to dispose of it without full recompense for the time and money he has expended on the mine, and the newcomers to the country must be satisfied, like the settlers before them, to start from grass roots, and to risk their money in the purely speculative work of prospecting and development. Many of the more successful members of the mining community are buying farms, and intend at a later period to settle altogether in the country and pursue a pastoral life, and it is probable, whenever the mineral wealth of the territory becomes exhausted, that most of the mining community will find their lives and destinies so inseparably linked with the country in which they have lived, that they will make Southern Rhodesia their home and will settle down to the more delightful and less strenuous and less speculative career of ranching or agriculture. Thus the "small workers" are a greater benefit to the community than the mining companies, as the profits of the former are used for further investment in the country, while the profits of the latter go to pay dividends to British shareholders.

In turning from the industries which, however vast and inexhaustible they may appear, are really but of limited duration, it is well to consider that industry which knows no limitation of time, and from which a country derives its true national wealth and greatness. If the agricultural and pastoral prosperity of a territory are assured, though it may pass through unparalleled disasters, it always has a solid foundation on which to rebuild its commercial and industrial prosperity, however many checks it may have received.

Though Southern Rhodesia had been found to be both an agricultural and pastoral country, the farming industry was only taken up with any zest about

the year 1903, but from that date onwards, through individual enterprise, it has made solid and assured progress, and land is rapidly being taken up and occupied. Many people, finding farming a pleasant and profitable occupation, have closed their businesses in the towns and have invested all their money in land. They are usually more successful than the new settlers, since they have studied the climatic and agricultural conditions of the country and have already established connections with the town merchants. Some had purchased farms a few years previously, and had employed a white man to look after their land until they had made enough money to take up farming themselves. They were thus enabled to start with a smaller capital than the new settlers, paying all the profits of their town business into the farm.

The immigration of a farming community has been comparatively slow on account of the large capital required to start the industry. The first year's crop cannot always be expected to pay for the initial cost of breaking up virgin soil, and owing to the high prices of all commodities of life, the farmer for a year or two has to incur a continuous expenditure to provide for his own wants and those of his employes. But when the farming population has considerably increased and competition among farmers has lowered the price of their produce and livestock, then the time will have arrived for would-be farmers with small capital to enter the country, as not only will they be able to stock their farms more cheaply, but also the greater demand for agricultural implements and all the commodities of life will have reacted in favour of the farmers by inducing more merchants to supply the increased demand, and the competition thus created among the merchants will have caused a general diminution in prices.

The British South Africa Company has offered

favourable opportunities to settlers who wish to take up land, and, by its recent action in throwing open the gold belt for farming, has benefited farmers and miners alike, by providing a market close at hand both for buyer and seller. Much sickness in former years was due to mining camps being almost entirely confined to tinned food, but the mining community can now live under much healthier and cheaper conditions, as it can be supplied with fresh meat, vegetables, butter, milk and eggs, which used to be almost unobtainable. The farmers also find in the mines a ready market for their mealies, and are able to dispose of their crops in this way at a lower price than if they were obliged to transport them to the towns or railways. Since the new regulations of the British South Africa Company with reference to the diet of native mine workmen came into force, every Kaffir has to be given a weekly ration of meat, vegetables and monkey-nuts, all of which the farmers can produce and supply to the mines.

The principal crop at the present time is mealies, 300 acres of which give as little personal trouble to the farmer as 10 acres of tobacco, but with increased competition the profits on mealies will be brought so low that farmers will be forced to cultivate crops requiring more science, skill, and attention, and where the profits are proportionately increased.

The future of Southern Rhodesia as one of the world's great farming countries is assured, and the time will come when it will be recognized as one of Great Britain's most valuable Colonial possessions.

Merchants have had, perhaps, a harder struggle than any other class of the community in Southern Rhodesia, because their business is absolutely dependent upon the general prosperity and upon the increase in the population. As, however, depression fell upon the country and the number of inhabitants

remained stationary, the merchants found themselves confronted with many bad debts—owing to bankruptcy on the part of their customers—ever-increasing deficits, and a consequent annual absorption of capital. Nor has the better tone of recent years benefited this class of the community to the same extent as others, on account of the overtrading which from the earliest days has always been carried on.

The mines of Southern Rhodesia are so scattered that no town can be said to be in the immediate centre of a mining district. The large orders from mines, therefore, will be executed by means of an agency at the port of Beira, which will send the goods direct to their various destinations. This system will be to the advantage of the commercial companies, as it will save double handling in the towns, and will benefit the mines, because they will get their goods more cheaply and with less waste of time.

The retail business in towns is greatly overdone. Of the private undertakings only those have been successful where the owner of the business has served behind the counter himself and has given his whole and undivided attention to making the venture a paying one.

Judging from the present outlook of Southern Rhodesia, there will be little opening for fresh commercial enterprises for some years to come, as the number of companies and private undertakings is already sufficient to supply the requirements of a greatly increased population. Trading with natives, once so lucrative an occupation, has now become less prosperous, owing to the fact that the natives require more European goods in exchange for the same quantity of corn, while the price of grain has fallen to one-third of what it used to be. The farmers are able to sell their mealies and make a profit at

a figure with which the trader cannot compete, and owing to the facilities now offered for taking up farms in the neighbourhood of mines, the farmers are able to supply both white men and black with many of the commodities formerly sold by the store-keepers. The business of the trader is, however, likely to continue, though its palmy days are over.

Though branch railways will continue to be constructed to tap the most important districts of Southern Rhodesia, transport riding with ox-wagons will always hold an important position in the industry of the country. As each district is connected up by a railway, fresh stimulus will be given to transport riding, as this will be the only means by which settlers, residing some distance from the line, can obtain their goods. Transport riding in another form will for a long time be needed on mines for bringing in mine timber and firewood.

Afforestation has as yet received little attention in Southern Rhodesia, though it is a matter which urgently requires the serious thought and consideration of legislators. Enormous tracts of forest land have already been cut down, and the country is being laid bare at an alarming rate. The destruction of trees not only deprives the country of a valuable asset, but also seriously affects the rainfall. Legislation will have to enforce replanting wherever timber has been cut down.

The establishment of manufacturing industries is not likely to come within the region of practical economics for many years, unless factories are set up in direct connection with mining and agriculture. In all new colonies it is found that money can be employed to better advantage in the production of the raw material, and that, apart from the fact that more profitable and rapid returns can be made from the latter, a manufacturing industry, established in a new

colony for the purpose of turning its own raw products into finished articles of manufacture, is generally doomed to failure owing to the inexperience and lack of organization of its promoters. It is probable that one of the first steps towards the establishment of a manufacturing industry will shortly be taken in the erection of smelting works for ores which require this special treatment, in order to reduce them to such a bulk as to allow of their being shipped to England on a successful commercial basis. The manufacture of a fine quality of tobacco and cigarette from the raw leaf is likely to be an economic success, but this is an exceptional case. A pork factory has been proposed and will shortly be established, and when the country becomes well stocked with cattle, Southern Rhodesia will no doubt carry on an extensive business in frozen meat.

The building trade cannot be expected to go ahead with any great rapidity. The increase of the European population in Southern Rhodesia is dependent upon the development and progress of the resources in the districts outside the towns, *i.e.* mining and agriculture, and to a large extent the growth of the towns will follow after, and be subservient to, the increase of the population in the mining and rural districts. Nor are the towns likely to forge ahead with the same rapidity as the country districts, owing to the economic methods which have already been adopted by the larger mercantile firms in establishing agencies at Beira. The growth of the towns must be a purely natural one and cannot be forced on the country, and the increase in building must be in proportion to the increase in the number of the inhabitants, and there is no reason to believe that the population of any town will go up with a rush. Any money required for building can be found locally, and if Southern Rhodesia is left

alone to work out its own salvation in this direction, the building industry, kept within the limits of requirement, will become a valuable investment and will add to the general prosperity of the country.

It has been repeatedly said that the British South Africa Company should have put its railway through Southern Rhodesia first, and allowed the white population to follow after. But this would have been the height of folly in view of the fact that the Company had only a limited capital at its disposal. It possessed no guide as to the direction in which the chief resources of the country lay; the territory was totally unexplored; its farming and mineral possibilities were only a matter of rumour; the suitability of its climate for white men was a matter of surmise; and the land was occupied by a savage race still unconquered. The money spent in the initial development of a new country must be considered as a pure speculation. It is only when the resources have been proved that the introduction of further capital is justified. The construction of railways began immediately after the occupation of Southern Rhodesia, but for the first few years the progress made was slow. At the present day, however, the country is served with an excellent railway system, and as the resources of particular districts become opened up, branch lines are extended to those parts which are most prosperous.

Beira is the natural port of entry to the territory, and with the increasing traffic along the Beira line the Rhodesia railway companies will so reduce their rates that in time the seaport towns of the older Colonies will practically cease to be used for the transport of goods to Southern Rhodesia. At the present time, however, Cape Town has

the advantage of being the most direct and shortest sea route from England, and consequently goods can be landed in Southern Rhodesia more quickly from that seaport than from Beira, but, as is always the case, the cost of freight is felt not so much in the actual distance by sea as in the distance by rail. Beira has a perfect natural harbour, capable of holding an enormous amount of shipping. As a Rhodesian port it will continue to increase in importance. But the one and only great advantage which the ports of the southern Colonies can hold out to Rhodesia—a quicker route to England—is sooner or later doomed. A railway has been projected, and is already being constructed, from Lobito Bay, on the coast of Portuguese West Africa, to join the Cape to Cairo Railway at a point in Northern Rhodesia, and steamers calling at this Bay will in time be able to land passengers and goods in Southern Rhodesia far more quickly than by the Cape, and, in fact, Rhodesia will be in more direct communication with Europe than the rest of South Africa. But as the distance by rail from the west coast to the principal towns of Southern Rhodesia is much greater than from the east coast, the majority of goods will still continue to be landed at Beira, and Beira will therefore remain the chief port to the country.

The railway system of Rhodesia will consequently not only be very extensive, but will also play an important part in the politics and future history of the rest of South Africa.

The capital for the construction of the Rhodesia Railways has been largely raised by the issue of debentures, the interest upon which is guaranteed by the British South Africa Company, and the payment of this interest is assured so long as the British South Africa Company can meet its liabilities, which, from

the present prosperous outlook, is more than probable. But if so unlikely a contingency were ever to arise as that the Company should be unable, through lack of funds, to administer Southern Rhodesia, and so become obliged to realize its assets, the Imperial Government, unwilling to lose so valuable a territory, would doubtless buy out the entire interests of the Company, including the railways, and would convert the old debentures into new Government Stock. The present railway debentures may, therefore, be looked upon as safe investments.

The white population, from the early days of the occupation up to the present time, has comprised the more adventurous Englishmen and the more progressive Colonials. Though a small Dutch element has found its way into the country, the true Boer is little met with, and as with Natal so with Southern Rhodesia the English element is always more likely to prevail. With the progress Southern Rhodesia is now making, there is bound to be a large influx of people from the south, and a good percentage will be composed of hard-working Colonial farmers, besides a sprinkling of Dutch; but it is improbable that the unprogressive element, either Dutch or English, will find its way into Southern Rhodesia.

Any attempt to plant a large number of inhabitants in the country without at the same time seeing that each one has some definite occupation in view, is bound to end in disaster, particularly if the new settlers lack both capital and experience. In a few years' time, when the colonists have greatly increased, Southern Rhodesia will be strong enough to receive large immigration schemes and will gradually settle a vast white population over the whole territory.

The towns offer at present small inducement for any great influx of inhabitants, as the two important

industries—mining and farming—are carried on outside. In time to come, when smelting works have been put up and factories established, there will be greater reason for the enlargement of the towns, and thus the nucleus of cities will be formed.

Though it is unwise to rush a population into a new country, yet the prosperity of every colony must depend upon the steady increase in the number of its inhabitants. Cheapness of white labour, of transport and of all commodities of life, is in direct proportion to the growth in the population, because a greater number of people creates an immediate reduction in prices. The sellers of all commodities of life, as the population for which they cater increases, enlarge their business and consequently make higher profits. This flourishing state of things at once induces rivals to enter the market, and the increased competition not only lessens the number of customers served by each individual seller, but also lowers the cost of all commodities. The railways, having considerably more up and down traffic, find it possible to reduce the rates on the goods they carry, and this again enables the merchants to sell their stock at a lower price still, in proportion to the cheaper facilities of transit. The diminished cost of living thus effected will allow Europeans to work at a lower wage than formerly and will permit of the influx of settlers with much smaller capitals, and this will create further rivalry, and consequently another reduction in wages and living expenses. Though only the same amount of capital may be in circulation each year, yet it will purchase a greater quantity of goods, and will provide for more white labour, in proportion to the gradual cheapening of commodities and wages. But the reduction of wages will have no prejudicial effect on white employés, as the cost of living will go down in the same pro-

portion, and with the increasing facilities for importing European luxuries, the lower wages will buy more comforts than could formerly have been purchased with higher salaries.

A difficult problem which has to be faced in Southern Rhodesia, and one which requires very serious consideration, is the Native question. The economic development of the country depends entirely upon the supply of native labour. The number of natives in Southern Rhodesia alone, exclusive of the importation of alien races from other territories, is far more than sufficient to supply all the present requirements, if only they could be induced to work. Under the rule of the British South Africa Company, now that there are no tribal wars, the native population is increasing enormously. The influence of European civilization is already having its effect on the natives and is inducing the younger generation of Kaffirs to seek employment in order to satisfy their increasing requirements, but the supply of labour is still totally inadequate. There are therefore two separate questions to be faced. The first is how to induce the natives to work, the second is how to guide the future generations of natives into the right channels for making them good citizens and useful members of the community. Many attempts have been made to solve the first, but though the problem is one which attracts great attention owing to the pressing need of the moment, it is really only of a temporary nature, as contact with Europeans and the immensely growing black population will be the natural solution. The second, however, is of much greater importance and fraught with more far-reaching consequences. The fact has to be faced that many of the younger generation of Kaffirs have an insatiable desire to adopt European civilization. For fear, therefore, that this, if not carefully guided, may

lead to harmful results, it is important that facilities should be offered to the more progressive natives for obtaining a training under European influence. As Kaffirs are as yet not capable of receiving a high intellectual training, their education should not go much beyond elementary reading and writing, and special attention should be paid to teaching them some form of manual labour. The great principle underlying the system should be to make them useful citizens and loyal subjects of the Government.

Under the existing Constitution the native has the same franchise as the white man. In spite of the simple qualifications necessary to obtain this franchise the native vote has not yet become a factor in the elections of the country, as Kaffirs so far have not reached a stage in civilization when they take an interest in politics. It is, therefore, doubtful if it is a wise policy to give them a vote before there is any demand. Later, when the native element becomes more important, there may be a feeling of regret that this franchise was granted, and it would then be almost impossible to withdraw it. No objection would be raised if the native franchise were cancelled now, but if later it seemed consistent with the policy of good government to give natives the vote, legislation could easily be introduced for this purpose in the direction considered best for the well being of the whole country. It is an unwise thing to grant the franchise at the present time to an uncivilized race, which cannot appreciate and does not use the privilege, and it is unfair to future generations of white men, because the native population, vastly greater numerically, may become a serious menace to the economic progress of the country as soon as it takes an active interest in politics.

During the year 1908 the whole of Southern

Rhodesia has been marked by steady and increasing prosperity. From the beginning of January, 1908, to the end of January, 1909, no less than 949 persons have taken up land in Southern Rhodesia through the Estates Office of the British South Africa Company, while numbers of others have acquired farms by private purchase. The area of land sold or leased during the year through the British South Africa Company's Farm Settlement Scheme was 1,169,365 acres, and the average capital of these new colonists amounted to £800 per family. The Company has established central farms where settlers may obtain a knowledge of local farming before taking up their land.

The total yield of gold for 1908 amounted to £2,526,007, and was a record in the history of Southern Rhodesia. The small gold miners, who in that year increased from 155 to 221, contributed over 40 per cent. of the output. The yield of silver nearly doubled that of previous years, and the production of diamonds, coal, chrome iron, lead, and copper showed marked progress.

The great activity in mining and agriculture produced a general improvement in the Rhodesia railways, and a consequent increase in imports, during 1908, of the value of £100,000. For the twelve months ending March 31st, 1908, the British South Africa Company paid £280,000 under their guarantee for debenture interest, being a slight reduction on the previous year; and from recent returns, it is estimated that the net shortage for the twelve months ending March 31st, 1909, will amount to only £180,000.

Since the census in 1907 the European population has gone up from 14,018 to 15,118, and the same prosperity which has attended the white inhabitants has also followed the blacks. The native population

continues to increase rapidly, and their flocks of sheep and herds of cattle grow steadily larger.

The prospects of Southern Rhodesia have never been brighter than they are to-day, and the belief in its future prosperity is now based on solid and substantial grounds.

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATION

Questions of Self-Government.—Financial basis of settlement necessary.—Definition needed of British South Africa Company's holdings.—Advisability of Investigation into Allocation of Revenue and Expenditure since Occupation.—Terms on which British South Africa Company might be bought out.—Financial Problems under Self-Government.—Effect on Southern Rhodesia of a United South Africa.—Terms on which she might eventually enter the Union.—Probable effect of her inclusion.

THE influence of the white population in Southern Rhodesia on the Administration of the country, and the manner in which the people have gradually come to play a more prominent part in the government of the territory, have been already traced. It had been one of Mr. Cecil Rhodes' dreams that the reins of Government should in course of time be taken over by the people themselves, and the present form of Administration, with a majority of elected members in the Legislative Council, is but a step in the right direction towards the Colony becoming self-governing. Thoughtful people in Southern Rhodesia have now recognized that the time has not yet come for self-administration, and they acknowledge that the British South Africa Company, whatever its mistakes may have been in the past, has developed the country upon broader principles than would probably have been effected under the direct control of the Imperial Government.

In a country where the white population numbers scarcely more than 15,000—no larger numerically than a small English country town—it is unlikely that enough suitable men could be picked from the various trades and professions to carry on the Administration and lay the foundations of a great State. The nervous and unbalanced judgment, which is still characteristic of the people of Southern Rhodesia, is sufficient evidence that the majority are not at present able to undertake the burden of self-government. The Legislative Election of 1908 produced very little excitement or competition; the difficulty was rather in finding candidates to stand. The Council itself is not always made up of the best legislators that the country can produce, as many have to hold back for fear of handicapping themselves in business, while others, especially farmers and mine owners, have not the leisure needed for a Legislative Councillor. There are few independent men in Southern Rhodesia; nearly all are either directly or indirectly engaged in business either with companies or with individuals or with both, and the policy of the elected member is bound to clash with either one or the other. The manager of a mining company, for instance, cannot promote legislation which shall be against the interests of his company, nor can he afford to quarrel with his employers, and it will therefore be difficult for him to give an unbiassed vote. Merchants and solicitors are in a worse predicament, because their clients and customers are drawn from both the companies and the settlers, and whatever attitude they adopt, they are bound to offend one party, and probably thereby lose considerable business. A typical instance of the influence of business interests upon a member's policy was seen in the election campaign of 1908. The election was fought on the

question of whether or no mining claims, on which development work was not being done each year, should be forfeited. Though the individual settlers held more claims than the companies and would therefore have been more likely to suffer by such legislation, they recognized the general benefit this measure would confer on the community. The companies, however, suddenly faced with the possibility of many of their claims being forfeited—claims which had been of no use to them, except to parade before the shareholders at the General Meetings as valuable assets—at once rose in indignant protest against the proposed measure. One or two able men who had considered the possibility of standing at the election, realizing that in so doing they were bound to offend either the mining companies or the settlers, refrained from entering into political life, recognizing that, as feeling was so high, they would inevitably damage the firm they represented, no matter what policy they might adopt. Other candidates performed wonderful mental acrobatic feats in order to adjust their political views to the wishes of the majority.

In 1903 and 1904 an agitation, which was met with marked hostility by the greater number of the people, was set on foot in Southern Rhodesia for the introduction of Chinese Labour on the mines. A principal mover in favour of the Chinese, and one who at public meetings vehemently advocated their employment, executed a remarkable change of front four years later. In contesting a seat for the Legislative Council in 1908, he announced, to the amazement of his audience, that he had never been really in favour of the introduction of Chinese Labour into Rhodesia, and that, if any attempt had been made to import this alien race, he would strongly have opposed it. He acknowledged that he had advocated this form

of labour for Rhodesia, but his motive for doing so was solely and entirely to help the movement in the Transvaal. He considered that Chinese were necessary for the economic development of the Rand mines, and by creating an agitation for the importation of Chinese into Rhodesia, which he knew would never come about, he would be strengthening the cause of the Rand mine owners. No doubt the Transvaal felt deeply gratified by these magnanimous and untiring efforts, but it scarcely suited the people of Rhodesia to be made into a mere tool, by one of their own elected members, for forwarding the policy of a colony with which they had no particular bond in common. Nor was this statement a very cheering guarantee to his electors that the programme of administrative reform, which he had put before them with as much assurance as he had the introduction of Chinese Labour four years previously, would really be the scheme which he would endeavour to have carried through the Legislative Council, or whether it was intended as a political move to help on some administrative reform on the coast of Labrador or in Timbuctoo. Such versatility of mind, in order to suit the popular taste, was not confined to one candidate only. Others, who had been rabid in their attacks on the British South Africa Company and had advocated abolishing the present form of Government, lock, stock, and barrel, finding that this policy was not favoured by the majority, completely swung round in their views when the elections came on, and professed themselves in favour of the more moderate measures.

It is self-evident from the unbalanced political views which some people still hold, and from the obstacles to obtaining independent men as representatives, that the moment has not yet arrived for

the colony to become self-governing, though that time may not be very far distant.

The question of the conditions under which Southern Rhodesia will become a self-governing colony is a matter of great perplexity, and one which will require most careful investigation before any solution can be arrived at. It is probable that by the time Southern Rhodesia is in a position to take up the reins of Government, North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia will still be in too undeveloped a state to assume such a responsibility, though self-government must inevitably be granted to both these colonies sooner or later. It will, therefore, be necessary in the first place, before any attempt is made to arrive at a financial basis of settlement between the British South Africa Company and Southern Rhodesia, that all Capital, Revenue, and Expenditure, both administrative and commercial, which have been absorbed in these northern territories, should be deducted from the general account of the Chartered Company. Similarly, all Capital, Revenue, and Expenditure sunk by the British South Africa Company in other ventures outside the territory, should also be deducted. There will then remain the Capital, Revenue, and Expenditure accounts of the British South Africa Company's administrative and commercial operations in Southern Rhodesia only.

The balance sheet of the British South Africa Company's undertakings in all countries, including Southern Rhodesia, for the year ending March 31st, 1908, was published in the Directors' Report on February 26th, 1909, and shows an issued Capital of £6,000,000 ordinary shares, and £1,413,907 10s. 6d. debenture shares at varying rates of interest. The total Capital on March 31st, 1908, therefore, amounted to £7,413,907 10s. 6d.

The shares were issued at various periods, and the British South Africa Company with the premiums it made on the sale of these shares realized a total sum of £4,242,330 2s. 7d.

The Company has also received, since the occupation, £869,399 8s. 5d. from sales of lands, stands, and mining shares.

Looking broadly at the subject, if the people could come to terms with the British South Africa Company, their best policy would undoubtedly be to buy out the entire interest of the Company in Southern Rhodesia, but as there are so many difficult questions of vital importance to be settled in regard to the relationship of the Chartered Company to Southern Rhodesia, resort would have to be made to the highest legal authorities of Great Britain. The most important of these questions would be the exact definition of the Chartered Company's holdings, and included under this heading would be the determination of land ownership, which is a matter still under dispute. The Chartered Company claims that all unalienated land is its own private property; the settlers on the other hand maintain that the British South Africa Company only holds the land in trust until some other form of Government comes in. Meanwhile, the British South Africa Company is selling land to the settlers, and undoubtedly the proceeds of these sales should, for the present, be put to a Suspense Account and invested in first class securities. If the British South Africa Company could prove its claim to the land, the cash from the sales should not go to general expenditure, as the Company would be gradually reducing its assets by selling the land, and the money should therefore be used, if the Company's claim is substantiated, for the redemption of its issued debentures. If, however, the settlers could prove that the

land is only held in trust by the Chartered Company, the amount which the British South Africa Company had taken from the proceeds of sales would have to be placed to the credit of the Administration plus the interest accruing thereon, and the whole taken into account in the final settlement.

This would give rise to a second important point, *i.e.*, the allocation of Revenue and Expenditure since the occupation of Southern Rhodesia. Both sides of the account would have to be adjusted, and where administrative revenue had been taken by the commercial side, and commercial expenditure charged to the administrative side, or *vice versa*, the accounts would have to be corrected.

Mr. Rhodes considered that when the people of Southern Rhodesia took over the reins of Government, the British South Africa Company would retain its interest in the mineral rights of the country, but since his death the Directors of the Company have come to realize that their original plan of taking shares in all gold-mining companies floated is unworkable and retards the mining industry. They have therefore consented instead to accept a 5 per cent. royalty on all gold won. This royalty is placed to the commercial side of their account, whereas in all other gold-mining countries in the world, where royalties are exacted, they are paid to the Administration, and the royalty is generally not more than 2 per cent. of the gold won. The British South Africa Company is, however, in a different position. It is a commercial company, and is the holder of all the mineral rights in Southern Rhodesia. It is therefore justified in putting the total royalties to its commercial side, and is also justified in exacting a royalty of 5 per cent., though, when it is considered from the side of expediency, it is doubtful whether a royalty as great

as 5 per cent. will help to stimulate fresh mining industry in Southern Rhodesia. The Directors, in considering the question in 1907, pointed out that the policy of a 5 per cent. royalty could only be experimental, and if it did not succeed they would be prepared to accept a lower royalty. The British South Africa Company, therefore, at the present time is willing to adopt an open-minded attitude towards this question, because, though a commercial company, it also governs Southern Rhodesia, and must therefore be prepared to benefit the colonial community as well as its shareholders. If, however, the Company, as an administrative power, were eliminated from Southern Rhodesia, but retained its mineral rights in the territory, its attention would be confined to the interests of its shareholders only and as long as it received a fair return from the 5 per cent. royalty, it would not be prepared to accept anything less, though a lower royalty might confer far-reaching benefits on the general mining industry of the territory. It would be well, therefore, in making the final settlement with the British South Africa Company, for the people of Southern Rhodesia to negotiate with the Company to buy out its entire mineral rights in the territory.

In considering the basis on which the settlers of Southern Rhodesia would have to make their negotiations with the British South Africa Company, the question of readjustment of accounts and the determination of the exact assets of the Company would first have to be settled, but whether or no the British South Africa Company could prove its claim to the farm land is not of such vital importance as at first sight might be imagined. The people of Southern Rhodesia would not be prepared to assume responsible government unless they took over the whole, or the greater part, of the farm lands, as it

would be impossible for them to raise any credit in Europe if the land were not their own.

If the British South Africa Company could prove its claim to the unalienated land, and were prepared to negotiate a sale with the people, upon what terms could this sale be effected? Obviously it would be impossible, in dealing with so vast an area, to put the land at so much an acre, or to attempt in any way to make a fixed valuation on an asset of absolutely unknown possibilities. The purchase of the British South Africa Company's interests must, therefore, be arranged by arbitration and compromise, and special consideration should be paid to (1) The total capital invested by the shareholders of the British South Africa Company; (2) The allowance of a fixed accumulated interest on the ordinary capital subscribed by the Chartered shareholders; (3) All expenditure incurred in excess of revenue; and (4) Compensation for eliminating the commercial element of the British South Africa Company from the territory.

On the other side of the account must be put (1) All revenues which should have been allocated to the administrative side but have been taken by the commercial side of the Company: this would probably include all past quit rent on land which had not been paid by the British South Africa Company since its occupation of the country; (2) Any dividends paid to Chartered shareholders before the final settlement; (3) Any profits made by the British South Africa Company before the final settlement: this would probably include the premiums on the sale of Chartered shares; and (4) An adequate sum in compensation for any interests which the British South Africa Company might still retain within the territory.

If, however, the British South Africa Company

were unable to prove its claim to the title of the land, it would still have to be bought out on much the same principles as above. The Chartered shareholders have subscribed large sums of money for the acquisition and development of a new British possession, and for this they deserve full recompense, a return of their capital invested, plus a fair and moderate rate of interest for the period that it has been locked up and compensation for ceding their rights to the people.

An amicable arrangement could only be arrived at after a legal decision had been made as to the exact holdings of the British South Africa Company, and after a Court of Arbitration had fixed the exact amount to be paid to the Chartered Company. No settlement, however, could be final without the sanction of the Imperial Government.

One further point would have to be considered, viz., the acquisition by the people of all the railways south of the Zambesi at present under the control of the British South Africa Company. No difficulty would probably be found in coming to a satisfactory arrangement. The capital raised through the British South Africa Company for the construction of these lines amounts to about £7,500,000 and no doubt the Company would be glad to be relieved of its guarantee for payment of debenture interest.

There still remains, however, the great problem of the raising of the funds necessary to a financial settlement with the British South Africa Company in regard to the whole of its claims, including the railways. The Imperial Government, as has already been indicated, could alone stand as guarantor for the entire transaction, and the large sum of money for buying out the Chartered Company's interests would have to be raised by the issue of Bonds guaranteed by the British Government. It is

obvious that money procured in any other way would involve an enormous annual expenditure in payment of interest on these bonds. Some of the capital raised by the British South Africa Company in the form of debentures had to be borrowed at 5 and 6 per cent., and at market price to-day it bears an even higher rate of interest. If any one but the Imperial Government acted as guarantor for Southern Rhodesia, the money would have to be obtained on much the same terms. With the Imperial Government, however, as guarantor, the whole of the money could be borrowed at from 3 to 4 per cent. It cannot be doubted that the Imperial Government, which, through the energy and individuality of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes, has gained a valuable colony, without having had to spend a shilling from the Imperial exchequer upon it, would come forward, when the time arrived, and put its warrant to the issue of such bonds.

The purchase price of all the British South Africa Company's assets south of the Zambesi would amount to a considerable national debt for a young colony, and however fit the colonists may now be to assume responsible government, the time has not yet arrived for the country to bear the burden of paying interest, even at 3 per cent., on the debt that it would have to create. At the present time the total administrative and commercial revenue only just exceeds the administrative expenditure, and if the people had to pay a large annual interest on the money they had borrowed, they would be immediately faced with an annual deficit. It is not improbable, however, that within a few years the country will be financially strong enough to bear this extra taxation.

The interests of Southern Rhodesia are undoubtedly linked with those of the southern colonies,

and the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes' dream of a United South Africa is already within sight of realization. An effort is now being made to draw the separate colonies into a closer union one with another and to unite them in one dominion, each state forming an integral part of the whole. Though Southern Rhodesia is governed under different conditions from the rest of the colonies, she cannot be expected always to stand aloof from them.

A South African National Convention, consisting of representatives of the four self-governing colonies, which had for its object the unification of the whole of South Africa, was held at Durban, and began its sittings on October 12th, 1908. To this Conference representatives from Southern Rhodesia were invited. The Convention subsequently adjourned to Cape Town, and continued its sittings until 1909.

In a Bill to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament, published by the Convention on February 10th, 1909, the following section made it possible for Rhodesia to enter the union :

“The King with the advice of the Privy Council may, on addresses from the Houses of Parliament of the Union, admit into the Union Colonies not originally included therein, and territories, including the territories administered by the British South Africa Company, on such terms and conditions as to representation and otherwise in each case as are in the addresses expressed and approved by the King; and the provisions of any Orders in Council in that behalf shall have the effect as if they had been enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.”

If the proposals made by the Convention are carried out, and a union is formed, Southern Rhodesia, when she enters the union, as she is ulti-

mately bound to do, will be obliged, like other individual colonies, to make certain sacrifices for the benefit of the whole community. Meanwhile she will indirectly gain advantages by the unification, though remaining for the present outside its sphere of influence.

In 1907, when Dr. Jameson was in Southern Rhodesia, he expressed the view that no colony could enter the union until it had obtained responsible government, and upon this point the majority of settlers of Southern Rhodesia were agreed. Nor is it likely that this young colony will join the union immediately she assumes self-government; rather will she wait till she can see the exact benefit she will derive by taking such a step. The older the country grows, the wider knowledge she gains in the administration of her own affairs, and the more prosperous she becomes, the better will be her position for negotiating with the rest of United South Africa. The danger of entering the union in the near future, while she is still a young country with her enormous wealth unrecognized, is that she may, for a time, become swamped by her absorption into the union, and it is necessary for the prosperity of every state that, while united in the whole system, they should each clearly retain their independent characteristics, and profit by their own particular advantages.

The people of Southern Rhodesia have much to learn during the next few years in the work of administering their own affairs. Many have gained considerable experience from the past, and there is plenty of untrained ability in the country, which with guidance will do useful work for the colony. Since the death of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, there has been no strong will to inspire and stimulate the minds of the settlers, and for years they have been

like sheep without a shepherd. It is the natural result of the sudden severing of a strong influence. Mr. Rhodes will stand out for all time as a great leader of men, a genius with characteristics peculiar to himself, whose indomitable power and personality, whose breadth of foresight and character, are not met with once in a century. He was one of those rare public men who on account of his extraordinary and many-sided ability was bound to become indispensable, and for that reason his death was an overwhelming disaster, because it brought almost to an end far-reaching schemes which were entirely under his control, and left the great mass of people leaderless and without a clear aim and purpose like children groping in darkness. It is not to be expected, perhaps not to be desired, that a second man of such power should come forward and take his place. Several persons have imagined that the cloak of Mr. Rhodes has fallen upon them, but there is only one man living who has any right to take up the work which Mr. Cecil Rhodes laid down.

Dr. Jameson, the intimate friend and follower of Mr. Rhodes ever since the early Kimberley days, has earned the confidence not only of the settlers of Southern Rhodesia, but also of the southern colonies and of the British public. He has a profound knowledge of the wishes of his great friend and adviser, and is imbued with the same Imperial spirit. Upon the occupation of Mashonaland, Dr. Jameson administered the affairs of the territory during the years of its infancy, and won the confidence and esteem of the population. Since the Jameson Raid, however, he has severed his connection with Southern Rhodesia, except as one of the Directors of the Chartered Company, and his time has been devoted to the politics of the southern colonies, in which he has taken a prominent part

both as Premier of Cape Colony and as champion of Imperial ideals. In 1907 he came up to Rhodesia with other Directors of the British South Africa Company, and was warmly welcomed by those settlers who knew him in the early days. He afterwards won the esteem and goodwill of the whole community by the statesmanlike and broad-minded way in which he tackled the many divergent and perplexing questions of the country, as well as by the independence of judgment and force of character which refused to be swayed by fear of company-mongers, but was actuated by a desire to benefit the whole territory and the investing British public. It is to be hoped that Dr. Jameson has not forgotten his visit to Southern Rhodesia in 1907, and that when the important proposals made by the South African National Convention have been ratified by the Imperial Government, he may once again direct his attention to the country in which he started his political life. He has not failed to see that the prophecy of Mr. Cecil Rhodes is coming true, and that, young as Southern Rhodesia is, she will in future years become the most valuable and important state in United South Africa. It is therefore a magnificent ideal for which to work, to fashion and guide the country in the direction which will be most beneficial to her future. The time for self-government in Southern Rhodesia is not far distant, and with a man like Dr. Jameson to negotiate the terms for entering the Union of South Africa, the position of the country would be greatly strengthened.

The question now arises, what effect, considering the geographical position and natural wealth of Southern Rhodesia, will the inclusion of this colony in United South Africa have upon the southern colonies, and in what manner will it react upon Southern Rhodesia. The two great resources of Southern

Rhodesia are its mining and its farming industries. Gold-mining is already established in the country, and other forms of mining are in embryonic stages of development. It is unlikely that the mining industry, except coal, will have any effect or bearing on the relationship between Rhodesia and the southern colonies, as the raw minerals will be exported direct to England. Rhodesian coal, however, may later on be more extensively used on the southern colonial railways and on the Rand mines.

The mineral wealth of Southern Rhodesia will not, therefore, play an important part in the negotiations in regard to federation, but the strength of her position will lie in her easy access to Europe, and the fact that she is likely to become the farming centre of South Africa.

For reasons already given the port of Southern Rhodesia is bound to be Beira. There will, therefore, be very little import or export trade through the southern colonies, nor in the future will the old Cape route be used, as now, for first and second class goods, or for those passengers who wish to take the short West Coast voyage, as the journey will be made *via* Lobito Bay, in Portuguese West Africa, direct to Rhodesia. But the Transvaal, as well as Rhodesia, will reap a benefit, as this line will be the quickest means of communication between England and Johannesburg. The southern colonies, though of no use to Southern Rhodesia as a means of exit and ingress, will offer a ready market for her farm produce, and the southern colonies will here derive a direct benefit by having a large agricultural country at their doors, from which to buy plentiful and cheap supplies. Southern Rhodesia, however, will not be wholly dependent on the southern colonies for an outlet for her farm produce, as her rapid access to Europe will provide her with an extensive oversea

trade with Great Britain in meat and agricultural produce. These great advantages will put her in a strong position when the time comes for negotiating with the southern colonies in regard to unification.

It is left to the prophet to gaze into the dim and shadowy pages of the future and read the outline of Southern Rhodesia's history. She may have many more storms yet to weather before Mr. Cecil Rhodes' dream is accomplished and this vast territory is filled with a large and thriving population from Great Britain. But however far or however near that time may be, the country is steadily advancing in the right direction, and the whole British race owes a deep debt of gratitude to him whose name is fittingly commemorated in the territory of Rhodesia.

POSTSCRIPT

AT the risk of appearing tedious, it is necessary to add a few words in order to bring the readers of the foregoing sketch in touch with the most recent events in Southern Rhodesia.

A tour through several of the mining and farming districts of Mashonaland, after a twelve months' absence from the country, has shown the writer how marked a progress the colony has made in the past year. Fresh profitable gold-mining ventures are being constantly opened up both by companies and individual workers, while a greater stimulus has been given to the mining of base metals by the extension of a branch line into the chrome iron districts. Nearly every farmer in the country is making a good living, while not a few are reaping substantial profits. Unfortunately African coast fever broke out in one district, but the disease has been successfully confined to a small area. The tobacco industry has been disappointing. The quality of the leaf is unquestionable; but the British South Africa Company, who undertook the selling of the tobacco, was only able to secure from the merchants at the Cape 1s. per lb. as against 3s. 7d. per lb. for imported tobacco. The farmers are naturally dissatisfied, and a large number have given up growing tobacco and will not resume operations until they get some guarantee that their tobacco will fetch a better price.

The Legislative Council started its deliberations

on May 17th, and after a twelve days' session, successfully got through its business for the whole year, without a single division.

Reference has been made in the foregoing chapters on natives to the objectionable sale of Kaffir beer by Mashonas and Matabeles to natives working on the mines. A bill was introduced during the session just ended requiring all sellers of Kaffir beer to take out a £2 licence. By this means it is hoped that drunkenness and brawling will be restricted.

The recruiting of labour outside Southern Rhodesia has now been transferred to the Government of the territories north of the Zambesi; but the Native Labour Bureau continues its work within Southern Rhodesia. Mineowners are, however, more dissatisfied than ever with the methods of the Bureau, for not only does this organization exact a tax of 1s. per month for each boy employed on a mine whether that boy is recruited by the Bureau or not, but according to the new scale of capitation fees passed at the Quarterly General Meeting held on May 27th, 1909, applicants for mine labour, if they receive boys recruited by the Bureau are in addition forced to pay fees ranging from 15s. a head for natives engaged for $4\frac{1}{2}$ calendar months to 40s. a head for natives engaged for 12 calendar months. Moreover, these sums do not include cash advances for blankets, etc., or the railage of the native labourer to his destination, and it is often weeks or months before the mineowner can obtain even a portion of the number of boys he has applied for.

An important debate was held on native affairs, and a resolution passed—"That the Government take into consideration the expediency of instituting enquiry into the condition, requirements, and obligations of the native population of the territory, indigenous and alien, their relation to the industries

of the country, and the working of the special legislation affecting them, with a view to deciding what further steps are desirable to promote their advancement and increased usefulness to the State."

The writer has also referred, in the chapters on the Administration, to the disputes between the settlers and the British South Africa Company over land title and the allocation of certain revenues, and he has pointed out the probability that these disputes can only be settled in the English law courts, and that the final settlement cannot take place until Southern Rhodesia is about to assume the responsibility of self-government. Since writing the above, a reply has been received to a resolution of the Legislative Council petitioning the Imperial Government to intervene in this matter. The reply was made public on May 19th, 1909, and was to the effect that "the questions which His Majesty's Government had been asked to decide were to a large extent matters which, unless they could be settled by agreement between the parties concerned, did not appear under present circumstances to be susceptible of any binding solution, except by the Courts of Law, and that, even were His Majesty's Government to undertake to express an opinion they would not be able to compel either side to acquiesce in the decision, if there should be any reason for objecting."

A speech by one of the elected members of the Legislative Council, setting forth the views of the colonists on this subject, is appended below.

Except in the above matters in dispute the attitude of the elected and nominated members towards one another was conspicuous for its extreme friendliness, and was a marked contrast to the heated contests of former years.

In spite of the revenues allocated to the commercial side, the Treasurer was still able to show an administrative surplus revenue over expenditure of £25,510 for the year ending March 31st, 1909. The gross imports for that year amounted to £1,818,372, and the total exports to £2,614,496, of which £2,572,772 were minerals.

An interesting debate during the session was held on the closer union of South Africa, and the question was discussed as to the date when Southern Rhodesia should enter. Though some members on both sides of the House seemed in favour of taking immediate steps, the majority, and these voiced the general public opinion, urged delay. The chief argument used by the minority for entering at once was that if Southern Rhodesia held aloof from the Union, the Transvaal, which needs more labour for its mines, would start recruiting natives from Rhodesia, and would tempt them away by the offer of higher wages. The Transvaal would be backed by the Imperial Government, who are against diminishing the natives' opportunities. If Rhodesia entered the Union she would be able to arrive at a compromise with the Transvaal. But, on the other hand, it is urged by the majority that the Transvaal would not break their existing arrangement to confine their recruiting to territories outside the sphere of influence of Southern Rhodesia. The majority also pointed out the unique position Southern Rhodesia would hold by keeping aloof and watching how the Union would benefit each individual province. She would profit by and avoid the early mistakes of the other colonies when the time arrived for her to enter. Meanwhile, though outside the Union, she would share in some of the chief advantages conferred on the other provinces, and would have the opportunity of develop-

ing her great resources and thereby strengthening her position for eventually negotiating the terms of entry into the Union.

P. F. H.

SALISBURY,

RHODESIA.

May 30th, 1909.

APPENDIX

SPEECH BY ONE OF THE ELECTED MEMBERS ON THE OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY AND THE SETTLERS.

Thursday, May 27th, 1909.

COMPANY AND SETTLERS

THE Elected Member moved, pursuant to notice:

“That with regard to His Honour the Resident Commissioner’s letter of 19th instant on the differences outstanding between the British South Africa Company and the inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia, as it appears that the decision of His Majesty’s Government therein set forth has been arrived at under the erroneous impression,

“(a) That the differences in question are capable of settlement by courts of law, and

“(b) That such differences are of no present moment to the inhabitants of this Territory,

this Council earnestly and respectfully urges upon His Majesty’s Government a reconsideration of the Council’s resolution of the 29th June last or of so much thereof as refers to revenue which in past years has been brought into account as public revenue.”

He said it would be well within the memory of hon. members that at the last session of the Council a resolution was adopted by the House, and carried by a majority, as follows:

“That it is imperatively necessary that there should be an immediate settlement of the differences outstanding between the British South Africa Company and the inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia;

“(a) In regard to the claim of the British South Africa Com-

pany to be the private owners of all unalienated land in Southern Rhodesia;

“(b) As to what imposts or charges levied under the authority of Ordinances or other laws, constitute administrative revenue, and what expenditure should be charged against such revenue;

inasmuch as it is impossible for this Council, in existing circumstances, to properly discuss or deal with the Budgets submitted to it by the administration.

“This Council, therefore, resolves that its respectful request be conveyed to His Excellency the High Commissioner, through His Honour the Administrator, that the matters in question be enquired into and decided upon by His Majesty’s Government without delay.”

Now with regard to that particular motion, as the debates would show, the principle embodied was practically unanimously adopted both by the members on his side of the House and the members of the Government. Slight differences arose as to the method contained in the subsequent part of the resolution whereby the principles should be carried into effect. It was the view of hon. members opposite that the concluding parts, that His Majesty’s Government should be appealed to, should be deleted altogether, and there was another very slight difference of opinion with regard to the latter part of the resolution between the hon. member for the Northern Division and the rest of the elected members. He held that no useful purpose would be served by approaching the Directors of the British South Africa Company, inasmuch as the people of this country had already discussed the matter with them, and had heard their final decision upon the matter. However, the effect of the unanimous opinion in connection with this matter was that the Imperial Government should be approached in order to get the question settled. In the course of this session for the first time they had received the reply from the Secretary of State through His Excellency the High Commissioner, stating what His Majesty’s Government’s views were with regard to the resolution which was passed. If they compared the resolution passed at the last session and the motion now before the House, they would see that the principles were the same. It really did not matter one iota as to the con-

cluding parts of the resolution as passed last session. This House was unanimous, and they were now only dealing with the principles which were exactly the same now as at last session. The reply to the resolution was contained in a despatch, which stated that in a letter addressed to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 6th February, 1902, the Secretary of the British South Africa Company expressed the view of the Company that these matters could not be advantageously discussed until a change was contemplated in the present system of administration, and in this view His Majesty's Government concurred. The Under Secretary went on to say that the questions which His Majesty's Government had been asked to decide were to a large extent matters which, unless they could be settled by agreement between the parties concerned, did not appear under present circumstances to be susceptible of any binding solution, except by the Courts of Law, and that, even were His Majesty's Government to undertake to express an opinion, they would not be able to compel either side to acquiesce in the decision if there should be any reason for objecting. That was the view of the British South Africa Company, and also the view of His Majesty's Government. Let them take the position of the Directors of the British South Africa Company. Their view was that matters could not advantageously be discussed until the time arrived for a change of Government. He maintained that position was one of hopeless inconsistency upon their part. They had discussed these very things fully with the Directors whilst they were in the country. Not only had the Directors discussed these matters, but had come to the conclusion that on many of the points they had held erroneous opinions, and had put them right. But what he claimed was, they would not go far enough. It was the residuum which was left over and above upon which the Directors would not give way, and it was just as necessary for the people of this country and its welfare that this should be decided as the rest of it. There was no distinction to be drawn between what the Directors gave and what they refused to redress. The Directors had conceded that the settlers were right in the main in their contentions as to the mistake in withholding any part of the public revenue. This had been acknowledged by the Directors' own decision. The question, therefore, had narrowed itself down to what was public revenue, and who was to say that the settlers

were not right in their view of these other matters left unsettled, and if the one was a question for discussion eighteen months ago, the other was equally and properly a subject of discussion to-day. There was no differentiation between the two, and he contended that the reply of the Directors to the Secretary of State was misleading and caused a wrong impression. What correspondence had passed he did not know. The people of this country were like men fighting with their hands tied behind their backs. Everything they did was open to the Directors of the British South Africa Company, but the people knew nothing of what representations had been made by the Directors to the Secretary of State. In past years the revenue in question had been brought into account, and he claimed that the attitude of the Company now and for the past two years was absolutely at variance with their actions in the past. That was the effect of it. They had not asked or demanded that anything should be taken away from the British South Africa Company which belonged to it. They wanted a decision on certain things, which for many years had formed the subject of discussion between the Directors and the representatives of the people here. Some of those matters had been decided when the Directors visited the country, and the result, as far as it went, was satisfactory. But what had happened was that the Directors did not go the full extent, and the unfortunate thing about it was that the root trouble still remained, and it was likely to be a serious source of trouble in the future. They claimed that the British South Africa Company had no right to arrogate to themselves privileges which were not enjoyed by them by law, or by the gift of competent authority. They had no right to extend the privileges conferred by the Charter, or take what belonged to the people, and the inhabitants of this country declared that whatever differences arose in this connection must be adjusted by the Imperial Government. The present position was this. The Directors had taken into consideration the views of the people for the purpose of discussing their views and had met them. He wished to be perfectly fair; the Directors had met them more than half way, and what he wished to impress upon them was, that the Directors might be just as wrong with regard to the remaining one-third, or whatever it might be, as they had had to admit they were with regard to the remaining two-thirds, which, before meeting the people of the

country, they had proposed to take away. The Directors had refused to give way on these points, and the only course open to the people was an appeal to the Imperial Government. They had appealed, and the reply they had received from the Imperial Government was to the effect that there was no urgent necessity to discuss these matters, nor could they be adjusted until such time as a change in administration took place. Why had the differences between the people and the Directors been discussed in the past? It was absolutely necessary that these things should be adjusted now, as they were affecting the country at the present moment. They knew with regard to finances their revenue derived from all these sources, now claimed to be commercial revenue, had for seventeen years gone into the revenue of this country, in the Company's own accounts, and had been expended for the maintenance of law, order, and good government. Within the last few years changes had been made in the method of framing that account, but the country still had benefited. Last year, however, for the first time they had disappeared from the estimates, and they were now unable to ascertain definitely what revenue was derived from those sources, which after all was statutory revenue raised under the laws of this country. The Treasurer had told them that there was a surplus of £25,000, but if the method of showing that revenue had remained as it was before, and as it had been all these years, the surplus would have been nearly £65,000. They in this country wanted the spending of that revenue which would go a long way to provide the hundred and one things the country so urgently needed. They wanted the spending of it in the country, and now, because the country was in need of it. He need not detain the House by pointing out, as he did last year, the many ways in which they would benefit, if they had the spending of that money, and still they had been told that the matter could not be discussed or adjusted, and in the meantime the money was being taken by the commercial side of the Company, and spent out of the country. It was most important that this matter should be settled now. It might be in dispute for ten or fifteen years, and all the time the country, when it needed it most, would be out of this money, which it might ultimately be decided was public revenue, and not the property of the commercial side of the British South Africa Company. They did not object to the Directors calling this money what they liked, so long

as it appeared on the Estimates as in past years, and the country had the benefit which would be derived from the spending of it. He could not do better than quote the very strong words the hon. member for the Northern Division had used in this connection during the debate last session. They were not asking that anything should be taken away from the British South Africa Company. They were in this position. Here was revenue which the people of the country considered they had a right to, and the British South Africa Company had for many years also considered this claim just, but now they claimed it belonged to them commercially. They asked for nothing more than adjudication of the matter. For seventeen years they had received the benefit of this revenue, and for the first time last year—if they did not get the matter settled—they were kept out of it. He did not want to argue before the House whether the people's claim to the revenue was a good one or not. The reasons for it were set out at considerable length in the reported meetings between the people of the country and the Directors of the British South Africa Company, and in the Directors' report. It was then shown and admitted that the people's claim was to a very great extent justified, but what he wished to say was that it was perfectly clear, whether their case was a good or a bad one, they were entitled to a decision upon those points now, because it seriously affected their right actually at the present moment. That was the point, and the gist of his motion was to ask the Imperial Government to reconsider the matter. How the Imperial Government came to the conclusion they did, in the face of what they all knew to be facts, he confessed he could not understand. Why such representations were made to the Imperial Government by the British South Africa Company they did not in the least know. He took it that, before the despatch was sent by the Secretary of State, correspondence had been exchanged between the Imperial Government and the British South Africa Company in regard to the various matters. The impression given to the Imperial Government by the Directors was certainly most erroneous, and what he wanted was that the Imperial Government should be put right with regard to this. These matters would seriously affect them in the near future, and were seriously affecting them to-day. If judgment was given against them, then there would be an end to it. If it were proved that the monies did belong to the British

South Africa Company, then good luck to them! The matter would be decided, and the people of this country would know exactly where they stood. He would point out that, as there was a dispute, they had a perfect right to ask the only competent authority, namely, the Imperial Government, to have the dispute settled without delay. He thought, if the resolution was carried, it would have the desired effect, and would show the Imperial Government exactly what the position was. They seemed to think that it really did not matter if the question was decided to-day or ten years hence. In one respect he would even go so far as to admit that the question of the ownership of the land might be delayed until a change was made in the administration of the country, but that did not apply to the question of revenues raised under the taxes and tariffs of the country, which they considered the Treasurer should bring into his budget, and be spent for the benefit of the country. His resolution was drawn in such a form as to cover that. Let them at least adjudicate upon the question of finance and revenues, which, in past years, had been brought into account as public revenue. He was asking for nothing more than that the Treasurer should revert to the method adopted during many years in framing the estimates in including these revenues in the administrative account. That practice had been sanctioned by the Imperial Government all those years, and a change was made without any consultation with the people of this country, who were not considered in the matter at all, and when the Imperial Government wrote to the British South Africa Company asking why the change was made, the Directors turned round and said the matter was a subject which could not be discussed until some remote date when the administration of the country was about to be changed. They had a right to know to whom these monies really belonged, and it was most important that they should be settled immediately, and he would appeal to the administration to do its utmost to obtain the desired end. They only asked them to obtain a decision in regard to the matter, and it was in the interest of the Company as well as of the people that they should live amicably together. It must be clear that it was most desirable and necessary that they should have these things settled, and incidentally he might say when one looked at the resolutions proposed by him last year and considered the fact that the Government members were prepared to accept

them with an addendum, the statement of the Directors to the Imperial Government was hopelessly at variance with the views expressed by the officials in this country. It certainly pointed very strongly to the fact, that the remarks made by another hon. member about the undue influence of the Directors in the administrative affairs of the country were correct. It seemed to him that whatever the views of the Administration here were, they could be completely repudiated by the Directors of the Company at home. He thought he had said enough to show that whatever decision the Imperial Government had arrived at, as shown by their answer, had been based upon erroneous information in so far as the settlement of the differences with regard to revenue was not urgently required by the settlers in this country. In regard to the settlement of the differences by the Courts of Law, he thought the Attorney-General would agree with him—there was not the slightest shadow of a doubt that the people of this country had no power in this matter. It was impossible for them to take the British South Africa Company into Court in connection with a matter of this sort. The inhabitants of this country had no *locus standi* in a case of this description. They could only make representations to a higher authority. If the Government of the country was a Government responsible to the people, and the policy adopted was not satisfactory to the majority the people would have their remedy in turning the Government out of power; but the Government, like the people of the country, were responsible to a higher authority—the Imperial Government—and it was only to that higher authority that they could appeal for redress in matters of this nature. It was amazing to him to learn that even if His Majesty's Government undertook to express an opinion they would not be able to compel either side to acquiesce in the decision, if there should be any reason for objecting, and unless such matters could be settled by agreement between the parties concerned, there could be no binding solution except by the courts of law. He was under the impression that His Majesty's Government was omnipotent in such matters, in so far as it could alter the Charter by a stroke of the pen. By an Order in Council they could give the British South Africa Company power to levy taxes for the purposes of paying dividends to its shareholders. By a stroke of the pen they could take away the whole rights given under the Charter, and yet they turned round and said it was their opinion

that, in spite of any opinion expressed by them, they would not be able to compel either side to agree in the decision. If that was so, then it was a very open question whether the British South Africa Company need consider any arbitration in these matters by the courts of law binding upon them, unless they agreed to do so. Then in regard to taxes claimed as commercial revenue raised by the administrative machinery of the country, the people were in such a position now as to be unable to bring any action against the British South Africa Company, and if the Treasurer chose to take £15,000, or any sum he might think proper, and put it to the commercial side of the Company, keeping it out of the Estimates, that House would have no redress in the matter. All they could do would be to protest against it—protest to the Imperial Government, as they could do now. The only way these differences of opinion could be settled was by going to the Imperial Government and asking them to adjudicate between the people of this country and the Directors of the Chartered Company. The Imperial Government was their only and last resort. The law courts, as far as the people of the country were concerned, were out of the question. The people only asked that some decision should be arrived at. If the differences remained unsettled it would have a bad effect upon the relations between the people and the British South Africa Company. They asked for a decision, and, whatever it was, they would loyally abide by it.

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