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The Scramble for Southern Africa, 1877-1895



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The Scramble for Southern Africa, 1877–1895

The politics of partition reappraised

D. M. SCHREUDER

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To Paddy – for three very special reasons



'A distinctively colonial or South African expansion was the policy of the politicians, financiers, and adventurers up to the failure of the Jameson Raid; reluctantly they sought the co-operation of British imperialism to aid them their absorbing aim hereafter will be to relegate British imperialism to what they conceive to be its proper place, that of an *ultima ratio* to stand in the far background while colonial imperialism manages the business and takes the profits. A South African federation of self-governing States will demand a political career of its own, and will insist upon its own brand of empire, not that of the British Government, in the control of the lower races in South Africa.'

J. A. Hobson, 'Imperialism: a study' (1902)



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Abbreviations of sources cited

AYBArchives Year Book, South Africa. Bower MSS

Private papers of Sir Graham Bower; unpublished

'Memoir'.

BM British Museum.

Br. P. Private papers of Charles Brownlee, KCL, Durban.

CAD Cape Archival Deposit, Cape Town. CHBE Cambridge History of the British Empire. Ch. P. Private papers of Joseph Chamberlain,

Birmingham University.

Co. P. Private papers of Bishop Colenso, KCL, Durban. CO Colonial Office official records, PRO, London.

DP Private papers of 15th Earl of Derby, Knowsley Hall,

Lancs.

Devon, P. Private papers of the 8th Duke of Devonshire,

(Lord Hartington), Chatsworth.

Dilke P. Private papers and diaries of Sir Charles Dilke,

BM, London.

DSAB Dictionary of South African Biography.

FO Foreign Office official papers, PRO, London.

GP Private papers of William Ewart Gladstone, BM, London. Gr. P. Private papers of 2nd Earl Granville, PRO, London. Grosse Politik Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871–1914.

HDThe private diaries of Sir Edward Hamilton, BM, London. HP Private papers of Jan Hofmeyr, SAL, Cape Town.

KCL Killie Campbell Library, University of Natal, at Durban. Lob. P. Private papers of King Lobengula, NAR, Salisbury. LQVG. E. Buckle, (ed.), The Letters of Queen Victoria, 2nd ser.

(London, 1928), vol. iii (1862–85).

Private papers of Rev. John Mackenzie, Witwatersrand Mack. P.

University Library, Johannesburg.

Ma. P. Private papers of Edward Maund, Witwatersrand.



x Abbreviations of sources cited

Mo. P.	Private papers of Rev. John Moffat, NAR, Salisbury.
MP	Private papers of John X. Merriman, SAL, Cape Town.
NAD	Natal Archival Deposit, Pietermaritzburg.
NAR	National Archives of Rhodesia, Salisbury.
NCMH	New Cambridge Modern History.
OHSA, 11,	Oxford History of South Africa, (eds) M. Wilson and
	L. M. Thompson, vol. ii (Oxford, 1971).
PRO	Public Records Office, Chancery Lane, London.
Ramm	Agatha Ramm, (ed.), The political correspondence of Mr
	Gladstone and Lord Granville, 1876-86, 2 vols. (Oxford,
	1962).
RHL	Rhodes House Library, Oxford; Afr. MSS Collection.
Ri. P.	Private papers of Lord Ripon, BM, London.
RP	Private papers of Cecil John Rhodes, RHL, Oxford; and
	NAR, Salisbury.
SAL	South African Library, Cape Town.
Sh. P.	Private papers of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, NAD,
	Pietermaritzburg.
St. P.	Private papers of Sir Walter Stanford, University of
	Cape Town, Jagger Library.
SP	Private papers of the 3rd Marquis of Salisbury, Christ
	Church College, Oxford.
'Vindex'	(psued. of Rev. F. Verschoyle, ed.) Cecil Rhodes, his political

life and speeches, 1881-1900, (London, 1900).



Preface to Reprint Edition

This study of *The Scramble for Southern Africa*, 1877-95 originally appeared nearly 30 years ago, and is long out of print. Scholars of empires and of Africa have, however, continued to use and cite the book. Cambridge University Press has now made the welcome decision to make the original text generally available as a paperback reprint.

A considerable scholarly literature has of course post-dated this study. That is not reflected here. I have corrected small errors and typos. But otherwise I have left the book as it was: it appears as an historical document with some hope of its utility for a new generation of researchers and writers. Had this been an entirely 'new edition', certain revisions in the text would surely have deepened the analysis and enriched the narrative.

But they would actually not have constituted major 'second thoughts'. It is still my belief that this aspect of the greater 'Scramble' for Africa itself in the later nineteenth century was the outcome of the geo-politics of that era of heightening Great Power rivalry, coupled with the dramatic interface involving the turbulent dynamics of white colonial and indigenous African forces. In the last resort, 'Scramble' was a code word for what constituted an 'internal revolution' of local African change. The driving artificers of change towards conquest and African empire were as much local as metropolitan or international: the ambitions of settler politics, two capitalised mineral revolutions, the modernising demands for land and labour from primary and resource industries, and all infused with raw ideologies of 'race', 'whiteness' and the 'civilising mission'. It was a potent mix of the local African forces that ultimately took global imperial history by the throat.



xii Preface to reprint edition

A sympathetic reviewer of the original book expressed regret that the narrative stopped abruptly at 1895 (when the last formal colonial frontier was indeed drawn on the empire maps) - rather than rounding out the story with the consequential events surrounding the subsequent Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and the rise of the unified South African state under white control (1910). I myself increasingly came to consider the ultimate close of this story of African 'Scramble' as actually lying even further into the 20th century – with the land, labour and urban areas Acts of the Union Governments (down to 1923). But that is another book.

D.M.S.

90th birthday anniversary of Nelson Mandela, 2008



