

to be drained off. Well, this had been done in the case of commando men. They were the clean water which was drained off and taken into the inner dam which consisted of clean water, but he did not wish to take in the dirty water also. No, it had to remain in the outer dam until it was cleaned and purified. The Raad might just as well give away the independence of the country as give all these new-comers, these disobedient persons, the franchise. These persons knew there was a law, but they wished to evade it ; they wished to climb the wall instead of going along the road quietly, and these persons should be kept back. He earnestly cautioned the Raad against adopting Mr. L. Meyer's proposal.

Mr. D. JOUBERT said excitement would not avail them. They had to be calm and deliberate. Now, what struck him was first who would give them the assurance, were they to admit the 35,000 persons who petitioned them for the franchise, that they would maintain the independence of the country inviolate and as a sacred heritage? They had no guarantee. He could not agree with the request of the petition (here the speaker became excited, and gesticulating violently, continued), and he would never grant the request if the decision was in his hands.

Mr. A. J. WOLMARANS said that his position on this question was that he would not budge an inch.

Mr. JAN MEYER impugned the genuineness of the petition, and said he had represented Johannesburg in the Raad for some time, and could tell them how those things were worked. They were nearly all forgeries. He stated that as there were only 40,000 people in Johannesburg it was impossible that 38,000 of them signed. Therefore they were forgeries. The speaker concluded by saying that as long as he lived he would never risk the independence of the country by granting the franchise, *except in accordance with the law*. It was unreasonable to ask him to give up his precious birthright in this thoughtless manner. He could not do it—he would not do it !

Mr. PRINSLOO said that he had gone through the petitions from Potchefstroom, and certainly he had to admit that many of the signatures were not genuine, for he found on these petitions the names of his next-door neighbours, who had never told him a word about their signing such petitions.

Mr. OTTO again addressed the Raad, endeavouring to prove that memorials from Ottos Hoop contained many forgeries. He said that he did not consider the Johannesburg people who signed in that wonderful and fat book on the table to be law-abiding, and he would have none of them. The Raad had frequently heard that if the franchise were not extended there would be trouble. He was tired of these constant threats. He would say, 'Come on and fight ! Come on !' (Cries of 'Order !')

Mr. OTTO (proceeding) : I say, 'Come on and have it out ; and the sooner the better.' I cannot help it, Mr. Chairman, I must speak out. I say I am prepared to fight them, and I think every burgher of the South African Republic is with me.

The CHAIRMAN (rapping violently) : Order, order !

Mr. OTTO : Yes, this poor South African Republic, which they say they own three-fourths of. They took it from us, and we fought for it and got it back.

The CHAIRMAN : Order !

Mr. OTTO : They called us rebels then. I say they are rebels.

Loud cries of 'Order !'

Mr. OTTO : I will say to-day, those persons who signed the memorials in that book are rebels.

The CHAIRMAN : Will you keep order ? You have no right to say such things. We are not considering the question of powers, but the peaceful question of the extension of the franchise to-day ; and keep to the point.

Mr. OTTO : Very well I will ; but I call the whole country to witness that you silenced me, and would not allow me to speak out my mind.

The PRESIDENT said they had to distinguish between trustworthy persons and untrustworthy, and one proof was their going on commando, and the other was their becoming naturalized. People who were naturalized were more or less worthy, and if they separated themselves from the others who would not get naturalized, and petitioned the Raad themselves, the Raad would give ear to their petition. He strongly disapproved of the Raad being deceived in the manner it had been by the forged signatures.

Mr. R. K. LOVEDAY, in the course of an address dealing exhaustively with the subject, said : The President uses the argument that they should naturalize, and thus give evidence of their desire to become citizens. I have used the same argument, but what becomes of such arguments when met with the objections that the law requires such persons to undergo a probationary period extending from fourteen to twenty-four years before they are admitted to full rights of citizenship, and even after one has undergone that probationary period, he can only be admitted to full rights by resolution of the First Raad ? Law 4 of 1890, being the Act of the two Volksraads, lays down clearly and distinctly that those who have been eligible for ten years for the Second Raad *can* be admitted to full citizenship. So that, in any case, the naturalized citizen cannot obtain full rights until he reaches the age of forty years, he not being eligible for the Second Raad until he is thirty years. The child born of non-naturalized parents must therefore wait until he is forty years of age, although at the age of sixteen he may be called upon to do military service, and may fall in the defence of the land of his birth. When such arguments are hurled at me by our own flesh and blood—our kinsmen from all parts of South Africa—I must confess that I am not surprised that these persons indignantly refuse to accept citizenship upon such unreasonable terms. The element I have just referred to—namely, the Africander element—is very considerable, and numbers thousands hundreds of whom at the time this country was struggling for its independence, accorded it moral and financial support, and yet these very persons are subjected to a term of probation extending from fourteen to twenty-four years. It is useless for me to ask you whether such a policy is just and reasonable or Republican, for there can be but one answer, and that is 'No !' Is there one man in this Raad who would accept the franchise on the same terms ? Let me impress upon you the grave nature of this question, and the absolute necessity of going to the burghers without a moment's delay, and consulting and advising them. Let us keep nothing from them regarding the true position, and I am sure we shall have their hearty co-operation in any reasonable scheme we may suggest. This is a duty we owe them, for we must not leave them under the impression that the Uitlanders are satisfied to remain aliens, as stated by some of the journals. I move amongst these people, and learn to know their true feelings, and when public journals tell you that these people are satisfied with their lot, they tell you that which they know to be false. Such journals are amongst the greatest sources

of danger that the country has. We are informed by certain members that a proposition for the extension of the franchise must come from the burghers, but according to the Franchise Law the proposition must come from the Raad, and the public must consent. The member for Rustenberg says that there are 9,338 burghers who have declared that they are opposed to the extension of the franchise. Upon reference to the Report, he will find that there are only 1,564 opposed to the extension. Members appear afraid to touch upon the real question at issue, but try to discredit the memorials by vague statements that some of the signatures are not genuine, and the former member for Johannesburg, Mr. J. Meyer, seems just as anxious to discredit the people of Johannesburg as formerly he was to defend them.

The CHAIRMAN advanced many arguments in favour of granting the franchise to the Uitlander, but nevertheless concluded by stating that as the Raad with few exceptions were against the extension, he would go with the majority. He was not, he said, averse to the publication of Mr. Meyer's proposition, because the country would have to decide upon it; still he could not favour the extension of the franchise in the face of what had been said during the debate. Let the Raad endeavour to lighten the burden of the alien in other respects. Let the alien come to the Raad with his grievances, and let the Raad give a patient ear unto him, but he really was not entitled to the franchise.

The PRESIDENT again counselled the Raad not to consent to the publication of Mr. Meyer's proposal. He did not want it put to the country. This business had been repeated from year to year until he was tired of it. And why should they worry and weary the burghers once more by asking them to decide upon Mr. Meyer's motion? There was no need for it. There was no uncertainty about it. The burghers knew their minds, and their will, which was supreme, was known. The way was open for aliens to become burghers; let them follow that road and not try to jump over the wall. They had the privilege of voting for the Second Raad if they became naturalized, and could vote for officials, and that was more than they could do in the Cape Colony. In the Colony they could not vote for a President or any official. They were all appointed. They could only vote for Raad members there. And why should they want more power here all at once? What was the cause of all this commotion? What were they clamouring for? He knew. They wanted to get leave to vote for members of the First Raad, which had the independence of the country under its control. He had been told by these people that 'if you take us on the same van with you, we cannot overturn the van without hurting ourselves as well as you.' 'Ja,' that was true, 'maar,' the PRESIDENT continued, they could pull away the reins and drive the van along a different route.

Mr. JEPPE, again speaking, said there was one matter he must refer to. That was his Honour's remarks about the petitioners, calling them disobedient and unfaithful. The law compels no one to naturalize himself. How then could these petitioners have disobeyed it? Of course we should prefer them to naturalize. But can we be surprised if they hesitate to do so? Mr. Loveday has told you what naturalization means to them.

The PRESIDENT agreed that these people were not obliged by law to naturalize, but if they wanted burgher rights they should do so, when they would get the franchise for the Second Raad; and upon their being naturalized let them come nicely to the Raad and the Raad would have something to go to the country with, and they would

receive fair treatment ; but, if they refused naturalization and rejected the Transvaal laws, could they expect the franchise? No. Let Mr. Jeppe go back and give his people good advice, and if they were obedient to the law and became naturalized they would not regret it ; but he could not expect his people to be made full burghers if they were disobedient and refused naturalization. Let them do as he advised, and he (the President) would stand by them and support them.

Mr. JEPPE said : His Honour has again asked me to advise the people of Johannesburg what to do regarding the extension of the franchise. He says they must first naturalize and then come again. Then he holds out hopes that their wishes will be met. Why then does he not support Mr. Meyer's proposal, which affects naturalized people only? What is it I am to advise the people of Johannesburg? I have had many suggestions from different members. You, Mr. Chairman, seem to support the hundred men from Lydenburg who suggest ten years' residence as a qualification. Mr. Jan Meyer suggests that those who came early to the goldfields should memorialize separately, and he would support them. Others say that only those who are naturalized should petition, and that if a few hundreds petitioned instead of 35,000, their reception would be different. Well, we have had one petition here wherein all these conditions were complied with. It was not signed by anyone who had not been here ten years, or who is not naturalized, or who could at all be suspected of being unfaithful, nor could any exception be taken to it on the ground of numbers, since it was signed by one man only, Mr. Justice Morice, and yet it was rejected. Gentlemen, I am anxiously groping for the light ; but what, in the face of this, am I to advise my people?

Mr. JAN DE BEER endeavoured to refute Messrs. Jeppe's and Loveday's statements, when they said a man could not become a full member until he was forty. They were out of their reckoning, because a man did not live until he was sixteen. He was out of the country. In the eyes of the law he was a foreigner until he was sixteen. (Laughter.) The member adduced other similar arguments to refute those of Messrs. Jeppe and Loveday, causing much laughter.

Mr. LOVEDAY replied to the President, especially referring to his Honour's statement that he (Mr. Loveday) was wrong when he said that a person would have to wait until he was forty before he could obtain the full rights. He (Mr. Loveday) repeated and emphasized his statements of yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN said there was no doubt about it. What Mr. Loveday said regarding the qualifications and how long a man would have to wait until he was qualified to become a full burgher was absolutely correct. It could not be contradicted. The law was clear on that point. There was no doubt about it.

Mr. JAN DE BEER : Yes ; I see now Mr. Loveday is right, and I am wrong. The law does say what Mr. Loveday said. It must be altered.

The debate was closed on the third day, and Mr. Otto's motion to accept the report of the majority of the Committee, to refuse the request of the memorialists, and to refer them to the existing laws, was carried by sixteen votes to eight.

## APPENDIX G.

### TERMS OF DR. JAMESON'S SURRENDER.

*Sir Hercules Robinson to Mr. Chamberlain.*

Received April 6, 1896.

*Government House, Capetown,  
March 16, 1896.*

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit for your information a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Acting Agent at Pretoria, enclosing a communication from the Government of the South African Republic, accompanied by sworn declarations, respecting the terms of the surrender of Dr. Jameson's force, a summary of which documents I telegraphed to you on the 12th instant.

At my request, Lieutenant-General Goodenough has perused these sworn declarations, and informs me 'that,' in his opinion, 'Jameson's surrender was unconditional, except that his and his people's lives were to be safe so far as their immediate captors were concerned.'

I have, etc.,

HERCULES ROBINSON,  
*Governor and High Commissioner.*

Enclosed in above letter.

*From H. Cloete, Pretoria, to the High Commissioner,  
Capetown.*

*Pretoria, March 11th, 1896.*

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose for the information of your Excellency a letter this day received from the Government, a summary of which I have already sent your Excellency by telegraph.

I have, etc.,

H. CLOETE.

*Department of Foreign Affairs,  
Government Office, Pretoria,*

Division A., R.A., 1056/1896,  
B., 395/96.

*March 10, 1896.*

HONOURABLE SIR,

I am instructed to acknowledge the receipt of the telegram from his Excellency the High Commissioner to you, dated 6th instant, for-

warded on by you to his Honour the State President, and I am now instructed to complete with further data my letter to you of 4th instant, B.B., 257/96, which I herewith confirm, containing the information which the Government then had before it respecting the surrender, and which was furnished in view of your urgent request for an immediate reply.

In order to leave no room for the slightest misunderstanding, and to put an end to all false representations, the Government has summoned not only Commandant Cronjé, but also Commandant Potgieter, Commandant Malan, Field-Cornet Maartens, Assistant Field-Cornet Van Vuuren, and others, whose evidence appears to be of the greatest importance, and places the matter in a clear and plain light.

The information which the Government has found published in the papers is of the following purport :

‘THE DOORKOP SURRENDER : ALLEGED CORRESPONDENCE.

‘*London, Monday, 11.15 a.m.*

‘Mr. Hawksley, the Chartered solicitor, who is defending Dr. Jameson, published the following letter to-day, which passed between Sir John Willoughby and Mr. Cronjé, the Dutch Commandant at the time of the Krugersdorp surrender :

‘*From Willoughby to Commandant.*

‘“We surrender, providing you guarantee a safe conduct out of the country for every member of the force.”

‘*From Cronjé to Willoughby.*

‘“Please take notice, I shall immediately let our officers come together to decide upon your communication.”

‘*From Cronjé to Willoughby.*

‘“I acknowledge your letter. The answer is, If you will undertake to pay the expenses you have caused to the Transvaal, and will lay down your arms, then I will spare the lives of you and yours. Please send me reply to this within thirty minutes.”

I have now the honour to enclose for the information of His Excellency the High Commissioner and the British Government sworn declarations of :

1. Commandant Cronjé, substantiated by Field-Cornet Maartens and Assistant Field-Cornet Van Vuuren.
2. Commandant Potgieter.
3. Commandant Malan.
4. J. S. Celliers, substantiated by B. J. Viljoen, and the interpreter, M. J. Adendorff.

These sworn declarations given before the State Attorney agree in all the principal points, and give a clear summary of all the incidents of the surrender, and from the main points thereof it appears, *inter alia* :

That the second letter, as published above, and which is alleged to be from Cronjé to Willoughby, was not issued from Cronjé, but from Commandant Potgieter, who has undoubtedly taken up the proper standpoint, and has followed the general rule in matters of urgency,

such as the one in hand, and where the Commandant-General was not present in person on the field of battle, first and before treating wishing to consult with his co-commandants in as far as was possible.

That a note such as appears in his declaration was sent by Commandant Cronjé.

That neither Commandant Malan nor Commandant Potgieter were present at the despatch of it.

That the reply thereon from Willoughby was received by Commandant Cronjé, as appears in that declaration.

That Commandant Cronjé then, in compliance with the note sent by Commandant Potgieter, as well as the other commandants and officers mentioned in the declaration of Cronjé, rode up.

That Commandant Cronjé then explained his own note.

That thereupon also Commandant Malan joined his co-commandants and officers, and at this time Commandants Malan, Cronjé, and Potgieter were present.

That after consultation, and with the approval of Commandants Cronjé and Potgieter, Commandant Malan, by means of the interpreter Andendorff, had the following said to Dr. Jameson :

‘This is Commandant Malan. He wishes you distinctly to understand that no terms can be made here. We have no right to make terms here. Terms will be made by the Government of the South African Republic. He can only secure your lives to Pretoria, until you are handed over to Commandant-General at Pretoria.’

That Dr. Jameson agreed to these terms and accepted them.

That thereupon by order of Dr. Jameson the arms were then also laid down.

That Commandant Trichardt then appeared with the orders of the Commandant-General to himself.

It now appears that these orders are those which were contained in the telegram of which I already sent you a copy by my above-quoted letter of the 4th March, 1896, and which, after the final regulation of matters such as had then taken place, was not further acted upon because as regards the surrender negotiations were in fact carried on in accordance with the orders of the Commandant-General.

While putting aside the question of the surrender there is little to be said about the other points contained in the telegram under reply, there is one which is considered of sufficient importance by this Government to even still draw the attention of His Excellency the High Commissioner thereto. His Excellency says : ‘I may therefore explain that an armistice had been agreed to pending my arrival.’

The Government here can only think of one other misunderstanding, they having at the time of the disturbances at Johannesburg never recognized any acting party, for which reason therefore the concluding of an armistice was an impossibility.

In conclusion, I have to tender thanks both to His Honour the Secretary of State and His Excellency the High Commissioner for the unprejudiced manner in which they, as against insinuations of a low character, have made known their feelings with respect to the good faith shown by His Honour the State President in his negotiations in connection with the question of the surrender of Dr. Jameson’s force.

I have, etc.,

C. VAN BOESCHOTEN,  
*Acting State Secretary.*

*His Honour H. Cloete,  
Acting British Agent, Pretoria.*

*Appeared before me, HERMANUS JACOB COSTER, State Attorney and ex-officio J.P. of the South African Republic, PIETER ARNOLDUS CRONJÉ, Commandant of the Potchefstroom District, who makes oath and states :*

I was, together with H. P. Malan (Commandant of the Rustenburg District), and F. J. Potgieter (Commandant of the Krugersdorp District), one of the commanding officers of the burgher forces in the fights against Jameson. When I noticed the white flag, I instantly ordered De la Rey to approach the enemy. Instead of De la Rey, Hans Klopper, one of the men of Commandant Potgieter, went. He brought back a note from Willoughby to me. The contents of the note were that if we left them to themselves he promised to withdraw over the boundary. In reply I sent him per Hans Klopper the following note :

‘John Willoughby,—I acknowledge your note, and this serves as reply, that if you guarantee the payment of the expenses which you have occasioned the South African Republic and surrender your flag together with your weapons I will spare the life of you and yours. Please send reply within thirty minutes.’

When this reply was written by me neither Malan nor Potgieter were present. Thereupon he answered that he accepted the terms, and surrendered himself fully with all his arms into my hands. After receiving Willoughby’s answer, I rode to Jameson’s troops in order to meet the other commandants, in accordance with a note sent by Commandant Potgieter to the enemy. I went with Field-Cornets Maartens and Van Vuuren to Jameson’s troops, and met Jameson. When I met him I gave him to clearly understand our agreement namely that he must plainly understand that the last clause was that I guaranteed his life and that of his men until I had handed him over to General Joubert. Thereupon I asked him if he was willing to lay down his flag and his arms, to which he replied, ‘I have no flag ; I am willing to lay down my arms.’ Thereupon I asked him if he could declare upon oath that he had no flag, whereupon he declared under oath that he had no flag. Then Commandant Malan arrived, and then the three commanding officers, Malan, Potgieter and I, were present on the spot.

Before I began speaking to Malan, Jameson called Willoughby to be present. Thereupon Malan and I spoke together about the surrender of Jameson. Whereupon Malan said, ‘We can’t decide anything here. Jameson must surrender unconditionally, and he must be plainly given to understand that we cannot guarantee his life any longer than till we have handed him over to General Joubert.’ I fully agreed with Malan, and the interpreter Adendorff was then instructed by the three commandants jointly to convey plainly in English to Jameson what the three commandants had agreed upon. After this had been done, Jameson bowed, took his hat off, and said in English that he agreed to the terms. Thereupon he issued orders to Willoughby to command the subordinate officers to lay down their arms. Then the arms were laid down. Later on, after the arms had been laid down, Commandant Trichardt arrived with orders from the Commandant-General, and his terms were the same as those we had already laid down.

P. A. CRONJÉ.

Sworn before me on this 7th day of March, 1896.

H. J. COSTER,  
*State Attorney and Ex-officio J.P.*

We, the undersigned, Jan. Thos. Maartens, Field-Cornet of the Ward Gatsrand, District Potchefstroom, and Daniel Johannes Jansen van



Vuuren, Assistant Field-Cornet of the Ward Bovenschoonspruit, declare under oath that we were present at everything stated in the foregoing sworn declaration of Commandant P. A. Cronjé, and that that declaration is correct and in accordance with the truth.

JAN. MAARTENS,

D. J. J. VAN VUUREN.

Sworn before me on this the 7th day of March, 1896.

H. J. COSTER,

*State-Attorney and ex-officio J.P.*

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*Appeared before me, HERMANUS JACOB COSTER, State Attorney and ex-officio J.P. of the South African Republic, FREDERICK JACOBUS POTGIETER, Commandant of the Krugersdorp District, who makes oath and states :*

On the morning of January 2, I received a written report from the enemy in which was stated that he would surrender, but that he must be allowed to go back over the line. I answered thereon in writing that I would call the officers together and would then immediately notify him. The report received by me I immediately transmitted to Commandant Cronjé. A short time after I saw Commandant Cronjé with the burghers going towards the enemy. I thereupon also went towards the enemy and met Commandant Cronjé there. I then attended the discussion as set forth in the declaration given by J. T. Celliers, dated March 6, 1896, and confirmed by Messrs. Michiel Joseph Adendorff and Benjamin Johannes Vilgoen.

The purport of that discussion is correctly rendered.

F. J. POTGIETER,

*Commandant, Krugersdorp.*

This sworn before me on this the 6th day of March, 1896.

H. J. COSTER,

*State Attorney and ex-officio J.P.*

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*Appeared before me, HERMANUS JACOB COSTER, State Attorney and ex-officio J.P. of the South African Republic, HERCULES PHILIPPUS MALAN, who makes oath and states :*

I was together with P. A. Cronjé, Commandant of the Krugersdorp District, one of the commanding forces in the fights against Jameson. On the morning of January 2, a despatch rider from Commandant Potgieter came up and informed me that Jameson had hoisted the white flag, and that I must quickly attend a meeting with the other commandants. When I came up to Jameson I found Cronjé and Potgieter there; and, as I saw that Cronjé had been speaking to Jameson, I asked Cronjé 'What is the subject you have been speaking about? I also wish to know it.' Cronjé told me that he had agreed with Jameson that Jameson would pay the expenses incurred by the State, and that he (Cronjé) would spare the lives of Jameson and his people till Pretoria was reached.

Thereupon I answered, 'We cannot make any terms here. We have not the power to do so. Jameson must surrender unconditionally, and we can only guarantee his life until he is delivered over by us into the hands of the Commandant-General. Then he will have to submit to the decision of the Commandant-General and the Government.' When I had said this, Commandant Potgieter answered, 'I agree with that.' And Commandant Cronjé said, 'So be it, brothers.' Thereupon the inter-

preter (Adendorff) was instructed to translate to Jameson what had been spoken. He did so. Jameson thereupon took off his hat, bowed, and replied in English that he agreed thereto. Jameson then ordered Willoughby, who was present from the moment that I arrived, to command the subordinate officers to disarm the men, and thereupon the arms were given up.

H. P. MALAN,  
Commandant.

Sworn before me on this the 9th day of March, 1896.

H. J. COSTER,  
State Attorney and ex-officio J.P.

*Appeared before me, HERMANUS JACOB COSTER, State Attorney and ex-officio J.P. of the South African Republic, JAN STEPHANUS CELLIERS, of Pretoria, who makes oath and states:*

I came up to Jameson and his troops on the second of January (after Jameson had hoisted the white flag), together with B. G. Viljoen, Krugersdorp, and another Viljoen, whose place of residence is unknown to me. I asked one of Jameson's troopers where he was. He showed me the direction and the place where Jameson was. Jameson thereupon approached me, and I greeted him. While this took place Commandant Cronjé, the interpreter (Adendorff), and another man whose name is unknown to me, came. Cronjé was thereupon introduced by Adendorff, who spoke English, to Jameson. Thereupon Cronjé said to Jameson, 'I understand that you and your men will surrender yourselves with your flag and everything you possess?' Jameson said thereupon, 'I fight under no flag.'

Cronjé then replied, 'Then I must believe you upon your word that you have no flag?' Jameson then said, 'I declare under oath that I possess no flag.' This conversation was interpreted word for word by Adendorff. Shortly afterwards Commandant Malan also arrived there. He asked, 'What is up here? Tell me the news also.' Then Cronjé told Malan that Jameson would surrender conditionally, whereupon Malan said in effect, 'There can be no question of a conditional surrender here, because we have no right to make terms. The surrender must take place unconditionally. If terms must be made, it must take place at Pretoria. We can only guarantee his life and that of his men as long as they are under us, and until the moment when they are handed over to the Commandant.'

General Cronjé answered thereupon, 'So be it, brother.' Then Adendorff asked if he had to interpret this to Jameson, whereupon Malan said, 'Yes,' and thereupon said in English to Jameson, 'This is Commandant Malan. He wishes you to distinctly understand that no terms can be made here. We have no right to make terms here. Terms will be made by the Government of the South African Republic. He can only secure your lives to Pretoria, until you are handed over to the Commandant-General at Pretoria.'

In reply, Jameson took off his hat, bowed, stepped backwards and said, 'I accept your terms.' Thereupon Jameson ordered Willoughby to command the subordinate officers that the troopers should lay down their arms. The arms were then laid down.

J. S. CELLIERS.

Sworn before me on the 6th March, 1896.

H. J. COSTER,  
State-Attorney and ex-officio J.P.

We, the undersigned, Benjamin Johannes Viljoen and Michiel Joseph Adendorff, the persons mentioned in the preceding declaration, declare under oath that the facts stated therein, which we witnessed, as stated above, are true and correct.

B. J. VILJOEN.

M. J. ADENDORFF.

Sworn before me on the 6th March, 1896.

H. J. COSTER,

*State-Attorney and ex-officio J.P.*

COLONIAL OFFICE TO WAR OFFICE.

SIR,

*Downing Street, April 21, 1896.*

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to request that you will lay before the Marquis of Lansdowne the undermentioned papers on the subject of the surrender of Dr. Jameson's force to the Boers.

1. A despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson, enclosing sworn declarations taken by the Government of the South African Republic. A telegraphic summary of these declarations was laid before Dr. Jameson, whose observations are contained in—

2. A letter from the solicitor for Dr. Jameson and his fellow defendants.

3. A despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson, enclosing a sworn statement.

Lord Lansdowne will observe from Sir H. Robinson's despatch of the 16th March that the declarations taken by the Government of the South African Republic were submitted to the General Officer commanding at the Cape, who gave his opinion that the surrender was unconditional.

Mr. Chamberlain would be obliged if Lord Lansdowne would submit these papers to his military advisers, and obtain from them their opinion as to the terms of the surrender, which Mr. Chamberlain thinks was completed on Sir John Willoughby's acceptance of Commandant Cronjé's terms, and was therefore subject to these terms and conditions.

I am, etc.,

R. H. MEADE.

WAR OFFICE TO COLONIAL OFFICE.

Received April 28, 1896.

*War Office, London, S.W.,*

*April 27, 1896.*

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for War to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 21st inst., on the subject of the surrender of Dr. Jameson's force to the Boers.

In reply, the Marquis of Lansdowne, having consulted with his military adviser, desires me to observe that, whatever position Mr. Cronjé may hold in the Transvaal army, he decidedly on the occasion in question acted as an officer in authority, and guaranteed the lives of Dr. Jameson and all his men if they at once laid down their arms.

The terms prescribed were accepted by Dr. Jameson's force, and they surrendered and laid down their arms, and no subsequent discussion amongst the Transvaal officers could retract the terms of this surrender.

I am therefore to acquaint you, for the information of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the Secretary of State for War concurs with Mr. Chamberlain in considering that the surrender was completed on Sir John Willoughby's acceptance of Commandant Cronjé's terms, and was subject to these terms and conditions.

I am, etc,

ARTHUR L. HALIBURTON.

## APPENDIX H.

### SIR JOHN WILLOUGHBY'S REPORT TO THE WAR OFFICE.

THE subjoined document is printed in the form in which it was supplied to the author by a journalist, to whom it had been given as a fair statement of the case. The marginal remarks are the notes made by a member of the Reform Committee to whom it was shown.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE EXPEDITION THAT LEFT THE PROTECTORATE AT THE URGENT REQUEST OF THE LEADING CITIZENS OF JOHANNESBURG WITH THE OBJECT OF STANDING BY THEM AND MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER WHILST THEY WERE DEMANDING JUSTICE FROM THE TRANSVAAL AUTHORITIES. By SIR JOHN C. WILLOUGHBY, BART., Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding Dr. Jameson's Forces.

After they had dated the 'urgent' letter, and had wired to Dr. Harris (December 27): 'We will make our own notation by the aid of the letter which I shall publish.'

On Saturday, December 28, 1895, Dr. Jameson received a Reuter's telegram showing that the situation at Johannesburg had become acute. At the same time reliable information was received that the Boers in the Zeerust and Lichtenburg districts were assembling, and had been summoned to march on Johannesburg.

The same time as he got the telegrams from Johannesburg and messages by Heany and Holden on no account to move.

Preparations were at once made to act on the terms of the letter dated December 20, and already published, and also in accordance with verbal arrangements with the signatories of that letter—viz., that should Dr. Jameson hear that the Boers were collecting, and that the intentions of the Johannesburg people had become generally known, he was at once to come to the aid of the latter with whatever force he had available, and without further reference to them, the object being that such force should reach Johannesburg without any conflict.

Twaddle—in the face of Hammond's, Phillips's, and Sam Jameson's wires not to move.

At 3 p.m. on Sunday afternoon, December 29, everything was in readiness at Pitsani Camp.

The troops were paraded, and Dr. Jameson read the letter of invitation from Johannesburg.

He then explained to the force (a) that no hostilities were intended; (b) that we should only fight if forced to do so in self-defence; (c) that neither the persons nor property of inhabitants of the Transvaal were to be molested; (d) that our sole object was to help our fellow-men in their extremity, and to ensure their obtaining attention to their just demands.

Dr. Jameson's speech was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the men, who cheered most heartily.

The above programme was strictly adhered to until the column was fired upon on the night of the 31st.

Many Boers, singly and in small parties, were encountered on the line of march; to one and all of these the pacific nature of the expedition was carefully explained.

Start from Pitsani.

The force left Pitsani Camp at 6.30 p.m., December 29, and marched through the night.

At 5.15 a.m. on the morning of the 30th the column reached the village of Malmani (39 miles distant from Pitsani).

Junction effected at Malmani with B. B. P.

Precisely at the same moment the advanced guard of the Mafeking Column (under Colonel Grey) reached the village, and the junction was effected between the two bodies.

For details of the composition of the combined force, as also for general particulars of the march to Krugersdorp, see sketch of the route and schedule attached (marked A. and B. respectively).

Defile at lead-mines passed

From Malmani I pushed on as rapidly as possible in order to cross in daylight the very dangerous defile at Lead Mines. This place, distant 71 miles from Pitsani, was passed at 5.30 p.m., December 30.

I was subsequently informed that a force of several hundred Boers, sent from Lichtenburg to intercept the force at this point, missed doing so by three hours only.

Letter from Commandant-General.

At our next 'off-saddle' Dr. Jameson received a letter from the Commandant-General of the Transvaal demanding to know the reason of our advance, and ordering us to return immediately. A reply was sent to this, explaining Dr. Jameson's reasons in the same terms as those used to the force at Pitsani.

Letter from High Commissioner.

At Doornport (91 miles from Pitsani), during an 'off-saddle' early on Tuesday morning, December 31, a mounted messenger overtook us, and presented a letter from the High Commissioner, which contained an order to Dr. Jameson and myself to return at once to Mafeking and Pitsani.

Reasons for not retreating.

A retreat by now was out of the question, and to comply with these instructions an impossibility. In the first place, there was absolutely no food for men or horses along the road which we had recently followed; secondly, three days at least would be necessary for our horses, jaded with forced marching, to return; on the road ahead we were sure of finding, at all events, some food for man and beast. Furthermore, we had by now traversed almost two-thirds of the total distance; a large force of Boers was known to be intercepting our retreat, and we were convinced that any retrograde movement would bring on an attack of Boers from all sides.

It was felt, therefore, that to ensure the safety of our little force, no alternative remained but to push on to Krugersdorp to our friends, who we were confident would be awaiting our arrival there.

Apart from the above considerations, even had it been possible to effect a retreat from Doornport, we knew that Johannesburg had risen, and felt that by turning back we should be shamefully deserting those coming to meet us.

They could not possibly *know* it, because the rising—*i.e.*, the public arming and moving of men—only began at the very hour they claim to have *known* it, and because the first news from Johannesburg only reached them 24 hours later by the two cyclists. 'Oh what a tangled web we weave, when——'

Finally, it appeared to us impossible to turn back, in view of the fact that we had been urgently called in to avert a massacre, which we had been assured would be imminent in the event of a crisis such as had now occurred.

*Vide* the telegrams and messages to stop! How noble!

Near Boon's store, on the evening of the 31st, an advanced patrol fell in with Lieutenant Eloff, of the Krugersdorp Volunteers. This officer, in charge of a party of 15 scouts, had come out to gain intelligence of our movements. He was detained whilst our intentions were fully explained to him, and then released at Dr. Jameson's request.

At midnight (New Year's Eve), while the advanced scouts were crossing a rocky wooded ridge at right angles to and barring the line of advance, they were fired on by a party of 40 Boers, who had posted themselves in this position. The scouts, reinforced by the advanced guard, under Inspector Straker, drove off their assailants after a short skirmish, during which one trooper of the M.M.P. was wounded.

At Van Oudtshoorn's, early on the following morning (January 1), Dr. Jameson received a second letter from the High Commissioner, to which he replied in writing.

At 9.30 a.m. the march was resumed in the usual day formation. After marching two miles, the column got clear of the hills and emerged into open country.

About this time Inspector Drury, in command of the rearguard, sent word that a force of about 100 Boers was following him about one mile in rear. I thereupon reinforced the rearguard, hitherto consisting of a troop and one Maxim, by an additional half-troop and another Maxim.

About 5 miles beyond Van Oudtshoorn's store the column was met by two cyclists bearing letters from several leaders of the Johannesburg Reform Committee. These letters expressed the liveliest approval and delight at our speedy approach, and finally contained a renewal of their promise to meet the column with a force at Krugersdorp.<sup>2</sup> The messengers also reported that only 300 armed Boers were in the town.

This news was communicated to the troops, who received it with loud cheers.

When within two miles of Hind's store, the column was delayed by extensive wire-fencing, which ran for one and a half miles on either side of the road, and practically constituted a defile.

While the column was halted and the wire being cut, the country for some distance on both sides was carefully scouted.

By this means it was ascertained that there was a considerable force of Boers (1) on the left front, (2) in the immediate front (retreating hastily on Krugersdorp), (3) a third party on the right flank.

The force which had been following the column from Van Oudtshoorn's continued to hover in the rear.

Lieutenant-Colonel White, in command of the advanced guard, sent back a request for guns to be pushed forward as a precaution in case of

<sup>2</sup> The letters are published in their proper place, and readers can satisfy themselves as to whether they justify the above inference.

an attack from the Boers in front. By the time these guns reached the advanced guard, the Boers were still retreating some two miles off. A few rounds were then fired in their direction. Had Colonel White, in the first instance, opened fire with his Maxims on the Boers, whom he surprised watering their horses close to Hind's store, considerable loss would have been inflicted; but this was not our object, for with the exception of the small skirmish on the previous night, the Boers had not as yet molested the column, whose sole aim was to reach Johannesburg if possible without fighting.

30 p.m. At this hour Hind's store was reached.

Here the troops rested for one and a half hours.

Unfortunately, hardly any provisions for men and horses were available.

p.m. An officers' patrol, consisting of Major Villiers (Royal Horse Guards) and Lieutenant Grenfell (1st Life Guards) and six men, moved off for the purpose of reconnoitring the left flank of the Boer position, while Captain Lindsell, with his permanent force of advanced scouts, pushed on as usual to reconnoitre the approach by the main road. At the same time I forwarded a note to the Commandant of the forces in Krugersdorp to the effect that, in the event of my friendly force meeting with opposition on its approach, I should be forced to shell the town, and that therefore I gave him this warning in order that the women and children might be moved out of danger.

To this note, which was despatched by a Boer who had been detained at Van Oudtshoorn, I received no reply.

At Hind's store we were informed that the force in our front had increased during the forenoon to about 800 men, of whom a large number were entrenched on the hillside.

30 p.m. Four miles beyond Hind's store, the column following the scouts, which met with no opposition, ascended a steep rise of some 400 feet, and came full in view of the Boer position on the opposite side of a deep valley, traversed by a broad "sluit" or muddy water course.

Standing on the plateau or spur, on which our force was forming up for action, the view to our front was as follows:

Passing through our position to the west ran the Hind's store—Krugersdorp Road traversing the valley and the Boer position almost at right angles to both lines.

Immediately to the north of this road, at the point where it disappeared over the sky-line on the opposite slope, lay the Queen's Battery House and earthworks, completely commanding the valley on all sides and distant 1,900 yards from our standpoint.

Some 1,000 yards down the valley to the north stood a farmhouse, surrounded by a dense plantation, which flanked the valley.

Half-way up the opposite slope, and adjacent to the road, stood an iron house which commanded the drift where the road crossed the above-mentioned watercourse.

On the south side of the road, and immediately opposite the last-named iron house, an extensive rectangular stone wall enclosure with high trees formed an excellent advanced central defensive position. Further up the slope, some 500 yards to the south of this enclosure, stretched a line of rifle-pits, which were again flanked to the south by 'prospecting' trenches. On the sky-line numbers of Boers were apparent to our front and right front.

Before reaching the plateau we had observed small parties of Boers hurrying towards Krugersdorp, and immediately on reaching the high

ground the rearguard was attacked by the Boer force which had followed the column during the whole morning.

I therefore had no further hesitation in opening fire on the Krugersdorp position.

The two seven-pounders and the 12½ pounder opened on the Boer line, making good practice under Captain Kincaid-Smith and Captain Gosling at 1,000 yards. It must have been here that the waggon-loads of dead Boers weren't found.

This fire was kept up until 5 p.m. The Boers made practically no reply, but lay quiet in the trenches and battery.

Scouts having reported that most of the trenches were evacuated, the first line consisting of the advanced guard (a troop of 100 men), under Colonel White advanced. Two Maxims accompanied this force; a strong troop with a Maxim formed the right and left supports on either flank.

Lieutenant-Colonel Grey, with one troop B.B.P. and one Maxim, had been previously detailed to move round and attack the Boers' left.

The remaining two troops, with three Maxims, formed the reserve and rearguard.

The first line advance continued unopposed to within 200 yards of the watercourse, when it was checked by an exceedingly heavy cross-fire from all points of the defence.

Colonel White then pushed his skirmishers forward into and beyond the watercourse.

The left support under Inspector Dykes then advanced to prolong the first line to the left, but, diverging too much to his left this officer experienced a very hot flanking fire from the farmhouse and plantation, and was driven back with some loss.

Colonel Grey meanwhile had pushed round on the extreme right and come into action.

About this time Major Villiers' patrol returned and reported that the country to our right was open, and that we could easily move round in that direction.

It was now evident that the Boers were in great force, and intended holding their position.

Without the arrival of the Johannesburg force in rear of the Boers—an event which I had been momentarily expecting—I did not feel justified in pushing a general attack, which would have certainly entailed heavy losses on my small force. When Celliers and Rowlands left them at 11 a.m. they had not expected anyone. *Vide* Cellier's report and Colonel H. F. White's letter.

I accordingly left Inspector Drury with one troop and one Maxim to keep in check the Boers who were now lining the edge of the plateau to our left, and placed Colonel Grey with two troops B.B.P., one 12½ pounder, and one Maxim to cover our left flank and continue firing on the battery and trenches south of the road.

I then made a general flank movement to the right with the remaining troops.

Colonel Grey succeeded in shelling the Boers out of their advanced position during the next half-hour, and blew up the battery house.

Under this cover the column moved off as far as the first houses of the Randfontein group of mines, the Boers making no attempt to intercept the movement.

Night was now fast approaching, and still there were no signs of the promised help from Johannesburg. I determined, therefore, to push



on with all speed in the direction of that town, trusting in the darkness to slip through any intervening opposition.

Two guides were obtained, the column formed in the prescribed night order of march, and we started off along a road leading direct to Johannesburg.

At this moment heavy rifle and Maxim fire was suddenly heard from the direction of Krugersdorp, which lay  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the left rear.

We at once concluded that this could only be the arrival of the long-awaited reinforcements, for we knew that Johannesburg had Maxims, and that the Staats'-Artillerie were not expected to arrive until the following morning. To leave our supposed friends in the lurch was out of the question. I determined at once to move to their support.

Leaving the carts escorted by one troop on the road I advanced rapidly across the plateau towards Krugersdorp in the direction of the firing, in the formation shown in the accompanying sketch.

After advancing thus for nearly a mile the firing ceased, and we perceived the Boers moving in great force to meet the column. The flankers on the right reported another force threatening that flank.

Fearing that an attempt would be made to cut us off from the ammunition carts, I ordered a retreat on them.

It was now clear that the firing, whatever might have been the cause thereof, was not occasioned by the arrival of any force from Johannesburg.

Precious moments had been lost in the attempt to stand by our friends at all costs, under the mistaken supposition that they could not fail to carry out their repeated promises,<sup>2</sup> renewed to us by letter so lately

This is really magnificent!

as 11 a.m. this same day. It was now very nearly dark. In the dusk the Boers could be seen closing in on three sides—viz., north, east, and south. The road to Johannesburg appeared completely barred, and the last opportunity of slipping through, which had presented itself an hour ago when the renewed firing was heard, was gone not to return.

Bivouac,  
January 1.

Nothing remained but to bivouac in the best position available.

But for the unfortunate circumstance of the firing, which we afterwards heard was due to the exultation of the Boers at the arrival of large reinforcements from Potchefstroom, the column would have been by this time (7 p.m.) at least four or five miles further on the road to Johannesburg, with an excellent chance of reaching that town without further opposition.

I moved the column to the edge of a wide vley to the right of the road, and formed the horses in quarter-column under cover of the slope. The carts were formed up in rear and on both flanks, and five Maxims were placed along the front so as to sweep the plateau.

The other three Maxims and the heavy guns were posted on the rear and flank faces.

The men were then directed to lie down between the guns and on the side; sentries and cossack posts were posted on each face.

<sup>2</sup> Note, July, 1899. In the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons (No. 311 of 1897), page 298, are the following:—

Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman: "Did you understand that you were to meet a considerable force at Krugersdorp coming from Johannesburg?"

Sir John Willoughby: *Not when we started from Pitsani*, but certainly after the letters received from the cyclists.

Meantime the Boers had occupied the numerous prospecting trenches and cuttings on the plateau at distances from 400 to 800 yards.

At 9 p.m. a heavy fire was opened on the bivouac, and a storm of bullets swept over and around us, apparently directed from all sides except the south-west.

The troops were protected by their position on the slope below the level of the plateau, so that the total loss from this fire, which lasted about twenty minutes, was very inconsiderable.

The men behaved with admirable coolness, and were as cheery as possible, although very tired and hungry and without water.

We were then left unmolested for two or three hours.

About midnight another shower of bullets was poured into the camp, but the firing was not kept up for long.

Somewhat later a Maxim gun opened on the bivouac, but failed to get our range.

At 3.30 a.m. patrols were pushed out on all sides, while the force as silently and rapidly as possible was got ready to move off.

At 4 a.m. a heavy fire was opened by the Boers on the column, and the patrols driven in from the north and east sides.

Under the direction of Major R. White (assisted by Lieutenant Jesser-Coope) the column was formed under cover of the slope.

Soon after this the patrols which had been sent out to the south returned, and reported that the ground was clear of the Boers in that direction.

The growing light enabled us to ascertain that the Boers in force were occupying pits to our left and lining the railway embankment for a distance of one and a half miles right across the direct road to Johannesburg.

I covered the movements of the main body with the B.B.P. and two Maxims under Colonel Grey along the original left front of the bivouac, and two troops M.M.P., under Major R. White on the right front.

During all this time the firing was excessively heavy; however the main body was partially sheltered by the slope.

Colonel White then led the advance for a mile across the vley without casualty, but on reaching the opposite rise near the Oceanic Mine, was subjected to a very heavy long-range fire. Colonel White hereupon very judiciously threw out one troop to the left to cover the further advance of the main body.

This was somewhat delayed, after crossing the rise, by the disappearance of our volunteer guide of the previous night.

Some little time elapsed before another guide could be obtained.

In the meantime, Lieutenant-Colonel Grey withdrew his force and the covering Maxims out of action under the protection of the M.M.P. covering troops, and rejoined the main body.

At this juncture Colonel Grey was shot in the foot, but most gallantly insisted on carrying on his duties until the close of the action.

Sub-Inspector Cazalet was also wounded here, but continued in action until he was shot again in the chest at Doornkop.

While crossing the ridge the column was subjected to a very heavy fire, and several men and horses were lost here.

I detailed a rearguard of one troop and two Maxims, under Major R. White, to cover our rear and left flank, and move the remainder of the troops in the ordinary day formation as rapidly forward as possible.

In this formation a running rear and flank guard fight was kept up for ten miles. Wherever the features of the ground admitted, a stand was made by various small detachments of the rear and flank guard.

In this manner the Boers were successfully kept a distance of 500 yards, and repulsed in all their efforts to reach the rear and flank of the main body.

In passing through the various mines and the village of Randfontein we met with hearty expressions of goodwill from the mining population, who professed a desire to help if only they had arms.

8 a.m.

Ten miles from the start I received intelligence from Colonel Grey, at the head of the column, that Doornkop, a hill near the Speitfontein mine, was held by 400 Boers, directly barring our line of advance.

I repaired immediately to the front, Colonel White remaining with the rear-guard

On arriving at the head of the column, I found the guns shelling a ridge which our guide stated was Doornkop.

The excellent dispositions for the attack made by Colonel Grey were then carried out.

The B.B.P., under Major Coventry, who I regret to say was severely wounded and lost several of his men, attacked and cleared the ridge in most gallant style and pushed on beyond it.

About this time Inspector Barry received the wound which we have learnt with grief has subsequently proved fatal.

Chief-Inspector Bodle at the same time, with two troops M.M.P., charged, and drove off the field a large force of Boers threatening our left flank.

The guide had informed us that the road to the right of the hill was impassable, and that there was open and easy country to the left.

This information was misleading. I afterwards ascertained that without storming the Boer position there was no road open to Johannesburg except by a wide detour of many miles to the right.

8 30 a.m.

At this moment Dr. Jameson received a letter from the High Commissioner again ordering us to desist in our advance. Dr. Jameson informed me at the same time of the most disheartening news, viz., that he had received a message stating that Johannesburg would not or could not come to our assistance, and that we must fight our way through unaided.

Thinking that the first ridge now in our hands was Doornkop, we again pushed rapidly on, only to find that in rear of the ridge another steep and stony kopje, some 400 feet in height, was held by hundreds of Boers completely covered from our fire.

This kopje effectually flanked the road over which the column must advance at a distance of 400 yards. Scouting showed that there was no way of getting round this hill.

Surrounded on all sides by the Boers, men and horses wearied out, outnumbered by at least six to one, our friends having failed to keep their promises to meet us, and my force reduced numerically by one-fourth, I no longer considered that I was justified in sacrificing any more of the lives of the men under me.

Wonderfully considerate! seeing how they deliberately risked the lives of thousands in Johannesburg when they started.

As previously explained, our object in coming had been to render assistance, without bloodshed if possible, to the inhabitants of Johannesburg. This object would in no way be furthered by a hopeless attempt to cut our way through overwhelming numbers, an attempt, moreover which must without any doubt have entailed heavy and useless slaughter.

9.15 a.m.

With Dr. Jameson's permission, I therefore sent word to the Commandant that we would surrender provided that he would give a

guarantee of safe conduct out of the country to every member of the force.

To this Commandant Cronjé replied by a guarantee of the lives of all, provided that we would lay down our arms and pay all expenses.

In spite of this guarantee of the lives of all, Commandant Malan subsequently repudiated the guarantee in so far as to say that he would not answer for the lives of the leaders, but this was not until our arms had been given up and the force at the mercy of the Boers.

I attribute our failure to reach Johannesburg in a great measure to loss of time from the following causes :

(1) The delay occasioned by the demonstration in front of Krugersdorp, which had been assigned as the place of junction with the Johannesburg force.

(2) The non-arrival of that force at Krugersdorp or of the guides to the Krugersdorp-Johannesburg section of the road, as previously promised by Johannesburg.

(3) The delay consequent on moving to the firing of the supposed Johannesburg column just before dark on Wednesday evening.

How is it that nothing was said of this to Celliers and Rowland; nothing in the letter of Colonel White and Dr. Jameson which they wrote at 11 a.m. Wednesday; nothing in the message sent by Bugler Vallé, who was despatched on Thursday before daybreak after the Krugersdorp fight? How is it that if the forces were to meet at Krugersdorp Dr. Jameson telegraphed to Dr. Wolff to meet him *en route*, so as to decide whether to turn off 20 miles before reaching Krugersdorp and march direct on Pretoria or go into Johannesburg first?

I append (1) a sketch-map of the route from Pitsani to Krugersdorp, marked A. This distance (154 miles) was covered in just under 70 hours, the horses having been off-saddled ten times. The 169 miles between Pitsani and Doornkop occupied 86 hours, during 17 of which the men were engaged with the Boers, and were practically without food or water, having had their last meal at 8 a.m. on the morning of the 1st January at Van Oudtshoorn's, 17 miles from Krugersdorp.

The average weight carried by each horse was 16 stone.

(2) List of officers engaged in the expedition and composition of the force marked B. From this it will be seen that there was a total of 494 men and officers (exclusive of staff).

(3) Plans of engagements at Krugersdorp and Doornkop, and of the bivouac on the night of January 1st.

I cannot close this narrative without testifying to the very great gallantry and endurance of all officers, non-commissioned officers, and troopers under my command in the field and on the march under most trying circumstances.

#### COMPOSITION OF FORCE.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Willoughby, Royal Horse Guards ... ..	Commanding.
Major Hon. Robert White, Royal Welsh Fusiliers ... ..	Senior Staff Officer.
Major C. Hyde Villiers, Royal Horse Guards ...	Staff Officer.
Captain Kincaid-Smith, Royal Artillery ...	Artillery Staff Officer.
Captain Kennedy, B.S.A.C.'s Service ...	Quartermaster.
Captain E. Holden, Derbyshire Yeomanry ...	Assistant Quartermaster.
Surgeon Captain Farmer, B.S.A. Co. ... ..	} Medical Officers.
Surgeon Captain Seaton Hamilton, late 1st Life Guards ... ..	
Guards ... ..	

Lieutenant Grenfell, 1st Life Guards ... ..	Remount Officer.
Lieutenant Jesser-Coope, B.S.A. Co. ... ..	Transport Officer.
Captain Lindsell, late Royal Scots Fusiliers ... ..	In charge Scouts.
Major J. B. Stracey, Scots Guards ... ..	} Officers temporarily attached to Staff.
Major Heany, B.S.A. Co. ... ..	
Captain Foley ... ..	
Lieutenant Harry R. Holden, late Grenadier Guards ... ..	
Guards ... ..	

## OFFICERS OF MASHONALAND MOUNTED POLICE.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. H. F. White, Grenadier Guards ... ..	Commanding.
Inspector Bodle (late 6th Dragoons) ... ..	2nd in command.
Inspector Straker, commanding A Troop.	
Inspector Dykes, commanding B Troop.	
Inspector Barry, commanding C Troop.	
Inspector Drury, commanding D Troop.	
Sub-Inspectors Scott and Cashel, A Troop.	
Sub-Inspectors Tomlinson and Chawner, B Troop.	
Sub-Inspectors Cazalet and Williams, C Troop.	
Sub-Inspectors Murray and Constable, D Troop.	
Artillery Troop—Inspector Bowden and Sub-Inspector Spain.	
Regimental Sergeant—Major Abbott.	

## BECHUANALAND BORDER POLICE.

Lieutenant-Colonel Raleigh Grey, 6th Dragoons	Commanding.
Major Hon. Charles Coventry ... ..	2nd in command.
Captain Gosling, commanding G Troop.	
Sub-Lieutenants Hoare and Wood, commanding G Troop.	
Captain Munroe, commanding K Troop.	
Sub-Lieutenant McQueen, commanding K Troop.	
Medical Officer Surgeon Garraway.	
Veterinary Surgeon Lakie.	
M.M. Police officers and men ... ..	372
Staff ... ..	13
Colony boys (leading horses, etc.) ... ..	65
Horses .. ..	480
Mules ... ..	128
One 12½-pounder, 6 Maxims, 6 Scotch carts, 1 Cape cart, 2 grain waggons.	
B.B. Police officers and men ... ..	122
Staff ... ..	1
Drivers and leaders ... ..	10
Horses ... ..	160
Mules ... ..	30
Two 7-pounders 2 Maxims, 2 Scotch carts, 2 Cape carts.	
Totals—Officers and men ... ..	494
Staff ... ..	14
Drivers, leaders, etc. ... ..	75
Horses ... ..	640
Mules ... ..	158
M.H. Maxims ... ..	8
12½-pounder ... ..	1
7-pounder ... ..	2
Scotch carts ... ..	8
Cape carts ... ..	3

APPENDIX H

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AMMUNITION.

	Rounds.
Carried by men and natives ... ..	50,000
Carried in Scotch carts and Cape carts ... ..	54,000
Total ...	<u>104,000</u>
On the guns ... ..	17,000
In carts ... ..	28,000
Total ...	<u>45,000</u>
On limber ... ..	44
On one Scotch cart ... ..	80
Total ...	<u>124</u>
On limbers ... ..	70
In Scotch carts ... ..	172
Total ...	<u>242</u>

The rifle ammunition used was that supplied by the Maxim firm for their guns and also pellet powder.

The powder used with the 12½-pounder was that known as 'ballistite.' Rocket signals and limelights were carried, but not used.

EQUIPMENT CARRIED.

On the Person.	On the Saddle.
(a) Rifle (10 rounds).	(a) Nosebag (5 lb. grain).
(b) Bandolier (60 rounds).	(b) Cloak on wallet.
(c) Haversack (½ day's ration).	(c) Rifle bucket.
(d) Water-bottle filled.	(d) Patrol tin (with grocery ration).
	(e) Leather axe-holder (every fourth man).

Near-side wallet, 30 rounds and ½ day's rations.

Off-side wallet, 20 rounds, tin dubbin, hold-all, and towel.

Average weight carried by horse = 16 stone.

          "          "          "      Scotch carts = 1,600 lb.

## APPENDIX I.

### MANIFESTO.

If I am deeply sensible of the honour conferred upon me by being elected chairman of the National Union, I am profoundly impressed with the responsibilities attached to the position. The issues to be faced in this country are so momentous in character that it has been decided that prior to the holding of a public meeting a review of the condition of affairs should be placed in your hands, in order that you may consider matters quietly in your homes. It has also been decided that it will be wise to postpone the meeting which was to have taken place on the 27th December until the 6th day of January next.

On that day you will have made up your minds on the various points submitted to you, and we will ask you for direction as to our future course of action. It is almost unnecessary to recount all the steps which have been taken by the National Union, and I shall therefore confine myself to a very short review of what has been done.

### THE THREE PLANKS.

The constitution of the National Union is very simple. The three objects which we set before ourselves are : (1) The maintenance of the independence of the Republic, (2) the securing of equal rights, and (3) the redress of grievances. This brief but comprehensive programme has never been lost sight of, and I think we may challenge contradiction fearlessly when we assert that we have constitutionally, respectfully, and steadily prosecuted our purpose. Last year you will remember a respectful petition, praying for the franchise, signed by 13,000 men, was received with contemptuous laughter and jeers in the Volksraad. This year the Union, apart from smaller matters, endeavoured to do three things.

### THE RAAD ELECTIONS.

First we were told that a Progressive spirit was abroad, that twelve out of twenty-four members of the First Volksraad had to be elected, and we might reasonably hope for reform by the type of broad-minded men who would be elected. It was therefore resolved that we should do everything in our power to assist in the election of the best men who were put up by the constituencies, and everything that the law permitted us to do in this direction was done.

## DISAPPOINTED HOPES.

The result has been only too disappointing, as the record of the debates and the division list in the Volksraad prove. We were moreover told that public speeches in Johannesburg prevented the Progressive members from getting a majority of the Raad to listen to our requests, that angry passions were inflamed, and that if we would only hold our tongues reform would be brought about. We therefore resolved in all loyalty to abstain from inflaming angry passions, although we never admitted we had by act or speech given reason for legislators to refuse justice to all. Hence our silence for a long time.

## THE RAILWAY CONCESSION NEXT.

We used all our influence to get the Volksraad to take over the railway concession, but, alas! the President declared with tears in his voice that the independence of the country was wrapped up in this question, and a submissive Raad swept the petitions from the table.

## THE FRANCHISE PETITION.

Our great effort however was the petition for the franchise, with the moderate terms of which you are all acquainted. This petition was signed by more than 38,000 persons. What was the result? We were called unfaithful for not naturalizing ourselves, when naturalization means only that we should give up our original citizenship and get nothing in return, and become subject to disabilities. Members had the calm assurance to state, without any grounds whatever, that the signatures were forgeries; and, worst of all, one member in an inflammatory speech challenged us openly to fight for our rights, and his sentiment seemed to meet with considerable approval. This is the disappointing result of our honest endeavours to bring about a fusion between the people of this State, and the true union and equality which alone can be the basis of prosperity and peace. You all know that as the law now stands we are virtually excluded for ever from getting the franchise, and by a malignant ingenuity our children born here are deprived of the rights of citizenship unless their fathers take an oath of allegiance, which brings them nothing but disabilities.

## THE BITTER CRY OF THE 'UITLANDER.'

We are the vast majority in this State. We own more than half the land, and, taken in the aggregate, we own at least nine-tenths of the property in this country; yet in all matters affecting our lives, our liberties, and our properties, we have absolutely no voice. Dealing now first with the legislature, we find taxation is imposed upon us without any representation whatever, that taxation is wholly inequitable, (a) because a much greater amount is levied from the people than is required for the needs of Government; (b) because it is either class taxation pure and simple, or by the selection of the subjects, though nominally universal, it is made to fall upon our shoulders; and (c) because the necessities of life are unduly burdened.

## ABUSE OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

Expenditure is not controlled by any public official independent of the Government. Vast sums are squandered, while the Secret Service Fund is a dark mystery to everybody. But, essential as the power to



control taxation and expenditure is to a free people, there are other matters of the gravest importance which are equally precious. The Legislature in this country is the supreme power, apparently uncontrolled by any fixed Constitution. The chance will of a majority in a Legislature elected by one-third of the people is capable of dominating us in every relation of life, and when we remember that those who hold power belong to a different race, speak a different language, and have different pursuits from ourselves, that they regard us with suspicion, and even hostility ; that, as a rule, they are not educated men, and that their passions are played upon by unscrupulous adventurers, it must be admitted that we are in very grave danger.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE MODERATES.

I think it is but just to bear tribute to the patriotic endeavours of a small band of enlightened men in the Volksraad who have earnestly condemned the policy of the Government and warned them of its danger. To Mr. Jeppe, Mr. Lucas Meyer, the De Jagers, Mr. Loveday, and a few others in the First Raad, leaving out the second Raad, we owe our best thanks, for they have fought our battle and confirmed the justice of our cause. But when we look to the debates of the last few years, what do we find ? All through a spirit of hostility, all through an endeavour not to meet the just wants of the people, not to remove grievances, not to establish the claim to our loyalty by just treatment and equal laws, but to repress the publication of the truth, however much it might be required in the public interest, to prevent us from holding public meetings, to interfere with the Courts, and to keep us in awe by force.

#### THE POWERS OF THE EXECUTIVE.

There is now threatened a danger even graver than those which have preceded it. The Government is seeking to get through the Legislature an Act which will vest in the Executive the power to decide whether men have been guilty of sedition, and to deport them and confiscate their goods. The Volksraad has by resolution affirmed the principle, and has instructed the Government to bring up a Bill accordingly next session. To-day this power rests justly with the courts of law, and I can only say that if this Bill becomes law the power of the Executive Government of this country would be as absolute as the power of the Czar of Russia. We shall have said goodbye finally to the last principle of liberty.

#### PRESIDENT KRUGER INDICTED.

Coming to the Executive Government, we find that there is no true responsibility to the people, none of the great departments of State are controlled by Ministerial officers in the proper sense, the President's will is virtually supreme, and he, with his unique influence over the legislators of the House, State-aided by an able if hostile State Secretary, has been the author of every act directed against the liberties of the people. It is well that this should be recognized. It is well that President Kruger should be known for what he is, and that once for all the false pedestal on which he has so long stood should be destroyed. I challenge contradiction when I state that no important Act has found a place on the Statute-book during the last ten years without the seal of President Kruger's will upon it ; nay, he is the father of every such Act. Remember

that all legislation is initiated by the Government, and, moreover, President Kruger has expressly supported every Act by which we and our children have been deprived by progressive steps of the right to acquire franchise, by which taxation has been imposed upon us almost exclusively, and by which the right and the liberty of the Press and the right of public meeting have been attacked.

#### THE JUDGES AND THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT.

Now we come to the judicial system. The High Court of this country has, in the absence of representation, been the sole guardian of our liberties. Although it has on the whole done its work ably, affairs are in a very unsatisfactory position. The judges have been underpaid, their salaries have never been secure, the most undignified treatment has been meted out to them, and the status and independence of the Bench have on more than one occasion been attacked. A deliberate attempt was made two years ago by President Kruger and the Government to reduce the bench to a position subordinate to the Executive Government, and only recently we had in the Witfontein matter the last of the cases in which the Legislature interfered with vested rights of action. The administration of justice by minor officials, by native commissioners, and by field-cornets, has produced, and is producing, the gravest unrest in the country; and, lastly, gentlemen,

#### THE GREAT BULWARK OF LIBERTY,

the right to trial by jurymen who are our peers, is denied to us. Only the burgher or naturalized burgher is entitled to be a jurymen; or, in other words, anyone of us is liable to be tried upon the gravest charge possible by jurymen who are in no sense our peers, who belong to a different race, who regard us with a greater or lesser degree of hostility, and whose passions, if inflamed, might prompt them, as weak human creatures, to inflict the gravest injustice, even to deprive men of their lives. Supposing, in the present tense condition of political feeling, any one of us were tried before a Boer jury on any charge having a political flavour about it, should we be tried by our peers, and should we have a chance of receiving even-handed justice?

#### THE SECRET SERVICE FUND.

When we come to the Administration, we find that there is the grossest extravagance, that Secret Service moneys are squandered, that votes are exceeded, that the public credit is pledged, as it was pledged in the case of the Netherlands Railway Company, and later still in the case of the Selati Railway, in a manner which is wholly inconsistent with the best interests of the people.

#### SQUANDERING THE PUBLIC REVENUE.

The Delagoa Bay festivities are an instance of a reckless disregard of a Parliamentary vote; £20,000 was voted for those useless festivities—about £60,000 was really expended, and I believe certain favoured gentlemen hailing from Holland derived the principal benefit. It is said that £400,000 of our money has been transferred for some extraordinary purpose to Holland. Recently £17,000 is said to have been sent out of the country with Dr. Leyds for Secret Service purposes, and the public audit seems a farce. When the Progressive members endeavoured to get an explanation about large sums of money they

were silenced by a vote of the majority prompted by President Kruger. The administration of the public service is in a scandalous condition.

#### A CORRUPT LEGISLATURE.

Bribery and corruption are rampant. We have had members of the Raad accepting presents of imported spiders and watches wholesale from men who were applying for concessions, and we have the singular fact that in every instance the recipient of the gift voted for the concession. We have the President openly stating that such acceptance of presents was wholly moral. We have a condition of affairs in which the time of the meeting of the Volksraad is looked upon as the period of the greatest danger to our interests, and it is an open secret that a class of man has sprung up who is in constant attendance upon the members of the Volksraad, and whose special business appears to be the 'influencing' of members one way or the other. It is openly stated that enormous sums of money have been spent, some to produce illegitimate results, some to guard against fresh attacks upon vested rights. The Legislature passed an Act solemnly denouncing corruption in the public service. One man, not an official, was punished under the law, but nothing has ever been done since to eradicate the evil.

#### AND A TAINTED CIVIL SERVICE.

I think thousands of you are satisfied of the venality of many of our public servants. I wish to guard against the assumption that all public servants are corrupt. Thank God there are many who are able and honourable men, and it must be gall and wormwood to these men to find the whole tone of the service destroyed, and to have themselves made liable to be included under one general denunciation. But there can be no health in an administration, and the public morals must be sapped also, when such things as the Smit case, and the recent Siemens case, go unnoticed and unpunished.

#### TWO GLARING CASES.

I think it right to state openly what those cases are. N. J. Smit is the son of a member of the Government. He absented himself for months without leave. He was meantime charged in the newspapers with embezzlement. He returned, was fined £25 for being absent without leave, and was reinstated in office. He is now the Mining Commissioner of Klerksdorp. He has been charged in at least two newspapers—one of them a Dutch newspaper, *Land en Volk*, published within a stone's throw of the Government Office—with being an 'unpunished thief,' and yet the Government have taken no notice of it, nor has he thought fit to bring an action to clear himself. In the Siemens case two officials in the Mining Department admitted in the witness-box that they had agreed to further the application of a relative for the grant of a piece of public land at Johannesburg on condition that they were each to receive one quarter of the proceeds. A third official, the Landdrost of Pretoria, admitted that he had received £300 for his 'influence' in furthering the application; yet no notice had been taken by the Government of their scandalous conduct, and sad to say the judges who heard the case did not think it their duty to comment strongly upon the matter. I have in my possession now a notarial deed which proves that the Railway Commissioner, the Landdrost, and the Commandant of Pretoria are members of a syndicate whose avowed object is, or was, to wrest from the companies their right to the

'bewaarplaatsen. This shows what is going on, and what is the measure of safety of title to property. Those who should guard our rights are our worst enemies. In a law introduced by the present Government, the Government, instead of the Courts, are the final judges in cases of disputed elections. No Election Committees are allowed. This operates against candidates opposed to the Government, because the Government has virtually a vast standing army of committee men, henchmen, officials being allowed openly to take part in swaying elections, and the Government being in a position, by the distribution of contracts, appointments, purchase of concessions, the expenditure of Secret Service money and otherwise, to bring into existence and maintain a large number of supporters who act as canvassers always on the right side in times of elections.

#### NATIVE AFFAIRS.

The administration of native affairs is a gross scandal and a source of immense loss and danger to the community. Native Commissioners have been permitted to practise extortion, injustice, and cruelty upon the natives under their jurisdiction. The Government has allowed petty tribes to be goaded into rebellion. We have had to pay the costs of the 'wars,' while the wretched victims of their policy have had their tribes broken up, sources of native labour have been destroyed, and large numbers of prisoners have been kept in goal for something like eighteen months without trial. It was stated in the newspapers that, out of 63 men imprisoned, 31 had died in that period, while the rest were languishing to death for want of vegetable food. We have had revelations of repulsive cruelty on the part of field-cornets. We all remember the Rachman case, and the April case, in which the judges found field-cornets guilty of brutal conduct to unfortunate natives; but the worst features about these cases is that the Government has set the seal of its approval upon the acts of these officials by paying the costs of the actions out of public funds, and the President of the State a few days ago made the astounding statement in regard to the April case, that, notwithstanding the judgment of the High Court, the Government thought that Prinsloo was right in his action, and therefore paid the costs. The Government is enforcing the 'plackerswet,' which forbids the locating of more than five families on one farm. The field-cornets in various districts have recently broken up homes of large numbers of natives settled on 'Uitlanders' lands, just at the time when they had sown their crops to provide the next winter's food. The application of this law is most uneven, as large numbers of natives are left on the farms of the Boers. Quite recently a well-known citizen brought into the country at great expense some hundreds of families, provided them with land, helped them to start life, stipulating only that he should be able to draw from amongst them labour at a fair wage to develop his properties. Scarcely had they been settled when the field-cornet came down and scattered the people, distributing them among Boer farms. The sources of the native labour supply have been seriously interfered with at the borders by Government measures, and difficulties have been placed in the way of transport of natives by railway to the mines. These things are all a drain upon us as a State, and many of them are a burning disgrace to us as a people.

#### THE EDUCATION SCANDAL.

The great public that subscribes the bulk of the revenue is virtually denied all benefit of State aid in education. There has been a deliberate

attempt to Hollanderise the Republic, and to kill the English language. Thousands of children are growing up in this land in ignorance, unfitted to run the race of life, and there is the possibility that a large number of them will develop into criminals. We have had to tax ourselves privately to guard against these dangers, and the iniquity of denying education to the children of men who are paying taxes is so manifest that I pass on with mingled feelings of anger and disgust.

#### RAILWAYS.

This important branch of the public service is entirely in the hands of a corporation domiciled in Holland. This corporation holds a concession, of course under which not only was there no adequate control over expenditure in construction, but it is entitled to charge and is charging us outrageous tariffs. How outrageous these are will be seen from the admission made by Mr. Middelberg that the short section of 10 miles between Boksburg and Krugersdorp is paying more than the interest on the cost of the construction of the whole line of railway to Delagoa Bay. To add these to its general revenue, of which 10 per cent. is set aside as a sinking fund, and then to take for itself 15 per cent. of the balance, the Company reports annually to the Raad from Amsterdam in a language which is practically foreign to it, and makes up its accounts in guelders, a coinage which our legislators I venture to say know nothing of; and this is independence. We are liable as guarantors for the whole of the debt. Lines have been built entirely on our credit, and yet we have no say and no control over these important public works beyond the show of control which is supposed to be exercised by the present Railway Commissioner. The Company in conjunction with the Executive Government is in a position to control our destinies to an enormous extent, to influence our relations internally and externally, to bring about such friction with the neighbouring States as to set the whole of South Africa in tumult. Petitions have been presented to the Raad, but the President has constantly brushed these aside with the well-worn argument that the independence of the State is involved in the matter. It is involved in the matter, as all who remember the recent Drifts question will admit. I have been told that it is dangerous for the country to take over the railway, because it would afford such an immense field for corruption. Surely this is the strongest condemnation of the Government by its friends, for if it is not fit to run a railway, how can it be fit to manage a whole State? The powers controlling this railway are flooding the public service with Hollanders to the exclusion of our own people, and I may here say that in the most important departments of the State we are being controlled by the gentlemen from the Low Country. While the innocent Boer hugs to himself the delusion that he is preserving his independence, they control us politically through Dr. Leyds, financially through the Netherlands Railway, educationally through Dr. Mansvelt, and in the Department of Justice through Dr. Coster.

#### CUSTOMS AND TRADE.

The policy of the Government in regard to taxation may be practically described as protection without production. The most monstrous hardships result to consumers, and merchants can scarcely say from day to day where they are. Twice now has the Government entered into competition with traders who have paid their licences and rents and who keep staffs. Recently grain became scarce. The Govern-

ment were petitioned to suspend the duties, which are cruelly high, in order to assist the mining industry to feed its labourers. The Government refused this request on the plea that it was not in a position to suspend duties without the permission of the Volkraad, and yet within a few days we find that the Government has granted a concession to one of its friends to import grain free of duty and to sell it in competition with the merchants who have had to pay duties. I do not attempt to deal with this important question adequately, but give this example to show how the Government regards the rights of traders.

#### MONOPOLIES.

It has been the steady policy of the Government to grant concessions. No sooner does any commodity become absolutely essential to the community than some harpy endeavours to get a concession for its supply. There is scarcely a commodity or a right which has not been made the subject of an application for the grant of a concession. We all remember the bread and jam concession, the water concession, the electric lighting concession, and many others, but I need only point to the dynamite concession to show how these monopolies tend to paralyse our industries. There may be some of you who have not yet heard and some who have forgotten the facts connected with this outrage upon public rights.

#### STORY OF THE DYNAMITE CONCESSION.

Some years ago, Mr. Lippert got a concession for the sole right to manufacture and sell dynamite and all other explosives. He was to manufacture the dynamite in this country. For years he imported dynamite under the name of Guhr Impregne duty free. He never manufactured dynamite in the country, and upon public exposure, the Government was compelled to cancel the concession, the President himself denouncing the action of the concessionnaire as fraudulent. For a time we breathed freely, thinking we were rid of this incubus, but within a few months the Government granted virtually to the same people another concession, under which they are now taking from the pockets of the public £600,000 per annum, and this is a charge which will go on growing should the mining industry survive the persistent attempts to strangle it. How a body charged with the public interests could be parties to this scandalous fleecing of the public passes comprehension. Then, the curious feature about the matter is that the Government gets some petty fraction of this vast sum, and the concessionnaires have on this plea obtained enormous advances of public moneys from the Government, without security, to carry on their trade. Shortly, the concessionnaires are entitled to charge 90s. a case for dynamite, while it could be bought if there were no concession for about 30s. a case. It may be stated incidentally, that Mr. Wolmarans, a member of the Government, has been for years challenged to deny that he is enjoying a royalty of 2s. on every case of dynamite sold, and that he has up to the present moment neglected to take up the challenge. Proper municipal government is denied to us, and we all know how much this means with regard to health, comfort, and the value of property. The Statute Books are disfigured with enactments imposing religious disabilities; and the English language, the language spoken by the great bulk of the people, is denied all official recognition. The natural result of the existing condition of things is that the true owners of the mines are those who have invested no capital in them—

the Government, the railway concessionaires, the dynamite concessionaires, and others. The country is rich, and under proper government could be developed marvellously, but it cannot stand the drain of the present exactions. We have lived largely upon foreign capital, and the total amount of the dividends available for shareholders in companies is ridiculously small as compared with the aggregate amount of capital invested in mining ventures. Some day the inevitable result upon our credit and upon our trade will be forced upon us.

#### HATRED OF THE SAXON.

There is no disguising the fact that the original policy of the Government is based upon intense hostility to the English-speaking population, and that even against the enfranchised burgher of this State there is the determination to retain all power in the hands of those who are enjoying the sweets of office now, and naturally the grateful crowd of relations and friends and henchmen ardently support the existing *régime*; but there are unmistakable signs, and the President fears that the policy which he has hitherto adopted will not be sufficient to keep in check the growing population. It seems the set purpose of the Government to repress the growth of the industry, to tax it at every turn, to prevent the working classes from settling here and making their homes and surrounding themselves with their families, and there is no mistaking the significance of the action of the President when he opposed the throwing open of the town lands of Pretoria on the ground that 'he might have a second Johannesburg there,' nor that of his speech upon the motion for the employment of diamond drills to prospect Government lands, which he opposed hotly on the ground that 'there is too much gold here already.'

#### THE POLICY OF FORCE.

We now have openly the policy of force revealed to us. £250,000 is to be spent upon the completing of a fort at Pretoria, £100,000 is to be spent upon a fort to terrorize the inhabitants of Johannesburg, large orders are sent to Krupp's for big guns, Maxims have been ordered, and we are even told that German officers are coming out to drill the burghers. Are these things necessary or are they calculated to irritate the feeling to breaking point? What necessity is there for forts in peaceful inland towns? Why should the Government endeavour to keep us in subjection to unjust laws by the power of the sword instead of making themselves live in the heart of the people by a broad policy of justice? What can be said of a policy which deliberately divides the two great sections of the people from each other, instead of uniting them under equal laws, or the policy which keeps us in eternal turmoil with the neighbouring States? What shall be said of the statecraft, every act of which sows torments, discontent, or race hatred, and reveals a conception of republicanism under which the only privilege of the majority of the people is to provide the revenue, and to bear insult, while only those are considered Republicans who speak a certain language, and in greater or less degree share the prejudices of the ruling classes?

#### A STIRRING PERORATION.

I think this policy can never succeed, unless men are absolutely bereft of every quality which made their forefathers free men; unless we have fallen so low that we are prepared to forget honour, self-

respect, and our duty to our children. Once more, I wish to state again in unmistakable language what has been so frequently stated in perfect sincerity before, that we desire an independent republic which shall be a true republic, in which every man who is prepared to take the oath of allegiance to the State shall have equal rights, in which our children shall be brought up side by side as united members of a strong commonwealth; that we are animated by no race hatred, that we desire to deprive no man, be his nationality what it may, of any right.

#### THE CHARTER OF THE UNION.

We have now only two questions to consider: (a) What do we want? (b) how shall we get it? I have stated plainly what our grievances are, and I shall answer with equal directness the question, 'What do we want?' We want: (1) the establishment of this Republic as a true Republic; (2) a Grondwet or Constitution which shall be framed by competent persons selected by representatives of the whole people and framed on lines laid down by them—a Constitution which shall be safeguarded against hasty alteration; (3) an equitable franchise law, and fair representation; (4) equality of the Dutch and English languages; (5) responsibility of the Legislature to the heads of the great departments; (6) removal of religious disabilities; (7) independence of the courts of justice, with adequate and secured remuneration of the judges; (8) liberal and comprehensive education; (9) efficient civil service, with adequate provision for pay and pension; (10) free trade in South African products. That is what we want. There now remains the question which is to be put before you at the meeting of the 6th January, viz., How shall we get it? To this question I shall expect from you an answer in plain terms according to your deliberate judgment.

CHARLES LEONARD,  
*Chairman of the Transvaal National Union.*



## APPENDIX K.

### THE CASE OF THE CHIEFTAINNESS TOEREMETSJANI

ON the reports which have appeared the case or cases of Toeremetsjani *v.* P. A. Cronjé, Jesaja *v.* P. A. Cronjé and D. J. Schoeman, Segole *v.* P. A. Cronjé and J. A. Erasmus, have attracted, as well they might, a good deal of attention. The following *résumé* and commentary were compiled by a legal gentleman who was present during the trial, but not professionally employed in it.

The facts revealed in the evidence (writes our correspondent) speak pretty well for themselves, but they were brought out into lurid prominence in the cross-examination of Commandant Cronjé by Mr. Justice Jorissen. In order to make the case quite clear, it is as well to state for the benefit of those who are not intimately acquainted with things in the Transvaal that this Mr. Cronjé, who is now the Superintendent-General of Natives, is the same Cronjé concerning whose action in regard to Jameson's surrender there was so much discussion. After the Jameson Raid, President Kruger, pursuing his policy of packing the Executive with his own friends, decided to put Cronjé upon the Executive, for which purpose he induced General Joubert to resign his position as Superintendent-General of Natives. The President's intention becoming known to Raad members, the strongest possible objection was expressed to this course as being wholly unconstitutional and in direct conflict with the Grondwet; the President in the first place having no right to add to the number of Executive members and no authority for appointing any person to fill a vacancy if there were one. Notice of motion was promptly given in the Raad to instruct the Executive not to take the proposed course, as the Raad felt that the privilege and power of appointing members on the Executive rested with them alone. Twenty-four hours' notice was requisite to bring a matter up for discussion before the Raad. President Kruger hearing that notice had been given promptly called a meeting of the Executive and appointed Mr. Cronjé in defiance of the notice of motion, so that when the motion came on for discussion on the following day he replied to the Raad's instruction that it was too late to discuss the matter, the appointment having been made. Mr. Cronjé, therefore, appears on the scene on this occasion without much to prejudice the unbiassed reader in his favour. The circumstances of the surrender of the Potchefstroom garrison, which was secured by treacherously suppressing the news of the armistice between the two forces (a treachery for which public reparation was afterwards exacted by Sir Evelyn Wood), the treatment of certain prisoners of war (compelled to work for the Boers exposed to the

fire and being shot down by their own friends in the garrison), the summary execution of other prisoners, the refusal to allow certain of the women to leave the British garrison, resulting in the death of at least one, are matters which although sixteen years old are quite fresh in the memory of the people in the Transvaal. The condition of Dr. Jameson's surrender revived the feeling that Mr. Cronjé has need to do something remarkable in another direction in order to encourage that confidence in him as an impartial and fair-minded man which his past career unfortunately does not warrant. Commandant Trichard, mentioned in this connection as a witness, was one of the commandants who refused to confirm the terms accorded by Cronjé to Jameson. Mr. Abel Erasmus is a gentleman so notorious that it would be quite unnecessary to further describe him. He is the one whom Lord Wolseley described as a fiend in human form, and threatened to "hang as high as Haman." Abel Erasmus is the man who had desolated the Lydenburg district; the hero of the cave affair in which men, women, and children were closed up in a cave and burnt to death or suffocated; a man who is the living terror of a whole countryside, the mere mention of whose name is sufficient to cow any native. Mr. Schoeman is the understudy of Abel Erasmus, and is the hero of the satchel case, in which an unfortunate native was flogged well-nigh to death and tortured in order to wring evidence from him who, it was afterwards discovered, knew absolutely nothing about the affair. The Queen, or Chieftainess, Toeremetsjani, is the present head of the Secocoeni tribe and the head wife of the late chief, Secocoeni. This tribe, it will be remembered, was the one which successfully resisted the Boers under President Burger and Commandant Paul Kruger—a successful resistance which was one of the troubles leading directly to the abortive annexation of the Transvaal. The Secocoeni tribe were afterwards conquered by British troops, and handed over to the tender mercies of the Boer Government upon the restoration of its independence.

It is necessary to bear these facts in mind in order to realise the hideous significance of the unvarnished tale.

Now to the trial.

Mr. Advocate WESSELS, who acted for the natives, gauging pretty accurately what the defence would be, called two witnesses to prove the *prima facie* case. Jesaja, one of the indunas flogged, whose case was first on the roll, proved that he was flogged by order of Commandant Cronjé without any form of trial, and without any charge or indictment being made against him, and that he received twenty-six lashes, the extra one being given because he declined to say 'Thank you' for the twenty-five. Commandant Trichard next gave evidence, and from him Mr. WESSELS elicited that Cronjé had gone through no form of trial, but handed over Jesaja and the other twelve indunas to be flogged by Erasmus and Schoeman.

Advocate : Do you positively swear that Commandant Cronjé specified the sentence of twenty-five lashes each ?

Witness : Yes.

Which answer was quite in accordance with the pleas of Erasmus and Schoeman, who stated specifically that they administered the lashes in accordance with the orders and sentence given by Commandant Cronjé. The Court held that a sufficient *prima facie* case had been made out by the plaintiff, and that the onus now lay on the defendants to prove their case. The witnesses called were Commandant Cronjé and Mr. Stiemens, secretary to the former. Mr. Stiemens in his evidence fully corroborated Trichard's evidence as to the passing of the sentence by

Cronjé upon the indunas and the absence of any form of trial ; and nothing more need be said about this witness. With Mr. Cronjé's evidence, however, it is necessary to deal at length. Mr. Cronjé admitted under cross-examination that he had not observed any particular form of trial, although, as was pointed out, the law dealing with native trials stated specifically 'that the rules which govern procedure in civilized courts shall be followed as closely as possible.' He stated that as regards the Chieftainess, he called her up and read over to her 'point by point' 'the indictment under which she was charged,' which indictment, however, as he admitted, consisted merely of a letter of complaint written by Field-cornet Schoeman to him as Superintendent-General of Natives. He claimed that no form of trial was necessary, inasmuch as he acted under the authority of the President, who has supreme power over natives, and was not obliged to observe any particular form of trial. 'Point by point I read the charge,' to use his own words, 'against the woman, and point by point I could see by her demeanour that she was guilty.' As regards the thirteen indunas, Mr. Cronjé admitted that he did not know whether these were indunas. He considered them guilty, not because they had done anything, but because in their position as advisers of the Chieftainess they ought to have advised her better than they appeared to have done. Instructions had therefore been given to arrest these indunas, and they had caught as many as they could. There was no evidence to show that they were indunas, or that they were ever in a position to advise or had advised the Chieftainess ; in fact, it was admitted that they were a lot of thirteen caught out of a tribe as one might catch so many sheep out of a flock. Mr. Cronjé denied that he had sentenced these men, and repeatedly stated that he had handed them over to Erasmus and Schoeman, to be dealt with according to law.

Mr. WESSELS cross-examined the witness upon this point as follows :—

Advocate : I believe Commandant Trichard accompanied you on this commission ?

Witness : Yes.

Advocate : He was present throughout the whole proceeding ?

Witness : Yes.

Advocate : He had every opportunity of knowing what took place and what was said ?

Witness : Yes.

Advocate : You will be surprised to hear that Mr. Trichard states that you actually passed sentence upon the thirteen indunas in such words as, 'I hand you over to the Native Commissioner and Field-cornet to be dealt with according to law. And you instigators will get twenty-five lashes each between the shoulders.' Do you positively deny that you said anything about twenty-five lashes ?

Witness : Yes, I deny it.

Advocate : Do you deny that you gave any indication or opinion as to what ought to be done with these men ?

Witness : Yes.

Advocate : Well, Mr. Cronjé, I want to know which of you two the Court is to believe, you or Commandant Trichard ?

Witness : Commandant Trichard has made a mistake.

Advocate : No, no, no, Mr. Cronjé, that won't do ; there are no mistakes in this business. I want you to tell the Court which of you two men under oath is lying and which is telling the truth.

Witness : Commandant Trichard is lying.

(At this point there was some commotion in Court caused by Com-

mandant Trichard jumping up and making use of some expressions towards the witness. The matter ended in a rather fierce altercation after the Court adjourned.) It is only necessary to add that Mr. Stiemans, who followed Cronjé, fully corroborated Trichard's evidence. There were many other interesting points brought out by Mr. WESSELS in his cross-examination, but it is unnecessary to further detail this part of the proceedings, as the same ground was covered by Mr. Justice Jorissen, who took the witness in hand and whose cross-examination brought out the salient features of the case with extreme vividness and dramatic effect. The Judge first dealt with that portion of the evidence relating to the so-called 'trial' of the Chieftainess.

Judge: Mr. Cronjé, in your evidence just now you said that you read over to this woman the charge that was laid against her. 'Point by point' you say you read it to her, and 'point by point you could see by her demeanour that she was guilty.' Is that so?

Witness: Yes.

Judge: Very well, Mr. Cronjé, I will take the indictment, 'point by point,' as you did. Point the first, Mr. Cronjé. (The Judge here read the first of the seven clauses in Schoeman's letter which formed the indictment.) Now kindly explain to me what there was in the woman's demeanour which conveyed to you the idea that she was guilty on this point.

The witness became considerably embarrassed and did not answer.

Judge: No answer, Mr. Cronjé? Well, we will take point No. 2. (The Judge dealt with all the seven clauses in a similar manner, the witness failing to make any answer throughout. After the last point had been dealt with and remained unanswered, the Judge addressed the witness again amid a most impressive silence in Court.)

Judge: Mr. Cronjé, 'point by point' I have read to you the indictment as you read it to the woman; 'point by point' I have asked you to give me certain information; 'point by point' you have failed to make any answer. Well, Mr. Cronjé, I can only tell you this, 'point by point' I shall set that down in my notes. (After an interval, during which the Judge filled in his notes, the examination was resumed.)

Judge: Now, Mr. Cronjé, as I understand it, it was in consequence of Field-cornet Schoeman's complaint to you as Superintendent-General of Natives that you were sent by the Government to investigate the matter?

Witness: Yes.

Judge: You called the woman up before you and read to her the charges.

Witness: Yes.

Judge: You brought no evidence against her?

Witness: No.

Judge: You did not call upon Schoeman to produce any evidence against her?

Witness: No.

Judge: His letter of complaint to you seemed sufficient?

Witness: Yes.

Judge: You did not give her any opportunity to bring evidence?

Witness: It was not necessary.

Judge: Oh, dear no; I quite understand that 'you could tell from her demeanour that she was guilty.' But as a matter of form you did not hear any evidence on her behalf?

Witness: No.

Judge: You just sentenced her out of hand.

Witness : I sentenced her to pay a fine.

Judge : And then as regards the thirteen indunas, if they were indunas, as you deny sentencing them we need not refer further to that point, but I put this to you—there was no evidence brought against them ?

Witness : No.

Judge : There was nothing to show that these men had ever advised the woman or were in a position to advise her ; in fact, as far as the evidence goes, there was nothing to show that they even belonged to the tribe, but in your opinion they ought to have advised her differently, and you therefore sentenced them to twenty-five lashes each.

Witness : I did not sentence them, but handed them over to the proper authorities to be dealt with according to law.

Judge : Oh, no, Mr. Cronjé, that is not how the case appears to me. You came up to these people in the capacity of Judge, to do justice as between man and man according to your lights, to follow the procedure that is observed in civilized courts, to represent the strength, the rights, and the responsibilities of this Republic, and if we are to accept your evidence as true, you did not try the men whom you were to have tried. You heard evidence neither for nor against them, but you handed them over to—to whom, Mr. Cronjé ? Not to the proper authorities, but to Erasmus and Schoeman, the other parties in the case which you were sent up to try. It seems to me, Mr. Cronjé, that this is a case without parallel.

There was no answer from the witness.

Judge : One point more, Mr. Cronjé, and I have finished. When you handed over these men to be dealt with, did you notify them that they had the right of appeal from any sentence that might be imposed upon them ?

Witness : Yes, I did.

Judge : Right ! Now, Mr. Cronjé, did you notify Erasmus and Schoeman that they should stay execution of the sentence pending the hearing of any appeal ?

After considerable pause the witness was understood to say "No."

Judge : You did not tell these officials to stay execution ?

Witness : No.

Judge : Then you merely gave these natives the right to appeal against the sentence of lashes after they should have received the lashes ?

There was no answer from the witness.

Judge : That will do, Mr. Cronjé. I do not think that these people have much reason to thank you for the leave to appeal.

Cronjé was followed in the witness-box by Stiemens, whose evidence is already referred to, and the Court then adjourned.

The next morning, shortly before the opening of the Court, the State Attorney came down on behalf of the Government and arranged with Plaintiffs' Counsel to adjourn for the day to enable parties to try and settle the three cases out of Court. The Court thereupon adjourned at the request of parties, and during the day the three cases were settled on the following basis : The Government refunds Toeremetsjani the £147 10s. with interest at 6 per cent. from the date of payment by her to Erasmus, and pays her costs, to be taxed as between attorney and client.

The Defendants Cronjé, Erasmus, and Schoeman, pay each of the thirteen indunas who were flogged £25 as compensation, and pay the costs of Jesaja and Segole, to be taxed as between attorney and client.

## POSTSCRIPT.

One last touch of irony is needed to complete the story of the suits brought by the Chieftainess Toeremetsjani and her indunas against Messrs. Erasmus, Schoeman, and the rest. It seems that these same gentlemen have actually been appointed by the Government to 'investigate matters' in the district where these Kaffirs live. Poor Toeremetsjani and the unfortunate indunas, as a contemporary remarks, may be expected to give a grovelling welcome. No more High Court for them.

The natives, by the way, interviewed since their return to the kraals, state that they have not yet received the settlement arranged.

In connection with the above sample of justice to the natives it is as well to recall another recent incident which has lately taken place. Some natives being severely mishandled by the local authorities, and being in consequence destitute of means to proceed against them in law, applied to Court for leave to sue *in forma pauperis*. This leave was granted. Immediately upon this becoming known petitions were got up among the Boers, with the result that the Volksraad some six weeks ago took a resolution instructing the Government to immediately bring in a law forbidding the judges to grant such leave, and making it impossible for a native to sue Government or any white person *in forma pauperis*. Comment (concludes the correspondent who sets out these various facts) is superfluous.

## APPENDIX L.

59, HOLBORN VIADUCT, LONDON, E.C.  
6th May, 1897.

### REPORT ON THE LETTER WRITTEN ON A TORN TELEGRAM FORM SIGNED "F. R.", BY MR. T. H. GURRIN, EXPERT IN HANDWRITING.

Mr. THOMAS HENRY GURRIN, of 59, Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C., is a professional expert in handwriting, recognized and employed by the Director of Public Prosecutions, the Home Office, and the authorities at Scotland Yard, and is constantly engaged by them in that capacity. He is also frequently engaged in the same capacity by the Bank of England and other public bodies.

He has acted as handwriting expert in a very large number of civil and criminal cases at sessions, assizes, and before the High Courts, for over twelve years past, and can conscientiously say that his experience in the identification of genuine handwriting and the detection of forged and altered documents is very extensive.

Mr. Gurrin begs respectfully to submit the following report :—

'Having been instructed by Mr. Braunstein, solicitor, of 27, Great George Street, Westminster, I have examined a photograph of torn portions of a letter written on a telegram form of the South African Republic.

'My attention has been directed to the evidence of Major Sir J. C. Willoughby, appearing at page 302 of the Minutes, in which he has given his version of the missing portions of this document.

'I have compared this version of the missing words with the vacant spaces, and I find that the words supplied in question 5,571 would occupy, as near as can be estimated, the missing spaces, judging from the other writing in the document.

'I read the first portion of the document as follows :—

"Dear Dr.,

"The rumour of massacre in "

"Johannesburg that started you to our "

"relief was not true. We are all right ; "

"feeling intense ; we have armed "

"a lot of men. Shall (not ' I shall ' ) be very glad "

"to see you. We are not in possession of "

"town."

'Major Sir J. C. Willoughby reads line 6, "We (or the Boers)." It cannot possibly be "the Boers," as the first letter is clearly a portion of a capital "W," and corresponds with the first portion of the "W" as made at line 3; and further, there would be no room for the two words "the Boers," between the portion of the letter "W" and the word "not."

'Again, I am of opinion that the last word in line 6 was "of," as there is still visible an ascending curved stroke corresponding to that with which the writer terminates the letter "f."

'With reference to the rest of the version as contained in question 5,573, I respectfully submit that the missing words supplied are absolutely inconsistent with the spaces which these words would occupy if written naturally by the same writer.

'The words "I will bring at least three hundred" do not correspond with the still existing marks on line 7. The portion of a letter appearing in the middle of the line would not, as far as I can judge, be a part of any of the words suggested which would come at the centre of that line. It might be a part of a capital "W," or an initial "p," or it might be a final "d" turned back to the left, and the last letter in the line looks as though it was intended for an "e." In support of this theory, I compare it with the "e" at the end of the word "true" in line 3, and the "e" at the end of "intense," line 4. The writer, when making a final "d," makes the latter portion of the letter something like this, but in the instances in this document he exerts more pressure than we find here, see, for instance, the "d" in "started," at line 2, the "d" in "glad," in line 5, and "d" in "armed," line 4. Besides, I cannot think that this can be the end of the word "hundred," as, judging from the length of the word "started," the word "hundred" would have occupied from the third vertical line, and this would certainly leave no room for the other words suggested in the version given by Major Sir J. C. Willoughby, viz.: "We will bring at least, or about three." If the words "will send out some," or "we will send out some," are written in line 7 after the word "town," adopting, as nearly as possible, the space that would have been occupied by the writer for these words, they will just fill the line. In like manner, with regard to line 8, there is just room after the words "men to" for the two words "meet you," and the small mark appearing before the full stop might have been the terminal of the letter "u," but it would have been impossible to get into this small space the words "meet you at Krugersdorp," and even if the words "meet you at" were omitted, and if it be assumed that the word which originally stood there was "Krugersdorp," then the mark appearing before the full stop could not by any theory be construed as having been a portion of the letter "p," as I have examined various specimens of Colonel Rhodes' handwriting, and have seen him write specimens containing the letter "p" and find that he does not terminate a "p" with any stroke of this description, but that he terminates it inside the oval portion of the letter near the downstroke. With regard to the rest of the line, the last two letters appear to have been "ne," and there is a dot just in the position that would apparently have been occupied by the dot had the previous letter been "i." Consequently, I am of opinion that the theory that the words "will send," or "we will send out some men to meet you," "you are a fine fellow," is perfectly consistent with the spaces left in the torn document, but that the theory that the words which were originally in the spaces were "I will bring at least or about three hundred men to meet you at Krugersdorp, you are a gallant



fellow," is not only inconsistent with the amount of space available, but does not fit in with the letters and portions of letters still visible.

'T. H. GURRIN.'

Contents of the letter according to a statement signed by Dr. Jameson, Sir John Willoughby, Major Robert White and Colonel Raleigh Grey :—

'The rumour of massacre in Johannesburg that started you to our relief was not true. We are all right, feeling intense. We have armed a lot of men. I shall be very glad to see you. We (or the Boers) are not in possession of the town. I will bring at least, or about, 300 men to meet you at Krugersdorp. You are a gallant fellow.'

According to Colonel Francis Rhodes and Mr. Lionel Phillips, the contents are as follows :—

'The rumour of massacre in Johannesburg that started you to our relief was not true. We are all right, feeling intense. We have armed a lot of men. Shall be very glad to see you. We are not in possession of the town. We will send out some men to meet you. You are a fine fellow.'

'We, the undersigned, were present in the Reform Committee's room when Colonel Rhodes despatched the letter to Dr. Jameson, which commences, "Dear Dr.—The rumour of massacre." We read the letter, but cannot now recall the exact words on the missing fragments; but we do hereby declare on oath that there was no offer of 300 men, nor of any other specific number of men, nor was the word Krugersdorp mentioned. The spirit of the letter was to suggest that a few men should or would be sent in the character of a complimentary escort to show Dr. Jameson his camp.

'GEO. W. FARRAR.

'S. W. JAMESON.

'As witness—

'J. Percy FitzPatrick.

'Johannesburg, 10th April, 1897.'

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