

APPENDIX I.

THE AMAJUBA FIGHT.

The following is the official return of the casualties in the action of 27th of February, 1881 :—

NATAL FIELD FORCE.			
Corps.	Regtl. No.	Rank and Name.	Nature of Casualty.
Staff	H.E.	Major-General Sir G. Pomeroy Colley	Killed
Attached 58th Regt.	...	Captain Hon. Maude, C.	"
Army Medical Dept.	...	Surgeon-Major Cornish, H.	"
	...	Surgeon Landon, A.	"
Naval Brigade			
H.M.S. <i>Boadicea</i>	...	Lieutenant Trower, C. J.	"
58th Regiment	...	Captain Morris, A. W.	Wounded
"	...	Second Lieutenant Hill, A. R.	"
"	...	Lucy, F. H.	"
92nd Regiment	...	Major Hay, F. O.	"
"	...	Captain Singleton, L. C.	"
"	...	Lieutenant Hamilton, J. S. M.	"
94th Regiment	...	Captain Anton, A. H. G.	"
Naval Brigade			
H.M.S. <i>Boadicea</i>		Commander Romilly, F.	Wounded, died 2-3-81
Staff	A.M.S.	Lieut.-Colonel Stewart, H.	Prisoner
58th Regiment	...	Captain Hornby, O. L.	"
92nd Regiment	...	Captain McGregor, A. D.	"
"	...	Lieutenant Wright, H.	"
"	...	Second Lieut. Macdonald, H. O.	"
"	...	Thornton, G.	"
94th Regiment	...	Miller, C. T.	Prisoner, Wounded
Army Service Corps	...	Conductor Field, F.	"

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN.

15th Hussars—2 killed, 1 wounded, 1 prisoner. 2-21st Regt.—2 killed. 58th Regt.—31 killed, 42 wounded, 13 prisoners, 2 missing. 3-60th Rifles—11 prisoners. 92nd Regt.—34 killed, 63 wounded, 21 prisoners. 94th Regt.—1 killed, 1 wounded, 1 prisoner. Army Service Corps—1 prisoner. Army Hospital Corps—2 wounded. Naval Brigade—16 killed, 15 wounded, 3 prisoners. Of these men 6 died subsequently of their wounds.

RECAPITULATION.

	Officers.			N.-Com. Officers and Men.			
	Kld.	W.	Pr.	Kld.	W.	Pr.	Mis.
Staff	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
15th Hussars	0	0	0	2	1	1	0
2-21st Regiment	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
58th "	1	3	1	31	42	13	2
3-60th Rifles	0	0	0	0	1	11	0
92nd Highlanders	0	3	4	34	63	21	0
94th Regiment	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
Army Service Corps	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Army Medical Department	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Army Hospital Corps	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Naval Brigade	1	1	0	16	15	3	0
Total	4	8	7	86	125	51	2

APPENDIX K.

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS RELATING TO THE PEACE
NEGOTIATIONS.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

"Head-quarters, 12th February, 1881.—To His Excellency Sir G. Pomeroy Colley, &c., &c., Head-quarters, Lang's Nek.—EXCELLENCY,—Since I have arrived here at head-quarters I have inquired from the Hon. P. J. Joubert, Commandant-General over the Burghers of the South African Republic, concerning the different positions in our possession; I have found that we, against our will, are forced into a bloody conflict, and that our positions taken up are of this nature that we cannot but maintain the once determined upon path of self-defence, and follow it so far as our God gives us strength thereto. Excellency, we know that all our intentions, letters, or whatever else have always missed their true object in that they are misrepresented and wrongly understood by the Government and the people of England. It is on this account that we fear to send your Excellency this communication, but, Excellency, I should esteem myself responsible to my God if I did not once more make known our intention, knowing it is in your Excellency's power to place us in a condition to withdraw from the position taken up by us. The people have repeatedly declared their willingness, on the annulling of the Act of Annexation, to work together with Her Majesty's Government in all things which can serve the whole of South Africa. The people were unfortunately not in a position to carry into execution their good intentions, because they were unlawfully attacked, and forced to act in self-defence. We desire to seek no conflict with the Imperial Government, but cannot do otherwise than give the last drop of blood for our lawful right, for which also each Englishman would give his blood. We know that the honourable English people, when once the truth and the right

can be impressed upon them, will stand on our side. We are so strong in this conviction that we should not fear the inquiry of a Royal Commission, which we know would restore us our lawful right, and therefore we are prepared, whenever your Excellency will order that Her Majesty's troops shall immediately withdraw out of our country, to permit them with full honours to go out of the country, and to relinquish the position we have now taken up. Whilst, however, the Annexation is persisted in, and the shedding of blood by your Excellency continues, then will we submit ourselves to our fate under our God, and to the last man strive against the injustice and violence done to us, and throw the responsibility of all the misery which will visit this land entirely on your shoulders.—I have, &c., S. P. J. KRUGER, Vice-President.”

“Army Head-quarters, 21st February, 1881.—To the Honourable P. Kruger.—SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th inst. In reply, I must inform you that as soon as the Boers, now in arms against Her Majesty's authority, discontinue their armed resistance, Her Majesty's Government is prepared to appoint a Commission, with extensive powers, which may develop the scheme which is alluded to in Lord Kimberley's telegram of the 8th inst., and which was communicated to you by his Honour President Brand. I must add that if this proposal is accepted within 48 hours from and after the receipt of this letter, I have empowered a cessation of hostilities on our side.—I have, &c., G. POMEROY COLLEY, Major-General, High Commissioner.”

“Government House, 28th February, 1881.—To His Excellency Sir G. Pomeroy Colley, Major-General, Governor, &c.,—EXCELLENCY,—Your letter of the 21st February, 1881, reached me to-day, the 28th February, when I arrived back from an inspection. In conjunction with the members of the Government here, I have the satisfaction in my own and their name to inform you that we are very thankful for the declaration of your Excellency in the name of the Government of Her Majesty, that under certain conditions they are prepared to stop hostilities; that it appears to us that now for the first time, since the unhappy day of the Annexation, an opportunity occurs of coming to a friendly settlement; that our heart bleeds for the necessity of shedding further blood—as well the blood of our burghers as that of your brave soldiers; that in our opinion a meeting of committeemen from both sides would, perhaps, speedily lead to a satisfactory result; we, therefore, have the honour to propose that committeemen shall be chosen by you and us, with suitable and sufficient authority, to establish and to ratify the preliminaries of an honourable peace.—I have, &c., S. P. J. KRUGER, Vice-President.”

TELEGRAMS.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor Sir G. P. Colley.—5th February. I think it right to intimate to you, as you have instructions to assume the functions of Governor when you are able to enter the Transvaal, that, whenever you may succeed in re-establishing the Queen's authority there, all questions affecting the future administration and settlement of the country, as well as questions as to dealing with those

who have taken part against the Government, should be reserved by you for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

Governor Sir G. P. Colley to Secretary of State for the Colonies.—5th February. Have received two long telegrams from Brand earnestly urging that I should communicate your reply to him to Boers, state nature of scheme, and guarantee their not being treated as rebels if they submit. I have replied that I can give no such assurance, and can add nothing to your words, but suggested he may do good by making your reply known through Transvaal.

Governor Sir G. P. Colley to Secretary of State for Colonies.—7th February. I have received your telegram of the 5th instant, which shall be attended to. I have purposed, with a view to the speedy pacification of the country, to publish, on entering the Transvaal, through the Landdrost of each district which the investing army occupies, a promise of amnesty to all people of the district (with certain names excepted) who shall return to their homes and sign a declaration of loyalty to the Queen, issuing, however, no proclamation until the Queen's authority has been re-established throughout the country, and I shall have received your instructions. I further propose to appoint a day for the inhabitants of the occupied districts to attend before their magistrates and sign such declaration, and then to let them choose two of their number to represent to me their views and their alleged grievances, for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. I should take care to see the spokesman of each district separately, and to avoid giving the representatives any status as a body, but I think that I might thus both sound the general feeling and test the practicability and probable character of an elected body should any such be hereafter considered desirable. Do you approve this, or must all questions of amnesty be deferred until the Queen's authority is re-established throughout the country?

Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor Sir G. P. Colley.—9th February. In reply to your telegram of the 7th instant, you should confine yourself to promising protection to the inhabitants of the districts occupied as long as they behave peaceably, reserving all further questions for instructions from home.

Secretary of State for War to the General Officer Commanding, Natal and Transvaal.—16th February, 1881. With reference to Lord Kimberley's telegram as respects the interval before reply from Boers is received, we do not bind your discretion; but we are anxious for your making arrangements to avoid effusion of blood.

Deputy Governor of Natal to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Pietermaritzburg, 19th February. Colley telegraphs to you:—"Latter part of your telegram of 16th to Wood not understood; there can be no hostilities if no resistance is made, but am I to leave Lang's Nek in Natal territory in Boer occupation, and our garrisons isolated and short of provisions, or occupy former and relieve latter?"

Secretary of State for Colonies to Deputy Governor of Natal.—19th February. Telegraph following to Colley: "It will be essential that garrisons should be free to provision themselves and peaceful intercourse

with them allowed, but we do not mean that you should march to the relief of garrisons or occupy Lang's Nek if arrangement proceeds. Fix reasonable time within which answer must be sent by Boers."

Governor Sir G. P. Colley to Secretary of State for Colonies.—20th February, 1881. May I promise pardon to men now serving under compulsion with Boers if they withdraw before troops enter Transvaal? Many are inquiring through friends.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor Sir G. P. Colley.—21st February. You may promise full exemption from penalty to all persons mentioned in your telegram who withdraw before troops enter Transvaal.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir Evelyn Wood.—1st March, 1881. Inform me, if you know, when Sir G. Colley made communication to Kruger in pursuance of my telegram of the 16th February, what time he fixed within which answer must be given, and whether any, and if so what, communications have since passed between him and Boer leaders.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor Sir H. Robinson.—2nd March, 1881. Desirable that you should at once appoint Wood to be your Deputy Commissioner for South-Eastern Africa as included in Colley's Commission, with full powers to perform any acts within and relating to that district. Necessary in present circumstances to make provision for prompt action without reference to Capetown.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—3rd March. My telegram of March 1st. If you find that Sir G. Colley made communication to Kruger, but no answer has been received, inquire of Boer leaders whether an answer will be sent to you.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—4th March. Your telegram of March 2nd. State date on which Colley's communication sent to Boers, to whom addressed, and to what place. Was person to whom sent known to be competent to reply without reference to others? Reply as quickly as possible. I understand from your telegram that no answer has been received from Kruger, and therefore inquiry directed in my telegram of yesterday should still be made.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Fort Amiel, 4th March. Yours received as I left Mount Prospect; Colley wrote, 21st February, to Joubert, offering to suspend hostilities if answer were received within 48 hours, not 24, as I telegraphed; he moved night of 26th. I expect answer when Kruger can be communicated with, but please read my telegram herewith sent yesterday to Brand. Message to Brand begins:—"3rd March. I gratefully acknowledge your Honour's continuous efforts in the cause of peace, and I cordially desire such may ensue without further bloodshed. I know and esteem many of those now in arms against my Sovereign, and I therefore regret doubly they will not, by desisting from armed opposition, open the door to arrangements which I conscientiously believe might be rendered acceptable to every reasonable Africander. Any reinforcements I require are placed

at my disposal, but I would greatly prefer they should not be sent here. I would gladly abstain from making any movement in advance of my present position for a few days, say till 10th March, if the Boers on their part promised the same, and you believe peace would at once ensue, but, your Honour will understand, as they not only blockade our garrison in Transvaal, but occupy Natal territory, I cannot go further in my desire to stop the war. Any communication you may desire to make to the Boers should be transmitted through our posts. I hear Mr. Kruger has gone to Rustenberg. In justice to our common friend Sir G. Colley, I state he did not receive any answer to his message or letter, and I read Mr. Bok's letter, which was not received until Sir George was dead."

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—5th March. Your telegram of 4th. We approve your message to President Brand. We await answer from Boer leaders to communication made by Sir G. Colley to Kruger before giving you any fresh instructions.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Newcastle, 5th March, noon. I anticipate hearing from Joubert soon. Fear until Boers are defeated leaders, if altogether excluded from amnesty, will continue hostilities if they can; but, on the other hand, the very unfavourable weather and their admitted certainty of eventual suppression may cause dispersion. Sir G. Colley was very averse to pardon leaders, and your telegram of 10th implies such cannot be granted. Instruct me fully on this point, for much will turn on it; and, reflecting on similar struggles in history, I do not attach much importance to punishing leaders, as did Sir G. Colley, though I would not recommend allowing them to remain in Transvaal, nor would I accept them as representatives of people. In discussing settlement of country, my constant endeavour shall be to carry out the spirit of your orders; but, considering the disasters we have sustained, I think the happiest result will be, that after accelerating successful action, which I hope to fight in about 14 days, the Boers should disperse without any guarantee, and then many now undoubtedly coerced will readily settle down. In any negotiations Joubert will probably make dispersion contingent on amnesty. I may be cut off from communication with you, and if you wish to avoid further fighting, I suggest, while giving me no instructions for the future settlement, you should empower me, if absolutely necessary, to promise life and property, but not residence to leaders. This I would not do, if dispersion could be effected without it. Consider whether you be disposed to give me names of proposed Commissioners, for information of Boers, as such knowledge might have favourable effect.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—6th March, 1881. If by my telegram of 10th, you mean mine to Colley of 9th February, I never intended to imply that pardon could not be granted to leaders, but only to reserve that and other similar questions for decision of Her Majesty's Government. I will send further answer to yours of 5th as soon as possible.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Newcastle, 7th March, 2 P.M. Kruger's answer, dated Heidelberg, 28th, to Colley's of 21st, now received through Joubert. Gist as follows:—In conjunc-

tion with members of Government here, have satisfaction to assure you that we are very grateful for the declaration, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, that under certain conditions they are inclined to cease hostilities. It appears to us that, for the first time since unlucky annexation, there is chance of coming to peaceful settlement. Our hearts bleed over shedding more blood of burghers and soldiers. In our opinion, a meeting of representatives from both sides will probably lead speedily to satisfactory result, therefore suggest representatives from both sides should be present, with full powers to determine preliminaries of honourable peace, and ratify same.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—8th March. With reference to your telegram of the 6th Her Majesty's Government would be ready in any settlement to grant complete amnesty to all, including leaders, excepting only persons who have committed, or are directly responsible for, acts contrary to rules of civilized warfare; make this known in such way as you consider most expedient. We should make no exception as to persons with whom we will negotiate, requiring only that they shall be duly authorized representatives of Boers, with power to act in their behalf. We understand Kruger's answer as opening way to further proceedings on basis of preceding communications, and we now propose to appoint Commissioners, whose names I will state at earliest moment, who will examine whole matter, and will be ready for friendly communications with any persons appointed by Boers.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—10th March. Following telegrams passed between Hoffmeyer, M.L.A., Cape Town, and Joubert:—"8th March. Hoffmeyer, Cape Town, to Joubert. Friends here heard with great pleasure armistice, as promising of peace. Believe British Government anxious to meet wishes of Boers, but difficulty is how to grant concession either before you have desisted from opposition or British arms victorious. We pray you help Government, by adopting conciliatory tone, and offering desist from armed opposition, on tacit understanding that no further use be made by British of such desisting than to send limited number of troops across border and provisioning garrisons. Also hope, if Commissioners proposed, if either Wood or Robinson, with Brand and Villiers, you will not hesitate accept, if such Commission have full power."—"9th March. Joubert, Lang's Nek, to Hoffmeyer. We are ready to co-operate in every way for an honourable peace for England, with the retention of our independence. Confidence in the British Government can be better restored by doing away than by using arms."

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Newcastle, 11th March. Following is translation of message sent forward:—"Hoffmeyer to Joubert. After a thorough investigation by my friends, independence can be secured in no other way than as follows: The assembly of a Commission as proposed in my former telegram; should the Commission be appointed with full power, your conditional independence must be begged for through the people as a reclamation; but in any case, before the Commission can be appointed, either the British arms must have conquered, or the Boers must have given a tangible proof of submission in the eyes of the world: consider earnestly, I pray you, what is said in my previous telegram; also that in case no agreement is come to, the

armistice will give rise to great dissatisfaction among the Boers, and give occasion for fresh accusation of untrustworthiness against the Boers. God give you peace!"

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—13th March, 8 p.m. Inform Boer leaders that, if Boers will undertake to desist from armed opposition and disperse to their homes, we are willing to name the following as Commissioners: Sir H. Robinson, Chief Justice de Villiers, and yourself. President Brand would be asked to be present as representing friendly State. Commission would be authorized to consider following points: Complete self-government under British suzerainty, with British Resident at Pretoria, and provisions for protection of native interests and as to frontier affairs. Control of relations with foreign Powers to be reserved. It would be well, also, to consider scheme for severance of territory eastward to divide Zulus and Swazies, retaining great native districts on the east and north-east. Amnesty to be granted as stated in my telegram to you of 8th. You may consent to prolongation of armistice till 18th, if desired by Boer leaders, in order to give time for answer.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—12th March, 8 p.m. In order to enable me to answer questions in Parliament, inform me whether suggestions for armistice proceeded from you or Joubert, or from whom.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Newcastle, 12th March, 10.30 p.m. A letter from Kruger to Brand, of 3rd March, has been handed to me by Joubert for perusal. Gist as follows:—We will do our best to make it easy for the honour of England to be indulgent; glad if negotiations could be left in your hands. It grieves us that you refer to Lord Kimberley's telegram of the 8th February; this telegram cannot be basis of peace. Reasonable guarantees for their treatment we cannot admit, as it looks like admitting that we are in wrong. We hold to Colley's telegram of 16th February to you, and his letter of 21st February. Telegram of 16th February is based on Kruger's letter of 12th February and the letter of Triumvirate of 29th January, wherein is offer of restoration of Republic, with British protectorate; short of this condition we cannot treat.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Mount Prospect, 16th March, 6 p.m. Have conferred since 10 a.m. Result:—Boer leaders state they accept, to a great extent, and generally, the proposition contained in your telegrams of 8th and 12th, but they make withdrawal from Nek and dispersion depend upon the following concession: that the Boers be represented on the Commission in the proportion of two to three. They further express the hope that in order they may have a fair chance of maintaining order in the Transvaal, instructions may be given to withdraw garrisons from Transvaal without waiting for the assembly of the Commission. It is agreed that the word dispersion will not prevent the Boers retaining sufficient forces to support their Government internally. Joubert says plainly that he expects trouble from English party. I am most anxious for an early reply.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Mount Prospect,

16th March, 9.5 P.M. Précis of interview with Boer leaders. Read conditions, extracted from your telegrams of 8th and 12th as explained by mine of 15th. Kruger approved generally of them as basis of peace, but asked, had I power to recognize him as representing Boer Government, and did I represent English? Replied, Yes. Objected to proposed Commission as one-sided. Why not make peace at once without Commission? Replied, had not power. Then there must be Boers on Commission. After much talk he proposed two Boers in five. Kruger then said that we must withdraw troops from Transvaal garrisons if he consented to disperse. Replied, was sure this would not be granted. How could we leave Transvaal before Commission said what Transvaal was? Kruger said Transvaal is what you annexed, and have since held. Kruger consented to Resident, but said that Government would deal with interior native affairs, and accepted suzerainty, as explained by me. It appeared clear that they fear trouble from loyal English, and therefore cannot entirely disperse their own, while they are anxious to get rid of English forces. I do not think they realize they may have to yield extensive tract to native tribes, and if they contemplated chance of Commission arranging this, they would not withdraw from Nek. After eight hours' talk I am confirmed in the opinion expressed in my telegram of 5th instant, words 131 to 149.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—17th March. The suggestion for Royal Commission came from Boers. We agreed to it, in belief that it was the most convenient way of inquiring into facts and considering details. Commission would consider all representations and would make representations, but not finally decide. We could not agree to mixed Commission, but Commission would meet representatives of Boers and discuss all matters with them. You report that of the points mentioned in my telegram of 12th instant, suzerainty and Resident are accepted, and we infer that control of foreign relations and frontier affairs is also accepted. With regard to interior native affairs, Commission would have to consider what securities should be taken as to future treatment of Natives. As to re-arrangement of territorial limits, we never contemplated that territory north of Vaal River and west of Oliphant's River should be severed from Transvaal. Commission would consider how much, if any, of the territory to the east of a line practically thirtieth parallel of longitude should be retained. 'Joubert seems to have been favourable so far as concerns territory south of Vaal River, and we think a separation of the Transvaal territory from such native tribes as Zulus and Swazies may prove to be as much, if not more, for interest of Boers as of ourselves. As regards dispersion, we understand that Boers are disposed to agree generally to our terms as explained in your telegram of 15th; but our troops must remain in Transvaal till final settlement, and it will be their duty to prevent any party from using the situation to the prejudice of Boers. Use your discretion as to further prolongation of armistice.

Sir E. Wood to Secretary of State for Colonies.—Mount Prospect, 21st March, 9.25 P.M. After sitting twelve and a half hours without intermission the following is an epitome, attested by the leaders and me, as correctly showing proceedings, which proceedings have been signed by the Boers and me, subject to your ratification. I urge your approval, and, if you can, to shorten the interval to four months; authorize me

to ratify proceedings, when Boers will disperse. Armistice prolonged for forty-eight hours. Brand's presence has been invaluable. "The Boer leaders having previously accepted telegrams of 8th and 12th, except in two points since abandoned, and having been acknowledged as leaders by Sir Evelyn Wood, have accepted the principle of suzerainty as defined by him—viz., that the country have entire self-government as regards its own interior affairs, but that it cannot take action against or with an outside Power without permission of the suzerain. They agree to recognize a British Resident at the future capital of the country with such functions as the British Government may decide on the recommendation of the Royal Commission, and also that the Royal Commission should consider the provisions for the protection of native interests, and as to frontier affairs, that control of relations with foreign Power should be reserved. We further trust that if the Royal Commission considers any separation of land to the east of the thirtieth degree of longitude to be necessary, such Commission will not recommend the separation of more land than is necessary for the purpose of the English policy, as indicated in the telegram of the 17th March. We accept the arrangement proposed by Sir E. Wood about exchange of property captured during the war or taken over at the annexation, the exchange to be carried out when self-government is fully accorded. Sir E. Wood acknowledged the right of the Transvaal people to complete self-government, subject to suzerain rights. The Boer leaders stated they would gladly co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in bringing to justice those who have committed or are directly responsible for acts contrary to civilized warfare. As the Boers have agreed to withdraw from the Nek and disperse to their homes, Sir E. Wood promises that he will not occupy that position, nor follow them up with troops, nor send ammunition into the Transvaal. The Boer leaders accept the terms offered in the telegram of the 17th March. They state we will trust to the British Government to give to us complete self-government as soon as possible, and, at latest, within six months, it being understood that no civil action be entertained in respect of proceedings taken during or in reference to the war, and equally no action shall be taken in respect of taxation until the self-government is accorded."

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—7 P.M., 22nd March, 1881. We approve your proceedings as reported in your telegram of the 21st, and authorize you to ratify them accordingly. We will do our best to shorten the interval as much as possible. We find it hard to understand precise bearing of sentences of your telegram after words "at latest within six months," but see no reason to anticipate difficulty or delay on their account conclusion of present arrangement. I need only observe, with reference to the provision as to civil action, that it is of course understood that there will be no molestation hereafter for political opinion or action either way in connection with the war. Convey to President Brand warmest acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government.

Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir E. Wood.—Sent 7 P.M., March 22nd, 1881. Her Majesty's Government desire to convey to you their high sense of your conduct in the recent proceedings, and the skill and judgment which you have shown throughout in your communications with the Boer leaders,

APPENDIX L.

THE POTCHEFSTROM SURRENDER.

The following is a summary of the Address of the Boer Triumvirate to the Burghers:—

We consider it our duty to communicate to you in detail what has happened in Potchefstroom, and to state to you the reasons why we have permitted that surrender to be cancelled and the garrison to return to that place. It is thought the Commandant at Potchefstroom had suppressed the existence of an armistice, as if that armistice had immediately to commence for Potchefstroom also, and had thus committed a disgraceful act of treachery. As soon as we saw this we requested the Royal Commission to grant us an opportunity to explain the whole matter so as to remove the blame cast upon us. The Royal Commission has courteously granted us an opportunity last Monday, 20th inst., to give the explanation offered. We now proceed to state what has been declared by us there:—

1. On the 6th of March, 1881, the deed of armistice was signed at a place half-way between Mount Prospect and Lang's Nek.

2. Information of this armistice reached the Government at Heidelberg on the 10th of March, with a letter from Commandant-General P. J. Joubert. This letter was accompanied by some instructions, forwarded immediately from the Government to General P. A. Cronje, at Potchefstroom.

3. These documents, forwarded by an express, reached Potchefstroom on the 12th of March.

4. While the General was preparing to carry out his instructions, and letters for that purpose were being written to Rustenberg, Marico, and Bloemhof, one G. P. Mollet from Kronstadt, in the Orange Free State, arrived at the moment when copies of these instructions were being prepared. He brought a letter from His Honour the President of the Free State.

5. In that letter there was a telegram from General Wood to the President, in which he requested His Honour to forward news to Potchefstroom of the armistice agreed to.

6. General Cronje was brought into a state of uncertainty by all this. According to the instructions sent to him in the name of Commandant-General P. J. Joubert, he had to send the notice to the garrison, and from the letter of the President of the Free State, he saw that General Wood invited the latter to send this notice. He considered this contradictory, and now determined to refrain from all steps until he had received further instructions from the Government.

7. On the 14th of March a court-martial was held, when it was resolved to write to His Honour the President, that the letter would as yet not be sent in, and that instructions would first be asked from Heidelberg.

8. On the 16th of March the post left for Heidelberg, and by it written instructions were asked from the Government how to act in this matter.

9. Before any reply could be received from Heidelberg, General Cronje

received a letter from Colonel Winsloe, asking him for an interview and for the reason why he had received no intimation of the armistice.

10. General Cronje replied that he would strictly adhere to the terms of the armistice, and therefore required no interview, before the arrival of the provisions.

11. The same morning a reply arrived, in which Colonel Winsloe again solicited an interview, and intimated that he had to communicate important documents.

12. General Cronje now consented to an interview and fixed, for that purpose, on a spot between the English camp and the Boer fortifications, on condition of temporary cessation of hostilities from the same Saturday at 12 noon.

13. By order of General Cronje, a marquee was put up and he proceeded thither, accompanied by Messrs. Bodenstein, J. Kock, Coos Wolmarans, and G. H. Buskes as interpreter. When their arrival was noticed in the English Camp, Colonel Winsloe approached, accompanied by Lieutenant Rundell, Lieutenant Woollies, and a Burgher, Nelson, who had assumed the military dress.

14. All remained outside the marquee. Colonel Winsloe had two papers in his hand, the documents mentioned in his letter. He read them, and it then came out that they were (1) copy of the armistice and (2) copy of General Wood's telegram to President Brand.

15. Colonel Winsloe pointed to Article 3—"That Piet Joubert engages to make known this agreement of armistice to the garrisons," and asked why this was not carried out. Cronje replied that something had occurred, after he had received his instructions, which had compelled him to ask further instructions from his Government.

16. Colonel Winsloe then said that he had also received information that the provisions had arrived in the town, which General Cronje positively denied. Colonel Winsloe asked: "Are they not on the banks of the Vaal River in the Orange Free State?" General Cronje replied: "If you will believe me as a man of honour, then I must assure you that I have positively no information thereof." Upon this the English Commandant was requested to enter the tent with his staff.

17. A discussion ensued about the armistice. Colonel Winsloe spoke about the terms, and said he thought that now a cessation of hostilities had been agreed to in the Drakensberg the hope might be entertained that peace would ensue, which he for himself heartily wished for, and that therefore the further shedding of blood would be prohibited from both sides equally at Potchefstroom. He then asked whether he could not agree with Cronje to commence an immediate armistice there also, instead of waiting until the day of arrival of the provisions there, as stipulated in the deed of armistice. He also intimated that he did not ask to be supplied with provisions, as he could, if required, still hold out for eight days. General Cronje replied, "The terms of the armistice do not allow me to accept this, and my further instructions positively forbid me to do this."

18. Upon this Colonel Winsloe and his staff withdrew outside the marquee, and on returning asked for an armistice for twenty-four hours, in order to consult with his officers on the question as to whether a surrender was possible. General Cronje, with his officers, then withdrew outside the marquee, and on returning said, "I will give you an armistice of twenty-four hours, and then we can meet again at the same spot tomorrow at 12 o'clock. During that time no hostilities will be carried on,

but both sides will remain inside their positions." It was thus decided by verbal agreement, which both parties strictly observed.

19. The next day at 12 noon, Sunday, March 20, the second meeting took place. Colonel Winsloe had put down three or four points on a small slip of paper, and stated that he had consulted with his officers, and was willing and had decided to surrender, if this could be done with military honour, with the retention of all the arms and private effects of the officers. Our General declared that he agreed to this, and most of the other points, as embodied in the memorandum or protocol the next day, were then discussed and decided upon, Advocate Buskes and Lieutenant Rundell being appointed to draft a contract in triplicate, which was to be signed the next day.

20. Another request was made by Colonel Winsloe, namely, whether the prisoners of war, taken at the surrender of the Landdrost Office on the 18th of December, 1880, and of whom, although the majority had been released, some were still retained as prisoners of war, could not also be released on the same favourable conditions now agreed to with regard to the troops in the fort. General Cronje replied he could not decide upon this before consulting his court-martial. That same day he convened a court-martial and forthwith communicated, by letter, to Colonel Winsloe the favourable decision arrived at by that Court. Colonel Winsloe, in reply, expressed his appreciation of this courteous consideration.

21. On Monday, March 21st, at 9 A.M., the Protocol or Memorandum was signed on the same spot where the two previous meetings had been held. This document, already published, proved that General Cronje granted the most favourable terms possible, considering the circumstances, and that he fully understood and gallantly carried out the repeated instructions to honour the courage of the brave troops who for months had suffered a most trying siege.

22. On the evening of the same day the English officers were present at a dinner given to them by General Cronje, and repeatedly expressed their appreciation of the courtesy with which the negotiations had been conducted by General Cronje.

23. The troops, under the escort of Mr. Wolmarans and three other Burghers, left on the 23rd of March. The Colonel was assisted in various ways, tents were given him, waggons were procured and provisions procured from the Commissariat, to prevent their falling into the hands of speculators, who would have made the most of their position. Colonel Winsloe expressly thanked General Cronje for his courtesy.

24. On the 9th of April only a messenger arrived at Potchefstroom, bringing the news that the provisions were approaching.

25. On Friday, April 8th, General Wood informed the Government at Heidelberg that General Cronje had neglected to send in notice of the armistice, as agreed in the armistice. The members of the Government present at that interview were not aware of this, and voluntarily declared that, if the circumstances connected with the surrender were such as they were said to be, they would not allow a stain to rest on the people, as if they had derived any benefit from taking advantage of a good opportunity. They offered General Wood in a letter, assuming the information given them by General Wood to be correct, to cancel the surrender, to restore everything taken, and to allow General Wood to send back the garrison, if he considered it necessary. General Wood then expressed his satisfaction with that offer.

26. At Newcastle it was deemed necessary that the garrison, accompanied by an escort and one of our most trustworthy Commandants, should return, while two of our best men were to remain at Newcastle as hostages until the escort should have returned. Messrs. J. S. Joubert and J. Oronje—the latter of whom was afterwards relieved by Mr. W. Kok—influenced by patriotism, did not hesitate to suffer this kind of imprisonment, and they are hostages still.

27. The above-mentioned points were fully explained in the meeting of the Royal Commission of last Monday, and in conclusion it was stated: That we refrained from drawing any conclusions from the facts communicated or to make the least remark; that we did not desire to alter or withdraw anything that was granted or agreed to execute; that it was our endeavour to show that when once we promised anything, we, as men of honour, would see such promise fulfilled; that we now placed the whole case in the hands of the Royal Commission, whose defence we asked against the accusation that we acted treacherously with respect to the surrender of Potchefstroom, which stain we cannot possibly allow to remain on us. The Commission had the power to justify us, and we fully trusted that they would do so. We now expect the Commission's decision. Fellow-burghers, to you also we say nothing more about this; the facts speak for themselves.

The list of casualties on the British side during the siege of Potchefstroom comprised the following:—Killed or died of their wounds, 1 officer (Captain A. L. Falls, 2-21st Regiment), 24 non-commissioned officers and men; died from disease, 4 non-commissioned officers and men, 2 civilians (of whom one was Mrs. Sketchley); wounded, 5 officers (Lieutenant-Colonel Winsloe, 2-21st, Lieutenants H. M. S. Rundle, R.A., P. W. Brown, and Dalrymple Hay, 2-21st; Surgeon Wallis, A.H.C.); 47 non-commissioned officers and men, and 2 civilians.

APPENDIX M.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

The following is the full text of the instructions from the Colonial Office to H.E. Sir H. Robinson:—

“Downing Street, 31st March, 1881.

“You have received from Sir E. Wood a statement of the conditions agreed upon between him and the leaders of the Transvaal Boers on the 21st March, and I have now the honour to acquaint you that the Queen has approved of the appointment of yourself, Sir E. Wood, and Sir H. de Villiers to be Her Majesty's Commissioners for considering and advising upon the final arrangements for the settlement of the affairs of the Transvaal. I shall shortly transmit to you a Commission under the Queen's sign manual and signet for the appointment of the Commissioners, but as the first duties of the Commissioners will be those of inquiry and discussion, and some time must elapse before any formal

action on their part will be required, the Commission will have been able to enter without delay upon the consideration of the matters referred to it. You will preside at the meetings of the Commission, and in your absence Sir E. Wood has precedence of Sir H. de Villiers. I have communicated to President Brand by telegraph the hope of Her Majesty's Government that he will be able to be present, as representing a friendly State, at the proceedings of the Royal Commission, and I understand that he proposes to apply to the Volksraad for the leave necessary to enable him to go beyond the Free State for that purpose.

"It has been agreed that the Commissioners should meet such representatives as the Boers may select to express their views, and should fully discuss with them the questions which have to be settled. The Commissioners will make such arrangements for the time and place of their meetings as may be most convenient to all parties.

"It may be desirable that the Commission should in the first instance address itself to the principal points referred to in the general terms of settlement agreed to by Sir E. Wood with the Boer leaders, a summary of which is contained in his telegram to me of the 21st March, and to some extent further explained in subsequent telegraphic correspondence. I may recapitulate them briefly as follows:—

"The Transvaal State is to enjoy complete self-government under the suzerainty of the Queen; the control of its relations with Foreign Powers being reserved to the British Government.

"A British Resident may be appointed at the capital of the Transvaal State, with such functions as Her Majesty's Government may determine, on the recommendation of the Commission.

"The Commission is to consider provisions for the protection of Native interests.

"The Commission is further to consider whether any portion, within certain limits, mentioned in my telegram to Sir E. Wood of March 17th, should be severed from the country now included in the Transvaal Province.

"There is to be no molestation for political opinion either way, and a complete amnesty is to be accorded to all who have taken part in the present war, excepting only persons who have committed or are directly responsible for acts contrary to the rules of civilized warfare.

"Immunity from civil process is guaranteed to the Boer leaders individually and collectively for acts done in reference to the war until self-government is accorded, and the question of compensation to either side for acts not justified by necessities of war is remitted to the Commission to judge what acts were justified.

"Besides these principal points there are some other matters referred to in the agreement entered into by Sir E. Wood, as reported in his telegrams to me, and there are further points not mentioned by him which will have to be provided for in the final settlement. Of the latter, the most important are the determination of a boundary line in the territory known as the Keate Award, the payment of the public debt of the province, and the recognition of all lawful acts done by the Government during the British occupation. I will deal in order with the various points to which I have referred.

"Entire freedom of action will be accorded to the Transvaal Government so far as is not inconsistent with the rights expressly reserved to the Suzerain Power. The term *Suzerainty* has been chosen as most conveniently describing superiority over a State possessing independent

rights of government, subject to reservations with reference to certain specified matters.

"The most material of these reserved rights is the control of the external relations of the future Transvaal State, which will be vested in the British Government, including, of course, the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with Foreign Powers. As regards communication with Foreign Governments, it will probably be found most convenient that the Transvaal Government should correspond on such matters with Her Majesty's Government through the Resident and the High Commissioner.

"There remains for consideration under this head the manner in which the relations with the independent native tribes beyond the frontier should be conducted. The general superintendence of these relations would seem naturally to fall within the functions of the British Resident, under the direction of the High Commissioner. It will be for the Royal Commissioners, after examination of the whole question, to recommend what should be the precise limits of the powers assigned to the Resident in regard to this important matter. You will bear in mind that the objects to be aimed at are to preserve the peace of the frontier and to maintain a course of policy conducive generally to the interests and tranquillity of the whole of South Africa, and that Her Majesty's Government have no desire to interfere with the local administration beyond what may be indispensable for the furtherance of these objects. A still more difficult question will be to determine what provisions shall be made for the protection of the interests of the natives who dwell within the present territorial limits of the Transvaal. The districts vary greatly in circumstances, but they may be divided into three categories:—

"1. Districts which have been really occupied by white settlement, such as Pretoria, Heidelberg, Middelberg, and Potchefstroom, where the white settlers are not much outnumbered by the natives, and where the authority of the Republican Government was thoroughly established before the annexation.

"2. Districts like Leydenberg, where the white settlements are surrounded by native tribes vastly preponderating in numbers, which either refused to recognize the rule of the Boers, or gave it but imperfect obedience. In the northern part of this district is Secocoeni's tribe, which we found at war with the Boers, and practically independent, and which was reduced to submission by the operations of Sir Garnet Wolseley.

"3. Such districts as Zoutpansberg, where the population is estimated at nearly 365,000 souls, while the white settlers are said to number only about 800, and where the authority of the Republic was at the time of the annexation scarcely acknowledged. It is true the Boers laid claim to the country and formerly held possession of parts of it, but they had been gradually pushed back by the natives, who had virtually regained their independence. The difficulty of dealing satisfactorily with the districts in the two last categories led Her Majesty's Government to think that it might be found expedient to sever from the Transvaal the eastern portion of the territory now comprised within its limits, taking the Vaal River and a line drawn from the Vaal northward near the 30th degree of longitude as the new boundary. This would, however, include a part of the district of Middelberg, and it will be probably sufficient to consider the suggestion as limited to the severance of the districts of Wakkerstroom, Utrecht, Leydenberg, and Zoutpansberg. The district of Waterberg

resembles that of Zoutpansberg in the vast numerical superiority of the natives, but its position is such that it could not form a part of a separate British province, and as far as I am aware the natives had not driven back the Boer settlers in the same way as in Zoutpansberg. I will, however, refer to this district further on in connection with Zoutpansberg.

"To deal first with the Wakkerstrom and Utrecht districts. There would be one obvious advantage in retaining these districts under British rule, inasmuch as they would separate the Transvaal State from Zululand, and prevent the recurrence of those dangerous border disputes between the Boers and the Zulus which were in large measure the cause of the Zulu war. Moreover, the existence of another authority on the Zulu border would render it extremely difficult for the British Government to maintain that influence with the Zulu Chiefs which is essential for the maintenance of peace in Zululand, and for the success of the settlement of that country made by Sir Garnet Wolseley. The same reasons apply to that part of Leydenberg known as New Scotland, by retaining which as British the Swazies would in great measure be kept apart from the Boer frontier. If strong objections were raised on the part of the Boers to the severance from the Transvaal of the whole of Wakkerstrom, so much only might be retained as would be necessary to maintain the communications between Natal and the British territory further northward, but the Vaal River would form the most natural and convenient boundary.

"With regard to the Leydenberg district apart from New Scotland, the arguments in favour of maintaining British rule over it are that the population is stated to contain an increasing British element principally at the Gold Fields; that the native population vastly outnumbers the white inhabitants, being estimated at 123,300 as compared with 1,578; and that having subdued Secocoeni's tribe which occupies an important part of the district we are under peculiar obligations to make provision for its fair treatment. On the other hand, the Leydenberg district could scarcely be annexed to Natal, and as a separate British province it would form an inconvenient narrow strip of territory, which would probably not pay its own expenses. Lastly, Her Majesty's Government are averse, on general grounds of policy, to the extension of British territory in South Africa.

"A most important consideration will be the wishes of the settlers themselves, and you will be careful to ascertain in the fullest manner whether they would willingly accept the continuance of British rule, if it should be determined to retain any of the territory to which I have referred. If Secocoeni's country is not retained under British rule, or declared to be an independent native district, it might be advisable that some special conditions should be made as to its relations with the Transvaal State, and should it be ultimately decided that no territory should intervene between the Transvaal State and Zululand or Swaziland, it will be necessary that the Transvaal Government should distinctly recognize the boundaries of Zululand and Swaziland as lately defined, and the independence of the latter, over which the Republic appears to have claimed an undefined supremacy before the annexation, though it was not acknowledged by the Swazies.

"I now pass to Zoutpansberg. I incline to the opinion that the most satisfactory arrangement as to this district would be that it should be left to the native tribes. I should be glad if some similar arrangement

could have been made as to Waterberg, but the reasons for leaving the district to the native tribes do not appear to be so strong as in the case of Zoutpansberg; and as the Boers have been informed that it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government that territory should be severed from the Transvaal west of the 30th degree of longitude, the question does not stand on the same footing.

"It should be remembered, however, that the severance of the districts principally inhabited by natives would have the effect of lessening the necessity for interference for the protection of the natives within the territories of the Transvaal State, and such a measure might, therefore, recommend itself to the Boers as diminishing the occasions for action on the part of the British Government with regard to their interior affairs. It is on every account desirable that interference in those affairs should be confined to the fewest possible points, and those points should be clearly defined and embodied in the final settlement among the conditions upon which the government of the country is handed over. The subject is one especially requiring examination on the spot, but I may mention one or two points as indicating the nature of the provisions which might be made; as, for example, the stipulations that no law should be enacted forbidding the natives to hold land, and that they should be allowed to move as freely within the country as may be consistent with the requirements of public order, and to leave it for the purpose of seeking employment elsewhere.

"The provision in the Sand River Convention against slavery, in any form, must of course be re-affirmed. Perhaps on some matters of especial importance affecting the natives it might be provided that the Suzerain power should have a veto upon any new legislation. Whatever provisions are made, it would be one of the duties of the British Resident to report to the High Commissioner as to their working and observance.

"It is scarcely to be hoped that political passions will immediately calm down, and Her Majesty's Government are bound to take care that those who have been faithful to the British cause during the late war shall not suffer any detriment in consequence of their loyalty. Her Majesty's Government have agreed to a complete amnesty to those who have taken part with the Boers, and the Boers on their side have engaged that no one shall suffer molestation on account of his political opinions. It will be your duty to lay down full and explicit conditions for securing to those who have been loyal to Her Majesty, whether of English or Dutch origin, full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights and protection for their persons and property.

"You will make every effort to bring to justice those who are accused of the murder of Captain Elliott and Mr. Barbour, or of any similar acts, and you will call on the Boer leaders, in accordance with their engagement to Sir Evelyn Wood, to afford you their assistance in tracing out and arresting the offenders.

"Having thus gone through the principal points arising out of the agreement between Sir E. Wood and the Boers, I will proceed to notice the other matters to which I have referred.

"You will find the question of the territory known as the 'Keate Award' somewhat fully discussed in my Despatch of the 27th May last to the late Sir G. P. Colley. It was my intention on receiving his report to instruct him to determine such a new line of boundary as might in present circumstances appear to be the fairest to all parties, and best calculated to preserve the peace on the western frontier of the Transvaal.

Sir G. Colley had unfortunately not made any official report of the result of his visit to this territory, but I have reason to believe that he was of opinion that it was out of the question now to maintain the line laid down in 1871 by Lieutenant-Governor Keate, and that he would have recommended a new line, leaving a considerable part of the territory to the Transvaal. It will be for you to consider what line should be adopted, and you will, I have no doubt, derive valuable information and assistance from Lieut.-Col. Moysey, R.E., the Special Commissioner in the Keate Award District. It may be found desirable to annex some part of this territory to Griqualand West or to the Orange Free State, but this must depend upon considerations which I am unable from want of local knowledge fully to appreciate. I will only add that this border has been so long in an unsettled condition that it is urgently necessary that the frontier line should be definitively fixed with as little delay as possible.

"On reference to the constitution of the former South African Republic I find that there are articles which appear to infringe upon the principle of religious toleration. I am not aware that any actual impediment was placed by the State in the way of the free exercise of their religion by persons belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church; but to prevent any misconception on the point it will be well to provide for the unrestricted exercise of their religion by all denominations within the future Transvaal State.

"The Commission will have to consider the arrangements to be made for the assumption by the Transvaal State of the debt incurred in connection with the administration of the affairs of the country, whether by the South African Republic before the annexation, or by the Provincial Government subsequently. I may refer you on this point to the declaration made by the Boer leaders in their proclamation of the 16th December last, that the 'lawful expenditure lawfully incurred for the necessary expenses of the country by the intermediate Government will be acknowledged.'

"There will also be other financial arrangements to be considered in connection with the transfer of responsibilities and liabilities to the future Transvaal State, including such provision as is usually made on these occasions for compensating any permanent officers displaced by the change of Government.

"I need scarcely say that it will be expected that full security for the continued enjoyment of their rights shall be guaranteed to all holders of property in the Transvaal, after the establishment of the new government. I cannot doubt that the necessary undertaking will be readily given, and it will be for the Commission to consider and recommend the terms in which such undertaking should be framed. Provisions will also be required for securing to British subjects complete freedom of trade to and through the Transvaal, on the same footing as citizens of the Transvaal State. I shall transmit to you a copy of a treaty now in force, which will be of use to the Commission in considering the stipulations to be entered into on this subject.

"With regard to the formal style and designation of the future Transvaal State, I am disposed to think that instead of reviving the name 'South African Republic' (which never was appropriate, having regard to the fact that there were two Republics in South Africa) it would be preferable to adopt the name 'Transvaal State.' Before the annexation the country was very commonly spoken of as the Transvaal, and it

would be convenient, as in the case of the Orange Free State, to describe it by the river which forms its southern boundary. I shall from time to time address to you instructions upon any further points which may arise.—I have, &c.,

“KIMBERLEY.”

“Downing Street, April 7, 1881.

“SIR,—In my despatch of the 31st March, which conveyed to you the instructions to the Royal Commissioners for the settlement of the affairs of the Transvaal, I referred to the arrangements to be made for the assumption by the Transvaal State of the debt incurred in connection with the administration of the affairs of the country.

“2. You will find a full and careful examination of the liabilities of the Transvaal in the report which I enclose on the financial affairs of that province made to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury in February of last year by the officers appointed to inquire into the military expenditure in South Africa. I also enclose a copy of a report by Mr. W. O. Sargeant, C.M.G., on the financial condition of the Transvaal, and other matters, and a copy of a despatch from Sir W. O. Lanyon, dated December 9, 1880, in which you will find a statement by Mr. Steel, the Acting Colonial Secretary of the Province, showing the amount of the debt, as calculated by the Provisional Government, up to October of that year.

“3. The Commissioners will perceive that two divisions of the debt, viz., the loan raised by the former Government of the South African Republic for railway construction, and the advance obtained by that Government from the Commercial Bank at Capetown for the redemption of its paper currency, are connected with transactions anterior to the British annexation.

“4. In the next category, that of the ‘lawful expenditure lawfully incurred for the necessary expenses of the country by the intermediate Government,’ which the Boer leaders in their proclamation of the 16th December last declared that the people of the Transvaal would acknowledge, the principal item is the overdraft at the Standard Bank of British South Africa in Pretoria. This overdraft, which was not to exceed £150,000, and had apparently been reduced in November last to £140,900, but may probably have since been again increased, was arranged in order to meet outstanding liabilities partly incurred by the South African Republic, and to provide for the deficiency of current revenue.

“5. The only other principal head of indebtedness (independent of the war expenditure to which I shall presently refer) is the Parliamentary grant of £100,000. This sum was advanced to the province in 1878 on the understanding that there was a fair prospect of its repayment within a few years, to meet expenses connected with and immediately consequent upon the annexation, as well as liabilities taken over from the Government of the South African Republic, or incurred in connection with the administration of the province. To this grant should be charged, in the first place, all the expenses of Sir T. Shepstone’s mission to the Transvaal, and the payments made by him on account of services directly relating to the annexation of the territory. Her Majesty’s Government will be disposed, when the particulars of this expenditure have been ascertained, to consider whether the repayment of all the outlay arising out of the act of annexation should not be foregone.

"6. Her Majesty's Government will in like manner be prepared to consider any suggestions which may be made by the Commissioners, after their examination of the accounts have been completed, for the exemption of the Transvaal State from liability in respect of any item which, having regard to all the circumstances, may appear to be fairly chargeable to Imperial funds.

"7. There remains for consideration a large amount advanced to the Provincial Government by Her Majesty's Government from the Treasury Chest on account of the war against Secocoeni. I cannot at present give exact particulars of this advance, but, including the cost of the unsuccessful campaign conducted by Colonel Rowlands, it may amount to £400,000. It would in due course have been repaid to Her Majesty's Government, and it is obvious that the question whether it, or part of it, shall continue to be so repayable is closely connected with the question whether any and what part of the country within the present limits of the province shall be severed from the future Transvaal State. If the territory occupied by Secocoeni's tribe continues to be within the Transvaal State, the cost of subjugating it would obviously be a reasonable charge on Transvaal funds. The case would of course be otherwise if the Leydenberg or other districts in or in relation to which the war expenditure now under consideration was incurred should remain British territory, and the Commission would then have to consider with reference to the final territorial arrangements how this charge should be adjusted. And in connection with the whole question of the debt it should here be observed that if any portion of the present Transvaal Province is severed from the Transvaal State it would have to be considered how the charge for the total debt should be apportioned; but it is to be remembered that the revenue on the security of which the loans have been raised was produced principally within the districts to the westward of the thirtieth parallel of longitude.

"8. Among the points which I have thus indicated as demanding the special attention of the Royal Commissioners, there are some which present considerable difficulties, and will involve the consideration of complicated details. I am disposed to think that it may be necessary to give the Commissioners the assistance of one or more financial Sub-Commissioners for the examination of the facts connected with this part of the inquiry.

"9. I desire to receive, as soon as may be convenient, any observations which the Commissioners may have to offer on the subjects referred to in this despatch.—I have, &c.,

"KIMBERLEY."

APPENDIX N.

THE CONVENTION.

The following are the full terms of the Convention:—

Her Majesty's Commissioners, for the settlement of the Transvaal Territory, duly appointed as such by a Commission, passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date the 5th of April, 1881, do

hereby undertake and guarantee, on behalf of Her Majesty, 'that from and after the 8th day of August, 1881, complete self-government, subject to the Suzerainty of Her Majesty, Her heirs, and successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal Territory, upon the following terms and conditions, and subject to the following reservations and limitations :—

Article I.—The said territory, to be hereinafter called the Transvaal State, will embrace the land lying between the following boundaries, to wit :

(Here follows the frontier-trace and definition of the boundaries.)

Article II.—Her Majesty reserves to Herself, Her heirs and successors, (a) the right from time to time to appoint a British Resident in and for the said State, with such duties and functions as are hereinafter defined; (b) the right to move troops through the said State in time of war, or in case of the apprehension of immediate war between the Suzerain Power and any foreign State or native tribe in South Africa; and (c) the control of the external relations of the said State, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with foreign Powers, such intercourse to be carried on through Her Majesty's diplomatic and consular officers abroad.

Article III.—Until altered by the Volksraad or other competent authority, all laws, whether passed before or after the annexation of the Transvaal Territory to Her Majesty's Dominions, shall, except in so far as they are inconsistent with, or repugnant to, the provisions of this Convention, be and remain in force in the said State, in so far as they shall be applicable thereto: Provided that no future enactment specially affecting the interests of natives shall have any force or effect in the said State without the consent of Her Majesty, Her heirs and successors, first had and obtained, and signified to the Government of the said State through the British Resident: Provided, further, that in no case will the repeal or amendment of any laws which have been enacted since the Annexation have a retrospective effect so as to invalidate any acts done or liabilities incurred by virtue of such laws.

Article IV.—On the 8th day of August, 1881, the Government of the said State, together with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, and all State property taken over at the time of Annexation, save and except munitions of war, will be handed over to Messrs. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, or the survivor or survivors of them, who will forthwith cause a Volksraad to be elected and convened, and the Volksraad thus elected and convened will decide as to the future administration of the Government of the said State.

Article V.—All sentences passed upon persons who may be convicted of offences contrary to the rules of civilized warfare committed during the recent hostilities will be duly carried out, and no alteration or mitigation of such sentences will be made or allowed by the Government of the Transvaal State without Her Majesty's consent, conveyed through the British Resident. In case there shall be any prisoners in any of the gaols of the Transvaal State whose respective sentences of imprisonment have been remitted in part by Her Majesty's Administrator or other Officer Administering the Government, such remission will be recognized and acted upon by the future Government of the said State.

Article VI.—Her Majesty's Government will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in

Article VIII. hereinafter specified, which may have been committed by Her Majesty's forces during the recent hostilities, except for such losses or damage as may already have been compensated for; and the Government of the Transvaal State will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in Article VIII. hereinafter specified, which may have been committed by the people who were in arms against Her Majesty during the recent hostilities, except for such losses and damage as may already have been compensated for.

Article VII.—The decision of all claims for compensation, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, will be referred to a Sub-Commission, consisting of the Hon. George Hudson, the Hon. Jacobus Petrus De Wet, and the Hon. John Gilbert Kotzé. In case one or more of such Sub-Commissioners shall be unable or unwilling to act, the remaining Sub-Commissioner or Sub-Commissioners will, after consultation with the Government of the Transvaal State, submit, for the approval of Her Majesty's High Commissioner, the names of one or more persons to be appointed by him to fill the place or places thus vacated. The decisions of the said Sub-Commissioners, or of a majority of them, will be final. The said Sub-Commissioners will enter upon and perform their duties with all convenient speed. They will, before taking evidence, or ordering evidence to be taken in respect of any claim, decide whether such claim can be entertained at all under the rules laid down in the next succeeding Article. In regard to the claims which can be so entertained, the Sub-Commissioners will, in the first instance, afford every facility for an amicable arrangement as to the amount payable in respect of any claim, and only in cases in which there is no reasonable ground for believing that an immediate amicable arrangement can be arrived at will they take evidence, or order evidence to be taken. For the purpose of taking evidence and reporting thereon, the Sub-Commissioners may appoint deputies, who will, without delay, submit records of the evidence and their reports to the Sub-Commissioners. The Sub-Commissioners will arrange the sittings and the sittings of their deputies in such a manner as to afford the greatest convenience to the parties concerned and their witnesses. In no case will costs be allowed to either side other than the usual and reasonable expenses of witnesses whose evidence is certified by the Sub-Commissioners to have been necessary. Interest will not run on the amount of any claim, except as is hereinafter provided for. The said Sub-Commissioners will forthwith, after deciding upon any claim, announce their decision to the Government against which the award is made, and to the claimant. The amount of remuneration payable to the Sub-Commissioners and their deputies will be determined by the High Commissioner, after all the claims have been decided upon. The British Government and the Government of the Transvaal State will pay proportionate shares of the said remuneration, and of the expenses of the Sub-Commissioners and their deputies according to the amounts awarded against them respectively.

Article VIII.—For the purpose of distinguishing claims to be accepted from those to be rejected, the Sub-Commissioners will be guided by the following rules, viz. :—Compensation will be allowed for losses or damage sustained by reason of the following acts committed during the recent hostilities, viz. : (a.) Commandeering, seizure or destruction of property, or damage done to property; (b.) Violence done or threats used by persons in arms. In regard to acts under (a) compensation will be allowed for direct losses only. In regard to acts falling under (b) compensation

will be allowed for actual losses of property or actual injury to the same, proved to have been caused by its enforced abandonment. No claims for indirect losses, except such as are in this Article specially provided for, will be entertained. No claims which have been handed in to the Secretary of the Royal Commission after the 1st day of July, 1881, will be entertained, unless the Sub-Commission shall be satisfied that the delay was reasonable. When claims for loss of property are considered the Sub-Commissioners will require distinct proof of the existence of the property, and that it neither has reverted nor will revert to the claimant.

Article IX.—The Government of the Transvaal State will pay and satisfy the amount of every claim awarded against it within one month after the Sub-Commissioners shall have notified their decision to the said Government, and in default of such payment the said Government will pay interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum from the date of such default; but Her Majesty's Government may, at any time before such payment, pay the amount, with interest, if any, to the claimant in satisfaction of his claim, and may add the sum thus paid to any debt which may be due by the Transvaal State to Her Majesty's Government, as hereinafter provided for.

Article X.—The Transvaal State will be liable for the balance of the debts for which the South African Republic was liable at the date of annexation, to wit: the sum of £43,000, in respect of the Cape Commercial Loan, and £85,667 in respect of the Railway Loan, together with amount due on the 8th August, 1881, on account of the Orphan Chamber Debt, which now stands at £22,000, which debts will be a first charge upon the revenues of the State. The Transvaal State will, moreover, be liable for the lawful expenditure, lawfully incurred, for the necessary expenses of the Province since annexation, to wit: the sum of £265,000, which debt, together with such debts as may be incurred by virtue of the 9th Article, will be a second charge upon the revenue of the State.

Article XI.—The debts due as aforesaid by the Transvaal State to Her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent., and any portion of such debt as may remain unpaid on the 8th August, 1882, shall be repayable by a payment for interest and sinking fund of Six Pounds and Ninepence per £100 per annum, which will extinguish the debt in twenty-five years. The said payment of Six Pounds and Ninepence per £100 shall be payable half-yearly in British currency on the 8th February and 8th August in each year, provided always that the Transvaal State shall pay in reduction of the said debt the sum of £100,000 before the 8th August, 1882, and shall be at liberty at the close of any half-year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

Article XII.—All persons holding property in the said State on the 8th day of August, 1881, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the annexation. No person who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the recent hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty, or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities, and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country with enjoyment of all civil rights and protection for their persons and property.

Article XIII.—Natives will be allowed to acquire land, but the grant or transfer of such land will be in every case made to and registered in

the name of the Native Location Commission hereinafter mentioned in trust for such natives.

Article XIV.—Natives will be allowed to move as freely within the country as may be consistent with the requirements of public order, and to leave it for the purpose of seeking employment elsewhere, or for other lawful purposes, subject always to the Pass Laws of the said State, as amended by the Legislature of the Province, or as may hereafter be enacted under the provisions of the 3rd Article of this Convention.

Article XV.—The provisions of the 4th Article of the Sand River Convention are hereby re-affirmed, and no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said State.

Article XVI.—There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order; and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

Article XVII.—The British Resident will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such assistance and support as can by law be given to him for the due discharge of his functions. He will also receive every assistance for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of Her Majesty's forces as have died in the Transvaal, and if need be for the reappropriation of land for the purpose.

Article XVIII.—The following will be the duties and functions of the British Resident:—1. He will perform duties and functions analogous to those discharged by a *Chargé d'Affaires* and Consul-General. 2. In regard to Natives within the Transvaal State, he will (a) report to the High Commissioner, as representative of the Suzerain, as to the working and observance of the provisions of this Convention; (b) report to the Transvaal authorities any cases of ill-treatment of Natives, or attempts to incite Natives to rebellion, that may come to his knowledge; (c) use his influence with the Natives in favour of law and order; and (d) generally perform such other duties as are by this Convention entrusted to him, and take such steps for the protection of such persons and property of Natives as are consistent with the laws of the land. 3. In regard to Natives not residing in the Transvaal, (a) he will report to the High Commissioner and the Transvaal Government any encroachments reported to him as having been made by Transvaal residents upon the land of such Natives, and in case of disagreement between the Transvaal Government and the British Resident as to whether an encroachment has been made, the decision of the Suzerain will be final; (b) the British Resident will be the medium of communication with Native Chiefs outside the Transvaal, and, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, as representing the Suzerain, he will control the conclusion of treaties with them; and (c) he will arbitrate upon every dispute between Transvaal residents and Natives outside the Transvaal (as to acts committed beyond the boundaries of the Transvaal) which may be referred to him by the parties interested. 4. In regard to communications with Foreign Powers, the Transvaal Government will correspond with Her Majesty's Government through the British Resident and the High Commissioner.

Article XIX.—The Government of the Transvaal State will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the first Article of the Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachment upon lands beyond the said State. The Royal Commission

will forthwith appoint a person who will beacon off the boundary line between Ramatlabana and the point where such line first touches the Griqualand West boundary, ending between the Vaal and Hart Rivers. The person so appointed will be instructed to make an arrangement between the owners of the farms (Groot Fontein and Valley Fontein) on the one hand, and the Baralong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Baralong.

Article XX.—All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of and outside the boundary of the Transvaal State, as defined in Article I., shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the Transvaal State, and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such compensation, either in land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any Native Chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate compensation from the Government of the former South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the first Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the British Resident will, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, use his influence to recover from the Native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, or of the permanent improvements thereon.

Article XXI.—Forthwith after the taking effect of this Convention, a Native Location Commission will be constituted, consisting of the President (or in his absence the Vice-President) of the State, or some one deputed by him, the Resident or some one deputed by him, and a third person to be agreed upon by the President, or the Vice-President, as the case may be, and the President and such Commission will be a standing body for the performance of the duties hereinafter mentioned.

Article XXII.—The Native Location Commission will reserve to the Native tribes of the State such locations as they may be fairly and equitably entitled to, due regard being had to the actual occupation of such tribes. The Native Location Commission will clearly define the boundaries of such location, and for that purpose will in every instance first of all ascertain the minds of the parties interested in such land. In case land already granted in individual titles shall be required for the purpose of any location, the owners will receive such compensation, either in other land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. After the boundaries of any location have been fixed, no fresh grant of land within such location will be made, nor will the boundaries be altered without the consent of the Location Commission. No fresh grants of land will be made in the districts of Waterberg, Zoutpansberg, and Leydenberg until the locations in the said districts, respectively, shall have been defined by the said Commission.

Article XXIII.—If not released before the taking effect of this Convention, Secocoeni and those of his followers who have been imprisoned with him will be forthwith released, and the boundaries of their location will be defined by the Native Location Commission in the manner indicated in the last preceding Article.

Article XXIV.—The independence of the Swazi within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the first Article of this Convention, will be fully recognized.

Article XXV.—No other or higher duties will be imposed on the im-

portation into the Transvaal State of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of Her Majesty, from whatever place arriving, than are or may be payable on the like article, the produce or manufacture of any other country. Nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of Her Majesty which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like articles being the produce or manufacture of any other country.

Article XXVI.—All persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State (a) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the Transvaal State; (b) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (c) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (d) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are, or may be, imposed upon Transvaal citizens.

Article XXVII.—All inhabitants of the Transvaal shall have free access to the Courts of Justice for the prosecution and defence of their rights.

Article XXVIII.—All persons other than natives who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April, 1877, and the date when this Convention comes into effect, and who shall, within twelve months after such last-mentioned date, have their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever. The Resident shall notify such registrations to the Government of the Transvaal State.

Article XXIX.—Provision shall hereafter be made by a special instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from Her Majesty's forces.

Article XXX.—All debts contracted since the Annexation will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted. All uncanceled postage and other revenue stamps issued by the Government since the Annexation will remain valid, and will be accepted, at their present value, by the future Government of the State. All licenses duly issued since the Annexation will remain in force during the period for which they have been issued.

Article XXXI.—No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfers or mortgages which may have been passed since the time of the Annexation will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed after such date. All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for Natives will remain in force, the Native Location Commission taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

Article XXXII.—This Convention will be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad within the period of three months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Article XXXIII.—Forthwith after the ratification of this Convention, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, all British troops in Transvaal territory will leave the same, and the mutual delivery of munitions of war will be carried out.

Signed at Pretoria this 3rd day of August, 1881.

HERCULES ROBINSON,
EVELYN WOOD,
H. DE VILLIERS,
Royal Commissioners.

We, the undersigned, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, as representatives of the Transvaal Burghers, do hereby agree to all the above conditions, reservations, and limitations under which Self-Government has been restored to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory, subject to the Suzerainty of Her Majesty, Her heirs and successors, and we agree to accept the Government of the said territory with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, on the 8th day of August, 1881, and we promise and undertake that this Convention shall be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad of the Transvaal State within three months from date.

Signed at Pretoria, this 3rd day of August, 1881.

STEPHANUS JOHANNES PAULUS KRUGER,
MARTINUS WESSEL PRETORIUS,
PETRUS JACOBUS JOUBERT.

APPENDIX O.

THE TRANSVAAL VOLKSRAAD.

The following were the proceedings of the special session of the old Volksraad, held at Pretoria, on Wednesday, August 10th, in relation to the Convention between the Royal Commission and the Boer Leaders. The members present were:—C. J. Bodensteijn, Chairman, T. N. de Villiers, D. P. Talajaard, P. Roets, M. van Breda, C. J. C. van Rooijen, C. B. Otto, T. Dreyer, J. Spies, C. Birkenstock, J. H. Potgieter, P. Venter, M. W. Vorster, J. J. Hoffman, S. T. Prinsloo, P. de la Rey, C. C. van Heerden, and J. P. Otto.

His Honour Vice-President Kruger said that on account of bodily infirmity he was not able to read the opening speech himself.

Mr. Bok, the State Secretary, then read the opening speech:—

“Honourable President and Members of the Volksraad.

“1. I have summoned you, as representatives of the people, for the purpose of informing you that a Convention relative to the restoration of the country has been signed by the Royal Commission, appointed by the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and by us, the Triumvirate elected by you at Paardekraal, in accordance with the Commission given us at the special session of the Volksraad at Heidelberg on the 15th April last.

“2. Seeing that it is my earnest wish and desire that the several districts shall be fully represented at the confirmation of the said Convention, and seeing that, in consequence of the circumstances in which the country has now for more than four years been placed, many districts are not fully represented, and some are wholly represented, I therefore request you, by the opening of a new election for members of the Volksraad, to enable me to lay the Convention for confirmation before a fully-constituted Volksraad, and to obtain its direction as to the future concerns of the country.

"3. I request you to appoint this election within the shortest possible time, so that a special session of the Volksraad may be held during the month of September next.

"4. May Almighty God bless your deliberations."

The Chairman replied as follows:—"Honourable Members of the Triumvirate,—We heartily welcome you in our midst, and are more particularly delighted to see amongst us again our Vice-President, who has been confined to a bed of illness during the last few days. We are filled with extreme gratitude that Providence has spared your valuable life so as to enable us to learn through you from the Triumvirate that the commission entrusted to them in our last sitting at Heidelberg has been executed so far, and that our God has blessed your endeavours so that you are prepared to lay before the people, for ratification, a Convention, by which the people's independence and freedom have been restored. We appreciate it highly, and agree with your Honours that this Convention should be made known to the whole people, for the purpose of being ratified thereafter, as soon as possible, and we therefore consider your proposals so that, in accordance with the existing laws of the country, the burghers of the country should, at the next ensuing extraordinary session of the Volksraad, be properly, and, if possible, fully represented, and to accomplish the work which will then be submitted to them by your Honours."

In accordance with agreement, section 32 of the Convention was read, as also the concluding paragraph by which the Triumvirate agree to accept the conditions and stipulations of the Convention.

After some discussion, the following motion, proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Mr. D. P. Taaljaard, was carried by acclamation:—

"The Volksraad, having seen section 1 of the opening speech of their Honours, rejoices to learn that a Convention has been entered into between Her Majesty's special representatives and our Triumvirate, by which amongst others our self-government and independence are restored, and requests the Executive Council to publish this Convention forthwith, in the Dutch language, in the *State Gazette*."

The second section of the Vice-President's speech was put on the order, and elicited some discussion. The following resolution, proposed by Mr. S. T. Prinsloo and seconded by Mr. M. W. Vorster, was carried, with one dissentient vote:—

"The Volksraad, having noticed section 1 of the opening speech, resolves to authorize the Executive to open an election for members of the Volksraad forthwith, so that all districts and burghers may be represented in the Volksraad according to law, and commission the Government immediately to notify to the officers and to instruct them to act in accordance with Volksraad resolution of May 29, 1876, Art 91."

Section 3 of the opening speech coming on for discussion, it was resolved, upon the motion of Mr. C. B. Otto, seconded by Mr. J. P. Otto, to shorten the term of elections, in view of the peculiar circumstances of the country, and to instruct the Executive to have that term closed on the 15th of September at the farthest, and to have the first ensuing extraordinary meeting of the Volksraad as soon after as possible.

The Chairman, having pointed out that the Volksraad would now be totally dissolved, so that there would be no legal machinery to swear

in the newly-elected members, unless special provision were now made, it was unanimously resolved to empower the Government to give timely notice to the Chairman, or oldest member of the Volksraad, and two other members who may not be re-elected, to be in attendance here for the purpose of swearing in the newly-elected members.

This closed the proceedings of the session of the Raad.

APPENDIX P.

THE NEW TRANSVAAL VOLKSRAAD.

The Triumvirate, Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, drew up and submitted the following Address to the newly-elected Volksraad, on the subject of the Convention and its ratification, as well as the measures which they recommended for the future conduct of the Government:—

“Mr. President and Members of the Honourable Volksraad,—It is with a feeling of inexpressible gratitude to God the Creator of all things that we at this special moment again welcome you here, and see you assembled to discuss the interests of our dearly-beloved Fatherland. Those interests, Gentlemen, are undoubtedly very important, and will require your individual attention and utmost exertion. We are, however, assured that God, who has thus far so visibly led us, will not withhold from you His support and assistance, but will accomplish the work of His hands.

“1. The commission entrusted to us by you at Paarde Kraal in December last, to exert all means which could lead to the restoration of the independence of the country without distinction; the preliminary conditions of peace entered into at Lang’s Nek between the delegates of Her Majesty’s British Government and our Government; the extraordinary Session of the Honourable the Volksraad held at Heidelberg; the negotiations with the Royal Commission appointed by the English Government—all this, gentlemen, has led to the conclusion of a Convention upon which the Honourable the Volksraad was convened on the 10th of August last, solely for the purpose of opening an election upon which your Honours have been elected, and which Convention we submit to you, and by which we have taken upon ourselves the obligation of laying it before you for ratification. We cannot flatter ourselves with the hope that the Convention will satisfy you in its various provisions. It has not satisfied ourselves, but we venture to give you this assurance, that we signed it under the conviction that, under the circumstances, sincere love for our Fatherland and solicitude in the welfare of South Africa demanded from us not to withhold our signatures from this Convention. We published in our *Staats Courant* literally, as far as possible, everything that has been uttered and that has happened between members of the Royal Commission and the Honourable Triumvirate and Members of the Transvaal Commission, from which you will see that we left nothing untried on our side to obtain those modifications in the Convention which appeared desirable to us. We are, however, convinced that many, if not all, the remarks advanced by us

will appear later on to have been well-founded, and that the British Government itself will have to propose modifications and changes in the Convention.

"2. It is our duty to remind you of the great amount of sympathy which we experienced from all sides during the late struggle from our brethren and co-religionists in the Orange Free State, Natal, and the Cape Colony, as well as from Europe, America, and not excluding the whole English Nation. This interest has evinced itself also in deeds. Not only from the Orange Free State, Natal, and the Cape Colony have important gifts been received for the alleviation of the needs of our wounded, and of the widows and orphans, but generally in support of our good cause were gifts forwarded to us from Holland, Germany, and France.

"3. When at Paarde Kraal the Government undertook its important task, the people bound themselves to it by a solemn oath. This oath they have faithfully observed, and the unanimity of the people became the strength of the country. Some fifty of our burghers have sacrificed their lives, and we stand by their graves with grief and gratitude. Many other burghers have paid in wounds for their patriotism. Government has provisionally appointed a Commission to make permanent provision for the widows and orphans of the burghers killed and for the families of the wounded. We will be glad of your co-operation in further regulating this matter. A great struggle for a good cause bears good fruits, and it is a pleasant task to us to refer you to the eminent spirit of invention showed by our burgher Mr. Ras, in the manufacture of two good guns, as also to the successful exertions of a number of our burghers who have succeeded in manufacturing cartridges and gunpowder. Without anticipating your decision, we think these men are entitled to public recognition at your hands.

"4. Two estimates will be submitted to your Assembly—one to the end of December next, and one for the financial year of 1882-83. Extraordinary circumstances demand extraordinary measures. The special expenses incurred by us for the war, in which many of our burghers have already come to our assistance; the expenses in consequence of the Convention; the payment of the old vested debt; and the deficit in the Orphan Chamber, urge us to lay before you special proposals, and in particular to ask your sanction for a modification of our system of taxation, which will more fairly and proportionately divide the burdens amongst the burghers. We are prepared to lay before you everything for the further elucidation of these financial matters.

"5. We further recommend to you to empower the Government to grant certain monopolies by which the industry of the country will be materially promoted. The manufacturing of articles, for which this our country itself possesses the finest materials, and which had hitherto to be imported at great expense from elsewhere, is a question of vital importance for the welfare of the State, as is also the better exploration of mines. Closely connected with this is the offer of premiums to inventors or manufacturers of requisites which have hitherto been imported from abroad, for which the Government requests your authority.

"6. The circumstances of the country have compelled us to grant many burghers of the country exemption from the fine imposed on the payment of Government dues. For this we solicit your approval.

"7. With regard to the Supreme Court, we request you to adopt

measures in order to enable us to appoint competent persons as Puisne Judges.

"8. The Government has decided, in anticipation of your approval, to establish a corps destined to become the nucleus of select artillerists, composed of sons of the soil, and also to establish cavalry corps.

"9. In submitting to you the list of officials appointed by us, we have to point out to you that the term of office of C. J. Joubert, ex-member of the Honourable the Executive Council, has terminated, and that in this matter provision will have to be made during the session. We also look to your Honourable House for a provision for the salary of the Honourable the Triumvirate and the members of the Executive Council.

"10. We have earnestly regarded the state of education in the whole country, which we have taken greatly to heart. We have considered that we have taken the first step in a better direction by appointing a very eminent gentleman (the Rev. S. J. Dutoit), of the Paarl. We recommend this subject to your attention with the utmost earnestness.

"11. Several other matters of greater or lesser importance will be laid before you during the session.

"Gentlemen,—We now beg to lay in your hands the welfare of the country, with full reliance on your collective co-operation, and the blessing of the God of our fathers.

"May the Lord bless your deliberations."

APPENDIX Q.

The annexed particulars in relation to the Boer losses and the numbers of their forces are given from authoritative sources :—

KILLED.

1880.

- Dec. 17—Pieter van Vuren, Potchefstroom.
- " 20—A. Kiezer, Bronkhorstspuit.
- " 20—C. Coetzee, do.
- " 21—Hendrik Neethling, H'son, Pretoria.

1881.

- Jan. 1—Jacobus Grundling, Potchefstroom.
- " 4—Johannes Joubert, do.
- " 6—4 men (names unknown), Pretoria.
- " 8—Barend Jacobus de Lange, Rustenberg.
- " 12—Hendrik Pretorius, S'son, Pretoria.
- " 27—Hendrik Combrink, Potchefstroom.
- " 28—Hendrik Klopper, Lang's Nek.
- " 28—Jacobus Potgieter do.
- " 28—Jacobus Coetzee do.
- " 28—Adriaan Swanepoel do.
- " 28—Izak Johannes Retief do.
- " 28—Dirk Uys, jun. do.

Jan.	28—Johannes Potgieter,	Lang's Nek.
"	28—Wynand Bezuidenhoud	do.
"	28—Lodewyk Bouwer	do.
"	28—Hermannus van Vuren	do.
"	28—Willem du Toit	do.
"	28—Johannes Botha	do.
"	28—Gerrit Potgieter	do.
"	28—Johannes Botman	do.
"	28—Willem Grobbelaar	do.
"	28— — Vorster	do.
Feb.	1—M. J. le Grange,	Potchefstroom.
"	8—Johannes Kruger,	Ingogo.
"	8—Jacobus Haman, A'son	do.
"	8—Gerrit Jordaan	do.
"	8—Pieter Karelsen	do.
"	8—Stefanus Oosthuijzen	do.
"	8—Johannes Maton	do.
"	8—Hendrik Pretorius, B'son	do.
"	8—Hendrik Däfel	do.
"	8—Jacobus Greiling	do.
"	24—William Findlay,	Potchefstroom.
"	26—Johannes Bekker,	Mount Colley.
"	26—Johannes Groenwald	do.
Mar.	10—Frederick Bernardus Muller,	Potchefstroom.

This shows 43 killed.

WOUNDED AND RECOVERED.

1880.

Dec.	16—Frans Robertse,	Potchefstroom.
"	16—Christoffel Engelbrecht	do.
"	18—Daniel van Graan	do.
"	20—Four men (names unknown),	Bronkhorst Spruit

1881.

Jan.	1—Frederick Berning,	Potchefstroom.
"	6—Two men (names unknown),	Pretoria.
"	16—H. P. N. Pretorius	do.
"	16—Cornelis Lochenberg	do.
"	16—Frans Roberts	do.
"	22—Adriaan Venter,	Potchefstroom.
"	22—Frederick Visser	do.
"	22—Hendrick Scheffers	do.
"	22—Karl Buys	do.
"	22—Okkert Botha	do.
"	27—S. Wolfaard, P'son	do.
"	28—Stefanus Fourie,	Lang's Nek.
"	28—Johannes Botha	do.
"	28—Adriaan Venter	do.
"	28—Wynand Visage	do.
"	28—Roelof Visage	do.
"	28—Sybrand du Preez	do.
"	28—Michael Veltman	do.

Jan.	28—Petrus Stoop	Lang's Nek.
"	28—Albert Stoop	do.
"	28—Josua Joubert	do.
"	28—Adolf Craufort	do.
"	28—Jan Greyling	do.
"	28—Hendrik Hatting	do.
"	28—Jacob Van der Merwe	do.
"	28—Jan van Rensburg	do.
"	28—Jacobus Smit	do.
"	28—Lucas Potgieter	do.
"	28—Petrus Erasmus	do.
"	28—Cornelis Erasmus	do.
"	28—Frans Badenhorst	do.
"	28—Johannes Herbst	do.
"	28—Philippus Oosthuyzen	do.
"	28—Dirk Oosthuyzen	do.
"	28—Johannes Slabbert	do.
Feb.	4—Bernhard Mahler, Potchefstroom.	
"	8—Hermanus de Jager, Ingogo.	
"	8—Lucas Meyer	do.
"	8— — Scholtz	do.
"	8—Tjaard Van der Walt	do.
"	8—Gerrit Oosthuyzen	do.
"	8—Jacobus Botha	do.
"	26—Jacobus Labuschagne, Mount Colley.	
"	26—Samuel Muller	do.
"	26—Karel Pretorius	do.
"	26—Gabriel Van der Merwe	do.
"	26—Theunis Vermaak	do.
Mar.	5—Barth Roelof J. de Beer, Potchefstroom.	
"	9—Coenraad Van der Berg	do.
"	9—Marthinus Koen	do.

Total: 58 wounded.

The Rev. Dr. Merensky, Superintendent of the Berlin Mission in the Transvaal (who has been Chief Surgeon in the hospital, and treated all the wounded of the Transvaalers who were engaged in the three fights), gives the following particulars of the Boer losses during the war:—

At the fight of Lang's Nek, about 800 of the Transvaalers were at the Laager at Meeks, about six miles from the Nek; at the Nek there was only a small detachment. The loss of the Transvaalers in this engagement was: 14 killed, 20 wounded; two of them died afterwards.

At Schuin's Hooghte not more than 200 Transvaalers fought: losses, 8 killed, 10 wounded; two of them died afterwards.

At Amajuba Hill (or as this mountain is now called by the Transvaalers—Colley's Kop) less than 200 Transvaalers climbed the mountain and took it; they were supported by a few hundred who remained below. They lost 1 killed, 6 wounded; one of them died afterwards.

The names of all these men can be had by applying to Dr. Merensky, who has booked them.

The strength of Burghers (Boers) was stated as follows, viz.:—At Potchefstroom, 400 men, under Commandant Cronje; Rustenberg, 200

men, under Commandant Sarl Eloff; Pretoria, 1,000 men, under Commandants Erasmus and H. Pretorius; Christiana, 300 men, under Commandant Antonie Kock; Heidelberg, 250 men, under Commandant Malan; Leydenberg, 200 men, under Commandant P. Steyn; Standerton, 250 men, under Philip Minnaar; Wakkerstrom, 200; Laager on Berg and at Lang's Nek, 1,500 men, under Commandant General Joubert—making a total force of 4,500 burghers.

ADDENDA.

NOTICES OF THE BOER LEADERS.

STEPHANUS JOHANNES PAULUS KRUGER.

The Vice-President of the Boers is about 60 years of age, a native of the district of Cradock, Cape Colony, and one of the "voertrekkers," or original emigrants from the Old Colony, who trekked north to the Vaal River, while another branch came over the Drakensberg to Natal. Those "trekking" northwards remained longer isolated than the others; and several travellers have noticed the almost unnatural jealousy with which they kept strangers out of the country, under the influence of their leaders. The Krugers settled in the fertile district behind the Magaliesberg range; and Paul became a leader among his people, known as the "Doppers"—a kind of extremely advanced and strict body of Dutch Protestants; peculiar in dress, manners, and mode of life. "Oom (Uncle) Paul," as he is affectionately called, came first into prominent notice at the time of the civil war between the northern Boers and those of Utrecht, Wakkerstrom, and Leydenberg, under Commandant Schoemann—who had a kind of commonwealth of their own. Paul commanded the Northmen, and after an engagement they fraternized; and the Republic started anew under M. W. Pretorius, son of General Andries Pretorius, who was head of the Boers of Natal after the death of Maritz and Retief. Mr. Kruger has been in command in several wars, and but for incapacity from illness would probably have commanded the people at the attack on the stronghold of Secocoeni, instead of Cootzee (who acted a very peculiar part on that occasion), and possibly with a different result, as it is said that Paul believes firmly that he is ball-proof. Personally, Mr. Kruger is of middle height, and he is much respected by all who know him as an honest man and sincere patriot. During the troubles which ended in the annexation of the Transvaal, Mr. Kruger fearlessly helped his country's cause in purse and person. He made two journeys to London, protesting against the annexation, and although he had seen and appreciated the power of Great Britain, he did not hesitate to throw his lot in with the insurgents. A fuller description of his person and peculiarities will be found in Chapter XVIII., detailing my experiences in the Boer camp.

PETRUS JACOBUS JOUBERT.

The Commander-in-Chief, or Commandant-General of the Boer armies is one of those who reached the country *via* Natal—the family leaving that Colony on its conquest, or rather acquisition, by the British Govern-

ment. Yet the subject of this notice did not go far, as his "woonplaats" (farm) almost joins the Colony at its northernmost point; and he has many relations living in Natal. In many ways Mr. Joubert is a remarkable man, and may be called self-educated, until manhood never having seen any book but the Bible and Psalter. Indeed, he was 19 years of age before he saw a newspaper. Mr. Joubert led some expeditions against Kaffirs in the early days of the Republic, and some of his detractors say he was very severe on the natives in these raids. He was Vice-President during the rule of President Burgers, and acted as President during His Honour's absence in Europe, when the misconduct of Cooper Landdrost at Leydenberg is said to have produced the Secocoeni troubles, which stopped the flotation of the National Loan through Itsinger and Co., of Amsterdam, and caused the final financial collapse of the Republic. He also has been accused of being unduly influenced by persons of peculiar character; but no one has ever impugned his honesty of purpose or patriotism. Mr. Joubert was Kruger's colleague in the mission to London on both occasions. He is younger than "Oom Paul," and the improvement in his gait, dress, and manner on his return from London was remarkable. During his short visit to Pietermaritzburg to see Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. Joubert freely expressed his opinions, saying openly that he regretted the step his people were driven to, as it was certain to retard the progress of the country and the people for many years. The compromise he would accept was—The Governors to exercise authority in the name of the Queen, but to be elective as were the Presidents; the restoration of the Volksraad, with additional town members commensurate with their rise; a Treaty, offensive and defensive, with South African Colonies; and a compact, or project of law, for repayment of Imperial advances; with a final *sine quâ non*, that no patronage was to be exercised by any authority or person foreign to the land.

MARTINUS WESSEL PRETORIUS.

This gentleman is the eldest son of the late Andries Pretorius, who was the principal man among the Natal Boers after the death of Retief; and whose mission to the Cape in 1847 in order to interview Sir H. Pottinger, and afterwards Sir Harry Smith, in order to represent the grievances of the Natal Boers, and his after rebellion in the Orange Free State, when he was defeated at the battle of Boomplaats, has been well described by Noble in his History, a summary of which appears in Chapters IV. and V. After the death of his father in the Transvaal, in 1853, he was selected to succeed him as the President, and under him in the course of the next few years a final union of the different contending parties took place. In 1859, when M. Boschoff, the first President of the Orange Free State, had resigned the office, out of four candidates nominated to succeed him, Mr. M. W. Pretorius was elected by a large majority of votes, and he accepted the post, leaving Potchefstroom, the then seat of government of the Transvaal, for Bloemfontein, where he remained up to 1863. He there earnestly strove for the union of the two Republics, but found that neither the Home Government would allow it, nor did the majority of the Orange Free State Burghers wish it. In 1863, Mr. Pretorius left the Orange Free State to look after his own interests in the Transvaal, where, after his departure, all had been anarchy, several parties striving for the ascendancy; and he was soon reinstated as President, in which position

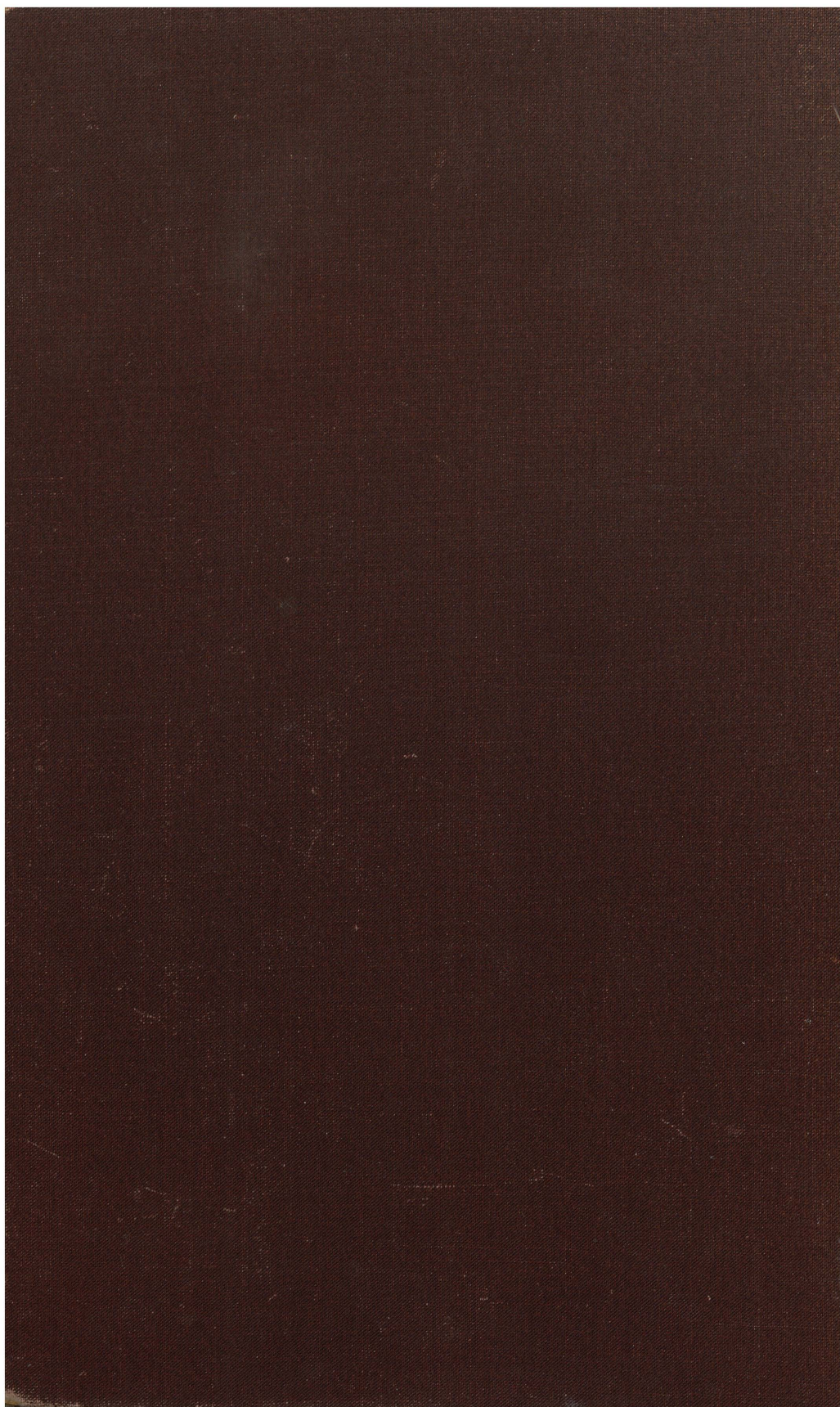
he remained until 1871, when, in consequence of a vote of censure passed upon him by the Volksraad, for the part he took in the "Keate Award," he resigned and was succeeded by the Rev. T. F. Burgers. Mr. Pretorius then retired into private life and looked after his extensive properties, remaining, however, always a member of the Raad, and sometimes of the Executive Council. At the time of the Annexation he took no active part in resistance, but was afterwards prominent among the leaders, both by his moderation and advice. He was at once, upon the last rising, appointed as one of the Triumvirate, which position he still occupies.

DR. E. F. JORRISSSEN.

Professor Jorriissen is the legal adviser of the Triumvirate—or, as they call it, "Staats Procureur"—a Doctor of Divinity, and a clergyman of some celebrity in Holland, and is known to entertain very broad and liberal views on ecclesiastical matters. He was brought from Holland by President Burgers, as Inspector of Education under that Government, and at the change which took place in 1875 was made Staats Procureur, or Attorney-General. Dr. Jorriissen is an extremely learned and talented man; but he is hasty, prejudiced and rather bigoted, and his temper is somewhat of the shortest. He is an irreconcilable, especially since his personal views were ignored and his office treated with very scant courtesy at the time of the Annexation, and although he remained for some time in office, under Sir T. Shepstone's administration, he never managed to "hit it" with the authorities. On this gentleman and Mr. Bok have fallen much objugation from a portion of the Press, as having been the real instigators of the recent rising and of the previous discontent which led to it. They are described by even Sir Bartle Frere as not being at all representative men of the Boers; but they are at any rate much trusted and liked among them now.

W. EDOUARD BOK.

The "Staat Secretaris," the youngest of the quintette, was born at Texel, and is a son of the late Mr. William Bok, a native of Amsterdam who practised with success as an advocate at Texel, and was a member of the School Board for North Holland. His mother is living at the Hague, and one of the State Secretary's brothers is the minister of a large congregation at Amsterdam. He is a good specimen of an educated foreigner. His command of the English language and acquaintance with its literature is extensive. He accompanied the deputation to England as interpreter and secretary. He is about 30 years of age; and is a studious, thoughtful, and withal gay, genial man, who will probably make his mark in the world.



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