

similar undertakings, or the establishment of any system of patent or copyright approved by our Secretary of State, shall not be deemed monopolies for this purpose. The Company shall not, either directly or indirectly, hinder any company or persons who are now or hereafter may be carrying on lawfully and peacefully any business, concern or venture within the said district of the Tati, hereinbefore described, but shall, by permitting and facilitating transit by every lawful means to and from the district of the Tati across its own territories, or where it has jurisdiction in that behalf, and by all other reasonable and lawful means, encourage, assist and protect all British subjects who are now, or hereafter may be, lawfully and peacefully engaged in the prosecution of a lawful enterprise within the said district of the Tati.

“21. For the preservation of elephants and other game, the Company may make such regulations and (notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained) may impose such licence duties on the killing or taking of elephants or other game as they may see fit; provided that nothing in such regulations shall tend to diminish or interfere with any hunting rights, which may have been, or may hereafter be, reserved to any native chiefs or tribes by treaty, save so far as any such regulations may relate to the establishment and enforcement of a close season.

“22. The Company shall be subject to, and shall perform and undertake all the obligations contained in or undertaken by ourselves under any treaty

agreement or arrangement between ourselves and any other State or Power, whether already made or hereafter to be made. In all matters relating to the observance of this Article, or to the exercise within the Company's territories, for the time being, of any jurisdiction exercisable by us under the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, the Company shall conform to and observe and carry out all such directions, as may from time to time be given in that behalf by our Secretary of State, and the Company shall appoint all necessary officers to perform such duties, and shall provide such courts and other requisites, as may from time to time be necessary for the administration of justice.

"23. The original share capital of the Company shall be £1,000,000, divided into 1,000,000 shares of £1 each.

"24. The Company is hereby further specially authorised and empowered for the purposes of this our Charter from time to time:—

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

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

"III. To establish or authorise banking companies and other companies, and undertakings or associations of every description for purposes consistent with the provisions of this our Charter.

"IV. To make and maintain roads, railways, tele-

graphs, harbours and any other works which may tend to the development or improvement of the territories of the Company.

V. To carry on mining and other industries, and to make concessions of mining, forestal or other rights.

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

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

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

“IX. To make loans or contributions of money, or money's worth, for promoting any of the objects of the Company.

“X. To acquire and hold personal property.

“XI. To acquire and hold (without licence in mortmain or other authority than this our Charter) lands in the United Kingdom, not exceeding five acres in all, at any one time for the purposes of the offices and business of the Company, and (subject to any local law) lands in any of our colonies or possessions and elsewhere, convenient for carrying on the management of the affairs of the Company, and to dispose from time to time of any such lands when not required for that purpose.

“XII. To carry on any lawful commerce, trade, pursuit, business, operations or dealing whatsoever in connection with the objects of the Company.

“ XIII. To establish and maintain agencies in our colonies and possessions and elsewhere.

“ XIV. To sue and be sued by the Company’s name of incorporation, as well in our courts in our United Kingdom, or in our courts in our colonies or possessions, or in our courts in foreign countries or elsewhere

“ XV. To do all lawful things, incidental or conducive to the exercise or enjoyment of the rights, interests, authorities and powers of the Company in this our Charter, expressed or referred to, or any of them.

“ 25. Within one year after the date of this our Charter, or such extended period as may be certified by our Secretary of State, there shall be executed by the members of the Company for the time being a deed of settlement, providing so far as necessary for—

“ I. The further definition of the objects and purposes of the Company.

“ II. The classes or descriptions of shares into which the capital of the Company is divided, and the calls to be made in respect thereof, and the terms and conditions of membership of the Company.

“ III. The division and distribution of profits.

“ IV. General meetings of the Company; the appointment by our Secretary of State (if so required by him) of an official director, and the number, qualification, appointment, remuneration, rotation, removal and powers of directors of the Company, and of other officers of the Company.

“ V. The registration of members of the Company,

and the transfer of shares in the capital of the Company.

“VI. The preparation of annual accounts to be submitted to the members at a general meeting.

VII. The audit of those accounts by independent auditors.

“VIII. The making of bye-laws.

“IX. The making and using of official seals of the Company.

“X. The constitution and regulation of committees or local boards of management.

“XI. The making and execution of supplementary deeds of settlement.

“XII. The winding up (in case of need) of the Company's affairs.

“XIII. The government and regulation of the Company and of its affairs.

“XVI. Any other matters usual or proper to be provided for in respect of a Chartered Company.

“26. The deed of settlement shall, before the execution thereof, be submitted to and approved by the Lords of our Council, and a certificate of their approval thereof, signed by the clerk of our council, shall be endorsed on this our Charter, and be conclusive evidence of such approval, and on the deed of settlement; and such deed of settlement shall take effect from the date of such approval, and shall be binding upon the Company, its members, officers and servants, and for all other purposes whatsoever.

“27. The provisions of the deed of settlement or of any supplementary deed, for the time being in force,

may be from time to time repealed, varied or added to by a supplementary deed, made and executed in such manner as the deed of settlement prescribes. Provided that the provisions of any such deed relative to the official director shall not be repealed, varied or added to without the express approval of our Secretary of State.

“28. The members of the Company shall be individually liable for the debts, contracts, engagements and liabilities of the Company, to the extent only of the amount, if any, for the time being unpaid on the shares held by them respectively.

“29. Until such deed of settlement as aforesaid takes effect, the said James, Duke of Abercorn, shall be the president; the said Alexander William George, Duke of Fife, shall be vice-president; and the said Edric Frederick, Lord Gifford, Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Albert Henry George Grey and George Cawston shall be the directors of the Company, and may, on behalf of the Company, do all things necessary or proper to be done under this our Charter by or on behalf of the Company. Provided always that, notwithstanding anything contained in the deed of settlement of the Company, the said James, Duke of Fife, and Albert Henry George Grey shall not be subject to retire from office in accordance with its provisions, but shall be and remain directors of the Company until death, incapacity to act or resignation, as the case may be.

“30. And we do further will, ordain and declare that this our Charter shall be acknowledged by our

governors, and our naval and military officers, and our consuls, and our other officers in our colonies and possessions, and on the high seas and elsewhere, and they shall severally give full force and effect to this our Charter, and shall recognise and be in all things aiding to the Company and its officers

“31. And we do further will, ordain and declare that this our Charter shall be taken, construed and adjudged in the most favourable and beneficial sense for, and to the best advantage of, the Company, as well in our courts as in our United Kingdom, and in our courts, in our colonies and possessions and in our courts in foreign countries or elsewhere, notwithstanding that there may appear to be in this our Charter any non-recital, mis-recital, uncertainty or imperfection.

“32. And we do further will, ordain and declare that this our Charter shall subsist and continue valid, notwithstanding any lawful change in the name of the Company, or in the deed of settlement thereon, such change being made with the previous approval of our Secretary of State, signified under his hand

“33. And we do further will, ordain and declare that it shall be lawful for us, our heirs and successors, and we do hereby expressly reserve to ourselves, our heirs and successors, the right and the power, by writing under the general seal of the United Kingdom, at the end of twenty-five years from the date of this our Charter, and at the end of every succeeding period of ten years, to add, to alter or repeal any of the provisions of this our Charter, or to enact other

provisions in substitution for, or in addition to, any of its existing provisions. Provided that the right and power thus reserved shall be exercised only in relation to so much of this our Charter as relates to administrative and public matters. And we do further expressly reserve to ourselves, our heirs and successors, the right to take over any buildings or works belonging to the Company, and used exclusively or mainly for administrative or public purposes, on payment to the Company of such reasonable compensation as may be agreed, or as, failing agreement, may be settled by the commissioners of our treasury. And we do further appoint, direct and declare that any such writing under the said great seal shall have full effect and be binding upon the Company, its members, officers and servants and all other persons, and shall be of the same force, effect and validity as if its provisions had been part of and contained in these presents.

“34 Provided always, and we do further declare that nothing in this our Charter shall be deemed or taken in anywise to limit or restrict the exercise of any of our rights or powers with reference to the protection of any territories, or with reference to the government thereof, should we see fit to include the same within our dominions.

“35. And we do lastly will, ordain and declare, without prejudice to any power, to repeal this our Charter by law belonging to us, our heirs and successors, or to any of our courts, ministers or officers, independently of this present declaration and reserva-

tion, that in case at any time it is made to appear to us in our Council that the Company has substantially failed to observe and conform to the provisions of this our Charter, or that the Company is not exercising its powers under the concessions, agreements, grants and treaties aforesaid, so as to advance the interests which the petitioners have represented to us to be likely to be advanced by the grant of this our Charter, it shall be lawful for us, our heirs and successors, and we do hereby expressly reserve and take to ourselves, our heirs and successors, the right and power, by writing under the great seal of our United Kingdom, to revoke this, our Charter, and to revoke and annul the privileges, powers and rights thereby granted to the Company.

“In witness whereof, we have caused our letters to be made patent”

CHAPTER VI

THE GENESIS OF THE RECENT TROUBLE

It will now be necessary to revert to what was the outcome of the successive "treks" of the Boers outside the Orange River Settlement, under the stress of an increase, which had become very rapid—even before the diamond and gold discoveries—of British settlers, before the approach of whom the Boers continually receded farther and farther until they found themselves driven into collision with the savagely warlike people of Chaka, Dingan, Cetewayo and others, whether chiefs or natives, in much the same manner that we ourselves were ultimately forced into conflict with the last-named Zulu chief (or king) on account of the transgressions across the Tugela, alleged to have been committed by the Boers of interior Natal some few years sooner, and before they had "trekked" to the northward across the Vaal, that is, whilst they were still Natal colonists, and at a time when the Zulus were on cordially friendly terms with the Natal Government. The reason why I take up this merely sketchy narrative of

Boer movements at the point of the first Zulu war is that this period embraces the origin of all the conflicts and disagreements we have since had with the Boers of the Transvaal. That Zulu war and the conflicts which succeeded it arose from the fact that in 1877 we abruptly annexed the Transvaal to Natal by a proclamation of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and that, upon our thus resuming the governmental authority over the Transvaal Boers and the fresh territory upon which they had squatted, Cetewayo held the British Government responsible for the depredations which he alleged to have been committed upon his territories when the same Boers were still in Natal. The pretext for this reclamation, indeed, was neither without some cause, nor wanting in diplomatic finesse. I believe it was the fact that the Boers from the vicinity of Pietermaritzburg had at one time raided and seized the cattle of the Zulus. This the Zulus did no more to resent or to obtain redress for than to cross the Tugela in the other direction and to seize cattle belonging to the Boers. But the latter had, subsequently, committed another encroachment by appropriating and squatting upon land along the Tugela, where the Zulu kraals made it evident that they were the rightful possessors of the land, whom, nevertheless, the Boers had forcibly expelled. It has been the constant policy of the British Government to avoid conflicts with the native African races as much as possible. Nay, more, it has been

the settled principle of the Colonial Office to treat the native races most considerately, and to protect them from molestation in their own respective locations, and that has frequently brought the British authorities into collision of the Boers, so as to have occasioned an exacerbation of their community against us, which they have been prone to vent by incessant hostility towards the natives, the effects of which had re-acted against us by involving us in the vindictiveness occasioned by persecutions to which we have been constantly opposed. So that the intractably dogged spirit of the Boers has never ceased, for the last forty years at least, to keep us in a double state of turmoil with the Kaffirs and with themselves. On the other hand, it must be admitted that, as in their progress, the Boers have generally borne the brunt of the roughest pioneers' work, and often the most severe fighting, their track has been followed—as it has been recently in the golden Rand—by eager British and other adventurers, fond of enterprise, as well as stimulated by prospects of sudden wealth, for which the Boers have singularly little taste or ambition, and ever on the *qui vive* for fresh fields of industry, commerce and money-making. The Boers, again, are too nervously and, I might say, fanatically exclusive to be at all grateful (even if they condescend to notice it otherwise than as a kind of intrusion) for the development and enrichment of their own country by the more actively-disposed Emigrants, allured by gold, who have

scrambled into the El Dorado in their wake. Indeed, the vast deposits of the precious metal, with which by far the greater part of the Transvaal abounds—large as the expanse is—would very likely have been left undisturbed in the earth if its exhumation had depended upon the Boers themselves. However, they may obtain a large share of it in the not excessive imposts to which they have subjected the mine owners and workers, who are aliens, and whom the Burgher government would rather retain in that relation towards their polity. But the question is, how the Boers of the Transvaal achieved or drifted into that position, especially in respect of Englishmen? To resume the narrative, briefly this is how it came about:—When, in 1877, Cetewayo made his reclamation for the restitution of part of the Zulu territory which had been appropriated by the Natal (then Transvaal) Boers, a British boundary commission had been appointed to investigate the claim. The commissioners reported in favour of the Zulus. The Boers, who had still kindred allies left amongst the Natal colonists who were keen land speculators, then negotiated with them to oppose the retrocession, whilst they got emissaries of their own to interview Sir Bartle Frere in the like sense, suggesting that by merely dilatory tactics the Zulus would probably be provoked into actual hostilities, so as to afford the High Commissioner an opportunity to engage in a war of conquest in the admitted Zulu territory, to result in the annexation of that also. Thus the report of the boundary commissioners was not

divulged until, at length, it was communicated to Cetewayo, with a condition of retrocession that he should immediately disarm and disband his impis, while the Boers, delighted at the prospect of war, during which they themselves could prepare for resistance, secretly encouraged Cetewayo to resist the demand. The condition, in fact, was quite unreasonable, because having admitted that the Zulu land claims were well founded, Sir Bartle Frere had clearly no right to make the retrocession conditional upon a disarming of the Zulus, for which, upon settlement of the question, there was no justification. The condition, however, was insisted upon by the High Commissioner as an *ultimatum*, and the *mot d'ordre* became a war of extermination against the Zulus—heretofore powerful allies, especially against the Boers—which served the double purpose, firstly, of engrossing the attention of the British authorities (averted from the Boer preparations) and of relieving the Boers themselves of the pressure or menacing power of the Zulus close to their own Transvaal borders. Encouraged by the Boers, who promised not to molest him from the north, Cetewayo, so far from complying with the arrogant condition attempted to be imposed upon him, at once massed his impis on his western frontier, whilst the British forces, under Lord Chelmsford, were being prepared to take the initiative in attempting to enforce the Zulu disarmament; and on the 12th of January 1879, the British commander crossed the Tugela in force, advancing with great imprudence with separated corps, so as to expose

a mere isolated detachment to overwhelming attack and annihilation at Isandhlwana, after which, but for the gallant stand made by a few resolute men at Rorke's Drift, the whole colony of Natal would have been left helplessly open to be overrun by the Zulus, whilst the Transvaal Boers were ready to profit by the British disasters to assert their independence and to expel, if not execute (which the most stern amongst them had urged should be done) all the British officials who had been commissioned to carry on the executive provincial government after the annexation of 1877. Early in 1880 the Transvaal Boers began to manifest decisively the policy upon which they were bent. They had assured themselves of cordial sympathy—even to an understanding of combined and concerted action—on the part of their neighbours of the Orange Free State. They applied to Sir Bartle Frere to be reinstated in their autonomy by the revocation of the Act of Annexation, only to receive a flat refusal. They sent deputations to England, to advocate the cause of their independence, in which they were supported in the House of Commons by Mr Courtney and several of the more influential Radicals, as well as by Mr Parnell and the Irish Home Rulers. Even Mr Gladstone, in his characteristically eloquent provincial speeches, espoused their cause, but they failed to secure the assent of the Government. Ultimately, they seized as a *casus belli* upon the complaint of a burgher at Pretoria, that he had been subjected to an unjust and illegal exaction by the local colonial authorities.

On December 13th, 1880, they, at length, revolted, and proclaimed at Heidelberg a Republic, to be presided over by a Triumvirate, consisting of Pretorius, Kruger and Joubert, whereupon the Burghers, commanded by Joubert, promptly attacked the small British force on the spot, under Colonel Anstruther, whom they defeated at Brunkers Spruit, with the immediate consequence that Sir George Colley set about an effort to re-conquer and re-subject the Transvaal, in which attempt he was finally overthrown and killed at Majuba Hill. From the date of that disaster the sequel is of common knowledge. The noble surrender of Gladstone's Government, in the Convention of 1881, was subsequently modified by the concessions recorded in the Convention of 1884, followed progressively. The recall of Sir Bartle Frere necessarily followed the recognition of the Boer Republic in 1881. That both the policy and military operations of Sir George Colley, who had been reinforced by Sir Evelyn Wood, were egregiously mismanaged, is a conclusion quite unavoidable in contemplating the repulses sustained by the forces at Laing's Neck and Ingogo, and their virtual annihilation at Majuba Hill, particularly when it is borne in mind that, whilst Sir George Colley was precipitating military disaster, he was actually engaged in negotiations with Joubert and Kruger to agree upon terms of accommodation. But whereas Sir George Colley in his own justification affirmed that he had no alternative, in view of the long and apparently inexplicable delay of the Boers in answering his

communications, it should not be overlooked that Sir George was hardly supported by the home Government, even in a half-hearted way, whereas the Boers were already being encouraged in their resistance by assurances that Mr Gladstone was favourable to their aspirations, and had formulated his Convention or capitulation, *in petto*. What is irresistibly established by a review of the whole conduct of the Transvaal Boers since their exodus from Graafreynet and their first settlement in interior Natal, in their dealings whether with the natives or with the British authorities—from subjection to whom it was their aim to extricate themselves—is that they have throughout been determined on independence. Their predominant political characteristic, exalted by their aversion to intercourse with anything British, is a profound aversion to rubbing shoulders with aggressive foreigners. But that renders it all the more essential that such ill-advised, and worse concerted, demonstrations should be eschewed as those latterly made by the Uitlanders of Johannesburg, and their speculating gamesters, quite unequal as they have proved themselves to either political or military combinations, adapted to cope with astute reflective leaders (however rough and ready) such as are Kruger, Joubert and others amongst the governing Boers of Pretoria. The example of the comparatively pacific and conciliatory disposition of the Orange River Boers should not be adopted as a standard in dealing with those of the Transvaal.

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My readers will have observed that in this chapter I have acted on the principle of "nothing extenuate." No man who aimed at writing an impartial book dealing with the Transvaal question could deny that the policy and polity of the Dutch Boers in South Africa during the present century have been in some respects open to censure. But before judgment is passed upon the actions of the Boers, their position, the difficulties they have had to contend with, the manner in which they have been hunted from one settlement to another, should, I think, in all fairness be taken into account. When this is done, I believe the historian of the future, able to calmly and dispassionately survey men and things free from a cloud of prejudice, will conclude that, considering their environment, the Boers were a singularly brave, estimable and God-fearing race.

CHAPTER VII

THE GOLDEN TRANSVAAL—BOERS AND UITLANDERS

LORD DUNMORE, in the able paper he contributed to the *Pall Mall Magazine* for January respecting the rise and growth of Johannesburg, aptly quoted, as the heading of his article, the well-known lines of Ovid :—

“ Aurea nunc vere sunt saecula : plurimus auro
Venit horos : Auro conciliatur amor.”

Lord Dunmore utilised the Latin poet's aphorism, that by gold men frequently attain the highest honour and can win even love itself, as an introduction to the fact he records, viz., that on the 10th July 1895 the chairman of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange mounted his rostrum and announced that the output of gold from the Rand during the previous month had reached 200,941 ounces, valued at £775,000. The total output for the year 1895 was, I may here state, 2,277,685 ounces, being an increase of over 250,000 ounces on 1894, and of about 800,000 ounces on the output for 1893. In the article referred to, the writer quotes figures to show that the Witwatersrand Gold Field yields to the world over 25 per cent. of its gold supply, although it was only

in the month of May 1887 that the first output was registered. Besides the Rand mines there are many others in the Transvaal, and the value of the total yield from the gold mines of the State during last year was probably not less than £30,000,000.

The Transvaal is, without doubt, the richest gold-producing country in the world, and its fame as such and the fortunes that have been made there, have not unnaturally attracted thither all sorts and conditions of men and women from all parts of the world, mad to acquire wealth by some means or other, and perhaps not over particular as to the means. As a consequence of this invasion from without, the population of Johannesburg has been increasing in numbers in a marvellous manner. The inhabitants are, as might be expected, not exactly the pick of Christendom, and even many of the men at the top of the tree are hardly the class that would be admitted into any respectable West End Club. It is a mixed—terribly mixed, however, regarded—mass, that inhabits the golden city, and, though these people have brought wealth to the Transvaal by developing its mineral resources, it must be remembered that they have acquired wealth in the process. It must also not be forgotten that they came to the Transvaal of their own free will and cognisant of its laws, the disabilities imposed on aliens by the Transvaal Constitution, and the dislike of the Boers to have their pastoral life infringed on by a crowd of hungry financiers, ready to trample down everything and everybody in their mad pursuit of gold.

The public have heard a considerable amount during the past few months, and are doubtless fated to hear a good deal more for some time to come, respecting the grievances of the Uitlanders. Knowing what I do of the motley community embraced in the latter appellation, I cannot help feeling some little surprise and a considerable amount of disgust at the manner in which the somewhat credulous British public have been "misled" in regard to the Uitlanders and their "grievances." People here at home, or at any rate a large number of them, I verily believe, imagine that the Uitlanders are a highly-respectable, law-abiding English community resident in the Transvaal, who have been ground down under the heel of President Kruger and his myrmidons, denied liberty of speech, liberty of the press, and every other liberty and privilege, save and except the liberty to exist and toil and moil week after week, and heap up riches for Kruger and his Boer *confrères*.

Of course, such a conception as this is simply pure burlesque. In no country in the world are aliens admitted to the full right of citizenship without having previously given some indications of their intention to become peaceful and loyal subjects of the land in which they may have settled. Why should the Transvaal be any exception to the generally received law of other nations? What the Uitlanders have all along not asked, but, in fact, demanded with menaces, has, in effect, been that they, *qua* aliens, should have all the rights and privileges of citizenship without any of its

burdens. All this sound and fury in the Press about the franchise, taxation without representation, the education laws of the Transvaal, and so on, has been largely, if not altogether, a spurious agitation. What the Uitlanders have all along desired, and what they still hope to achieve, is to get the Rand to themselves, not from patriotic or in any degree pure motives, but simply and solely from a hankering after filthy lucre, and a desire to acquire wealth even more rapidly than has been the case up to the present.

But even supposing that the grievances of the Uitlanders were substantial, it was evidently their duty to trust to the good offices of President Kruger to get the Volksraad to consider and redress them. Men who, of their own free will, repair to and settle in a foreign country, must take the laws of that country as they find them, and cannot reasonably expect to have those laws altered at their behest, simply because they may in some respect or other find them irksome, or, where not irksome, merely because they dislike them.

I might very well leave this part of the question here, but as I fear that a considerable number of people in this country still entertain the idea that President Kruger is as a ruler far more autocratic than the Czar, and that liberty of speech and liberty of the Press are totally unknown within the confines of the South African Republic, I think it best to touch on these few matters before concluding this chapter. As regards liberty of speech, anyone who

has read even a very brief *resumé* of the speeches at meetings of the National Reform Union held in Johannesburg, will hardly conclude that there is any restriction in this respect within the Transvaal. I think I am safe in saying that in no European country, Great Britain not excepted, would such language in respect of the rulers of the country, as was indulged in by speakers at these meetings, have been allowed to pass unnoticed. One can hardly imagine a National Reform Union of French subjects, resident in Berlin, assembling together in public meeting and denouncing the German Emperor and his Government in language similar to that employed by some of the gentlemen I allude to in regard to President Kruger and his Government. The speeches of these persons were nothing but sedition from beginning to end, and though President Kruger, in the light of recent events no doubt, acted properly in treating the speeches and the speakers with the contempt they deserve, nevertheless, the fact that he did so treat them in this manner can hardly be put forward in support of the contention that his disposition is aggressively autocratic, and that liberty of speech is an unknown commodity within the South African Republic.

In respect of the liberty of the Press, the charges which have been levelled against President Kruger in newspapers are still more outrageous. A paper, termed *The Johannesburg Critic*, has from time to time inserted in its columns what are termed "open letters." A number of these letters have

been republished in volume form in this country under the title of *Open Letters to Celebrities and Others connected with South Africa*. The title hardly appears to me to be an apt one considering that one of the personages addressed in this volume is Father Christmas, whom the writer terms "Reverend and Hoary Sir," but let that pass. I only refer to this volume in order that my readers, if they think fit, may verify the one or two quotations I am about to take therefrom. Now, I am no believer in what are termed "personalities" in journalism. I am quite aware of the fact, and I very much deplore it, that the Press of late years has shown a fondness for this vulgar and degrading form of "literature." Nevertheless, this personal kind of writing may be well done or it may be very badly done, and on the whole, I have no hesitation in saying that the letters in question are throughout models of how it is possible for a man who has but a feeble grasp of it to maul the English language. But though feeble, badly written, these letters are interesting, inasmuch as they show clearly enough that the allegation made against the Transvaal Government, that it restricts the liberty of the Press is not quite correct. In the volume to which I have alluded there is a letter addressed to President Kruger. Here is the manner in which the editor of a paper published in the Transvaal, in which country we are asked to believe the Press is muzzled and hampered and

not permitted to write fully and freely in regard to men and things, refers to the head of the State:—

“SIR,—I know you believe in God. So, in His Holy Name, I will address you. Turn over the pages of your Bible and read where you will at random and tell me if you can find one single passage in which the oppressor has not fallen sooner or later under the wrath Divine. Saul stood head and shoulders above his fellows, and yet he fell on his own sword at last. Ahab coveted his neighbour’s vineyard, and the dogs licked his blood at the pool of Samaria. Pharaoh persecuted the children of Israel, and he and his host perished in the Red Sea. One more (?) text and I have finished. Remember this, ‘Whoso abaseth himself shall be exalted, and whoso exalteth himself shall be abased.’

“You have raised your horn aloft, and have pushed and thrust with it hither and thither as it pleased you, and have said to yourself, ‘Who shall withstand the power of my might?’ Sir, you have been tried in the balance and found wanting. All the good gifts of God, all His infinite mercies have been showered on you in vain, and while you dream of enlarging your barns, and possessing yourself in ease and fatness, your soul has already been demanded of you.

“There is no need for me at the present moment to recapitulate how you abuse the trust which has been placed in your hands, how you have

broken promise after promise, how you have permitted a venal and hireling crew to fatten on the industry by which your land has prospered, how you have not only set your face against the reasonable demands of those who have made you what you are, but how you have turned your face away from the poor and the destitute, and with an overflowing treasury, insisted upon heaping up dues on the very necessities of life, which your own sluggish and unprogressive burghers have refused to supply.

“More still; you have attempted to turn a free Republic into an autocratic oligarchy. You have done all that in you lay to bring the natural representation of the people into a court of appeal, of which you were to be the final judge. You have endeavoured to reduce the bench of justice into a mere puppet of your own arbitrary will. You have dreamt of a power by the side of which the most absolute rule in the whole world would appear to be a liberal and popular Government.”

And so on, and so on. In the book from which I have quoted, every leading official of the Transvaal Government is vilified and vituperated in language even more violent and malignant than that applied to President Kruger. I must apologise to my readers for inflicting on them such a long extract from this book. I only do it to show that in the Transvaal Republic the Press has not only liberty but licence. One would very much like to

know what is this writer's conception of an "autocratic oligarchy," and one would also very much like to know what would have been this writer's fate if he had indited and published under an "autocratic oligarchy" such observations as those which he has addressed to the President and State Officials of the country under whose protection he was living and whose asylum he has so outraged

CHAPTER VIII

JAMESON'S RAID: THE STORY OF A TRAGIC FIASCO

ON the 26th December 1895, the National Reform Union at Johannesburg issued a manifesto to the people of the Transvaal, detailing the reforms demanded by the Uitlanders. These reforms were as follows:—

1. The establishment of the Republic as a true republic under a constitution approved of by the whole nation.

2. An amicable franchise and fair representation.

3. The equality of the Dutch and English languages.

4. The responsibility to the legislature of the heads of the great departments.

5. The removal of religious disabilities.

6. The establishment of independent courts of justice, with adequate pay for the judges to be properly secured.

7. Liberal education.

8. An efficient civil service, with adequate pay and pension system.

9. Free trade in African products.

The manifesto concluded with these ominous words :
“ We shall expect an answer in plain terms, according to your deliberate judgment, at the meeting to be held on January 6th.”

On the 29th December, or just three days after the date of this manifesto, Mr Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, despatched to Sir Hercules Robinson, Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa, the following extraordinary cablegram :—“ Strictly confidential. It has been suggested, although I do not think it probable, that an endeavour might be made to force matters at Johannesburg to a head by some one in the service of the Company advancing from Bechuanaland Protectorate with police. Were this to be done, I should have to take action under Articles 22 and 8 of the Charter. Therefore, if necessary, but not otherwise, remind Rhodes of these Articles, and intimate to him that, in your opinion, he would not have my support, and point out the consequences which would follow.” The following day, December 30th, the High Commissioner cabled to Mr Chamberlain as follows :—“ I learn on good authority movement at Johannesburg has collapsed. Internal divisions have led to the complete collapse of the movement, and leaders of the National Union will now probably make the best terms they can with President Kruger.” The same afternoon, the Secretary for the Colonies cabled to Sir Hercules Robinson :—“ Your telegram received. Are you sure Jameson has not moved in consequence of collapse? See my telegram of yesterday.” A

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quarter of an hour subsequent to forwarding this cablegram, Mr Chamberlain received the following one from the High Commissioner:—"Information reached me this morning that Dr Jameson was preparing to start yesterday evening for Johannesburg with a force of police. I telegraphed at once as follows:—'To the Resident Commissioner in the Bechuanaland Protection. There is a rumour here that Dr Jameson has entered the Transvaal with an armed force. Is this correct? If it is, send a special messenger on a fast horse directing him to return at once. A copy of this telegram shall be sent to the officers with him, and they shall be told Her Majesty's Government repudiate this violation of the territory of a friendly State, and that they are rendering themselves liable to severe penalties.' If I hear from Newton that the police have entered the Transvaal, shall I inform President Kruger that Her Majesty's Government repudiate Jameson's action?" A little later on the same day, the Colonial Secretary received the following cablegraphic despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson:—"I have received the following from the British Agency in the South African Republic:—'30th December. Very urgent. President of South African Republic sent for me, and the General then read to us a telegram from Landdrost of Zeerust, that a number of British troops have entered the Transvaal Republic from Mafeking and cut the wire, and are now on the march to Johannesburg. I assured the President that I could not believe the force consisted of British troops. The General

then said they may be Mashonaland or Bechuanaland police, but he believes the information that a force had entered the State, and he said he would take immediate steps to stop their progress. His Honour requested me to ask Your Excellency whether this force is composed of British troops or police under Your Excellency's control, or whether you have any information of the movement?' I replied that I had heard a rumour to the same effect, and have telegraphed to inquire, adding that, if true, the step has been taken without my authority or cognisance, and that I have repudiated the act and ordered the force to return immediately." The same night Mr Chamberlain cabled to the High Commissioner as follows:—"In reply to your telegrams relative to the situation in South African Republic, your action is cordially approved. I presume that Mr C. J. Rhodes will co-operate with you in recalling Administrator of Matabeleland. Keep me informed fully of political situation in all its respects. It is not clearly understood here. Leave no stone unturned to prevent mischief." The following morning, Tuesday, December 31st, Sir Hercules Robinson cabled, that in consequence of an urgent telegram from the British Agent in the Transvaal, he had instructed the Agent to send at once a thoroughly trustworthy mounted express with the following message to Dr Jameson who was to be met on the road:—"Her Majesty's Government entirely disapprove your conduct in invading Transvaal with armed force. Your action has been repudiated. You are ordered to return at once from the country, and

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will be held personally responsible for the consequences of your unauthorised and most improper proceeding."

And now to revert to Dr Jameson and his proceedings. On Sunday, December 29th, the late Administrator of the Chartered Company's territory, in company with Sir John Willoughby, the Commandant of the Chartered Company's forces, started from Mafeking with a force, whose numbers have been variously stated at from 400 to 600 men, besides eight Maxim and three Whitworth guns. The party cut the telegraph wires, and in crossing the Transvaal frontier they were met by an official of the Republic who advised them to retire, and warned them of the consequences of their act. To this caution Dr Jameson replied in writing, as follows:—

"SIR,—I am in receipt of your protest of above date, and have to inform you that I intend proceeding with my original plan, which had no hostile intentions against the people of the Transvaal, but we are here in reply to an invitation from the principal residents of the Rand to assist them in their demand for justice and the ordinary rights of every citizen of a civilised State."

The messengers despatched with the order of recall overtook Jameson close to the Elan River, and received a verbal message that the orders had been received and would be "attended to."

President Kruger had no intention whatever

of allowing this party to make a triumphal entry into Johannesburg, and the burghers who had been commandeered, on the first news of Jameson's party having crossed the frontier, intercepted him at Krugersdorp, some fifteen miles from Johannesburg. Here the fighting commenced at one a.m. on New Year's Day. On the approach of Jameson to Krugersdorp, he gave notice to the women and children to leave the town, as he was going to take it. He was, however, a little bit premature. The road to Krugersdorp lay directly between two kopjes, and these were both strongly held by the Boers, who led him towards them by those tactics which have been always employed with so much success in Kaffir warfare. Small bodies kept retreating before him and gradually brought him to their first main position. Finding the fire too hot for him there, he could only throw some shells into the town or the court house, and then took the other road through Randfontein, by Brink's farmhouse at Dornkop. At Randfontein two troopers were killed, but again the Boers reserved their full attack. Beyond Dornkop, they commanded the road strongly on two sides, and as the night closed in, Jameson seems to have had them all round him. He was on a small kopje and some ground stretching beneath, but the enemy were overlooking him from four sides.

It seems that on Wednesday afternoon (January 1) the Boers had not more than 1500 men on the field, but during the night the different contingents coming in brought their numbers up to some 4000 men, all



DR JAMESON.

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mounted and armed with Martini-Henry rifles. Their ammunition, which had run short during the attack on Krugersdorp, had been augmented by special trains running out from Johannesburg. The line between Langlaate and Krugersdorp was blown up in one place but not until after the supplies had been sent, so that the defence committee only succeeded in angering the Boers without doing the smallest good to Jameson. Through the night the English shelled the Boer's position, and tried to find them by aid of the electric light, but all in vain. Hidden behind the boulders and sheltered by the rising ground, they were perfectly protected. In the morning the Chartered Company's men were caught in a trap, from which the only escape was to break through the line of Boer marksman. Under Major Coventry, a gallant charge was made up to the kopjes, but the horses were shot under them, and the men had to creep to the reeds for protection.

After four hours' fighting, at about nine a.m., it became apparent that everything was lost, and Jameson hoisted the white flag.

It has been stated, since Jameson's arrival in England, that the white flag was hoisted not because further fighting was seen to be hopeless, but owing to the fact that the command of Her Majesty's Government for Jameson to retire was not received till the battle of Krugersdorp was drawing to a close.

The Boers did not at once respond, but the doctor's men piled their arms in the centre of a square and

formed up. What caused the delay does not seem certain, but it is understood that the Boers sent back for further orders. Then they came down with a sort of rush, and took the whole force prisoners, and with them all the arms and ammunition. The wounded men were placed in Brink's farmhouse, which was converted into a sort of hospital, whilst the prisoners were marched into Krugersdorp. Many were so exhausted that they could hardly sit on their horses, and they seem to have been treated with every consideration. As soon as food could be obtained, it was given them, and so famished were they that they were fainting for the want of it. In the hospital, Boers and English were lying together, and were soon tended by sisters of mercy and ministers of religion, as at Krugersdorp the people had been watching and reporting the fight with eager anxiety. Several mine managers saw it all through, and as soon as the Boers had moved off, went out with parties of Kaffirs to bury the dead. Many horses lay about the field, as the Boers aimed particularly at them. Judging from the numbers of killed and wounded, the shooting does not appear to have been particularly good on either side; but, undoubtedly, the Boers were far superior in this matter to the Company's men. Rumour had long asserted that these farmers had lost their skill in shooting, now that there is so little big game about the country. The event seems to show that, though they may not be as expert as their forefathers, they were far superior

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to British soldiers, even when trained and practised so continuously as the Bechuanaland police.

I am, I may remark, indebted for the greater portion of this narrative of the fight to the excellent account of the same sent by the special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Johannesburg.

There can be no doubt whatever that Jameson, when he crossed the border, not only under-rated the enormous difficulties of the task before him, but was woefully in error as to the action of the Uitlanders of Johannesburg. So far as can be ascertained, Jameson's force had started from Mafeking with only three biscuits and one tin of "gully," or Chicago tinned beef, per man. The supplies which ought to have met them from Johannesburg, with 250 horses, 100 mules and four waggons, fell into the hands of the Boers at Riet Spruit, near Krugersdorp, after the fight was all over. The doctor's intention was, it is said, to take Krugersdorp, and use the railway line as a means of getting at Johannesburg. Undoubtedly he expected to meet there a reinforcement of at least 2000 mounted men from Johannesburg, with the supplies above mentioned. All he did, in fact, receive was a message from the Defence Committee, saying that they had concluded an armistice with the President until the High Commissioner had been up to Pretoria, and that, therefore, they could render him no assistance. With a gesture of disgust Jameson tore up the paper, and said, "I have done with Johannesburg." Here, too, was given him the proclamation of the High Commissioner, calling upon

the British subjects to disarm, and bidding every loyal subject refuse aid or countenance. His plight was, indeed, desperate from that moment. What had been done by the Johannesburg Committee is incomprehensible on any supposition, save that at the last moment they "funkt" a fight. Without doubt they had given Jameson an invitation, and then knowing he was out on the veld with his force, they concluded an armistice, which made his fate a certainty.

The deputation to Pretoria consisted of Messrs L. Phillips, Max Langermann, Abe Bailey and another, and they met the special commission of the Transvaal Government, consisting of the President, the Chief Justice and some more. They claimed on their return to have received a favourable reply on the different points of their manifesto, but the only actual arrangement was for a suspension of hostile movements for some days, and a promise that, except in case of riot, the burghers would not enter Johannesburg.

The Boers brought their prisoners to Pretoria. The feeling against them ran high among the simple farmers of the Transvaal, who were naturally annoyed at the wanton aggression of their territory and at being called away from their farms to defend it. It is certain that, had it not been for the restraining influence of the commandant, Jameson would assuredly have been shot in the public square of Pretoria. Immediately after the news of the engagement had reached England, Mr Chamberlain

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cabled to President Kruger asking him to deal with the prisoners generously, and to show magnanimity in the hour of victory. To this the President replied on January 4th, that the case of the prisoners would be decided strictly according to the traditions of the Republic, and that there would be no punishment which was not in accordance with the law. The case of Dr Jameson and his associates was referred to the judges of the High Court of the South African Republic, who sentenced Dr Jameson and his officers to be shot. The President, however, declined to sign the warrant necessary to carry this sentence into effect, and decided instead to hand the prisoners over to Her Majesty's Government on the Natal frontier as soon as Johannesburg had been disarmed. Everyone is aware of the Queen's message to the President, recognising his clemency and magnanimity. The whole civilised world has been at one with Her Majesty in so thinking. The President of the South African Republic, instead of appearing as the haughty, aggressive, overbearing, merciless autocratic individual, that he has been depicted in certain quarters, has proved himself to be a man singularly merciful and conciliatory.

No impartial man can help admitting that President Kruger's conduct generally, when flushed with victory and when invaders and Uitlanders were within his power, has been magnificent, magnanimous, merciful and moderate to a degree. The Uitlanders have, till they sold Jameson by behaving like poltroons, received far more sympathy than they

deserve. Let us not forget that the Boers have rights also, and that their rights should not be trampled under foot, simply because Johannesburg is overrun with an alien population gathered from the four corners of the earth, a population, too, which, after indulging in bluster and braggadocio and uttering threats and menaces to the head of the State under whose protection it was living, showed clearly enough when the time came for it to act, that it had no stomach for the fight.

CHAPTER IX

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

I DO not envy the historian of the future who has to deal with the Transvaal question in all its ramifications, and endeavours to do so impartially and truthfully. There have probably been more barefaced and malignant falsehoods told, either by word of mouth or in the Press, in regard to the momentous occurrences of the last three months in South Africa than in respect of any similar events in the world's history. The attempt to sift the wheat from the chaff in the mass of material at one's disposal, is a delicate and difficult, I might almost say an insuperable, one, but I have made the attempt carefully and conscientiously, and I believe that this book is the first unbiassed endeavour to deal with men and matters in the South African Republic wholly and solely in the interest of truth and justice. I can at least honestly say that I have no axes to grind, no ulterior objects in view in inditing and publishing this work. My sole object is the quest for truth, and with that

end in view, I care nothing for the feelings of individuals.

With these few preliminary remarks, I shall now return to the various and varied circumstances connected with Dr Jameson's raid. In the last chapter I traced events down to the defeat and surrender of the Chartered Company's forces to the Boers at Krugersdorp. Let us now see what was happening at Johannesburg all this time. Let us discover what the pot-valiant warriors of the Rand, who had talked so loftily and threatened so constantly and continuously, were doing when the invasion that they had invited actually came about. These men of blood and thunder had set fire to the powder magazine, and so frightened were they at the smoke and noise that they, metaphorically of course, scampered off in sheer confusion. So far as I can ascertain, the news of Jameson's raid reached Johannesburg on Monday, December the 30th. The naughty children of the Rand, who had only after all been playing with fire, were terribly alarmed. That same day President Kruger issued a proclamation calling on all burghers to defend the country. The following day brought a proclamation from the High Commissioner directing all British subjects to disarm. In reply to this proclamation, the Johannesburg warriors telegraphed to Sir Hercules Robinson that they had absolute information that a large force of Boers had been commandeered to Johannesburg, with directions to shoot down all concerned in the agitation, and the High Commis-

sioner was, accordingly, called upon to use his intervention to protect the lives of these financial fire-brands. It seems now that the source of the "news" wired to the High Commissioner was the prolific imagination of the Johannesburgers, who were in that state of abject funk when a man gets frightened at his own shadow and alarmed at the sound of his own footsteps. While Jameson was waiting for the Johannesburgers, the Johannesburgers were, to use a vulgar expression, trying to save their own bacon. They, accordingly, decided to do nothing in regard to Jameson, and an armistice was concluded, the Johannesburgers making abundant safeguards for their own preservation, but insisting on no stipulations whatever in regard to the safety of Jameson and his party. On the 5th January an ultimatum was presented by the Boer Government to the Johannesburgers, demanding the surrender of their arms as a condition precedent to the discussion and consideration of grievances. In order to effect this, the British agent, Sir Jacobus De Wet, was sent with despatches by the High Commissioner from Pretoria with a message which he conveyed in the following words:—

"Men of Johannesburg, friends, and fellow-subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen" (which was cheered to the echo), "I regret I am before you under such painful circumstances." He then went on to say that he sympathised with the grievances Johannesburg complained of, but circumstances had

so changed that he had to ask them to do a thing which would perhaps pain many a heart, but he begged them as men to use their judgment, and not to allow their English blood, English courage and English valour to override their judgment. Every human being unbiassed in mind believed in pluck, perseverance and determination in Englishmen. (Loud cheers) He had to announce that Jameson and his brave fellows — misguided, but brave — (tremendous cheering)—were prisoners. A terrible mistake was undoubtedly made by someone, which had placed them in a most awkward and painful position, and he rejoiced to announce that Jameson and his men were to be honourably handed over to Her Majesty's Government—(loud cheers)—and to be dealt with according to the laws of Great Britain, but one condition was that the men of Johannesburg should lay down their arms. ("We will not," and prolonged groans.) As their friend and loyal subject and servant of the Queen, from the time of his manhood to the present moment, he appealed to them as Britons not to act idiotically, not to refuse to give up their arms. (Cries of "Who to?") To-day was not the time to let feelings of enthusiasm carry them away. It was the time to be guided by judgment and counsel, and to let these prevail over national sentiment. He was expressing the wishes of the High Commissioner, who at his request allowed him to come, and, if possible, avert bloodshed. He appealed to the men of Johannesburg to set aside the national feelings by which they

were fired. They might fight bravely like lions, but he would tell them it was utterly impossible for the men in Johannesburg to hold their position. (Dissent.) If they fought, with all their pluck and determination, they would have to die. (Cries of "Never.") If they did not care for their own lives, as men with brave hearts did not, let them consider women and children — (cheers) — and many other innocent people who had had nothing to do with the movement. Let them consider the position of this town, which might be in ashes if Johannesburg persevered in the present course. He put it, could they by all their pluck and bravery hold this place? They would be starved out, they would perish from famine and thirst. He was in sympathy with the men of Johannesburg, but begged and besought them as a fellow - subject, and as representative of the Queen on behalf of the High Commissioner, to consider their position. They were not surrendering through cowardice. There was no disgrace in that. (Cries of "What are the conditions?") Well the Government of the Transvaal was disposed to be lenient.

The disarmament proceeded somewhat tardily owing to the, as it now appears, false statements made by the National Reform Committee in regard to the number of rifles at their disposal. These gentlemen had in boasting language declared they had 30,000 rifles available, and the Boers naturally wanted these 30,000. When the time for disarmament came, it

seems there were only 3000 rifles, and as the Boer people were unable to conclude which statement of the Johannesburgers was true and which was false, they set about searching offices and mines for those 30,000 rifles which existed only in the perfervid imagination of the National Reform Committee. The falsehoods of the Committee were not, however, confined to this question of arms. In respect to Jameson they appear to have, from the very first, deliberately given false information to their dupes. Even after his force had been defeated and made prisoners, various members of the Reform Committee assured the dupes, who, with singular credulity believed in them, that the doctor was safe at Laanglaagte, that he would be in Johannesburg shortly, and so on, etc. When the truth as to Jameson's defeat and capture did leak out, it is hardly to be wondered at that the Johannesburg populace, who were not financiers and, therefore, had not that peculiarly constructed organ which, for want of a better appellation, I may term the financial conscience, were exceeding wroth, and mobbed the offices and houses of the members of the National Reform Committee

I cannot help pitying these magnates of the Rand, to whom, in their greed for gold, all these terrible troubles have been solely due.

Before I leave this matter of the warlike Johannesburgers, I should like to refer to the graphic account given by the special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in regard to the composition of the "force" with which, if we can believe them, the financiers

of Johannesburg proposed to overthrow the Boer Government and establish a plutocratic Republic. In Government Square at Johannesburg and the other open places in the centre of the town were, remarked the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, being drilled the most extraordinary motley and mongrel force ever set eyes on.

“To distinguish one corps from another different ribbons were worn round the arms, and of these showy adornments the wearers seemed inordinately proud. From the variety of colours, their nationalities must have been as numerous as the peoples of the globe; but in the squads and companies I saw they were curiously and quaintly intermingled. Clerks and shops assistants made up the majority, and they were occupied in the elementary lessons of military drill. ‘Form fours,’ ‘Open order,’ and so forth were the words of command given. Very few had rifles, and those who had seized and handled their arms in a way that made one careful to give them a wide berth. Flourished about like a walking-stick, a Lee-Metford is a dangerous weapon. All this would have been very amusing on Drury Lane stage, but it had a ghastly side to it when you knew that Jameson was fighting hard within twenty miles and the whole country up in arms. What I thought was of the awful responsibility that rested on the heads of the men who were taking these ‘recruits’ out as food for Boer powder. Another funny side to it was the way in which smartly-dressed ladies were driving about armed with mysterious passwords to go

through the lines of outposts. Inside the town it was a gigantic burlesque."

This would, indeed, all have been very laughable were it not so serious. But what could be expected of such a motley and hybrid community as is that of Johannesburg, a community, the weak points of which, I may remark, has been happily and effectively satirised in an article, entitled "Johannesburg the Golden," which appeared in a recent number of *Temple Bar*? What can be more pungent, more truthful or more vivid than the following remarks in regard to Johannesburg "Society"? — The *elite*, the mine owners, and original possessors of land—all millionaires many times over—taking them collectively, hardly display those qualities which "stamp the rank of Vere de Vere." The women are vulgar and illiterate, with dyed hair and artificial complexions, they wear outrageously loud toilettes, and are plastered with diamonds at all hours. Most of them are former members of theatrical touring companies, barmaids or shopgirls, and they are to be seen all day long driving about the streets in their gorgeous carriages. The men are principally of the pronounced Hebrew type, loud in manners and dress, ostentatiously drinking champagne at a pound a bottle, at all hours of the day, and causing the beholder to reflect upon the quotation from the "Lady Slavey": "Can I not do as I like? Am I not a millionaire?"

But *revenons à nos moutons*. After various discussions between the High Commissioner and President Kruger, in which the latter evinced that grand

magnanimity of character which has shone out before the whole world, the President of the Transvaal Republic voluntarily handed over to the representative of Her Majesty every one of the men who had invaded his country. It is interesting to relate that before these prisoners were released, they drew up a memorial to President Kruger, thanking the Government and the officials with whom they had been brought in contact during their incarceration, for the great kindness shown to them throughout. And here I must leave this matter.

CHAPTER X

GERMANY, PORTUGAL AND GREAT BRITAIN

DURING the first ten days of January 1896, the great level-headed British public lashed itself into a wild state of fury over a not very important, but perhaps somewhat indiscreet, cablegram despatched by the German Emperor to President Kruger. Now, I have neither the time nor the inclination to enter into any recondite dissertation in respect of the high German and low German branches of the great Teutonic family. Nor shall I, as some rather pedantic newspapers in this country have done, attempt to prove that the Transvaal Boers, in respect of racial descent, have more affinity to the English than with the German. A discussion of a matter of this kind, however interesting to the ethnologist, is not of very great practical importance. Rightly or wrongly, Germany has for some time past evinced a profound interest in the Transvaal, in which, it must be remembered, there is a very

large German community. We can see this plainly by reference to the official White Book relating to the affairs of the South African Republic, which was published at Berlin on February 12th. The very first despatch in this book from the German Foreign Secretary to the German Ambassador in London is dated more than a year ago. In this despatch the Foreign Secretary states that the beginning and end of German policy, with respect to the Transvaal, is the protection of the material interests of Germany, which require the maintenance of the Transvaal as an independent State in the measure of the Treaty of 1884, and the upholding of the *status quo* guarding the railways and the harbour of Delagoa Bay. Dr Jameson's idea that Rhodesia would become the commercial union amalgamation or federation of all South African States was fated to be antagonistic to German interests. On 30th December 1895 a telegram was sent from Berlin to the German Consul at Pretoria, instructing him to impress strongly upon the Government of the Republic that all provocation must be most rigorously avoided if the good will of Germany was to be preserved. The very same day the German residents at Pretoria forwarded a telegram to the Emperor William imploring his immediate intervention to avert impending misery and bloodshed. On 31st December, the Foreign Secretary in Berlin despatched a cablegram to the German Consul in Pretoria, which might undoubtedly have been attended with momentous consequences. It informed him that in case of emergency, but then