

“ Received *January 3<sup>rd</sup>*, 1896.

“ From  
Wilhelm I. R.,  
Berlin.

“ To  
President Kruger,  
Pretoria.

“ I tender you my sincere congratulations that without appealing to the help of friendly Powers you and your people have been successful in opposing with your own forces the armed bands that have broken into your country to disturb the peace, in restoring order, and in maintaining the independence of your country against attacks from without.

“ WILHELM I. R.”

The publication of this officious message, with its hint about the help of other Powers being available in a matter where the Paramount Power had intervened, coming at a moment when feeling was very sore and tender, aroused a storm of anger. The Emperor was amazed at the fire he had kindled. It was only for a moment, if at all, that Dutch opinion wavered. *Ons Land*, a mischievous Dutch organ at the Cape, alone had an article palliating the attempt of Germany “to look after her own interests” in the Transvaal, and the Transvaal policy of playing off Germany against England. The *Cape Times* at once drew attention to this, and appealed to Mr. Hofmeyr, as the recognised leader of the party of which *Ons Land* aspires to be the organ, to speak out and disown the heresy, and Mr. Hofmeyr at once addressed this letter to the Editor:—

“ Allow me, in connection with your leader of this morning, to say publicly what I have repeatedly stated to friends privately ever since Kaiser Wilhelm’s blundering utterances on recent South African occurrences became known.

“ I took his interference as mere bluster, not deserving any serious consideration, except in so far as it was calculated to create misleading impressions, or to raise false hopes in the Transvaal. Nobody knows better than His Imperial Majesty that the first German shot fired against England would be likely to be followed by a combined French and Russian attack on ‘das Vaterland,’ and by the acquisition by England of all German colonies, Damaraland included, which would not be an unmixed evil for the Cape.”

From that moment the attitude of Dutch South Africa was beyond a doubt, and Dutch and English united in Mr. Hofmeyr’s imperative “Hands off!”

This was the bitterest pill of all that were prescribed for the Kaiser's telegram. It was not till some months afterwards that speeches of the German Foreign Minister, and a published White Book, revealed the fact that Germany's half-avowed denial of British Paramountcy in South Africa included a claim to object to any such South African Customs Union as has been the avowed ideal of South African and British statesmen for many years! In January the practical reply to the Leyds-Berlin intrigue and the vapourings of the German Press was the prompt commissioning of a special service squadron ("for Delagoa Bay," was the popular guess) in readiness to reinforce any of the fleets already in commission or to constitute a separate force to be sent in any direction where danger might exist. The new squadron, which was placed under command of Rear-Admiral A. T. Dale, was composed of two first-class battleships, the *Revenge* and *Royal Oak*, the two first-class cruisers *Gibraltar* and *Thesus*, and the two second-class cruisers *Charybdis* and *Hermione*—all vessels of recent design and powerful armament, together with a flotilla of torpedo boat destroyers; all duly assembled at Spithead on the 18th January, in complete readiness to proceed to sea. The ease and rapidity with which the dockyard authorities at Portsmouth and Chatham fitted out this squadron without any fuss or special preparation was regarded at the time as showing that our resources in officers and men are larger than some critics have contended, and was quoted as a proof of a vast improvement in naval organization of recent years. At the same time the staff of artisans in Her Majesty's dockyards was largely augmented, and tenders were invited from private shipbuilding firms for the construction and immediate commencement of ten additional cruisers. The diplomatic situation soon simmered down, but popular excitement continued long after the slightest danger of a rupture had passed away, and the scenes in the London theatres and music halls, where jingoism of a very pronounced type held high carnival, forcibly recalled the popular frenzies about Russia and Constantinople.

## Chapter XVII

## PICKING UP THE BROKEN CROCKERY

THE pre-occupation of British Transvaal diplomacy for the first few months of 1896 was with an invitation to President Kruger to come to England in state in a British man-o'-war, and have a square talk with Mr. Chamberlain. The invitation arose from the usual "authorized" misunderstandings about the President's own wishes, and the answer to it was for months regarded as the battle-ground of Afrikaners *versus* Hollanders, the former wanting the President to go, the latter resisting a step which might lead to a friendly settlement. Finally, when the Government had kept the matter hanging on to an insulting length of time, Mr. Chamberlain insisted on "Yes" or "No," and, Dr. Leyds having returned in the nick of time from Germany and Holland, the Hollanders won and the answer was "No."

The following was, in brief, the course of the negotiations :—

"The original invitation to the President in January distinctly mentioned the condition that Article IV. of the London Convention (making Transvaal treaties with foreign States subject to British veto) was to be excluded from the discussion. This Mr. Chamberlain reiterated. 'You should,' he telegraphs a week later to the High Commissioner, 'in order to prevent the possibility of any mistake, repeat the statements . . . that we cannot consent to modify the terms of Article IV., . . . but other matters are open to friendly discussion.' The President was inclined to accept the invitation, if he could get the *non possumus* about Clause IV. made not quite as absolute, and if a number of questions of his choice were allowed to enter into the discussion, and assurance being given that they would be maturely considered 'with an earnest desire to comply with his wishes.' Of these questions he sent on the 25th February a portentous list. His first item was :—

“ ‘ The superseding of the Convention of London, with the eye, amongst others, on the violation of the territory of the South African Republic : because in several respects it has already virtually ceased to exist ; because, in other respects, it has no more cause for existence ; because it is injurious to the dignity of an independent Republic ; because the very name and the continual arguments on the question of suzerainty, which since the conclusion of this Convention no longer exists, are used as a pretext, especially by a libellous Press, for wilfully inciting both white and coloured people against the lawful authority of the Republic ; for intentionally bringing about misunderstanding and false relations between England and the Republic, whereby in this manner the interests of both countries and of their citizens and subjects are prejudiced, and the peaceful development of the Republic is opposed.’ ”

“ To this he added a new plea that Article IV. should not be excluded ‘ on account,’ as he surmises, ‘ of false representations and lying reports spread by the Press and otherwise to the effect that the Government of the Republic has called in or sought the protection of other Powers.’ He denied that he had ever sought ‘ or would ever seek ’ any such thing. He was prepared to ‘ give the necessary assurances.’ (It was not the Press, by the way, but a member of the Executive Council, who ‘ spread ’ this particular calumny by telling the British Agent. It is easy to reconcile the statement and the denial when it is remembered that Dr. Leyds was at Berlin at the time). (2) The second item was the replacing of the Convention by something vaguely described as a treaty of amity and commerce, in which, however, England was to get guaranteed on the most favoured nation footing only her ‘ existing privileges . . . of commerce.’ (3) Guarantees against any future raid, also against ‘ unlawful ’ military or police or even private movements on the border of the Republic. (4) Compensation for the raid. (5) Swaziland to be made part and parcel of the Republic. (6) Ditto as regards Zambaan’s land. (7) Ditto as regards Umbegisa’s land. (8) Revocation of the B.S.A. Company’s Charter. This modest little bill President Kruger thought should be footed without grumbling because he is such an old man : ‘ considering especially my advanced age,’ etc. But he was careful to leave an opening for adding a few more dishes to his Barmec de *menu*, if he should happen to think of anything later. ‘ The contents of this letter are without prejudice to an eventual statement in detail of lawful rights.’ ”

“ When Mr. Chamberlain got this remarkable draft agenda for the little ‘ friendly discussion ’ that he had so innocently proposed, his comment was evidently ‘ Phew ! ’ What Oom Paul wanted to *get* was clear indeed but he scoured it in vain for any hint of what Oom Paul proposed to *give*. All that Mr. Chamberlain had suggested on this side was the consideration of the ‘ Uitlanders ’ grievances ; and this the letter ruled out—save for a

guarded willingness to receive 'private hints'—as absolutely as Mr. Chamberlain had ruled out Article IV. So Mr. Chamberlain steeled his heart even against the President's 'advanced age,' as a consideration hardly relevant to the diplomatist, however interesting to the biographer. He observed drily that the President's letter 'refers only to the concessions which he desires to obtain from Her Majesty's Government, and that he offers nothing in return, except what they already possess under the existing Convention.' He felt sure that His Honour did not 'contemplate discussion on so one-sided a basis.' But that is exactly what His Honour did contemplate. 'President remarks,' the High Commissioner reported to Mr. Chamberlain soon afterwards, 'that it is not clear to him what is meant by the giving of concession from his side.' That is just it. 'Giving too little and asking too much' is a characteristic which an English versifier observed in the President's ancestors at an earlier period of their history, and commemorated as a national foible. Having got at last the definite answer he was pressing for, and finding it still 'one-sided,' Mr. Chamberlain, on April 27th, 'withdrew the invitation, which it appears was given under a misapprehension' (of the President's attitude)."

An incident of the prolonged wrangle was Mr. Chamberlain's "Home Rule" despatch, suggesting a scheme of modified autonomy for the Rand, which was accepted by nobody. The original idea of this was Mr. Merriman's. Some fuss was caused by premature publication of the despatch.

In March and April, when the delays of the Pretoria Government in answering Mr. Chamberlain were amounting to a grave slight, and it dawned on that "pushful" gentleman that they had merely been gaining time, and had no intention of even discussing reforms with him, the diplomatic situation became for a short time strained, almost to breaking point, and the Jingo part of the Press in London and South Africa poured forth war-talk. Some excitement (and loud cries of "turncoat" from the pavement politicians of Cape Town) were caused by a series of articles in the *Cape Times*, in the last days of March and early days of April, entitled, "A Fool's Paradise," "A Word to Mr. Chamberlain," etc., in which it was said :—

"Mr. Chamberlain may offer good advice and point out dangers as emphatically as he likes; but if once he tries to force the Transvaal Government about internal reforms by the threat of war, of which his

mentors speak so glibly, we tell him plainly that he will have either to fulfil the threat—which is a wicked folly that we do not contemplate—or else to take a humiliating rebuff—which will be less wicked, but scarcely less foolish and mischievous. We hear that the Pretoria Government is very restive under some recent despatches. If Mr. Chamberlain is allowing himself to be pushed over the precipice, it is the duty of the High Commissioner, and the Colonial Government, too, for that matter, to pull him up before he gets any nearer the edge. We value the influence of the Paramount Power too highly in the present chaos of South African units to care to see that influence imperilled by a blunder. . . . As we have pointed out over and over again, even while the negotiations for the Kruger visit and the Big Deal seemed still practicable, the 'Uitlander' must not expect that much can be done for his political status at the present moment. The Boer would have to be either a fool or a supreme statesman—and he is neither ; he is a Boer.

“Rumour says that in his impatience to get something to show before the Transvaal debate, the Colonial Secretary has been writing himself into a tone of ultimatum. Common sense says that, if he has, he is simply preparing for himself a crushing rebuff, to which the only effective rejoinder would be one which no responsible person dreams of.”

Mr. Chamberlain soon afterwards explained away the language which the Pretoria Government had taken for that of ultimatum, and the air soon cleared, but not before the Governments of Cape Colony and of Natal had added their protest, and no doubt, though the Blue Books do not seem to reproduce this, the High Commissioner also. The latter was now summoned home to confer with Mr. Chamberlain over the situation created by the refusal of the Transvaal Government to negotiate reforms with Great Britain, and from the date of his visit the Imperial authorities at home and in South Africa have seemed to be at one in accepting a watchful patience as the only possible policy until the crisis of 1896 shall have been obliterated.

The Cape Ministry firmly resisted the attempt to get a special session called while race feeling and the personal issue about Mr. Rhodes were at fever-heat. The Colonial Parliament met in May, and the debate on the raid began in the House of Assembly on the 12th on a motion of Mr. Merri-

man's, a leading member of the Opposition, pointing at revocation of the B.S.A. Company's Charter—a formula adopted by both Republican Raads. Owing to a tedious notion that each individual member was bound in duty to his constituents to say something about the crisis, the debate lasted nearly three weeks. Mr. Merriman led the attack in a speech of unusual warmth and brilliant declamation, in which he directed every dialectic weapon against the continuance of the sovereign rights of the Charter. As to the *trading* rights, Mr. Merriman contemptuously disclaimed any idea or wish of interfering with them ; but he must have the administrative scalp as well as the military one. He concluded by moving "That in the opinion of this House the exercise of sovereign rights by a trading and financial company such as the British South Africa Company is not consistent with the peace and prosperity of South Africa. That the Queen be requested, by respectful address, to take this matter into her most gracious consideration, and by the revocation or alteration of the terms of the Charter granted to the said Company to make such provision for the government of the territories embraced therein as may seem to her advisable."

The practical effect of this resolution would have been to ask Downing Street to assume the direct responsibility of administering the Chartered Company's territories, a proposal which markedly ignored the opinions and wishes of the colonists in the new country itself. What was more to the purpose, it made no allowance for the keen traditional prejudice against direct Downing Street rule which prevails among the Afrikaner majority in the Cape Parliament. Mr. Merriman's effort was generally dismissed, in the formula usual in his case, as "brilliant, but—erratic." As the debate went on it became increasingly evident that many a country member who felt angry with Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company nevertheless shrank from the grave impolicy of banning altogether the only agency which had won the north for Colonial South Africa. In the result Mr. Merriman's sweeping resolu-

tion was negatived (May 27th) by sixty votes to eleven, and a judiciously worded amendment by Mr. Schreiner—which deplored and repudiated the raid, expressed a hope that it would be made the subject of a searching Imperial inquiry, and of steps making the recurrence of such an incident impossible in the future, and resolved on a Cape inquiry by Select Committee—was agreed to without a division.

Before Parliament met, the reaction stirred by attacks on Mr. Rhodes in Mr. J. B. Robinson's Cape Town paper, with which Mr. Sauer was closely connected, had led to Mr. Sauer's deposition from the leadership of the Opposition—as since then it has led to the cessation of the journal. Mr. Rose-Innes, the new leader, than whom nobody more deplored the raid, took a line nearer to Mr. Merriman's than Mr. Schreiner's; but his amendment referred (in the most delicate manner possible) to Uitlander grievances and the need for their redress. It was lost by forty-five to twenty-eight. Mr. Schreiner evidently represented the "mixed emotions" of the Cape majority more nearly than any other leading member.

The surprise of the debate was its moderation. Marked tact and self-restraint was shown by most of the speakers who followed Mr. Merriman, and especially by Mr. Schreiner, in handling a subject which had caused so lately so much bitter racial feeling. Still there were one or two grievous lapses; e.g., when Mr. Van Wyk casually expressed his conviction that 50,000 British troops would only provide a breakfast for those brave Republican burghers, and again, when Mr. Merriman lost his temper and stigmatized some provocative reminiscence of Mr. Orpen's as a "deliberate lie." This un-Parliamentary language the Speaker—perhaps because he was new to the work—allowed to pass at the moment, but the *amende* afterwards offered by Mr. Merriman was all the more gracious as it was spontaneous and voluntary. An incident of the debate which was keenly resented, and helped the pro-Rhodes and pro-Charter reaction, was the reading by Mr. Sauer of a telegram from the Chief Justice of the Transvaal urging exemplary

steps against Rhodes and the Charter to satisfy Transvaal feeling.

At a later date in the session, the Jameson affair cropped up afresh in an indirect way in connection with Mr. Rhodes' leave of absence, which the House granted by a large majority, though subsequently refusing the same privilege to Dr. Harris.

In accordance with Mr. Schreiner's resolution, the Raid Select Committee began its sittings shortly after the conclusion of the debate, and the report—a bulky document of some 700 pages—was laid on the table of the House on the 21st July. There were two reports—one signed by everybody, including the Attorney-General (Chairman), subject to his own minority report, and another signed only by the Attorney-General. The majority report established as against Mr. Rhodes nothing beyond what the *Cape Times*, for instance, had publicly assumed from the time when the crisis disclosed the plot;<sup>1</sup> but so much it showed very clearly and ably. The report was Mr. Merriman's composition. It made it clear that Mr. Rhodes made some efforts to stop Jameson going in when he did, though he had connived at the earlier preparations; and the Committee found this, briefly and simply, "inconsistent with his duty as Prime Minister of this Colony." Everybody was prepared for so much, and more, but hardly for Sir Thomas Upington's rather special pleading and rather too legal exceptions in Mr. Rhodes' favour. Sir Thomas did not defend his minority report in the subsequent debate, and the other was adopted by the House practically without discussion on a moderate speech by Mr. Schreiner, which referred with sorrow to Mr. Rhodes' high aims, in his wrong-doing, and which was left by the House to serve as a sufficient expression of its feeling.

Shortly after their arrival in England Jameson and his officers were quietly smuggled to Bow Street, where on the 25th February they were arraigned before Sir John Bridge on charges framed under the Foreign Enlistment Act, and re-

<sup>1</sup> Further :—See, for instance, issue of January 6th.

manded on bail until the 10th March, when the Attorney-General (Sir Richard Webster) opened the case at length for the prosecution. The examination of witnesses, many of whom had been summoned from the South African Republic, proved a long and tedious process, and public interest in the proceedings had largely waned when at length on the 15th June, after several intermediate adjournments, the preliminary examination was brought to a close. Jamson, Sir John Willoughby, Major Coventry, and the two Whites were committed for trial, the remainder of the accused being discharged by the magistrate.

The trial "at bar" of the raid leaders opened in the Queen's Bench Division on the 20th July, before the Chief Justice (Lord Russell of Killowen), Baron Pollock, and Mr. Justice Hawkins, with a special jury. The Attorney-General led for the Crown; Sir Edward Clarke, aided by Mr. Lockwood and a galaxy of legal talent, watched the interests of the accused. The trial lasted seven days. Sir Edward Clarke, in a brilliant address to the jury, made the best of what, from a legal point of view, was an intrinsically bad case; but Lord Russell's masterly summing-up brushed all technicalities aside, and left the accused no loophole of escape. It was, however, with evident reluctance that the jury returned a verdict of guilty. The sentences, pronounced by the Chief Justice, were as follows:—

Jameson, fifteen months; Willoughby, ten months; "Bobby" White, seven months; the others five months each, without hard labour.

One passage of the stern and masterly summing-up aroused much comment. The Chief Justice told the jury that an offence against the Foreign Enlistment Act has been committed whenever any one has equipped or fitted out or in any way taken part in preparing on British soil an expedition intended to operate against a friendly State. It is not even necessary, he added, that the expedition should actually start; the offence is complete when the intention is present. Then he laid

it down that any subject of the Queen aiding, abetting, or procuring such an expedition, even from a place outside of Her Majesty's dominions, is equally an offender against the law—a *dictum* which Mr. Labouchere *cum suis* has caught at as flinging the net wide enough to take in Mr. Rhodes, Dr. Harris, and even "Herr Beit," who, however, is not yet a naturalized Briton. Whether the evidence is legally sufficient for this has yet to be seen. Seemingly not, unless by means of Mr. Rhodes consenting to incriminate himself at the London inquiry.

Mr. Rhodes' name, by the way, was barely mentioned once in the whole course of the Jameson trial, but on the following day a letter was published from Mr. Hawksley in the London papers, stating that Mr. Rhodes (who was then romantically risking his life away in Matabeleland, where he brought the harassing rebellion to an end at the famous "indaba" in the Matoppo Hills) was ready to surrender, come home, and take his trial whenever Her Majesty's Government might think fit to call upon him to do so.

The prisoners, in strict accordance with the terms of their sentence, were at first placed under the ordinary convict *régime*, and for a day or so public opinion was inflamed by the idea of these eminently political offenders sitting cropped and clad in the "broad arrow." But by the exercise of the Queen's prerogative an order was issued from the Home Office in a few days directing their removal to Holloway, where quarters were provided for them as first-class misdemeanants. Major Coventry's health being endangered by confinement, owing to the troublesome nature of the wound near the spine which he received at Krugersdorp, he was a few weeks later released from gaol. In December Dr. Jameson's release was also forced by his slow recovery from a painful operation, the cause aggravated largely by the effects of confinement on a man used to open-air activity.

The five Chief Officers, as the sequel to their sentence, were also retired from the Army, as was Colonel Rhodes.

While the raiders were standing trial in England, the eyes of South Africa were steadily fixed on Pretoria, where the spectacle of a great State prosecution—the arraignment of the leaders of a movement which enjoyed in some sense the sympathy of a majority of the people in the Republic—was being gradually unfolded. The preliminary examination of the Reformers began before Mr. Zeiler, the Judicial Commissioner, on the 3rd February. The chief features of this long-drawn function were that no witness could remember anything, and that the State Attorney seemed hardly to know what evidence to offer. It was not concluded until the 8th April, when the accused were formally committed.

The actual trial opened on the 24th April, before Mr. Justice Gregorowski, a Free State advocate, who, as the Transvaal judges had been made to act along with the Executive Council in many of the New Year doings, was specially imported to relieve them of an ambiguous position. Though known for severe sentences, one on a Kaffir being notoriously brutal, Mr. Gregorowski was then taken to be an enlightened lawyer. His position, however, was anomalous, as the necessary confirmation by Volksraad of his appointment was arranged to come after this trial, instead of before it. He was thus “imported on approval.” At the eleventh hour the whole of the prisoners decided to plead guilty, four to high treason, the rest to *lèse majesté*, subject to certain reserves which were not objected to by the State Attorney, and evidence being led in as brief and perfunctory a manner as possible, the closing scene was not long delayed. On the 28th the four co-signatories with the absent Leonard of the letter to Jameson—George Farrar, Lionel Phillips, Colonel Rhodes, and John Hays Hammond—were sentenced to death, while the rank and file were ordered to be imprisoned for two years, to pay a fine of £2,000 each, or an extra year’s imprisonment, and to be banished from the Republic for three years.

These were the heads of the Republic’s one great industry; the men whom their able counsel, Mr. Wessels, could describe

as "employers of half its population"; the men whose cooperation the Government had bargained for and made use of after Mr. Phillips's admission of their dealings with Jameson.

An indescribable wave of feeling swept the packed court, and then the streets. The condemned four kept a right English bearing.

The surprise occasioned at first by the plea of guilty ceased with the publication by the Pretoria Government of the mass of cipher telegrams laying bare to an astonished world the whole plot which led up to Jameson's march, according to the description of the earlier chapters of this number. It was an early private view of these astounding messages which had led Mr. Fischer, of the Free State, to go back to his Raad soon after the crisis and talk about "the bloody complot"<sup>1</sup> in terms which made all South African flesh creep. At that time, in the first flood of suspicion and sweeping inferences, the Pretoria Government declared that the plot included various heinous elements which there has never been an attempt to prove and which have since been abandoned—such as the arming of Kaffirs on the Rand, the stirring up of the native chiefs to attack the Transvaal or the Free State, and the charge that the raid was in some mysterious and unexplained way intended to rehabilitate the finances of the Chartered Company by what Mr. Austin calls "the crushings of all the Rand."

Despite the shock of the cipher telegrams, the severity of the Gregorowski sentences aroused great public excitement in England and throughout South Africa. It was repeated how the new Judge had asked one of his colleagues for a black cap before the trial even began. It was asserted, even by sober lawyers, that the sentences were simply designed for the Government to make political capital by remitting them in the piecemeal way which was eventually adopted. One of Gregorowski's colleagues cut him in private life, and there were

<sup>1</sup> The actual phrase itself was an embroidery upon Mr. Fischer's Dutch wrought by the fervid pen of the Free State *Express*.

many other signs of the extraordinary feeling created. Mr. Chamberlain lost no time in informing the Commons (April 29th) that he had telegraphed to President Kruger, expressing his confidence that the death sentences would be commuted, and adding that he had assured Parliament to this effect. The tension of public feeling was relieved in South Africa on the same day by the news that commutation had actually taken place. Some further intimation of the intentions of the Executive was now eagerly awaited ; but as day after day, and week after week passed without any sign being given by President Kruger or his advisers, the public grew anxious and impatient. Meantime, the Reformers were herded together, with every circumstance of discomfort, in a corrugated iron shed, hastily improvised for their accommodation within the precincts of Pretoria gaol. The district surgeon warned the Government regarding the unsanitary condition of the place and the hardships suffered by the prisoners under its baking roof ; but his representations passed unheeded, and on the 16th May one of the prisoners, whose mind had become unhinged, was discovered to have committed suicide. The tragedy of poor Gray, deepened as it was by the despair of a young wife hopefully awaiting her husband's release at the prison gates, cast a gloom over the whole of South Africa, and was not without its effect on the Transvaal Government. Hollander influences, which had, it was believed, been prolonging as far as possible the period of suspense,<sup>1</sup> recoiled before the genuine sentiment of concern which the Reformer's death aroused among the kindly burghers ; and a few days later (May 19th) it was made known that the Executive had commuted the sentences of the leaders to fifteen years' imprisonment, and that three sick prisoners, Lionel Phillips being one of them, had been sent to the Volks Hospital. The

<sup>1</sup> When the prisoners were being marched off to gaol, and also while those under death sentences were driven past the Government Buildings, Dr. Leyds stood conspicuous with his hands in his pockets and ostentatiously laughed at them.

sentences on the other prisoners, with eight exceptions, were reduced on the following day to terms of twelve, six and three months, or rather, they were given to understand that the question of their release would be favourably considered if they petitioned the Executive at the expiration of those periods ; and the eight referred to were set free at once on payment of their fines.

Still public sentiment was by no means satisfied, it being too evident that the policy of the Transvaal Executive was to dole out magnanimity by inches, whereas the interests of South Africa required that there should be a speedy amnesty. On the 23rd May the *Cape Times* declared that the policy of silence had failed, and that the Government would make the releases then and then only when it was shown that they would lose more political capital by keeping the prisoners on tenterhooks than they could possibly make out of them. The *Cape Times* therefore proposed a plan, set forth in an article entitled, "To the Towns of South Africa : An Historical Opportunity," of which the following is an extract :—

"What we want to see, then, is that all the towns of South Africa—for they are all at one, they only wait for the signal—should, on this subject of the prisoners, speak out and speak together. Suppose that a simultaneous and unanimous vote were passed by large and orderly gatherings at Cape Town, Durban, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Kimberley, East London, Queen's Town, King William's Town, Graham's Town, Bulawayo and Salisbury. We have communicated inquiringly with each of these towns, and with others, and the answers already received indicate that a great movement is beginning through the length and breadth of the country, and that, if action be not taken unitedly, it will be taken sporadically.

"We plead for united action. Let a day be chosen—say, to-day week, next Saturday. For that day let meetings be called by the Mayors or by influential public leaders. Let these secure that the tone set from the beginning is sober and responsible. Let a form of resolution be chosen expressing in general terms the public sentiment in favour of a spirit of amnesty in dealing with the still imprisoned Reformers, and let this be submitted to each of the simultaneous meetings, subject only to such local alterations as may be necessary to secure genuine unanimity. We would suggest that the resolution itself should stick strictly to the question of the

prisoners, and the effect would be strengthened if there were a general tacit consent that the discussion should not stray off more than is necessary into the detail of 'Uitlander' grievances, the franchise question, the merits or demerits of Rhodes and Jameson. The feeling on the actual issue will be there and to spare—it is for chairman and leading speakers to keep it to the right channel. If all goes well in this respect, if only a great part goes well, is it easy to believe that such a simultaneous and unanimous vote of all the towns of South Africa—representing nowadays, after all, not much less than half the entire white population of the country—can be wholly without effect? Let the towns make themselves spokesmen for the country on the side of freedom, as towns did in the middle ages. It may prove an historical opportunity. If our voice fails, the voice of the townsmen, if there is to be more suspense, more chaffering, more gaol tragedies, more lasting embitterments, till, perhaps, some chance explosive lights the smouldering embers of hatred into war, at least our action, the action of the towns at this critical juncture, will be on record. On other shoulders will rest the unenviable responsibility."

This article evoked immediate response from many centres. On the following Monday a letter from Mr. Rose-Innes, the most respected of Cape politicians, proposed a capital amendment to the *Cape Times* plan: viz., that the "uniform resolution" should take rather the form of a uniform petition, which the Mayor should be authorized by each town's meeting to sign and carry to Pretoria as its delegate. Mr. Innes' name gave the movement fresh impetus. The Political Association of Cape Town (May 27th) set to work to organize the other centres. On the 29th of the same month the Cape Town meeting under the scheme was held in the Good Hope Hall, and in the course of the ensuing week the rest of the towns followed suit. The example thus set told in other directions. The Cape and Natal Governments, as soon as they saw that the movement was going to be a universal one, addressed friendly representations to the Transvaal Government, recommending amnesty, while the Bond itself, and the Associated Chambers of Commerce determined to send delegates of their own to Pretoria. The first fruits of the agitation were soon gathered.

The day after the great Cape Town meeting, the whole of

the prisoners, with the exception of the four leaders and Messrs. Sampson and Davies, were released on payment of their fines and entering into a bond not to meddle with Transvaal politics for a term of years. It was explained that as Messrs. Sampson and Davies had refused to sign a petition to the Executive, their cases had not been considered, and they still remain in prison.

If it was believed that these releases would nip the amnesty movement in the bud, and that the leaders would be left to their fate, the anticipation was ill-founded.

On the 10th June the great deputation of over fifty Mayors or other municipal officials, having a large additional number of petitions from unrepresented centres, mustered in Pretoria. And on the following day came the news that the four leaders were to be released immediately on payment of a fine of £25,000 each. The decree of banishment was waived on an agreement being entered into by each of the four not to be mixed up in Transvaal politics again for the space of fifteen years. The fines were at once paid, and the prisoners set free. Colonel Rhodes, refusing to sign the bond required, was conducted to the frontier, whence he speedily found his way to Rhodesia.

The trials of Jameson and the Reformers do not, however, exhaust the list of prosecutions arising out of the famous raid. The Colonial Government, in pursuance of their policy of conciliation towards the South African Republic, set inquiries on foot regarding the smuggling of arms over the Cape Railways, and on the 4th March Mr. Gardner Williams, general manager of De Beers, was arrested at Kimberley on a charge of removing rifles and other warlike munitions without a license. The arrest of Mr. F. F. Rutherford, a well-known Cape Town merchant and agent, on a similar charge followed two days later. In the case of Mr. Williams, great care had been observed in concealing the arms in course of transit, and also in putting the railway authorities off the scent; in the case of Mr. Rutherford there was no concealment whatever, and it

was actually at the request of the Customs authorities that he sent the offending consignments forward. The law requiring a license, it was shown, had been allowed to fall into desuetude. Under these circumstances Mr. Rutherford's offence was treated as a merely technical one, and he was mulcted in a penalty of £20 (April 15th); Mr. Gardner Williams was committed to take his trial, but the case was remitted to the magistrate, who (May 27th) imposed a fine of £30, with the alternative of three months' imprisonment.

It is only natural that the Jameson Raid should have left the back-country Transvaal burghers uneasy and suspicious. For months the reinforcement of the South African garrisons and the movements of troops consequent on the outbreak of the Matabele rebellion gave rise to many absurd rumours in the Western Transvaal. On the 20th April the State Secretary reported that there was unrest among the burghers owing to troops being assembled and kept at Mafeking, instead of being sent through to Matabeleland as expected, and that officers and men were spreading the rumour that they were destined to march into the Republic. The High Commissioner replied on the same day, assuring President Kruger that the alleged detention was not in accordance with fact, as the troops were being sent forward as fast as practicable, and adding that he need hardly repeat assurances so frequently given that Her Majesty's Government had no hostile intentions against the South African Republic. During the next week or two the military wags seem to have been at work on the border, for on the 2nd May Sir Jacobus de Wet sent a breathless despatch to the High Commissioner, mentioning fresh disquieting rumours and urging the appointment of a joint Commission to convince the Transvaal burghers of the true position. This suggestion was too much for Lord Rosmead, after his repeated denials and assurances, and he administered to Sir Jacobus the severe snubbing which proved the prelude to the discovery by Mr. Chamberlain that the British Agent had "earned his rest." The State Secretary on the same day, however, apprised Lord

Rosmead of affidavits by burghers testifying to the presence of six thousand troops at Aasvogelkop and Mafeking, "and similar bodies everywhere along the frontier," getting ready for a fresh invasion of Transvaal territory. These were the rumours which had made such a deep impression on the British Agent, and His Excellency, in rebuking President Kruger for noticing such a tissue of absurdities, suggested that proceedings for perjury should be taken against the authors of the affidavits.

Side by side with the concern displayed at the most trivial military movements on the British side of the frontier, warlike preparations on a very large scale have been in progress in the Transvaal since the beginning of the year. New forts are in course of erection in Pretoria, the whole of the burghers have been armed, and the importation of warlike munitions has been on a scale altogether without precedent in the history of South Africa. These preparations have naturally been much discussed, and the rumour has more than once been revived that the Transvaal Government were preparing the way for the declaration of the absolute independence of the Republic. Whether owing to the rinderpest, or to the prevalence of wiser counsels, or to the fact that no such *coup* was ever contemplated by the Transvaal Government, it is fortunate that nothing has occurred since the raid to disturb the good relations between the South African Republic and the Paramount Power.

The following figures culled from the Transvaal Estimates for the current financial year will furnish some idea of the scale of magnificence on which Transvaal warlike preparations have been conducted :—

War Office Salaries . . . .	£52,462
War Purposes . . . .	943,510
Johannesburg Revolt . . . .	160,000
" Public Works " . . . .	730,000
	<hr/>
	£1,885,972

Public works, it may be noted, is largely a Hollander euphemism for forts and their appurtenances ; so that the total outlay on military preparations amounts to over a million and a half sterling, or more than a quarter of the whole estimated expenditure for the year.

The Transvaal Volksraad during a prolonged session turned out the expected lot of retrogressive and coercive legislation. As against one good thing done for the mining industry (a Liquor Law not yet operative), there have been an almost Russian Press Law, and an Uitlander Expulsion Law and Uitlander Immigration Law, which both look like violating the London Convention. In December, however, the President at a banquet made a speech, warmly protesting his intention to uphold that instrument as a bulwark of the Republic : a *volte face* which, despite the busy warlike preparations, made the year close in a feeling of greater serenity.

In January, 1897, Mr. Rhodes returned to England, which he had visited for a week just after the crisis, in order to face a Select Committee of the House of Commons, re-appointed from the last session to enquire into the origin of the raid, and the administration of the Chartered Company, and report on its future.

Since such an enquiry was first promised, early last year, Mr. Rhodes' star had come once more into the ascendant. So far, the steps taken against him had been confined to accepting his resignation of the Managing Directorship of the Chartered Company, and sending an Imperial officer, Sir Richard Martin, to take over the Company's police and military administration. But Mr. Rhodes "in his shirt," as Mr. Stead put it, was still Mr. Rhodes. The man who, as Mr. Chamberlain had reminded a sympathetic House, "could not move a single policeman," when he went back to the veld shorn of all his offices, nevertheless rallied the settlers and made peace with the rebel Matabele at the famous *indaba*. Wherever he passed through in the Colony on his way home, Mr. Rhodes had an unprecedented popular reception, in which, strange

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to say, a distinct Dutch element took part; and he now confronts the inquiry with British South Africa solidly at his back in an enthusiasm which has created a new South African situation.

# APPENDICES



## APPENDIX I

### THE "LETTER OF INVITATION"

A.

JOHANNESBURG,

20th Dec.,<sup>1</sup> 1895.

DR. JAMESON,

DEAR SIR,—The position of matters in this State has become so critical that we are assured that at no distant period there will be conflict between the Government and the Uitlander population. It is scarcely necessary for us to recapitulate what is now matter of history. Suffice it to say, that the position of thousands of Englishmen and others is rapidly becoming intolerable. Not satisfied with making the Uitlander population pay, virtually, the whole of the revenue of the country, while denying them representation, the policy of the Government has been steadily to encroach upon the liberty of the subject, and to undermine the security for property to such an extent as to cause a very deep-seated sense of discontent and danger.

A foreign corporation of Hollanders is, to a considerable extent, controlling our destinies, and, in conjunction with the Boer leaders, endeavouring to cast them in a mould which is wholly foreign to the genius of the people. Every public act betrays the most positive hostility, not only to everything English, but to the neighbouring States as well. In short, the internal policy of the Government is such as to have roused into antagonism to it not only, practically, the whole body of Uitlanders, but a large number of the Boers; while its external policy has exasperated the

<sup>1</sup> Date left blank in original. Filled in by Dr. Wolff.

neighbouring States, causing the possibility of great danger to the peace and independence of this Republic.

Public feeling is in a condition of smouldering discontent. All the petitions of the people have been refused with a greater or less degree of contempt, and, in the debate on the franchise petition, signed by nearly 40,000 people, one member challenged the Uitlanders to fight for the rights they asked for, and not a single member spoke against him.

Not to go into detail, we may say that the Government has called into existence all the elements necessary for armed conflict. The one desire of the people here is for fair play, the maintenance of their independence, and the preservation of those public liberties without which life is not worth having. The Government denies these things and violates the national sense of Englishmen at every turn.

What we have to consider is, what will be the condition of things here in the event of conflict?

Thousands of unarmed men, women, and children of our race will be at the mercy of well-armed Boers; while property of enormous value will be in the greatest peril. We cannot contemplate the future without the gravest apprehension, and feel that we are justified in taking any steps to prevent the shedding of blood, and to ensure the protection of our rights.

It is under these circumstances that we feel constrained to call upon you to come to our aid should disturbance arise here.

The circumstances are so extreme that we cannot avoid this step, and we cannot but believe that you, and the men under you, will not fail to come to the rescue of people who would be so situated. We guarantee any expense that may reasonably be incurred by you in helping us, and ask you to believe that nothing but the sternest necessity has prompted this appeal.

We are yours faithfully,  
(Signed) CHARLES LEONARD.  
FRANCIS RHODES.  
LIONEL PHILLIPS.  
JOHN HAYS HAMMOND.  
GEORGE FARRAR.

## APPENDIX II

### THE NATIONAL UNION MANIFESTO<sup>1</sup>

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

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

#### THE THREE PLANKS.

The constitution of the National Union is very simple. The three objects which we set before ourselves are : (1) The Maintenance of the Independence of the Republic ; (2) The Securing of Equal Rights ; and (3) the Redress of Grievances. This brief but comprehensive programme has never been lost sight of, and I think we may challenge contradiction fearlessly when we assert that we have constitutionally, respectfully, and steadily prosecuted our purpose. Last year you will remember a respectful petition, praying for the franchise, signed by 13,000 men, was received with

<sup>1</sup> Given as it appeared in a *Cape Times* telegram of 27th December, 1895, retaining the newspaper paragraph headings.

contemptuous laughter and jeers in the Volksraad. This year the Union, apart from smaller matters, endeavoured to do three things.

#### THREE EFFORTS: (1) THE RAAD ELECTIONS.

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

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

#### (2) THE RAILWAY CONCESSION.

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

#### (3) THE FRANCHISE PETITION.

Our great effort, however, was the petition for the franchise, with the moderate terms of which you are all acquainted. This petition was signed by more than 38,000 persons. What was the result? We were called unfaithful for not naturalizing ourselves, when naturalization means only that we should give up our original citizenship and get nothing in return, and become subject to disabilities. Members had the calm assurance to state, without any grounds whatever, that the signatures were forgeries, and, worst of

all, one member, in an inflammatory speech, challenged us openly to fight for our rights, and his sentiment seemed to meet with considerable approval. This is the disappointing result of our honest endeavours to bring about a fusion between the people of this State and that true union and equality which alone can be the basis of prosperity and peace. You all know that, as the law now stands, we are virtually excluded for ever from getting the franchise, and, by a malignant ingenuity, our children born here are deprived of the rights of citizenship unless their fathers take an oath of allegiance, which brings them nothing but disabilities.

#### THE BITTER CRY OF THE "UITLANDER."

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

#### ABUSE OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

Expenditure is not controlled by any public official independent of the Government. Vast sums are squandered, while the Secret Service Fund is a dark mystery to everybody. But, essential as the power to control taxation and expenditure is to a free people, there are other matters of the gravest importance which are equally precious. The Legislature in this country is the supreme power, apparently uncontrolled by any fixed constitution. The chance will of a majority in a Legislature elected by one-third of the people is capable of dominating us in every relation of life, and when we remember that those who hold power belong to a different race, speak a different language, and have different pursuits from ourselves, that they regard us with suspicion, and even hostility, that, as a rule, they are not educated men, and that

their passions are played upon by unscrupulous adventurers, it must be admitted that we are in very grave danger.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE MODERATES.

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

#### THE POWERS OF THE EXECUTIVE.

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

#### PRESIDENT KRUGER INDICTED.

Coming to the Executive Government, we find that there is no true responsibility to the people. None of the great departments of State are controlled by Ministerial officers in the proper sense; the President's will is virtually supreme, and he, with his unique influence over the legislators of the House, aided by an able if hostile State Secretary, has been the author of every Act directed

against the liberties of the people. It is well that this should be recognised. It is well that President Kruger should be known for what he is, and that, once for all, the false pedestal on which he has so long stood should be destroyed. I challenge contradiction when I state that no important Act has found a place on the Statute book during the last ten years without the seal of President Kruger's will upon it; nay, he is the father of every such Act. Remember that all legislation is initiated by the Government, and, moreover, President Kruger has expressly supported every Act by which we and our children have been deprived by progressive steps of the right to acquire franchise; by which taxation has been imposed upon us almost exclusively, and by which the right and the liberty of the Press, and the right of public meeting have been attacked.

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

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

#### NO REAL TRIAL BY JURY.

The administration of justice by minor officials, by native commissioners, and by field-cornets, has produced, and is producing, the gravest unrest in the country; and, lastly, gentlemen, the great bulwark of liberty, the right to trial by jurymen who are our peers, is denied to us. Only the burgher or naturalized burgher is entitled to be a jurymen, or, in other words, any one of us is liable to be tried upon the gravest charge possible by jurymen who are in no sense our peers, who belong to a different race, who regard us with a greater or lesser degree of hostility, and whose passions, if inflamed, might prompt them, as weak human creatures.

to inflict the gravest injustice, even to deprive men of their lives. Supposing, in the present tense condition of political feeling, any one of us were tried before a Boer jury on any charge having a political flavour about it, should we be tried by our peers, and should we have a chance of receiving even-handed justice ?

#### THE SECRET SERVICE FUND.

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

#### SQUANDERING THE PUBLIC REVENUE.

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

#### A CORRUPT LEGISLATURE.

Bribery and corruption are rampant. We have had members of the Raad accepting presents of imported spiders and watches wholesale from men who were applying for concessions, and we have the singular fact that in every instance the recipient of the gift voted for the concession. We have the President openly stating that such acceptance of presents was wholly moral. We have a condition of affairs in which the time of the meeting of the Volksraad is looked upon as the period of the greatest danger to our interests, and it is an open secret that a class of man has sprung up who is in constant attendance upon the members of the Volksraad, and whose special business appears to be the “in-

fluencing" of members one way or the other. It is openly stated that enormous sums of money have been spent, some to produce illegitimate results, some to guard against fresh attacks upon vested rights. The Legislature passed an Act solemnly denouncing corruption in the public service. One man, not an official, was punished under the law, but nothing has ever been done since to eradicate the evil.

#### AND A TAINTED CIVIL SERVICE.

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

#### TWO GLARING CASES.

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

think it their duty to comment strongly upon the matter. I have in my possession now a notarial deed which proves that the Railway Commissioner, the Landdrost, and the Commandant of Pretoria are members of a syndicate whose avowed object is, or was, to wrest from the companies their right to the "bewaarplaatsen." This shows what is going on, and what is the measure of safety of title to property. Those who should guard our rights are our worst enemies. In a law introduced by the present Government, the Government, instead of the Courts, are the final judges in cases of disputed elections. No Election Committees are allowed. This operates against candidates opposed to the Government, because the Government has virtually a vast standing army of committee men, henchmen, officials being allowed openly to take part in swaying elections, and the Government being in a position, by the distribution of contracts, appointments, purchase of concessions, the expenditure of Secret Service money, and otherwise, to bring into existence and maintain a large number of supporters who act as canvassers always on the right side in times of elections.

#### NATIVE AFFAIRS.

The administration of native affairs is a gross scandal and a source of immense loss and danger to the community. Native Commissioners have been permitted to practise extortion, injustice, and cruelty upon the natives under their jurisdiction. The Government has allowed petty tribes to be goaded into rebellion. We have had to pay the costs of the "wars," while the wretched victims of their policy have had their tribes broken up, sources of native labour have been destroyed, and large numbers of prisoners have been kept in gaol for something like eighteen months without trial. It was stated in the newspapers that, out of sixty-three men imprisoned, thirty-one had died in that period, while the rest were languishing to death for want of vegetable foods. We have had revelations of repulsive cruelty on the part of field-cornets. We all remember the Rachman case and the April case, in which the judges found field-cornets guilty of brutal conduct to unfortunate natives; but the worst feature about these cases is that the Government has set the seal of its approval upon the acts of these officials by paying the costs of the actions out of public funds, and the President of the State a few days ago made the astounding

statement in regard to the April case, that, notwithstanding the judgment of the High Court, the Government thought that Prinsloo was right in his action, and therefore paid the costs. The Government is enforcing the "plakkerswet," which forbids the locating of more than five families on one farm. The field-cornets in various districts have recently broken up homes of large numbers of natives settled on "Uitlanders'" lands, just at the time when they had sown their crops to provide the next winter's food. The application of this law is most uneven, as large numbers of natives are left on the farms of the Boers. Quite recently a well-known citizen brought into the country, at great expense, some hundreds of families, provided them with land, helped them to start life, stipulating only that he should be able to draw from amongst them labour at a fair wage to develop his properties. Scarcely had they been settled when the field-cornet came down and scattered the people, distributing them among Boer farms. The sources of the native labour supply have been seriously interfered with at the borders by Government measures, and difficulties have been placed in the way of transport of natives by railway to the mines. These things are all a drain upon us as a State, and many of them are a burning disgrace to us as a people.

#### THE EDUCATION SCANDAL.

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

#### RAILWAYS.

This important branch of the public service is entirely in the hands of a corporation domiciled in Holland. This corporation holds a concession, of course, under which not only was there no adequate control over expenditure in construction, but it is entitled to charge, and is charging, us outrageous tariffs. How outrageous

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

#### CUSTOMS AND TRADE.

The policy of the Government in regard to taxation may be practically described as protection without production. The most

monstrous hardships result to consumers, and merchants can scarcely say from day to day where they are. Twice now has the Government entered into competition with traders who have paid their licences and rents, and who keep staffs. Recently grain became scarce. The Government were petitioned to suspend the duties, which are cruelly high, in order to assist the mining industry to feed its labourers. The Government refused this request, on the plea that it was not in a position to suspend duties without the permission of the Volksraad, and yet within a few days we find that the Government has granted a concession to one of its friends to import grain free of duty, and to sell it in competition with the merchants who have had to pay duties. I do not attempt to deal with this important question adequately, but give this example to show how the Government regards the rights of traders.

#### MONOPOLIES.

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

#### STORY OF THE DYNAMITE CONCESSION.

Some years ago, Mr. Lippert got a concession for the sole right to manufacture and sell dynamite and all other explosives. He was to manufacture the dynamite in this country. For years he imported dynamite, under the name of Guhr Impregne, duty free. He never manufactured dynamite in the country, and, upon public exposure, the Government was compelled to cancel the concession, the President himself denouncing the action of the concessionnaire as fraudulent. For a time we breathed freely, thinking we were rid of this incubus, but within a few months the Government granted virtually to the same people another conces-

sion, under which they are now taking from the pockets of the public £600,000 per annum, and this is a charge which will go on growing should the mining industry survive the persistent attempts to strangle it. How a body charged with the public interests could be parties to this scandalous fleecing of the public passes comprehension. Then, the curious feature about the matter is that the Government gets some petty fraction of this vast sum, and the concessionnaires have on this plea obtained enormous advances of public moneys from the Government, without security, to carry on their trade. Shortly, the concessionnaires are entitled to charge 90s. a case for dynamite, while it could be bought, if there were no concession, for about 30s. a case. It may be stated incidentally that Mr. Wolmarans, a member of the Government, has been for years challenged to deny that he is enjoying a royalty of 2s. on every case of dynamite sold, and that he has up to the present moment neglected to take up the challenge. Proper municipal government is denied to us, and we all know how much this means with regard to health, comfort, and the value of property. The Statute books are disfigured with enactments imposing religious disabilities; and the English language, the language spoken by the great bulk of the people, is denied all official recognition. The natural result of the existing condition of things is that the true owners of the mines are those who have invested no capital in them—the Government, the railway concessionnaires, the dynamite concessionnaires, and others. The country is rich, and under proper government could be developed marvellously, but it cannot stand the drain of the present exactions. We have lived largely upon foreign capital, and the total amount of the dividends available for shareholders in companies is ridiculously small as compared with the aggregate amount of capital invested in mining ventures. Some day the inevitable result upon our credit and upon our trade will be forced upon us.

#### HATRED OF THE SAXON.

There is no disguising the fact that the original policy of the Government is based upon intense hostility to the English-speaking population, and that even against the enfranchised burgher of this State there is the determination to retain all power in the hands of those who are enjoying the sweets of office now, and naturally the grateful crowd of relations and friends and henchmen ardently

support the existing *régime* ; but there are unmistakable signs, and the President fears that the policy which he has hitherto adopted will not be sufficient to keep in check the growing population. It seems the set purpose of the Government to repress the growth of the industry, to tax it at every turn, to prevent the working classes from settling here and making their homes and surrounding themselves with their families, and there is no mistaking the significance of the action of the President when he opposed the throwing open of the town lands of Pretoria on the ground that "he might have a second Johannesburg there," nor that of his speech upon the motion for the employment of diamond drills to prospect Government lands, which he opposed hotly on the ground that "there is too much gold here already."

#### THE POLICY OF FORCE.

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

#### A STIRRING PERORATION.

I think this policy can never succeed, unless men are absolutely bereft of every quality which made their forefathers free men ; un-

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

#### THE CHARTER OF THE UNION.

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

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

### APPENDIX III

#### STATEMENT OF THE REFORM LEADERS AT THE TRIAL

FOR a number of years endeavours have been made to obtain by constitutional means the redress of grievances under which the Uitlander population labours. The new-comers asked for no more than is conceded to immigrants by all the other Governments in South Africa, under which every man may, on reasonable conditions, become a citizen of the State, whilst here alone a policy is pursued by which the first settlers retain the exclusive right of government. A petition supported by the signatures of 40,000 men was ignored, and when it was found that we could not get a fair and reasonable hearing, that provisions already deemed obnoxious and unfair were being made more stringent, and that we were being debarred for ever from obtaining rights which in other countries are fully granted, it was realized that we should never get redress until we should make a demonstration of force to support our claims. Certain provision was made regarding arms and ammunition, and a letter was written to Dr. Jameson, in which he was asked to come to our aid under certain circumstances. On December 26th the Uitlanders' manifesto was published, and it was then our intention to make a final appeal for redress at the public meeting which was to have been held on the 6th of January. In consequence of matters that came to our knowledge, we sent on December 26th Major Heany by train *via* Kimberley, and Captain Holder across the country, to forbid any movement on Dr. Jameson's part. On the afternoon of Monday, the 30th December, we learnt from Government sources that Dr. Jameson had crossed the frontier. We assumed that he had come in good faith to help us, probably misled by some of the exaggerated rumours which were then in circulation. We were convinced, however, that the Government and the burghers would not, in the excitement of the moment, believe that we had not

invited Dr. Jameson in, and there was no course open to us but to prepare to defend ourselves if attacked, and at the same time to spare no effort to effect a peaceful settlement. It became necessary to form some organization for the protection of the town and the maintenance of order, since in the excitement caused by the news of Dr. Jameson's coming serious disturbances would be likely to occur, and it was evident that the Government organization could not deal with the people without serious risks of conflict. The Reform Committee was formed on Monday night, the 30th December, and it was intended to include such men of influence as cared to associate themselves with the movement. The object with which it was formed is best shown in its first notice, namely,—

“Notice is hereby given that this Committee adheres to the National Union manifesto, and reiterates its desire to maintain the independence of the Republic. The fact that rumours are in course of circulation to the effect that a force has crossed the Bechuanaland border renders it necessary to take active steps for the defence of Johannesburg and the preservation of order. The Committee earnestly desire that the inhabitants should refrain from taking any action which can be construed as an overt act of hostility against the Government ; by order of the Committee, J. Percy Fitzpatrick, Secretary.”

The evidence taken at the preliminary examination shows that order was maintained by this Committee during a time of intense excitement, and through the action of the Committee no aggressive steps whatever were taken against the Government, but, on the contrary, the property of the Government was protected, and its officials were not interfered with. It is our firm belief that had no such Committee been formed the intense excitement caused by Dr. Jameson's entry would have brought about utter chaos in Johannesburg. It has been alleged that we armed natives. This is absolutely untrue, and is disposed of by the fact that during the crisis upwards of 20,000 white men applied to us for arms, and were unable to get them. On Tuesday morning, the 31st December, we hoisted the flag of the Z.A.R., and every man bound himself to maintain the independence of the Republic. On the same day the Government withdrew its police voluntarily from the town, and we preserved perfect order. During the evening of the same day, Messrs. Marais and Malan presented

themselves as delegates from the Executive Council. They came (to use their own words) to offer us the olive branch, and they told us that if we would send a deputation to Pretoria to meet a Commission appointed by the Government, we would obtain "practically all we asked in the manifesto." Our deputation met the Government Commission, consisting of Chief Justice Kotze, Judge Ameshoff, and Mr. Kock, member of the Executive. On our behalf our deputation frankly avowed knowledge of Jameson's presence on the border, and of his intention, by arrangement with us, to assist us in case of extremity. With the full knowledge of this arrangement—with the knowledge that we were in arms and agitating for our rights, the Government Commission handed to us a resolution of the Executive Council, of which the following is the purport: "Sir Hercules Robinson has offered his services with a view to a peaceful settlement. The Government of the South African Republic has accepted his offer. Pending his arrival, no hostile steps will be taken against Johannesburg, provided Johannesburg take no hostile action against the Government. In terms of a certain proclamation recently issued by the President, the grievances will be earnestly considered." We parted in perfect good faith with the Government, believing it to be their desire, as it was ours, to avert bloodshed, and believing it to be their intention to give us the redress which was implied in the "earnest consideration of grievances." There can be no stronger evidence of our earnest endeavour to repair what we regarded as a mistake by Dr. Jameson than the offer which our deputation, authorized by resolution of the Committee, laid before the Government Commission, "If the Government will permit Dr Jameson to come to Johannesburg unmolested, the Committee will guarantee with their persons, if necessary, that he will leave again peacefully as soon as possible." We faithfully carried out the agreement that we should commit no act of hostility against the Government; we ceased all active operations for the defence of the town against any attack, and we did everything in our power to prevent any collision with the burghers, an attempt in which our efforts were happily successful. On the telegraphic advice of the result of the interview of the deputation with the Government Commission, we despatched Mr. Lace, a member of our Committee, as an escort to the courier carrying the High Commissioner's despatch to Dr. Jameson, in order to assure our-

selves that the despatch would reach its destination. On the following Saturday, January 4, the High Commissioner arrived in Pretoria. On Monday, the 6th, the following telegram was sent to us :—

“Pretoria, 6th January, 1896.—From H.M. Agent to Reform Committee, Johannesburg.—I am directed to inform you that the High Commissioner met the President, the Executive, and the Judges to-day. The President announced the decision of the Government to be that Johannesburg must lay down its arms unconditionally, as a condition precedent to a discussion and consideration of grievances. The High Commissioner endeavoured to obtain some indication of the steps which would be taken in the event of disarmament, but without success, it being intimated that the Government had nothing more to say on this subject than had already been embodied in the President's proclamation. The High Commissioner enquired whether any decision had been come to as regards the disposal of the prisoners, and received a reply in the negative. The President said that as his burghers to the number of 8,000 had been collected, and could not be asked to remain indefinitely, he must request a reply, yes or no, to this ultimatum within twenty-four hours.—J. DE WET, Her Majesty's Agent.”

On the following day Sir Jacobus de Wet met us in Committee, and handed us the following wire from the High Commissioner :—

“High Commissioner, Pretoria, to Sir Jacobus de Wet, Johannesburg.—Received, Johannesburg, 7.36 a.m., 7th January, 1896. Urgent.—You should inform the Johannesburg people that I consider that if they lay down their arms they will be acting loyally and honourably, and that if they do not comply with the request they forfeit all claims to sympathy from Her Majesty's Government and from British subjects throughout the world, as the lives of Jameson and prisoners are practically in their hands.”

On this, and assurances given in the Executive Council resolution, we laid down our arms on the 6th, 7th, and 8th January. On the 9th we were arrested and have since been under arrest in Pretoria—a period of three and a half months. We admit responsibility for the action taken by us. We practically avowed it at the time of the negotiations with the Government, when we were informed that the services of the High Commissioner had been accepted with a view to a peaceful settlement. We submit

that we kept faith in every detail in the arrangement. We did all that was humanly possible to protect both the State and Dr. Jameson from the consequences of his action ; that we have committed no breach of the law which was not known to the Government at the time ; and that the earnest consideration of our grievances was promised. We can now only put the bare facts before the Court, and submit to the judgment that may be passed upon us.

(Signed) LIONEL PHILLIPS,  
FRANCIS RHODES,  
GEORGE FARRAR.

PRETORIA, *24th April*, 1896.

I entirely concur with the above statement.

JOHN HAYS HAMMOND.

PRETORIA, *27th April*, 1896.

STATEMENT HANDED IN BY THE REMAINDER OF THE  
COMMITTEE

“We have heard the statement made by Mr. Lionel Phillips, and we fully agree with what he has said as regards the objects of the Reform Committee. We have worked with these gentlemen, and the only object all had in view was to use their utmost endeavours to avert bloodshed, but at the same time to endeavour to obtain the redress of what we considered very serious grievances.”

## *APPENDIX IV*

### THE CONVENTION OF LONDON (1884). (CRITICAL CLAUSES.)

ARTICLE I. (defines Boundaries).

Art. II.—The Government of the South African Republic will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the first Article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachments upon lands beyond the said boundaries. The Government of the South African Republic will appoint Commissioners upon the eastern and western borders whose duty it will be strictly to guard against irregularities and all trespassing over the boundaries. Her Majesty's Government will, if necessary, appoint Commissioners in the native territories outside the eastern and western borders of the South African Republic to maintain order and prevent encroachments.

Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic will each appoint a person to proceed together to beacon off the amended south-west boundary as described in Article I. of this Convention ; and the President of the Orange Free State shall be requested to appoint a referee to whom the said persons shall refer any questions on which they may disagree respecting the interpretation of the said Article, and the decision of such referee thereon shall be final. The arrangement already made, under the terms of Article XIX. of the Convention of Pretoria of the 3rd August, 1881, between the owners of the farms Grootfontein and Valleifontein on the one hand, and the Barolong 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 Barolongs, shall continue in force.

Art. III.—If a British officer is appointed to reside at Pretoria or elsewhere within the South African Republic to discharge func-

tions analogous to those of a Consular officer, he will receive the protection and assistance of the Republic.

Art. IV.—The South African Republic will conclude no Treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than [the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen. Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if Her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such Treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such Treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain, or of any of Her Majesty's Possessions in South Africa.

Arts. V. and VI. (deal with State financial liabilities).

Art. VII.—All persons who held property in the Transvaal on the 8th day of August, 1881, and still hold the same, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the 12th April, 1877. No person who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the late 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.

Art. VIII.—The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention, and in the Convention of Pretoria, that no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery, will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic.

Art. IX.—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.

Art. X. (is about graves of British soldiers in Transvaal).

Art. XI.—All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of the South African Republic, 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 South African Republic; and all persons holding any such grant so considered

invalid and of no effect will receive from the Government of the South African Republic such compensation, either in land or 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 consideration from the Government of the 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 High Commissioner will recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, or of the permanent improvements thereon.

Art. XII.—The independence of the Swazis, within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the first Article of this Convention, will be fully recognised.

Art. XIII.—Except in pursuance of any treaty or engagement made as provided in Article IV. of this Convention, no other or higher duties shall be imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions than are or may be imposed on the like article coming from any other place or country; nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions which shall not equally extend to the like article coming from any other place or country. And in like manner the same treatment shall be given to any article coming to Great Britain from the South African Republic as to the like article coming from any other place or country. These provisions do not preclude the consideration of special arrangements as to import duties and commercial relations between the South African Republic and any of Her Majesty's Colonies and Possessions.

Art. XIV.—All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic, (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (*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 citizens of the said Republic.

Art. XV.—(Makes some exemptions from compulsory military service, completed as regards all British subjects by Lord Loch's 1894 arrangement).

Art. XVI.—(Extradition).

Arts. XVII., XVIII.—(Pre-retrocession debts and other contracts).

Art. XIX.—The Government of the South African Republic will engage faithfully to fulfil the assurances given, in accordance with the laws of the South African Republic, to the natives at the Pretoria Pitso by the Royal Commission in the presence of the Triumvirate and with their entire assent, (1) as to the freedom of the natives to buy or otherwise acquire land under certain conditions ; (2) as to the appointment of a commission to mark out native locations ; (3) as to the access of the natives to the courts of law ; and (4) as to their being allowed to move freely within the country, or to leave it for any legal purpose, under a pass system.

Art. XX.—(Ratification provision).

Signed in duplicate in London this 27th day of February, 1884.

(Signed) HERCULES ROBINSON.

(Signed) S. J. P. KRUGER.

(Signed) S. J. DU TOIT.

(Signed) M. J. SMIT.

## APPENDIX V

### CECIL RHODES AND HIS POLICY

AS SKETCHED BY THE AUTHOR IN 1889-90

(*Extract from "In Afrikanderland."*)

. . . "THERE lies before me another curious illustration of the efforts which, in the anti-English period after the Transvaal war, the Government of the Republic repeatedly made, but made in vain, to conclude arrangements with the Matabele King. This is a copy of a letter which was sent by General Joubert to Lobengula nine years ago. It was given to me by Mr. Selous, the eponymous hero of the "Selous Road" to Fort Salisbury, the Nimrod of South Africa, the English Pathfinder whose unerring skill has since guided the pioneers of Mashonaland safely to their goal through the trackless bush. It had never before been published, this strange State paper, and Mr. Selous had become possessed of it as follows : On one of the adventurous hunting expeditions which have chequered the last twenty years of Mr. Selous' life, the young Englishman happened to be up at the King's kraal when the letter arrived. It was couched in Dutch, and the messenger could not translate it. At Lobengula's request Mr. Selous took the letter down to his wagon, and there wrote out the very translation which he showed me in manuscript. The letter is dated "Marico, S.A.R., March 9, 1882," and addressed to "the great ruler, the chief Lobengula, son of Umziligaze, the great King of the Matabele nation." "Now you must have heard," it runs, "that the English took away our country, the Transvaal, or, as they say, annexed it. We then talked nicely for four years, and begged for our country. But no ; when an Englishman once has your property in his hands, then is he like to an ape that has its hands full of pumpkin-seeds. If you don't beat him to death, he will never let go. And thus all our nice talk for four years did not help us at all. Then the English commenced to arrest us, because we were dissatisfied, and that caused the shooting and fighting. Then the English first

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found that it would be better to give us back our country. . . . And we will now once more live in friendship with Lobengula, as we lived in friendship with Umziligaze; and such must be our friendship that so long as there is one Boer and one Matabele living these must remain friends." After a hopeful allusion to the time "when the stink which the Englishman brought with him is blown away altogether," this unique document of diplomacy closes with the signature of "The Commandant-General of the S.A. Republic, for the Government and Administration, P. J. Joubert."

. . . "In truth, Mr. Rhodes will only be striking the last, winning stroke in a battle which he has been fighting ever since 82-'83—since the time of the filibustering "Republics" of Stellaland and Goshen, the expedition of Sir Charles Warren, and the proclamation of Bechuanaland as a protectorate with Crown colony for base. It was an open eye to the north which made the Government of the Transvaal turn a blind eye on the west to the irregularities of the overflow into Bechuanaland. That overflow would have locked the Republic with German territory, built a Boer wall, as it were, across the continent of Africa, and so fenced us off once and for all from direct expansion towards the interior of the continent. In the firm and timely settlement which checkmated that design Mr. Rhodes had a hand, and struck the keynote of his policy ever since towards the Boer pioneer. "Keep your land titles," he said in effect to the adventurers who called themselves the "Republic of Stellaland"—"keep your titles, but write them in English instead of Dutch." On the one hand he realized that everything must be done with and through the Dutch; on the other, he already regarded Bechuanaland as the English high road to Zambesia.

"The story of how Paul Kruger was outflanked takes us back to the "Railway Question." . . . Oom Paul would not hear of the Kimberley line being carried forward to the Transvaal goldfields, which were then regarded as its goal. He must first see the completion of the Delagoa Bay railway—not to say the Greek Kalends, or the coming of the Coqigrues. For a time, no doubt, President Kruger simply pleaded precedence for the Delagoa Bay line as a means of delaying altogether the advent of the iron horse. Then he seems to have conceived the idea of Pretoria as a railway capital, the centre of a grand trunk system which would throw out an arm not only to Delagoa Bay and to each of the colonial ports,

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but northward, *vid* the north-eastern gold deposits of the Transvaal, to the land of Ophir.

"But while Oom Paul, like the marketer in the fable, was deliberating on the giddy wealth that his crockery ought to bring him in, the pick of the basket was spilt before his eyes. Just when Cape Colony as a whole is beginning to feel heartily sick of being played off against Natal, when even the Dutch farmer of the "Paarl party" is stung with the suspicion that he has been cheaply humbugged by Oom Paul's promises of a favouring tariff--at this psychological moment enters on the scene Mr. Rhodes with his concession and Charter. "Kruger will not let us take the Kimberley line into his country? Very well, says the Kimberley Diamond King, then we will take it round him and beyond, on the way to the richer Transvaal of the Zambesi. What is more, here is my Company ready, for a consideration, to undertake the job." A three-cornered bargain between the Imperial Government, the Colonial Government, and the Company is soon arranged; so much land for taking the line to Vryburg (where it now is),<sup>1</sup> so much more for taking it to Mafeking, hitherto the *ultima Thule* of South African traders--terms on which the Cape Government should raise a loan, and on which it can eventually take over the railway. What does this mean? It means that instead of young Cape Colony seeking careers in the Transvaal, young South Africa, the Transvaal included, will have to seek careers in the great interior under the flag of Mr. Rhodes. . . . Cape Town will have its pull at whatever milk and honey may be flowing in Matabeleland proper, through that thin strip of territory which was saved from Boer clutches in 1885 as the neck of the bottle. But strategically, in any case, the railway has done its work. It has given into Cape keeping the key to the land of Ophir. Oom Paul has let a pawn be pushed past him, and the pawn, by all the rules of chess, has made itself a queen.

"You see at once how the situation has been revolutionized. Suppose for a moment that in the long struggle for ascendancy in Matabeleland, Boer, and not British, had won the day. Suppose, in other words, that instead of a Transvaal pent in between the Vaal and the Limpopo, and already overrun with English or English-speaking men, we had now to deal with a Transvaal

<sup>1</sup> It is to reach Buluwayo this year.—Feb., 1897.

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larger than Great Britain, France, Austria, and Italy put together, its boundaries marching on the west with German territory, and on the east with Portuguese, while to the north the Boer pioneer might stand, as the Englishman stands now, and look across the Zambesi to a vista which it will be for future history to limit. Then, indeed, the Transvaal might well call itself the "South African Republic"; and on what a vantage-ground would it take its stand when the time comes to make terms for the confederation of the future! At present every community of English and Colonial miners that we plant on Transvaal soil is as a great piece of blotting-paper laid over so much of the map, soaking up the script which marks it alien to England. Within the Republic this absorbent power has well nigh done its work. But if, by a sort of fissiparous birth, a new and a larger Transvaal could suddenly appear clinging to the side of the old, that work would be more than half undone. As it is, the Boer will multiply and spread side by side with the Englishman and the English Afrikander; but he will do so under the English flag. Among the members of the United South Africa of the future the two premier States have changed places. The dream of a Boer hegemony has melted away. With the gold of Ophir to put into the scale against the gold of the Transvaal, and a territory encircling the two Dutch Republics as the sea washes a peninsula, we hold the balance in our hands. Once again the South African centre of gravity has been moved along its wonted line from Cape Town to Kimberley, from Kimberley to Johannesburg, from Johannesburg to Matabeleland. John Bull's "John Company" has brought in a new world to redress the balance of the old.

\* \* \* \* \*

"'Il n'y a pas un homme nécessaire.' That philosophical apophthegm, like the historical one which says that the moment makes the man, not the man the moment, is only half true. There is no indispensable man—no, not if you mean indispensable to a hemisphere, to an epoch, to a time or an interest large enough to count in the eternal sum of things. But when you come down to such trifles as the interest of the British Empire in a particular century in a particular quarter of the globe, it is different. From such a point of view as this Mr. Rhodes has been for some years a Necessary Man in South Africa. Of course, the better work he does, the less indispensable will he become every day, as is the fate of necessary