

A  
CENTURY OF INJUSTICE

Synopsis of a Message to the People of South-Africa, sent  
by the Government of the South-African Republic.

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AN EARNEST REPRESENTATION AND HISTORICAL  
REMINDER

TO

Her Majesty Queen Victoria of Great Britain and Ireland,  
Empress of India, etc.

IN VIEW OF THE PREVAILING CRISIS,

BY

P. J. JOUBERT,

Vice-President of the South-African Republic and Commander-in-Chief  
of the Burghers Army.

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A PROCLAMATION TO THE BURGHERS OF THE  
ORANGE FREE STATE,

BY

M. J. STEIN,

President of the Orange Free State.

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PRECEDED BY

THE STRUGGLE OF OUR BRETHERN IN SOUTH-  
AFRICA TO MAINTAIN THEIR  
INDEPENDENCE,

A COMMUNICATION TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,

BY

C. W. VAN DER HOOGT.

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BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

1899

## PREFACE.

*My Fellow Citizens :*

I offer to you a true story of the struggle of the Boers in South-Africa. It will be sent to every one who makes application for it.

If you feel after reading the story that it is worth something to learn the real "grievances," not of the "Uitlanders," but of the "Inlanders" on South African soil, I shall feel highly rewarded if you will send a little contribution to one of the local committees, which I hope will soon be organized all over the country, to receive money for the wounded.

We will probably not be so fortunate as to send a hospital ship to South-Africa. If we could, I should like to see it named "Oom Paul," but I do not dare to entertain such expectations. It will be well to inform you that the committees have opened communication with the Red-Cross Society at the Hague, in the Netherlands, and all amounts, small or large, will be thankfully received. I hope the editors of newspapers will kindly assist in this effort to help the relief fund for our wounded brethren in far South Africa. The generosity of the American people is too well-known, and a call to that effect has never remained unanswered.

I express my gratitude for the sympathy the press has shown to the Boers' cause, and especially for its friendly attitude toward them in my home city, convinced as I am that it will continue the good work.

I thank my friend H. H. de Vos, in New York, ex-Vice Consul of the Netherlands in Constantinople and Hamburg, for his assistance in the translation of documents, and my friends in the East and West for their encouragement, their enthusiasm and devotion to the Boers' cause, and finally, I ask consideration for the literary shortcomings of the work, not for my own sake, but for that of the Boers.

Sincerely yours,

C. W. VAN DER HOOGT.

Baltimore, Md., November 27, 1899.







STEPHANUS J. PAULUS KRUGER,  
PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

# THE STRUGGLE OF OUR BRETHREN IN SOUTH-AFRICA TO MAINTAIN THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

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A COMMUNICATION TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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“ Oh Lord, we thank Thee for Thy goodness and mercy Thou hast bestowed upon us to make our land and people free and independent.”

These simple words were spoken years ago by President Kruger from the pulpit of the Dutch Reformed Church in Zaandam, Holland, as the guest of my brother, Rev. M. J. Van der Hoogt, to a great multitude, who came to see and to greet “the grand old man” from South Africa. This took place on the occasion of his visit to Holland, after the Convention made with the British Government at London, in 1884. He preached a sermon and at the same time he gave a little sketch of the struggle in which his people have been engaged for almost a century. His touching story, told in plain and simple language, compelled tears from the eyes of his audience. Those who were present will never lose the impression his appearance made upon them. They will remember Oom Paul with sympathy, admiration and respect. His people believe his words, because he is a Christian in the noble sense of the word; and because he loves them and is beloved by them. And yet, many stories about his barbarism have been told! How much injustice he has endured from the hands

of his accusers! Those who have once met this noble figure, looked in his kind but resolute eyes and grasped his firm hand, know why his people admire and love him. He deserves the confidence of his country, which he serves with a devotion perhaps unequalled in this world.

He soon after left Holland and returned to his native land with great satisfaction, having accomplished a good work in making his country FREE AND INDEPENDENT. That hateful word "suzerainty" had disappeared from the articles of the new convention. As the head of a sovereign power, though humble and small in compass and population, he arrived in the capital of the South-African Republic as the preserver of his people. The country prospered. He now is serving his fourth term as President of that sturdy Dutch Republic, which has proven and is now proving to the world that it is in existence as a free and independent nation. Years have passed in peace under his administration, but circumstances always made it necessary to keep a watchful eye upon the movements of Great Britain. The output of the gold mines increased. The country developed into one of the richest in the world. But this increase of wealth was not to the benefit of the farming population in the Republic, but to adventurers who swarmed into its domain from all lands to hunt for gold. The government made mining-laws more liberal than those of any other country, and they were made in such a way as to prevent capitalists from obtaining monopolies. The object was to suit the mixed population, but the complaints of the English adventurers never ceased.

Their constant desire was to see the Republic become a part of the Empire of Great Britain. Their first demonstration to that end took place when in 1890 President Kruger visited Johannesburg. The flag of the Republic was pulled down from the government building by these aliens and the President was insulted by them. Then came the notorious Jameson raid in 1896, and finally, the so-called "Grievances of the Uitlanders."\*

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\* Uitlander means new-comer or non-citizen.

Many misleading and designedly false statements have been made relative to the Transvaal's President and the Boers. The English press seems always eager to attack the President personally, even in his private life, and they endeavor to have these stories widely circulated, especially on this side of the ocean. Many exaggerated statements have been published as to his accumulation of wealth, for instance, that the President by his economy and that of Mrs. Kruger has saved his annual salary and lived on his coffee money—\$1,500 per annum—which he receives in addition. No ignobler attack could have been made, and I repeat what I have said on the subject in an interview with a reporter of the *Baltimore American* (October 27):

“Those who are acquainted with the way of life in South Africa know that it would be impossible to live on such a small sum, as the humblest state official gets almost that amount of salary. Life in South Africa, especially in Transvaal, is very expensive, and it takes a large sum to live in the way the President does.

“The so-called coffee-money is simply for audience expense. It is an old fashion of the Dutch, not only in South Africa, but all over the world, where they are located, to offer their guests coffee, and President Kruger has his audiences early in the morning. Everybody is allowed to see him, and no one will leave before receiving a treat of coffee, with cake. I am sure that Mrs. Kruger needs all the money allowed for this audience expense, and probably more, for the army of guests daily visiting the President. At half-past five in the morning the President is to be found under his veranda to receive every burgher without any ceremony. Oom Paul and Tante Kruger are very hospitable and generous to the poor, and I know that they do much good without making it public. Both would be ready to give up at any time all they have to save their beloved country.

“The words ‘oom’ and ‘tante’ mean uncle and aunt, and from olden times the Dutch have given these names to popular and beloved persons. The people are devoted to them, and the

President and Mrs. Kruger regard it as an honor to be called by these pet names.

“An African Boer could never become rich in money, but only in land and cattle. Money was always scarce in the Transvaal, and especially before gold was discovered. They have not profited by it. There has been from the English side much talk of filling the pockets of the Boers and accumulation of wealth. This is unjust. The Boers in general are to-day no better off than they were before the gold discovery. They love their land and their cattle, and they are not anxious to become gold-hunters or rich mine-owners.”

The continual assaults upon Mr. Kruger and the comments upon his private life show the sad lack of good arguments, and it may be asked with what right the English could resent attacks upon the Queen, when they resort to the same contemptible methods in regard to the official head of a friendly State?

The object of the publication of this book is to enlighten the American people and to demonstrate that it is not the Boers but England that is in the wrong. Our people have been wrongly informed on the South African question, because they have heard so many one-sided statements which came from English sources.

Those of us who know the true state of affairs owe it to the citizens of this great Republic to inform them about the plain facts, based upon official data set forth in the following documents placed at my disposal :

1st. “A Century of Injustice,” containing a true history of the oppression of the Boers by English intrigues.

2d. “An Earnest Representation and Historical Reminder to Her Majesty Queen Victoria,” written by Vice-President P. J. Joubert, showing that the kind hearted General, Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Boers, although always ready to defend his country, has done everything in his power to convince Her Majesty the Queen of the wrongs done by her

Government and subjects to his people and to avoid a bloody war.

3d. Copies of a proclamation of President Stein of the Orange Free State, and the cablegrams, containing evidence of his efforts to maintain peace, although being finally compelled to stand by his kinsmen and take up arms against Great Britain.

For those who have closely followed the history of the trouble between England and the South African Republic from the beginning, it will be plainly seen that a plan was prepared by Cecil Rhodes, with the approval of Mr. Chamberlain, to make the South African Republic British territory, and as a consequence the Orange Free State, being then the only obstacle in the way of the proposed scheme, would have to follow the fate of her sister republic.

The so-called grievances of the Uitlanders have been used as a pretext to execute the proposed scheme.

The *New York World* has taken the pains to enlighten its millions of readers in respect to the scheme, and for this the struggling Boers owe much gratitude for its unselfish work, especially in regard to its well-known petition to President McKinley. In its number of October 20th, under the heading, "Republic must go, Chamberlain tells the Parliament," the *World* states the substance of the British contention as follows:

"Great Britain must remain the paramount power in South Africa. I do not mean paramount in the German and Portuguese possessions, but in the two republics and the British colonies.

"The whole object of the Boers has been to oust the Queen from her position as suzerain. Now they have thrown off the mask and declared themselves a sovereign, independent State.

"The Transvaal and the Free State have an ideal which is dangerous to Great Britain."

The *World* of the same date also prints the following dispatch from London:

"LONDON, October 19.—Chamberlain's defense of his policy and diplomacy in the House of Commons to-night attracted an immense audience, including Ambassador Choate, who sat in the Diplomatic Gallery, between the Danish and the Spanish Ambassadors, throughout the 160-minute speech.

"Mr. Chamberlain's performance was disappointing in every aspect. He opened with a fierce personal attack on Philip Stanhope, who had challenged him to answer Stead's charges, and was called to order by the Speaker for implying that Stanhope was dishonest.

"Mr. Chamberlain claimed that the Jameson raid chapter was closed by the findings of the Parliamentary inquiry. This evasion excited loud protest from the Opposition, and gained increased credence for Mr. Stead's accusation that Mr. Chamberlain was an accomplice in the raid.

"Mr. Stanhope also challenged Mr. Chamberlain to produce a letter written to Mr. Chamberlain before the Jameson raid inquiry by Mr. Hawkesley, the Secretary of the British South Africa Company. Mr. Chamberlain refused to submit the letter to Mr. Stanhope, but offered, if he should be asked to do so, to show it to Harcourt or Bannerman, who, however, were both parties to the hushed-up raid inquiry.

"The *World* correspondent learns that this letter is a long document, containing specific proofs of the complicity of the Colonial Office in the Jameson raid, and threatening Mr. Chamberlain with exposure for denouncing its promoters in the House of Commons.

"Bannerman refuses to accept Chamberlain's offer by asking for the letter, but Harcourt has not definitely replied so far.

"Mr. Chamberlain's position was much weakened by to-night's proceedings."

In the *World* of October 21 appeared a dispatch from London showing the programme for the destruction of the two Dutch Republics and the intention to annex the countries of that people. The dispatch is as follows :

"LONDON, October 20.—It is reported that Great Britain's immense military preparations against two insignificant republics are viewed with considerable curiosity in some of the European capitals, notably in Paris and St. Petersburg.

"Notes have been exchanged on the subject, and it is even hinted in unofficial quarters that inquiries will be addressed to the British Government as to the contemplated absorption of the two republics by the British Empire.

"The Press Association announces to-night, with an air of authority, that the Government's plan is to terminate the war in the speediest manner possible after the forts at Pretoria and Johannesburg have been razed, and then to promulgate by order of the Queen in council a new constitution for a group of five federal states—Cape Colony, the Transvaal, Natal, the Orange River Free State and Rhodesia—under the title of the Dominion of South Africa, the crown to nominate a Governor-General and the five states having power each to elect its own Lieu-

tenant-Governor and to have local Legislature, with a Dominion Parliament to meet at Cape Town.

"With some modifications, the scheme is based upon lines similar to those of the Canadian Government."

I wish to further call the attention to what a *subject of the Queen of England* says, which is printed in the same paper, November 12th :

#### THE HERITAGE OF HATE.

In a letter to the London *Times* F. C. Selous, the famous English hunter and traveller in South Africa, says :

"Rightly or wrongly, President Kruger has evidently thought that the real object of those who, both in this country and South Africa, have ever since the failure of the raid been carrying on the campaign against his government, were to do away with the *independence of the Transvaal*, either by force of arms or by forcing him to pass such laws as would in a short time allow the British Outlanders to vote him out of existence, and he has therefore gone on arming ever since, and *finally in self-defense precipitated the present war*."

"Whether all the wrong lies with the stubborn, narrow-minded but, in my opinion, honest old President, history will determine. No man born and bred in England that is a man at all, however much he may deplore the war, can fail to have been thrilled to the very marrow of his bones by the splendid valor that has already been shown by our British soldiers manfully doing their duty in South Africa, nor will the generous-minded withhold their meed of praise from the brave Dutchmen who are so stubbornly fighting for what they believe to be a sacred cause."

"But, though our brave soldiers will win honor in this war, and though the war may be an expedient war from the point of view of those who believe that it will bring about an enormous increase of material prosperity to South Africa in the immediate future, *I believe in my inmost soul that it is not a just war*, that it could have been avoided, that it can bring this country no honor, and that it will be the cause of much future trouble. I would remind Dr. Hillier that it is of the utmost importance to look upon the crisis in the Transvaal not merely from a Johannesburg, but from a South African, point of view."

"*We lost our American colonies through endeavoring to impose laws which were distasteful to and were resented by, not all, but a majority of the colonists. This war is resented by the majority of the colonists of South Africa—the Dutch Afrianders—no one yet knows how bitter.*"

"According to Dr. Hillier, the Dutch double their members in South Africa in twenty-five years. There are now some five hundred thousand of them. In twenty-five years they will number a million, and in fifty

years will have increased to two millions. They will always form the vast majority of the people who live on the land in South Africa, while the British will live in the towns and on the mines and lead much less healthy lives."

The action of Sir Alfred Milner, the British high commissioner, clearly demonstrates that he was, and is, in perfect harmony with the policy of Messrs. Cecil Rhodes and Chamberlain, and that his attitude was, and is, the same.

I have in my possession a copy of the minutes of the conference held between her Majesty's high commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, and President Kruger, in which it is clearly demonstrated that Transvaal has abundant grievances against England, and that the complaints of the Outlanders amount to minor charges of a few malcontents.

President Kruger proved by sworn statements that among the 21,000 names of alleged petitioners of so-called English subjects, asking the Queen to interfere, many were entirely unknown in the community, and that others were forgeries, and of those known, even women and children signed this petition.

The 23,000 signatures of Uitlanders who declared their loyalty to the government of their adopted country, England simply ignored.

Many Englishmen want all the privileges of the country, but at the same time they desire and intend to remain British subjects, and these are the complainers!

To give an illustration of falsehood, in which the so-called petitioners asked England to interfere in behalf of the "suppressed Uitlanders," I selected from the many sworn affidavits (printed in the Transvaal Green Book) one which is from an *American citizen*. It reads as follows:

Appearing before me, Justice of the Peace in Johannesburg, South African Republic, this day, the 24th of April, 1899, Thomas Bernard Regan swears and declares:

"I live 33 Critic Building, Johannesburg, and I am an American citizen. Some time ago, before it became known that

there was to be sent a petition to Her Majesty the Queen of England, claiming that it contained 21,000 signatures, a certain Alexander A. Banier approached me with a few sheets of blank paper, with some numbers of pages on the top, asking me to sign a petition. I asked him to show me the petition, and he answered that he had not the petition with him, but that the contents were to ask the British intervention in the affairs of the Transvaal. I refused to sign. He remained in my presence and approached a Mr. Schimmelbusch, asking *him* the same question. I overheard the conversation, and among other things, Schimmelbusch said: 'How do I know that I am not signing my death warrant?' I was curious and gave all my attention to the incident. I saw that Banier went to a table, sat down and commenced to write. Afterwards he rose from the table and showed me the same sheets of paper. I discovered that they were now filled with from ten to fifteen names. When he showed this to me, he said: 'How's that?' I looked at him and his papers with astonishment. I swear positive that it had been utterly impossible to get these signatures and I am convinced that these names were forgeries."

Signed: T. B. REAGAN.

Sworn before me,

Signed: SMUTS DE VILLIERS,  
*Justice of the Peace.*

"Sir Alfred Milner's frank avowal of the underlying purpose of the war on the Boers," says the *World* in its number of November 5th, "exposes the *insincerity* of the pretense that it is to defend the Uitlanders," and published a special dispatch from London, dated November 4th, which is as follows:

"Sir Alfred Milner's declaration to James Molteno (a member of the Cape Legislature and the leader of the Dutch majority in the House of Assembly) when asked the reason for the war—"I am determined to break the dominion of Afrikanerdom"—is regarded as the gravest, most sinister disclosure yet made of the spirit in which Mr. Chamberlain, the Imperial Secretary for the Colonies, and Milner, the British High Commissioner in South Africa, cold-bloodedly forced the war.

"Molteno's interview with Milner took place four days before the issue of the Boer ultimatum, and when Milner was unable to answer Molteno's argument to prove that the war is unjustifiable, he closed the conversation with the declaration above cited.

"This not only tears the mask from the pretense that the Outlanders' grievances spurred Chamberlain and Milner to action, but it makes plain to the Dutch majority in Cape Colony and in South Africa generally that they are to be placed in a position of permanent subjection to the British minority. Already, indeed, this policy is being openly proclaimed by the leaders of the South African League, the capitalist body whose instrument Milner was throughout the negotiations.

"The Chronicle cable from Cape Town, printed to-day, says the newspapers there not only are writing up annexation as a foregone conclusion, but are going to the length of urging a readjustment of the Constitution so as to prevent the Dutch majority of the people of Cape Colony from asserting the rights of the majority.

"Henry Labouchere, speaking of the Molteno interview, says :

"Thus the real ground for the war was carefully concealed until it was rendered inevitable, and those who plotted and manoeuvred for it now must count upon the passions aroused by actual conflict to secure oblivion for their bad faith alike to this country and to the Transvaal.

"As Mr. Molteno justly observes, not only is the war itself bad enough, but the after effects will be, if possible, worse. The English and the Dutch will never come together again and South Africa will be a hell."

"Not a single jingo paper has attempted a word of explanation or defense of Milner's policy as now exposed. They probably are waiting for a cue from Cape Town."

I have reason to suppose (consulting the documents in my possession) that the only man who was sincere and earnest in his desire to come to an understanding in order to settle the difficulties existing between Her Majesty's Government and the South African Republic and to prevent war, was Mr. Conyngham Green, the British Agent at Pretoria, and I believe the *World* was correct when it published, November 12th, the following :

"LONDON, Nov. 11.—With a full sense of the gravity of the statement, the *World* correspondent asserts, upon trustworthy information, that Conyngham Greene, the British agent at Pretoria, had informally come to a complete agreement with the Boer Government shortly before the issue of the Boer ultimatum, on all subjects in dispute and had so advised British High Commissioner Milner.

"Milner instantly repudiated Greene's action and rebuked him for continuing informal negotiations, which, he said, could only lead to compromising entanglements.

"Evidence of this is in the hands of President Kruger, who, even under tremendous provocation to publish it, has withheld it because he and his colleagues are satisfied that Greene acted honestly throughout the negotiations, and that if he were a free agent the war would have been prevented.

"Besides, the agreement, of course, was conditional upon its acceptance by the High Commissioner, and in such cases it is customary, where stipulation of mutual secrecy is made, to keep the communications strictly confidential.

"Mr. Greene's dispatches, as published, even in mutilated form, afford evidence that he was actuated throughout by a desire to secure peace. His only statement to the press since his arrival here, which was treated as a mere perfunctory declaration, assumes a very serious import, in view of the unimpeachable information now given by the *World*. He said:

"I worked for peace up to the hour I left Pretoria, and parted with President Kruger on cordial terms."

"Sir Alfred Milner, at Cape Town, and Colonial Secretary Chamberlain, in London, have avowed that they regarded war as inevitable for weeks before, but Conyngham Greene, the British agent at Pretoria, the man on the spot, and knowing all the circumstances and the real disposition of the Boer Government, did not abandon hope of peace up to the hour he was forced to leave Pretoria by the imperative instructions of High Commissioner Milner.

"The truth is that Mr. Greene would have been removed from Pretoria long before—for the Rhodes party early pronounced him wanting in firmness and he was an obstacle to the war policy of Chamberlain and Milner—had not Mr. Chamberlain been afraid to make a change at so critical a juncture, while Mr. Greene, though offered every inducement, would not desert his post. Evidence that Milner and Chamberlain regarded Greene's conduct with displeasure during the negotiations is abundant. When he went down from Pretoria he was hustled out of Cape Town by Milner by the first homeward steamer. When he arrived here he found that Mr. Chamberlain had left London for his country seat, and this important British envoy, coming direct from the capital of a country with which Great Britain is now at war, has not yet been received by the head of his department so that he might convey his views verbally on the momentous situation.

"Finding that Mr. Chamberlain, though within two hours of London, did not condescend to come up to see him or even ask him down to Highbury, Mr. Greene called at the Foreign-Office, where he saw Lord Salisbury, to whom he complained bitterly of the open discourtesy shown him by both Chamberlain and Milner. He also went, as in duty bound, to the Colonial Office, where he was received by officials of no account.

"He has been treated as a diplomatist in disgrace. His offence is that he honestly worked to prevent war."

The subject of "SUZERAINTY" which England claimed over the South African Republic has been discussed by many prominent scholars in this country, who reviewed the question from the English as well as the Boers' standpoint. The majority of them agree that the London convention of 1884 did away with the word "Suzerainty" and the relation intended to be signified by that word, as it was acknowledged to be an obstacle in the way of the free and independent development of the republic. I could well pass over the whole subject, for in my humble opinion suzerainty is not in existence; but as Her Majesty's Government has again put that irrational claim to the front, I wish to prove with the evidences in my possession that the position of the South African Republic is correct. That England maintains its claim of "suzerainty" has been demonstrated by the fact that instead of the Department of Foreign Affairs negotiating with the South African Republic, the Colonial Office assumed the negotiations, and by so doing Great Britain has shown that she regarded the South African Republic as a vassal state. This was an unjustified act of Her Majesty's Government, and yet in order to avoid further trouble, the Secretary of State of the South African Republic did not stand upon his rights. It was not Mr. Chamberlain who should have been called upon to settle the differences, but Lord Salisbury, and it is to be regretted that the latter did not conduct the negotiations, as I am firmly convinced that then this bitter war would not have taken place. When the representatives of South Africa signed the convention of 1884, the convention of 1881 was of course annulled. As an additional proof, it may be mentioned that the name "Transvaal" was changed into "the South African Republic," and it is obvious that the South African Government could never concede Mr. Chamberlain's novel claim that only the convention of 1881, *but not its preamble*, was superseded by the 1884 convention. The situation is as follows:

The Pretoria convention of 1881 recognized the Republic's independence, but England reserved the control of external relations, including conclusion of treaties and the conduct of

diplomatic intercourse, which was to be carried on through British diplomatic and consular officers. This convention *and its preamble* were abrogated by the London convention of 1884, and Lord Derby (then Secretary of State for the Colonies) distinctly stated that the South African Republic will be left free to govern itself, to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and to shape its foreign policy, subject only to the provisions of Article 4, providing that no treaty with a foreign country (other than the Orange Free State) shall become effective without the approval of Her Majesty. In accordance with this treaty Baron Beelaerts van Blokland was recognized by Great Britain as minister plenipotentiary of the South African Republic and held this position until his death in 1894. Moreover, the South African Republic has appointed consuls throughout Europe, and the consul-general in London and consul in Durban were granted exequatur by the British Government, which has likewise asked exequatur for the British consuls in the Republic. 27.

It is, therefore, plain that the South African Republic is a sovereign and independent State. Another proof of its Sovereignty is that the Republic is admitted into the Postal Union and is a member of the Convention of Geneva. Furthermore, our own Government as well as other Powers have been officially notified that there exists a state of war between Great Britain and the two South African Republics, and in view of the generally admitted doctrine that there cannot be a state of war between a Suzerain and its vassal, Great Britain in the face of this notice necessarily withdraws its claims upon the South African Republic and it will require all of Mr. Chamberlain's eloquence to explain away the inconsistency between this notice and his claim of Suzerainty. Our Government and other powers have appointed consuls and received exequators from the Government of the South African Republic.

Still stronger evidence of independent Sovereignty, is the fact that the United States Consul at Pretoria is acting in a protectorate capacity for British subjects; and, be it remem-

bered, that this is at the special request of and as a matter of international courtesy to the British Government on the part of the United States and by order of our Secretary of State to that Consul.

Furthermore, it is well known that by international law, even with all these dealings between our Government and that of Great Britain, the Consul at Pretoria could not act in such capacity without the consent of the Government of the South African Republic, which could at any time withdraw his exequator.

Taking all these facts into consideration, it is plain that there cannot be any question of Suzerainty, and that the South African Republic was and is a sovereign independent State.

The American Monthly, *Review of Reviews*, one of the foremost magazines in this country, published in its "Leading Articles of the Month" (November number) under the title, "Mr. Chamberlain's Diplomacy," the following :

"Diplomaticus" writes, in the *Fortnightly Review* for October, on "Mr. Chamberlain's Mistakes." This writer especially censures Mr. Chamberlain for putting forward a claim to the suzerainty of 1881 :

"Never," says 'Diplomaticus,' "was a good cause compromised in a more unhappy and gratuitous fashion. To have raised this question at any time would have been unwise and superfluous, but to do it at a time when the first object of statesmanship was avowedly to solve the franchise question, was a fatal and unpardonable blunder. The claim was not only of very doubtful value, but it is absolutely futile and unprofitable. There was absolutely no necessity for raising it. Even if the whole of Mr. Chamberlain's case were granted, the suzerainty for which he contends is an empty thing. It would not give us a single right or advantage we do not already possess or which was not amply secured to us. The word alone, as used in the 1881 preamble, has no effective meaning.

"A GRAVE ERROR.

"But the worst of Mr. Chamberlain's blunder in putting forward this doubtful and unnecessary contention is that he thereby prejudiced the chances of an amicable settlement of the franchise question, inasmuch as he embittered the Boers and gave them a grievance with which to appeal not only to Dutch sympathy, but to the sympathy of not a few leaders of public opinion in Europe. The extraordinary thing is that

it was not raised in the heat of any controversy, but in the full tide of Sir Milner's conciliatory mission, and before the High Commissioner had come to the conclusion that diplomacy was useless to liberate the Uitlanders and the moment for intervention had arrived. Mr. Chamberlain did not dream of it at the time of the raid, for when, in the negotiations which followed that deplorable act of folly, President Kruger referred to newspaper theories on the subject and declared roundly that the suzerainty 'no longer exists,' he abstained from controverting him and correctly took his stand by Article IV. It was in October, 1897, that, in answer to proposals for a scheme of arbitration to settle all disputes between Pretoria and Downing Street, Mr. Chamberlain, for the first time for thirteen years, asserted the existence of the suzerainty in virtue of the 1881 preamble. The Transvaal repudiated the claim, and Sir Alfred Milner himself, following in the traditions of Sir Hercules Robinson and Lord Derby, was 'unable to see anything material in this controversy.' Nevertheless the Colonial Secretary persisted in it, with the result that, on May 9th of the present year, he received a note from Mr. Reitz, the ill-temper of which is apparent in every line, and especially in the extravagance and defiance of the claim that the South African Republic is a 'sovereign international State.'

"It is not difficult to understand this ill-temper. The Boers honestly believed that in 1884 their diplomacy had obtained the revocation of the 1881 preamble. Now, on the morrow of the raid and on the eve of a fresh Uitlander campaign, when they had hoped to bargain for a further extension of their independence, they found themselves confronted by what they regarded as an attempt to reduce them to the status of the 1881 convention. It was under this aggrieved impression that they went into the Bloemfontein conference. Can we wonder that the meeting failed? How Mr. Chamberlain came to play this trump card into Mr. Kruger's hands passes my comprehension. The effect of the blunder is, however, clear, for if we have war it will not be on the question of a seven or five years' franchise, but, so far as Dutch public feeling is concerned, mainly on the question of the suzerainty."

As to the FRANCHISE, although the British Government had no right to interfere in the domestic affairs of the South African Republic, President Kruger showed his willingness to yield to the demanded franchise, the most important of the "grievances of the Uitlanders." Laws were passed whereby the term of residence for naturalization was reduced. After two years' citizenship a new citizen could already be appointed Justice of the Peace and to other minor official positions. There were more privileges offered to them than in any other civilized country on the globe.

The following official messages to the Consul of Great Britain at Pretoria prove the sincerity of the South African Government to settle the differences :

[TRANSLATION.]

“ DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, GOVERNMENT OFFICE,

“ PRETORIA, August 19, 1899.

“ *Sir* :

“ With reference to your request for a joint enquiry, contained in your despatches of 2 and 3 August, the Government of the South African Republic have the honour to suggest the alternative proposal for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, which this Government trusts may lead to final settlement.

“ 1. The Government are willing to recommend to the Volksraad and the People a five years retrospective franchise, as proposed by His Excellency the High Commissioner at Bloemfontein, on 1 June, 1899.

“ 2. The Government are further willing to recommend to the Volksraad, that eight new seats in the First Volksraad and, if necessary, also in the Second Volksraad, be given to the population of the Witwatersrand, thus with the two sitting members of the Goldfields, giving to the population thereof ten representatives in a Raad of thirty-six, and in future the representation of the Goldfields of this Republic shall not fall below the proportion of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the total.

“ 3. The new burghers shall, equally with the old burghers, be entitled to vote at the election for State President and Commandant General.

“ 4. This Government will always be prepared to take into consideration such friendly suggestions regarding the details of the Franchise Law as Her Majesty's Government, through the British Agent, may wish to convey to it.

“ 5. In putting forward the above proposals the Government of the South African Republic assumes :

"*a.* That Her British Majesty's Government will agree that the present intervention shall not form a precedent for future similar action and that in the future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic will take place.

"*b.* That Her Majesty's Government will not further insist on the assertion of the Suzerainty, the controversy on this subject being allowed tacitly to drop.

"*c.* That arbitration (from which foreign element, other than Orange Free State, is to be excluded) will be conceded as soon as the franchise scheme has become law.

"6. Immediately on Her British Majesty's Government accepting this proposal for a settlement, the Government will ask the Volksraad to adjourn for the purpose of consulting the people about it and the whole scheme might become law, say, within a few weeks.

7. In the meantime the form and scope of the proposed tribunal are also to be discussed and provisionally agreed upon, while the franchise scheme is being referred to the people, so that no time may be lost in putting an end to the present state of affairs.

The Government trusts that Her Majesty's Government will clearly understand, that in the opinion of this Government, the existing franchise law of this Republic is both fair and liberal to the new population, and that the consideration that induces them to go further as they do in the above proposals, is their strong desire to get the controversies between the two governments settled, and further to put an end to the present strained relations between the two governments, and the incalculable harm and loss it has already occasioned in South Africa, and to prevent a racial war from the effects of which South Africa may not recover for many generations, perhaps never at all, and therefore this Government having regard for all these circumstances, would highly appreciate it, if Her Majesty's Govern-

ment, seeing the necessity of preventing the present crisis from developing still further, and the urgency of an early termination of the present state of affairs, would expedite the acceptance or refusal of the settlement here offered.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ F. W. REITZ,

“ *State Secretary.*

“ The Honourable

“ W. CONYNGHAM GREENE, C. B.,

“ British Agent,

“ Pretoria.

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[TRANSLATION.]

“ DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, GOVERNMENT OFFICE,

“ PRETORIA, August 21, 1899.

“ *Sir :*

“ In continuation of my despatch of the 19th instant, and with reference to the communication to you of the State Attorney this morning, I wish to forward you the following in explanation thereof, with the request that the same may be telegraphed to His Excellency the High Commissioner as forming part of the proposals of this Government embodied in the above named despatch :

“ I. The proposals of this Government regarding the question of franchise and representation contained in that despatch must be regarded as expressly conditional, on Her Majesty's Government consenting to the points set forth in par. 5 of the despatch, viz.:

“ *a.* In future not to interfere in the internal affairs of the South African Republic.

“ *b.* Not to insist further on its assertion of the existence of the Suzerainty.

“ *c.* To agree to arbitration.

" 2. With reference to par. 6 of the despatch this Government trusts that it is clear to Her Majesty's Government that this Government has not consulted the Volksraad as to this question, and will only do so when an affirmative reply to its proposals has been received from Her Majesty's Government.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Your obedient servant,

" F. W. REITZ,

" *State Secretary.*

" The honourable

" W. CONYNGHAM GREENE, C. B.,

" British Agent,

" Pretoria."

Mr. Chamberlain rejected these reasonable proposals, and, instead of coming to a fair understanding, he increased his demands. The Boers were disheartened and grieved. Consequently the South African Republic withdrew its proposals and asked Her Majesty's Government to stand by the original ones.

Mr. Chamberlain replied by breaking off negotiations in the form of an ultimatum, saying :

"The Imperial Government are now compelled to consider the situation afresh and formulate proposals for a final settlement of the issues which have been created in South Africa by the policy constantly followed for many years by the Government of the South African Republic (the Transvaal).

"*They will communicate the result of their deliberations in a later despatch.*"

It was then September 22nd. The promised proposals were not forthcoming. The efforts of Mr. Greene, the Consular Agent in Pretoria, who seemed to have recommended the acceptance of the Republic's proposals, were in vain. In the meantime, and previous to these negotiations, war preparations were going on and a cry for war was heard in the English Parliament. To gain time was the scheme for the present, until the British Government had a sufficient army landed, so as to dictate

to the Boers its own terms. The Government at Pretoria waited for Mr. Chamberlain's "new proposals" until October 9th, after which they demanded a withdrawal of the troops from the borders of both Republics, and that the dispatch of troops to South Africa, *pending the negotiations*, should stop. Again the Government of the South African Republic offered arbitration and was ready to name the Government of the United States or the Republic of Switzerland as the arbitrator, but it was ignored. Does it not convince every impartial person of the justice of the cause of the Boers, that they were willing to arbitrate and let others decide upon the question, who is in the wrong? Would that not have been the honest way out of the difficulties?

The Hon. Andrew Carnegie, the great philanthropist, says, in an interview with the Duke of Manchester, which the *New York Journal* gives in its number of November 12th :

"I suppose you know what my views are on the subject of the two wars which are occupying the respective attention of the two Anglo-Saxon nations. As to Great Britain's war with the Transvaal, I consider it an unjustifiable and entirely unnecessary one.

"ENGLAND MISTAKEN ON FACTS.

"I have a peculiar and intimate knowledge of the inner workings and inner meanings and origin of this dispute, and I can assure you that the British Government has an entirely wrong conception of the true state of the British subjects in the Transvaal before the war. Further, I do not believe that Great Britain will ever be able to hold permanently the Transvaal. To me Sir Alfred Milner was merely a reckless, though, of course, clever young man, who has dashed into this business without sufficient grasp of his subject.

"To say that the Boer ultimatum caused war is a mistake; for war, in fact, was declared virtually from the moment Great Britain began to strengthen *her forces in South Africa*. Of course, from that moment it would have been military madness of the Boers to sit still and wait preparations to be made for an overwhelming force to be thrown on them at the beginning of the proceedings. Their only chance was to hit first, and keep on hitting while they could. 'What a setback,' Mr. Carnegie exclaimed, turning to me, says the Duke, 'to those impetuous and sanguine prophets who anticipated full-dress route march to Pretoria!'"

My fellow-citizens, judge for yourselves, what could the two Republics do under these circumstances? There was nothing else to be done than to call the burghers to arms for the defense of their liberty, independence and homes from foreign invasion. The war was forced upon them by a powerful and relentless foe, whose creed is that might makes right, and who is bent upon the conquest of weaker nations wherever opportunity may safely offer. The Boers have made all the concessions they could make.

*The Baltimore American*, which has from the beginning proved to be thoroughly posted on the South African question, and to which I offer my thanks in behalf of my friends in South Africa for its clear statements of the situation, says, in its editorial, "Exasperating the Boers," Sept. 27th :

"Mr. Chamberlain's latest communications to the Transvaal were evidently written at the dictation of the British government, and for the purpose of avoiding war. Had they been written by any other member of the Cabinet, they would have been more likelihood of avoiding hostilities. The arrogant tone of the despatches will grate upon the Boers, already sufficiently exasperated, and the constant juggle of words will increase the very strong suspicion of the British government's insincerity. To say that England has no desire or intention to interfere with the independence of the Transvaal or its internal affairs, and in the same breath demand that the republic shall frame its laws to the minutest details as Chamberlain directs, must sound absurd to people unfamiliar with Mr. Chamberlain's recent course.

"Not only is the naturalization of foreigners to be regulated in accordance with the precise demands of Chamberlain, but the procedure of the Transvaal Parliament is also to be adjusted to his way of thinking, even to the naming of the language in which the speaker is to be addressed. While asserting the independence of the republic and the freedom of its internal affairs from interference, he insists that contracts which the Transvaal government has made for manufactures shall be abrogated, because England can furnish them cheaper. These arrogant demands are based upon a convention between the two countries, in which the Transvaal agrees not to make treaties with any foreign countries without the approval of Great Britain. This is absolutely the only privilege given to England by the London convention, and, for fear that there might be some misconstruction of it, the British Premier, under whom it was made, assured the Boers solemnly in writing that it did not furnish the basis for interference of any sort in the affairs of their country.

"It is not likely that the Boers will give heed to these last communications more than to those which preceded them. Through the arrogant assumption of the Colonial Secretary there can be plainly seen an effort for another conference, but the Boers will probably construe this as a device to gain time, while concentrating what the British Government believes to be a sufficient force to overwhelm the Transvaal. The Boers are a shrewd race, and very independent. They do not hesitate to depose their own rulers if the policy of the latter do not suit them. Their military organization is simple, but very strong. They can mobilize their entire army in three days, and if General Joubert refuses to go to war they will have no trouble in replacing him. The man who whipped Jameson's men was a private. With four hundred soldiers he made short work of Jameson's sixteen hundred. Every man in the Republic is a soldier, and can be ready, with his travel rations, for action in twenty-four hours, while the majority of the women, who are as brave as their husbands and brothers, and as good marksmen, remain at home to defend the fireside."

I have written an article which was published in *The Baltimore Sun*, of September 15th, from which I repeat this statement:

"If Americans in general knew the real history of that country (the South African Republic), and the unreasonable demands of that mighty power, England, which always wishes to meddle in the domestic affairs and dictate the government of the Boers, they would stand up as one man for that sturdy sister Republic, with its patriotic President, Oom Paul. President Kruger has proved to the whole world that he is capable of leading his people, who are honest, kind-hearted and civilized."

Mr. Chamberlain, speaking of the Jameson raid, said in his speech in the House of Commons on May 8th of the present year:

"To go to war with President Kruger to enforce upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State, in which Secretaries of State, standing in their places, have repudiated all right of interference—that would be a course of action which would be immoral."

And yet Mr. Stead, the well-known apostle of peace, in his *Review of Reviews*, openly accuses Mr. Chamberlain of being an accomplice in that raid. He says that Jameson, Rhodes and

Chamberlain were in constant communication before the raid was accomplished.

The South African Republic insisted upon an indemnity, and Sir John Milner promised that his government would take it under consideration, but it never came.

Here again is an illustration of the action of a great power toward a little republic. If that had occurred in this or any other large country it would have led to a war or an apology with the payment of an immense amount of indemnity to the injured party, but when it took place in that little country in South Africa, the claim was simply ignored.

The following editorial in the *Baltimore American*, of October 30th, under the caption "Not a War for Humanity," gives an illustration of Mr. Chamberlain's attitude :

"Mr. Chamberlain, in explaining to the British Parliament the course of Great Britain in South Africa, compared it with the course of the United States in Cuban affairs. There is no analogy between the two cases. It would be more nearly correct were England substituted for Spain in comparing the two policies. The Cubans, who were but forty or fifty miles from our shores, has been intermittently fighting for freedom for more than a quarter of a century. They had already fought a ten-years' war, with indecisive results, and had begun another, which threatened to last fully as long and to destroy every vestige of civilization on the island. Spain had contemptuously disregarded every principle of civilized warfare, and had actually starved hundreds of thousands of innocent people, who had nothing to do with the war. It was evident that unless the war was stopped an entire race of people would be blotted out of existence, and this atrocity was occurring within almost cannon shot of our shores.

"The United States Government, under the circumstances, notified Spain to put down the insurrection within a certain time and end these atrocities or it would be compelled to interfere. The proof was abundant that, after Spain's sham efforts to end the atrocities, they were considerably worse than before, and there was not the slightest probability of an end to the war during the present generation. The facts speak for themselves, and the interference of the United States needs no explanation, and no nation thought it did at the time it occurred. This does not appear to have been the attitude of Great Britain to the Dutch republics. There was no war in South Africa which needed the intervention of England. The only speck of war was when Jameson's raiders, four years ago, rode into the Transvaal, with the tacit approval of Mr. Chamberlain. It was convenient for the Colonial Secretary to deny this, but the letters are in existence which prove it.

"The raid was a short and inglorious one. The Outlanders, for whose benefit it was ostensibly planned, and who, according to Mr. Chamberlain, outnumber the Boers three to one, didn't strike a blow for liberty. This is not much like the Cubans, who had been fighting during the better part of a generation. They did not fight because they had no reason to fight. They were satisfied with their treatment. They were not sitting up of nights howling over the franchise. They wanted the franchise, but they also wanted—that is, the English—to retain their English citizenship, and that is what Mr. Chamberlain had the effrontery to demand of the Dutch republic. Even this was a subterfuge. Whenever the Transvaal expressed a willingness to meet the English demands they were enlarged.

"The Jameson raid was the real beginning of the war, and if Mr. Chamberlain himself can discover in that or the subsequent proceeding anything more than greed and rapacity—in short, any vestige of humanity or civilization—he will be recognized as the most astute of moral philosophers. Two little peaceful republics, settled by a brave and virtuous people, are to be deliberately destroyed and the country made a howling wilderness, to meet the exigencies of Chamberlain's political career. That was not the way we did in Cuba. The United States ended the most horrible war ever waged in modern times, and the island is beginning to blossom as the rose."

A splendid editorial, "Chamberlain and the Boers," appeared in the *Baltimore News*, of November 7th, to which my reader's attention is respectfully called :

"While the English people have been a unit upon the subject of the prosecution of the war with the South African Republics, and even those who most severely criticised the policy of the British Government before Kruger's ultimatum appeared, have dropped their criticism for the time being. It should not for a moment be forgotten by Americans that that policy was steadily condemned by the most sober and weighty English opinion, as well as by the almost unanimous voice of the other countries of Europe. In America, there is undoubtedly a wide divergence of opinion, and it is worth while to draw attention to one chief cause of such divergence. Those who espouse the English side of the quarrel seem to overlook entirely a distinction which is of the utmost importance in the matter. That the Outlanders had real grievances, that England was justified in using pressure to get these grievances lightened or removed, that the Boer Republic does not conform to the present standards of Europe in many respects—all this is one thing; the question whether England was therefore justified in driving the Boers into a corner, and making them feel that they must either fight for their existence or tamely submit to the extinction of their national identity, is quite another matter.

"The grievances of the Outlanders were certainly not of a sort to cry out for immediate remedy, or to shock the sense of humanity. It is true that they were denied participation in the government of the country, and that they paid an extremely large proportion of the taxes. But on the former head, it must be remembered that, as a rule, they were unwilling to renounce their British allegiance; and on the latter head, that they were extracting enormous wealth from the bowels of the earth, and that a more than reasonable claim could be made for the intercepting of a large portion of this wealth for the general benefit of the Boer nation. Mr. Labouchere may be making an overstatement of the case, but certainly hits very near the mark, when he says in a recent number of *Truth*: 'What are we really fighting for? Certainly not for Outlanders or their grievances, for the majority of those of them who are not mere speculators hoping to make money by the reduction of taxation of mines and the ups and downs of the stock exchange—the real workers in the Transvaal—have shown their desire to be allowed to continue to earn large wages.'

"The idea of a war being justified for the purpose of compelling a pastoral people in the interior of South Africa to grant universal suffrage or to make more liberal naturalization laws, or to provide a system of public schools, or anything of that kind, is simply preposterous. How long is it since the suffrage in England was confined to but a small fraction of its inhabitants? As to public education, it is hardly twenty-five years since a system at all worthy of the name was established in England. Up to that time, in spite of the splendid example of Germany which had been before her eyes for the better part of a century, the great land of political liberty was content to see her millions of poor children growing up with hardly the semblance of a chance at an elementary education. Clearly, England might have possessed her soul in peace, and waited for the process of time, aided as far as possible by peaceful pressure, to ameliorate the conditions which have been complained of in the Transvaal.

"That such was not her course, we believe to have been due chiefly to the wicked ambition of one unscrupulous and able but narrow-minded politician. The Boers were perfectly justified in interpreting the tricky diplomacy of Chamberlain to mean just what the daring dash of Jameson's men meant—the absorption by the English of the country to which they are so passionately devoted. Had this not been apparent enough from the general character of the demands made, and from the known disposition of the man behind them, it would have been made evident by his assertion of a general claim of "suzerainty," although such claim had been deliberately dropped in the convention of 1884. The animus of his claim was emphasized by the fact that it rested upon an assertion that the convention of 1884 had not entirely superseded the convention of 1881, a position which an examination of the two documents—not to speak of the contemporaneous letter of Lord Derby—shows to be abso-

lutely baseless. The war was finally brought on by Kruger's act ; but that act was itself produced by the conviction that delay would necessarily mean the loss of the only opportunity which his people had to make substantial resistance. Had Chamberlain known how formidable that resistance could be made, and suspected that the Boer Republic would have the boldness and decision to make it so promptly, he would have thought longer before making himself responsible for the present deplorable and tragic situation in South Africa "

At different times I have noticed statements of John Hays Hammond, who claims to be an American, telling us of the "grievances of the Uitlanders." This man was one of those who took part in that raid, condemned by the Emperor of Germany and the whole civilized world. This man, a citizen of a republic, assisted the subjects of an European Monarch to help them to trample down the flag of a republic. My fellow-citizens, can we put a value upon the statements of such a man ?

It is always the same argument :

1st. The Uitlander cannot get the franchise.

I have already proved that the Government of the South African Republic was willing to do what was asked. But was it really the wish of the English to become naturalized Burghers? How many English lived there for years and could long ago have become citizens, even under the old law, but they did not want to renounce their allegiance to the Queen and become citizens of a republic.

2d. The complaint of taxation without representation.

That the Uitlander, who bought mineral property and became rich, has to pay taxes, is no more than reasonable, and that the English pay a large share no one denies, but that does not indicate that they now have a right to dictate to the lawmakers to make laws to suit them. The Government had always been courteous and ready to listen to the reasonable demands of this floating population, and it is admitted that their laws and taxation are as liberal as in any other country. Does not the British government itself, and its Colonial Government also, deny to denizens of however long residence, the election franchise, and compel them to pay taxes at whatever rates these legislatures are pleased to exact ?

3d. Another "grievance" was the language.

The British demanded that the English language should be made the official language on equal footing with the Dutch. Because in the Johannesburg district there live more English-speaking people than in other parts of the Republic, they wish to make their language the official one. Does such a demand not seem ridiculous? Do not all the officials of the Government understand both English and Dutch and the Uitlanders never find difficulty in carrying on their business. But the truth is, with a few exceptions, they do not want to become citizens of the Boer Republic. They wish to remain Englishmen. The true Afrikander wishes to remain Dutch in spirit and habits. Take for instance Cape Colony. For almost a century this country has been under English rule, and yet the Dutch language is spoken by a majority of the population. The Afrikanders have a majority in Parliament, with an Afrikander Prime Minister. The Dutch element still has a dominating influence in South Africa. Superior power has taken the land from them, but it can never convert the Boer to British thought or rule. How can England expect sympathy from the descendants of the Dutch, who settled that country and who are one large family, related by kinship?

Step by step, England has, by its mighty power and money, taken the conquered land from the Dutch, who are a peaceful and God-fearing people. Are these Boers to blame if they prefer to die rather than give up their last acre of land?

They have been driven from the one place to the other and they have found no rest. It is always England and English elements that disturb the peace.

A high official wrote to me from Pretoria in September :

"We desire peace and a quiet developing of our beloved country, and you may rest assured that if war breaks out it will be forced upon us by the impossibility of submitting to unreasonable demands. If it comes, we shall defend our fatherland to the last drop of our blood."

These patriotic people simply desire to keep their country, obtained with tears and blood, which they have developed and civilized. To drive them from their homes is a crime against civilization and humanity, and this whole war of British aggression is based upon a selfish attitude.

I heard an Englishman say: "We are foolish to spill so much blood to get that little piece of land. Have we not territory enough?" I fully agree with him. How many lives of both countries have been sacrificed? How much distress is already brought over so many families, who mourn the loss of their beloved ones? War! War! is the cry in England; Oorlog! Oorlog! was the signal heard over the velds of South Africa; war among civilized nations, people made by the same Creator of mankind! Who is to blame for this terrible slaughter of men? Could it have been avoided? Most decidedly. I again call the attention to those dishonest men who created the so-called "grievances of the Uitlanders." The Boers have honestly tried to meet the real grievances, but as Olive Schreiner, the distinguished South African writer and novelist, and sister of the premier of Cape Colony, sadly remarked: "There have been told so many lies about them."

I come to the question: Where are really the grievances of the Uitlanders? Who are the complainers? The fact that Americans, Germans, Hollanders, Belgians, Irish, Scandinavians, French, Swiss, Italians, in fact, all the Uitlanders, except the English, joined of their own free will in taking up arms against Great Britain, proves that they were satisfied with President Kruger's Government, and they have pledged fidelity to him.

President Kruger has been accused of oppressing the Jewish population. The truth is, that the Jews are among his warmest friends and admirers. They have formed companies, which are now doing police duty to guard the towns. Every available man—Afrikander or Uitlander—has taken up arms to save the fatherland and his adopted country. Many English subjects friendly to the Republic have remained there.

A cablegram dated Cape Town, November 13th, to the *New York Journal* from Olive Schreiner, favorably known among the Afrikaners and admired by the English population, and whose words are always believed, says :

"Three acts have taken place in the African tragedy. The first was played ten years ago, when the charter was granted to a ring of speculators and the principle governing English rule in South Africa for the first time was departed from and imperial rule allied itself with the speculations of the share market.

"Five years ago came the second act, when the raid on the Transvaal gold field by the chartered band was organized and failed.

"Since then the same ring has prepared for the third act by a colossal system of lies regarding the best governed mining camp in the world.

"They have produced this bloody war, in which the flower of the English Army and the noblest men born on African soil are falling.

"But the English gentleman of the sword will recognize the African gentleman of the veldt, albeit their coats are of different cut, and it is not from the brave English soldier that there will proceed those lies regarding the most magnanimous little teutonic folk on earth which have wrung the heart of South Africa and—The *Journal* here says that "the message ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence. Evidently it met the same fate as the first which Olive Schreiner sent to the *Journal* a few weeks ago.

"It was cut off by the British censor, as the cable operator at Cape Town concluded the dispatch with these words: "Message cut off here. Signed by Olive Schreiner."

I repeat the words: "Message cut off here." The British censor would not allow the truth to be revealed. The Imperial Government does not want the world to know the plain truth and nothing but the truth.

"Should the Boers respect England?" is the heading of Mr. Stead's article, to be found on page 595 of the November number of the American monthly *Review of Reviews*. It says:

"Commenting on Mr. Garrett's admission that the Dutch of Africa have small reason to respect Great Britain's military capacity or determination, Mr. Stead remarks, in the *London Review of Reviews*:

"Mr. Garrett might go further and say that they have as little reason to have any respect for our good faith, political foresight, or appreciation of the elementary facts of the situation. The whole history of our dealings with the Boers, from the time of the first trek down to to-day, has not been such as to justify any confidence in our honesty, good faith, or even in our persistent consistency in any given course.

“Mr. Garrett seems to think that, notwithstanding all our blunders and bad faith, our vacillation, our incompetency, and our scandalous mishandling of the Dutch questions in South Africa in the past, we have a right to be indignant when we find that the African Dutch regard us and our ideas with contempt. But if we blunder we must take the consequences. If we lie we may expect to be disbelieved, and in South Africa, as elsewhere, we have got to take the consequences of our misconduct. Mr. Garrett, and those for whom he speaks, seem to think that, because we have gotten ourselves into this mess and have intensified the prejudices of the Boers against us and our progressive ideas, therefore, there is nothing to be done but to make up for all our shortcomings in common sense, in fair play, and in friendliness, by killing the population which we have failed either to propitiate or to indoctrinate with our ideas. From this doctrine we cannot too strongly dissent. If we had made any kind of honest effort to win the confidence of the Boers and to treat them as if they were human beings, and not dirt beneath our feet, things would never have gotten to this pass.”

I recall the slandering cablegrams, containing the accusations in the strongest language, that the Boers disregarded the white flag and were shooting upon the ambulances of the Red Cross Society. But General Buller was compelled to cable to his home government that this was “satisfactorily explained by the enemy.” I wish to recall the official statement of Major Donegan, chief medical officer at Glencoe, who wired to the State Secretary at Pretoria an expression of thanks on behalf of all the British officers and men in the hospitals at Glencoe, for the extreme kindness shown them by the Boer officers and men. I also refer to two special cable dispatches to the *New York World*, November 28th, proving the contrary of these accusations. These dispatches are as follows:

LONDON, November 27.—G. W. Steevens, a war correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, in a letter by post, describing the battle of Nicholson's Nek, bears eloquent testimony to the humanity of the Boers. He writes:

“The Boers had their revenge for Dundee and Elands Laagte. They took it, full measure, in kindness. As Atkins (the British soldier) had tended their wounded and succored their prisoners there, so they tended and succored him here.

“One commandant wished to send the wounded to Pretoria, but the others, more prudent as well as more humane, decided to send them back to Ladysmith.

“They gave whole men the water out of their own bottles; they gave the wounded the blankets off their own saddles and slept themselves on the naked veld. They were short of transport, but they were mostly

armed with Martinis, yet they gave the captured mules for hospital panniers and the captured Lee-Metfords for splints.

"A man was rubbing a hot sore on his head with half a crown, but nobody offered to take it from him.

"Some of them asked the soldiers for their embroidered waist belts as mementoes of the day.

"It's got my money in it,' replied Tommy, and the captor said no more."

"Stevens writes almost hysterically of the hoisting of the white flag by the British officers, implying that it was done in fright. He says that in one case the British soldiers refused to see it and kept on firing."

PARIS, November 27.—A copy of the protest addressed by the authorities of the South African Republic to the foreign consuls at Pretoria against the use of Kaffirs by the British, has just reached Europe. It reads as follows:

"I have the honor to call your Government's attention both to the report announcing the engagement last night (October 18) between a commando and the English near Mafeking, the English having 1,000 Kaffir auxiliaries (one of whom was wounded and is a prisoner), and the results of this information and other reports coming in from the east frontier where the Kaffirs have been called to arms by the British authorities.

"This shows that the British Government commits the unpardonable crime of arming the blacks against the whites in a struggle unjustly forced on the South African Republic. This act may have the gravest consequences for all white Africa.

"I am commanded to inform your Government that a further document received is General Joubert's protest to Secretary Reitz, at Pretoria, under six heads, as follows:

"First. That the British at Elandslaagte fired on an ambulance.

"Second. That a British lancer attempted to assassinate a doctor wearing the Geneva cross, missing the surgeon but killing his horse.

"Third. The tying of thirteen prisoners, some of them wounded, behind a Maxim gun and dragging them along.

"Fourth. That at Dundee the fugitives retired under cover of a white flag while the main body was fighting the Orange Free State troops.

"Fifth. That an armored train, protected by a white flag, repaired a bridge.

"Sixth. That the British are recruiting mounted Basutos.

"General Joubert appends a document seized among an officer's effects at Dundee. The paper is a communication from a Basutoland magistrate informing the general commanding the Glencoe camp that there will be no difficulty in procuring Basutos at five shillings per day, and asking: 'Must they bring their horses?'

"General Joubert added: 'I am preserving the original of this document.'"

We see from this last cablegram that General Joubert discovered a document which will arouse the indignation of the whole white population in South Africa, as it is a violation of the rules of civilized warfare, and it is scarcely less savage than the plan made by the British to destroy Pretoria with lyddite—the most inhuman and murderous warfare known in the world.

I wish to recall General Joubert's kind act toward Lady Symons. From an excellent sketch given by the *New York Herald* of November 12th, describing "Slim Piet" (his pet name among Afrikanders, which means literally crafty or clever Peter, or to put it in plain English: "he was one too many for me, or he outwitted me") as a kind gentleman, splendid General, the idol of his fighting men, from which I take the following:

"Have not you English always followed on our heels—not on us here only, but all over the world, always conquering, always getting more land? We were independent when you came here. We are independent now, and you shall never take our independence from us. The whole people will fight. You may shed blood over all South Africa, but it will only be over our dead bodies that you will seize our independence. Every Dutchman in South Africa will fight against you. Even the women will fight. You may take away our lives, but our independence—never."

"That is what Pietrus Jacobus Joubert said to an English correspondent in Pretoria two years ago. It was printed in a London newspaper November 30, 1897. Joubert is showing the world to-day something of the fine old Dutch spirit he talked of in 1897. He is doing some of that fighting he predicted then.

"It was very much like Joubert to talk like that to the English correspondent, and very much like him, too, to cable condolences to Lady Symons over the dead body of her fallen husband. He is frankness and honesty personified. He is a man and a soldier of the type Englishmen and Americans like. Nothing could be more courteous than his treatment of his English prisoners from Ladysmith. Nothing could be kinder than his care for the wounded enemy.

"Nothing is written about Joubert that is not comment on his fairness."

It is an acknowledged fact that President Kruger is one of the greatest statesman the world has produced. His diplomacy, knowledge of international affairs and his native sagacity have

astonished the nations of the world, although he never had any training in that direction. He remains, however, the humble Oom Paul, taking the natural-born talents as an undeserved gift from the hands of his Lord and Master not to be tied up in a napkin, but to be accounted for as a faithful steward.

He has at his side as State Secretary the Hon. F. W. Reitz, ex-President of the Orange Free State, one of the ablest jurists in South Africa, a man who possesses the confidence of his people, admired and respected by everyone with whom he comes in contact. Olive Schreiner describes him as a man who manifested in his career a beautiful character. Mr. Reitz is the successor of Dr. W. J. Leyds, who served the country in the same capacity for a number of years. Dr. Leyds has succeeded Baron Beelaerts Van Blokland as Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic in Europe. He has been well received and accredited by the different courts in Europe. He is a scholar and a distinguished lawyer, and is known as a specialist on international law. His working ability is well known, and he serves his adopted country in his present position with great devotion.

While the second gentleman of the land, the popular Commander-in-Chief of the Boer forces, General Joubert, is directing the military operations with his able generals Cronje, Schalk, Burger and others in the field; the President is surrounded at home with excellent men like Reitz, Wolmarans and other members of Council directing the internal affairs of the Republic, and he is well represented in Europe by his former Secretary of State.

If we realize this situation of affairs, does it not stir up a feeling of admiration for these brave and patriotic men who are so well able to rule their own country if they were let alone? Is it not a shame that they are now compelled to fight for their liberties against a war declared for conquest by a monarchy? But they will never submit until the last extremity, for they are a brave people—free Republicans as we are. They are our brethren, brethren in more than one sense. Their symbol is ours, their principles are ours, they love as we do the noble significance

of the words liberty, equality and fraternity. They have the same flag—only they added the green to it, the color of hope—that same dear old red, white and blue, adopted as our flag after the Declaration of Independence. They are fighting the same nation that our people fought—not to gain independence, but to maintain their independence. My fellow-citizens, do you know that these South African Burghers are the descendants of the same Dutch people who first settled Manhattan Island?

Greater New York, formerly New Amsterdam, Breukelen, afterwards called Brooklyn, and Harlem, were each founded by these sturdy Dutch who came here with their Bible under their arm to build up a new country. There is no country whose history is more closely connected with the history of the United States of America than little Holland. It was the Dutch, who, for love of the principles of America, fought in the ranks of George Washington, the father of his country. It was the Dutch who first took sides with the Americans in their struggle for liberty and independence, and the first who saluted the flag which was the same as theirs. It was the Dutch who sent their battleships to this coast and landed provisions to feed the soldiers, facing the fleet of England. It was the Dutch in Manhattan and Staten Island with whom the great founder of this country spent his happiest hours. He loved them and was by them beloved.

It was the "Traktaat van de Unie van Utrecht" after which the Constitution of America was formulated, and the "Afzwering van Philip," on which the Declaration of Independence was founded—two of the most important Dutch national documents were thus taken as a model to aid the lawmakers of America to form the great Republic of the United States.

The Holland American has a right to be proud of his pedigree. There are thousands and thousands of Americans who can trace their ancestry to the land of the great "William the Silent," that little country small in compass but great in history. We find them to-day, as in the past, among the most prominent men in this country, many in high authority. The nation is at

present in mourning over the death of one of her noblest citizens, our esteemed Vice-President, who was on his mother's side of Dutch blood. We have lost in him one of the most popular Vice-Presidents this country ever had; President Kruger lost in him a warm sympathizer and friend.

In an editorial of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* of October 14th, on the subject "Peace," I found the following touching article, to which I invite attention :

"The enlightenment and the humanities of this splendid age declare that there shall be "Peace." The grand refrain which fell on the ears of the shepherds of Judea, who watched their flocks by night, is in the hearts and on the tongues of the people. "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men." He "Who plants His footsteps on the sea and rides upon the storm" will renew the refrain which announced the birth of Him—the Jew—who is the Saviour of the world. The machinations and schemes of designing men will not prevail against the decrees of the Mighty One. He has promised to be the strength of the weak, who love and fear Him, and in the past He has bared His arm in their defense. He will bare His arm in the present. If there is a people on the earth who deserve His protection and His preserving care, it is the people of the Transvaal. There they worship God. There they fear God and trust in Him. Oom Paul went into one of their churches, as did the prophets of old, and asked for guidance. He came forth strengthened and filled with unction. Appealing to the Christian world for its approval, as he felt he had the approval of Him who is the ruler of men, he declared the integrity of his cause and the rectitude of his purposes, and is now ready to do battle.

"The sympathy of everyone who loves liberty should go out toward him and his people in a stream so strong that the mighty Britons will pause in their deadly work. In this liberty-loving land there should not be one man whose sentiments are adverse to the cause of the Boer. The Boer represents what our fathers represented in 1776. He suffers as our fathers suffered—is oppressed by the same power which oppressed them—he wars against the same iniquities our fathers warred against. He fled to the uninviting coast of Africa for the same reason which brought the Puritan to Plymouth Rock; the Roman Catholic to the headwaters of the Chesapeake; the Cavalier to Virginia; the Huguenot to the Carolinas; the Knickerbocker to the Hudson. He wanted to enjoy liberty, freedom of conscience and all the heaven-born gifts necessary for the perfect development of man and woman. Does the Boer deserve the sympathy of the people of the United States? Go back two hundred years, and read the story of the early settlements of our country. Study the conditions of the pioneers to our shores. Then study the history of the Boers, and you will be amazed how analogous they are.

“Let public opinion express itself. Let the people meet in assemblies and clearly set forth their condemnation of this unholy war being made by Great Britain on the Republic of the Transvaal. Let the pulpits speak God’s displeasure—crowd the altars of the Most High and offer up petitions against the massacre of the Boers. There is no higher duty within the calling of the clergy than the pleading for ‘Peace.’

“Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.”

My fellow-Americans, do you hear the voice of this people, who are fighting for the same principle this country fought for in 1776? Would it not be a crime against civilization to see our sister republics wiped out from the face of the earth and swallowed up by any European power, under the pretense of “protecting the rights of its subjects?” Can there be found one true American, born or adopted, who remembers George Washington and his patriot army—the great preserver of this country—and who does not sympathize with our brethren in South-Africa? For almost a century they have been oppressed, gradually the richest land has been taken from them. Is it any wonder that their determination is now: “We shall not give up our land, unless they walk over our dead bodies?” Can it be a surprise that the true South Afrikaner in Cape Colony and Natal takes the side of his friends and relatives when it is that of justice and of God-given right?

“The Boers do not ask for mercy,” says Dr. Engelenburg, editor of the *Pretoria Volkstem*, in his article ‘A Transvaal View of the South African Question,’ “they ask for justice.”

“Those who keep up the unfair agitation against the South African Republic are the last men, however, to listen to the voice of righteousness, or to be guided by any noble impulse; political corruption is the seed they sow, and by their unexampled opportunities they feel confident of reaping their criminal harvest. Up to the present they have gathered only tears; a still more bitter time of reaping has yet to come. In the past, the Boers have been able to fight against immensely superior odds. They feel that the final victory will be theirs; for they know they have right on their side.

There is a general impression in this country that England will win in the end, because she has power and money and men

to draw upon, and from the illustrated cablegrams daily received from English sources, we should be inclined to submit to this idea ; but I firmly believe that the dream of the English generals that they will eat their Christmas dinner in Pretoria, will never be realized. The English never expected to lose their American colonies, but they did, nevertheless. It is my honest opinion that Great Britain will never conquer the Boers, and I believe with President Kruger, who believes that Providence is with them, because their cause is one of justice and righteousness.

If any one should ask me what interest has America in the welfare of South Africa, or in what relation do we stand to them from a commercial standpoint? I would refer to the increasing demand of American machineries and other articles of commerce which were exported there in the last few years. England takes, at present, the lead, but America is next. In 1897, America had exported to the Transvaal alone merchandise to the amount of \$13,500,000 ; and, as the South Afrikanders are in hearty sympathy with America and American institutions, you may rest assured—if they are not utterly crushed in their present struggle against English oppression—that the commercial transactions in the near future will be increased tenfold, for they are anxious to obtain close relations with the great sister Republic. The latter is certainly a consummation not hoped for by England or her merchants.

There is no doubt that the sympathy of the Americans in general is with the Boers. "An immense deal is being made of the American sympathy in this country," says the London correspondent of the *Baltimore American*, in his cablegram of November 18th :

"It is strange that so powerful an empire as Great Britain, with 400,000,000 of people and three-fifths of the wealth of the globe, should be specially anxious for the sympathy of anybody when trying to whip two little states, which have not all told more than 200,000 inhabitants. Great Britain is 8,000 times as great as the Transvaal and the Orange Free State combined, and she is probably a million times their superior in actual wealth. It is a *sign of weakness*, therefore, to be making so much of the *alleged friendship* of the United States, of which there is no evidence except the movement for the *fitting out of a hospital ship*, which

is distinctly British. The women engaged in it *are all* married to Englishmen, and can in no sense be regarded as Americans. The London *Times*, through its correspondent, makes the assertion that the United States Government has granted British agents certain privileges at American ports in contravention of the neutrality laws, with the proviso that they are not to be regarded as a precedent, and the *Times* writes an editorial panegyric a column and a half long. The despatch is probably imaginary as to its facts. It is impossible to believe that the government of the United States could have done anything of the sort."

There is so much talk about the close relationship which exists between the two great countries, the United States and England, pointing to the ties of the "Anglo Saxon" race as though other nations should be excluded. Allow me to make the remark that the Dutch and Germans are a branch of that very same race. Or, to speak more correctly, the Angles and Saxons were low German tribes as were the ancient Dutch.

Was our Government's Ambassador to Great Britain, the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, really in touch with the sentiments of the plain liberty-loving American people when he said in his recent speech at the annual banquet of the Walter Scott Club in Edinburgh :

"Truly your country and mine are connected by bonds of sympathy that were never stronger and closer than they are at this present hour. It has been said by a great poet that 'peace hath her victories no less renowned than those of war,' and this ironclad friendship, which now prevails between these two kindred nations, is her latest and greatest victory. It means peace, not merely between your country and mine, but among all the great nations of the earth, and it tends by advancing civilization to promote the welfare of the human race."

The Baltimore *American*, commenting upon this speech, says, in an editorial, under the heading "Their Bonds of Friendship :

"It was reported from Washington, a short time ago, that Hon. Joseph H. Choate, United States Ambassador to Great Britain, had been requested by the State Department to refrain from making public addresses in England which might in any way be construed as voicing the sentiments of this Government on international problems. Mr. Choate, as is very well known, is a man who has made it a practice for many years to speak his mind very plainly, especially at public ban-

quets, seeming to care very little whether those who listened agreed with him or not. Brilliant in wit, bitter in sarcasm, with that incisive sort of eloquence that cuts to the quick, the ambassador is also a man of wide culture and the possessor of a vast fund of information regarding the affairs of men and of nations. He is, without doubt, one of the best American orators, a man to whom it is always a pleasure to listen, and who seems unable or unwilling to keep from the discussion of those subjects which are foremost in interest in the greatest nations of the world. Whether the State Department asked him to be careful or not, he keeps on speaking his mind to his English audiences, apparently without concern, regarding the criticisms that his words may call forth in his own country.

"Ambassador Choate's latest speech regarding the friendship between Great Britain and the United States is not likely to pass unchallenged.

"The United States and Great Britain are now on friendly terms. Whether that friendship is so ironclad that it can never be broken future events alone can reveal. There have been times, even in recent years, when the strain put upon it was great, when only wise counsel prevented a breach. That such events are liable to occur again, and that at almost any time, no one can deny. The commercial relations of the two greatest nations are of the most intimate and cordial character; there are bonds of a common birth and a common origin; of a common interest in much that makes for the advancement, education and civilization of mankind, that puts the two nations on the same footing; but there are also wide and, apparently, irreconcilable differences, not only in methods but in principles of government.

"Great Britain is now carrying on a war in South Africa which meets with the disapproval, if not with the open condemnation, of the great majority of the American people. Her efforts to call it a war of civilization, and to compare it with our war with Spain for the relief of Cuba, are looked upon as absurd, not only by this country, but by other nations that are watching her. Far better might she compare it with her wars against the American colonies, struggles which this country can never forget, no matter how many years roll away. The friendship of these two great nations may aid in the peace of the world, but that friendship can only be maintained by an honest recognition of the rights of each and by the employment of mighty forces in the interest of justice, and not for the oppression or subjection of the weaker nations of the earth."

I do not doubt for a moment that the Ambassador was sincere in his remarks, but he clearly demonstrated that he is at present far away from his native land, far away from the public opinion prevailing in this country, not aware of the sympathy and warm feelings at his home for the Boers and their cause. That

England stood by us in the late war with Spain does not require—even it were entirely true—that we should sympathize with a policy of injustice toward our brethren in South Africa, that we should sympathize with a war uncalled for, despised by the civilized people all over the world, and subjected to bitter criticism by many prominent men in Great Britain itself.

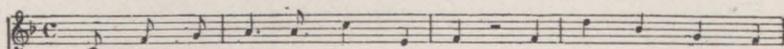
Who can help sympathizing with the God-fearing, sturdy Boers? We will stand by them and inspire them, even at this distance, with our hearty wishes for their success in their noble struggle. We send our greetings to Oom' Paul, the beloved patriot of his country. We send our salute to the gallant Commander-in-Chief, General Joubert, and his army of brave men who defend their soil, which belongs to them. "*The Boers do not ask for mercy; they ask for justice.*"

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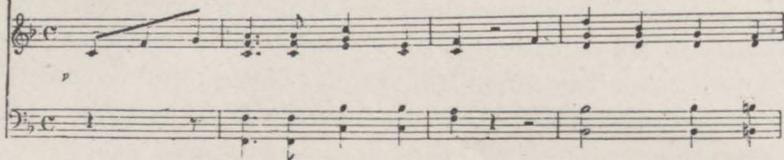


# Het Transvaalsche Volkslied.

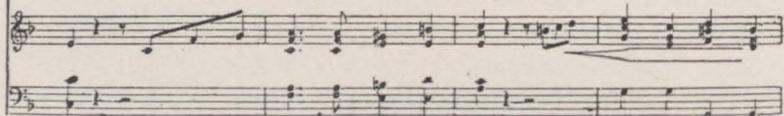
*Allegro Moderato.*



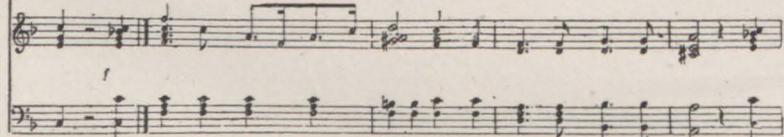
1. Kent gij dat volk vol hel den-moed, En toch zoo lang ge-  
2. Kent gij dat land zoo schaars be-zocht, En toch zoo heer-lijk  
3. Kent gij dien Staat, nog maar een kind In 's we-reldsch Sta-ten-



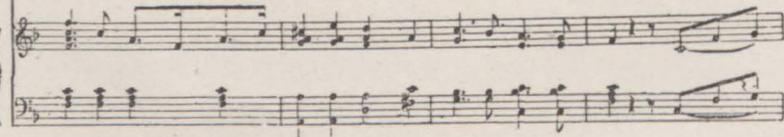
knecht? Het heeft ge-of-ferd goed en bloed, Voor vrij-heid en voor  
schoon? Waar de na-tuur haar won-d'ren wrocht, En kwis-tig stelt ten  
rei? Maar toch door 't mach-tig Britsch be-wind, Wel eer ver-klaart voor



recht; Komt bur-gers! laat de vlag-gen wap'-ren, Ons lij-den is voor-bij, Roemt  
toon; Trans-va-lers! laat ons feest-lij schal-len, Daar waar ons volk hield stand, Waar  
vrij. Trans-va-lers! e-del was uw stre-ven, En pijn-lijk on-ze smaad, Maar



in den ze-gen onz-rer dap'-ren. Dat vrij-e volk zijn wij! Dat vrij-e  
on-ze vreug-de scho-ten knal-len, Daar is ons va-der-land! Dat heer-lijk  
God die uit-komst heeft ge-ge-ven, Zij lof voor d'ei-gen Staat! Looft on-zen



volk, Dat vrij-e volk, Dat vrij-e vrij-e volk zijn wij!  
land, Dat heer-lijk land, Dat is, dat is ons va-der-land!  
God, Looft on-zen God, Looft on-zen God voor land en staat!



## “Het Volkslied.”

The following is a translation of “Het Volkslied,” the national hymn of the South-African Republic :

Right nobly gave, voortrekkers brave,  
Their blood, their lives, their all  
For Freedom's right in death despite,  
They fought at duty's call.  
Ho, burghers ! high our banner waveth,  
The standard of the free,  
No foreign yoke our land enslaveth,  
Here reigneth liberty.  
'Tis Heaven's command,  
Here we should stand,  
And aye defend the volk and land.

What realm so fair, so richly fraught  
With treasures ever new,  
Where nature hath her wonders wrought,  
And freely spread to view !  
Ho, burghers bold ! be up and singing,  
God save the volk and land,  
This, burghers, new, your anthem ringing,  
O'er veld, o'er hill, o'er strand.  
And burghers all,  
Stand ye or fall  
For hearths and homes, at country's call.

With wisdom, Lord, our rulers guide,  
And these, Thy people, bless ;  
May we with nations all abide  
In peace and righteousness.  
To Thee, whose mighty arm hath shielded  
Thy volk in by-gone days,  
To Thee alone be humbly yielded  
All glory, honor, praise.  
God, guard our land,  
Our own dear land,  
Our children's home, their Fatherland.







*F. W. REITZ,*

*SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE SOUTH-AFRICAN REPUBLIC;  
EX-PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE.*

## A CENTURY OF INJUSTICE.

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SYNOPSIS OF A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH-  
AFRICA, SENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF  
THE SOUTH-AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

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The history of South-Africa during the last century is written in blood, in the blood of a race closely related to the British or so-called Anglo-Saxon race, and animated with the same love for liberty and independence. The first Dutch and French Huguenot settlers landed in Cape Colony in the middle of the seventeenth century, under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company. It cannot be truthfully claimed that the administration of the Dutch East India Company was a liberal one, nor was it calculated to promote the interests of the settlers. As a matter of fact, the Company only cared for the Colony in connection with its possessions in the East Indies. Notwithstanding these unfavorable conditions the Colony flourished and was in a prosperous state at the time it was taken by the British in 1806. The original Dutch and Huguenot settlers had assimilated to one nation—one in religion, one in quiet respect for the law and with a passionate love of liberty. From the very start the British Government bent all its energies to the suppression of this proud race, and treated the settlers with contempt.

Under the pretext of protecting the poor oppressed native against the cruel Boer, the latter was deprived of the means to protect his property by the confiscation of his arms and ammunition. The Government even went so far as to organize a

police force of Hottentots, the lowest class of the African tribes. An attempt at insurrection in 1815 was smothered in blood by the execution of six Boers at Slachtersnek on March 9, 1816, women and children being compelled to attend the horrible spectacle.

As to the cruel treatment of the slaves by the Boers, we may refer to the opinion of the British Historian Froude, who says that the scandals of the East Indian plantations were unknown in South Africa, and that because the Dutchmen were a slow people and did not show any high enthusiasm for the new ideas of emancipation they were called inhuman. Accusations of cruel treatment of slaves and natives were continually trumped up, and although by far the greater part of these accusations were shown to be false before the Cape Colony courts, still it was published throughout the world that the Boers were the most cruel race.

It is a fact that the Boers, as a whole, did not oppose the principle of the emancipation of the slaves, but it is also a fact that they had every reason to object to the methods chosen by the British Government to carry this laudable purpose into effect. Notwithstanding the value of the slaves was estimated at three millions by British officials, only one and three-quarter millions were set apart for compensation to be paid to the Boers, and this money was only payable at London. A great many of the Boers sold their certificates for little more than nothing to speculators and others, unknown with the formalities, entirely relinquished their claims.

Little or no protection was afforded by the British Government against the continual raids of Kaffir tribes, always accompanied by awful atrocities, and if ever the Boers attempted to defend their property and to recapture the cattle, stolen by the natives, the British Government would interfere, seize the cattle and sell it at public auction.

Another grief of the Boers was the suppression of their language, for notwithstanding the use of their language was guaranteed to the Boers in 1806, the Government, in 1825,

ordered that henceforth all official documents should be written in the English language. Petitions in the Dutch language were ignored. The Boers were not admitted as jurors owing to their deficient knowledge of English, and they were brought before English juries and tried in a language which they did not understand.

No wonder, that under such circumstances, the Boers decided to leave their native country and to seek shelter elsewhere, but before doing so they desired to ascertain that in their new settlement, wherever it might be, they would be no further molested by the British Government and be allowed to make their own laws.

Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, consulted in the matter, stated that there was no statute forbidding them to leave the Colony and to settle elsewhere, and that if such law should exist it would be a tyrannical law, that could not be enforced.

Attorney-General Oliphant gave a similar advice, stating that the Boers evidently proposed to go elsewhere and not to consider themselves any longer as British subjects, which was of daily occurrence in England in regard to the United States of America, and that the Government had no power and could not obtain any power to prevent this. Consequently the Boers started on their "trek" as free men, no subjects to any prince on earth, but from the very start they were persecuted by the British Colonial Office. The first two parties were under the leadership of Trichardt and Van Rensburg. The former reached, after the most atrocious suffering, Delagoa Bay, where nearly all of them died of fever, and the latter was entirely wiped out by the Kaffirs.

The second party, under the leadership of Pieter Retief, met with no better result. Although the Boers had contracted with the Kaffir chief, Dingan, for the cession of a parcel of land, the present Natal, they were treacherously attacked by the Kaffirs, instigated by England, and a large number of them, among them Pieter Retief, were murdered. The same chief took the principal Boer laager (camp) by surprise and murdered there

more than 500 people, mostly women and children. In a subsequent battle, on December 16, 1838, however, about 500 Boers defeated Dingan's army of 10,000 men and then founded a free Republic in the present Colony of Natal.

But this Republic was not to last for any length of time. The free Republic would of course draw a large migration from the Cape Colony, and the British Government would not tolerate this. The first step was a military occupation of Natal, with the purpose of preventing the Boers of securing the needed arms and ammunition, and thus to stop the further migration. They were warned that they would be treated as rebels, and that the British Government would assist the natives against them.

Although the Boers succeeded twice in repulsing the British invaders, they could not prevent the annexation of their country, but the protest issued at this occasion by the President of the Volksraad, Joachim Prinsloo, will remain for ever famous. In his letter to the Governor, Prinsloo said :

"We know that there is a God, the Lord of heaven and earth, and who has the power and is willing to protect the weak against their oppressors. We rely upon Him and the justice of our cause. If it should be His will that we, our wives and children should be totally wiped out, we will humbly submit to His will. We will not defy England's power, but we cannot tolerate that might should conquer right without having fought with all our forces."

Of course it was not to be expected that this protest would stay the hand of the British, and the Boers thereupon decided to leave Natal and to march back into the interior. This trek was accompanied with such suffering and misery, that even the British Governor, Sir Harry Smith, declared that it was "a scene of misery as he had never seen before."

Part of the Boers thereupon settled in the present Orange Free State and others went further and crossed the Vaal River, settling in the present Transvaal.

Although the English Government first intended also to annex the Free State, this plan was abandoned because the possession of the land did not warrant the trouble and expense and it was deemed best to recognize the independence of both Republics, hoping that the Boers would go under in their continual fights with the overwhelming numbers of the surrounding native tribes.

Such were the "noble" sentiments that animated the British Government at the time of the conclusion of the Convention of the Zand River in 1852. In this convention the independence of the two Republics was recognized and the British Government also agreed not to interfere with the native tribes north of the Orange River.

In regard to the Orange Free State, this convention was flagrantly violated by the English at the first occasion, viz.: the war between the Republic and the Basutos. During this war the Basutos were supplied by England with arms and ammunition, and the supplies for the Orange Free State Boers were seized and detained. After the defeat of the Basutos, the English interfered in their favor and prevented the Republic from securing the well-earned benefits of the victory.

Again, with the discovery of the diamond fields near Kimberly, the British Government stepped in and claimed the territory, which claim is characterized by Froude as "perhaps the most discreditable page in British Colonial history."

Later on, the British Government apparently admitted the justice of the Free State protest and thereupon, with its "usual generosity," paid the "enormous" sum of £90,000 as damage to the Free State Government! £90,000 for the Kimberly diamond fields! Is it a wonder that the Boers claim that old, blunt John Bull had the best of the bargain?

After the conclusion of the Zand River Convention, the Transvaal Republic was also recognized by the United States, Holland, France, Germany and Belgium. The United States Secretary of State, writing to President Pretorius, on November 19, 1870, that the United States Government *gladly recognizing*

*the sovereignty of the Transvaal Republic, would be willing to take any steps necessary in the premises.*

The first flagrant violation of the 1852 convention in regard to the Transvaal was coincident with the annexation of the Free State diamond fields. Part of the territory desired by England belonged to the Transvaal, and was simply taken by the great civilizer of South Africa. Shortly afterwards the Transvaal Government was compelled to lodge a strong protest against the selling of enormous quantities of firearms to the Kaffirs, but the protest was simply ignored.

The climax came when, in 1877, the Transvaal was annexed to England by proclamation of Sir Theophile Shepstone. The British Government claimed that this step was necessary for the civilization of South-Africa, and the protest of President Burgers, the Volksraad and the Burghers passed unheeded.

Bishop Colenso declared that "the sly, underhand way in which the Transvaal has been annexed appears to me unworthy of the British name." Gladstone did not like it, but yet he stated that he could not advise the Queen to withdraw her sovereignty from the Transvaal.

The great Zulu War was one of the direct consequences of Transvaal annexation, England claiming a certain territory on the Transvaal border, which she had formerly admitted to belong to the Zulus.

Finally, when the Burghers were satisfied that protests were in vain, they decided to take up arms to reconquer their independence, and it will remain Gladstone's eternal glory, that notwithstanding the clamor for revenge after the British defeats at Lainsneck and Majuba Hill, he concluded the Pretoria convention of 1881, whereby the independence of the Transvaal was restored.

To the unprejudiced mind it would appear logical that if the British Government had made up its mind to admit that the annexation was unjustified, it would wipe out its former action by a "restitutio in integrum." But even the great Gladstone could not be prevailed upon to go that far, and it is safe to say

that if he had been willing to do this such magnanimity would have been entirely beyond the possibilities of the British Colonial Office. It certainly did not require a large amount of perspicacity to predict that in its practical application the Pretoria convention was doomed to be a failure, and it may be safe to assume that it was never considered to be a final settlement of the difficulties.

Its dual character was born to cause no end of difficulties between the two Governments, and it was, therefore, absolutely necessary, in the interest of the peace in South Africa, that it should be superseded by another convention. For these reasons the London convention of 1884 was concluded, whereby the South African Republic was granted absolute independence, and the British Government agreed not to interfere in any way in its domestic affairs. The word suzerainty was eliminated, and England only reserved the right of approval of any treaty concluded by the South African Republic with nations other than the Orange Free State.

The history of recent years has shown how Great Britain has lived up to her "promises," and how, through its continual intrigues since the discovery of the gold fields in the Rand, it has compelled the Boers to take up arms once more for the preservation of freedom and independence.

The history of these recent years is already given in the preceding pages, and a great many salient features are also stated in the last part of this book, and no further reference is therefore necessary at this place. But the concluding part of the message to the people of South Africa certainly deserves to be placed in full before the American public and is as follows :

"I have now given the facts of a Century of Oppression and Persecution. They are not air-born assumptions, but are taken from the mouth of the most trustworthy historical witnesses, nearly all of them of British nationality ; they are facts admitted as incontestable before the court of history. As to the more recent events, since 1898, I have personal knowledge of all negotiations and differences described, and I can state that I

have confined myself to facts, that will be more clearly elucidated in coming years, when the curtain will rise and the events of the last two years in this deeply-stricken country will be fully published.

“Arrived at this terrible turning point in the history of South-Africa, at the eve of a struggle, wherein our people are threatened with total extinction, it behooves us to speak—with what may, perhaps, be our last word to the world—the truth, so that even if we should perish, truth may triumph through us over our victors, and may continue to eat like a cancer in his public life, until it will be his turn to sink down into the night of oblivion.

“Hitherto our people have kept silent, the enemy has calumniated, slandered and struck our people, and treated us with contempt and hatred. But with dignity that may remind the world of a suffering still greater and deeper, our people have borne the insult and contempt of the enemy, and impelled by the conscientiousness of its duty, has tried to remove the errors and abuses that might have been committed by its State Government in moments of less watchfulness. Even this was called weakness and cowardice. Upon hundreds of platforms in Great Britain and by the most prominent statesmen our people has been, of late, called incompetent, uncivilized, faithless, corrupt, bloodthirsty, void of honor, treacherous, and the like, until not only the British public, but nearly the entire civilized world, has commenced to believe that we are well-nigh the equals of wild beasts. Those insults, those defiances, we have passed them in silence.

“From the official blue books of Her Majesty's Government, from the despatches of Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, we were compelled to hear that our corrupt State Government and our unjust, unprincipled and disorderly administration were running sores, putrefying like a pestilence the moral and political atmosphere of South-Africa. And we have kept silent. In numerous newspapers we have been accused of all possible crimes against civilization and humanity, crimes have

been laid at our door, the mere mentioning of which make the heart shudder. If the reading public believed only one-hundredth part of the enormities told about our people and Government, it must have come to the conclusion that this Republic was a den of murderers and brigands; that we were a people, the mere existence of which was a blot upon humanity. Nobody has seen any effects of the enormous sums which we were alleged to spend from the secret fund in order to buy the public opinion of the world, but the slander went its course like an all-destroying hurricane. But our people kept silent, partly from ignorance and partly from a feeling of despairing helplessness; partly because, as a simple agricultural people, it does not read newspapers, and thus could not realize how the feelings of the entire world were aroused against us with malignant rage. The practical result was that our cause was lost by default before the tribunal of public opinion. For these reasons I have now deemed it my duty to state the facts that have characterized the British policy toward our people during the nineteenth century. Naboth's title upon his vineyard was to be annulled and, according to the hypocritical British policy, that result could be best attained by showing him up as a scoundrel and Achab as an angel. I have elucidated the facts of Achab's career and will now proceed to draw my conclusions—conclusions that must irresistibly appeal to the mind of every just and unbiased man.

“During this century there are three periods, each of them characteristic of the policy of the British Government toward us.

“The first period commenced in 1806 and lasted until the second half of this century. During this period contempt, pure and simple, constitutes the essential feature of the British policy. ‘The stupid and dirty Dutch’ was, during that time, the prevailing opinion of the Britisher toward our poor people. But the hypocritical nature of the British policy found ways to express this contempt in terms of most sublime ideas then ruling the civilized world. A sentimental philanthropy ruled over the civilized world and was used by the British Govern-

ment to show up the Boers to the world as the oppressors of the poor, peaceful natives, which were susceptible of religion and civilization, and who were likewise our brethren. If it should appear inconceivable that the power who, under the treaty of Utrecht, acted as the shameless champion of slavery, should show a sickly affection for the natives in South Africa, it is to be borne in mind that in this case its action was not so much dictated by love for the native than by its hatred and contempt for the Boer, which was the distinguishing characteristic of its policy. As a consequence of this hatred for the Boer, concealed under the pretext of love for the native, the natives were used as police against us, they were provided with arms and ammunition against us, they were incited to fight us and wherever possible to murder and rob us. It was compelled by this hatred that we had to leave the Cape Colony and all that was dear to us and to seek a shelter in the unknown wilderness in the North, and as a consequence of that hatred we had to continue our martyr's crusade through South Africa, until every part of the country was dyed red with blood, not so much of men capable of bearing arms, but of women and children.

“The second period runs up to 1881. During this period the foundation of the British policy toward our people was not in the first place the hatred of the Afrikander. The result had already shown that this hatred was powerless to subject the Afrikander; on the contrary, it had caused the Afrikanders to spread over the whole of South-Africa as the reigning people. In a moment of despondency and thoughtless disinterestedness England had concluded a treaty with the Boers (1852 and 1854) whereby they were given full possession of certain wild and apparently valueless parts of the country. The main feature of the policy during the second period was a feeling of spite on account of this mistake and the deliberate purpose to neutralize its consequences. The wild and valueless territory ceded to the Boers appeared to be very valuable after the Boers had saved it and opened it to civilization; these territories had

again to shine as pearls in Her Majesty's crown, notwithstanding the treaties concluded with the Boers. This was the secret purpose, as regards the ways to attain it, in harmony with the inherent hypocrisy of the British policy, they were partly concealed and partly open, and there was a very wide difference between the two kinds. The concealed way was to arm the Kaffir tribes against us and to incite them to attack us in violation of the solemn treaties and promises. If successful in this, England could conceal its true purpose and means, and could openly interfere for the preservation of peace and order and to protect civilization in this part of the world, and under these pretexts the Republics could be annexed. With regard to the Orange Free State this policy was not successful, as, notwithstanding the unlawful detention of their firearms and ammunition by the British Government, the brave Burghers of our neighboring Republic, after a hard struggle, succeeded in defeating Moshesh. In this case, England was compelled to confine itself to the protection of its Basuto instruments, to prevent the Boers from attaining any benefit from their victories, and to the unlawful annexation of the diamond fields.

“As to the South-African Republic, unfortunately, its citizens were not careful enough to guard against the shrewd policy of the enemy. The Transvaal Boers had vanquished the most powerful Kaffir tribes and did not realize for a moment that the small Kaffir wars, which had been brought about by English intrigues, and which they did not prosecute with all possible energy, could ever be used as a pretext to annex their country to the British empire. Thus the wars with Magato and Sekoekoeni were prolonged to the greatest satisfaction of Sir Theophile Shepstone and his principals. And thus came the annexation ‘with the extension to the South-African Republic of Her Majesty's authority and protection, by which means only the unity of purpose and action could be assured, and a happy prospect of peace and prosperity could be opened for the future.’ These words of the Shepstone proclamation reveal in all its horrible nakedness the hypocrisy which

secretly plunges the dagger into the Boer Republic and openly played the part of the disinterested and merciful Samaritan.

“The third period of our history is characterized by the combination of the old well-known policy of deceit with the new power of capitalism, born from the mineral treasures of the South-African Republic. Both our national and our political independence are now threatened by an unrivalled complication of powers and influences. We are now confronted by the numbers, the British public opinion seeking blood and vengeance, the capital of the world and all powers that can only be called together under the banner of rapaciousness and cupidity. During the last year our situation has become gradually more precarious. The cordon of beasts and birds of prey has, during the last ten years, been gradually tightened around our poor doomed people.

“Like the wounded goat feeling the approach of the lion, the fox or the buzzard, our people all over South Africa are surrounded by the intrigues, vindictiveness, hatred and cupidity of its enemies. Every ocean carries the vessels laden with British troops from all parts of the world to crush this handful of people. Even Xerxes, with his millions moving against little Greece, does not furnish a more unnatural spectacle to the surprised world than this sweet mother of nations, holding the sharpened knife in her hands and using all her power, all her treasures, all her high traditions to kill this poor baby crawling in the dust. This is no war, but an attempt at infanticide.

“And when the thought of the spectator is struck by horror and his brain refuses to work, then rises before him, as a dream in the near future, the scene of Bantu children playing in the gardens and the ruins of the sunny South, over the graves wherein the children of the heroes of faith and liberty of all Europe are slumbering. And the Bantu bands of brigands and murderers again roam where the dwelling of the white European used to stand. And if he asks why all this has happened; why, the heroic children of a heroic race, to which civilization owes

its highest possessions, were murdered in this remote part of the world, an invisible satyr will answer: Civilization is a failure, the Caucasian has gone under, and then he will make up with the screeching of the word: Gold! Gold! Gold! in his ears.

“The orchids of Birmingham are yellow, The traditions of the greatest empire of the world have faded and become yellow. The laurels fought for by the British legions in South-Africa are yellow. But the heaven over South-Africa will always remain blue. And justice invoked by Piet Retief when our fathers left the Cape Colony; invoked by Joachim Pinsloo in the Volksraad of Natal, at the time of the annexation by England, and to which the Burghers of the Transvaal devoted their cause at Paardekraal, in 1880, remains unchanged and is like a rock, against which the rushing waves of British diplomacy will break.

“It works according to eternal laws, unaffected by human pride or change. As the old Greek poet said, it allows the tyrant and his brutal bride to climb higher and higher, to increase his honor and power until he reached the zenith allotted to him, and then he plunges down into the bottomless precipice.

“Africans, I call upon you! Act as Leonidas and his 300 men, who faced Xerxes and his followers at the Thermopylæ, and do not fear men like Milner, Rhodes and Chamberlain, and not even the British Empire, but rely upon the God of our fathers and that justice, which sometimes acts slowly but never slumbers or forgets. Our fathers did not pale before the Spanish Inquisition, but commenced the great struggle for freedom and right, even with the mighty Philipp, regardless of any consequences. Neither torture, nor the murderous bands of Louis XIV could break the spirit of our fathers.

“No Alva, no Richelieu succeeded in rendering tyranny victorious over the spirit of freedom and independence of our forefathers, nor will a Chamberlain make the power of capitalism triumph in our lands.

“If it is so disposed that we, no matter how small we may be, must be the first of all nations to take up the struggle with the new world tyrant of capitalism, we will be found ready, even if this tyrant is supported by all the power of Jingoism.

“May the hope that animated us in our struggle of 1880 be also indelibly engraved upon our hearts in the present supreme moment. May that hope be a beacon of light on our path, wading through blood and tears, that will guide us to a truly United South Africa. And like in 1880 we now confidently lay our cause before the whole world. Whether we conquer, whether we die, liberty will rise in South Africa like the sun rises from the morning clouds, and like it rose in the United States of America, and then it will be from the Zambesi to Simons Bay.

“AFRICA FOR THE AFRIKANDER.”

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*P. J. JOUBERT,  
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH-AFRICAN REPUBLIC AND COMMANDER-  
IN-CHIEF OF THE BURGER'S ARMY.*

# AN EARNEST REPRESENTATION AND HISTORICAL REMINDER

TO

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

[A True Copy of the Original Letter.]

PRETORIA, June 15, 1899.

*To Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain  
and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., etc.*

YOUR MAJESTY :

It is with feelings of deepest pain and distress that the undersigned ventures to address Your Most Gracious Majesty at this critical period, and in view of the dark future, which, as a cloud, is hovering over South Africa, the land of his birth and home. This unhappy situation has been brought about by the unjust action of one of Your Majesty's Ministers, who, perhaps in good faith, though upon incorrect information, has allowed himself to be led by unscrupulous fortune-seekers, reckless speculators and insatiable capitalists.

This matter will be reverted to again during the course of this letter by Your Majesty's lowly petitioner, who desires, first, in all humility, to make known to Your Majesty who he is. He is a descendant of and great-great-grandson of Pierre Joubert, one of the Huguenots, who, because of their religious belief, were obliged to leave their homes and friends, and to seek refuge from persecution in flight to South Africa, where they could serve their God in freedom. He settled at Fransch Hoek, near Cape Town, which was then under the administration of the "Hollandsche Compagnie," and became soon, through the blessing of God, one of the richest and most influential

farmers and landowners there. He resided there until compelled by circumstances to remove to the district of Graaff-Reinet, where he now lies buried—in the land of my birth, that passed for good under the rule of Great Britain, in 1806.

Alas! What has our nation not experienced and suffered under that rule. It has, perhaps, never been brought to Your Majesty's notice why these people could not live peacefully in their land of adoption and birth. And yet, who is there now to tell you thereof? And how would he begin? It would, indeed, be tedious to relate everything minutely, Your Majesty!

The discontent, so often, and to his detriment, ascribed to the Boer was exaggerated and misrepresented, as, for instance, in the matter of the freeing of the slaves, when he was described as being inhumanly against their liberation. No! Your Majesty, it was not the Christian Boers' repugnance to the emancipation, but his opposition to the means employed in effecting same under the blessed British rule. Is Your Majesty perhaps aware how the Boers became possessed of those slaves? They, the Boers, had no ships to convey the slaves from Mozambique and elsewhere, as none other than English vessels were allowed to bring slaves to the Cape market; therefore, it was from English slave ships that the Boers first bought their slaves, and in this manner enjoyed a short season of prosperity; for, assisted by their dearly-bought slaves, they could have their lands ploughed and sown with grain, which, under the blessings of Britannia's laws, could be sold for not more than 18d. per bag. It was thereafter shipped abroad by English merchants and sold at immense profits. And then, Your Majesty, the Boer was suddenly told: "Your slaves are free, and you will receive compensation to such and such an amount for them, which you will have to go and get in England." Your Majesty, how could the Boer be expected with his ox-wagon or horses to go and fetch same? To have undertaken, at that time, a voyage so dangerous and lengthy (a hundred days or so being the time required to accomplish same) would have cost more than the small amount of the indemnity he was to receive for his dearly-

bought slaves. What could the Boer do? The only means left him was to engage the English dealer, from whom he had purchased the slaves at exorbitant prices, to go and fetch the money for him, or to sell his chance for what he could get.

How many unscrupulous agents and merchants took advantage of the opportunity thus offered, not to reconcile the Boer to the law and authority of the British Government, but to carry out their own designs, in order to satisfy their cupidity, thus nurturing the hostility of the Boer against the Government, hoping thereby, eventually, to acquire possession of his lands.

The population increasing, spread out further and further, gradually enlarging the Colony; and it is, perhaps, known to Your Majesty, how the poor Boers on the frontiers fared, how they were robbed of their cattle, and how, owing to the insufficient protection afforded them, they were often left to their fate, or more frequently persecuted and oppressed, so that it is not to be wondered at (although I do not seek to justify their conduct) that, disgusted and dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to them, they at last rebelled against the Government; thus originating what took place in 1815 and ended so disastrously. For, as Your Majesty is perhaps aware, matters had reached such a pitch that a collision between the British troops and British subjects at length resulted over the quarrel of a Boer with a semi-civilized native, which unfortunate incident has imparted to the place where the British took such extreme measures against the Boers, an irreconcilable and ever-to-be-remembered name—"Slachtbank or Slachtersnek," which it bears even unto this day.

Alas! Your Majesty, what had the Boer not to suffer, then, under the otherwise glorious British rule? Enquire of the border settlers of 1820 to 1834, when their eventful departure from the Colony took place. Is it, perhaps, known to Your Majesty how they were driven back from the boundaries by the natives who pursued them far into the country, harrassing and molesting them? Yes, even murdering some, robbing

them of their cattle, and burning and laying waste their homes. What protection did they enjoy against the savages who had murdered their wives and children, who had lashed young girls to the trunks of trees, ravished them, cut off their breasts, and, after performing nameless other cruelties, killed them? They, the Boers, were called out for Commando Service at their own expense, under command and control of the British, to fight the Kafirs. And with what result? The Boer was impoverished, thereby without the Kafir being brought to a sense of his duty; for while on commando, his cattle were stolen from his farm and driven away into Kafirland, whither he was prevented from going in order to recover them. No! they had no choice but to wait until the troops retook the cattle, which were afterwards publicly sold as loot in the presence of the owners thereof, the Boers being informed that they would receive compensation for same. But, Your Majesty, they received no recompense; not in money or goods, neither in rest nor peace, but, instead, abuse and indignities were heaped on them. They were told that they should be satisfied at not being punished as the instigators of the disturbance.

Your Majesty, this was the state of affairs in 1834. The dissatisfaction evinced at such treatment became more and more pronounced. The Boers were told by His Excellency, the Governor, that all who were not content or would not submit to British rule, were at liberty to migrate beyond the borders of the Colony, out of British territory. With feelings of deep anguish at the thought of having to leave their motherland and the country of their birth, and with a weary sigh, the question escaped them. "Whither? To the dismal hinterland of savage South Africa?" "Yes! yes! Your Majesty, rather the dangers of the wilderness, midst wild animals and savage men, than to remain longer under the yoke of so iniquitous a Government." And then, "Come friends, come brothers! Pack your wagons, collect your flocks and herds, and let us go away over the border. God knows whither, and He will guide us."

The officials of the British Empire, the ambitious merchants and others, flourished there, Your Majesty, but hither came the Boers in groups and families in search of peace and rest. There being no one to purchase their well-cultivated farms, which they could not remove, they were compelled to part with same for a ridiculous price or abandon them entirely. Then into the unknown they wandered; there to face the dangers and suffering inseparable from such a journey. How could they arm themselves against such dangers? They were not permitted to carry arms or ammunition along with them, but were even followed by British officials beyond the Orange River, to try and find out if there were not perhaps still one faithful slave with his master, and if the Boers were not perhaps carrying a quantity of arms and ammunition along with them. Thanks to the kindness of those officials, the Boers were advised of the object of their coming, and were consequently enabled to conceal their guns and ammunition. Does Your Majesty not perceive in the aforementioned some analogy to certain facts in biblical history? For even as Pharaoh drove the Israelites through the Red Sea, were the Boers driven through the Great River. Is it, then, to be wondered at that, sad at heart and with intense bitterness, they preferred the perils of the desert? Your Majesty, who can write the history of their lives? Who can describe the suffering they endured? They ventured forth, trusting in God, rid of all human despotism, surrounded by wild beasts, in search of a free land for their children and children's children. They wandered in small groups further and further, yet ever onward, until they arrived at the Vaal River. Here they pitched their tents and regarded the country as their Eldorado. Here were the means of subsistence—fish in the water, game on the veld and a prospect of being able to sow crops and to live in peace. They could clothe themselves with skins and subsist on flesh until God, in His bounty, provided other means; at least so reasoned the poor Boers. "Come now, let us erect our tent (our tabernacle) to celebrate the Sabbath, for in our God we believe and trust;

He has given unto us this glorious land and we shall live and praise Him here. It needs not that we go beyond the Jordan, we have no Babylon or Jericho to overthrow. No walls to be demolished for us, for our Canaan is an uninhabited land; therefore, ye Boers, be up, work and live."

Thus they thought, and thus they spoke; but how short-lived was their delight, when at break of day, one morning, the dread cry of "Murder! Murder!" awakened them. What could it be? Whence this uproar and confusion? Moselekatse, head of a cruel, unknown Kafir tribe, had come with a large regiment of warriors from the far north, through a wild and unpopulated country, a distance of over a hundred miles, and attacked a small detachment of Boers near the river, no warning having reached them of the intended onslaught. "Up, now! Courage, men! Fight for your lives, for your wives and your children." The odds at first were three to one, then seven, and eventually increased to twenty to one; but God gave them courage and strength, and they not only repulsed the horde of savages, but succeeded in rescuing several children and severely wounded women who were captured. Your Majesty, these were anxious days for them. Women wounded—in one, over twenty assegai stabs being counted—no doctor being on hand, without medicine, and many widows and orphans, destitute of food and clothing, left to their care. And what had to be done next? Leave the Eldorado? To flee? Whither? Back again? No, no! Not to the flesh pots of Egypt, but to God. He is our refuge!

Other parties of the Boers had gone eastwards. With these they now decided to combine. But did the undaunted Moselekatse allow these few Boers to escape him? To the contrary, he immediately sent a second expedition, much stronger than the previous one, commanding it not to return so long as there remained a Boer living; that he did not thereafter wish to hear of a living Boer. Thus it came to pass that this small party of fleeing Boers (thirty-eight only being capable of bearing arms), with their wives and children, together with cattle and thirty-four wagons, were followed by that great commando of savages,

until they reached that ever memorable spot in the Orange Free State known as "Vechtkop," where the Boers, recognizing the futility of continuing their flight, drew up a laager or camp with their wagons, surrounding same with branches of trees, and calmly awaited their pitiless foe, who did not long delay in attacking them, with all the fiendish courage of savages. Prepared to die, in the face of overwhelming odds, they, nevertheless, determined to fight manfully to the last, trusting in God. The impending danger was awaited in earnest supplications before the Throne of the Triune God. As the enemy pressed on, each Boer made use of his rifle, causing the smoke to ascend in such volumes to heaven that even the flying enemy imagined the Boers had been vanquished, that their laager was in flames and that they had been utterly annihilated. We were afterwards told that when the intelligence reached Grahamstown, Cape Colony, Your Majesty's subjects were so elated thereat that they celebrated the receipt of the news by bonfires and other illuminations, thinking the last of the Boers had fallen, and that the extravagant expectations of the discontented rebels had now all ended in smoke. But no! Your Majesty, our God in heaven had another destiny for the Boer. For, notwithstanding 1,333 assegais were hurled into the small lager, only two men were killed and six wounded, and their little camp, unlike the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, was not laid waste. There was still to be found five just men before God, whose prayers had warded off disaster, and thwarted the wishes of Your Majesty's Grahamstown subjects. Not only did our God cause the smoke and mist to disappear, but he touched the heart of a noble native, Marroco, who, when he heard of the wretched plight that had overtaken the Boers, sent them, without delay, succor in the shape of milk, kafircorn and pack-oxen, thereby enabling them to rejoin their friends, who had passed over the Drakensberg into Natal.

Before further recording the history of this party, I would like to relate to Your Majesty about two other ill-fated parties of trekkers—that of Jansen van Rensburg, which proceeded

northwards, beyond Zoutpansberg, never to be heard of again, for all record of them is as absolutely lost to the world as that of the ten tribes of Israel. It was stated that, owing to the want of ammunition, which was denied them by the Government of the British Cape Colony, on their departure into the wilds, they were massacred, everyone of them. However, what actually became of them we do not know.

The other party, under Louis Trichardt, also ventured as far as Zoutpansberg, thence proceeding south-eastwards until Delagoa Bay was reached, where he, the leader, and others succumbed to the there prevailing fever, and from which place the few survivors, together with their children, were conveyed by vessel to Natal, where they were enabled to rejoin their friends. The misery and suffering experienced and endured by these pioneers is likewise indescribable, and distresses one even to think of.

But now let us return to the history of those who passed over the Drakensberg and attached themselves to Piet Retief, Gert Maritz and Uys, and let us see, Your Majesty, how they fared. Did they go to attack a peaceful people? Did they go as freebooters into a strange or friendly country? Did they go purposing to wrest territory from a lot of defenceless savages, or did they go to revenge themselves on the brother of Moselekatse for the iniquitous attack on them at the instigation of the latter? Did they seek to avenge the blood of Van Rensburg and others, who were murdered by the same race of savages as that to which Dingan belonged? No! Your Majesty, nothing of the kind. First they held communion with the Almighty God, and then approached the savage ruler of the land, King Dingan, who had already promised them a tract of country, and requested him to grant them a written agreement to that effect. It is doubtless known to Your Majesty how this cruel and barbarous chief, after having given them the land, and after duly signing the agreement thereto, mercilessly and treacherously murdered Piet Retief and his seventy men, immediately afterwards sending out his commandos to massacre those await-

ing the return of Piet Retief and the unsuspecting women and children. Thus without warning were 600 helpless old men, women and children butchered in cold blood. What a panic, what dismay, this caused among the Boers scattered about the country! Those remaining were robbed of all their cattle; and what could they do? Should they await other such onslaughts and perish eventually at the hands of a savage people, or die of hunger in the wilderness? Alas, how dismal their outlook seemed! Whither could they go? Whence could they expect help? From Great Britain? Yes, and help came too! A vessel arrived at Port Natal, and Captain Jarvis stepped on shore. "Thank God, assistance was at hand; now no more starvation; no more fear of the sword of Dingan. Succor has come at last!" Such were the thoughts of many a simple-minded Boer. But, alas! how soon was their joy to be turned into grief and indignation, for how horribly surprised were they to learn that, instead of having come to their aid, he was sent to forbid them to fight with the natives and to disarm them. What was to be done? Should they offer Captain Jarvis resistance? Yes! Rather would they fight to the death than hand over their firearms. But what, then, if the Kafirs should come to his aid? The Boers found their prospects more cheerless now than ever. They acted, therefore, with great cunning, yet with submissiveness. Rather than show antagonism they hid their guns and ammunition and submitted to the inspection and search of Captain Jarvis, anxiously praying to God to give them refuge. Captain Jarvis, having ascertained that there was no booty to be got from the poor Boers, and as Natal offered but few attractions then, was glad to take his departure.

Poor, deserted Beer, what was now your outlook? In a savage land, in the vicinity of a powerful and barbarous tribe, ruled over by the tyrant Dingan. What was there to do but to avenge the murders committed and restore peace with the sword? Therefore, it behooved Pieter Tys, Hdk. Potgieter and everyone to punish Dingan and his tribe and to re-establish peace, otherwise the Boers would not have been able to live in

the country. Therefore, "two hundred men of you up and get at the mighty Dingan!" This, however, was not owing to a lust for fighting, Your Majesty, but because the Boer adjudged it absolutely necessary, and no one in the world could have done otherwise.

A return to the Colony was not to be thought of. The only conclusion they could arrive at was to endeavor to compel Dingan, at the edge of the sword, to promote peace. How unfortunate, though, was the outcome of this desperate effort of only two hundred men to advance against the might of Dingan, in the midst of his people and in his own dangerous land, without the support of cannon or other instruments of war, but simply mounted on their horses armed with flintlock guns. And yet they had no choice but to do it. The issue was only as could have been expected. Dingan's regiments were too powerful for the little handful of Boers, who were forced to take refuge in flight, not, however, until after hundreds of the foe had bitten the dust. Their small stock of ammunition had run out; their brave commander, Piet Uys, his never-to-be-forgotten little son and eight others lost their lives in this conflict. But in vain! Dingan was conqueror and his courage revived immediately. He then sent a larger and more powerful commando than before, with instructions to completely destroy the Boers. This time, however, the Boers were on their guard. They had constructed a laager on the banks of the Bosmans river, where the flourishing village of Escourt now lies, close to the village Weenen (to wail), so called in memory of the many wailing women and children massacred there.

It was here that Dingan was to learn that, although but a mere handful of whites, the Boers, with righteousness as their cause, were not to be overthrown by his iniquitous hosts. No! they did not rely in the strength of their horses or the heroism of their men, but in the omnipotence of their God, who gave them the victory. For although the Boers were surrounded by overwhelming odds and repeatedly stormed by thousands and thousands of the enemy, they lost but one killed. The Zulus,

however, after three days' fighting, were forced to retire, leaving so many of their dead on the field that for years after the veld was white with their bones, testifying to the frightful carnage that took place there. God had protected the Boers and delivered the dearly-bought land of Natal into their hands. They had, however, been robbed of all their cattle and knew not what to do. Their God and His word still remained to them, and so they were comforted—for he who has faith in God has not built upon the sand—and in the sight of heaven their cause was just. Therefore he sent them help from above. Andries Pretorius had, in company with other Boers recently arrived from the Cape, and he, having called together all the Boers to be found in Natal, and even as many of those to be found in the territory known as the Orange Free State, formed a commando about four hundred strong, with which he hazarded to invade Dingan's country, and notwithstanding the fact that his men were armed only with flintlock guns, they succeeded, on December 16, 1838, in not only defeating him (Dingan) in this battle, but in overthrowing his kingdom and destroying his chief kraal, driving him so far inland that he was never more able to return. In token of their gratitude for the victory gained, the Boers made a vow to ever afterwards keep the date thereof as a day of thanksgiving, and so the 16th of December is always commemorated at Paardekraal.

One would have thought, Your Majesty, that the Boer after this would have been left alone to live peaceably, praising his God in the country he had bought so dear. But no! the yoke of oppression had not yet been broken. Their cup of bitterness was not yet emptied. Scarcely had the Boers laid out the village, Pietermaritzburg, dug a water-furrow, erected a church, started a small school for their children and built a court-house and prison, when lo! threatening clouds began to gather and the alarm to sound again. What can it be—the Kafirs? No! a thousand, thousand times worse. The English have come; an officer with a company of soldiers, equipped with cannon and shell, is here! "It is Captain Jarvis, that good—that brave old

soldier. We will soon be able to adjust matters with him ; he will presently be gone again." No ! my poor fellow-Boers, you are deluded. The officer is Captain Smith ; he has come to annex the country as a possession of that mighty empire, Great Britain—to make an end to our boasted independence and to destroy our peace.

Your Majesty, it is with a shudder I recall this deplorable incident. It cannot be wondered at that the Boers, who had endured and suffered so much to obtain this land and to form an independent people, should have declined to voluntarily submit to such an injustice, and have resisted any attempts to achieve the same. When they discovered that argument and fair words were of no avail, and that Major Smith was steadfast in his purpose to take possession of the country and crush the Boers, and, as a step in that direction, had already declared the bay annexed, they were driven to the verge of despair and so resorted to arms. Having hastily collected together to the number of about two hundred, for they were but few and much scattered, they advanced toward the Congella. Major Smith, vainly imagining that this mere handful of Boers would be disconcerted and put to flight at the first firing of his cannon, advanced along the shore under cover of darkness, until he had almost reached the sleeping laager, when he opened fire on the picket guard, comprising about twenty-eight men, with the fatal result that one Boer was killed, Jan Greyling. The remainder of the Boers repelled the attack, and obliged the Major to retreat, leaving his cannon behind. I may here mention that more of the troops got drowned in the sea than succumbed to the bullets of the Boers. Now they had to face the fact that, although thankful to God for his many mercies, and in deep sorrow at the loss of one of the bravest of their young men and for the many soldiers drowned, they had opposed the might of Britain. It was awful to contemplate ; so young a nation as they, which had suffered so many hardships at the hands of the savages during the great trek, and that had just been visited by an epidemic of measles, which, owing to the lack

of medical assistance and proper nourishment, had carried off many of them. Should they fight or surrender, was the question asked? Certainly; fight for their just rights. But, see, two ships were coming; it is madness for this little handful of Boers to offer further resistance. They were not trained nor armed with cannon; and thus could not prevent the landing of a force stronger than they were themselves. They dared not longer to fight the English, for the Kafirs had already commenced to harass them from the rear. A Boer had been killed on his farm, and another, named Van Rooyen, murdered, his wife and daughter being subjected to the most inhuman treatment, ravished and driven away naked. Others were assaulted and barely escaped with their lives. In this way the Kafirs proved of great service to Major Smith and his soldiers, who were besieged by the Boers and had already been driven to the extremity of eating crows and horseflesh, and who would undoubtedly have been obliged to capitulate had it not been for the harassing attacks of the Kafirs in the rear of the Boers, which necessitated them hastening out to their farms, in order to save their families from certain death. And thus it came to pass that the Boers lost their sacred right to the territory of Natal, which had been purchased with the blood of their slain. What was to be done next? There was no other remedy for it but to trek again, and to trek inland, whither the English would not follow them, for if they remained they would once more have had to submit to the British yoke. They would, nevertheless, first give the latter a trial. "We will submit," they said, "perhaps England will deal with us more kind here than she did in the Cape Colony, our motherland. Come, let us wait and see!" What happened after this, Your Majesty? The first thing Your Majesty's servants did was to banish certain of the Boers, who had to flee for their lives. This was not all, however, for when the Kafirs stole their cattle and brought them to Major Smith, the Boers were told they could not get same back, as he had run short of provisions and would require them as food. Thus were the prospects of the Boer growing darker

and darker. Colonel Cloete had arrived. What had he to tell them? Firstly, that they were to consider themselves the conquered subjects of Her Majesty. And, as such, what would they enjoy? Each one who had occupied a piece of ground could make application for same, which, after certain investigations, would be granted him. The country had been won and acquired by the Boers; consequently the Boer Volksraad had granted to each Boer capable of bearing arms two farms and one erf at Pietermaritzburg. These farms were inspected, registered, and declared as marketable property some time before the appearance of the English. When, however, several of the Boers, dissatisfied with the principle of British rule, began to leave the country, and tried to barter their farms and erven for wagons, trek-cattle, clothing and other requisites for their fresh trek inland, they, as well as the few Boers who intended to remain under British rule in Natal and had bought or given something in exchange for the erven and farms, were profoundly astonished, not to say disappointed, when they approached Colonel Cloete for transfer of the property they had secured, to hear that as the erven and farms had not been *bona fide* occupied, they had, therefore, reverted to the Government, and were now declared as crown lands. "The wagon and oxen or money and goods you gave for same can only be regarded as a dead loss to yourself," was the reply they got.

This was how the British Government in Natal introduced itself to the defeated Boers. Many and bitter were the tears shed by the thus oppressed and impoverished Boers.

Is Your Majesty, perhaps, acquainted with the fact that the Boers sent a delegate to lay their grievances before Your Majesty, who, after many weeks travelling on horseback, reached Governor Pottinger and entreated him to listen to their complaints? But, Your Majesty, this emissary was not given an audience. Thus it was obvious to all that the doors had been closed at them to be heard, and that they would have to patiently tolerate all that befell them, without the slightest prospect of ever obtaining justice or relief. Is it a matter of

wonder, Your Majesty, that under these circumstances every Boer took advantage of the first opportunity that was offered to leave the Colony of Natal and trek beyond the Drakensberg to a haven of rest, where there was no British authority and where they could live and die in peace?

It was upon these trek-Boers that various deceptions were practiced in Your Majesty's name. They were called together by the late General Pretorius to meet the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, who, it was stated, wished personally to see the Boers and to learn what the majority desired. It was announced that if the majority would remain under Her Majesty's rule he, the Governor, would give them land and would treat the minority with every degree of kindness and patience, always endeavoring to persuade them to be reconciled to British authority; but, on the other hand, should it appear that the majority were for freedom and antagonistic towards the authority of the British, they could go to perdition; Her Majesty's Government would not trouble itself further about them. On this pretext as many of the Boers as could were prevailed upon to proceed to Winburg, a newly-laid-out village, for the purpose of meeting Sir Harry Smith. But how ineffably deceived were they, for, instead of finding Sir Harry Smith and obtaining a peaceful settlement of all their grievances, an ultimatum was presented to them reading as follows: "Your headman or leader is a rebel. I have put a price of a thousand pounds on his head, and woe unto any of you who connive at his escape. I will treat such as rebels." Who can describe the feelings of disappointment and resentment that arose in the breasts of the Boers at these words, and to which can only be attributed what subsequently took place at Boomplaats on the 29th August 1849? It is true that the forces of Sir Harry, reinforced by bastards and Griquas, suffered a heavy reverse. The Boers, however, being armed only with flintlock guns, could not for long withstand a larger and better armed force, supported by cannon, and were eventually obliged to retreat, leaving six of their number dead on the field and several others prisoners in the

hands of the English, none of whom we have ever seen again or heard of.

Thus ended this act in the drama of South Africa, creating new miseries for the Boers, who could not immediately trek or escape in flight beyond the Vaal River, where the Portuguese had conceded them a tract of country, decimated of its native population by the raiding of Moselekatse, previous to his attack upon the Boers in 1836, and for which he had been severely punished already by Piet Uys and Hendrik Potgieter. The country had, so to say, been cleared by the Boers, and they now availed themselves of the permission given them by the Portuguese to settle down north of the Vaal River, where they immediately founded a village which they named Potchefstroom. Having built a church and gaol, they proceeded with the election of a Parliament and the enactment of laws, etc.

It had by this time begun to dawn upon Her Majesty's Government that it was more politic to leave the Boer severely alone than to be everlastingly pursuing him from place to place like a small bird, hopping from branch to branch and tree to tree. With the object of assuring the Boers that they would not be interfered with north of the Vaal River, and could administer their own affairs, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, Mr. C. M. Owen, was sent, with the result that a convention was entered into on the 16th January, 1852, signed by Your Majesty's Commissioners, Major W. S. Hogg and Mr. C. M. Owen, the first three articles of which read somewhat as follows :

Art. 1. Her Majesty's Commissioners, on behalf of the British Government, do absolutely guarantee to the emigrant Boers north of the Vaal River the right of administering their own affairs and of governing in accordance with their own laws, without interference whatsoever on the part of the British Government, and that no extension shall be made by the said Government north of the Vaal, with the additional assurance that it is the fervent desire of the British Government to maintain peace and free trade, and to promote a friendly understand-

ing with the emigrant Boers occupying or still to occupy the said territory, and it is further understood that these terms are to be mutually adhered to.

Art. 2. Should there arise any misunderstanding regarding the meaning of the word Vaalrivier, more particularly with respect to the tributaries of the Vaal, the question shall be decided by a mutually appointed commission.

Art. 3. That Her Majesty's commissioners disavow all compacts of whatever nature with the colored nations north of the Vaal.

#### HAVE ANY OF THESE ARTICLES BEEN CARRIED OUT BY YOUR MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT?

See also the protocol, which defines the boundary along the Vaal River and the Orange Free State right unto the sea. The British evidently concluded that the Orange Free State was not worthy of being retained by so wealthy and good a Government as that of England. Therefore, Her Majesty's Government sent Sir Russel Clark, on the 4th of February, 1854, to abolish the suzerainty and give the Boers absolute independence and free government.

This just action on the part of the British Government, Your Majesty, was lauded and magnified by the Boer, whose confidence in the equity of the British had revived. No one dare say aught detrimental to the English. No! an Englishman was as good as any other man. This feeling toward the English can be testified to by the many soldiers who deserted hither; by every trader, and by the first gold-diggers in the country. Have not English persons served as members of our Executive Council and as Landdrosts? Have not Englishmen sat as members of our Volksraad? Yes! even several who did not understand Dutch. Did not perfect harmony, co-operation, confidence and friendship prevail then between the Englishman and the Boer all over South-Africa? Would not, in this way, all the people of South Africa, irrespective of nationality, soon have been blended into one common people or nation?

Whence came this antagonism, this disruption, then? Your Majesty, it is to be ascribed to the diamonds, to the Basuto-land question—ask but Theophilus Shepstone—to what took place on the 12th of April, 1878. Yes! Lord Carnarvon knows, as also does Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. Did the Boers not have to submit to the diamond fields south of the Vaal being taken from them? Was not the glory of having vanquished the Basutos, after a long and bloody struggle, and after having endured so much, snatched from the Orange Free State? Was not the trust assured them by the Convention abused when they were dispossessed of a stretch of country where the diamond mines were situated, and for which they were subsequently obliged to accept a sum of ninety thousand pounds sterling—a ridiculously inadequate sum, considering that in one week the value of the diamonds procured exceeded this amount? Was not the Transvaal annexed after all the native tribes had been subdued by the Boers? Did not the Boers for three whole years implore Lord Carnarvon, and also later Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, as it were, on their knees, for a restitution of their rights, sending two deputations to England for that purpose, yet without obtaining the least hope of ever having their legitimate rights restored to them? It was, therefore, in desperation that the Boers resolved, on the 13th of December, 1880, at Paardekraal, to recall the Government to resume their official duties, which had been interrupted owing to the annexation, and to govern the people in accordance with the laws of the land.

Your Majesty is probably aware that when the country was annexed, on the 12th of April, 1877, against which act President Thomas Burgers, however, resolutely protested, a proclamation was printed at Pretoria in the name of the British, without let or hindrance from the side of the Boer. No! the Boers, notwithstanding their indignation at this great wrong, submitted to the law and preserved order, intending to petition Your Majesty against this manifestly unjust breach of the Convention, committed in the name of Your Majesty. They, therefore, without murmur, permitted the publication of the document.

When, however, they wanted to have a proclamation printed, declaring to the world their rights, Major Clark ordered his men to open fire on them—and this without previous warning or the proclaiming of war—wounding two and killing one of their horses. Thus, on December 16th, 1880, war was declared by England against the Boers, regardless of the Convention of 1852, wherein their independence, etc., etc., was guaranteed to them.

This was how the war, which lasted almost three months, originated.

The wretched Boers had no experienced soldiers, nor did they possess cannon, ammunition, modern weapons or a full treasury; indeed, they were almost destitute of food and clothing. They were armed only with antique flintlock guns, and had at the most a hundred rounds of ammunition. Their officers had but recently been chosen; the majority of them had never been under fire before, and, in fact, knew not what war meant. Such were the men who were now obliged to take up arms and to give battle. Against whom? Against Your Majesty? Against Great Britain? No! Your Majesty, happily not; but against those persons who, through misrepresentation, had beguiled the British Empire into the committal of a shameful deed, thereby seeking to cast a lasting reproach on Your Majesty's honored name, and that of the noble British race, at the same time straining to crush a people to whom Your Majesty had, by the terms of the Zand-River Convention, etc., guaranteed their independence.

In this way the unfortunate struggle between the Boers and English came about. The Boers, perceiving that they could not move their pitiless oppressors by their protests and petitions, resolved to repurchase liberty with their blood. Although many more brave English soldiers fell than Boers, the loss of the Boer, however, was greater and more acutely felt, considering the status of the British soldier and how considerably it differs from that of the Boer. The Boer was fighting for his property, his home and for his country. He is invari-

ably the father of a family, and if he gets killed then he leaves behind him a widow and children, or, perhaps, the only son of a widow or of aged and decrepit parents, whose support he was, is killed. A soldier knows none of these tender anxieties. He is instructed in the science of war, and thinks of nothing else; his greatest ambition is to carry out the orders of his commander and to gain a medal for bravery in the fight. They do not concern themselves with the question as to whether they are fighting in a good or bad, a just or unjust, cause. No! it matters little to them. Those in high positions (who sit in safety) should know, for they have calculated how much glory and honor they can gain or purchase with the life and blood of the soldier, but they do not consider the amount of suffering and pain they inflict and what their responsibility will be when they come before the judgment seat of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth, before whom everyone will one day have to stand, face to face with those who stood under their authority and were used to the destruction and downfall of others.

In this war, however, such was not the outcome, for, although the struggle was fierce and arduous and the Boers lost heavily, their God gave them the ultimate victory. There arose a man—Mr. Gladstone—at the head of affairs in Great Britain, an upright God-fearing man, who could discern the directing finger of the Almighty, and was not too high-minded to acknowledge the same and boldly declare that righteousness exalteth a nation—his nation, Your Majesty's nation—while injustice and wrong-doing sullies the fame of a nation. Actuated thereto by a generous and noble impulse, he caused the unjust war to cease, and restored the honor of Great Britain by transforming an act of violence into a magnanimous deed. Peace was thereupon concluded at Langs Nek, and the Boers might have again exulted at being in amity with Great Britain, although burdened now with a heavy debt—a liability which they respectfully protest they never incurred—an empty treasury, broken firearms, ammunition all spent, and a Convention that cannot be conformed with, which can be declared as

infringed every day, with no impartial tribunal to determine one way or the other. The Boers were, however, free again, and they hoped it would now go better with them. They vainly imagined so, and frequently declared so. But, alas! Poor Transvaal! You have hardly survived one disaster when two others stand staring you in the face.

Unfortunately a rich gold mine has been discovered in your country. It is surely not meant for the poor down-trodden Boer. Poor and abandoned men soon began to flock to this New Eldorado, and were presently followed by a legion of unscrupulous speculators. Afterwards certain ambitious capitalists arrived on the scene, who knew how to use their influence, and were indifferent as to what role they played or of what became of the country as long as they could increase their wealth tenfold. And to what end did they eventually apply their gold, derived from the Transvaal mines? Let history tell Your Majesty, and it will prove that it was not devoted to the good of the country or the welfare of their fellowmen; but, to the contrary, to the detriment of the country whose hospitality they were enjoying.

Their object was to overthrow the Government and to rob the people of their liberty, by force if necessary. As they had money in abundance, the proceeds of the gold they had won from the mines they bought thousands of rifles and maxim cannons—smuggled these, concealed in oil-casks, into the country for the purpose of using them against the people of the Transvaal to oust them out of their country, whither the capitalist had come and possessed himself of the goldfields. With this aim in view they had made a compact with one Cecil Rhodes to undertake a raid into the Transvaal, Dr. Jameson acting as the tool.

Behold! Your Majesty, the conduct of these men—the same men who are to day clamoring about grievances. Yes! grievances which have made them rich, richer than ever any of the Voortrekkers was or any of their children will be.

They, then, who tried to overthrow the South-African Republic, who stirred up strife in Johannesburg, on account of which many anxious and timid people fled from the city to escape probable hardships, are responsible for that dreadful railway accident in Natal, through which so many mothers and children lost their lives. They shall also have to answer before the judgment seat of God, for the blood that was spilt during this contemptible Jameson raid. Here, again, Your Majesty, six Boers fell defending their rights and the independence of their country.

Thus have the Boers, from time to time, been aggravated and harassed.

But even in these troubles they were not deserted by their God, who gave them refuge and enabled them to prove to the world that they are a meek and enlightened people; for, although they had it in their power to refuse to grant quarter or pardon to Jameson or his gang of freebooters, they did not shoot them down as, perhaps, another military force would have done, or even follow the example set them at Schlachtersnek. The thought alone that they were British subjects sufficed the Boers not to treat them according to their deserts, but to hand them over to the law officers of Your Majesty to be dealt with as Your Majesty deemed fit. And what are the thanks we get for our magnanimity in liberating Jameson, Rhodes' henchman? Instead of thanks we are cursed with the revival of the Johannesburg agitation of 1895 and 1896.

These are the men who, encouraged and assisted by Mr. Chamberlain, are trying once again to bring misery upon the Transvaal, and as a means to this end and in order to mislead the generous British public, have caused a false document, stated to have been voluntarily signed by 21,000 oppressed aliens, to be addressed to Your Majesty. If Your Majesty would have that petition sent to Johannesburg to be publicly and impartially scrutinized, it would soon be made manifest how many thousands of the names appended thereto are of persons who had neither read or seen it, and of numerous others who have

long been dead. Armed with such a document they are now endeavoring to bring another calamity upon the Transvaal, and, perhaps, upon the whole of South-Africa. Were such a scrutiny to take place, it could be positively proved that many whose names appear as signatories, rather than being against the continuance of the independence of the Transvaal, have grievances against the framers of that notorious petition, and would like to bring them up for withholding their wages or ill-treatment. Such, we are sure, will faithfully stand by the Boers and fight for their adopted country; unlike the authors of that petition, whose guilty consciences are prompting them to leave the country or send their wives and money away to Natal or the Cape Colony. All this for fear of the consequences of their own wickedness. They have insured the works at their gold mines against damage, which they recklessly wish to cause to others. The wire pullers of this vile scheme are Messrs. Rhodes, Chamberlain and Jameson.

Your Majesty, what are we expected to do? We are told to-day they demand the franchise. Would it not be better for the people and for the independence of the country to give a vote to every raw Englishman, just arrived in the country, or even an army deserter, than to such unscrupulous capitalists and dishonest speculators, whose only object is to rob the South-African Republic of its independence, in order to be enabled to do the same here with the gold mines as they did with the diamond mines at Kimberly under British rule?

Your Majesty, it was with a deep sense of pain at the critical state of affairs in South-Africa, that I commenced to write this letter, but my pain and indignation has been intensified by what I have lately read in the newspapers of Mr. Chamberlain and his statements anent the Transvaal, which he fondly hopes will be accepted as gospel truth by everyone. He has never yet been in the Transvaal. I have been to London and yet I do not pretend to know all about it. Would it not be presumption on my part to think so? And does he alone know everything about the Transvaal? No! Your Majesty. Now I see

clearly that he has been misled, that he has believed in fiction; for how otherwise could he have uttered such language? Witness his bitter speech at Birmingham when he referred to the shooting of Edgar. Your Majesty, this man had struck another a mortal blow, and when the police tried to arrest him, he struck and almost killed one of them, who thereupon shot him dead. It was indeed a regrettable incident; but has it not often occurred at Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square, that the English police have found it necessary to fire on an unarmed mob, thereby killing and wounding private citizens? And did ever any foreign minister dream of declaring war against England or make unreasonable demands on account of such action? Mr. Chamberlain is alarmed, forsooth, because a woman is murdered in the streets of Johannesburg—a circumstance which we all deplore, yet cannot discover the murderer. We have offered a reward of £500 to anyone giving information that will lead to the conviction of the person who committed this crime, but up to the present we have failed in tracking the culprit. Now, Your Majesty, how many women were murdered in London by the so-called Jack-the-Ripper, who, notwithstanding Mr. Chamberlain, has never been caught? And yet who would ever dream of going to war with England because of this Jack-the-Ripper? Mr. Chamberlain, however, would set the whole of South-Africa ablaze just because we have not captured a murderer, or because a jury has not convicted an Englishman in our police service of a certain murder.

Will Your Majesty permit a small, weak State, that has time after time relinquished its rights, and has ever tried to live in peace and harmony with Your Majesty's people and Government, to be oppressed and overthrown by a world-renowned power and might of Great Britain, simply owing to the misrepresentations of the persons I have already mentioned?

Such is the inquiry of one who considers it an honor and privilege to extol Your Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain

and Ireland and the Empress of India, and to acknowledge the generosity of the British nation and of several British statesmen.

No! Your Majesty, ever in supplication to the Almighty, who ruleth over Kings and Princes, and inclineth all to His great will, I, Your Majesty's humble petitioner, will never believe that Your Majesty will suffer the sacred rights of a weak, peace-loving people to be violated in your name, and South-Africa to be cast into grief and mourning. To the contrary, I pray Your Majesty that peace, rest, prosperity, union and co-operation will reign in Your Majesty's name throughout South-Africa, and endure as long as there remains a Boer or an Englishman on earth.

Such is the wish and prayer of

Your Majesty's most humble petitioner,

P. J. JOUBERT,







*M. J. STEIN,  
PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE.*

A PROCLAMATION  
TO THE  
BURGHERS OF THE ORANGE  
FREE STATE,

BY PRESIDENT M. J. STEIN.

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“Burghers of the Orange Free State. The time which we had so much desired to avoid, the moment when we as a nation are compelled with arms to oppose injustice and shameless violence, is at hand. Our sister Republic to the north of the Vaal River is about to be attacked by an unscrupulous enemy, who for many years has prepared himself, and sought pretexts for the violence of which he is now guilty, whose purpose it is to destroy the existence of the Afrikander race.

BOUND BY MANY TIES.

“With our sister Republic we are not only bound by ties of blood, of sympathy and of common interest, but also by formal treaty, which has been necessitated by circumstances. This treaty demands of us that we assist her if she should be unjustly attacked, which we, unfortunately, for a long time have had too much reason to expect. We, therefore, cannot passively look on while injustice is done her, and while also our own dearly bought freedom is endangered, but are called as men to resist, trusting the Almighty, firmly believing that He will never permit injustice and unrighteousness to triumph.

“Now that we thus resist a powerful enemy, with whom it has always been our honest desire to live in friendship, notwith-

standing injustice and wrong done by him to us in the past, we solemnly declare, in the presence of the Almighty God, that we are compelled thereto by the injustice done to our kinsmen, and by the consciousness that the end of their independence will make our existence as an independent State of no significance, and that their fate, should they be obliged to bend under an overwhelming power, will also soon after be our own fate.

“Solemn treaties have not protected our sister Republic against annexation; against conspiracy; against the claim of an abolished suzerainty; against the continuous oppression and interference, and now against a renewed attack, which aims only at her downfall.

#### BROKEN PROMISES.

“Our own unfortunate experiences in the past have also made it sufficiently clear to us that we cannot rely on the most solemn promises and agreements of Great Britain, when she has at her helm a government prepared to trample on treaties, to look for feigned pretexts for every violation of good faith by her committed. This is proved among other things by the unjust and unlawful British intervention, after we had overcome an armed and barbarous black tribe on our eastern frontier, as also by the forcible appropriation of the dominion over part of our territory where the discovery of diamonds had caused the desire for this appropriation, although contrary to existing treaties.

“The desire and intention to trample on our rights as an independent and sovereign nation, notwithstanding a solemn convention existing between this State and great Britain, have also been more than once, and are now again, shown by the present Government by giving expression in public documents to an unfounded claim of paramountcy over the whole of South Africa, and, therefore, also over this State.

“With regard to the South Africa Republic, Great Britain has, moreover, refused until the present to allow her to regain her original position in respect to foreign affairs, a position in

respect to foreign affairs, a position which she had lost in no sense by her own faults. The original intention of conventions, to which the Republic has consented under pressure of circumstances, has been perverted and continually been used by the present British administration as a means for the practice of tyranny and of injustice, and, among other things, for the support of a revolutionary propaganda within the Republic in favor of Great Britain.

#### NO REDRESS OFFERED.

“And while no redress has been offered, as justice demands for injustice done to the South Africa Republic on the part of the British Government, and while no gratitude is exhibited for the magnanimity shown at the request of the British Government to British subjects who had forfeited under the laws of the Republic their lives and property, yet no feeling of shame has prevented the British Government, now that the gold mines of immense values have been discovered in the country, to make claims of the Republic, the consequence of which, if allowed, will be, that those who, or whose forefathers have saved the country from barbarism and have won it for civilization with their blood and their tears, will lose their control over the interests of the country, to which they are justly entitled according to divine and human laws. The consequence of these claims would be, moreover, that the greater part of the power will be placed in the hands of those, who, foreigners by birth, enjoy the privilege of depriving the country of its chief treasure, while they have never shown any loyalty to a foreign government.

“Besides, the inevitable consequence of the acceptance of these claims would be that the independence of the country as a self-governing, independent sovereign republic would be irreparably lost. For years past British troops in great numbers have been placed on the frontiers of our sister republic in order to compel her by fear to accede to the demands which would be pressed upon her, and in order to encourage revolu-

tionary disturbances and the cunning plans of those whose greed for gold in the cause of their shameless undertakings.

“Those plans have now reached their climax in the open violence to which the present British Government now resorts. While we readily acknowledge the honorable character of thousands of Englishmen, who loathe such deeds of robbery and wrong, we cannot but abhor the shameless breaking of treaties, the feigned pretexts for the transgression of law, the violation of international law and of justice and the numerous right-rending deeds of the British statesmen, who will now force a war upon the South-African Republic. On their heads be the guilt of blood, and may a just Providence reward all as they deserve.

“Burghers of the Orange Free State, rise as one man against the oppressor and the violator of right.

“In the strife, to which we are now driven, have a care to commit no act unworthy of a Christian and of a Burgher of the the Orange Free State. Let us look forward with confidence to a fortunate end of this conflict, trusting to that Higher Power, without whose help human weapons are of no avail.

“May He bless our arms. Under His banner we advance to battle for liberty and for Fatherland.

“M. T. STEIN,  
“*State President.*”

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OFFICIAL DISPATCHES  
EXCHANGED BETWEEN  
PRESIDENT STEIJN  
AND  
HIGH COMMISSIONER.

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The following dispatches have been exchanged between His Honor President Steijn and His Excellency Sir Alfred Milner :

No. 1.

*High Commissioner, Cape Town, State President, Bloemfontein :*

19th Sept.—I have the honour to inform your Honour that it has been deemed advisable by the Imperial Military authorities to send a detachment of the troops, ordinarily stationed at Cape Town, to assist in securing the line of communication between the Colony and the British territories lying to the North of it. As this force, or a portion of it, may be stationed near the Borders of the Orange Free State, I think it desirable to acquaint your Honour with this movement, and the reasons for it, in order to prevent any misconception on the part of the Burghers of the Orange Free State, of the object which the Military authorities have in view. The movement in question is in no way directed against the Orange Free State, nor is it due to any anxiety as to the intentions of the latter, as I rest fully satisfied with the declarations on this point contained in your Honour's telegram of August 16 last. I take this opportunity of making a general statement of the attitude of H. M. Govt. at the present juncture which in view of the many current misapprehensions on the subject, H. M. Govt. have

authorised me to convey to your Honour. H. M. Govt. are still hopeful of a friendly settlement of the differences which have arisen between them and the South African Republic: but should this hope unfortunately be disappointed, H. M. Govt. look to the Government of the Orange Free State to preserve strict neutrality and to prevent any Military intervention by any of its citizens and are prepared to give formal assurances that in that case the integrity of the Orange Free State Territory will be strictly respected under all circumstances. As far as H. M. Govt. are aware, there is absolutely no cause to justify any disturbance of friendly relations between Great Britain and the Orange Free State. Her Majesty's Government are animated by the most friendly sentiments towards the Orange Free State and it is entirely untrue that they desire to impair the independence of that Republic.

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No. 2.

*State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner,  
Cape Town:*

19th Sept.—Your Excellency's telegram of this day. I share with your Excellency the hopefulness of a friendly settlement of the differences which have arisen between H. M. Government and the S. A. R. being still arrived at. I cannot even now see that those differences justify the use of force as the only solution thereof. Both on this account and seeing the existing state of tension here and elsewhere in South Africa, I note with apprehension and regret the intention of H. M. Government to send a detachment of the troops ordinarily stationed at Cape Town northwards with a view to having some or a portion thereof stationed near the border of this State. Whilst this Government will continue to do all in its power to allay excitement, I cannot help impressing upon Your Excellency the fact that, if the proposed course be pursued, following as it will on other military preparations, near our borders, it will not

improbably be considered by our Burghers as a menace to this State, and will in any case and naturally create a very strong feeling of distrust and unrest amongst them. If unwished for developments should arise therefrom, the responsibility will not rest with this Government. I will submit Your Excellency's telegram to the Volksraad early in its Session which opens on Thursday next, and meanwhile beg to assure Your Excellency that this Government would view with deep regret any disturbance of those friendly relations which hitherto existed between Great Britain and this State.

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No. 3.

*High Commissioner, Cape Town, State President, Bloemfontein:*

20th Sept.—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Honour's telegram of yesterday. I propose to publish the telegram which I addressed to your Honour. Does your Honour desire that I should at the same time publish your reply?

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No. 4.

*State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner, Cape Town:*

20th Sept.—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegram of this day. I contemplate, as stated yesterday, submitting your Excellency's telegram to the Volksraad if possible to-morrow, and at the same time to inform it of my reply thereto. I have no objection to my reply to your Excellency being published.

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No. 5.

*State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner, Cape Town:*

25th Sept.—I have this day received information that considerable body of troops are being moved northward along and

nearer our border, from Ladysmith by rail. With a view to allaying undue excitement, I trust and would be pleased to learn from Your Excellency that the report is devoid of truth.

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No. 6.

*From High Commissioner, Cape Town, to State President, Bloemfontein :*

25th Sept.—Your Honour's telegram of to-day. Governor of Natal informs me that some troops are being moved from Ladysmith to Glencoe, and will be replaced at Ladysmith by troops from Maritzburg. There is no advance towards the borders of the Orange Free State, nor is there any justification for alarm. I am not aware of any change in the situation since my telegram to Your Honour of the 19th. I adhere to the hope therein expressed as regards differences between Her Majesty's Government and the South-African Republic and repeat the assurance given to the Orange Free State.

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No. 7.

*State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner, Cape Town :*

27th Sept.—I have the honour to communicate, for information of Your Excellency and H. M.'s Government, the following resolution, this day unanimously adopted by the Volksraad. Translated begins :

The Volksraad having heard the second paragraph of His Honour's opening speech and the official documents and correspondence relating thereto which have been handed in ;

Having regard to the strained state of affairs in South-Africa, which has arisen in consequence of the differences between the Governments of the South-African Republic and H. B. Majesty's, which constitute a threatening danger for

bringing about hostilities, the calamitous effects of which would be incalculable for all white inhabitants of South-Africa ;

Being bound to the South-African Republic by the closest bonds of blood and alliance, and standing in a most friendly relationship towards Her British Majesty's Government ;

Fearing that should a war break out a hatred would be generated between the European races in South-Africa, which still, in the far future, will impede and restrain the peaceful development of all the States and Colonies of South-Africa ;

Being sensible that the serious obligation rests upon the Volksraad to do all that is possible to prevent the shedding of blood ;

Considering that in the course of negotiations with the British Government, which have extended over several months, every endeavour has been made by the Government of the South-African Republic to arrive at a peaceful solution of the differences which have been brought forward by Uitlanders in the S.-A. Republic, and which have been adopted as its own cause by the Government of H. B. Majesty, which endeavours unfortunately have only had the result that British troops have been concentrated upon the borders of the South-African Republic, and are still continually being reinforced :

“ Resolves to instruct the Government still further to do everything in their power to preserve and establish peace and to contribute by peaceful methods towards the solution of the existing differences, provided that can be brought about without injury to the Honour and Independence of this State or of the South-African Republic, and wishes unmistakably to declare its opinion that there exists no cause for war, and that if a war is now begun or occasioned by H. B. Majesty's Government against the South-African Republic this will morally be a war against the whole white population of South-Africa, and would in its results be calamitous and criminal. Further, that the Orange Free State will honestly and faithfully observe its obligations towards the South-African Republic arising out of the political alliance between the two Republics, whatever may happen.”

*From State President, Bloemfontein, to His Excellency the High Commissioner, Cape Town.*

27th Sept.—In view of the ever increasing gravity of the situation and the strained relations unfortunately existing between the Government of Great Britain and of the S. A. Republic, I deem it my duty to avail myself of this opportunity to address H. M.'s Government through Your Excellency.

The Free State Government, as H. M.'s Government are aware, is bound both to the people of the S. A. Republic and of the neighbouring British Colonies by ties of blood and friendship. It is in addition bound on the one hand to the S. A. Republic by a solemn treaty, in which this State has undertaken to assist the Sister Republic in the event of its Independence being threatened or attacked, whilst on the other side there exists between it and the British Government and the Governments of the neighbouring British Colonies long established and highly appreciated amicable relations. It has ever been and still is the aim and object of Free State Policy heartily to support and continually to foster any measures tending to maintain not only; but to increase the spirit of harmony and co-operation amongst the Colonies and States of South Africa and their respective Governments, and it would most deeply regret the occurrence of any untoward event that would cause a break in the cordial relations hitherto so happily subsisting between this State and all its neighbours.

It is this strong feeling of good will and amity towards both the Government of Great Britain and of the S. A. Republic, between whom relations have now for some time been unfortunately, but, as I trust, only temporarily strained that led me to bring about the Conference between Your Excellency and President Kruger in May last. I acted in the hope that thereby the basis for a good understanding and harmonious co-operation in the future might have been arrived at. That Conference terminated without effecting the desired results, and

ever since then this Government has been unceasing in its efforts and has done all in its power to obtain a peaceful and satisfactory solution of the differences between H. M.'s Government and the S. A. Republic, by influencing the Government of the S. A. Republic to make most important reforms in the matter of Franchise and representation for British subjects who are desirous of becoming burghers of that Republic.

In pressing those Franchise and representation reforms and concessions, this Government kept in view the spirit that animated Your Excellency at the Conference and in which they assumed that the British Government also was willing to act, viz., "to adopt an attitude of friendly suggestion and not of dictation in the internal affairs of the Republic." When it is borne in mind what the position was both in regard to the question of Franchise and of representation in the S. A. Republic at the time of the Conference and what radical reforms have been effected by the Government and Legislature of that country in the comparatively short time that has elapsed since that date, I think it may be fairly claimed that our efforts, aided by the representations of other friends of peace and harmony in South Africa have been crowned with a large measure of success.

Whilst the Government of the S. A. Republic, encouraged thereto by the advice of the Free State and other friends, were busy inducing the Legislature and people of that Republic to accept reform in the direction suggested and desired by H. M.'s Government, and intended to meet the alleged wants of the Uitlander population, and even before the proposal was made by the British Government, that the Franchise Law and scheme of increased representation for the Witwaters Rand Goldfields should be submitted to a Joint Commission for examination and report, this Government could not be blind to the fact that the tone of the despatches had altered, and that the British Government had, in fact, departed from the basis on which negotiations were opened: that of not interfering in the internal affairs of the Republic. The request for the Joint Commission of

Enquiry emphasised that fact beyond any shadow of doubt. Notwithstanding this the Government of the O. F. State, in the hope that an impartial investigation might inaugurate a renewal of the employment of friendly methods tending towards a satisfactory solution of the questions in difference, and, adopting the friendly suggestion received from several quarters, once more advised the Government of the S. A. Republic to make yet another concession, and to give yet another proof of its willingness to meet the British Government, by consenting to accept the invitation of the British Government to take part in such a Joint Commission; this advice was adopted, and at last it seemed that the efforts of the friends of peace and harmony in South-Africa stood a fair chance of being crowned with success. Great, therefore, was the disappointment of the Government and people of this State when it transpired that, from causes which I am still unacquainted, our best efforts, culminating in the acceptance by the S. A. Republic of the proposals of the British Government for a Joint Commission of Enquiry on the seven years Franchise Law and adopted increased representation scheme, proved unavailing, and that the unfortunate tension seemed, as it seems now, to be only increasing.

This Government are still prepared, and tender their services to further the interests of peace, and to continue in their endeavours to procure a satisfactory solution of existing difficulties on fair and reasonable lines: they feel themselves, however, hampered now as in the past:

*a.* By a want of knowledge as to the definite object and extent of the desires or demands of the British Government, compliance with which that Government consider themselves entitled to insist upon, and as to the grounds on which such insistence is based.

*b.* By the fact that, notwithstanding the repeated assurances of the British Government that it did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the S. A. Republic nor to disturb its independence, it has pursued a policy which seems to justify a contrary conclusion.

To give but one instance, which could not be otherwise than calculated to be a most disturbing element in the conduct of negotiations, I may mention the enormous and ever increasing military preparations on the part of the British Government, indicating a policy of force and coercion during the whole course of negotiations which were stated to be of a friendly and conciliatory nature, those preparations, in the absence of any apparent cause justifying the same, being not unnaturally looked upon as a direct menace to the S. A. Republic. After all that has been done by the S. A. Republic to meet the wishes of H. M.'s Government for a Joint Commission to enquire into the scope and effect of those measures and whether immediate and substantial representation would thereby be assured to the Uitlanders willing to avail themselves of the provisions thereof, this Government cannot conceive it possible that the points of difference that may exist on this subject justify those extensive and ever increasing military preparations being carried out on the borders, not only of the S. A. Republic, but also of the O. F. State, and it is, therefore, reluctantly compelled to conclude that they must be intended to secure other objects at present unknown to the Government of this State, and the knowledge whereof, if they prove to be fair and reasonable, might induce this Government to make necessary representations to secure their attainment and enable them to continue their efforts to secure a speedy, peaceful and satisfactory solution of the difficulties and differences existing between H. M.'s Government and the Government of the S. A. Republic. I beg to add that I am firmly convinced (and feel sure that any reasonable assurance could be obtained), that the Government of the S. A. Republic have been sincerely desirous to maintain in its integrity the Convention of 1884, both as regards its letter and its spirit, and that they do not contemplate or assert a claim to any absolute political status without the qualification arising out of Art. 4 of that Convention, and accordingly it does not appear to me that there is any misunderstanding hereon that could not promptly and without difficulty be settled. I feel

assured that there is no difference between their contention on that point and the communication made on behalf of H. M.'s Government by H. M.'s High Commissioner to the Governments, both of the S. A. Republic and of this State, on the 27th February, 1884, as to the import of that Convention. That communication was as follows: "Same complete internal independence in Transvaal as in the Orange Free State. Conduct and control intercourse, Foreign Governments conceded. Queen's final approval Treaties reserved."

In the expectation that H. M.'s Government will share my views that no effort should be spared to effect a peaceable settlement, if possible, of the points in difference between them and S. A. Republic, and that consequently all causes of irritation likely to delay or prevent such settlement should be removed or at least not be aggravated, I trust that H. M.'s Government may see their way clear pending the arrival of the further despatch intimated as about to be sent to the Government of the S. A. Republic, and pending further negotiations, to stop any further movements or increase of troops on or near the borders of the S.-A. Republic and of this State, and further to give an assurance to that effect to allay the great excitement and irritation naturally aroused and increased thereby, and if H. M.'s Government should be pleased to accede to this request, this Government would be glad to be favoured with the views of H. M.'s Government on the points raised herein, and more particularly as to the precise nature and scope of the concessions or measures, the adoption whereof H. M.'s Government consider themselves entitled to claim or which they suggest as being necessary or sufficient to insure a satisfactory and permanent solution of existing differences between them and the S.-A. Republic, whilst at the same time providing a means for settling any others that may arise in the future.

(Sig.) M. T. STEIJN, State President.

No. 9.

*High Commissioner, Cape Town, His Honour State President,  
Bloemfontein :*

28th Sept.—I beg to acknowledge your Honour's two telegrams received last night, the contents of which I have communicated to H. M.'s Government.

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No. 10

*State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner,  
Cape Town:*

2d Oct.—I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I have deemed it advisable in order to allay the intense excitement and unrest amongst our Burghers arising from the totally undefended state of our Borders in the presence and continued increase and movement of troops on two sides of this State, to call up our Burghers to satisfy them that due precautions have been taken in regard to guarding our Borders and to insure their not acting independently of proper control. I am still strongly and sincerely desirous of seeing and, if possible, aiding in a friendly settlement of the differences between H. M. Government and the S. A. Republic being arrived at. I am still looking forward soon to be favoured with the views of H. M. Government on the points touched upon in my telegraphic despatch to Your Excellency of the 27th ult., receipt whereof was acknowledged by Your Excellency on the following day.

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II.

*High Commissioner, Cape Town, His Honour, State President,  
Bloemfontein :*

2nd October.—I have the honour to acknowledge your Honour's telegram of to-day, the terms of which I am communicating to H. M. Government. With reference to the move-

ments of troops to which you refer, I can only repeat the assurances given in my telegrams of the 19th and 25th September. I regret that Your Honour should have felt obliged to order up a large body of Burghers and to place them immediately on our Borders whereas no Imperial troops have been so placed on the Borders of the Orange Free State, except the small detachment engaged in the defence of Kimberiy, but as your Honour has seen fit to take this course, I am glad to have your Honour's assurance that your forces will be held in proper control. As your Honour is aware, the Government of the S. A. Republic has mobilised and placed upon the Borders of Natal a very considerable army and made dispositions which, unwilling as I am to believe such action possible, seem to indicate an immediate invasion of the Queen's dominions. In view of the repeated declaration of your Honour I feel confident that any invasion of H. M. territories by the S. A. Republic would not have the countenance and support of your Honour's Government, all the more so as Your Honour continues to express the hope of a peaceful settlement, of which I likewise do not despair. I hope to be able very shortly to communicate to you the reply of H. M. Government to your telegram of the 27th of September.

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No. 12

*State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner,  
Cape Town.*

2nd October.—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's telegram of this afternoon. I cannot help, regretfully, expressing my conviction that the action of the Transvaal in putting Burghers on their Borders, is only the natural result, all along feared by me, of the constant increase of British troops and their movement in the direction of Transvaal Border. At the same time I have no reason to anticipate any immediate aggressive action on part of Transvaal, unless further forward movement of British troops should indicate

intention of attack on Transvaal. I beg to urge upon your Excellency the necessity of trying both to expedite the reply to my telegraphic despatch and to prevent further movement of troops.

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No. 13.

*High Commissioner, Cape Town, State President, Bloemfontein :*

3rd Oct.—I have the honour to acknowledge your Honour's telegram of yesterday evening. Your Honour must be perfectly aware that all the movements of British troops which have taken place in this country since the beginning of present troubles, and which have been necessitated by the natural alarm of the inhabitants in exposed districts, are not comparable in magnitude with the recent massing of armed forces of the S.-A. Republic on the borders of Natal. I do not suggest that your Honour is in any way responsible for that action, which appears to me inconsistent with the tone of your Honour's telegram of the 27th September, in which you expressed your conviction that a peaceful settlement of difficulties was still possible and ought to be arrived at.

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No. 14.

*State President, Bloemfontein, High Commissioner, Cape Town :*

3rd Oct.—I have the honour to acknowledge your Excellency's telegram of this morning. I am as sincerely and strongly desirous as ever to see a speedy, peaceful and satisfactory solution being arrived at, and to do all that lies in my power to try even yet to attain that result. I deem it my duty, however, to state emphatically that I do not consider that the movements of British troops which have taken place in this country since the beginning of the present troubles have been necessitated by the natural alarm of the inhabitants in exposed districts, nor, in fact, have I ever thought that there were any fair

grounds justifying such movements. On the contrary, I have never for a moment had or expressed any other view than that the ever increasing military preparations, which both in England and in South Africa, have all along accompanied protestations for a desire to arrive at peaceful and friendly settlement, retarded and hampered the efforts of myself and all those who were sincerely working to maintain peace and effect fair settlement. To the bitter and hostile tone of the utterances made both by responsible men and by almost the whole English press in South Africa and in England, bristling with misrepresentation and constant menace to the Transvaal, accompanied by ever increasing military preparations on an extensive scale, not only in South Africa and in England, but throughout the British Empire, which are openly stated as being directed against and intended to coerce the Transvaal, I mainly attribute the failure hitherto of arriving at an amicable and satisfactory solution of existing difficulties. I wish to place on record my earnest conviction, that on those in authority, who introduced the military element, and who thereby inaugurated and have since continued a policy of menace and forcible intervention, will rest the responsibility, should all efforts fail to secure peace and an honourable settlement of differences. After the proofs already given by the Transvaal since the Conference, to meet the views and wishes of the British Government, I consider the constant and systematic attempts to throw the blame for the present critical situation of affairs on the S. A. Republic unjust to and undeserved by the latter.

Whilst I am not responsible for, but on the contrary, for a long time successfully used my best endeavours to prevent the massing of burghers by the Government of the S. A. Republic on their borders, I cannot but recognise the fact that in view of the action of the British authorities already alluded to, the Transvaal Government can not be blamed for acting as they have done. I am the more confirmed in this view by the fact that whilst I am still without any reply to my telegraphic despatch of the 27th ult., and in which I expressed my convic-

tion as quoted by your Excellency, the reasonable request therein made that the increase and further movement of British troops should be stayed, and which, if acceded to, would probably have prevented the calling out of the burghers both in the S. A. Republic and in this State, has not only been ignored, but activity in military preparations and the despatch of troops have been going on more persistently than ever.

I am not in a position to judge whether the movement of British troops on the Border of the S. A. Republic is comparable or not in magnitude with the recent massing of armed forces of the S. A. Republic on their Borders, but your Excellency should not lose sight of the fact that on all sides in the English press and otherwise the assertion constantly finds expression that the British troops already in this Country, with their superior armament and discipline, are more than a match for the undisciplined Burgher force of the Republic, are intended forthwith to enforce British demands on the Transvaal, and that moreover troops are being dispatched almost daily from England, and military preparations are in active and constant progress which are utterly incompatible with the requirements of defence, and which would seem to more than sufficiently justify a conviction, in the minds of the Burghers of the S. A. Republic, that England has abandoned any idea of attempting any longer to arrive at a solution of differences, except by force. I trust that your Excellency will receive this communication in the spirit in which it is honestly intended, namely, to put the facts of the case and the situation, as I see them, at this most critical time, clearly before you so as to prevent any misunderstanding, not only, but in the hopes that by a clear comprehension of the views I hold as to the causes which have brought about the present crisis, your Excellency may the better be enabled to form a judgment not based on ex-parte information only. I feel deeply impressed with the danger of delay, and with the urgent need of immediate action being taken if any further attempts are to be made to secure a peaceful solution. Once again I tender my best services towards the attainment of that object,

but I fear that these will probably be useless and unavailing if not accompanied or preceded by the assurance requested in mine of 27th ult.

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No. 15.

*From High Commissioner, Cape Town, to His Honour the State President, Bloemfontein :*

4th Oct.—No. 2.—I have the honour to acknowledge your Honour's long telegram of yesterday afternoon, the substance of which I have communicated by wire to H. M.'s Government. There is, I think, a conclusive reply to your Honour's accusations against the policy of H. M.'s Government ; but no good purpose could be served by recrimination. The present position is that burgher forces are assembled in very large numbers in immediate proximity to the frontiers of Natal, while the British troops occupy certain defensive positions well within those borders. The question is whether the burgher forces will invade British territory, thus closing the door to any possibility of a pacific solution. I cannot believe that the S.-A. Republic will take such aggressive action, or that your Honour would countenance such a course, which there is nothing to justify. Prolonged negotiations have hitherto failed to bring about a satisfactory understanding, and no doubt such understanding is more difficult than ever to-day after expulsion of British subjects with great loss and suffering. But till the threatened act of aggression is committed I shall not despair of peace, and I feel sure that any reasonable proposal, from whatever quarter proceeding, would be favourably considered by H. M.'s Government, if it offered an immediate termination of the present tention and prospect of permanent tranquility.

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No. 16.

*From State President, Bloemfontein, to His Excellency the High Commissioner, Cape Town :*

5th Oct.—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegram No. 2, of yesterday evening. I

note with pleasure that Your Excellency does not despair of peace, and that you feel sure that any reasonable proposal, from whatever quarter proceeding, would be favourably considered by H. M. Government, if it offered an immediate termination of the present tension and a prospect of permanent tranquility. I see no reason why such proposals should not be forthcoming, and I myself am prepared actively to assist to bring about the indicated and desirable result. I must, however, point out that it seems to me it would be most difficult to attempt to make friendly proposals or continue to negotiate whilst the armed forces on both sides remain in menacing positions now occupied by them, but above all do I consider it would not be practicable to induce the Government of the S. A. Republic to make or entertain proposals or suggestions, unless not only the troops menacing their State are withdrawn further from their border, but an assurance be given by H. M. Government that all further despatch and increase of troops will at once, and during negotiations, be stopped, and that those now on the water should either not be landed or, at least, should remain as far removed as can be from the scene of possible hostilities. I trust Your Excellency will agree with me that these suggestions are only reasonable, as it would be manifestly unfair should further negotiations prove abortive—a result which I would earnestly endeavour to prevent and which I trust need not be anticipated—that the forces of the S. A. Republic should be in a worse position or at a greater disadvantage than they are at present. I must urge upon Your Excellency the urgent necessity of intimating to me without delay whether Your Excellency sees your way clear to give effect to these my views and wishes, and if so, I would be prepared to take steps at once and try and obtain any needful assurance to safeguard against any act of invasion of or hostility against any portion of H. M. Colonies or territories pending negotiations. If these preliminary but absolutely essential matters can be regulated between this and to-morrow, I would be further prepared to aid, if possible, in formulating and heartily to assist in dealing with and supporting any reason-

able proposals which shall possess the element of finality and give the assurance of immediate and lasting peace. A reply to the request made in the very last part of my telegraphic despatch to your Excellency of 27th ultimo would enable me to judge in how far it would be possible for me to support the requests or requirements of H. M. Government in reopening negotiations with the Transvaal.

In regard to another point, touched upon by your Excellency in your telegram under reply, I have no information before me from which I can infer that H. M. subjects have been expelled with great loss and suffering from the S. A. Republic. The report, no doubt, has its origin, like many others, in the exaggerated statements of persons leaving that country in a panic.

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No. 17.

*From High Commissioner, Cape Town, to State President, Bloemfontein :*

6th Oct. — With reference to Your Honour's telegram of yesterday, I must demur to Your Honour's statement that British troops are in menacing positions. I regret that Your Honour should suggest as a condition precedent to further negotiations an assurance from H. M.'s Government hampering their freedom of action with regard to the disposition of British troops for defensive purposes in British territory. Such an assurance it is impossible for me to ask H. M.'s Government to give. If on the other hand Your Honour can obtain an assurance that, pending negotiations, no act of hostility will be committed against any of H. M.'s possessions, I am prepared to advise H. M.'s Government to give an assurance to the like effect.

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No. 18.

*From State President, Bloemfontein, to High Commissioner, Cape Town :*

6th Oct.—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegram of to-day. I am earnestly desirous

of meeting any reasonable suggestion that may tend to a continuance of friendly negotiations and to avert an issue for which, as I have frequently stated, I see no justification whatever. I trust that your Excellency will, on reconsideration, see that the Government of the S.-A. Republic, in only taking proper precautions for the future, might fairly decline, and I do not feel I could be expected to ask them to continue negotiations in the face of the fact that from all sides of H. M.'s Dominions troops are being poured into South-Africa with the avowed object of coercing the S.-A. Republic into accepting whatever terms H. M.'s Government might decide to impose. I have no doubt in so far as H. M.'s troops are intended for the defence of H. M.'s possessions the same purpose, viz., fully safeguarding those possessions from invasion and subjects from molestation, could be effected. I would be willing to assist in its being effected without one side finding itself put at a great disadvantage during and because of further negotiations. The assurance asked for by your Excellency could, I have no doubt, be obtained and satisfactorily arranged; but the point that I think it fair to urge is that it would be taken by the S.-A. Republic as virtually amounting to an act of hostility on the part of Her Majesty's Government to be continuously and extensively increasing its forces during negotiations when all need for defensive measures can, as I firmly believe, be fully obviated without such increase.

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No. 19.

*From High Commissioner, Cape Town, to State President, Bloemfontein:*

7th Oct.—With reference to your Honour's telegram of Sept. 27th, I am instructed by H. M.'s Government to inform your Honour that H. M.'s Government have repeatedly explained their views on the questions at issue between them and the Government of the S. A. Republic, and especially in the

note addressed to that Government, on September 12th. Her Majesty's Government do not think their position open to misunderstanding, but if your Honour desires the elucidation of any specific point in their proposals, H. M.'s Government are prepared to give it.

As regards their military preparations, these have been necessitated by the action of the Government of the S. A. Republic, in converting that country into an armed camp. In view of the rejection of their last proposals by the Government of the S. A. Republic, H. M.'s Government are reconsidering the situation, having regard to the grave fact that both Republics have now placed themselves on a war footing. While intending shortly to put forward new proposals of their own, H. M.'s Government would even now be prepared to consider any definite suggestion from your Honour for the termination of the present crisis, provided it was not inconsistent with the attempt of the objects avowed and pursued by them.

The above was received before your Honour's telegram of yesterday afternoon, to which I will reply immediately.

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No. 20.

*From High Commissioner, Cape Town, to State President, Bloemfontein :*

7th October—I have the honour to acknowledge Your Honour's telegram of yesterday afternoon. With every desire to relieve the strain of the present situation, I cannot go beyond the suggestions made by me in my telegram of yesterday morning. I have no right to attempt to influence Your Honour as to what advice it would be reasonable for you to give to the Government of the South African Republic, having regard to the impending increase of Her Majesty's forces in South Africa. My object, in all the communications which have passed between us since Your Honour's telegram of 2d October, has been to leave nothing undone which could prevent action on the part

of the South African Republic calculated to make a pacific solution finally impossible. But I cannot, even with that object, ask Her Majesty's Government to pledge themselves either with regard to the disposition of troops within British territory in South Africa or to their despatch thither from other parts of the Empire.

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