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WHITEFRIARS, E.C.

FOURTH EDITION.

BOERS

AND

BRITISH

FACTS

FROM

THE

TRANSVAAL.

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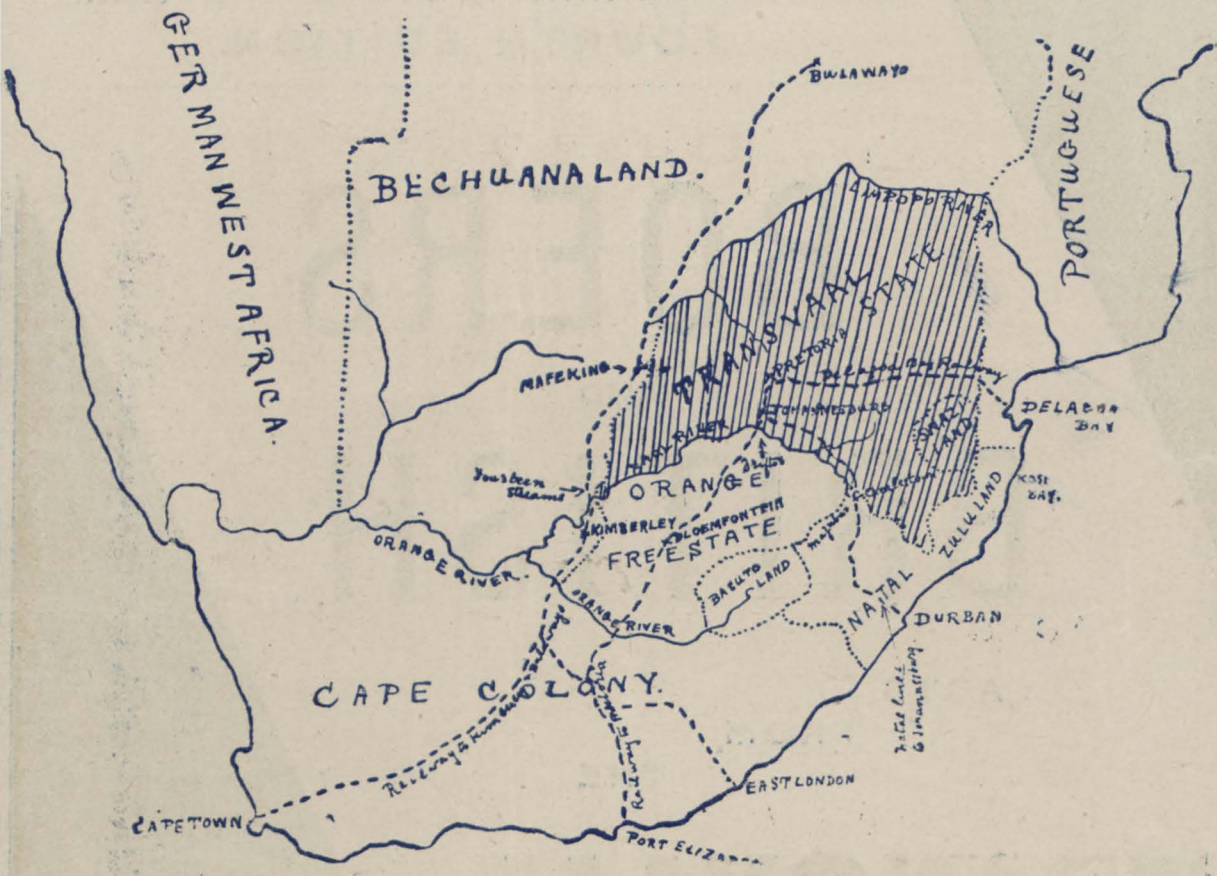
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The
Historical Chapters

by

FRANK R. CANA

Twopence.



MAP OF SOUTH AFRICA SHEWING THE PRINCIPAL RAILWAYS AND STRATEGICAL POINTS.

BOERS
AND
BRITISH.

FACTS FROM THE TRANSVAAL.

LONDON:
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INTRODUCTION.

HER MAJESTY'S Government have announced that they desire the country to pay particular attention to the Blue Book on the grievances of British subjects in the Transvaal (C. 9,345).

That desire is perfectly natural, for these documents contain the whole case for intervention, and place for the first time before the inhabitants of these islands both the pledges given by Her Majesty's Ministers and the reasons which led them to consider those pledges necessary. Of all the papers which were first given to the public on this last fourteenth of June, the despatch telegraphed to Mr. Chamberlain by Sir Alfred Milner (No. 78, in the Blue Book), on May 4, 1899, attracted most attention. It was realised that such a message involved the recall of the Public Servant who had sent it unless his language was fully justified by the facts. The character and ability of the High Commissioner had been so widely accepted by all Parties in Great Britain that all who gave the matter their serious attention were soon convinced that the Minister to whom such a message had been sent must necessarily act upon it or resign, if the facts indeed warranted the language of the despatch.

It is to lay before our readers the facts which moved Sir Alfred Milner to write as he did, that we have published this pamphlet. The shedding of Edgar's blood was the true starting-point of the present crisis. It was the real reason for the Petition of the Outlanders and for the High Commissioner's telegram. As soon as Mr. Chamberlain received that Petition he was at the parting of the ways. If, on the one hand, he had neglected it, the British subjects now inhabiting South Africa would have had every right to believe that they had been abandoned.

On the other hand, if Mr. Chamberlain accepted the Petition he not only protected the cause of the Outlander, but he brought himself into direct conflict with the Transvaal Government. This is the course which he has chosen. He has justified Sir Alfred Milner's despatch, and it only remains for the country to support him in the action that must forthwith be taken.

The Boers were granted a modified independence on the distinct understanding that they would treat British inhabitants fairly. They have not done so. It is therefore time to see that our countrymen get their just rights. The quarrel by no means began with the Edgar case, though that is the immediate cause of trouble now. It goes back many years, and in order to make that perfectly clear the series of historical articles has been added to the extracts from the Blue Book. By their means a light will be thrown from the errors and disgraces of the past upon the unrest and peril of the present. What this peril is may be gathered from the few examples quoted, at the end of the pamphlet, from the sworn affidavits of inhabitants of the Transvaal who have suffered from Boer injustice. The working-men, the bulk of the population, the middle classes, and the subject races, have united in one expression of protest, in one cry for relief. The people of England will not be slow to listen to their call.

SIR A. MILNER'S VIEWS ON THE UITLANDERS' GRIEVANCES.

THE CASE FOR INTERVENTION OVERWHELMING.

Sir Alfred Milner, in a long despatch dated May 4, telegraphed to Mr. Chamberlain his opinion on the whole question of the Uitlanders' grievances. He says:—

Having regard to critical character of South African situation and likelihood of early reply by Her Majesty's Government to Petition, I am telegraphing remarks which under ordinary circumstances I should have made by despatch. Events of importance have followed so fast on each other since my return to South Africa, and my time has been so occupied in dealing with each incident severally, that I have had no opportunity for reviewing the whole position.

THE EDGAR INCIDENT.

The present crisis undoubtedly arises out of the Edgar incident. But that incident merely precipitated a struggle which was certain to come. It is possible to make too much of the killing of Edgar. It was a shocking and, in my judgment, a criminal blunder, such as would have excited a popular outcry anywhere. It was made much worse by the light way in which it was first dealt with by the Public Prosecutor, and by the attitude of the Judge at the trial. By itself, however, it would not have justified, nor, in fact, provoked the present storm. But it happened to touch a particularly sore place. There is no grievance that rankles more in the breasts of the mass of the Uitlander population than the conduct of the police, who, while they have proved singularly incompetent to deal with gross scandals like the illicit liquor trade, are harsh and arbitrary in their treatment of individuals whom they happen to dislike, as must have become evident to you from the recurrent ill-treatment of coloured people. There are absolutely no grounds for supposing that the excitement which the death of Edgar caused was factitious. It has been laid to the door of the South African League, but the officials of the League were forced into action by Edgar's fellow-workmen. And, the consideration of grievances once started by the police grievance, it was inevitable that the smouldering but profound discontent of the population who constantly find their affairs mismanaged, their protests disregarded, and their attitude misunderstood, by a Government on which they have absolutely no means of exercising any influence, should once more break into flame.

A TREMENDOUS CHANGE FOR THE WORSE.

We have, therefore, simply to deal with a popular movement of a similar kind to that of 1894 and 1895, before it was perverted and ruined by a conspiracy of which the great body of the Uitlanders were totally innocent. None of the grievances then complained of, and which then excited universal sympathy, have been remedied, and others have been added. The case is much stronger. It is impossible to overlook the tremendous change for the worse which has been effected by the lowering of the status of the High Court of Judicature, and by the establishment of the principle embodied in the new draft Grondwet that any Resolution of the Volksraad is equivalent to a law. The instability of the laws has always been one of the most serious grievances. The new Constitution provides for their permanent instability, the Judges being bound by their oath to accept every Volksraad Resolution as equally binding with a law passed

in the regular form, and with the provisions of the Constitution itself. The law prescribing this oath is one of which the present Chief Justice said that no self-respecting man could sit on the Bench while it was on the Statute Book. Formerly the foreign population, however bitterly they might resent the action of the Legislature and of the Administration, had yet confidence in the High Court of Judicature. It cannot be expected that they should feel the same confidence to-day. Seeing no hope in any other quarter, a number of Uitlanders who happen to be British subjects have addressed a Petition to Her Majesty the Queen. I have already expressed my opinion of its substantial genuineness and the absolute bona fides of its promoters. But the Petition is only one proof among many of the profound discontent of the unenfranchised population, who are a great majority of the white inhabitants of the State.

DEMANDS FOR ENFRANCHISEMENT.

The public meeting of 14th January was indeed broken up by workmen, many of them poor burghers, in the employment of the Government, and instigated by Government officials, and it is impossible at present to hold another meeting of a great size. Open-air meetings are prohibited by law, and by one means or another all large public buildings have been rendered unavailable. But smaller meetings are being held almost nightly along the Rand, and are unanimous in their demand for enfranchisement. The movement is steadily growing in force and extent.

With regard to the attempts to represent that movement as artificial, the work of scheming capitalists or professional agitators, I regard it as a wilful perversion of the truth. The defenceless people who are clamouring for a redress of grievances are doing so at a great personal risk. It is notorious that many capitalists regard political agitation with disfavour because of its effect on markets. It is equally notorious that the lowest class of Uitlanders, and especially the illicit liquor dealers, have no sympathy whatever with the cause of reform. Moreover, there are in all classes a considerable number who only want to make money and clear out, and who, while possibly sympathizing with reform, feel no great interest in a matter which may only concern them temporarily. But a very large and constantly increasing proportion of the Uitlanders are not birds of passage; they contemplate a long residence in the country, or to make it their permanent home. These people are the mainstay of the reform movement, as they are of the prosperity of the country. They would make excellent citizens if they had the chance.

NO TRANQUILLITY OR PROGRESS.

A busy industrial community are not naturally prone to political unrest. But they bear the chief burden of taxation; they constantly feel in their business and daily lives the effects of chaotic local legislation and of incompetent and unsympathetic administration; they have many grievances, but they believe all this could be gradually removed if they had only a fair share of political power. This is the meaning of their vehement demand for enfranchisement. Moreover, they are mostly British subjects, accustomed to a free system and equal rights; they feel deeply the personal indignity involved in a position of permanent subjection to the ruling caste which owes its wealth and power to their exertion. The political turmoil in the Transvaal Republic will never end till the permanent Uitlander population is admitted to a share in the Government, and while that turmoil lasts there will be no tranquillity or adequate progress in Her Majesty's South African dominions.

THE RIGHT OF INTERVENTION.

The relations between the British Colonies and the two Republics are intimate to a degree which one must live in South Africa in order fully to realise. Socially, economically, ethnologically, they are all one country, the two principal white races are everywhere inextricably mixed up; it is absurd for either to dream of subjugating the other. The only condition on which they can live in harmony and the country progress is equality al-

round. South Africa can prosper under two, three, or six Governments, but not under two absolutely conflicting social and political systems, perfect equality for Dutch and British in the British Colonies side by side with permanent subjection of British to Dutch in one of the Republics. It is idle to talk of peace and unity under such a state of affairs. It is this which makes the internal condition of the Transvaal Republic a matter of vital interest to Her Majesty's Government. No merely local question affects so deeply the welfare and peace of her own South African possessions. And the right of Great Britain to intervene to secure fair treatment of the Uitlanders is fully equal to her supreme interest in securing it. The majority of them are her subjects, whom she is bound to protect. But the enormous number of British subjects, the endless series of their grievances, and the nature of those grievances, which are not less serious because they are not individually sensational, makes protection by the ordinary diplomatic means impossible. We are, as you know, for ever remonstrating about this, that, and the other injury to British subjects. Only in rare cases and only when we are very emphatic do we obtain any redress. The sore between us and the Transvaal Republic is thus inevitably kept up, while the result in the way of protection to our subjects is lamentably small. For these reasons it has been, as you know, my constant endeavour to reduce the number of our complaints. I may sometimes have abstained when I ought to have protested from my great dislike of ineffectual nagging. But I feel that the attempt to remedy the hundred and one wrongs springing from a hopeless system by taking up isolated cases is perfectly vain. It may easily lead to war, but will never lead to real improvement.

THE TRUE REMEDY.

The true remedy is to strike at the root of all these injuries—the political impotence of the injured. What diplomatic protests will never accomplish, a fair measure of Uitlander representation would gradually but surely bring about. It seems a paradox, but it is true that the only effective way of protecting our subjects is to help them to cease to be our subjects. The admission of Uitlanders to a fair share of political power would no doubt give stability to the Republic. But it would at the same time remove most of our causes of difference with it, and modify and in the long run entirely remove that intense suspicion and bitter hostility to Great Britain which at present dominates its internal and external policy. The case for intervention is overwhelming. The only attempted answer is that things will right themselves if left alone. But, in fact, the policy of leaving things alone has been tried for years, and it has led to their going from bad to worse. It is not true that this is owing to the Raid. They were going from bad to worse before the Raid. We were on the verge of war before the Raid, and the Transvaal was on the verge of revolution. The effect of the Raid has been to give the policy of leaving things alone a new lease of life, and with the old consequences.

TO EXTINGUISH THE RACE FEUD.

The spectacle of thousands of British subjects kept permanently in the position of helots, constantly chafing under undoubted grievances, and calling vainly to Her Majesty's Government for redress, does steadily undermine the influence and reputation of Great Britain and the respect for the British Government within the Queen's dominions. A certain section of the Press, not in the Transvaal only, preaches openly and constantly the doctrine of a Republic embracing all South Africa, and supports it by menacing references to the armaments of the Transvaal, its alliance with the Orange Free State, and the active sympathy which in case of war it would receive from a section of Her Majesty's subjects. I regret to say that this doctrine, supported as it is by a ceaseless stream of malignant lies about the intentions of the British Government, is producing a great effect upon a large number of our Dutch fellow-colonists. Language is frequently used which seems to imply that the Dutch have

some superior right even in this colony to their fellow-citizens of British birth. Thousands of men peaceably disposed, and, if left alone, perfectly satisfied with their position as British subjects, are being drawn into disaffection, and there is a corresponding exasperation on the side of the British. I can see nothing which will put a stop to this mischievous propaganda but some striking proof of the intention of Her Majesty's Government not to be ousted from its position in South Africa. And the best proof alike of its power and its justice would be to obtain for the Uitlanders in the Transvaal a fair share in the government of the country which owes everything to its exertions. It could be made perfectly clear that our action was not directed against the existence of the Republic. We should only be demanding the re-establishment of rights which now exist in the Orange Free State, and which existed in the Transvaal itself at the time of and long after the withdrawal of British sovereignty. It would be no selfish demand, as other Uitlanders besides those of British birth would benefit by it. It is asking for nothing from others which we do not give ourselves. And it would certainly go to the root of the political unrest in South Africa, and, though temporarily it might aggravate, it would ultimately extinguish the race feud which is the great bane of the country.

THE EDGAR CASE.

The following account of the murder of the Englishman, Edgar, by a Boer policeman, is taken from "Papers relating to the complaints of British subjects in the South African Republic, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty in June, 1899," being the Blue Book C. 9,345, p. 108, etc. :—

Enclosure III. in No. 40.

Her Majesty's Acting Agent, Pretoria, to the High Commissioner, Cape Town.

Her Majesty's Agency, Pretoria, December 23, 1898.

Sir,—On the night of Sunday, the 18th inst., a Johannesburg policeman entered the house of an Englishman named Edgar, without a warrant, by breaking open the door by force (after what was apparently only a slight quarrel with some person unknown, on the street outside, in which Edgar is supposed to have been implicated), and—without any sufficient provocation—shot Edgar dead in the presence of his wife. It is unnecessary for me to further lay out the facts in this case, as they are related, just as they were given also by the reporter of the Government's own organ, in the enclosed affidavits sworn before the British Vice-Consul in Johannesburg. The policeman was at once arrested, although he ran away, and was charged and remanded next day for trial on the count of murder. Public opinion, which had reached a high pitch of excitement in Johannesburg, where Edgar, a boilermaker to a leading firm, was well known and respected, was thus momentarily satisfied; but, to the astonishment of even this Government itself, the Public Prosecutor on the next day after released the policeman on bail, on the plea that only a charge of culpable homicide could be sustained. The bail, moreover, was fixed at only £200, and it was publicly announced in the Press that the bail had not been paid in cash, but had been accepted in the form of monthly deductions to be made from the pay of the other policemen in Johannesburg. . . .

—I have, etc.

EDMUND FRASER.

THE WIDOW'S EVIDENCE.

The widow of the deceased was the next witness called. She said her name was Bessie J. Edgar, and she resided at 5, Florrie's Buildings. The deceased was her husband.

Dr. Krause: Will you tell the Court what happened on that night?

Witness: My husband came home between 12 and 1 o'clock. There was much noise outside. I heard my husband and the people talking.

According to the voices, how many people were outside?—I do not know; I was in bed. I do not know about anything that happened before the door was broken open. My husband, when he came in, fastened the front door.

Did the noise continue outside?—Immediately after my husband came in I heard other people shout for police. My husband sat on the side of the bed, and I asked him what had happened outside. He said that somebody had insulted him when he was coming through the passage. I also heard people outside the door say, "Break open the door and drag him out; if you cannot break the door, break the window."

Who was it that spoke?—According to the voice it must have been Shepherd. I could notice that he was very much excited.

Did your husband say anything to you further?—No; he never said anything more.

Did anyone come to the window?—Yes; somebody tried to open the window.

Was not the window a little way open already?—Yes; it was slightly open, but there was a nail in the window, and they could not open it further.

Did anyone shove aside the blind?—Yes.

By Mr. Van den Berg: Could you see who pushed away the blind?—No; I was too frightened to see.

By Dr. Krause: Did you hear anything more of what people said outside?—The only thing I heard was: "Drag him out!" which was said in English. It must have been Shepherd who said it.

Did you hear anybody speak in Dutch, which you could not understand?—No; I did not. But I could not hear if anybody was speaking in Dutch, there was too much noise outside.

What did your husband do when they came to your door?—My husband was sitting still until he heard the door being broken open. When the door flew open we both ran to the door. When we came to the door, before we could say anything my husband was shot.

Had your husband anything in his hand?—I did not notice if my husband had anything in his hand.

Did you see him strike a policeman with anything he had in his hand?—I did not know if my husband had anything in his hand or not, but I am quite certain that he never struck any policeman.

Were you present when Detective Waldeck came and examined the room?—Yes.

Did you see an iron bar with a screw at the top of it?—I did not see it until after my husband had been lifted up from where he fell.

Do you recognise the iron bar?—No. I never saw it before. I cannot say how it came to be near the deceased.

What did you do after your husband was shot?—As soon as it happened I went to my bedroom to get some clothes.

No. 53.

From HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR ALFRED MILNER, to Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (received April 14, 1899).

Enclosure.

In the Circuit Court of the Witwatersrand Goldfields, sitting at Johannesburg.
Before the HON. JUSTICE KOCK.

THE VERDICT.

The jury filed into Court and, having answered to their names, stood up to deliver their verdict.

The Registrar: Have you agreed to your verdict?

The Jury: Yes.

The Registrar: Have you found the accused guilty or not guilty?

The Jury: Not guilty.

The Judge, addressing the accused, said the jury had found him not guilty. With that verdict he agreed, and he hoped the police, under difficult circumstances, would always know how to do their duty. He then discharged Jones from custody.

THE UITLANDER PETITION.

COMPLAINTS OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

The following is the text of the Uitlander petition presented to the Queen:—

For a number of years, prior to 1896, considerable discontent existed among the Uitlander population of the South African Republic, caused by the manner in which the Government of the country was being conducted. The great majority of the Uitlander population consists of British subjects. It was, and is, notorious that the Uitlanders have no share in the government of the country, although they constitute an absolute majority of the inhabitants of this State, possess a very large proportion of the land, and represent the intellect, wealth, and energy of the State. The feelings of intense irritation which have been aroused by this state of things have been aggravated by the manner in which remonstrances have been met. Hopes have been held out and promises have been made by the Government of this State from time to time, but no practical amelioration of the conditions of life has resulted. Petitions, signed by large numbers of Your Majesty's subjects, have been repeatedly addressed to the Government of this State, but have failed of their effect, and have even been scornfully rejected. At the end of 1895 the discontent culminated in an armed insurrection against the Government of this State, which, however failed of its object. On that occasion the people of Johannesburg placed themselves unreservedly in the hands of Your High Commissioner, in the fullest confidence that he would see justice done to them. On that occasion also President Kruger published a proclamation, in which he again held out hopes of substantial reforms. Instead, however, of the admitted grievances being redressed, the spirit of the legislation adopted by the Volksraad during the past few years has been of a most unfriendly character, and has made the position of the Uitlanders more irksome than before. In proof of the above statement, Your Majesty's petitioners would humbly refer to such measures as the following:—

The Immigration of Aliens Act (Law 30 of 1896);

The Press Law (Law 26 of 1896);

The Aliens' Expulsion Law of 1896.

Of these, the first was withdrawn at the instance of Your Majesty's Government, as being an infringement of the London Convention of 1884.

THE MINING INDUSTRY.

Notwithstanding the evident desire of the Government to legislate solely in the interests of the Burgers, and impose undue burdens on the Uitlanders, there was still a hope that the declaration of the President on the 30th of December, 1896, had some meaning, and that the Government would duly consider grievances properly brought before its notice. Accordingly, in the early part of 1897 steps were taken to bring to the notice of the Government the alarming depression of the Mining Industry, and the reasons which, in the opinions of men well qualified to judge, had led up to it. The Government at last appointed a Commission consisting of its own officials, which was empowered to enquire into the industrial conditions of the mining population, and to suggest such a scheme for the removal of existing grievances as might seem advisable and necessary. On the 5th of August the Commission issued their report, in which the reasons for the then state of depression were duly set forth, and many reforms were recommended as necessary for the well-being of the community. Among them it will be sufficient to mention the appointment of an Industrial Board, having its seat in Johannesburg, for the special supervision of the Liquor Law, and the Pass Law, and to combat the illicit dealing in gold and amalgam. The Government refused to accede to the report of the Commission, which was a standing indictment against its administration in the past, but referred the question to the Volksraad, which in turn referred it to a Select Committee of its own members. The result created consternation in Johannesburg, for, whilst abating in some trifling respects burdens which bore heavily on the mining industry, the Committee of the Raad, ignoring the main recommendations of the Commission, actually advised an increased taxation of the country, and that in a way which bore most heavily on the Uitlander. The suggestions of the Committee were at once adopted, and the tariff increased accordingly.

INTERFERENCE WITH JUSTICE.

At the beginning of 1897 the Government went a step further in their aggressive policy towards the Uitlander, and attacked the independence of the High Court,

which, until then, Your Majesty's subjects had regarded as the sole remaining safeguard of their civil rights. Early in that year Act No. 1 was rushed through the Volksraad with indecent haste. This high-handed Act was not allowed to pass without criticism; but the Government, deaf to all remonstrance, threatened reprisals on those professional men who raised their voices in protest, and finally, on the 16th of February, 1898, dismissed the Chief Justice, Mr. J. G. Kotze, for maintaining his opinions. His place was filled shortly afterwards by Mr. Gregorowski, the Judge who had been especially brought from the Orange Free State to preside over the trial of the Reform prisoners in 1896, and who, after the passing of the Act above referred to, had expressed an opinion that no man of self-respect would sit on the Bench whilst that law remained on the Statute Book of the Republic. All the Judges at the time this law was passed condemned it in a formal protest, publicly read by the Chief Justice in the High Court, as a gross interference with the independence of that tribunal. That protest has never been modified or retracted, and of the five Judges who signed the declaration three still sit on the Bench.

CONDUCT OF THE POLICE.

The constitution and personnel of the police force is one of the standing menaces to the peace of Johannesburg. It has already been the subject of remonstrance to the Government of this Republic, but hitherto without avail. An efficient police force cannot be drawn from a people such as the burghers of this State; nevertheless, the Government refuses to open its ranks to any other class of the community. As a consequence, the safety of the lives and property of the inhabitants is confided in a large measure to the care of men fresh from the country districts, who are unaccustomed to town life, and ignorant of the ways and requirements of the people. When it is considered that this police force is armed with revolvers in addition to the ordinary police truncheons, it is not surprising that, instead of a defence, they are absolutely a danger to the community at large. Encouraged and abetted by the example of their superior officers, the police have become lately more aggressive than ever in their attitude towards British subjects. As, however, remonstrances and appeals to the Government were useless, the indignities to which Your Majesty's subjects were daily exposed from this source had to be endured as best they might. Public indignation was at length fully roused by the death at the hands of a police-constable of a British subject named Tom Jackson Edgar. The circumstances of this affair were bad enough in themselves, but were accentuated by the action of the Public Prosecutor, who, although the accused was charged with murder, on his own initiative reduced the charge to that of culpable homicide only, and released the prisoner on the recognisances of his comrades in the police force, the bail being fixed originally at £200, or less than the amount which is commonly demanded for offences under the Liquor Law, or for charges of common assault.

SUMMARY OF GRIEVANCES

The condition of Your Majesty's subjects in this State has indeed become well-nigh intolerable. The acknowledged and admitted grievances of which Your Majesty's subjects complain prior to 1895 not only are not redressed, but exist to-day in an aggravated form. They are still deprived of all political rights, they are denied any voice in the government of the country, they are taxed far above the requirements of the country, the revenue of which is misapplied and devoted to objects which keep alive a continuous and well founded feeling of irritation, without in any way advancing the general interest of the State. Maladministration and speculation of public monies go hand in hand, without any vigorous measures being adopted to put a stop to the scandal. The education of Uitlander children is made subject to impossible conditions. The police afford no adequate protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants of Johannesburg; they are rather a source of danger to the peace and safety of the Uitlander population.

THE RIGHT OF PUBLIC MEETING.

A further grievance has become prominent since the beginning of the year. The power vested in the Government by means of the Public Meetings Act has been a menace to Your Majesty's subjects since the enactment of the Act in 1894. This power has now been applied in order to deliver a blow that strikes at the inherent and inalienable birthright of every British subject, namely, his right to petition his Sovereign. Straining to the utmost the language and intention of the

law, the Government have arrested two British subjects who assisted in presenting a petition to Your Majesty on behalf of 4,000 fellow subjects. Not content with this, the Government, when Your Majesty's loyal subjects again attempted to lay their grievances before Your Majesty, permitted their meeting to be broken up and the objects of it to be defeated by a body of Boers, organised by Government officials and acting under the protection of the police. By reason, therefore, of the direct, as well as the indirect, act of the Government, Your Majesty's loyal subjects have been prevented from publicly ventilating their grievances, and from laying them before Your Majesty.

Wherefore Your Majesty's humble petitioners humbly beseech Your Most Gracious Majesty to extend Your Majesty's protection to Your Majesty's loyal subjects resident in this State, and to cause an enquiry to be made into grievances and complaints enumerated and set forth in this humble petition, and to direct Your Majesty's representative in South Africa to take measures which will secure the speedy reform of the abuses complained of, and to obtain substantial guarantees from the Government of this State for a recognition of their rights as British subjects.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S REPLY TO THE UITLANDERS' PETITION.

The concluding and most vital despatch is that of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Alfred Milner. The despatch is dated May 10th last, and is in reply to the above petition.

Mr. Chamberlain states that the petition was laid before the Queen, who was graciously pleased to receive it, and he had the honour to convey to the High Commissioner the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject.

THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT'S RIGHT TO INTERFERE.

Her Majesty's Government (Mr. Chamberlain continues) could not remain indifferent to the complaints of British subjects resident in other countries, and if these were found to be justified Her Majesty's Government were entitled to make representations with a view to securing redress. This ordinary right of all Governments was strengthened in the present case by the peculiar relations established by conventions between this country and the Transvaal, and also by the fact that the peace and prosperity of the whole of South Africa, including Her Majesty's possessions might be seriously affected by circumstances calculated to procure discontent and unrest in the South African Republic. Her Majesty's Government had, therefore, made investigation into the subject of the petition. The unrest and discontent among the Uitlander inhabitants of the South African Republic was of long standing.

THE ROOT OF THE MATTER.

The root of the matter lay in the policy pursued from the first by the Government of the South African Republic towards an immigrant population which is generally believed to far outnumber the burghers. To the industry and intelligence of this part of the community was due the enormous increase in the prosperity of the country—an increase which might be measured by the fact that whereas in 1885 the revenue was £177,876, it amounted in 1898 to no less than £3,983,560, the principal items of which must be contributed mainly by the Uitlander. He (Mr. Chamberlain) pointed out in a despatch in February, 1898, to Sir Alfred Milner's predecessor that new-comers in the South African Republic had, contrary to the policy adopted in most civilised countries where immigration played an important part in building up the population, been denied all effective voice in affairs of the State, and all political power and right to levy taxation was a monopoly of a minority composed almost entirely of men engaged in pastoral and agricultural pursuits, whose knowledge of the necessities of the Uitlanders must be of the vaguest nature. In order to obtain that insignificant privilege, they were compelled to take an oath containing words which, as pointed out in Lord Ripon's despatch of October, 1894, were offensive to their sentiments.

AFTER THE JAMESON RAID.

After the incidents of December, 1895, when the inhabitants of Johannesburg took up arms, and at the instance of the High Commissioner these arms were laid down again, the Republic being spared the horrors of civil war, President Kruger issued two proclamations, in which he declared that the Government were still

THE PETITION WELL FOUNDED.

It results from this review of the facts and conditions on which the petition was founded, as well as from information derived from Sir Alfred Milner's dispatches, and from other official sources, that British subjects and Uitlanders generally had substantial grounds for their complaints on the treatment to which they are subjected. These complaints might be summarised in the statement that under present conditions, all of which had arisen since the Convention of 1884 was signed, the Uitlanders were now denied the equality of treatment which that instrument was signed to secure for them. The British Government were most unwilling to depart from their attitude of reserve and expectancy, but having regard to the position of Great Britain as the Paramount Power in South Africa, they could not permanently ignore the exceptional and arbitrary treatment to which their fellow-countrymen and others were exposed, and the absolute indifference of the Government of the Republic to the friendly representations which had been made to them on the subject. They still cherished the hope that the publicity given to the representations of the Uitlander population, and the fact of which the South African Republic must be aware that they were losing the sympathy of those other States which, like Great Britain, were deeply interested in the prosperity of the Transvaal, might induce them to reconsider their policy and remove a standing danger to the peace and prosperity, not only of the Republic itself, but also of South Africa generally. In conclusion, Mr. Chamberlain says, 'Her Majesty's Government earnestly desire the prosperity of the South African Republic. They have been anxious to avoid any intervention in its internal concerns, and they may point out in this connection that if they really entertained the design of destroying its independence, which has been attributed to them, no policy could be better calculated to defeat their object than that which, in all friendship and sincerity, they now urge upon the Government of the South African Republic, and which would remove any pretext for interference by relieving British subjects of all just cause of complaint.'

THE CONFERENCE SUGGESTED.

With the earnest hope of arriving at a satisfactory settlement, and as a proof of their desire to maintain cordial relations with the South African Republic, Her Majesty's Government now suggest for the consideration of President Kruger that a meeting should be arranged between his Honour and yourself of discussing the situation in a conciliatory spirit, and in the hope that you may arrive in concert with the President at such an arrangement as Her Majesty's Government can accept and recommend to the Uitlander population as a reasonable concession to their just demands, and the settlement of the difficulties which have threatened the good relations which Her Majesty's Government desire to constantly exist between themselves and the Government of the South African Republic."

Acting on instructions, Sir Alfred Milner sent a copy of this despatch to President Kruger, whom he subsequently met in conference.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

BY FRANK R. CANA.

I.--FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE TO THE ANNEXATION.

No proper understanding of the present situation in the Transvaal can be obtained unless the past history of the country is taken into consideration. Nor is it sufficient to go back a few years only, for in that case a false impression of the relations between the Boers and the British would inevitably be formed. We propose, therefore, to place before our readers, as succinctly as is consistent with clearness, the salient facts in the history of the South African Republic. The Cape came definitely into the possession of Great Britain in 1814, the white population at that time consisting largely of men of Dutch descent, although there was a considerable admixture of Huguenot blood. The establishment of British rule was naturally followed by emigration from England, and in 1820 no fewer than 4,000 British immigrants arrived at the Cape. Meantime the Dutch settlers, or Boers, as they began to be called, resented the autocratic rule of the British, and were especially incensed at the measures taken by the Government for the protection of the natives. The Boer treatment of the Kaffir resembled that meted out by the ancient Israelites to the despised inhabitants of Canaan. Dutch farmers entertained no sort of doubt as to their right to enslave the negro races. The resentment nourished by the Boers on this head was the moving cause of the first Great Trek—that of 1836—which led to the formation of Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. The Boers had two definite grievances. One of these grievances was the mode in which “compensation” had been made to them for the loss of their slaves, the other concerned the handing back to the Kaffirs of land which had been annexed by Cape Colony. With regard to the first point, it is fully admitted that the Boer slave-owners were badly treated. Moreover, the withholding from them of land they looked forward to occupying intensified their dislike to their English rulers. And so, unhindered by the British authorities, the Dutch farmers began to trek north and east into the wilderness. Nevertheless, they were still claimed as British subjects, and on August 21st, 1845, Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland issued a proclamation to this effect.

ORIGIN OF THE BOER REPUBLICS.

At this time the number of white adult males beyond the borders of Cape Colony and Natal was about 4,000, and they had already formed three or four so-called Republics. In consequence of troubles with the natives, the Cape Government in 1846 pushed British troops across the Orange River, and in 1848 the whole region from the Orange to the Vaal was formally annexed under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty. This action led to some fighting, the Boers in the Orange district who rose against the enforcement of British authority being joined by a body of farmers from beyond the Vaal. These farmers were led by the redoubtable Andries Pretorius, one of the original trekkers, and who had already crossed swords with the English at Port Natal (Durban). The Boer opposition was speedily crushed, but on the British becoming involved in hostilities with the Basutos (the third Kaffir war) going on at the

same time) Pretorius took advantage of the situation, and made overtures for a "permanent pacific settlement" with the British. The Cape Government was then in no position to enforce its rule on the emigrant Boers, and on January 16, 1852, a Convention was concluded at Sand River, with the commandant and delegates of the Boers living beyond the Vaal, whereby Her Majesty's Commissioners, Major Hogue and Mr. C. M. Owen, did "guarantee in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the emigrant farmers north of the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government." In this manner the Transvaal State came into existence, and two years later, on February 23, 1854, by a Convention signed at Bloemfontein, England, on her own initiative, and against the wish of the people, repudiated the sovereignty of the Orange territory. It may be observed that, whereas the Convention recognising the Transvaal as a State, which was approved by the Conservative Government of the day, Benjamin Disraeli being a member of the Cabinet, was the result of the pressure of circumstances (the Kaffir war, etc.), the repudiation of our sovereignty in the Orange River district was a voluntary and deliberate act of the Duke of Newcastle and the Whig Government of 1853-55.

FROM BAD TO WORSE.

It was in this fashion that the two Boer States came into existence, but while under the enlightened government of wise rulers the Orange Free State prospered, the contrary was the case in respect to the Transvaal. In the first place they were not a united people. There were in 1852 no fewer than four separate communities, each claiming sovereign power. However, the central authority gradually grew stronger, and in 1858 the Volksraad passed the "Grondwet" or Fundamental Law, which is still nominally—it is a very nominal affair indeed—the constitution of the country. It was not until 1864, however, that all the Boers north of the Transvaal agreed to recognise Mr. M. W. Pretorius (son of the old opponent of England) as head of the State. The Transvaal Boers then numbered all told about 30,000, or one person to three square miles of territory. As the native population was large, and the blacks and whites hated one another with intense hatred, it is no wonder that wars were frequent. Moreover, the Boers, always jealous of any sort of control, refused to pay taxes. The state of the country rapidly fell from bad to worse, and every man did what was right in his own eyes.

A CRISIS REACHED.

In 1876 things came to a crisis and led to the intervention of Her Majesty's Government, of which Lord Beaconsfield was then the head. A war had broken out with a chieftain named Sikukuni, who lived in mountain fastnesses in the north-east of the Transvaal. The Boers who attacked him were repulsed with considerable loss; while on their southern frontier hung the as yet unbeaten Cetewayo with his Zulu hordes. The weakened and disorganised state of the Republic was obviously a danger to every civilized community in South Africa. This was fully realised by President Burgers, the successor of Mr. Pretorius, and the peril in which the State stood was eloquently pointed out by him in an address to the Volksraad in February, 1877. Mr. Burgers, having referred to the fact that the Kaffirs were everywhere plundering the Boers' farms, added:—

"The fourth point which we have to take into account affects our relations with our English neighbours. It is asked: What have they got to do with our position? I tell you as much as we have to do with that of our Kaffir neighbours. As little as we can allow barbarities among the Kaffirs on our borders, as little can they allow that in a State on their borders anarchy and rebellion should prevail . . . Do you know what has recently happened in Turkey? Because no civilized Government was carried on there the Great Powers interfered, and said, 'Thus far and no

farther.' And if this is done in an Empire, will a little Republic be excused when it misbehaves? Complain to other Powers and seek justice there? Yes, thank God, justice is still to be found even for the most insignificant; but it is precisely this justice which will convict us. If we want justice we must be in a position to ask it with unsullied hands."

SIR T. SHEPSTONE'S MISSION.

It was the existence of such a state of affairs as this which led to the sending of Sir Theophilus Shepstone as Special Commissioner to "territories adjoining the Colony of Natal" to inquire respecting the disturbances which had taken place there, and "empowering him in certain events to exercise the power of jurisdiction of Her Majesty over such territories or some of them." The Commission is dated October 5, 1876, is countersigned by Lord Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, and was sent to Sir H. Bulwer, Governor of Natal, who was instructed to hand it over to Sir Theophilus. These facts should not be lost sight of, as it is often assumed that it was at Sir Bartle Frere's direction that Sir Theophilus annexed the Transvaal. At that time Sir Bartle was not Governor of Cape Colony, or even in South Africa, the Governorship of the Cape being in the hands of Sir Henry Barkly. On receipt of his instructions, Sir T. Shepstone started for Pretoria, which town he entered on January 22, 1877, having travelled from the frontier with an escort consisting only of 25 Natal Mounted Policemen. On his way he was received with gladness; at Pretoria his entry was made the occasion of general rejoicings (see page 88 of Blue Book, No. 1,776, of 1877). On the afternoon of the 26th of the same month (Jan., 1877), Sir Theophilus had an interview with the Boer Executive. It is at this time that the name of Paul Kruger first comes prominently forward. Sir T. Shepstone, in his official report, writes that he explained to the Executive that the object of his mission—in view of the disturbed state of the country—"was to confer with the government and people of the Transvaal, with the object of initiating a new state of things, which would guarantee security for the future."

APPEARANCE OF MR. KRUGER.

"Mr. Paul Kruger (adds Sir T. Shepstone), who is a member of the Executive, and the only opponent of Mr. Burgers for the position of President, did not object to the discussion of the causes which are said to produce insecurity or inconvenience to neighbouring States or Governments, but positively declined to enter upon the discussion of any subject that might involve in any way the independence of the State as a Republic."

ANNEXATION.

Nevertheless, after nearly three months' inquiry, Sir Theophilus was convinced that the only cure for the manifold ills from which the Transvaal suffered was annexation by Great Britain, and accordingly he issued a proclamation to the effect on April 12, 1877. President Burgers entered a protest, and retired to Cape Town, but all the other officers of the late Republic, including every member of the Executive Council, except Mr. Paul Kruger, signified in writing their willingness to serve under the new form of Government. The majority of the people, too, accepted readily the annexation of their country, and gave a sigh of relief at the prospect of protection against the savage foes who were threatening them on almost every side.

II.—FROM THE ANNEXATION TO MAJUBA HILL.

That the state of affairs in the Transvaal in the early part of 1877 not only justified annexation, but rendered it imperative, was admitted by all impartial observers, yet in less than four years a feeling of antagonism arose of such strength as to lead to the revolt of the Boers against the British. As already stated, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, with no other force than twenty-five policemen to back up his authority, pro-

claimed the annexation of the country to the British Empire. This was on April 12, 1877, and by this action it was thought that Lord Carnarvon's plan of a federation of South African States was brought nearer realisation. A federated South Africa meant local autonomy, and when he annexed the Transvaal Sir Theophilus solemnly promised in the Queen's name that the Transvaal would remain a separate government, with its own laws and legislature. But months passed, and nothing was done, and to this cause must be attributed a great part of the Boer unrest. The opposition to annexation, which at the first was largely fictitious, became real. That it was fictitious in 1877 is abundantly clear from the official dispatches. Mr. Burgers' protest was entered merely to save appearances, says Sir Theophilus, and he goes on to tell how he had arranged with President Burgers all the details of the annexation ceremony.

GERMAN DESIGNS FRUSTRATED.

Sir Bartle Frere had arrived at Cape Town just twelve days before the annexation of the country, and this act was not of his doing, as Sir T. Shepstone held an independent Commission from the Queen. Sir Bartle's biographer tells us that Frere inclined to the opinion that Shepstone's proclamation was premature, an opinion shared by Mr. Bryce, who, in his book "Impressions of South Africa," says:—"There is some reason to think that if Sir T. Shepstone had wanted a few weeks or months the Boers would have been driven by their difficulties to ask to be annexed." However, there were cogent reasons for no unnecessary delay. As subsequently by his prompt action Mr. Rhodes prevented Matabeleland from falling into the grasp of the Teuton, so Sir Theophilus prevented the Transvaal becoming a German possession. Sir Bartle Frere, writing on April 22, 1881, to Mr. J. M. Maclean, said:—

"There was another reason for Shepstone's act of annexation. Burgers had sought alliances with Continental Powers—Germans, Belgians and Portuguese, and Shepstone had no reason to doubt that if England declined to interfere, Germany would be induced to undertake the protection of the Transvaal, which would have added infinitely to our troubles in South Africa."

PROTESTS AND COUNTER PROTESTS.

Messrs. Kruger and Jorissen proceeded to England to protest against annexation. But many Boers protested against the protest, and a memorial approving the annexation was numerously signed. Amongst the signatories were six members of the Volksraad. The petition of the deputation was rejected, and on June 21, 1877, Lord Carnarvon, in a dispatch to Sir T. Shepstone, approved the action he had taken in annexing the Transvaal. England was now pledged to maintain her authority in the country; she was also bound to see that the promises of local self-government were fulfilled. Unfortunately, the outbreak of a native war on the eastern frontier of Cape Colony prevented Sir Bartle Frere from going to Pretoria, as he had intended, in September, 1877, and no sooner had that trouble been overcome than the far graver question of war with Cetewayo and his Zulus forced itself to the front. The hands of the authorities were full, and the reforms promised to the Transvaal burghers were not granted. This gave encouragement to the disaffected among the Boers, especially as the British did nothing to prevent many Transvaal farmsteads from being destroyed and their occupants murdered by the Zulus.

ENGLAND'S PREDOMINANCE ESSENTIAL.

While he deplored his inability to immediately remedy the state of affairs at Pretoria, Sir Bartle Frere did not for a moment waver in his belief that England must be the dominant Power in South Africa. Writing to Lord Carnarvon on August 10, 1878, he said:—

"You must be master as representative of the sole Sovereign Power up to the Portuguese frontier on both the East and West Coasts. There is no escaping from the responsibility which has been already incurred

ever since the English flag was planted on the Castle here. All our real difficulties have arisen, and still arise, from attempting to evade or shift this responsibility."

Meantime matters in the Transvaal were not going well. The Boers were full of complaints; some of them well grounded. But their great grievance was that the British Government had failed to give them protection against Sikukuni and against the Zulus. This had been one of the chief reasons which had induced them to accept annexation. Nevertheless, the discontent was not so deep-seated or extensive as the second Boer delegation to England (consisting of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert) sought to make out. Transvaal burghers like Piet Uys fought under Sir Evelyn (then Colonel) Wood against the Zulus, and of the whole body of burghers a full half were still in favour of British rule. The second deputation fared no better than the first, and once more a Secretary of State affirmed that it was "impossible" that the Queen's sovereignty could be withdrawn from the Transvaal. This assurance was conveyed to Messrs. Kruger and Joubert in a letter dated August 6, 1878. It was written by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who had succeeded Lord Carnarvon as Colonial Secretary.

SIR BARTLE FRERE'S VISIT TO THE TRANSVAAL.

Soon after the return of the delegates to South Africa Sir Bartle Frere found it possible, for the first time, to visit the Transvaal. Sir T. Shepstone had a few weeks previously (January, 1879) ceased to be Administrator of that country. Sir Bartle Frere promised to visit the disaffected Boers, who had gathered to the number of sixteen or seventeen hundred, in a large camp near Pretoria, and he left Pietermaritzburg in March, 1879. The most striking incident of the journey was afforded by the number of Boers who sought Sir Bartle's advice. In the course of a dispatch to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, dated April 9, Frere said:—

"I have met Boers at every halting place, and in numbers along the road. . . . Almost everyone complained of the want of protection against intimidation on the part of the dissatisfied Boers, but they generally added their testimony to substantial improvements in administration since the country was annexed. . . . The idea that we should somehow be compelled or induced to abandon the country had taken great hold on the minds of some of the more intelligent men I met. It had been sedulously written up by a portion of the South African Press, English as well as Dutch. I marked its effect particularly on men who said they had come from the old colony since the annexation, but would never have done so had they believed that English rule would be withdrawn, and the country left to its former state of anarchy."

A few days later (the Thursday in Passion Week) Sir Bartle visited the camp of the malcontents. He went unarmed, and almost unattended, and there and then, for a period of five hours, argued the case of British v. Boer against a committee of twenty-five, which included Pretorius, Kruger, and Joubert. The committee demanded the restoration of their independence, to which Sir Bartle replied that annexation was "irrevocable," and outside the pale of the discussion. Thus, for the fifth time in two years the Sovereignty of England was formally asserted. Reporting to the Colonial Office the result of his conferences, Sir Bartle said that he was not prepared for the "stubbornness of a determination" on the part of the malcontents to accept nothing short of independence; nevertheless, from what he had seen, his conviction was strengthened that the real malcontents were far from being a majority of the whole white population, or even of their own class of Boer farmers.

"I have no doubt (adds Sir Bartle) that if the Executive were in a position to assert the supremacy of the law, and put an effective stop to the reign of terrorism which exists at present, the discontented minority would cease to agitate, and would soon cease to feel grievances which a very brief discussion show to be in the main sentimental, not the less keenly felt on that account, but not likely to survive the prosperity and

good government, with a fair measure of self-government in its train, which are within their reach under British rule."

CAUSES OF BRITISH UNPOPULARITY.

That in the two years following annexation Boer feeling had become more antagonistic to England was partly due, Sir Bartle thought, to the singular character of the Administrator—Sir T. Shepstone—whom he described as "a singular type of an Africander Talleyrand, shrewd, observant, silent, self-contained, immobile." And in a letter to his wife, dated Pretoria, April 20, 1879, Sir Bartle says:—"It was not the annexation so much as the neglect to fulfil the promises and the expectations held out by Shepstone when he took over the Government that has stirred up the great mass of the Boers, and given a handle to agitators" (see the "Life of Sir Bartle Frere," vol. II., page 311). But while Sir Bartle may be right in his judgment on Sir T. Shepstone the ultimate blame lies with the (Conservative) Government at home. It was the period of the Russo-Turkish war and its developments, and European affairs almost entirely engrossed the attention of the Government. Still, the Colonial Office can in no way escape the blame for allowing, at such a critical period of our rule in South Africa, promises made by the Queen's representative in Pretoria to remain unfulfilled. However, shortly after the time of the High Commissioner's visit to the Transvaal the most urgent of the disabilities under which the Boers laboured—namely, the constant peril of being slaughtered wholesale by the Zulus and Kaffirs—was removed. The victory of Ulundi, gained by Lord Chelmsford on July 5, 1879, crushed the power of Cetewayo, and on November 28 in the same year Sir Garnet (now Viscount) Wolseley captured the stronghold of Sikukuni and that chieftain himself. Thus was removed all fear of the natives overwhelming the Boers.

LORD WOLSELEY'S "SETTLEMENT."

Apart from his military achievements, Sir Garnet's record in South Africa was far from brilliant. In how much he was hampered by instructions from home is not even now known, but his "settlements" of Zululand and the Transvaal were both failures. It was at a public dinner given to him in Pretoria on December 17, 1879, that he announced a new constitution for the Transvaal, the chief feature of which was a nominated and not an elected council as the Boers had been promised. He declared the malcontent burghers—again in camp near Pretoria—to be the "most formidable enemies" the Transvaal had ever had, and asserted: "There is no Government, Whig or Tory, Liberal, Conservative, or Radical, who would dare under any circumstances to give back the country." Nevertheless, the belief that the country would be given back was gaining strength, so that Sir Garnet, on the eve of the meeting of the new Legislative Council for the Transvaal, deemed it necessary to telegraph to the Colonial Secretary for an explicit assurance that the Queen's sovereignty would not be withdrawn, which was thereupon granted (C. 2,584, p. 208). Sir Garnet hardly seemed to know his own mind, and blew hot and cold by turns. After causing the arrest of Pretorius on a charge of high treason, he dragged him from prison and nominated him a member of the Legislative Council—a post which Pretorius refused to accept. Sir Garnet was in a hurry to get back to England, and having seen the new constitution in some sort of working order, he sailed for home early in May, 1880.

A CRITICAL PERIOD.

This was a critical period in the history of British rule in South Africa. Mr. Gladstone, in his Midlothian speeches, had spoken much as he subsequently spoke concerning the rising under the Mahdi. It was the invasion of "a free, European, Christian, and Republican community"; it was a country "where we have chosen most unwisely—I am tempted to say insanely—to put ourselves in the strange predicament of the free subjects of a monarchy going to coerce the free subjects of a republic and

compel them to accept a citizenship which they decline and refuse" (Mr. Gladstone at Dalkeith, November 26, 1879). After such outbursts as this all the Transvaal burghers adverse to British rule looked to the return of the Liberals to power as the signal for the abandonment of their country by Great Britain. On May 6, 1880, Kruger and Joubert arrived in Cape Town to learn the decision of the Cabinet, and bitter indeed was their disappointment when, on May 12, came a telegram from the new Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberley, stating that "the sovereignty of the Queen over the Transvaal could not be relinquished." Mr. Gladstone wrote on June 8, to Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, a letter to the same effect. These gentlemen remained in Cape Colony for weeks poisoning the minds of the Dutch settlers against the British, and with considerable success, as they succeeded in wrecking the new proposal for a confederation of the South African States. It was at this time that Sir Bartle Frere, the one high official then in South Africa who was completely trusted by the Colonists, was recalled to England "in order to preserve the unity of the Liberal Party."

MAJUBA HILL.

Sir George Colley, the newly appointed Governor of Natal and High Commissioner for South East Africa, had to act entirely on his own judgment. He had arrived at Natal in June, 1880, Frere left the Cape in the September following, and in December the Boers rose in armed rebellion, and killed, or wounded, 157 of our men at Brunckers-Spruit. They were instigated to take overt measures by the ex-Fenian Aylward, a man who had wormed himself into the confidence of Sir George Colley. Moreover, as Le Caron stated in his evidence before the Parnell Commission, money was sent by the Irish rebel societies to stir up treason in the Transvaal. It was, and is, the general belief in South Africa that without this outside interference the Boers, notwithstanding their discontent, might not have risen in arms. But the mischief was done, and the gage of battle having been thrown down, Colley took it up, with what disastrous results let Majuba Hill tell.

III.—FROM MAJUBA TO THE CONVENTION OF 1884.

The decision of the malcontent Boers, at their meeting at Paardekraal (close to Krugersdorp) on December 8, 1880, to proclaim the re-establishment of the Republic, was, in the opinion of Sir Owen Lanyon, Administrator at Pretoria, "an impulsive action," the result of "momentary excitement" (c. 2891). In using this language, Sir Owen, as he explains at length, does not deny that a considerable number of Boers were bitterly hostile to British rule, but he affirms that the outbreak of hostilities was only brought about by wilful misrepresentation of British policy by the chief agitators, who took advantage of the extreme credulity of the average Boer farmer. This is true; but the grievance which gave vital force to the revolt was the non-granting, as promised by Sir T. Shepstone, of self-government to the Transvaal. For this both parties in England were to blame. In a letter to Mr. Albert Grey (now Earl Grey), dated July 25, 1881, Sir Bartle Frere sums up the case by saying:—

"No doubt the non-fulfilment of our promises of some sort of self-government was the cause which kept in the ranks of the malcontents many Boers who would otherwise have reluctantly acquiesced in the annexation of the Transvaal. For this breach of faith Liberals and Conservatives are equally to be blamed—perhaps the Conservatives most. . . . But if the gunpowder was laid by the late Government, the match was applied by the present (1) in the Midlothian speeches (2) by sympathising correspondence of members of Government and their friends, leading the malcontents to believe that if they threatened loudly and imitated Fenian tactics concessions would be made to them."

We know now that Fenian money helped to fill the Boer exchequer, and

that the infamous Aylward (described by Sir E. Henderson as "a born traitor who would betray and conspire against anyone and anything") was one of the direct instigators of the Boer revolt. Aylward acted as private secretary to General Joubert during the war of 1880-81.

NEGOTIATING FOR SURRENDER AFTER DEFEAT.

With the details of the campaign we are not concerned, but it is necessary to briefly outline the chief events. After proclaiming the independence of the country, the insurgent Boers seized Laing's Nek, the pass leading from Natal into the Transvaal. Here, on January 23, 1881, Sir George Pomeroy-Colley attacked the Boers, but was repulsed with heavy loss. A second engagement eleven days later on the Ingogo Heights also resulted unfavourably for the British. On the night of February 26 General Colley seized Majuba Hill, an eminence which commands Laing's Nek. The following morning the Boers scaled the hill, routed the British force, killing Colley, with 91 others, and taking 59 prisoners. The news reached England on February 28, and the following day it was announced that Sir Frederick (now Lord) Roberts was to be despatched to Natal with a large force. However, six days later (March 7) it was rumoured that an armistice had been concluded with the Boers, and, from the grudging admissions made in Parliament that evening by Lord Kimberley and Mr. Gladstone, it appeared that even while the fighting was going on the British Government had been offering to negotiate with the Boers. Communications were, in fact made to the Boers behind the back of General Colley. Negotiations began on January 10, and messages were sent to Sir Hercules Robinson at Capetown for transmission to President Brand. It was not until February 3 that Colley heard of them, and then only through Sir Henry Brand. It is a pitiful story of mistrust, shilly-shally, and a cowardly waiting upon events on the part of the Home Government. The Cabinet had decided to grant the Boer demands, but appeared afraid to say so, and Lord Kimberley in his telegrams and messages could only keep on repeating, *parrot-like*, that the Government were prepared to make a satisfactory settlement if the Boers ceased armed opposition.

SIR GEORGE COLLEY'S WARNING TO THE GOVERNMENT.

General Colley may not unjustly be described as pro-Boer. He was willing, nay, anxious, to give them "as free a constitution as might be consistent with the supremacy of the British Crown," but he clearly foresaw the danger of yielding to armed and victorious rebels. Nor did he fail to remonstrate with the Home Government. In the course of a letter dated February 12 to Lord Kimberley, he said:—

"I take it that the Boer leaders will not submit unless they are assured that they will not be singled out for punishment; and on the other hand I imagine that no settlement of the Transvaal can be safe, or permanent, which leaves them there as the recognised and successful leaders of the revolt. So long as they retain any position of influence in the country, so long, I fear, will the loyal and moderate parties be afraid to come forward."

AN OFFER FROM THE BOERS.

This was written four days after the action on the Ingogo Heights. On the same day a letter, signed by Messrs. Kruger and Bok, reached the British camp. In it the writers say: "We know that the noble English nation, when once truth and justice reach them, will stand by our side. We are so firmly assured of this that we should not hesitate to submit to a Royal Commission of Inquiry," etc. All this was, however, made dependent upon "the cancellation of the Act of Annexation." By direction of Lord Kimberley, Sir George informed the Boers (February 21) that on their ceasing armed opposition, Her Majesty's Government were prepared to consider the proposals made by Messrs. Kruger and Bok, adding that on this proposal being accepted within forty-eight hours he would agree to a suspension of hostilities. The proposal

was not accepted within the time named, Mr. Kruger not then being in camp. The Boers continued their warlike operations, and in order to prevent them entrenching Majuba Hill, Sir George Colley seized it, with what result is known. General Colley had objected to giving way to the Boers before this final catastrophe, and what his opinion would have been as to the wisdom of the Home Government in ordering Sir Evelyn Wood (who succeeded to Colley's command) to continue the negotiations, as if Majuba Hill had not intervened, may be gathered from the following extract from a letter, also written on Feb. 21, to Sir Garnet Wolseley:—

“I am now (says Colley) getting together a force with which I think I could command success, but the Home Government seems so anxious to terminate the contest that I am daily expecting to find ourselves negotiating with the ‘Triumvirate’ as the acknowledged rulers of a victorious people; in which case my failure at Laing’s Nek will have inflicted a deep and permanent injury on the British name and power in South Africa, which it is not difficult to contemplate.”

“A DEEP AND PERMANENT INJURY TO THE BRITISH NAME.”

That a deep and, maybe, permanent injury to the British name and power in South Africa was inflicted by the surrender of the Home Government, not after Laing’s Nek merely, but after Majuba also, can scarcely be doubted. The Government which inflicted this blow upon the country accentuated its shame by the bold words it had used in the opposite sense only a few weeks before. On the opening of Parliament (Jan. 6), the statement that the rising in the Transvaal had imposed upon Her Majesty the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of her authority, and had, of necessity, set aside for the time any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their local affairs which she had been desirous to confer, was put into the mouth of the Queen. Mr. Gladstone was pressed in the House of Commons to give an explanation of the difference between the statement in the Queen’s Speech and the sudden decision to grant the Boers their demands. That master of fence was only able to say that “in existing circumstances” (this statement was made in the Commons on March 10) “the Government did consider that an opportunity had arisen for endeavouring to bring about a settlement of the affairs of the Transvaal.” Just as the right hon. gentleman found in the blowing up of Clerkenwell Gaol by the Fenians the reason for acceding to the Irish demands; just as afterwards the annihilation of Hicks Pasha’s army by the Mahdi convinced him that the dervishes were a people “rightly struggling to be free,” so he found in the military successes of the Boers a reason for surrendering a country over which only a few weeks before he had made the Queen declare that it was her duty to “vindicate” her authority.

LORD CAIRNS’S INDICTMENT.

The general feeling of shame which swept over the country at the news of Mr. Gladstone’s surrender to the Boers was most eloquently expressed by the late Earl Cairns (the distinguished lawyer and sometime Lord Chancellor) in the House of Lords on the last day of March, 1881. Having examined one by one the excuses made by the Government for the surrender to the Boers, Lord Cairns concluded in the following words:—

“It is just 100 years since a page of the annals of England was darkened by the surrenders of Burgoyne and Cornwallis. Those were surrenders made by Generals at a distance from and without communication with home, on their own responsibility, on great emergencies, and without the possibility of any alternatives. They were events, however, which deeply touched our national pride; but it will be recorded hereafter that it was reserved for the nineteenth century and the days of telegrams to find a surrender, when reinforcements were at hand and every means existed for

vindicating the authority and restoring the power of the Crown, dictated word for word by the Government at home. I observe that this arrangement is somewhere styled the Peace of Mount Prospect; but I doubt whether it will not go down to posterity as the Capitulation of Downing-street. You have administered a bitter cup to Englishmen, both at home and abroad, and you have made it unduly and unnecessarily bitter. . . . Other reverses we may have had, and other disasters; but a reverse is not dishonour, and a disaster does not necessarily imply disgrace. To Her Majesty's Government we owe a sensation which to this country of ours is new, and which certainly is not agreeable.

"In all the ills we ever bore
We grieved, we sighed, we wept; we never blushed before."

UITLANDERS' RIGHTS IN 1881.

It is unnecessary to go into the details of the negotiations which led to the signing at Pretoria of the Convention of August, 1881. The Transvaal was restored to the Boers intact, and the burghers were given "complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty." The British Commissioners were Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Evelyn Wood* and Sir Henry de Villiers. In view of the present state of affairs, one portion of the minutes of the discussions is worth reproduction. This is how it appears in the Blue Book on the subject issued in 1882:—

Sir Hercules Robinson: Before annexation, had British subjects complete freedom of trade throughout the Transvaal; were they on the same footing as citizens of the Transvaal?

Mr. Kruger: They were on the same footing as the burghers; there was not the slightest difference, in accordance with the Sand River Convention.

Sir Hercules Robinson: I presume you will not object to that continuing?

Mr. Kruger: No. There will be equal protection for anybody.

Sir Evelyn Wood: And equal privileges?

Mr. Kruger: We make no difference so far as burgher rights are concerned. There may perhaps be some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country.

MR. GLADSTONE ON BLOOD-GUILTINESS.

There were not wanting politicians, both at home and in Africa, who gave reasons which were held to justify the surrender to the Boers. To the 700,000 native inhabitants of the Transvaal, to the thousands of Dutch Afrianders who had stood loyally by the British Government, to the large number of Englishmen who had made the Transvaal their home on the strength of the numberless assurances that the country would never be given back, as well as to the English in Cape Colony and Natal, there seemed no possible justification for the action of the Gladstone Cabinet. What then were the general arguments urged in favour of their policy? Mr. Gladstone himself declared that "it was a question of saving the country from sheer blood-guiltiness"—a statement which, if true, reflected most of all on the right hon. gentleman himself, for if he believed the Boers were in the right, why did he inform Mr. Kruger (June 8, 1880) that the "Queen's sovereignty must be maintained," and why did he permit General Colley's operations? More sensible apologists for the surrender advanced other arguments. They pointed to the fact that it was with great difficulty that President Brand prevented the Free State burghers joining the Transvaal Boers; to the exasperation manifested by the Dutch Afrianders in Cape Colony and Natal, and to the fact that the British Government were advised from the Cape that the continuance of the

* It is only fair to Sir Evelyn to point out that he dissented from the report the Commission drew up prior to the signing of the Convention.

struggle would probably light up a race conflict throughout South Africa. These were the sole arguments on the score of expediency ever advanced. It is needless to point out that no appeasement of racial animosity followed the conclusion of the Convention of 1881. The Boers never respected its terms, but continued to importune the British Government for an ample measure of independence.

THE CONVENTION OF 1884.

The late Lord Derby (famous for the instability of his political convictions) had succeeded Lord Kimberley as Colonial Secretary, and he listened favourably to the application of President Kruger. The result was the substitution of the Convention of 1884 for that of 1881. This Convention is the basis of the present relations between Great Britain and the Transvaal. By its terms the State was permitted to call itself the South African Republic, whilst the control of foreign policy stipulated for in the Convention of 1881 was reduced to the provision that the Republic should conclude no treaty with any State or nation (other than the Orange Free State) without the consent of the Queen. Nothing is said in the Convention about "suzerainty," but as it is expressly stated that the articles of the Convention of 1884 are substituted for those of 1881, it is contended on behalf of the British that the suzerainty still subsists. This contention is strengthened by the fact that in the Pretoria Convention suzerainty is mentioned not in the articles but in the preamble, which was not renounced by the terms of the London Convention. It is further held that the retention of the power of vetoing foreign treaties implies suzerainty.

IV.—FROM THE 1884 CONVENTION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

We have seen that it was the neglect to give the Boers any measure of self-government which led to the revolt in 1880-81, and the analogy between their position at that time and the position of the Uitlanders now does not need to be insisted upon. Having omitted to grant them local government at a period when it would have been possible so to do, the British Government of the day yielded to force, and in the hour of defeat much more than the justice of the case demanded. Naturally, the result was unsatisfactory, and from the moment of the signing of the 1881 Convention the Boers assumed an arrogant and overbearing attitude.

A RIVAL RULING POWER TO THE BRITISH.

It was in the vain hope that by further concessions amity between the two white races in South Africa would be restored that the Convention of 1884 was substituted for that of 1881. This 1884 Convention is described by Sir Harry Johnston as "perhaps the most remarkable act of abnegation which has ever occurred in the history of the British Empire," appearing to the English in South Africa as the admission of a rival ruling power in the British sphere. And so in the event it proved. It is clear from a perusal of the voluminous correspondence (C 3,947) which preceded the signing of the Convention, that Lord Derby's great anxiety was to confine the Transvaal within absolutely fixed limits. To this the Boer delegates, very unwillingly, agreed. But to keep the Boers from annexing all the neighbouring native State was a work of great difficulty, and even the Gladstone Ministry was obliged to interfere by force of arms in order to protect British rights. Ever since 1884 two great motives have appeared to animate the Transvaal executive—the first to shut off the Cape from the north and to acquire a seaport of their own; the second to retain all power in the hands of the Dutch burghers, denying to settlers within their territory the exercise of the franchise. On the first point, owing to the united action of both great parties in the United Kingdom, and to the foresight and sagacity of Mr. Rhodes, Sir Hercules Robinson,

and others, the Boers have been defeated. The story of the Boer encroachments, and the manner in which they were defeated, is admirably told by Mr. Bryce, whose book on South Africa is deserving of the most careful study.

BOER RAIDS ON ZULULAND AND BECHUANALAND.

Bands of Boer adventurers (says Mr. Bryce) entered Zululand, the first of them as trekkers, the rest as auxiliaries to one of the native chiefs, who were at war with one another. These adventurers established a sort of republic in the northern districts, and would probably have seized the whole had not the British Government at last interfered and confined them to a territory of nearly three thousand square miles, which was recognised in 1886 under the name of the New Republic, and which in 1888 merged itself in the Transvaal. To the west other bands of Boer raiders entered Bechuanaland, seized land or obtained grants of land by the usual devices, required the chiefs to acknowledge their supremacy, and proceeded to establish two petty republics, one called Stellaland, round the village of Vryburg, north of Kimberley, and the other, farther north, called Goshen. These violent proceedings, which were not only injurious to the natives, but were obviously part of a plan to add Bechuanaland to the Transvaal territories and close against the English the path to those northern regions in which Britain was already interested, roused the British Government (*i.e.*, the Gladstone Ministry). In the end of 1884 an expedition, led by Sir Charles Warren, entered Bechuanaland. The freebooters of the two republics retired before it, and the districts they had occupied were erected into a Crown Colony. In order to prevent the Boers from playing the same game in the country still farther north, where their aggressions had so far back as 1876 led Khama, chief of the Bamangwato, to ask for British protection, a British Protectorate was proclaimed (March, 1885) over the whole country as far as the borders of Matabeleland; and a few years later, in 1888, a treaty was concluded with Lo Bengula, the Matabele king, whereby he undertook not to cede territory to, or make a treaty with, any foreign Power without the consent of the British High Commissioner.

THE BOER ROAD TO THE SEA STOPPED.

In Swaziland the same game of grab was played, and, as the British Government did not intervene early enough, with more success. By Article XII. of the 1884 Convention the independence of the Swazis was "fully recognised." Nevertheless, Boer concession hunters overran the country. After long negotiations an arrangement was concluded in 1894, which placed the Swazis under the control of the South African Republic. This Convention took the place of one negotiated in 1890, under the terms of which the Boers were granted a small portion of Swaziland and Amatongaland, including an area of ten miles in radius at Kosi Bay, to which place they were given the right to build a railway. In negotiating the 1894 Convention the Boers refused to include in it the provisions as to Amatongaland and Kosi Bay. It appears to have been their intention to annex the whole strip of land between Swaziland and the sea. On this occasion, however, the British Government proved the more astute, and taking advantage of the opportunity offered it promptly annexed the land in question right up to the Portuguese frontier. This action was endorsed both by the outgoing Liberal Ministry in 1895 and by the Unionist Ministry which succeeded it in the July of that year. Nothing indeed is more striking than the firm attitude taken up by that eminent Radical politician, Lord Ripon, who was Colonial Secretary in the Gladstone-Rosebery Government of 1892-95. The general attitude of the Boers, together with the treatment of the Europeans who had settled within their territories, had at length convinced every responsible statesman in England that to allow the Boers to obtain a seaport would be against the interests of the Empire. Mr. Bryce regards this closing of the Boer road to the sea as "one of the most important events in recent South African

history." The wish of President Kruger to obtain a seaport was "an object unfavourable to the interests of the paramount Power, for it would have favoured the wish of the Boer Government to establish political ties with other European Powers."

Zululand, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland do not exhaust the territories over which in the decade succeeding the signing of the 1884 Convention the Boers sought, to the detriment of England, to obtain control. Mashonaland would have been added to the list but for the prompt measures taken by Mr. Rhodes and the Home Government. And during all these ten years an internal grievance had been growing greater and greater, until to-day it is the chief cause of discord throughout South Africa. We refer to the treatment of the non-Boers who have settled in the Transvaal.

UITLANDERS DENIED THE FRANCHISE.

In the 1884 Convention not a word is said regarding the franchise. Mr. Kruger (as we have shown) had, in the discussions preceding the drawing up of the 1881 Convention, stated that nothing more than a "slight difference" would be made in the treatment of the foreigner in respect to burgher rights. As a matter of fact, a Uitlander could obtain full rights of citizenship after a residence of five years. This was the law in 1882 (C. 7,933, p. 84). There were already a fair number of English miners in the Transvaal in the Lydenburg district, and in 1884 the existence of gold-bearing quartz reefs led to the founding of the town of Barberton. It was not till 1886, however, that the conglomerates extending along the ridge of the watershed known as the Witswatersrand were proved to be gold-bearing. Then came the usual rush to a new goldfield, and by the end of 1888 Johannesburg was a large and flourishing city, and many mines were crushing regularly. By 1890 the alien population numbered 48,000. In 1894 Sir Jacobus de Wet, the British Agent in the Transvaal, estimated the population as follows:—Transvaalers and Orange Free Staters, 70,861; British subjects, 62,509; other foreigners, 15,558. Then follows this significant sentence: "The present number of registered voters, obtained from official sources, amounts to 18,126" (C. 7,633). This simple statement reveals at once what changes must have taken place in the Boer laws regarding the franchise. A large number of those 77,000 Uitlanders had been in the country since 1887, and yet in 1894 not one of them had a voice in the government of the country, whose bankrupt exchequer they had replenished as the result of their industry. This is explained by the fact that the Volksraad, acting under the guidance of Mr. Kruger, had passed laws whereby no newcomer could ever hope to obtain the rights of citizenship. With the avowed intention of maintaining the political *status quo*, the period of residence after which the emigrant could obtain the electoral franchise, was raised, in 1887, to fifteen years. It is true that in 1890 the Volksraad, as a sop to the Uitlanders, created a second Volksraad, for membership in which a newcomer might be eligible after four years' residence, the right to vote for this Raad being still more easily attained. The second Raad, however, can only consider certain specified subjects (taxation is excluded), and its acts can be (and are) overruled by the First Volksraad, which is in no way subject to the Second Raad. In practice the Second Raad has proved an utter sham, the most moderate reforms it has proposed being vetoed by the First Raad. Meantime between 1887 and 1894, the Volksraad had so further "amended" the franchise laws that, as we have stated, it became impossible for any alien to acquire full burgher rights.

LORD RIPON'S FIVE YEARS.

This state of things was combined with many other grievances, such as the commandeering of British subjects, the dynamite monopoly, and many other vexatious restrictions on trade. The denial of electoral rights to the immigrants—the majority of whom were British subjects—

caused great unrest among the inhabitants of the Rand, and appeals for help to the High Commissioner and to the Colonial Office were frequent. The Liberal Government of that day recognised the justice of the Uitlanders' position, and in a despatch to Sir H. B. Loch, dated October 19, 1894, Lord Ripon pointed out the increasing stringency of the conditions by which a majority of adult males, bearing the chief part of the public burdens, were excluded from all share in the management of public affairs. He went on to say:—"The period of residence, which constitutes the most important condition of naturalisation, differs in different countries, but there is a very general consensus of opinion among civilised States that five years is a sufficiently long period of probation, and Her Majesty's Government would wish you to press upon the Government of the Republic the view that the period in this case should not exceed that limit as regards the right to vote in the first Volksraad, which is the dominant body, and in Presidential elections."

THE JAMESON RAID.

Lord Ripon's advice was unheeded by President Kruger and the Boers, and the agitation for reform, discouraged as it was by many of the capitalists, grew in strength. The Transvaal National Union, a body which had been in existence some years, conducted its agitation openly, but its efforts met with no success, petitions to the Raad being rejected with jeers and insult. The situation became unendurable, and at this period the leaders in what is properly described as constitutional agitation were approached by others, whose methods were not peaceful and whose object was not the reform of the constitution of the Republic, but the substitution of English rule. "I did not," said Mr. Rhodes to the House of Commons Committee, "wish to substitute President J. B. Robinson for President Kruger." In the result the conspirators bungled badly, and Dr. Jameson, by crossing the Transvaal frontier at the time when both the Reform Committee at Johannesburg and Mr. Rhodes at the Cape were urging him to remain quiescent "upset the apple-cart." The conspiracy, of which the great mass of the Uitlanders were totally innocent, not only ended in failure, but crippled the efforts of Mr. Chamberlain—who had taken the Colonial Secretaryship less than six months previously—to obtain redress for the grievances under which these people suffered. So far from having sustained "moral and intellectual damage" by the Raid, the hands of the Boer Government were materially strengthened by that episode.

HOME RULE FOR THE RAND.

The next move was made by Mr. Chamberlain. In a lengthy despatch to Sir Hercules Robinson, dated February 4, 1896, the Colonial Secretary endorsed the opinion expressed by Lord Ripon that the franchise should be granted to immigrants after five years' residence, and, discussing the grievances of the Uitlanders seriatim, he indicated the natural and appropriate remedies. But in order that all sides of the question should be presented to the Boers, Mr. Chamberlain went on to elaborate, in paragraphs 43 to 46 of his despatch, an alternative system of government for the Rand, which can be briefly but accurately described as Home Rule (C 7,933). This suggestion, we need scarcely say, did not find favour with the Boers.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS.

What has happened since must be tolerably fresh in the minds of our readers. For months excuses were found for the Boers, because of the Jameson Raid. But when the Volksraad began seriously to interfere with the judges in the discharge of their duties, the Uitlanders lost confidence in the one institution in the country which had hitherto commanded their respect. The making of every Volksraad resolution equally binding with a law passed in regular form, was, indeed, as Sir Alfred Milner describes

it in his despatch of May 4 last, "a tremendous change for the worse." And in no other respect has there been any change since 1896 except for the worse. To the almost numberless grievances, large and small, under which the Uitlanders suffer has been added a brutality in the conduct of the Boer officials at Johannesburg which was exemplified in the murder of Edgar. As Sir Alfred Milner says, British subjects have been reduced to the position of helots. And the sting of the whole matter lies in the fact that socially, economically, and ethnologically, all the countries south of the Zambesi are one. It is intolerable that whereas in four out of the five States which comprise South Africa the Dutch and English enjoy absolutely the same privileges, in the fifth a Boer minority should have all the power and the large British element none. That such a state of affairs should be possible can only be understood by a consideration of the whole history of Boer and British, such as we have endeavoured to place before our readers. Nor can it be doubted that the chief cause of our present troubles lies in the self-abasement of England in 1881.

THE BOERS AND THE BLUE BOOK.

LIFE ON THE RAND AND ITS PERILS.

The Blue Book relating to the complaints of British subjects in the Transvaal (C. 9,345) is full of examples of the tyranny exercised over the citizens of Johannesburg. The murder of the man Edgar by the police of that town is far from being the only instance of outrage on either the persons or property of British subjects.

BLUDGEONING UNARMED ENGLISHMEN.

We may mention briefly the deliberate breaking up by the Boers, on January 14, of a meeting, the holding of which had been sanctioned by the Pretoria Executive, and the organisers of which were, in the words of the Acting British Agent, "almost all professional mining engineers, some of them in the employment of the largest financial houses." Having been granted the use of the amphitheatre at Johannesburg for the purpose of holding a meeting, the leaders arrived to find the building "already partly filled by a crowd of rough burghers with some police in plain clothes." "The proceedings" (continues the official report) "had not time to commence before a disturbance arose on the part of the Boers alone, who finally ended by demolishing every piece of furniture in the hall, and striking about freely with sticks and chair legs until the hall was cleared of its audience. The police never interfered at all." At this meeting at least one Englishman (Mr. W. C. Sparrow) was so severely injured that for a time his condition was critical (see medical certificate, p. 141 of the Blue Book named). Besides Mr. Sparrow, several other men were seriously hurt. No redress whatever was obtainable from the Boer Government; whilst an official of the Criminal Court was heard to congratulate the rioters "on having done their duty splendidly." Moreover, Sir Alfred Milner, after sifting the evidence, reported among other things that Broeksma, Third Public Prosecutor, and Lieutenant Murphy of the Morality Police actually assisted in breaking chairs and encouraged the rioters.

THE MURDER OF MRS. APPELBE.

But if apt at helping to break up meetings, which it was their duty to protect, the police appear to be useless for the detection and punishment of crime. The brutal murder of Mrs. Appelbe is a case in point. It arose directly out of the license allowed by the authorities for the violation of the liquor laws. Mr. Appelbe, a Wesleyan missionary at Johannesburg, had done his best to expose the nefarious trade carried on in intoxicants by low class whites; which trade was winked at by the

Boers. Incensed at the exposure of their practices, the liquor dealers hired ruffians to assault Mrs. Appelbe while on her way to church. Mrs. Appelbe was accompanied by a Mr. Wilson, a chemist, who had also been prominent in denouncing the illicit liquor traffic. Both were savagely assaulted, the lady receiving such injuries that she died the following day. This occurred on April 28 last. There is no doubt that the responsibility for the murder of Mrs. Appelbe (an Englishwoman, the daughter of Mr. John Holder, J.P., of Folkestone) lies at the door of the Johannesburg police, because of their criminal connivance in the liquor traffic. "The business" (says Sir A. Milner, reporting on May 10 to Mr. Chamberlain) "is conducted by a syndicate commanding powerful influences and great resources. Though the names of many of the principals are an open secret, no effectual steps have been taken to bring them to justice, while as regards the intermediaries in the trade—largely composed of the lowest class of Continental Jews—neither fine nor imprisonment have any terrors for them. In the comparatively few cases in which they are caught their employers can well afford to indemnify them out of the enormous profits realised." It will be no matter for surprise to learn that, although the murder was committed on the highway "in the dusk of the evening," no clue to the perpetrators of the outrage was discovered, although, according to the Transvaal State Secretary, "the ablest detectives were employed."

THE COMMANDEERING OF UITLANDERS.

Whilst refusing the Uitlanders the franchise, the Boers called upon them to help in the wars which their (the Boers) own mismanagement involved them in with the natives. In 1895, however, Mr. Kruger, under strong pressure, agreed not to "commandeer" British subjects. But the Boers disregarded their own solemn promises, and the acting British Agent at Pretoria felt bound to intervene. He issued (October, 1898) the following notice through the newspapers:—

"Her Majesty's Government maintain the position which appears in the Commandeering Treaty of February, 1895, which was signed by Sir Henry Loch, but which, however, the Volksraad did not ratify—namely, most-favoured-nation treatment for all British subjects—the most favoured nation being the Portuguese. All British subjects in the South African Republic are, therefore, exempt, not only from personal military service, but from all war requisitions in money or in kind, not being general taxes imposed by law on all burghers and aliens alike. Her Majesty's Acting Agent at Pretoria has already officially informed British subjects accordingly, in reply to their inquiries."

As the result of inquiries we find Sir Alfred Milner reports (March 10 last) that the Transvaal State Attorney gave as his opinion to the Executive Council that, although the Field-Cornet and others had certainly erred in making the recent raid on coloured people after dark, and when many of the complainants were asleep, yet, in view of the fact that no definite instructions had been issued by the Government last year as to special treatment for Cape coloured people, he could find no sufficient reason for further punishing the officials concerned; and that the Executive Council had accordingly resolved to reinstate the Field-Cornet in his office.

I am bound to state (adds Sir Alfred) that this decision, and the ground assigned for it, have left a painful impression on my mind. I presume that the State Attorney has read the evidence, and it appears to me to show beyond all question that the officials whose conduct was called in question are totally unfit for their duties. I consider that the very grave statements made by the complainants are left practically unrefuted, and that the officials are proved to have acted not only harshly, and even brutally, but also, in some cases, in flagrant violation of the law they are appointed to administer. And yet the only point in the whole case that appears to the State Attorney worth referring to is their "error" in entering houses after dark.

PULLING THE BEDCLOTHES OFF YOUNG WOMEN.

The following affidavit bears testimony to the kind of brutality which the State Attorney excused:—

I, Caroline Lingevelt, make oath and say:—I am a widow, and live at 7, Wolhuter-street, Johannesburg. I have been in Johannesburg nearly four years. I am a native of Oudtshoorn, Cape Colony, and a British subject. I carry on business in washing and ironing in Johannesburg, and support myself. I am coloured, but my grandfather was a white man, a Scotsman. At 11 o'clock on Saturday night, October 29, my son, Abram Lingevelt, who lives with me, came to me and said that the Field-Cornet (Lombaard) wanted his pass. At the same time I heard someone shake the back door, and say, "Open the door or I will kick it open." I replied, "Wait till I put on my dress." "No," answered Mr. de Kock, "open at once, or I will kick it open." I then opened the door, and said, "I am a widow, my husband has been dead for eight years, and there is no man here; there is only my one son in the room at the back." I afterwards looked out, and saw that the yard was full of men. Mr. de Kock is the pass officer here. Another man, long and stout, whose name I do not know, came then into the house and pulled the blanket off the bed on which my daughter Caroline, aged sixteen, was lying, and did the same to the bed in which were Mabel Blommestein and my little nephew. After having looked under the bed and behind a screen the man went out. My boy was taken to prison because he had not a pass. Since then I have bailed him out for £3, which was returned to me on his acquittal. Mabel Blommestein was nine years old, and I boarded and lodged her. This little girl Mabel became suddenly ill later in the night, having been frightened at the noise and excitement, and, on my calling in Dr. Croghan, he said that she had a severe attack of inflammation of the lungs, directly caused by the fright and exposure; she had to go to the hospital, and has since died there. I annex a certificate of Dr. Croghan as to the cause of her death.

Scores of cases similar to Mrs. Lingevelt's might be quoted. And most of the "coloured people" so arrested were fairly educated men and women; one of their parents in almost every instance being a white.

"INSTRUCTED TO STRIP ENGLISHWOMEN NAKED."

In conclusion we must again call attention to the deliberate breaking up of the meeting of Uitlanders in the Johannesburg Amphitheatre on January 14 last. We find that a crowd of the lowest kind of Boer was deliberately organised to assault the Uitlanders. Not only did they bludgeon men, but their instructions appear to have been to outrage women. Mrs. Wybergh, wife of the President of the South African League, testified on oath: "A small body of Boers attempted to storm the box in which I, with three other women, were seated. When they were hindered in this design by others in the crowd, they began abusing us individually and using foul language, and one of them threw a straw hat edgewise into the box, which struck one of the women with me on the side of the face." The reason for this organized attack on the box in which Englishwomen were seated is explained by the following affidavit. It stands in need of no comment.

"I, Amelia Bennet, wife of Richard R. Bennet, make oath and say:—I am an insurance agent, residing in Johannesburg. A few days after the date of the meeting, which was held in the Amphitheatre on the 14th inst., I called at the office of Mr. C. A. Lageson, the Burgher member for Ward Number 7, in the Johannesburg Town Council; and during the course of conversation I had with that gentleman, I asked him 'how it came about that his name was so prominently mentioned in connection with the disgraceful riot which took place on the previous Saturday afternoon?' He first asked if I was present, to which I replied that fortunately I was not, but that my husband, who was, had told me all about it. Mr. Lageson then said 'that if those women had not left the boxes so promptly, they

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would have had every strip of clothing torn from them, as he had sent half-a-dozen men up to the boxes for the express purpose of stripping them stark naked, but they flew like rats to their holes.' He then became so positively insulting in his language towards the Queen and the Uitlander population generally, and his language became so extremely choice, that I deemed it best to hurriedly leave his office."

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## CONCLUSION.

From the last two pages alone, it must be abundantly clear that the present crisis is due neither to capitalists nor to professional agitation. It is the bitter cry of a defenceless people to the Government which still claims their allegiance—of helots who have been free, and who are still Englishmen. Socially, economically, ethnologically, South Africa is all one country. The relations between the British Colonies and the two Republics are extraordinarily intimate. They can only live in harmony on the basis of perfect equality for the white man.

If England does not give them that equality now, they will attempt to win it for themselves; the temporary wound will become a permanent disease; the result will be, for many years, turmoil and bloodshed which will have to be ended, whether we like it or not, at a time which will not be of our own choosing. Unless Great Britain shows that she can be firm when necessary, the loyalty of one of the fairest possessions of the Crown will slip from her grasp in those vast regions which have cost us so much blood and treasure to develop. If the Outlanders are abandoned now, they will certainly remember that it was the refusal to redress grievances similar to their own which cost an English King his head, and, at a later period, lost to Great Britain those Colonies now called the United States of America.

We have waited long enough. Diplomacy has been exhausted by delay. Patience has become procrastination. We have been asked perpetually to "give the Boers time." We have done so. But their time is past, and the hour for action has arrived. We have an opportunity in the present freedom from political complications and foreign embroglios which certainly will not last for ever—which probably will not recur.

If we desire Peace, we must enforce it. If the Government of the Transvaal refuses to give immediate satisfaction to the diplomacy of our Ministers, we must be ready to carry to their conclusion whatever other arguments the Boers may compel us to produce.

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